WAYNE K. HOY | CECIL G. MISKEL



Educational Administration

THEORY, RESEARCH, AND PRACTICE

NINTH EDITION

Cases for Leadership and Leadership Standards

Case for Leadership	Vision Standard 1	Student Learning Professional Development Standard 2	In-School Environment Standard 3	Community Collaboration Standard 4	Ethics Standard 5	General Context Standard 6
Lunchtime Streaker (p. 35)		X	X	X	X	X
Cooperative Learning (p. 88)		X	X			X
Problems at West High (p. 131)	X	X	X	X		X
Motivational and Leadership Challenge (p. 172)		X	X			
Ambivalence at East High (p. 204)		X	X	X	X	X
Disbelief at Albany Middle School (p. 225)		X	X	X	X	X
Conflict at WHS (p. 263)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rite of Passage (p. 294)			X	X		X
Turn Around School (p. 325)	X	X	X			X
Teachers Council (p. 352)	X		X	X		X
Special Treatment? (p. 383)	X	X	X		X	X
The Letter (p. 421)		X		X	X	X
Facebook Dilemma (p. 462)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rash Decision (p. 486)		X	X	X	X	X
Snubbing Creationists? (p. 487)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Crossing the Line or Only a Crush? (p. 489)		X	X	X	X	X
Leading to Change, Changing to Lead (p. 492)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Parental Demand (p. 493)		X	X	X	X	X
Dilemma at Urban High (p. 495)	X	X	X	X	X	X

Ninth Edition



EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Theory, Research, and Practice

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with

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DEDICATION

To Amaya Bella Hoy–the best is yet to come.



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Wayne K. Hoy received his B.S. from Lock Haven State College in 1959 and then taught mathematics at Cheltenham High School in Wyncote, Pennsylvania. In 1965 he was awarded his D.Ed. from The Pennsylvania State University. After teaching at Oklahoma State University for several years, he moved to Rutgers University in 1968. There he was a distinguished professor, department chair, and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs. In 1994, he was selected as the Novice G. Fawcett Chair in Educational Administration at The Ohio State University. His primary professional interests are theory and research in administration, the sociology of organizations, and the social psychology of administration.

In 1973, he received the Lindback Foundation Award for Distinguished Teaching from Rutgers University; in 1987, he received the Alumni Award for Professional Research from the Rutgers University Graduate School of Education; in 1991, he received the Excellence in Education Award from The Pennsylvania State University; in 1992, he received the Meritorious Research Award from the Eastern Educational Research Association; and in 1996, he became an Alumni Fellow of The Pennsylvania State University. He is past secretary-treasurer of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA) and is past president of the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA). In November 2003 he was awarded the Roald Campbell Lifetime Achievement Award in Educational Administration. In 2009 he was selected as a Fellow of the American Educational Research Association.

Professor Hoy is coauthor with D. J. Willower and T. L. Eidell of *The School and Pupil Control Ideology* (1967); with Patrick Forsyth, *Effective Supervision: Theory into Practice* (1986); with C. J. Tarter and R. Kottkamp, *Open Schools—Healthy Schools: Measuring Organizational Climate* (1991); with C. J. Tarter, *Administrators Solving the Problems of Practice* (1995, 2004) and *The Road to Open and Healthy Schools* (1997); with D. Sabo, *Quality Middle Schools* (1998); and with his wife, Anita Woolfolk Hoy, *Instructional Leadership: A Research-Based Guide to Learning in Schools,* 3rd edition (2009). In 2010 he wrote his latest book, *Quantitative Research in Education: A Primer.* He has also served terms on editorial boards of many journals, including the *Educational Administration Quarterly, Journal of Educational Administration*, *Leadership and Policy in Schools,* and *Review of Educational Research.*

BRIEF CONTENTS

Preface xii

CHAPTER 1 *The School as a Social System 1*

CHAPTER 2 *The Technical Core: Learning and Teaching 42*

CHAPTER 3 *Structure in Schools 94*

CHAPTER 4 *Individuals in Schools 138*

CHAPTER 5 *Organizational Culture of Schools 178*

CHAPTER 6 *Organizational Climate of Schools 208*

CHAPTER 7 *Power and Politics in Schools 229*

CHAPTER 8 *External Environments and Accountability of Schools 268*

CHAPTER 9 *School Effectiveness 299*

CHAPTER 10 *Decision Making in Schools 329*

CHAPTER 11 *Shared Decision Making: Empowering Teachers 359*

CHAPTER 12 *Communication in Schools 388*

CHAPTER 13 *Leadership in Schools 426*

CHAPTER 14 *One Last Time: A Review of the School as a Social System 468*

A Collection of Cases For Educational Leadership 486

Bibliography B–1

Name Index I–1

Subject Index I–9

CONTENTS

Preface xii

CHAPTER 1 *The School as a Social System 1*

Theory 2
- *Theory and Science 2*
- *Elements of Theory 3*
- *Theory and Reality 4*
- *Theory and Research 5*
- *Theory and Practice 7*

A Systems Perspective 9
- *Rational-Systems Models: Closed to Open 9*
- *Natural-Systems Models: Closed to Open 14*

Open System: An Integration 19

Key Properties of Open Systems 21

Social-Systems Model: Basic Assumptions 23

Key Elements of The School Social System 25
- *Structure 26*
- *Individual 27*
- *Culture 29*
- *Politics 29*
- *Technical Core: Teaching and Learning 30*
- *Environment 30*
- *Outcomes 31*
- *Internal Feedback Loops 32*
- *External Feedback Loops 33*

The School as a Learning Organization 34

A Case For Leadership: Lunchtime Streaker 35

Guides to Practice 37

Key Assumptions and Principles 38

Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 39

Suggested Readings 39

Portfolio Exercise 40

Notes 41

CHAPTER 2 *The Technical Core: Learning and Teaching 42*

Learning: A Definition 43

A Behavioral Perspective on Learning 44
- *Consequences 44*
- *Antecedents 47*

Teaching Applications of The Behavioral Approach 48
- *The Good Behavior Game 49*
- *Positive Behavior Support Based on a Functional Behavioral Assessment 50*
- *Learning Objectives 52*
- *Direct Instruction 53*

A Cognitive Perspective on Learning 55
- *Knowledge and Learning 56*
- *Sensory Memory 58*
- *A Current Model of Working Memory 60*
- *Long-Term Memory 65*

Teaching Applications of the Cognitive Approach 70
Underlining or Highlighting 71
Taking Notes 72
Visual Tools 72
Mnemonics 73
A Constructivist Approach to Learning 75
Types of Constructivism 75
How Is Knowledge Constructed? 78
Knowledge: Situated or General? 78
Teaching Applications of Constructivist Approaches 80
Problem-Based Learning 82
Cognitive Apprenticeships 83
Cooperative Learning 84
A Case for Leadership: Cooperative Learning: Sound Practice or Social Experiment? 88
Guides to Practice 89
Key Assumptions and Principles 90
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 91
Suggested Readings 91
Portfolio Exercise 92
Note 93

CHAPTER 3 *Structure in Schools 94*

Weberian Model of Bureaucracy 95
Division of Labor and Specialization 95
Impersonal Orientation 95
Hierarchy of Authority 96
Rules and Regulations 96
Career Orientation 96
Efficiency 96
Ideal Type 97
Criticisms of the Weberian Bureaucratic Model 97
Functions and Dysfunctions of the Model 97
Functions and Dysfunctions of Rules 99
Neglect of the Informal Organization 101
Dual Structure of the Bureaucratic Model 107
A Feminist Critique of Bureaucracy 108
Formal Structure in Schools 109
Hall on Bureaucratic Structure 109
Hoy and Sweetland on Structure 114
Mintzberg on Structure 120
Loose Coupling Perspective 126
Professional and Bureaucratic Conflict 128
Professional and Bureaucratic Orientations in Schools 129
A Case for Leadership: Problems at West High 131
Guides to Practice 133
Key Assumptions and Principles 134
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 134
Suggested Readings 135
Portfolio Exercise 136
Notes 136

CHAPTER 4 *Individuals in Schools 138*

Needs 139
Hierarchy of Needs: Basic Needs 139
Needs and Worker Satisfaction 143
Need for Achievement: An Acquired Need 145
Need for Autonomy 147
Beliefs 148
Beliefs about Causality: Attribution Theory 149

Beliefs about Ability 152
Beliefs about Fairness: Equity Theory and Organizational Justice 154
Beliefs about Outcomes: Expectancy Theory 156
Beliefs about Capabilities: Self-Efficacy Theory 160
Goals 165
Goal-Setting Theory 166
Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation 170
A Case for Leadership: Motivational and Leadership Challenge 172
Guides to Practice 174
Key Assumptions and Principles 174
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms 175
Suggested Readings 175
Portfolio Exercise 176
Note 177

CHAPTER 5 *Organizational Culture of Schools 178*

Organizational Culture 179
Definition of Organizational Culture 180
Levels of Organizational Culture 180
Functions of Culture 185
School Culture 185
A Culture of Academic Optimism 196
Changing School Culture 202
A Norm-Changing Strategy 202
A Case for Leadership: Ambivalence at East High School 204
Guides to Practice 204
Key Assumptions and Principles 205
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 206
Suggested Readings 206
Portfolio Exercise 207
Notes 207

CHAPTER 6 *Organizational Climate of Schools 208*

Organizational Climate 209
Definition of Organizational Climate 209
A Climate of Organizational Openness 210
OCDQ: Some Research Findings 213
A Climate of Organizational Health 214
OHI: Some Research Findings 216
A Synthesis: The Organizational Climate Index 218
OCI: Some Research Findings 220
A Climate of Citizenship 221
OCB: Some Research Findings 222
Changing the Climate of Schools 222
The Clinical Strategy 223
The Growth-Centered Strategy 224
A Case for Leadership: Disbelief at Albany Middle School 225
Guides to Practice 226
Key Assumptions and Principles 226
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 227
Suggested Readings 227
Portfolio Exercise 228
Note 228

CHAPTER 7 *Power and Politics in Schools 229*

Sources of Authority: Legitimate Power 230
Authority and Administrative Behavior in Schools 232

Sources of Power 235
Administrative Uses of Power 238
Mintzberg's Perspective on Power 240
A Comparison and Synthesis of Power Perspectives 243
Power, Rationality, and Rationalization 244
Organizational Power and Politics 247
The Power Game 248
Political Tactics 249
Persuading and Influencing: Some Basic Principles 252
Political Games 255
Conflict Management 259
A Case for Leadership: Conflict at Washington High School 263
Guides to Practice 264
Key Assumptions and Principles 265
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms 265
Suggested Readings 266
Portfolio Exercise 267
Note 267

CHAPTER 8 *External Environments and Accountability of Schools 268*

Resource-Dependence Perspective 270
Availability of Resources 270
Dependence 271
Administering Resource Environments 273
Institutional Perspective 280
Adapting to External Environment 284
Accountability and Educational Reform 288
Accountability 288
Effective Adaptation to Accountability Policies 293
A Case for Leadership: Rite of Passage 294
Guides to Practice 295
Key Assumptions and Principles 296
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 297
Suggested Readings 297
Portfolio Exercise 298

CHAPTER 9 *School Effectiveness 299*

School Effectiveness—Challenging Administrative Practices 301
A Brief History of Reform 302
Social Systems and School Effectiveness 304
Input Criteria 305
Performance Outcomes 305
Input-Output Research 306
Transformational Criteria 308
Models of School Effectiveness: Improving Academic Performance 309
Models of School Effectiveness: Beyond Academic Performance 318
A Case for Leadership: Turn Around School 325
Guides to Practice 325
Key Assumptions and Principles 326
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 327
Suggested Readings 327
Portfolio Exercise 328
Note 328

CHAPTER 10 *Decision Making in Schools 329*

The Classical Model: An Optimizing Strategy 330
The Administrative Model: A Satisficing Strategy 330
Decision-Making Process: An Action Cycle 331

The Incremental Model: A Strategy of Successive Limited Comparisons 340

The Mixed-Scanning Model: An Adaptive Strategy 342

A Contingency Model: Matching Strategy and Situation 345

Swift and Smart Decision-Making Principles 347

Janis-Mann Conflict Theory: Stress and Irrationality In Decision Making 350

A Case for Leadership: The Teachers Council 352

Guides to Practice 355

Key Assumptions and Principles 356

Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms 356

Suggested Readings 357

Portfolio Exercise—A Case Study 357

Notes 358

CHAPTER 11 *Shared Decision Making: Empowering Teachers 359*

Decision-Making Cycle: An Extension and Some Suggestions 360

The Power of Perception 360

The Power of Simplification 361

The Power of Decisiveness 361

The Power of Deadlines 362

The Power of Ownership 362

The Power of Emotional Self-Regulation 363

General Propositions for Decision Making 364

The Vroom Model of Shared Decision Making 364

Enhancing the Quality and Acceptance of Decisions 365

Constraints on Decision Making 366

Decision-Making Styles 366

Decision-Making Trees 367

Some Cautions 372

The Hoy-Tarter Model: A Simplified Model of Shared Decision Making 372

The Hoy-Tarter Model of Shared Decision Making 373

Developing Teachers for Decision Making 379

A Caution on Group Decision Making: Groupthink 381

A Case for Leadership: Special Treatment? 383

Guides to Practice 384

Key Assumptions and Principles 385

Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms? 385

Suggested Readings 385

Portfolio Exercise 386

Notes 387

CHAPTER 12 *Communication in Schools 388*

A Definition and General Model of Communication 390

Components, Variations, and Elaborations of the General Model of Communication 393

Improving Communication Competence 397

Public Speaking: Some Basic Principles 400

Organizational Perspectives of Communication 408

Organizational Communication 408

Purposes of Communication in School Organizations 408

Communication Networks 409

Formal Communication Networks in Schools 412

Informal Communication Networks in Schools 415

Complementary Networks: Formal and Informal Communication 417

A Case for Leadership: The Letter 421
Guides to Practice 423
Key Assumptions and Principles 424
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms 424
Suggested Readings 424
Portfolio Exercise 425

CHAPTER 13 *Leadership in Schools 426*

Defining Leadership 427
The Nature of Administrative Work 428
Trait Approach to Leadership 428
Situations and Leadership 433
Behaviors and Leadership 434
Leadership Effectiveness 438
Contingency Models of Leadership 439
Fiedler's Contingency Model of Leadership 441
Transformational Leadership 448
Three Types of Leadership 448
Theory and Research about Transformational Leadership 451
Evolutionary Leadership Theory (ELT) 457
A Few Definitions 457
Assumptions 457
Hypotheses 458
Analysis 459
Leadership Recommendations from Evolutionary Leadership Theory 460
A Case For Leadership: Facebook Dilemma 462
Guides to Practice 464
Key Assumptions and Principles 464
Test Yourself: Do You Know These Terms 465
Suggested Readings 465
Portfolio Exercise 466
Notes 467

CHAPTER 14 *One Last Time: A Review of The School as a Social System 468*

A Model of Synthesis 468
Structure in Schools 469
Individuals in Schools 470
Culture and Climate in Schools 471
Power and Politics in Schools 472
Teaching and Learning in Schools 473
External Environments and Accountability of Schools 474
School Effectiveness 475
Decision Making in Schools 476
Communication in Schools 477
Leadership in Schools 478
Administrative Behavior 478
Organizational Dilemmas 479
Coordination and Communication 479
Bureaucratic Discipline and Professional Expertise 480
Administrative Planning and Individual Initiative 481
Learning as Behavior and Cognition 482
Dilemmas of Leadership 483
Conclusion 483
Guides to Practice: One More Time 484

A Collection of Cases for Educational Leadership 486
Bibliography B–1
Name Index I–1
Subject Index I–9

PREFACE

All editions of *Educational Administration: Theory, Research, and Practice* have been based on three assumptions about the study and practice of educational administration:

- A substantive body of knowledge about educational organizations is available but often neglected by both professors and administrators.
- An open social-systems model of schools provides an overarching and useful conceptual framework that organizes and relates this theory and research for educational administrators.
- Administrative practice can become more systematic, reflective, and effective when guided by sound theory and research.

Consequently, all editions, including the current one, have summarized and analyzed the relevant knowledge and demonstrated its utility in solving problems of practice. We owe a large debt of gratitude to our students and colleagues, who have helped us anchor our theories and research in the real world of practice—the book has benefited greatly from their thoughts and suggestions.

NEW TO THE NINTH EDITION

- **New Knowledge.** More than 200 new research and theoretical studies were added as older work was eliminated in this edition. We bring current and prospective administrators the most current research and theory, but we also make a special effort to keep the classic analyses of such giants in the field as Weber, Blau, Gouldner, Etzioni, Skinner, Vygotsky, Piaget, Mintzberg, Dewey, March, and Simon, to mention just a few.
- **Expanded Coverage of Learning and Teaching.** Chapter 2 summarizes the latest theory and research on teaching and learning, one of the few educational administration books that deals with these central functions of schooling. In this chapter alone nearly 50 new studies were added as the analysis was updated and refined.
- **New Chapter on Organizational Climate.** The treatment of organizational culture and climate has been separated into two chapters—Chapter 5 focuses on the latest theory and research on school culture, whereas a new Chapter 6 extends our discussion and analysis of organizational climate.
- **Major Revision of the Chapter on External Environments of Schools.** This chapter has undergone a substantial revision. A new section on accountability is added and the focus shifts to two conceptual perspectives of the environment—the resource-dependence and

institutional models. The chapter has been streamlined and simplified as the latest research is added and applied to the analyses.

- **Major Revision of the Chapter on School Effectiveness.** Three new models of academic achievement as well as two new general perspectives on school effectiveness are proposed and discussed in a significant reconceptualization and analysis of effectiveness.
- **New Feature—*Guides to Practice*.** Each chapter now concludes with a new feature, *Guides to Practice*, which translates the theory and research in each chapter into a set of practical imperatives for administrators. In sum, more than 150 practical guides are introduced in this edition.
- **New Cases.** Seven new and refined cases have been added to chapters in the *Case for Leadership* sections to keep the application of theory and research focused on contemporary issues and problems.
- **Refined and Expanded Features.** All the other features have been updated: *Test Yourself*, to review the key concepts; an annotated set of *Suggested Readings* to broaden perspectives; a *Portfolio Exercise*, which is linked to the Leadership Standards; *Theory into Practice (TIP)*, which highlights application questions; and *Key Assumptions and Principles*, to summarize the key ideas of each chapter. All features are designed to help students confirm and apply what they learn.

FEATURES

- **Preview.** At the beginning of each chapter the student will find a preview, which is a brief outline of the key points to be covered in that chapter. We suggest that students take time to study the preview, which is deliberately terse because it provides a road map of the chapter.
- **Theory into Practice (TIP).** Exercises to make the book more practical and user-friendly have been added in this edition. Throughout each chapter students will be confronted with a number of TIPs, practical issues, and application exercises, which require them to test their understanding of theory and to suggest applications to contemporary problems.
- **A Case for Leadership.** Each chapter includes a real case to challenge students to apply the ideas and concepts developed in the chapter and to demonstrate their leadership initiative.
- **Key Assumptions and Principles.** At the conclusion of each chapter, the basic generalizations gleaned from research and theory are summarized.
- **Guides to Practice.** Each chapter also ends with a set of applied imperatives for guiding administrative practice.
- **Key Concepts.** Key concepts in each chapter are identified in bold. Students should take the time to check themselves to make sure they understand and can define these concepts.
- **Test Yourself.** A test of the key concepts is provided at the conclusion of each chapter.
- **Suggested Readings.** An annotated bibliography of supplementary readings is offered for each chapter.
- **Portfolio Exercise.** Each chapter concludes with an exercise for students to demonstrate their understandings and skills.

- **A Supplementary Collection of Cases for Educational Leadership.** A collection of six additional cases is available at the conclusion of the text. These additional cases provide students with extra practice in a variety of situations as they apply their knowledge to actual leadership challenges.
- **Core Administrative Standards (ISLLC and ELCC Standards).** All of the leadership cases in the book are summarized in the *Case Matrix*, which classifies each case in terms of the standards addressed.

APPROACH

Our approach remains a pragmatic one, selecting the theories and research that are most useful and discarding those that are not. At the heart of our social-systems model are four critical elements of school life—structure, motivation, culture, and politics, each discussed in a separate chapter. These elements interact and provide the context for teaching and learning in schools. The environmental chapter provides a set of opportunities and constraints for the schools; and the outcomes of the school are examined in the chapter on effectiveness. Key administrative processes are analyzed in chapters on deciding, empowering, communicating, and leading, which remain central to effective administration. New theories and contemporary research are incorporated into our analyses of teaching, learning, and leading. Because the basic aim of educational administrators is to solve real problems, we provide an authentic case for leadership at the conclusion of each chapter. We believe that to make full use of the content of this text, students must first *understand* the concepts (a constructivist perspective), then they must *remember* them (a cognitive perspective), and then they must *practice and apply* them (a behavioral perspective)—the three learning views developed in the second chapter.

STUDENT AND INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

The ninth edition of *Educational Administration: Theory, Research, and Practice* is accompanied by an Online Learning Center, which includes PowerPoint presentations for each chapter as well as student practice quizzes. Learn more at www.mhhe.com/hoy9e.
Additional instructor resources include:



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Cecil is enjoying retirement in Arizona focusing on personal pursuits, not professional ones. The cover still bears his name because over the years it has become increasingly difficult to separate our individual contributions. I am also grateful to all the students who have helped enrich the explanations and ground the theories with their experiences. A special thanks to Curt Adams, Michael DiPaola, C. John Tarter, and Anita Woolfolk Hoy, who provided yeomen service in this revision. Curt and Michael made major substantive contributions to **External Environments and Accountability of Schools**, and Michael had some interesting ideas and suggestions on leadership. C. John Tarter made substantive contributions and editorial suggestions to virtually every chapter. In fact, we rewrote the chapter on **School Effectiveness**; he is the coauthor of that chapter. Finally, although Anita Woolfolk Hoy and I originally coauthored **Technical Core: Learning and Teaching**, the revision of this chapter was entirely hers. I have been fortunate to have such good students and colleagues throughout my career—I am forever in their debt.

Wayne K. Hoy

CHAPTER 1



THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Although we set out primarily to study reality, it does not follow that we do not wish to improve it; we should judge our researches to have no worth at all if they were to have only a speculative interest. If we separate carefully the theoretical from the practical problems, it is not to the neglect of the latter; but, on the contrary, to be in a better position to solve them.

Emile Durkheim
The Division of Labor in Society

There is nothing so practical as a good theory.

Kurt Lewin
Field Theory in Social Science

PREVIEW

1. Organizational theory is a set of interrelated concepts, definitions, and generalizations that systematically describes and explains patterns of regularities in organizational life.
2. The functions of theory are to explain, to guide research, to generate new knowledge, and to guide practice.
3. Theory informs practice in three important ways: it forms a frame of reference; it provides a general model for analysis; and it guides reflective decision making.
4. The evolution of organizational thought and theory can be viewed using three competing systems perspectives: rational, natural, and open.
5. A rational-systems perspective views organizations as formal instruments designed to achieve organizational goals; structure is the most important feature.
6. A natural-systems perspective views organizations as typical social groups intent on surviving: people are the most important aspect.
7. An open-systems perspective has the potential to combine rational and natural elements in the same framework and provide a more complete perspective.
8. Schools are open social systems with five important elements or subsystems: the structural, the individual, the cultural, the political, and the pedagogical. Organizational

behavior is a function of the interaction of these elements in the context of teaching and learning.

9. The teaching-learning process is the technical core of the school social system; it is a complex process that can be usefully viewed from three perspectives: the behavioral, cognitive, and constructivist.
10. The environment is also a critical aspect of organizational life; it not only provides resources for the system but also provides additional constraints and opportunities.
11. We posit a congruence postulate: Other things being equal, the greater the degree of congruence among the elements of the system, the more effective the system.
12. Our open-systems model of schools provides a conceptual basis for organizational analysis and administrative problem solving.

The systematic study of educational administration is as new as the modern school; the one-room schoolhouse of rural America did not need specialized administrators. Research on administration and development of theories of organization and administration are relatively recent phenomena. Before exploring conceptual perspectives of educational administration, however, we need a basic understanding of the nature and meaning of organizational theory. Consequently, we begin the chapter by defining theory and science and discussing the interrelationships among theory, research, and practice.

THEORY

Much of the skepticism about theory is based on the assumption that educational administration is incapable of becoming a science. This is a skepticism that has plagued all social sciences. Theory in the natural sciences, on the other hand, has attained respectability not only because it necessarily involves precise description, but also because it describes ideal phenomena that "work" in practical applications.

Most people think that scientists deal with facts whereas philosophers delve into theory. Indeed, to many individuals, including educational administrators, facts and theories are antonyms; that is, facts are real and their meanings self-evident, and theories are speculations or dreams. Theory in educational administration, however, has the same role as theory in physics, chemistry, biology, or psychology—to provide general explanations, which guide research and practice.

Theory and Science

The purpose of all science is to understand the world in which we live and work. Scientists describe what they see, discover regularities, and formulate theories (Babbie, 2011). Organizational science attempts to describe and explain regularities in the behavior of individuals and groups within organizations. Organizational scientists seek basic principles that provide a general

understanding of the structure and dynamics of organizational life (Miner, 2002). Abbott (2004) captures the essence of science when he describes it as a "conversation between rigor and imagination." The rigor of careful testing is applied to the creative formulation of ideas and explanations. Thus science has two faces; it is exacting and systematic as well as ingenious and innovative.

Some researchers view science as a static, interconnected set of principles that explains the universe in which we live. We view **science** as a dynamic process of developing, through experimentation and observation, an interconnected set of propositions that in turn produces further experimentation and observation, that is, the basic aim of science is to find general explanations, called *theories* (Conant, 1951). Thoughtful individuals trying to understand how things work create theories; however, no theory is ever taken as final because a better one may be devised at any time. Indeed, one of the basic strengths of science is that it is self-critical and self-corrective (Willower, 1994, 1996). The norms of science and theory are oriented toward open-mindedness, public communication of results, and impersonal criteria of assessment (Zucker, 1987).

Theory has a variety of definitions. Donald J. Willower (1975) provides a concise definition of theory as a body of interrelated generalizations that serves to explain. We suggest a more comprehensive definition of theory in educational administration from Fred N. Kerlinger (1986). **Theory** is a set of interrelated concepts, assumptions, and generalizations that systematically describes and explains regularities in behavior in educational organizations. Moreover, good theory is testable, coherent, economical, general, and useful (Higgins, 2004).

Elements of Theory

Theory is a special language that explains and helps us understand some phenomenon (Tosi, 2009). Like any language, it has its vocabulary (concepts) and grammar (theoretical generalizations). The vocabulary of a theory is its concepts, which are the basic building blocks or elements of the theory. **Concepts** are abstract terms (words) that have been given special definitions. Because they have specific connotations, concepts help us agree on the meaning of terms and their abstractness ensures generality. For example, hierarchy of authority, impersonality, formalization, rationality, and specialization are concepts that help explain the structure and function of organizations (see Chapter 3).

Words alone, however, are not sufficient to explain something. Labeling an observation or pattern is not explaining it. We need to know not only what the words mean but also why and how they relate to each other. That is, we need to combine our concepts into coherent theoretical relationships that provide a general explanation. These **theoretical generalizations** are the grammar of theory; they are statements that indicate the relations between two or more concepts. For example, consider the following two theoretical generalizations:

1. Division of labor produces specialization.
2. Specialization promotes expertise.

Notice that each of these statements explains the relation between two concepts. Do you agree with the theoretical generalizations? Chapter 3 will guide you in this regard.

Theories provide general explanations of phenomena; they provide a coherent and connected story about why acts, events, and behavior occur (Higgins, 2004; McKinley, 2010; Sutton and Staw, 1995). Most of the concepts, generalizations, and theories in this book are in the middle range—that is, they are somewhat limited in their scope rather than all-embracing. They are attempts to summarize and explain some of the consistencies found in school organizations.

Theories are by nature general and abstract; they are not strictly true or false but rather useful or not. Theories are useful to the extent that they generate accurate predictions about events and help us understand and influence behavior. Albert Einstein, one of the greatest theorists of all times, and Leopold Infeld (Einstein and Infeld, 1938) capture the essence of theorizing in the following quotation:

> In our endeavor to understand reality we are somewhat like a man trying to understand the mechanism of a closed watch. He sees the face and the moving hands, even hears its ticking, but he has no way of opening the case. If he is ingenious he may form some picture of a mechanism, which could be responsible for all the things he observes, but he may never be quite sure his picture is the only one, which could explain his observations. He will never be able to compare his picture with the real mechanism, and he cannot even imagine the possibility of the meaning of such a comparison. (p. 31)

Theory and Reality

Reality exists, but our knowledge of it always remains elusive and uncertain. It should not be surprising that different individuals often draw different conclusions from the same perceptual experiences because they hold different theories that affect their interpretation of events (Carey and Smith, 1993). Our knowledge consists of our theories. The form of the theory, however, is less important than the degree to which it generates useful understanding. Ultimately, research and theory are judged by their utility (Griffiths, 1988).

The use of theory in organizational analysis seems indispensable to reflective practice. The beginning student of educational administration may ask, "Do these theories and models really exist?" Our position is the same as Mintzberg's (1989). The models, theories, and configurations used to describe organizations in this book are mere words and pictures on pages, not reality itself. Actual organizations are much more complex than any of these representations; in fact, our conceptual frameworks are simplifications of organizations that underscore some features and neglect others. Hence, they distort reality. The problem is that in many areas we cannot get by without theoretical guidance (implicit, if not explicit theories), much as a traveler cannot effectively navigate unknown territory without a map.

Our choice is not usually between reality and theory but rather between alternative theories. Mintzberg (1989) captures the dilemma nicely:

> No one carries reality around in his or her head, no head is that big. Instead we carry around impressions of reality, which amount to implicit theories. Sometimes these are supplemented with explicit frameworks for identifying the concepts and interrelating them—in other words, with formal theories, built on systematic investigation known as research, or at least on systematic consideration of experience. In fact, some phenomena cannot be comprehended without such formal aid—how is one to develop an implicit theory of nuclear fission, for example? (p. 259)

We all use theories to guide our actions. Some are implicit and others are explicit; in fact, many of our personal implicit theories are formal ones that have been internalized. To paraphrase John Maynard Keynes, practical administrators who believe themselves to be exempt from any theoretical influences are usually the slaves of some defunct theory. Good theories and models exist, and if we do our job well in this book, they will exist where all useful knowledge must exist—in your minds. Reality is not in our heads, but we begin to understand it in the course of acting, adjusting, and refining our theories and models (Selznick, 1992; Hoy, 1996).

Theory and Research

Research is inextricably related to theory; therefore, many of the misconceptions and ambiguities surrounding theory are reflected in the interpretation of the meaning and purpose of research, Kerlinger (1986, p. 10) provides a formal definition: "Scientific research is systematic, controlled, empirical, and critical investigation of hypothetical propositions about the presumed relations among natural phenomena." This definition suggests that research is guided by hypotheses that are empirically checked against observations about reality in a systematic and controlled way. Results of such tests are then open to critical analyses by others. To test our theories, the concepts are expressed as variables that can be manipulated and measured; in fact, the test of any theory requires transforming concepts into reliable and valid variables (Hoy, 2010).

Haphazard observations followed by the conclusion that the facts speak for themselves do not qualify as scientific research; in fact, such unrefined empiricism can distort reality and does not lead to the systematic development of knowledge. Well-conceived surveys and ethnographic studies for the express purpose of developing hypotheses are at times useful starting points in terms of hypothesis and theory development. Ultimately, however, knowledge in any discipline is expanded by research that is guided by hypotheses that are derived from theory. In brief, facts from research are not as important as the general patterns and explanations that they provide.

Hypotheses

A **hypothesis** is a conjectural statement that indicates a relationship between at least two concepts or variables. The following three examples illustrate this point.

- The more enabling the structure of the school, the greater is the degree of collective efficacy.
- Enabling school structure works indirectly though the collective efficacy of the school to improve student achievement.
- Socioeconomic status and previous student achievement make direct contributions to student achievement as well as indirect contributions to achievement through academic optimism.

Several observations can be made about these hypotheses. First, each hypothesis specifies the relationship between at least two variables. Second, each clearly and concisely describes that relationship. Third, the concepts of each hypothesis are such that each can be empirically tested. The first hypothesis expresses the relationship between enabling structure and collective efficacy, both concepts that can be measured as variables. Such hypotheses bridge the gap between theory and research and provide a means to test theory against observed reality; in fact, all three are developed from the conceptual perspectives and theory in Chapters 3 and 5. Finally, notice that these three hypotheses have different levels of complexity, from a simple first hypothesis to a more complex second to a third that is quite complex both in terms of the number of variables and their interrelationships.

The hypothesis is the researcher's bias. If it is deduced from a theory, the investigator expects that it will be supported by data. Hypothesis testing is essential to the development of knowledge in any field of study. Support of the hypothesis in empirical research demonstrates the usefulness of the theory as an explanation. The fact that knowledge depends in part upon unsupported theories and assumptions should not cause discouragement. The goal of organizational researchers is to test our assumptions and theories, refining explanations and reformulating the theories as more data and evidence are gathered and analyzed.

The basic form of knowledge in all disciplines is similar; it consists of concepts, generalizations, and theories, each dependent on the one preceding it (Willower, 1963). Figure 1.1 summarizes the basic components of theory that are necessary to the development of knowledge. It shows that concepts are eventually linked together into generalizations that in turn form a logically consistent set of propositions providing a general explanation of a phenomenon (a theory). Hypotheses are deduced from the theory to test the utility of the theory. The concepts of the hypotheses are measured as variables, and then the hypotheses are empirically tested. The results of this research provide the data for accepting, rejecting, or reformulating the basic generalizations of the theory. Over time, with continued empirical support and evidence, the generalizations develop into principles that explain the

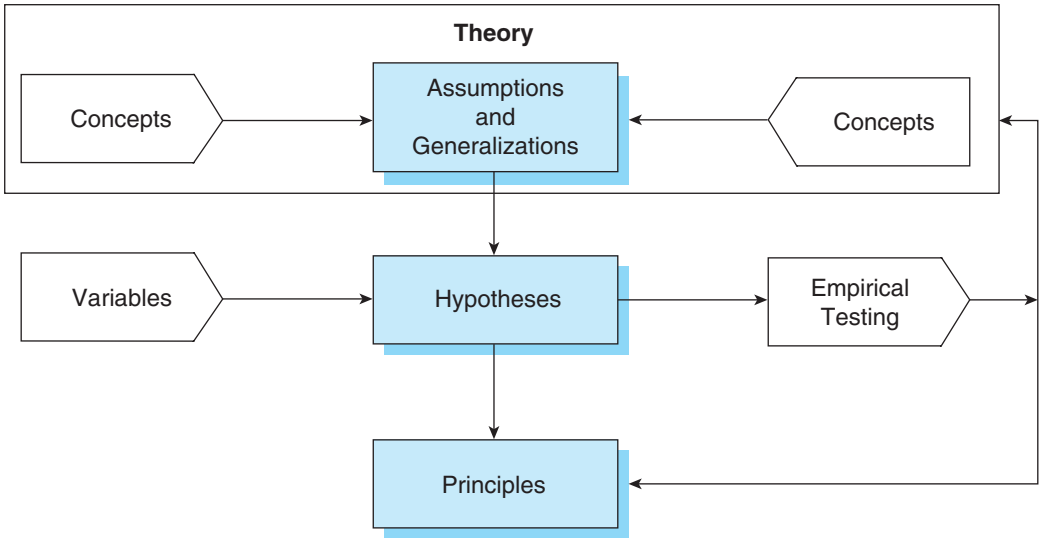


FIGURE 1.1 *Theory-Research Relation*

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phenomenon. In the case of organizational theory, principles are developed to explain the structure and dynamics of organizations and the role of the individual in organizations. Theory is both the beginning and the end of scientific research. On the one hand, it serves as the basis for generating hypotheses that describe and predict observable behavior. On the other hand, the ultimate objective of all scientific endeavors is to develop a body of substantive theory, that is, to provide reliable general explanations. Good theories help us understand and solve all kinds of problems from the ordinary to the complex.

Theory and Practice

Theory is directly related to practice in at least three ways. First, theory forms a frame of reference for the practitioner. Second, the process of theorizing provides a general mode of analysis of practical events. And third, theory guides decision making.

Theory gives practitioners the analytic tools and a frame of reference needed to sharpen and focus their analyses of the problems they face (Dewey, 1933). Administrators so armed can develop alternative solutions to pragmatic problems. It is wrong, however, to think that any social science theory can supply definitive programs and immediate solutions. Theory does not directly generate immediate applications to practical problems. As William James (1983) noted, what is needed is an intermediary inventive mind to make the application, by using its own originality and creativity. There is no substitute for reflective thinking.

Administrators themselves maintain that the most important qualification for their jobs is the ability to use concepts. It is a mistake, however, to assume that the ability to label aspects of a problem by using theoretical constructs from sociology or psychology automatically provides a solution to a problem. Designating a problem as one of role conflict, goal displacement, or cognitive processing, for instance, does not in itself solve the problem; it may, however, organize the issues so that a reasonable plan of action can emerge.

The theory-practice relationship goes beyond using the concepts of theorists to label the important aspects of a problem. The scientific approach provides a way of thinking about events, a mode of analysis, for both theorists and practitioners alike. Indeed, the scientific approach is the very embodiment of rational inquiry, whether the focus is theoretical analysis and development, a research investigation, organizational decision making, or problem solving at the personal level. A good general description of this approach is found in John Dewey's (1933) analysis, *How We Think*. The process involves identifying a problem, conceptualizing it, proposing generalizations in the form of hypotheses that provide answers to the problems, deducing the consequences and implications of the hypotheses, and testing the hypotheses.

Some differences do exist in the specific ways that theorists, researchers, and practitioners implement and use the scientific approach, but the differences are a matter of degree of rigor and level of abstraction rather than approach. Theorists operate on a higher level of abstraction and generality than researchers, who test hypotheses. Practitioners, in turn, operate on an even lower level of abstraction than researchers because they are primarily concerned with specific problems and events in their organizations. Make no mistake, however, the art of theorizing has direct implications for the practice of administration (Johnson, 2010).

Similarly, theorists and researchers typically use the scientific approach more rigorously than practitioners, and for good reason. Theorists usually preface their propositions with the phrase "other things being equal," and researchers attempt to control all other variables except those under study. In contrast, practitioners function in a world where other things typically are not equal and all variables are not controllable. Practitioners are constrained by their positions, responsibilities, authority, and the immediacy of their problems. Although they do not abandon a reflective approach, practitioners are forced to be more flexible in applying the scientific method. For example, educational administrators are probably less concerned than theorists or researchers with generalizability—that is, the extent to which their solutions work for other administrators in other districts. Nonetheless, the approach of theorists, researchers, and thoughtful practitioners is basically the same; it is a systematic and reflective one.

One final relationship between theory and practice needs to be mentioned—theory guides administrative decision making. We can define administration as both the art and the science of applying knowledge to administrative and organizational problems. Arthur Blumberg (1984, 1989)

calls it a craft. Such definitions imply that administrators have access to knowledge needed for making decisions. Without theory, however, there is virtually no basis for knowledge because the meaningful research that provides information presupposes a theory. Unfortunately, theory and research in educational administration continue to make only modest gains at best. Nonetheless, reflective administrators are more likely to be guided by theories, as imperfect as they are, than by impulse or the biases of dubious beliefs. Erroneous beliefs and bias will never disappear, but they can be held in check by mental habits that promote sound reasoning (Gilovich, 1991). Theories are no substitute for thought, but they are guides for making decisions and solving problems.

Administrative theory does influence practice. The evolution of organizational thought and theory over the last century can be described in a number of ways. We view the history of organizational thought through a series of systems lenses.

A SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE

The system concept has a rich history in the physical as well as the social sciences. Both Alfred N. Whitehead (1925) and George C. Homans (1950) have observed that the idea of an organized whole, or system, occurring in an environment is fundamental and essential to science.

A significant development in the analysis of organizational behavior is the distinction between open and closed systems. Early system analyses of the school (Getzels and Guba, 1957) viewed organizations as closed systems—that is, sealed off from the outside world. Explanations were given in terms of the internal workings of the organization with little or no attention to external constraints in the environment. Today, however, few contemporary organizational theorists accept the premise that organizations can be understood in isolation of events occurring externally; in fact, Marshall Meyer (1978, p. 18) argues, "the issue of open versus closed systems is closed, on the side of openness."

Although contemporary organizational thought is anchored in modern social science, three competing systems perspectives have emerged and continue, each with its share of advocates. W. Richard Scott (1987b, 1992, 1998) calls them the rational-systems, natural-systems, and open-systems perspectives. These three popular views of organizations are relatively distinct, yet they are partly overlapping, partly complementary, as well as partly conflicting; and each has its antecedents in earlier organizational thought. Drawing heavily from Scott's (1998, 2007) work, each will be discussed in some detail.

Rational-Systems Models: Closed to Open

The **rational-systems perspective** views organizations as formal instruments designed to achieve specific organizational goals. Rationality is the extent to

which a set of actions is organized and implemented to achieve predetermined goals with maximum efficiency (Scott, 1992). The rational approach has its early roots in the classical organizational thought of the scientific managers, and initially, rational systems were considered closed, but inevitably all rational models are now viewed as open systems influenced by their environments.

The Beginning—Scientific Management: A Rational and Closed Machine Model

Frederick Taylor, the father of the **scientific management** movement, sought ways to use people effectively in industrial organizations. Taylor's background and experience as laborer, clerk, machinist, supervisor, chief drafter, and finally, chief engineer reinforced his belief that individuals could be programmed to be efficient machines. The key to the scientific management approach is the machine metaphor.

Taylor and his associates thought that workers, motivated by economics and limited by physiology, needed constant direction. In 1911 Taylor (1947) formalized his ideas in *Scientific Management.* A sampling of his ideas reveals the flavor of his managerial theory. Taylor and his followers—the human engineers—focused on physical production, and their **time and motion studies** sought workers' physical limits and described the fastest method for performing a given task (Barnes, 1949, pp. 556–67). They believed that by systematically studying a work task and timing how long it took to perform various tasks they could determine the most efficient way to complete the task. Although Taylor's work had a narrow physiological focus and ignored psychological and sociological variables, he demonstrated that many jobs could be performed more efficiently. He also helped the unskilled worker by improving productivity enough to raise the pay of unskilled nearly to that of skilled labor (Drucker, 1968).

Whereas Taylor's human engineers worked from the individual worker upward, the administrative managers worked from the managing director downward. Henri Fayol, like Taylor, took a scientific approach to administration. Fayol was a French mining engineer and successful executive who later taught administration. According to Fayol (Urwick, 1937, p. 119), administrative behavior consists of five functions—planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating, and controlling. Luther Gulick (1937) later amplified these functions in answer to the question, "What is the work of the chief executive?" He responded, "POSDCoRB," an acronym for his seven administrative procedures: planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting.

To the administrative managers, **division of labor** was a basic principle of organization. Accordingly, the more a task could be broken down into its components, the more specialized and, therefore, the more effective the worker would be in performing the task. To complement the division of

labor, tasks were grouped into jobs, and these jobs were then integrated into departments. Although the criteria for division could pose conflicting demands, division of labor and the departmentalization it entailed were necessary aspects of management. Moreover, breaking tasks into components allows for routinized performance, that is, **standardization** of work.

Span of control, or the number of workers supervised directly, was a second principle. In subdividing from the top downward, each work unit had to be supervised and coordinated with other units, and the span of control considered to be most effective was 5 to 10 subordinates. This rule of thumb is still widely used in building administrative organizations. A single executive, with power and authority flowing uniformly from the top to the bottom, heads the pyramid-shaped structures stemming from this second principle.

A third operating tenet of the administrative manager was the **principle of homogeneity** of positions. According to Gulick (1937), a single department could be formed of positions grouped in any of four different ways: major purpose, major process, clientele, or location.

- *Major purpose* joined those who shared a common goal.
- *Major process* combined those with a similar skill or technology.
- *Clientele* or material grouped those who dealt with similar clients or materials.
- Organization based on *location* or geographic area brought together those who worked together regardless of function.

Organizing departments in these four ways presents obvious problems. For example, should a school health activity be placed in a department of education or of health? How one answers the question will alter the nature of the service. Homogenizing departments in one of the four ways does not homogenize them in all ways. "The question is not which criterion to use for grouping," James D. Thompson (1967, p. 57) has observed, "but rather in which priority are the several criteria to be exercised?"

Both the human engineers and the scientific managers emphasized formal or bureaucratic organization. They were concerned with the division of labor, the allocation of power, and the specifications for each position; they conspicuously neglected individual idiosyncrasies and the social dynamics of people at work. This perspective, aptly termed a "machine model," implies that an organization can be constructed according to a blueprint, as one would build a bridge or an engine (Worthy, 1950).

As detailed by Roald Campbell and his colleagues (1987), developments in educational administration parallel those in the broad field of administration. Similar to Taylor's scientific managers, although lacking the rigor of the human engineers, early students of educational administration such as Franklin Bobbit (1913) looked at organizational behavior from the vantage point of job analyses. They observed administrators at work, specifying the component tasks to be performed, determining more effective ways

to perform each task, and suggesting an organization to maximize efficiency. Raymond E. Callahan's (1962) analysis of schools and of the "cult of efficiency," concentrating on the period from 1910 through 1930, clearly indicates the influence of the scientific managers in the literature on schools.

It would be incorrect, however, to view Taylor's scientific management as a passing fad; in fact, Kanigel (1997) argues that Taylorism has been absorbed into the living tissue of modern organization as well as into American life itself. Taylor's obsession with time, order, productivity, and efficiency translates today into our fascination with electronic organizers, smart phones (e.g., iPhones), voice mail, e-mail, instant messages, and iPads, all to keep us productive and efficient. Today, Taylorism may be intellectually out of fashion, but few deny its lasting impact on American society. For better and worse, Taylorism lives on.

A Contemporary View: A Rational and Open Structural Model

For those who have a rational-systems perspective, behavior in organizations is seen as purposeful, disciplined, and rational. The concerns and concepts of rational-systems theorists are conveyed by such terms as "efficiency," "optimization," "rationality," and "design." Furthermore, this view emphasizes the limitations of individual decision makers in the context of organizations; hence, the notions of opportunities, constraints, formal authority, rules and regulations, compliance, and coordination represent key elements of rationality. Contemporary rational-systems theorists stress goal specificity and formalization because these elements make important contributions to the rationality and efficiency of organizations (Scott, 1998, 2007). Moreover, they view organizations as both open and rational.

Goals are the desired ends that guide organizational behavior. Specific goals direct decision making, influence the formal structure, specify the tasks, guide the allocation of resources, and govern design decisions. Ambiguous goals hinder rationality because without clear goals, ordering alternatives and making rational choices are not possible; hence, even when the general organizational goals are vague (as they often are in education), the actual daily operations are guided by specific objectives. Educators may argue endlessly about the merits of progressive and traditional education, but within each school considerable agreement develops around issues such as graduation requirements, discipline policies, and school regulations.

Formalization, or the level of rules and job codification, is another feature that makes organizations rational; formalization produces standardization and regulation of work performance. Rules are developed that precisely and explicitly govern behavior; jobs are carefully defined in terms of acceptable behaviors; role relations are defined independently of personal attributes of incumbents; and sometimes the work flow itself is clearly specified. Formalization is the organization's means to make behavior predictable by standardizing and regulating it. As Simon (1947, p. 100) cogently states, "Organizations and institutions permit stable expectations to be formed by

each member of the group as to the behavior of the other members under specific conditions. Such stable expectations are an essential precondition to a rational consideration of the consequences of action in a social group."

Formalization also contributes to the rational functioning of the organization in a number of other important ways (Scott, 1992). It makes visible the structure of the organizational relationships; thus, to improve performance managers can modify formal structures. Management by objectives (MBO); planning, programming, and budgeting systems (PPBS); strategic planning; and performance evaluation and review techniques (PERT) are examples of technical tools managers use to facilitate rational decision making. Formal structure also promotes discipline and decision making based on facts rather than emotional ties and feelings; in fact, formalization reduces to some extent both positive and negative feelings that members have toward one another. As Merton (1957, p. 100) observes, "Formality facilitates the interaction of the occupants of offices despite their (possibly hostile) private attitudes toward one another." Moreover, formalization renders the organization less dependent on particular individuals. The replacement of individuals is routinized so that appropriately trained individuals can be replaced with minimal disturbance. Even leadership and innovation needs are addressed by formalization. As Seldon Wolin (1960, p. 383) notes, "Organization, by simplifying and routinizing procedures, eliminates the need for surpassing talent. It is predicated on average human beings."

For those committed to attaining organizational goals, rationality and formalization are the hallmarks of the quest. How can structures be created and designed to get the job done efficiently? Rational-systems theorists respond with a set of guiding principles that includes division of labor, specialization, standardization, formalization, hierarchy of authority, narrow span of control, and the exception principle. Division of labor subdivides the task into its basic components and leads to specialization. Specialization in turn yields increased expertise and together with standardization of the task promotes efficient and effective responses to routine tasks. Moreover, formalization promotes standard operating procedures in the form of a system of rules and regulations. The **exception principle,** however, dictates that superiors must deal with exceptional situations not covered in the rules. Finally, a hierarchy of authority coordinates and controls organizational behavior by providing a unity of command, that is, top-down structure that promotes disciplined compliance to administrative directives. The formal organization is critical, as is the belief that organizations can be designed to be efficient and effective by adhering to the preceding principles of organization. We hasten to add, however, that the design of the formal organization is dependent in part upon outside forces. The environment constrains structures and functions in a variety of ways (see Chapter 8); in short, the organizational system is open.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of the rational-systems perspective is its rigid conception of organization. As James G. March and Herbert Simon (1958) have observed, the structure and functioning of an organization may

be greatly affected both by events outside the organization and by events imperfectly coordinated within it, and neither of these occurrences can be fixed in advance. Contemporary critics also note the undue emphasis on parts rather than the whole. Senge and his colleagues (Kofman and Senge, 1993; Senge, 1990), for example, argue that restricting attention to the parts of an organization and believing that optimizing each part amounts to maximizing the whole is shortsighted because it neglects the primacy of the whole, as well as the environment, forces artificial distinctions, and denies the systemic functioning of organizations.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Name each person in your school who has formal authority over teachers. What is the role of each? Their titles? How much formal authority do they have and how do they exert it? Give specific examples. Describe the division of labor and specialization in the school. Is there a narrow or broad span of control? How fixed or flexible is the curriculum? How much independence do teachers have to make their own decisions? How would you characterize the formal organization of your school?

Natural-Systems Models: Closed to Open

The **natural-systems perspective** provides another view of organization that contrasts with the rational-systems perspective. The natural-systems perspective views organizations as more akin to organisms than machines. This view had its early roots in the human relations approach of the 1930s; it developed in large part as a reaction to scientific management and perceived inadequacies of the rational-systems model. Early analyses, like its scientific management counterparts, viewed the organization from a closed-system perspective, but also like the rational-systems model, inevitably moved from a closed- to open-systems perspective.

The Beginning—Human Relations: A Natural and Closed Organic Model

Mary Parker Follett was a pioneer in the human relations movement. She wrote a series of brilliant papers dealing with the human side of administration and argued that the fundamental problem in all organizations was developing and maintaining dynamic and harmonious relationships. In addition, Follett (1924, p. 300) thought that conflict was "not necessarily a wasteful outbreak of incompatibilities, but [a] normal process by which socially valuable differences register themselves for enrichment of all concerned." Despite Follett's work, the development of the human relations approach is usually

traced to studies done in the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company in Chicago. These studies are basic to the literature describing informal groups, and the study of informal groups is basic to an analysis of schools.

The **Hawthorne studies** (see Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939) began with three experiments conducted to study the relation of quality and quantity of illumination to efficiency in industry. The first illumination experiment was made in three departments. The level of illumination intensity in each department was increased at stated intervals. The results were puzzling. Increased production rates did not correspond with increased lighting, nor did production decline with reduced illumination.

In a second experiment, a test group in which illumination intensities were varied was compared to a control group with illumination held constant. Both groups showed increases in production rates that were not only substantial but also nearly identical.

Finally, in a third experiment, when the lighting for the test group was decreased and that for the control group held constant, the efficiency of both groups increased. Furthermore, the production rates increased in the test group until the light became so poor that the workers complained they could no longer see what they were doing.

The results were neither as simple nor as clear-cut as the experimenters had originally anticipated. Two conclusions seemed justified: employee output was not primarily related to lighting conditions; and too many variables had not been controlled in the experiments. The startling nature of the findings stimulated more research.

Two Harvard professors—Elton Mayo, an industrial psychologist, and Fritz Roethlisberger, a social psychologist—were retained to continue studying the relationship between physical conditions of work and productivity. The company suspected that psychological as well as physiological factors were involved. From 1927 through 1932 the two researchers continued the Hawthorne studies in a series of experiments that have since become research classics in the social sciences. One generalization became clear almost immediately. The workers' behavior did not conform to the official job specifications. An informal organization emerged that affected performance. **Informal organization** is an unofficial social structure that emerges within the organization that has informal leaders as well as informal norms, values, sentiments, and communication patterns.

The researchers found that informal patterns of interactions developed as soon as the men were put together to work on tasks. Friendships formed and well-defined groups emerged. These informal cliques were evident in interaction patterns both on and off the job. For example, one clique, rather than another, engaged in certain games during off-hours. Even more important than the different interaction patterns were the informal norms that emerged to govern behavior and unify the group. Too much work, and one was a rate buster. Too little work constituted the equally serious informal offense of chiseling. A no-squealing norm also emerged; no group member

should say anything that might injure a fellow member. Other norms included not acting officiously or self-assertively; one was expected to be a "regular guy" and not to be noisy and anxious for attention and leadership.

The work group enforced respect for informal norms through ostracism, sarcasm, and invective to pressure deviant members. One mechanism to enlist compliance was binging—a quick, stiff punch on the upper arm. The bing was not physically damaging, nor was it meant to be; it was a symbolic gesture of group displeasure.

Much activity in the group countered formal role prescriptions. Workers did not stick to their jobs as prescribed but frequently traded jobs, had informal contests, and helped each other. The group also restricted production. Group norms defined a fair day's work below management's expectations, although not so far below to be unacceptable. Most work was done in the morning. Faster workers simply slowed their pace earlier or reported less work than they had accomplished to save production for slow days. The informal production levels were consistently maintained, even though higher production was possible. Because the group was on a piece rate, higher output would have meant higher wages. Thus, behavior was a function of group norms, not economic incentives. The experiments at the Hawthorne plant were the first to question many of the basic assumptions of human engineers and scientific managers, but others soon followed and reinforced the importance of the informal organization.

Although these findings date from the 1930s, they remain important. The human relations approach, however, is not without its detractors. Amitai Etzioni (1964) suggests that the human relations approach grossly oversimplifies the complexities of organizational life by glossing over the realities of work. Organizations have conflicting values and interests as well as shared ones; they are a source of alienation as well as human satisfaction. Worker dissatisfaction is just as likely to be symptomatic of real underlying conflicts of interests as to be indicative of a lack of understanding of the situation. Put simply, organizations are often not one big "happy family." Contemporary critics of the human relations movement (Clark et al., 1994; Scott, 1998) also argue that the concern for workers was not authentic; rather, management used it as a tool or strategy to manipulate subordinates. Nevertheless, one conclusion is clear: the human relations approach tempered the scientific managers' concentration on organizational structure with an emphasis on employee motivation and satisfaction and group morale. Both the scientific management and human relations approaches, however, neglected the external environment, that is, treated organizations as closed systems.

The impact of the Hawthorne studies on schools was evident in writing and exhortation on democratic administration. The ill-defined watchword of the period was "democratic"—democratic administration, democratic supervision, democratic decision making, and democratic teaching. As Roald Campbell (1971) noted, this emphasis on human relations and democratic practices often meant a series of prescriptions as to how conditions ought to

be and how persons in an organization ought to behave. Supposed "principles of administration" abounded, but they were usually no more than the observations of successful administrators or the democratic ideologies of college professors. In the 1940s and early 1950s, educational administration, as a democratic approach, was long on rhetoric and woefully short on research and practice (Campbell, 1971).

A Contemporary View—Human Resources: A Natural and Open Model

While rational-systems proponents conceive of organizations as structural arrangements deliberately devised to achieve specific goals, natural-systems advocates view organizations as primarily social groups trying to adapt and survive in their particular situation. Natural-systems analysts generally agree that goal specificity and formalization are characteristics of organizations, but they argue that other attributes are of much greater significance; in fact, some maintain that formal goals and structures have little to do with what is actually happening in organizations (Scott, 1998; also see Etzioni, 1975; Perrow, 1978).

The natural-systems view focuses on similarities among social groups. Thus, organizations, like all social groups, are driven primarily by the basic goal of survival—not by specifically devised goals of particular institutions. Gouldner (1959, p. 405) captures the essence of the natural-systems approach when he states, "The organization, according to this model, strives to survive and to maintain its equilibrium, and this striving may persist even after its explicitly held goals have been successfully attained. This strain toward survival may even on occasion lead to the neglect or distortion of the organization's goals." Survival, then, is the overriding goal. Formal organizations are viewed not primarily as means for achieving specific ends but as vehicles for individuals to satisfy their human needs. People are valuable human resources for the organization.

Just as the natural-systems analysts generally disregard goals as important attributes of organizations, they also view as unimportant the formal structures constructed to achieve goals. Although they acknowledge that formal structures do exist, they argue that behavior in organizations is regulated primarily by informal structures that emerge to transform the formal system. Thus, a natural-systems perspective emphasizes the informal organization rather than the formal, people rather than structure, and human needs rather than organizational demands. Individuals in organizations are never simply hired hands but bring along with them their heads and hearts. They enter the organization with their own needs, beliefs, values, and motivations. They interact with others and generate informal norms, status structures, power relations, communication networks, and working arrangements (Scott, 1992).

In sum, goals and structure do not make organizations distinctive; in fact, formal features of organization are overshadowed by more generic attributes such as the desire for the system to survive, characteristics of

the individuals, and informal relationships. Whereas the rational-systems perspective stresses the importance of structure over individuals, the natural-systems approach emphasizes individuals over structure. In the stark terms of Warren G. Bennis (1959), the rational-systems focus is on "structure without people," whereas the clear reversal of priorities in the natural-systems model produces an orientation of "people without organization."

Thus far we have traced the development of organizational thought from its early beginnings in scientific management and human relations to its contemporary systems perspectives—rational and natural (see Figure 1.2). The early systems perspectives were closed, but they have given way to open-systems views. Virtually everyone now agrees that organizations are open systems; some view them as basically rational, while others view them as natural systems. A synthesis and integration, however, is possible. Thus, in this text, we view schools as open systems with both formal, rational elements as well as informal, natural ones (see Figure 1.2). We turn next to a discussion of this integrated open-systems approach to organizations and schools.

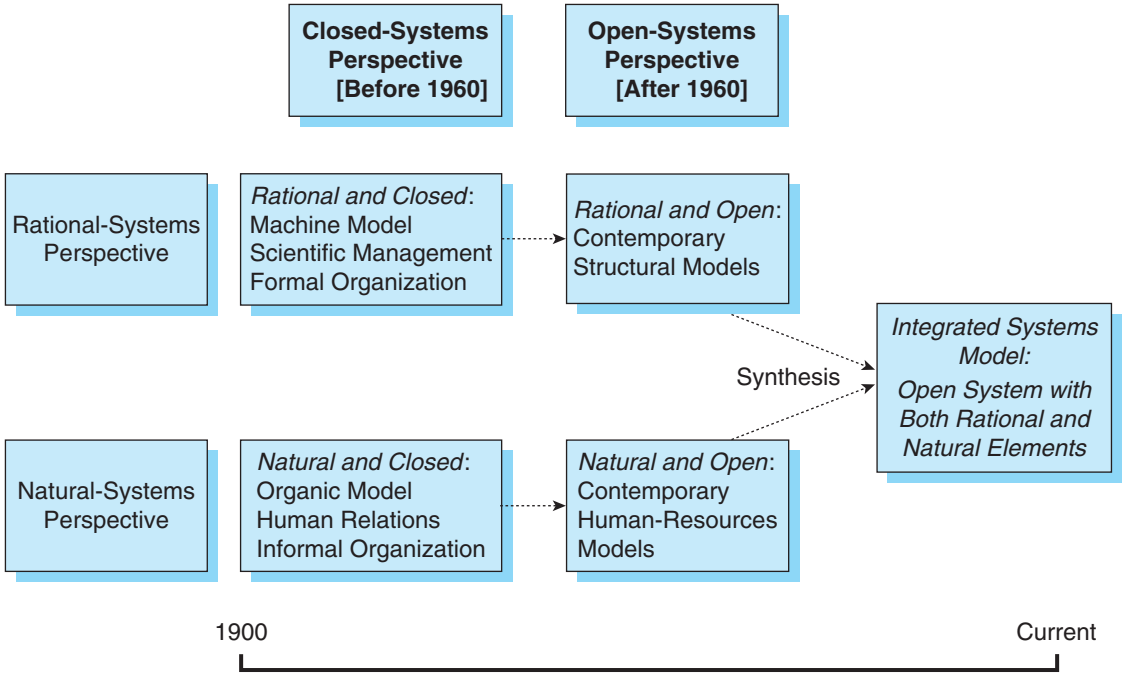


FIGURE 1.2 *Growth and Development of Organizational Theory and Thought*



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Name each person in the organization who has informal power but does not have formal authority. Why does each person have such power? Where do they get their power? Describe the important informal norms that exist in your school. How do the informal and formal leaders get along? Give some examples of their cooperation. What group of teachers is the "in-group"? Does the group have a rival? How do the informal groups get along? How much conflict is there between those with formal authority and those with only informal authority? What is the conflict about? Give some examples.

OPEN SYSTEM: AN INTEGRATION

The **open-systems perspective** was a reaction to the unrealistic assumption that organizational behavior could be isolated from external forces. Competition, resources, and political pressures from the environment affect the internal workings of organizations. The open-systems model views organizations as not only influenced by environments, but also dependent on them. At a general level, organizations are easily pictured as open systems. Organizations take inputs from the environment, transform them, and produce outputs (see Figure 1.3). For example, schools are social systems that take resources such as labor, students, and money from the environment and subject these inputs to an educational transformation process to produce literate and educated students and graduates.

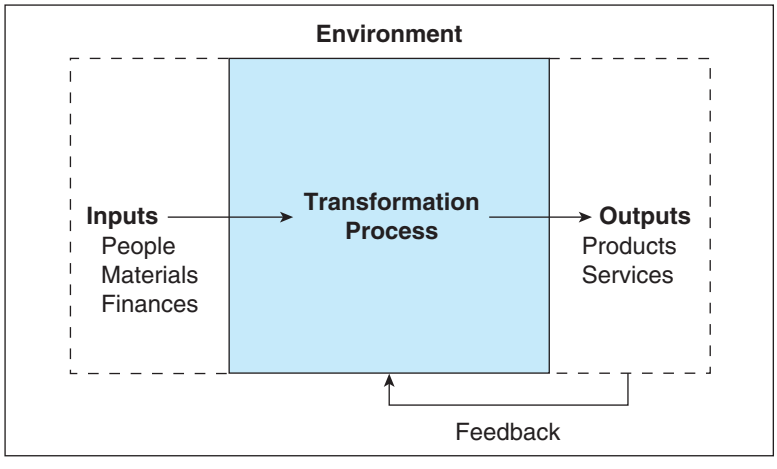


FIGURE 1.3 *Open System with Feedback Loop*

Because the rational-system approach, particularly the scientific managers, ignored the impact of individual needs and social relations and because the natural-systems, especially the human relations proponents, discounted formal structure, both of these systems perspectives are limited and incomplete. Clearly both formal and informal aspects, as well as structure and people, are critical to understanding organizations. An open-systems perspective supplies such a vantage point.

Chester I. Barnard (1938) was one of the first to consider both views in his analysis of organizational life in *Functions of the Executive*. The product of Barnard's years as president of Bell Telephone Company of New Jersey, this book offers a comprehensive theory of cooperative behavior in formal organizations. Barnard provided the original definitions of formal and informal organizations and cogently demonstrated the inevitable interaction between them. Barnard (1940) himself summarized the contributions of his work in terms of structural and dynamic concepts. The structural concepts he considered important were the individual, the cooperative system, the formal organization, the complex formal organization, and the informal organization. His important dynamic concepts were free will, cooperation, communication, authority, the decision process, and dynamic equilibrium.

Herbert Simon (1957a), in *Administrative Behavior,* extended Barnard's work and used the concept of organizational equilibrium as a focal point for a formal theory of work motivation. Simon saw the organization as an exchange system in which inducements are exchanged for work. Employees remain in the organization as long as they perceive the inducements as larger than their work contributions.

The organization, although providing the framework, information, and values for rational decisions, is limited in its ability to collect and process information, search for alternatives, and predict consequences. Therefore, questions are resolved through satisficing rather than through optimizing. In Simon's view, no best solution exists to any given problem, but some solutions are more satisfactory than others (see Chapter 10).

Another important theoretical formulation of organizations (see Chapter 3) evolved from the writings of Max Weber (1947). Although many of Weber's views are consistent with those espoused by the scientific managers, Weber's discussions of bureaucracy and authority have provided present-day theorists with a starting point in their conceptions of organizations as social systems that interact with and are dependent upon their environments. It remained to Talcott Parsons (1960), however, to stress the importance of the environment on the organization and anticipate a conception of the organization as an open system—a social system dependent on and influenced by its environment.

The open-systems model has the potential to provide a synthesis by combining the rational and natural perspectives. Organizations are complex and dynamic. They have formal structures to achieve specified goals, but are composed of people who have their own idiosyncratic needs, interests, and

beliefs that often conflict with organizational expectations. Thus, organizations have planned and unplanned features, rational and irrational characteristics, and formal and informal structures. In some organizations rational concerns dominate the relationships and natural, social relationships predominate in others. In all organizations, however, both rational and natural elements coexist within a system that is open to its environment.

Some scholars argue that contemporary organizations are either open, natural systems or open, rational systems, which are adaptations to different kinds of environments (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967). Our view is that schools are open systems confronted with both rational and natural constraints that change as the environmental forces change; to neglect either the rational or the natural elements is shortsighted. Open-systems theory is our general framework for exploring the conceptual foundations of educational administration in this text. Although many theories are discussed in our analyses, the open-systems perspective is the overarching framework that underscores five internal subsystems that interact to influence organizational behavior: the technical, structural, cultural, individual, and political systems. The key concepts, basic assumptions, and principles of each of the systems perspectives are summarized at the end of this chapter in Table 1.2 (see p. 38).



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Which is more important in your school, the formal or the informal organization? Why? What area does each control? Where do you fit into the power relations in your school? What improvements would you try to make to the formal and informal relations in your school if you became the principal? Why? Who are the people in your school whose voices have been silenced and why? Finally, analyze the leadership behavior of your principal. To what extent does she or he rely on the formal organization and informal organization to get things done? What is the balance between the two? Which is more important? From your view is the balance good or could it be improved? How?

KEY PROPERTIES OF OPEN SYSTEMS

Our open-systems view of schools is concerned with both structure and process; it is a dynamic system with both stability and flexibility, with both tight and loose structural relationships. The organization as an arrangement of roles and relationships is not static. To survive, the organization must adapt and to adapt, it must change. The interdependence of the organization and its environment is critical. Instead of neglecting the environment, as the early rational-systems perspective did, or seeing it as hostile, as is the case with many natural-systems perspectives, "the open-systems model stresses the reciprocal ties that bind and interrelate the organization with those elements

that surround and penetrate it. Indeed, the environment is even seen to be the source of order itself" (Scott, 1987b, p. 91).

There is some agreement about the key properties and processes that characterize most social systems. We begin by presenting, defining, and discussing nine central concepts. An open system is a set of interacting elements that acquires *inputs* from the outside, transforms them, and produces outputs for the environment. People, raw materials, information, and money are the typical inputs for organizations. In the *transformational process,* these inputs are changed into something of value called *outputs,* which are then exported back into the environment. Outputs are usually products and services, but they may also include employee satisfaction and other by-products of the transformation process. Classrooms, books, computers, instructional materials, teachers, and students are critical inputs for schools. Ideally, students are transformed by the school system into educated graduates, who then contribute to the broader environment, or society. These three elements of an open system are illustrated in Figure 1.3.

The system's capacity for feedback facilitates the repetitive and cyclic pattern of "input-transformation-output." *Feedback* is information about the system that enables it to correct itself. Formal communication structures—PTA and various advisory councils—and informal political contacts are established inside and outside the school building to provide feedback to the school. Unlike mechanical systems, however, social systems do not always use the information to change. The superintendent of a school system who receives information about falling SAT scores and increased difficulties of graduates in getting jobs and entering the colleges of their choice can use this information to identify factors within the system that are contributing to the problem and take corrective action. Yet not all superintendents choose to act. Hence, although feedback provides self-correcting opportunities, the potential is not always realized.

Systems have *boundaries*—that is, they are differentiated from their environments. The boundaries are less clear for open than for closed systems, but they do exist. Are parents part of the school system? It depends. In some schools they are considered part of the schools and in others they are not. Regardless of whether parents are considered to be inside the boundaries, schools expend substantial energy in boundary-spanning activities such as parent-teacher meetings, community service projects, and adult education programs.

The *environment* is anything outside the boundaries of the system that either affects the attributes of the internal components or is changed by the social system itself (see Chapter 8 for a detailed consideration of external environment). For a specific school, district policies, central administrators, other school buildings, and the community are important features of the school's environment. Although organizational environment is typically understood to refer to conditions external to the organization, the clear separation of the organization from its environment is virtually impossible when

applied to open systems such as schools. In practice, however, some administrators attempt to control the openness of the school. For example, only appropriate clientele are allowed into the school building, people from the street are locked out, and visitors are required to sign in at the principal's office.

The process by which a group of regulators acts to maintain a steady state among the system components is called *homeostasis.* A biological analogy illustrates the concept: when an organism moves from a warm environment to a cold one, homeostatic mechanisms trigger reactions to maintain body temperature. Similarly, in a school building, crucial elements and activities are protected so that overall stability is maintained. Systems that survive tend to move toward a steady state—equilibrium. This steady state, however, is not static. Energy from and to the environment is continuously imported and exported. Although forces that seek to maintain the system counter any force that threatens to disrupt the system, systems do exhibit a growth dynamic. Events that throw the system out of balance are addressed by actions that are calculated to move the system toward a new state of balance, or equilibrium. As administrators are well aware, disruptive stresses upset this equilibrium and create temporary periods of disequilibrium. A community group may demand that a course such as sex education be deleted. This causes disequilibrium, but the system either changes itself or neutralizes the disruptive forces impinging on it; that is, it restores equilibrium.

The tendency for any system to run down—to cease to exist—is called *entropy.* Open systems can overcome entropy by importing energy from their environment. Organizations, for example, seek to maintain a favorable position with respect to their environments by adapting to changing environmental demands. Pressure from a state department of education for new programs typically results in accommodation to those demands, albeit with more taxes and resources for the system.

The principle of *equifinality* suggests that systems can reach the same end from different initial positions and through different paths. Thus, no one best way exists to organize and, likewise, there is no one best way to reach the same end. For instance, schools may select a variety of means (e.g., discovery learning, independent projects, interactive technologies) to achieve improvements in critical thinking skills of students.

SOCIAL-SYSTEMS MODEL: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The notion of a social system is a general one. It can be applied to social organizations that are carefully and deliberately planned or to those that emerge spontaneously. The school is a system of social interaction; it is an organized whole comprising interacting personalities bound together in an organic relationship (Waller, 1932). As a **social system**, the school is characterized by an interdependence of parts, a clearly defined population, differentiation from its environment, a complex network of social relationships,

and its own unique culture. As with all formal organizations, analysis of the school as a social system calls attention to both the planned and unplanned—the formal and informal—aspects of organizational life.

Thus far in our discussion of systems we have made several implicit assumptions. Let us now make these and others explicit as we examine the school as a social system. We have gleaned these assumptions from the literature, but the primary sources are Jacob W. Getzels and Egon G. Guba (1957); Jacob W. Getzels, James Lipham, and Ronald F. Campbell (1968); Charles E. Bidwell (1965); and W. Richard Scott (1998, 2003).

- Social systems are *open systems:* Schools are affected by state mandates, by politics, by history, and a host of other environmental forces.
- Social systems consist of *interdependent* parts, characteristics, and activities that contribute to and receive from the whole: When the principal is confronted by parental demands for new courses, not only is the principal affected directly but also the teachers and students are affected.
- Social systems are *peopled:* Teachers act on the basis of their needs, beliefs, and goals (motivations) as well as their roles.
- Social systems are *goal oriented:* Student learning and control are just two of many school goals, but the central goal of any school system is the preparation of its students for adult roles.
- Social systems are *structural:* School systems have division of labor (e.g., math and science teachers), specialization (e.g., teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators), and hierarchy (superintendent, principals, assistant principals, and teachers).
- Social systems are *normative:* Schools have formal rules and regulations as well as informal norms that prescribe appropriate behavior.
- Social systems are *sanction bearing:* Schools have formal mechanisms such as expulsion, suspension, termination, tenure, and promotion as well as informal sanctions that include the use of sarcasm, ostracism, and ridicule.
- Social systems are *political:* Schools have power relations that inevitably affect administrator and teacher activities.
- Social systems have *distinctive cultures:* Schools have a dominant set of shared values that influence behavior.
- Social systems are *conceptual and relative:* For one purpose, a classroom can be considered a social system, but for other purposes, the school or school system may be viewed as a social system.
- All formal organizations are social systems: But all social systems are not formal organizations.

These assumptions suggest that a school consists of a number of important elements or subsystems that affect organizational behavior.

KEY ELEMENTS OF THE SCHOOL SOCIAL SYSTEM

All social systems have some activities and functions that are accomplished in a fairly stable fashion. For example, if we conceive of society itself as a social system, then the routine and imperative functions of educating, protecting, and governing are performed by educational, legal, and governmental institutions. Regardless of the nature of the social system, patterns of behavior become regular and routine.

When the accomplishment of an objective requires collective effort, individuals often set up organizations specifically designed to coordinate the activities and to furnish incentives for others to join them in this purpose. Such an organization—explicitly established to achieve certain goals—is a **formal organization.** Our concern is with the school social system as a formal organization.

Figure 1.4 pictures the major elements, or subsystems, of a social system. Behavior in formal organizations is influenced not only by structural and individual elements but also by cultural and political elements as well as the technical core, the teaching and learning system. *Structure* is defined in terms of formal bureaucratic expectations, which are designed and organized to fulfill the goals of the organization. The *individual* is viewed in terms of the needs, goals, beliefs, and cognitive understandings of work roles; the individual provides the energy and capacity to achieve the organization's goals. *Culture* is the shared work orientations of participants;

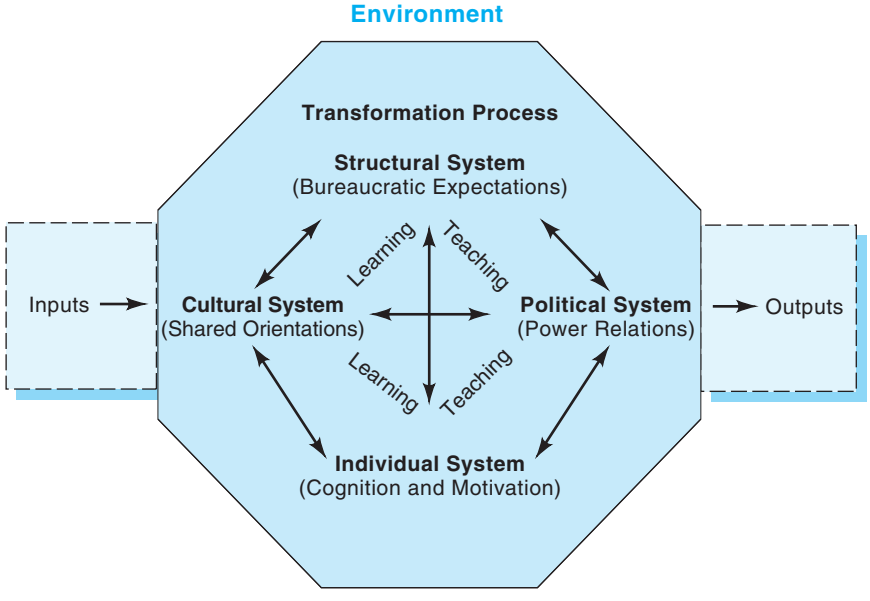


FIGURE 1.4 *Internal Elements of the System*

it gives the organization special identity. *Politics* is the system of informal power relations that emerge to resist other systems of control. The *technical core* of the school is the teaching-learning system. Further, all the elements and interactions within the system are constrained by important forces from both the *technical core* and the *environment;* the system is open. Finally, formal organizations as social systems must solve the basic problems of adaptation, goal achievement, integration, and latency if they are to survive and prosper.[1]

The model of formal organization that we are proposing takes all of these factors into consideration. We begin by examining internal elements of the system and then discuss the impact of the environment and technical core (teaching-learning process) on the school and its outcomes.

Structure

Bureaucratic expectations are formal demands and obligations set by the organization; they are the key building blocks of organizational structure. **Bureaucratic roles** are defined by sets of expectations, which are combined into positions and offices in the organization. In schools, the positions of principal, teacher, and student are critical ones and each is defined in terms of a set of expectations. The bureaucratic expectations specify the appropriate behavior for a specific role or position. A teacher, for instance, has the obligation to plan learning experiences for students and has the duty to engage students in a pedagogically effective manner. Bureaucratic roles and expectations are the official blueprints for action, the organizational givens of the office.

Some formal expectations are critical and mandatory; others are more flexible. Many roles are not precisely prescribed; that is, the expectations associated with most positions are wide ranging. This range of freedom makes it feasible for teachers with quite different personalities to perform the same roles without undue tension or conflict (Parsons and Shils, 1951). Roles derive their meaning from other roles in the system and in this sense are complementary. For example, it is difficult, if not impossible, to define either the role of student or that of teacher in a school without specifying the relationship of teacher to student. Likewise, the role of principal is dependent on its relationship to the roles of teacher and student.

From a vast array of vague and contradictory expectations, formal organizations select a few general bureaucratic expectations that are reasonably consistent with the organization's goals. These expectations often are formalized, codified, and adopted as official rules and regulations of the organization; they may delineate such things as arrival times, building assignments, and job descriptions. Specialization—the expectation that employee behavior will be guided by expertise—complements the rules and regulations. Thus, a teacher is expected to behave in appropriate ways based on the school's rules and the expertise demanded by the instructional job.

Put simply, formal organizations such as schools have structures composed of bureaucratic expectations and roles, a hierarchy of offices and positions, rules and regulations, and specialization. Bureaucratic expectations define organizational roles; roles are combined into positions and offices; and positions and offices are arranged into a formal hierarchy of authority according to their relative power and status. Rules and regulations are provided to guide decision making and enhance organizational rationality, and labor is divided as individuals specialize in tasks. Behavior in schools is determined in part by their organizational structure; some structures facilitate and others hinder school functioning.

Individual

The fact that a social unit has been formally established does not mean that all activities and interactions of its members conform strictly to structural requirements—the official blueprint. Regardless of official positions and elaborate bureaucratic expectations, members have their own individual needs, beliefs, and cognitive understandings of their jobs.

Just as not all expectations are relevant for the analysis of organizational behavior, not all individual needs are relevant to organizational performance. What are those facets of the individual that are most instrumental in determining an individual's organizational behavior? We postulate several important cognitive aspects of the individual: needs, goals, beliefs, and cognition. Work motivation constitutes the single most relevant set of needs for employees in formal organizations. We will elaborate extensively later, but for now work needs are defined as basic forces that motivate work behavior.

Cognition is the individual's use of mental representations to understand the job in terms of perception, knowledge, and expected behavior. Workers seek to create meaningful, coherent representations of their work regardless of its complexity. They learn what their job is about by monitoring and checking their own behavior. Their needs, personal beliefs, goals, and previous experiences become the bases for constructing organizational reality and interpreting their work. Their motivation and cognition are influenced by such factors as beliefs about personal control and competence, individual goals, personal expectations for failure and success, and work motives. In brief, the salient aspects of the individual system are personal needs, beliefs, goals, and cognitive orientations to work.

Although we have examined the influence of structural (S) and individual (I) elements separately, behavior is a function (f) of the interaction of bureaucratic role expectations and the relevant work orientations of the organizational member [$B = f(S \times I)$]. For example, the evaluation of the teaching staff is affected by district policy as well as by the principal's own needs. The rules and regulations state that the principal is expected to evaluate each teacher at given intervals with a specified evaluation instrument.

The principal acts as a result of this policy. Each principal's behavior differs in the evaluation meetings, perhaps because of individual cognition and motivational needs. One building administrator who has a great personal desire for social acceptance from the teachers may treat these sessions as an opportunity for friendly socializing rather than for evaluating. But another principal, lacking such a need for social acceptance, may follow the book and remain analytical in the evaluation. The two principals are affected by both elements, but the first is more influenced by individual needs and the second by bureaucratic role expectations.

The ratio of bureaucratic expectations to individual work needs, which at least partly determines behavior, will vary with the specific type of organization, the specific job, and the specific person involved. Figure 1.5 presents pictorially the general nature of this interaction. Vertical line *A* represents a hypothetical situation in which the proportion of behavior controlled by the bureaucratic structure is relatively large; line *B* (at the right) represents the situation in which behavior is primarily controlled by individual needs.

Military organizations commonly are considered to be represented by line *A*—more bureaucratic control—whereas research and development organizations are better represented by line *B.* Most schools probably fall between these two extremes. Free, open-concept, or Montessori schools would be close to line *B.* Church-related schools are typically thought to be closer to line *A.* Where do administrators and students fall in this regard? Individuals differ; some tend toward line *B*—free spirits—and some toward line *A*—bureaucrats. In our example of the two principals in evaluation sessions, the first with a high need for social acceptance would be near line *B* and the second closer to line *A.*

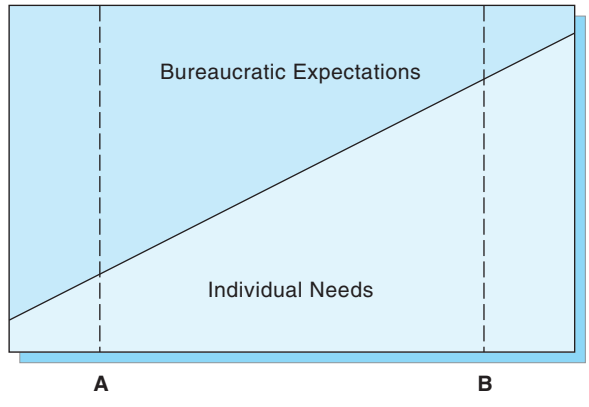


FIGURE 1.5 *Interaction of Bureaucratic and Individual Elements Affecting Behavior*

Culture

There is a dynamic relationship between bureaucratic role demands and individual work needs as people are brought together in the workplace. Organizations develop their own distinctive cultures. As organizational members interact, shared values, norms, beliefs, and ways of thinking emerge. These shared orientations form the culture of the organization. **Organizational culture** distinguishes one organization from another and provides members with a sense of organizational identity (Hellriegel, Slocum, and Woodman, 1992; Daft, 1994). In a school, shared beliefs and informal norms among teachers have a significant impact on behavior. Culture provides members with a commitment to beliefs and values beyond themselves; individuals belong to a group that is larger than themselves. When the culture is strong, so is their identification with the group and the influence of the group.

Culture represents the unwritten, feeling part of the organization (Daft, 1994). Communication of feelings is easy among peers, especially friends. Shared orientations help maintain cohesiveness and feelings of personal integrity, self-respect, and belonging. Because many interactions in organizations are informal, they are personal and not dominated by authority. They furnish opportunities for the individual to maintain his or her personality against the attempts of the bureaucratic organization to submerge, if not destroy, it (Barnard, 1938). Members receive important rewards from the group and group norms are significant in guiding their behavior. For example, accepted informal procedures, not formal rules, may develop among the teachers for disciplining students; in fact, the custodial informal norms for controlling students become the criteria for judging "effective" teaching in many schools. Good control is equated with good teaching.

Behavior in formal organizations is influenced not only by structural and individual elements but also by emergent values and shared orientations of the work group. Organizational culture, with its important group norms, values, and beliefs, is another powerful force that affects organizational behavior.

Politics

Structure represents the formal dimension of the school social system, whereas the personal aspect of the system is represented in the individual. Culture is the collective dimension of the system that blends the formal with the personal to create a system of shared beliefs. But it is the political dimension that spawns the informal power relations that emerge, often to resist other systems of legitimate control. Members who work within the confines of the structure, culture, and individual systems usually contribute directly to the needs of the organization at large. Structure provides formal authority; culture generates informal authority; and the individual brings the authority of expertise to the organization. Politics, in contrast, is typically informal, often clandestine, and frequently illegitimate. It is illegitimate because it is

behavior usually designed to benefit the individual or group at the expense of the organization. Consequently, most politics is divisive and conflictual, pitting individuals and groups against each other and against the organization at large (Mintzberg, 1983a; Pfeffer, 1992).

Politics, however, is an inevitable part of organizational life. There are always those who want to seize power for their own personal ends. In its extreme, one can conceive of an organization "as a mass of competing power groups, each seeking to influence policy in terms of its own interest, or, in terms of its own distorted image of the [organization's] interest" (Strauss, 1964, p. 164). Power relations get played out in a variety of ways: political tactics and games, bargaining, and conflict resolution. Members are invariably forced to play the power game of politics. Allison (1971, p. 168) puts it succinctly, "Power . . . is an elusive blend . . . of bargaining advantages, skill, and will in using bargaining advantages . . . ." Although politics is informal, divisive, and typically illegitimate, there is little doubt that it is an important force influencing organizational behavior.

To understand organizational life one must look at both formal and informal as well as legitimate and illegitimate forms of power. Hence, structure, individual, culture, and politics are critical elements of the social systems; these elements can become individual frames or lenses to view organizational behavior, but remember behavior is a function of the *interaction* of these elements.

Technical Core: Teaching and Learning

All organizations have a technical core that is concerned primarily with the major mission of the social system. In schools the teaching-learning process is the core of the organization. All other activities are secondary to the basic mission of teaching and learning, which shapes the administrative decisions in schools. Learning occurs when there is a stable change in an individual's knowledge or behavior; there is no one best explanation of learning because it is a complex cognitive process. Different theories of learning have different implications for teaching depending on what is to be learned. Administration does not happen in a vacuum—behavioral, cognitive, and constructivist perspectives of learning provide the setting for school decision making (see Chapter 2).

Environment

As a general definition, environment is everything that is outside the organization. But unlike physical systems, social systems are open; hence, the boundaries are much more ambiguous and the environment more intrusive. There is no doubt that environment is critical to the organizational functioning of schools. It is the system's source of energy. It provides resources, values, technology, demands, and history—all of which place constraints and opportunities on organizational action.

Which features of the environment are most salient for constraining behavior in schools? There is no quick or simple answer. Both broad and specific environmental factors influence the structure and activities of schools. Larger social, legal, economic, political, demographic, and technological trends have a potentially powerful impact on schools, but the effects of such general environmental forces are by no means clear. In contrast, interested constituencies and stakeholders, such as parents, taxpayers, unions, regulatory agencies, colleges and universities, state legislatures, accrediting agencies, and educational associations, have more immediate and direct effects on schools. But again the results are not certain.

The degree of uncertainty, the degree of structure or organization, and the degree of scarcity in the environment condition the response of the school to environmental factors. School decision makers monitor the environment for information, and their perceptions determine to a large degree the future directions of the organization. Schools, like all organizations, attempt to reduce uncertainty and control their environments; therefore, administrators often resort to strategies to minimize external effects. Moreover, if the groups and organizations of the environment are highly organized, then the school is faced with a potent set of demands and constraints, and the result will likely be compliance. Finally, schools compete in an environment made up of various resource pools. If resources of a particular kind are scarce, then the internal structure and activities will develop in ways that will facilitate their acquisition.

In brief, schools are open systems that are affected by external forces. Although there is basic agreement on the importance of the environment, its complexity makes analysis difficult. Nonetheless, we need to consider what factors individually and in relation to others create the basic external demands, constraints, and opportunities to which schools respond. We will return to a detailed analysis of the environment in Chapter 8.

Outcomes

A school, then, can be thought of as a set of elements—individual, structural, cultural, and political. However, behavior in organizations is not simply a function of its elements and environmental forces; it is a function of the interaction of the elements. Thus, organizational behavior is the result of the dynamic relationship among its elements. More specifically, behavior is a function of the interaction of structure, individual, culture, and politics as constrained by environmental forces. To understand and predict the behavior in schools, it is useful to examine the six pairs of interactions among the elements in terms of their harmony. We posit a **congruence postulate:** other things being equal, the greater the degree of congruence among the elements of the system, the more effective the system.[2] For example, the more consistent the informal norms and the formal expectations, the more likely the organization will be to achieve its formal

TABLE 1.1

Congruence between Pairs of Key Elements

Congruence Relationships	Crucial Questions
Individual ↔ Structural	To what extent do individual work needs enhance bureaucratic expectations?
Individual ↔ Culture	To what extent are shared orientations of organizational culture consistent with individual work needs?
Individual ↔ Politics	To what extent do power relations conflict with individual work needs?
Structural ↔ Cultural	To what extent do the bureaucratic expectations reinforce the shared orientations of the cultural system?
Structural ↔ Political	To what extent do the power relations undermine bureaucratic expectations?
Political ↔ Culture	To what extent do the power relations conflict with and undermine the shared orientations of the culture?

goals. Likewise, the better the fit between individual motivation and bureaucratic expectations, the more effective the performance. In Table 1.1, examples of critical questions concerning the congruence of each pair of key elements are outlined.

Performance outcomes are indicators of goal accomplishment. Performance outcomes include such indicators as achievement, job satisfaction, absenteeism, and overall performance quality. In any case, the critical aspects of behavior are defined by the outputs of the system. The model assumes that the effective achievement of these behavioral outcomes is a function of the degree of congruence among the system elements. Hence, organizational effectiveness is the degree to which actual outcomes are consistent with expected outcomes. The key elements, their interactions, the demands and constraints of the environment, and the behavioral outcomes are summarized in Figure 1.6.

Internal Feedback Loops

The social-systems model pictured in Figure 1.6 also has both internal and external feedback mechanisms. For example, the formal school structure and the informal groups both attempt to influence individual behavior (Abbott, 1965b). Feedback informs individuals how the bureaucratic structure and the informal organization view their behavior. Although the bureaucracy has formal mechanisms and the work group informal ones, both have internal feedback loops.

The formal school organization provides an official definition of the position, its rank in the hierarchy, and a set of expected behaviors that go

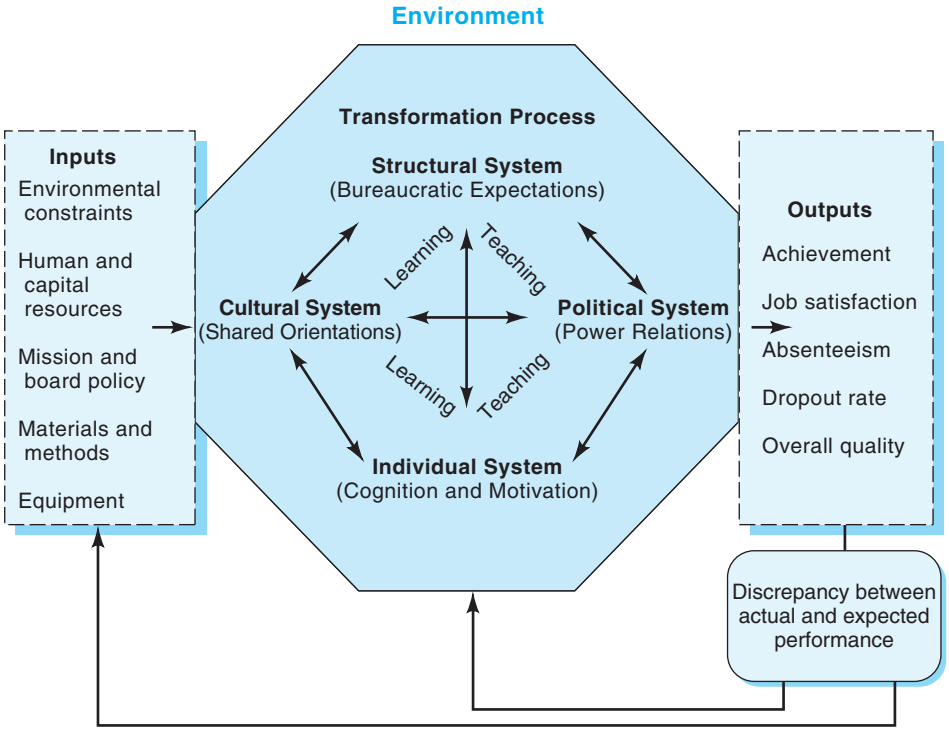


FIGURE 1.6 *Social-Systems Model for Schools*

with it. In fact, the bureaucratic structure has an established incentive pattern for ensuring appropriate behavior. If the school bureaucracy approves of an individual's performance, positive rewards reinforce his or her behavior. If that person's behavior is evaluated as inferior, positive incentives are reduced and negative incentives are increased.

Informal groups similarly influence behavior. As our discussion of the Hawthorne studies explained, group norms control behavior. In the school building, norms exist within and among all informal peer groups. For example, teachers expect their peers to act appropriately to control students. If a teacher fails to maintain discipline in the classroom, the other teachers apply sanctions: sarcasm and ostracism in the teachers' lounge can have devastating effects on an individual.

External Feedback Loops

Behavior in schools also is monitored through external feedback loops. The culture of the community provides environmental constraints that directly influence bureaucratic expectations, group norms, and organizational goals

that indirectly influence individual needs. In spite of attempts by a school to isolate itself, it remains open to community, state, and national forces. The introduction of AIDS education into the school curriculum, for example, rarely goes unnoticed by the public. In fact, organized community groups provide important inputs about what they consider the goals and outcomes of an acceptable AIDS education program.

Social behavior in a school is thus affected directly by at least four internal elements, or subsystems—structure, individual, culture, and politics—all occurring in the context of teaching and learning. Moreover, as Figure 1.6 illustrates, internal and external feedback reinforce appropriate organizational behavior. When there is a discrepancy between expected and actual outcomes, the feedback loops inform individuals and groups inside and outside the system.

The social-systems model gives a dynamic view of the school, with the feedback mechanisms and elements providing the action components. Good, bad, and neutral events occur constantly, and the dynamic nature of the system becomes even more evident when we consider the ways that students, teachers, and administrators affect one another's behavior. Systems analysis focuses on how the totality—elements and activities—produces a given result. The dynamic result is not predictable with complete accuracy because of the infinite variations that can occur as bureaucracy, subgroups, and individuals modify goals, express values, and exert power through leadership, decision making, and communication.

THE SCHOOL AS A LEARNING ORGANIZATION

It should be abundantly clear by now that organizational life is complex because it is part of an intricate network of social relationships. The full meaning of any event can only be understood in the context of the system; that is, by contemplating the whole rather than isolated parts of the system. Such an approach has been termed "systems thinking" (Senge, 1990), and it fits well into viewing the school as a social system.

Schools are service organizations that are committed to teaching and learning. The ultimate goal of the school is student learning; in fact, its very existence is based on such activity. Schools more than any other kind of organization should be **learning organizations,** that is, places where participants continually expand their capacities to create and achieve, where novel patterns of thinking are encouraged, where collective aspirations are nurtured, where participants learn how to learn together, and where the organization expands its capacity for innovation and problem solving (Senge, 1990; Watkins and Marsick, 1993). A complementary definition of a learning organization is one in which the participants pursue common purposes with a collective commitment to routinely assessing the value of those purposes, modifying them when appropriate, and continually

developing more effective and efficient ways to achieve those purposes (Leithwood and Louis, 1998).

Although the concept of learning organization has gained widespread notoriety since Senge's pioneering analysis of the art and practice of the learning organization (1990), the literature has been long on theoretical analysis and short on research evidence, a condition that led Weick and Westley (1996) to comment that "there appear to be more reviews of organizational learning than there is substance to review" (p. 40). Empirical research that supports the compelling theoretical rationale of schools as learning organizations (Ben-Peretz and Schonmann, 1998; Leithwood, Jantzi, and Steinbach, 1998; and Louis and Kruse, 1998), however, is just beginning to emerge.

If schools are to be effective learning organizations, they must find ways to create structures (Chapter 3) that continuously support teaching and learning (Chapter 2) and enhance organizational adaptation; develop organizational cultures and climates that are open, collaborative, and self-regulating (Chapters 5 and 6); attract individuals who are secure, efficacious and open to change (Chapter 4); and prevent vicious and illegitimate politics from displacing the legitimate activities of learning and teaching (Chapter 7). Transformational leadership (Chapter 13), open and continuous communication (Chapter 12), decision making (Chapter 8), and shared decision making (Chapter 11) are mechanisms that should and can enhance organizational learning in schools. The challenge is to create schools that have the capacity to respond effectively not only to contemporary problems (Chapter 8), but also to new and emerging issues of school effectiveness (Chapter 9).



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Lunchtime Streaker

As the winter drew to a close and the promise of spring was felt in the warm air, there were flowers in the enclosed courtyard of Smithson Regional High School (SRHS). The yard was a student-gathering place just off the cafeteria. There was the usual scene of informal student conversation, studying, or just relaxing between classes with a candy bar or soda. Not all of the SRHS students were in the courtyard at any time, but typically there would be more than 150 students enjoying a respite from class. The courtyard was not a supervised area, strictly speaking, but there were faculty members or an administrator catching a quick cup of coffee and the security guard in the adjacent cafeteria was just a few steps away.

The boredom of winter was suddenly broken by a winter-pale boy, Holden Calloway, streaking full-tilt across and around the courtyard clad only in sneakers and body oil. Students shrieked and laughed as the security guard and administrators tried to catch the slippery and elusive Holden. The streaker had the upper hand until the rules of the game changed and a frustrated security guard put an end to it all with his Taser. Officer Sam Bascomb,

(Continued)



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

the security guard, was unable to hold on to the slippery student and after ordering him to stop, hauled out his Taser and fired an unerring shot to the middle of the back. And, as Holden tried to get up, Sam gave him a second jolt of electricity, which immobilized him and enabled Officer Bascomb to cuff him. A moment later an administrator showed up with a blanket and covered the student as the officer led him out of the courtyard.

Holden was taken directly to the principal's office where the principal immediately told the security guard to uncuff him. Holden was crying and visibly in pain as he shivered before the principal and officer. After a brief explanation of what happened, the principal ordered his assistant to get Holden's clothes and get him dressed, and bring him back to the office as soon as he felt better. While he was gone, the principal got the details of the incident from the security officer and the other assistant principal.

Officer Bascomb then volunteered that this was the time to call the police. "Why should we call the police?" asked the principal. "Holden is a good kid; he is always on the honor roll; he's never been in trouble. Let's hear him out. I can't imagine what possessed him to do such a thing." The officer persisted, "This is a case of inducing panic, public indecency, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct; in fact, I've already called it in." About that time, a police cruiser was pulling up to the school.

"Sam, since you called them, you better go outside and tell them we don't need them right now."

Sam retorted, "This kid broke the law. He should be arrested."

The principal protested, "This is a school incident for which I have a responsibility. I have an obligation for the well-being of all students in the building. We will get all the facts and then decide what to do. I think you acted prematurely in contacting the police. Tell them we will get back to them if we need them, but we don't need them right now."

Sam was nonplussed. "I called the police and reported a case of public indecency and resisting arrest. They have to investigate."

"Not now, they don't. This is a school problem. I am worried about the health of one of our students. I am more concerned about his welfare right now than anything else. Please leave the office and do what you have to do, but I don't want anyone acting without my authorization."

As Sam left the office, the assistant principal returned with a visibly shaken Holden, who was obviously in pain from the Taser prongs stilled lodged in his back. Holden admitted that his streaking was simply a matter of spring fever, bad judgment, and a bet from some other students. He apologized to the principal for creating such a disturbance and said he would willingly accept his punishment. "I know this was dumb," said Holden.

"Yes, it was," said the principal. "But let's send you down to the nurse and get those prongs out of your back."

Unknown to the principal, as Holden left the office on his way to the nurse, he was intercepted by Officer Bascomb and two uniformed police officers, who hustled him out of the building and into a police car. By the time the principal realized what had happened, the police were bound for the hospital to get the prongs removed and then to the police station for booking.

The principal quickly gathered the administrative team together. The episode was escalating and out of control. "What do we need to do?" he asked his two assistant principals, a school counselor, and the senior class advisor. The facts were as follows:

1. Holden had streaked during lunchtime in the courtyard of the cafeteria.
2. Officer Bascomb (a security guard for the school) had subdued Holden by force after he refused to stop. He was tasered not once but twice in the back, handcuffed, and brought to the principal's office.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

3. Officer Bascomb on his own initiative called the police without consulting any school authorities.
4. Officer Bascomb continued to seek police assistance after the principal told him to wait until the school had investigated the incident.
5. Holden Calloway is an honor student who has never been in trouble.
6. The police are in the process of charging Holden Calloway with inducing panic, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and indecent exposure.

The task before the administrative team was to develop a plan to deal with the situation, one that was fair and protected the student's best interests.

1. Did the security guard act with disproportional force?
2. Is it good policy for the school to permit employees to have Tasers?
3. Does the principal have authority to direct the security guard?
4. What is the limit of constraint of a student?
5. What should the relationship be between the school and the local police?
6. Can and should the school protect a student against criminal action?
7. Is it time for a more explicit school policy? What should it be?

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Seek and test good explanations in your administrative practice: Be both reflective and guided by evidence.
2. Be prepared for both rational and irrational behavior in schools: Both abound in schools.
3. Cultivate informal relations to solve formal problems: The informal organization is a source of ingenious ideas.
4. Use multiple perspectives to frame school challenges: Framing the problem is often the key to its solution.
5. Engage informal leaders in problem solving: Cooperation between the formal and the informal is a key to success.
6. Be politically astute as you represent the school and its students: Politics is a fact of school life.
7. Encourage both stability and spontaneity as appropriate: Both are essential to good schools.
8. Be responsive to the community: The school is an open system.
9. Cultivate expertise as the basis for solving problems: Knowledge should be the basis of decision making.
10. Harness administration to the facilitation of sound teaching and learning: Teaching and learning are what schools are about.

TABLE 1.2

Key Assumptions and Principles

HISTORICAL ROOTS → CONTEMPORARY SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVES

Scientific Management → Rational Systems Perspective
(Focus: Organizational Goals)
(Time Frame: 1900–1930)
(Focus: Formal Organization, Rationality, and Efficiency)
(Time Frame: Contemporary)

Pioneers
- Taylor
- Fayol
- Gulick
- Urwick
- Weber

Key Concepts
- Goals
- Division of labor
- Specialization
- Standardization
- Formalization
- Hierarchy of authority
- Narrow span of control
- Control
- Rationality
- Formal organization

Key Assumptions and Principles
1. Organizations exist primarily to accomplish their goals.
2. Division of labor leads to specialization.
3. Specialization promotes expertise.
4. Standardization of tasks produces efficiency.
5. Formalization of activities improves efficiency.
6. Hierarchy promotes disciplined compliance.
7. A narrow span of control improves supervision.
8. Administrative control is essential for efficiency.
9. Rationality in decision making promotes efficiency.
10. Formal organization can be designed to maximize efficiency.

Human Relations → Natural Systems Perspective
(Focus: Individual Needs)
(Time Frame: 1930–1960)
(Focus: Informal Organization, Organizational Culture, and Natural Groupings)
(Time Frame: Contemporary)

Pioneers
- Follet
- Mayo
- Rothlisberger
- McGregor

Key Concepts
- Survival
- Needs
- Individuals
- Social structure
- Informal norms
- Empowerment
- Broad span of control
- Culture
- Teams
- Informal organization

Key Assumptions and Principles
1. Organizations are primarily social groups adapting and surviving.
2. Individual needs are the primary motivators of organizational performance.
3. Individuals are more important than structure in achieving effectiveness.
4. Individuals organize themselves informally on basis of interests.
5. Unofficial norms and procedures are often more important than formal ones.
6. Shared decision making promotes effectiveness.
7. A broad span of control enhances teacher autonomy and effectiveness.
8. Organizational culture mediates the effects of structure.
9. Teamwork is the key to organizational success.
10. Informal structures are more important than formal ones.

Social Science → Open Systems Perspective
(Focus: Integration)
(Time Frame: 1960–present)
(Focus: Interdependence, Integration, and Contingencies)
(Time Frame: Contemporary)

Pioneers
- Weber
- Barnard
- Simon
- Parsons
- Weick
- Katz & Kahn

Key Concepts
- Interdependence of the organization and its environment
- Integration
  - Of organizational goals and human needs
  - Of rational and natural features
  - Of tight and loose couplings
  - Of planned and unplanned activities
  - Of formal and informal perspectives
- Contingency theory

Key Assumptions and Principles
1. All organizations are open systems that interact with their environment.
2. Organizational behavior is a function of the interaction of organizational structure and individual needs.
3. All organizations have both rational and natural features.
4. Organizations need both loose and tight couplings to succeed.
5. Politics pervades organizational life.
6. Organizations have two interactive faces: a formal and an informal.
7. There is no one best way to organize, to motivate, to decide, to lead, or to communicate; the effectiveness of such processes is contingent upon a variety of circumstances.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

science, *p. 3*
theory, *p. 3*
concepts, *p. 3*
theoretical generalizations, *p. 3*
hypothesis, *p. 6*
rational-systems perspective, *p. 9*
scientific management, *p. 10*
time and motion studies, *p. 10*
division of labor, *p. 10*
standardization, *p. 11*
span of control, *p. 11*
principle of homogeneity, *p. 11*
goals, *p. 12*
formalization, *p. 12*
exception principle, *p. 13*
natural-system perspective, *p. 14*
Hawthorne studies, *p. 15*
informal organization, *p. 15*
open-systems perspective, *p. 19*
social system, *p. 23*
formal organization, *p. 25*
bureaucratic roles, *p. 26*
cognition, *p. 27*
organizational culture, *p. 29*
congruence postulate, *p. 31*
learning organizations, *p. 34*

SUGGESTED READINGS

Adler, P. S. (Ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Sociology and Organizational Studies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

A selection of classic writings on the sociology of organizations, which situate contemporary organizational theory and research.

Etzioni, A. *Modern Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1964.

A classic examination of the history of organizational thought.

Fiedler, K. "Tools, Toys, Truisms, and Theories: Some Thoughts on the Creative Cycle of Theory Formation." *Personality and Social Psychology Review 2 (2004), pp. 123–131.*

An informative analysis of the process of creating and developing theories.

Kanigel, R. *The One Best Way*. New York: Viking, 1997.

A historical analysis of the impact of scientific management on organizations and contemporary society.

Katz, D., and Kahn, R. L. *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (2nd ed.). New York: Wiley, 1966.

A classic analysis of open systems theory—one of the first and one of the best.

Miner, J. B. *Organizational Behavior: Foundations, Theories, and Analyses.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

A comprehensive review of the foundations of organizational theory and analysis.

Morgan, G. *Images of Organizations*. (New Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006.

An alternative and novel way of viewing organizations using metaphors to develop images of organizations that represent important partial truths.

Scott, W. R., and Davis, G. F. *Organizations and Organizing: Rational, Natural, and Open System Perspectives.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2007.

An inquiry into the use of systems thinking to understand organizations with a focus on flexible forms of coordinated action taking place within and among formal organizations.

Senge, P. M. *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization.* New York: Doubleday, 1990.

A classic on learning organizations.

Stinchcombe, A. L. *The Logic of Social Science Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

An insightful analysis of the complementary roles of science, theory, and research.

In addition to these readings, many journals contain research relevant for educational administration. Two journals in education that link administrative theory and research are the *Educational Administration Quarterly* and the *Journal of Educational Administration*. The *Journal of School Leadership* and the *Canadian Administrator* are examples of research journals that focus on the application of research and theory to practice in educational administration. Finally, a great many administrative journals publish important papers from all areas of administration; they include such journals as the *Academy of Management Journal, Academy of Management Review, Administrative Science Quarterly, Harvard Business Review, Journal of Management Inquiry, Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, Organizational Science*, and *Personnel Psychology*.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Select a school principal who you believe is an outstanding educational leader. Interview this leader using the social-systems model described in this chapter. More specifically, craft a series of questions that probe the principal's leadership by asking about the principal's role in these areas:

- The structure of the school.
- The culture of the school.
- The politics in the school.
- The teaching and learning system.
- The motivation in the school.

Also ask about school-community relations (environmental opportunities and constraints) and the perceived effectiveness of the school. Analyze your data and draw some conclusions about the following:

- The basic mission of the school.
- The school's vision of teaching and learning.

- The leadership of the principal.
- The community's role in the school.

Write a brief analysis (about five or six pages) of the school in terms of the answers to your questions. What are the major strengths of the school, what areas could be improved, and what is most striking about the school and its leadership that captured your attention?[3]

Leadership Standards 1, 2, 3, and 4 (see inside front cover)

NOTES

1. Our model is primarily a synthesis and extension of the work of Getzels and Guba (1957); Abbott (1965b); Leavitt, Dill, and Eyring (1973); Scott (1987, 1987b, 2003); Mintzberg (1983a); Nadler and Tushman (1983, 1989); and Lipham (1988).
2. Many theoretical formulations have proposed such an assumption. For example, see Getzels and Guba (1957); Etzioni (1975); and Nadler and Tushman (1989).
3. The idea for this portfolio exercise came from Professor Lynn Perez.

CHAPTER 2



THE TECHNICAL CORE

Learning and Teaching[1]

Knowledge is not a copy of reality. To know an object, to know an event, is not simply to look at it and make a mental copy or image of it. To know an object is to act on it. To know is to modify, to transform the object, and to understand the process of this transformation, and as a consequence to understand the way the object is constructed.

Jean Piaget
Development and Learning

PREVIEW

1. The technical core of all schools is teaching and learning.
2. Learning occurs when experience produces a stable change in someone's knowledge or behavior.
3. There are three general learning perspectives—behavioral, cognitive, and constructivist—each of which helps us understand learning and teaching.
4. Many students confuse negative reinforcement and punishment; reinforcement strengthens behavior, but punishment suppresses or weakens behavior.
5. Learning objectives, the Good Behavior Game, and direct instruction (often including review, presentation, guided practice, checks for understanding, and independent practice) are applications of behavioral learning approaches.
6. Cognitive explanations of learning highlight the importance of prior knowledge in focusing attention, making sense of new information, and supporting memory.
7. Information processing is a cognitive theory of memory that describes how information is taken in, processed, stored in long-term memory (in the forms of episodes, productions, images, and schemas), and retrieved.
8. Learning strategies and tactics such as underlining, highlighting, and graphing are applications of the cognitive approach.
9. Constructivist views explain learning in terms of the individual and social construction of knowledge. Knowledge is judged not so much by its accuracy as by its usefulness.
10. There are three varieties of constructivism—psychological, social, and radical.

11. Situated learning emphasizes the idea that learning is specific to the situation in which it is learned and difficult to transfer.
12. Features of constructivist application include complex real-life tasks, social interaction, shared responsibility, multiple representations of content, and student-centered teaching.
13. Three promising applications of the constructivist approach are inquiry or problem-based learning, cognitive apprenticeships, and cooperative learning.

Talcott Parsons (1960) was the first to propose three distinct levels of structure in the organization—the technical, managerial, and institutional. The technical level or **technical core** is the system of organizational activity where the actual "product" of the organization is produced; in schools it is exemplified by the teaching and learning in the classroom. The managerial system, the next level up, is responsible for administering the internal affairs of the organization and for mediating between the organization and the environment. Finally, at the top is the institutional level, whose function is to connect the organization to the environment, specifically to provide legitimacy for the organization in terms of the larger social context. In the case of schools, the board of education is the chief formal mechanism of the institutional level and its function is to legitimate school activities to the community at large. Parsons (1960) makes the point that there are qualitative breaks in the line-authority relations at each point where the levels come together. Although the managerial level is the primary focus of this book on administration, the other levels are also important because they provide critical points of articulation between the school and its student-clients and the school and its citizen-clients.

Just as the institutional level draws attention to the organizational constraints of the environment (see Chapter 8), the technical level underscores the significance of teaching and learning in administrative decision making. In the case of schools the technical function is the process of teaching and learning, the heart and soul of all educational organizations. We are remiss in the analysis of the school as a social system if we do not examine the technical core of the school—the teaching-learning process—because it shapes many of the administrative decisions that must be made (Rowan, 1998; Rowan, Raudenbush, and Cheong, 1993).

LEARNING: A DEFINITION

When we hear the word "learning," many of us think of ourselves in school studying for an exam or learning how to drive a car or learning a new song or mastering a new computer application. We learn subjects, skills, and appropriate behavior for a host of social situations. Learning is clearly not limited to school, yet in the final analysis that is what school is all about. What is learning? In a broad sense, **learning** *happens when experience (including practice) produces a stable change in someone's knowledge or behavior*. The change may be intentional or not, but to qualify as learning the change must occur

because of experience as the individual interacts with his or her environment. Changes simply due to maturation such as growing taller or getting bald are not instances of learning. Similarly, temporary changes due to illness, fatigue, or short-lived physical deprivations are not part of learning, although, of course, people do learn how to cope with such problems (Hill, 2002; Mayer, 2011).

Our definition of learning indicates that it involves a change in the individual's knowledge or behavior. Although most experts on learning would agree with this general proposition, some would tend to emphasize behavior and others knowledge. Our position is that learning is a complex cognitive process and there is no one best explanation of learning. In fact, different theories of learning offer more or less useful explanations depending on what is to be explained. We emphasize three general theories of learning, each with a different focus:

- *Behavioral* theories of learning stress observable changes in behaviors, skills, and habits.
- *Cognitive* theories of learning underscore such internal mental activities as thinking, remembering, creating, and problem solving.
- *Constructivist* theories of learning are interested in how individuals make meaning of events and activities; hence, learning is seen as the construction of knowledge.

The application of each of these theoretical perspectives has different implications for teaching. Thus our discussion of learning will also provide an analysis of teaching.

A BEHAVIORAL PERSPECTIVE ON LEARNING

The modern behavioral approach to learning emerged from the scholarship of Skinner and his followers, who emphasized the importance of antecedents and consequences in changing behavior. The focus of this perspective is clearly on behavior. Learning is defined as a change in behavior brought about by experience with virtually no concern for the mental or internal processes of thinking. Behavior is simply what a person does in a given situation. Think of a behavior as sandwiched between two sets of environmental influences: its antecedents, which precede it, and its consequences, which follow it (Skinner, 1950). This relationship is shown simply as antecedent-behavior-consequence, or A-B-C. As behavior happens, a given consequence transforms into an antecedent for the next ABC sequence. Behavior, then, is altered by changes in antecedents, consequences, or both. Early behavioral work focused on outcomes or consequences.

Consequences

In the behavioral view of learning, consequences of behavior to a great extent determine whether that behavior will be repeated. In particular, the kind and

timing of the consequence will either strengthen or weaken the propensity of an individual to repeat behavior. There are two kinds of consequences—those that reinforce (strengthen) behavior and those that punish (weaken) behavior.

Reinforcement

The common meaning of reinforcement is reward, but in learning theory reinforcement has a specific connotation. A reinforcer is a consequence that strengthens the behavior that it follows; thus by definition, reinforcement increases the frequency or duration of a given behavior. The following diagram shows the process:

	CONSEQUENCE	EFFECT
Behavior	→ Reinforcer	→ Strengthened Behavior

Research demonstrates that food is almost certain to be a strong reinforcer for a hungry animal, but does it work the same way for people? As one would expect, things are more complicated for people. We don't know why an event acts as a reinforcer for an individual; in fact, there are many competing theories that explain why reinforcement works with people. For example, some psychologists believe that reinforcers satisfy needs. Others argue that reinforcers diminish tensions or stimulate a part of the brain (Rachlin, 1991). The extent to which consequences are reinforcing likely depends on the person's perception of the event and the meaning it holds for the individual. For example, students who are routinely sent to the principal's office for misbehaving in class may be getting reinforcement for such behavior. There is probably *something* about this consequence (getting sent to the office) that is reinforcing for them, even if it doesn't seem desirable to their teachers. Perhaps the behavior provides needed attention or produces status among fellow students. Behaviorists would argue that repeated misbehavior is being reinforced in some way for that student (Landrum and Kauffman, 2006).

Let's examine reinforcement more closely. There are two types—positive and negative reinforcement. **Positive reinforcement** occurs when a behavior produces a new stimulus or motivating force. For example, wearing a cool jacket may produce praise and many compliments for the student. Likewise "tripping and falling down" in class may result in laughter. Of course, if this "clumsy role" is played out repeatedly to the laughter and cheers of classmates, teachers are apt to explain the behavior as simply a way "to get attention." This explanation is a behavioral one; teachers are applying the principle of positive reinforcement to explain the behavior by assuming that the attention is a positive reinforcer for the student. Notice that the student's behavior is reinforced in spite of the fact that it is not positive from the teacher's perspective. Positive reinforcement of inappropriate behavior is a potential problem for all teachers because often teachers unintentionally reinforce misbehavior of students. In brief, when a consequence strengthens a behavior by providing the *addition* of a stimulus, positive reinforcement has occurred.

In contrast, **negative reinforcement** occurs when the consequence that reinforces or strengthens behavior is obtained by eliminating (*subtracting*) a stimulus. When a particular action leads to stopping or avoiding a negative or aversive situation, that behavior is likely to be repeated because the individual has learned how to avoid something negative or uncomfortable. For example, car manufacturers have equipped their cars with seat belts attached to buzzers. Put the key in the ignition and an irritating buzz erupts, which stops as soon as you attach your seat belt. Thus you are likely to repeat the action of "buckling up" (the behavior is reinforced) because it removes the irritation (eliminates a negative stimulus). In other words, a behavior is reinforced or strengthened by removing a negative or aversive stimulus. Consider the parent who is continually complaining about a teacher and insisting the student's teacher be changed. To eliminate the constant complaining, you as the principal change the student's teacher. You have eliminated the aversive situation with the parent, and if there are no further negative consequences, you are likely to repeat your behavior to quell other parents' similar complaints. Eliminating a negative stimulus (in this case a nagging parent) has reinforced your behavior. The "negative" in negative reinforcement does not necessarily mean that the behavior being reinforced is bad, but rather negative implies something is being subtracted from the situation that reinforces behavior. Think of positive and negative as associated with numbers—positive reinforcement *adds* something following behavior that reinforces behavior whereas negative reinforcement *subtracts* something following behavior that strengthens that behavior.

By the way, Skinner did not speculate about why reinforcers increase behavior. He believed that it was useless to talk about "imaginary constructs" such as meaning, habits, needs, or tensions. Skinner simply described the tendency for a given operant behavior to increase after certain consequences (Hill, 2002; Skinner, 1953, 1989).

Punishment

Negative reinforcement is commonly confused with punishment. If you know the difference, you know more than most people. Reinforcement, whether positive or negative, always involves strengthening the behavior. **Punishment** involves weakening or suppressing behavior; that is, behavior followed by punishment is less likely to be repeated in similar situations in the future. Remember, however, that it is the effect of decreasing behavior that defines the consequence as punishment. Different people have different perceptions of what is punishing. Suspension from school is a punishment for some students but not for others. The punishment process is noted simply as follows:

	CONSEQUENCE	EFFECT
Behavior	⟶ Punishment	⟶ Weakened or Decreased Behavior

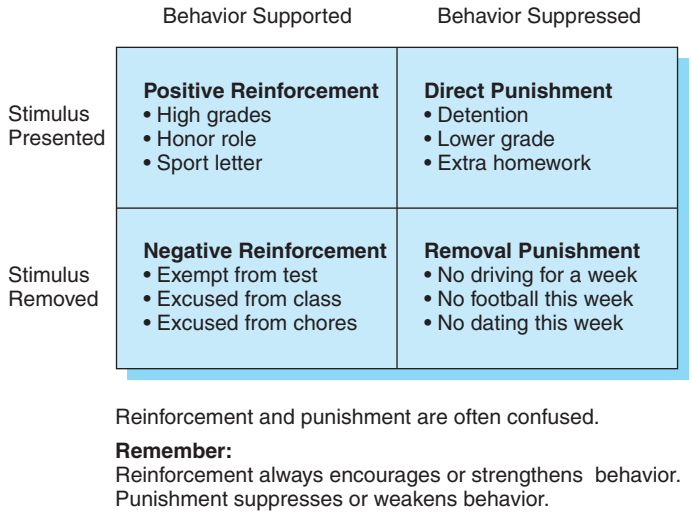


FIGURE 2.1 *Kinds of Reinforcement and Punishment*

Just as there are two types of reinforcement, there are two kinds of punishment defined in behavioral theory—Type I and Type II. Neither label is very informative so we call Type I **direct punishment** because it occurs when the appearance of the stimulus following the behavior suppresses or weakens the behavior; something is added to suppress behavior. When teachers assign detention, extra work, and lower grades to punish students, they are assigning direct punishment. The second kind of punishment (Type II) is **removal punishment** because a stimulus is removed to punish. For example, when parents or teachers remove a student's privileges, they are engaging in removal punishment; they are removing something that is desired. Thus direct punishment *adds* something to slow or stop behavior and removal punishment *subtracts or deletes* something to decrease or weaken behavior. The interaction of the processes of reinforcement and punishment is summarized in Figure 2.1.

Antecedents

Antecedents are the events preceding behavior. They provide information about which behaviors will lead to positive consequences and which to negative ones (A→B→C). Perceptive people learn to discriminate among situations; that is, they learn to read the antecedent. When should a principal request more resources to purchase new curriculum materials, after a budget defeat or after a positive story in the local newspaper about your school? The antecedent cue of the principal standing in the hall helps students discriminate the probable consequences of "running in the hall" or

perhaps even "sneaking a smoke" in the boys' lavatory. People react to such antecedent cues without fully thinking about the process and how their behavior is influenced. Nevertheless, antecedents in the form of cues can be deliberately used.

Cueing is providing an antecedent stimulus just prior to a particular behavior. It is especially useful in preparing for a behavior that must occur at a specific time but is easily forgotten. Cueing furnishes information about which behaviors will be reinforced or punished in a particular situation. A police car sitting under an overpass or simply along the highway provides an instantaneous cue about the consequences of speeding.

Teachers and principals often correct students after the fact. For example, they exclaim, "I cannot believe that you. . . ." The problem is, of course, that the misbehavior has already occurred. The student has only a few choices—to promise not to do it again or to try harder or the more aggressive response, "Leave me alone." None of these reactions is particularly useful, but providing a nonjudgmental cue can help avoid a negative confrontation with the student. For example, for teachers and principals, simply attending an athletic function makes it more unlikely that students will demonstrate poor sportsmanship. Moreover, when students perform appropriately after such a cue, teachers can reinforce student behavior without resorting to punishment.

Prompting is providing an additional cue following the first cue. Sometimes people need extra help in responding appropriately to a cue. Alberto and Troutman (2009) propose two principles for using cues and prompts:

- Make sure the environmental stimulus that you want to become a cue occurs right before your prompt, so students will learn to respond to the cue, not rely only on the prompt.
- Fade the prompt as soon as possible; don't make students dependent on it.

An example of prompting is providing students with a checklist or a "to do list" when they work in pairs as part of peer tutoring. As students learn the procedures, the checklist gradually is withdrawn. When the students have learned the procedures, no written or oral prompts are necessary. They have learned how to react appropriately to the cue of working in pairs; they have learned how to work in peer tutoring. Teachers should continue to monitor the process, praise good work, and correct mistakes. The teacher's role is now one of coaching students to improve their tutoring skills.

TEACHING APPLICATIONS OF THE BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

Experienced and expert teachers make good use of behavioral theory. They apply with care and skill the basic principles of reinforcement and punishment in their teaching and classroom management. Before we provide

examples of the contributions of behavioral theory to teaching and learning, we summarize some of the guiding principles:

- Give clear and systematic praise, but only if deserved.
- Recognize genuine accomplishments.
- Set standards for praise based on individual abilities and limitations.
- Attribute the student's success to effort and ability to build confidence.
- Recognize positive behavior in ways that students value.
- Give plenty of reinforcement when students tackle new materials or skills.
- Set clear and specific goals so you know what to reinforce.
- Use cues to help establish new behaviors.
- Use a variety of reinforcers and let students choose among them.
- Try to structure the situation to use negative reinforcement rather than punishment.
- Adapt the punishment to fit the misbehavior. (Woolfolk, 2013)

The Good Behavior Game, functional behavioral assessment, learning objectives, and direct instruction are specific examples of the application of behavioral theory to classroom teaching. Such approaches are especially useful when the goal is to learn new behaviors or explicit information and when the learning is sequential or factual.

The Good Behavior Game

In the Good Behavior Game the entire class can earn rewards based on the collective behavior of the class, usually by adding each student's points to a class or a team total. Teachers and students discuss what would make the classroom a better place to learn and identify behaviors that interfere with learning. Based on this discussion, class rules are developed and the class is divided into two or more teams. Each time a student breaks a rule, that student's team is given a mark. The team with the fewest marks at the end of the period receives a special reward or privilege (for example, longer recess, first to lunch, and so on). If all teams earn fewer than a preestablished number of marks, all receive the reward. Often a class needs a "no tattling" rule so the teams don't spend all their time calling out each other's mistakes. Even though the game generates only small improvement in academic achievement, it often has positive effects on student behavior (Embry, 2002; Tingstrom, Sterling-Turner, andWilczynski, 2006).

What happens if we add interventions that target academic achievement to the proven power of the Good Behavior Game? Catherine Bradshaw and her colleagues addressed that question (Bradshaw, Zmuda, Kellam, and Ialongo, 2009). They followed 678 students from urban first grade classes through their high school years. In first grade the students participated in a

control group or one of two specific programs: (1) a classroom-centered intervention that combined the Good Behavior Game with an enhanced academic curriculum (read-alouds, journal writing, critical thinking skills, small group activities, etc.) or (2) a family-centered intervention that promoted parent involvement in home reading and math activities.This intervention helped parents develop better child management strategies. Students who participated in the classroom intervention that combined the Good Behavior Game with an enhanced academic curriculum in first grade had higher scores on standardized achievement tests in grade 12, reduced referrals for special education services, higher rates of high school graduation, and higher rates of attending college 12 years later! The parent involvement program had a small significant effect on reading test scores. So early investment in helping students learn positive behaviors and academic skills can make a difference for years to come.

Positive Behavior Support Based on a Functional Behavioral Assessment

A new approach based on behavioral learning is helping teachers in both regular and special education classes deal successfully with behavior problems. The first step is to ask, "What are students getting out of their problem behaviors—what functions do these behaviors serve?" The focus is on the *why* of the behavior, not on the *what* (Lane, Falk, and Wehby, 2006; Stage et al., 2008). The reasons for problem behaviors generally fall into four categories (Barnhill, 2005; Maag and Kemp, 2003). Students act out to

1. Receive attention from others—teachers, parent, or peers.
2. Escape from some unpleasant situation—an academic or social demand.
3. Get a desired item or activity.
4. Meet sensory needs, such as stimulation from rocking or flapping arms for some children with autism.

As soon as the reason for the behavior is known, teachers can devise ways of supporting positive behaviors that will serve the same "why" function. For example, we once worked with a middle school principal who was concerned about a boy who was having trouble in a number of subjects, especially math. The student disrupted the math class at least twice a week and ended up in the principal's office. When he arrived, the boy got the principal's undivided attention. After a scolding, they talked about sports because the principal liked the student and was concerned that, because the boy's father had died several years ago, he had no male role models. It is easy to spot the function of the classroom disruptions—they always led to (1) escape from math class (negative reinforcement) and (2) one-on-one time with the principal (positive reinforcement after a little bit of reprimanding). Together with the principal and teacher, we developed a way to support the student's

positive behaviors in math by getting him some extra tutoring and by giving him time with the principal when he completed math problems instead of when he acted up in class. The new positive behaviors served many of the same functions as the old problem behaviors.

Doing Functional Behavioral Assessments

The process of understanding the problem behavior is known as a **functional behavioral assessment (FBA)**—"a collection of methods or procedures used to obtain information about antecedents, behaviors, and consequences to determine the reason or function of the behavior" (Barnhill, 2005, p. 132). With information from this assessment, schools can develop an intervention package, as we did above with the math student.

Many different procedures might help you determine the functions of a behavior. You can simply interview students about their behaviors. In one study, students were asked to describe what they did that got them in trouble in school, what happened just before, and what happened right after they acted out. Even though the students were not always sure why they acted out, they seemed to benefit from talking to a concerned adult who was trying to understand their situation, not just reprimand them (Murdock, O'Neill, and Cunningham, 2005). Teachers also can observe students and note answers to the following: When and where does the problem behavior occur? What people or activities are involved? What happens right before—what do others do or say and what does the target student do or say? What happens right after the behavior—what do you, other students, or the target student do or say? What does the target student gain or escape from—what changes occur after the student acts out? Based on these questions, you can design a systematic observation and planning worksheet for functional behavioral assessment that fits your school situation. Once you know the functions of the behaviors, you can make a plan to support positive alternatives.

Positive Behavioral Supports

The Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA, 1997) requires **positive behavioral supports (PBS)** for students with disabilities and those at risk for special education placement. Positive behavioral supports are interventions designed to replace problem behaviors with new actions that serve the same purpose for the student. Positive behavioral supports based on functional behavioral assessments can help students with disabilities succeed in inclusion classrooms. For example, the disruptive behavior of a five-year-old boy with mental retardation was nearly eliminated in a relatively short time through a PBS intervention that was based on a functional assessment conducted by the regular teaching staff and the special education teacher. The intervention included making sure tasks assigned were at the right difficulty level, providing assistance with these tasks, teaching the student how to request assistance, and teaching the student how to request a break from assigned work (Soodak and McCarthy, 2006; Umbreit, 1995). But these approaches are not only for students with special

needs. Research shows that disciplinary referrals decrease when the whole school uses these approaches for all students (Lewis, Sugai, and Colvin, 1998). Because about 5 percent of students account for half of the discipline referrals, it makes sense to develop interventions for those students. Positive behavior interventions based on functional assessments can reduce these behavior problems by 80 percent (Crone and Horner, 2003).

Learning Objectives

There are many different approaches to writing objectives; however, all assume that the first step is to decide what changes should take place in the student—what is the goal of teaching. An **instructional objective** is a clear and unambiguous description of the teacher's educational aims for students.

Robert Mager has developed perhaps the most influential system for writing behavioral objectives. His idea is that objectives should describe what students will be doing to demonstrate their achievement and how a teacher will know when students are successful (Mager, 1975, 1997). According to Mager, a good objective has three parts:

1. The objective describes the intended student behavior—what must the student do?
2. The objective lists the conditions under which the behavior will occur—how will this behavior be recognized or tested?
3. The objective gives the criteria for acceptable performance on the behavior—how well has the student done?

Mager argues that students often teach themselves if they are given such well-stated objectives.

Are objectives useful? They can be, but only under certain conditions. First, objectives are more successful in promoting learning with such loosely structured activities as lectures, films, and research projects. With structured materials such as programmed instruction, objectives seem less useful. Second, if the significance of information is unclear from the learning materials and activities themselves, instructional objectives focus students' attention and thus increase achievement (Duchastel, 1979).

The most recent research on instructional objectives tends to favor approaches that combine specific and broad objectives. James Popham (2005), a former proponent of very specific objectives, makes this recommendation:

> Strive to come up with a half dozen or so truly salient, broad, yet measurable instructional objectives for your own classroom. Too many small-scope, hyperspecific objectives will be of scant value to you because, if you're at all normal, you'll soon disregard [them]. On the other hand, a small number of intellectually manageable, broad, yet measurable objectives will not only prove helpful to you instructionally but will also help you answer the what-to-assess question. (pp. 104–105)

Today most school districts still require teachers to complete lesson plans that include learning objectives. Good learning objectives, where the objectives and steps are clearly mapped, can be beneficial and enhance learning. Objectives are not only used in classrooms with students; administrators have used them with varying degrees of success. Management by objectives and goal setting (Locke and Latham, 1990, 2002) are organizational attempts to use behavioral theory to improve performance. We discuss both in Chapter 4.

When both the objectives and means to achieve them are clear, how might students also go about learning? The direct instruction approach is consistent with behavioral principles.

Direct Instruction

For many people, "teaching" means lecture—instructors explaining material and questioning students. There was an explosion of research in the 1970s and 1980s that concentrated on this common and traditional form of teaching. An important outcome of all this study was the development of a model of teaching, **direct instruction** or explicit teaching, that was related to improved student learning (Rosenshine and Stevens, 1986).

The direct instruction procedures described in this section fit a specific set of circumstances because they have evolved from a common strand of inquiry. Researchers have elaborated on direct instruction models by comparing teachers whose students learned more than expected with teachers whose students performed at an expected or average level. The researchers focused on existing teaching practices in American classrooms. Effectiveness was usually defined as average improvement in standardized test scores for a whole class or school. Thus the results hold for large groups, but not necessarily for every student in the group. For example, even when the average achievement of a group improves, the achievement of some individuals may decline (Brophy and Good, 1986; Good, 1996; Shuell, 1996).

The direct instruction models described below apply best to the teaching of **basic skills**—clearly structured knowledge and essential skills, such as science facts, mathematics computations, reading vocabulary, and grammar rules (Rosenshine and Stevens, 1986). These skills involve tasks that can be taught step by step and tested by standardized tests. One caveat: the teaching approaches described below are not necessarily appropriate for helping students to write creatively, solve complex problems, or mature emotionally.

Psychologists have identified a direct teaching approach consistent with behavioral theory that helps improve student learning. Barak Rosenshine calls this approach direct instruction (1979) or explicit teaching (1988), whereas Tom Good (1983) uses the term "active teaching" for a

similar approach. Weinert and Helmke (1995) describe direct instruction as follows:

> (a) The teachers' classroom management is especially effective and the rate of student interruptive behaviors is very low; (b) the teacher maintains a strong academic focus and uses available instructional time intensively to initiate and facilitate students' learning activities; (c) the teacher insures that as many students as possible achieve good learning progress by carefully choosing appropriate tasks, clearly presenting subject-matter information and solution strategies, continuously diagnosing each student's learning progress and learning difficulties, and providing effective help through remedial instruction. (p. 138)

To this list, Xin Ma (2012) adds moving at a brisk pace and having a warm and accepting classroom climate. How do teachers transform these admonitions into actions?

Rosenshine's Six Teaching Functions

Rosenshine and his colleagues (Rosenshine, 1988; Rosenshine and Stevens, 1986) have underscored six teaching functions based on the research on effective instruction. They provide a framework for teaching basic skills:

1. *Review and check the previous day's work*. Reteach if necessary.
2. *Present new material*. Teach in small steps, with many examples and nonexamples.
3. *Provide guided practice*. Question students, give practice problems, and listen for misconceptions. Reteach if necessary. Continue guided practice until students answer about 80 percent of the questions correctly.
4. *Give feedback and correctives based on student answers*. Reteach if necessary.
5. *Provide independent practice*. Let students apply the new learning on their own, either in seatwork, cooperative groups, or homework. The success rate during independent practice should be about 95 percent. This means that students must be well prepared for the work by the presentation and guided practice and that assignments must not be too difficult. The point is for the students to practice until the skills become overlearned and automatic—until the students are confident.
6. *Review weekly and monthly*. Consolidate learning and include some review items as homework. Test often and reteach material missed on the tests.

These six functions are not steps to be blindly followed, but they are all elements of effective instruction. For example, feedback, review, or reteaching should occur whenever necessary and should match the abilities of the students. There are a number of models of direct instruction, but most share the elements presented above. Hunter's Mastery Teaching approach (1982) and Good, Grouws, and Ebmeier's Missouri Math (1983) are other examples of direct instruction.

Criticisms of Direct Instruction

Critics argue that direct instruction is limited to lower-level objectives, is based on traditional teaching methods, ignores innovative models, and discourages students' independent thought and action. Some critics go so far as to claim that direct instruction is based on the *wrong* theory of learning. Teachers break material into small segments, present each segment clearly, and reinforce or correct mistakes, thus *transmitting* accurate understandings from teacher to student. According to these critics, the student is seen as an "empty vessel" waiting to be filled with knowledge rather than an active constructor of knowledge (Anderson, 1989a; Berg and Clough, 1991).

But there is ample evidence that direct instruction can help students learn actively, not passively. Particularly for younger and less experienced learners, student learning without teacher direction and instruction can lead to systematic deficits in the students' knowledge. Without guidance the understandings that students construct are sometimes incomplete and misleading (Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark, 2006; Weinert and Helmke, 1995). Deep understanding and fluid performance—whether in dance or mathematical problem solving or reading—require models of expert performance and extensive practice with feedback (Anderson, Reder, and Simon, 1995). Guided and independent practices with constructive feedback are keys to the direct instruction model. When specific skills and behaviors need to be learned, a teaching approach consistent with behavioral learning theory makes a lot of sense.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Identify a situation in your school that you would like to change. Think about the participants (students, parents, or teachers) whose behaviors could change for the better to improve the situation. Now identify the possible reinforcers for their current behavior—what desirable outcomes do they achieve for acting in the way that they do or what unpleasant outcomes do they escape? In other words, can you spot positive or negative reinforcement in action?

A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE ON LEARNING

The cognitive perspective traces its early roots to the ancient Greek philosophers who discussed the nature of knowledge, the value of reason, and the contents of the mind (Hernshaw, 1987); however, cognitive science was dormant as behaviorism flourished in the early and middle 1900s. By the end of the Second World War, however, cognitive research emerged as the computer revolution and breakthroughs in understanding language developed.

Evidence accumulated that people do more than simply respond to reinforcement and punishment. For example, individuals plan their responses, use systems to help them remember, and organize their materials in meaningful and unique ways (Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, 1960; Shuell, 1986). With the growing realization that learning is an active mental process, cognitive psychologists became intrigued with how people think, learn concepts, and solve problems (e.g., Ausubel, 1963; Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, 1956).

Interest in concept learning and problem solving soon gave way to the puzzle of how knowledge was represented and recalled. Remembering and forgetting were major topics of study in cognitive psychology in the 1970s and 1980s.

Knowledge and Learning

Current cognitive approaches suggest that one of the most important elements in the learning process is what the individual brings to the learning situation. What we already know determines in large part what we will pay attention to, perceive, learn, remember, and forget (Ashcraft 2006; Bransford, Brown, and Cocking, 2002; Greeno, Collins, and Resnick, 1996). Knowledge is both a means and an end; more than the product of previous learning, it also guides new learning. For example, compared to fourth-graders with little knowledge of soccer, fourth-graders who were soccer experts learned and remembered far more new soccer terms, even though the abilities of the two groups to learn and remember nonsoccer terms were the same. The soccer experts organized and clustered the soccer terms to aid in recall (Schneider and Bjorklund, 1992). A good basis of knowledge can be more important than good learning strategies in understanding and remembering—but extensive knowledge plus good strategy is even better.

The cognitive perspective recognizes different kinds of knowledge—general and domain-specific:

- **General knowledge** applies to a variety of situations. For example, general knowledge about how to read or use a computer is useful in many situations.
- **Domain-specific knowledge** relates to a particular task or subject. For example, knowing there are nine innings in a game is specific to the domain of baseball.

Another way of categorizing knowledge is as declarative, procedural, or self-regulatory (Paris and Cunningham, 1996; Paris, Lipson, and Wixson, 1983):

- **Declarative knowledge** is "knowledge that can be declared, usually in words, through lectures, books, writing, verbal exchange, Braille, sign language, mathematical notation, and so on" (Farnaham-Diggory, 1994, p. 468).

- **Procedural knowledge** is "knowing how" to do something such as divide fractions or overhaul an air conditioner—doing the task demonstrates procedural knowledge.
- **Self-regulatory knowledge** is "knowing when and why" to apply declarative and procedural knowledge.

Declarative knowledge is "knowing that" something is the case. The range of declarative knowledge is broad. You can know very specific facts (the average brain has over one hundred billion neurons), or generalities (some trees have needles, not leaves), or personal preferences (I hate peas), or personal events (what happened on my first date), or rules (to add fractions, convert each fraction so they have the same denominator and then add the numerators and maintain the common denominator). Small units of declarative knowledge are often organized into larger units; for example, principles of decision making can be organized into whole systems of social influence.

Repeating the rule to add fractions shows declarative knowledge—the student can state the rule—but to show procedural knowledge, the student must demonstrate the knowledge. When faced with fractions to add, the student must perform the procedures correctly. Students or teachers demonstrate procedural knowledge when they solve an equation or correctly translate a French passage.

Self-regulatory knowledge is mastering how to manage your learning—knowing how and when to use your declarative and procedural knowledge (Schraw, 2006). Self-regulatory knowledge has also been called *conditional knowledge* (Paris & Cunningham, 1996). It takes self-regulation to know when to read every word in a text and when to skim. For many students, this kind of knowledge is a stumbling block. They have the facts and can do the procedures, but they stumble on how to apply what they know at the appropriate time. Self-regulatory knowledge can be specific to a subject area (when to use the formula for calculating area, not perimeter, in geometry) or more general (how to summarize key points or use diagrams to organize information). In fact, all three kinds of knowledge–declarative, procedural, and self-regulatory—can be either general or domain-specific, as you can see in Table 2.1 on the next page. To use knowledge, you must remember it. But how do people remember? What do we know about memory?

Information-Processing Model

Early **information processing** conceptions of memory used the computer as a model. Like the computer, the mind takes in information, performs operations on it, stores the information, retrieves it when needed, and generates responses to it. The computer model proved helpful but also incomplete. For example, in the model, information moved through the system mostly in one way—from *sensory memory*, to *short-term memory*, to *long-term memory* as it does in a computer, but we now know there are many more interactions among the processes—information moves many ways and back

TABLE 2.1

Six Kinds of Knowledge and Examples

	General Knowledge	Domain-Specific Knowledge
Declarative	Hours the bank is open. Highway safety rules.	Lines from Shakespeare's Hamlet. Definition of educational leadership.
Procedural	How to use a computer. How to drive a car.	How to solve a quadratic equation. How to program in C++.
Self-regulatory	When to abandon one approach and try another. When to skim and when to read carefully.	When to use the formula for volume. When to run to the net in tennis.

and forth. Moreover, cognitive processes happen simultaneously—like many small computers operating in parallel.

A more recent *cognitive science information processing* model retains some of the features of the old approach, but emphasizes the role of working memory, attention, and the interactions among the elements of the system, as shown in Figure 2.2 based on several sources (Ashcraft and Radvansky, 2010; Bruning, Schraw, and Norby, 2011; Sternberg and Sternberg, 2012). Information is encoded in sensory memory where perception and attention determine what will be held in working memory for further use. In working memory, executive processes manage the flow of information and integrate new information with knowledge from long-term memory. Thoroughly processed and connected information becomes part of long-term memory, and when activated again becomes part of working memory (which might simply be the activated portion of long-term memory). All three elements of the system interact with each other to guide perception; represent, organize, and interpret information; apply and modify propositions, concepts, images, schemas, and strategies; construct knowledge; and solve problems. Attention has a role in all three memory processes and in the interactions among them. Let's look at this system in more depth.

Sensory Memory

Sensory memory is the initial processing that transforms incoming stimuli into information so we can make sense of them. Other names for the sensory memory are *sensory buffer, iconic memory* (for images), and *echoic memory*

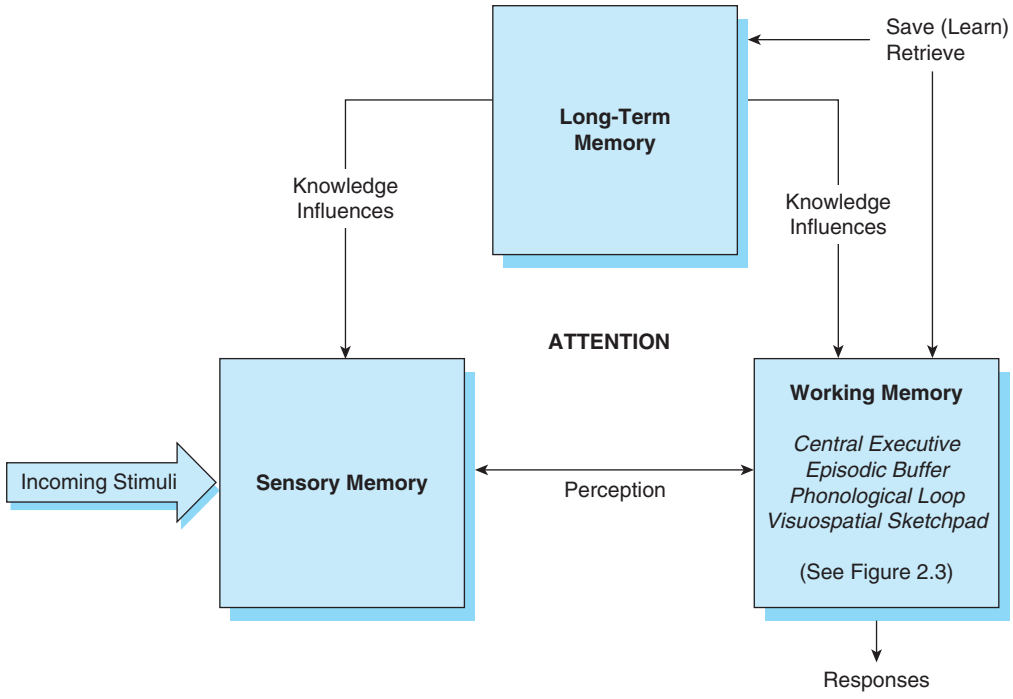


FIGURE 2.2 *A Recent Version of the Information Processing System*

(for sounds). The meaning we give to the basic information we receive through our senses is called **perception**. Meaning is constructed from both objective reality and our existing knowledge. For example, consider the symbol *I*. If asked what the letter is, you would say "I." If asked what the number is, you would say "one." The actual mark remains the same; the perception of it—its meaning—changes with the context and your expectation to recognize either a number or a letter. To a child without the knowledge to perceive a number or a letter, the mark is probably meaningless. Context matters too. In the series **A 13 C**, 13 is a *letter* but in the series **12 13 14** it is a *number* (Bruning et al., 2011). To recognize patterns rapidly as well as to note specific features, we use existing knowledge about the situation to make meaning.

If all variations in color, movement, sound, smell, temperature, and so on had to be perceived simultaneously, life would be impossible. Thus, we pay attention to some stimuli and ignore others; we select from all the possibilities what we will process. But attention is a limited resource because we can pay attention to only one demanding task at a time (Sternberg and Sternberg, 2012). For example, when you first learned to drive a car, especially if it were a stick shift, there probably was a time when you couldn't both listen to the radio and drive. After practice, however, you could listen to and enjoy the radio and

drive without difficulty, but you might turn off the radio when traffic is heavy. Many processes that initially require attention and concentration become automatic with practice. Automaticity, however, is a matter of degree—we are not completely automatic but rather more or less automatic in our performances depending on how much practice we have had (Anderson, 1995). When full attention is critical, we must block out other stimuli. Even experienced drivers might become very attentive and focused during a blinding blizzard, and no one should text or talk on a cell phone while driving.

Attention is the first step in learning. Students cannot process what they don't recognize or perceive (Lachter, Forster, and Ruthruff, 2004). Many factors in the classroom influence student attention. Dramatic displays or actions can draw attention at the beginning of a lesson. A teacher might begin a science lesson on air pressure by pumping the air out of a gallon can until it collapses. Bright colors, underlining, highlighting of written or spoken words, calling on students at random, surprising students, asking puzzling questions, posing challenging dilemmas, changing tasks and teaching methods, as well as changes in voice level, lighting, or pacing can all help get the attention of students. But gaining student attention is only half the battle—keeping them focused and on task is also critical.

A Current Model of Working Memory

Once a stimulus has been registered and transformed into patterns of images or sounds, the information in sensory memory is available for further processing. Working memory is where this new information is held briefly and combined with knowledge from long-term memory. Working memory is sometimes called short-term memory, but as information models have shifted from emphasizing storage to processing, the term "working memory" has replaced "short-term memory." Working memory in some ways resembles the screen of a computer—its content is activated information: what you are thinking about at the moment, your consciousness.

Alan Baddeley and his colleagues are responsible for the model of working memory that is central to our current understanding of human cognition. In this model, working memory is composed of at least four elements: *the central executive* that controls attention and other mental resources (the "worker" of working memory), the *phonological loop* that holds verbal and acoustical (sound) information, the *visuospatial sketchpad* for visual and spatial information, and the *episodic buffer* where information from the phonological loop, visuospatial sketch pad, and long-term memory are integrated together to create representations based on verbal, spatial, and visual information. The phonological loop and visuospatial sketchpad are short-term memory storage for sounds and images, so they are like what was considered short-term memory in earlier information processing models. The phonological loop, visuospatial sketchpad, and episodic buffer do some lower-level work for the central executive—holding onto and combining information. Baddeley also explains

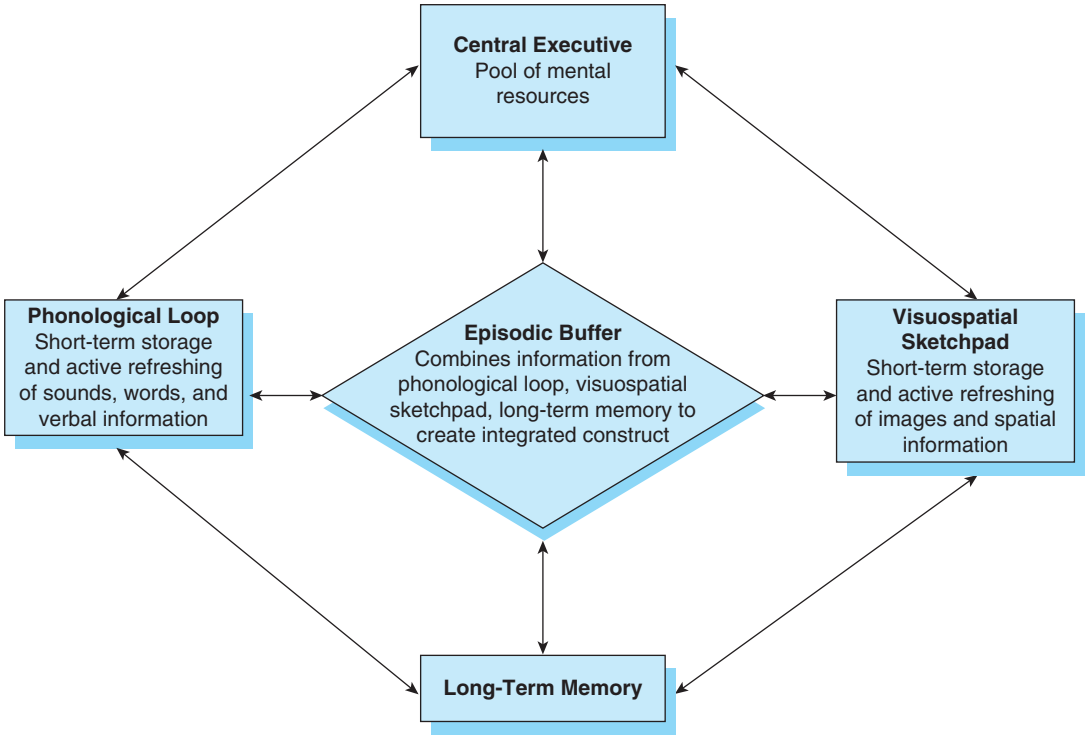


FIGURE 2.3 *Three Parts of Working Memory*

that there may be other lower-level worker/storage systems for different information, but the phonological loop, visuospatial sketchpad, and episodic buffer are the ones we know about (Baddeley, 2007; Baddeley, Hitch, and Allen, 2009; Jarrold, Tam, Baddeley, and Harvey, 2011). Figure 2.3 shows the working memory system. The central executive system is the pool of mental resources for such cognitive activities as focusing attention, reasoning, and comprehension. The phonological loop holds verbal and sound information, and the visuospatial sketchpad holds visual and spatial information. The episodic buffer integrates information from the phonological loop, visuospatial sketchpad, and long-term memory. The system is limited and can be overwhelmed if information is too much or too difficult. Let's experience that system in action.

The Central Executive

Solve this problem from Ashcraft and Radvansky (2010, p. 161) and focus on how you go about the process:

$$\frac{(4 + 3) \times 2}{5 + (12/6)}$$

As you solved the problem the central executive of your working memory focused your attention on the facts that you needed (what is 4 + 3? 7 × 2?), retrieved rules for which operations to do first, and recalled how to divide. The **central executive** monitors attention, initiates plans, and decides what information to retrieve and how to allocate resources, as you saw in Figure 2.3.

The Phonological Loop

The **phonological loop** is a speech and sound system for holding and rehearsing (refreshing) words and sounds in short-term memory. It briefly holds verbal information and keeps it active by maintaining it "in the loop"—rehearsing and paying attention to the information. The short-term storage of the phonological loop is where you put the "14" (4 + 3 = 7; 7 × 2 = 14) from the top line of the problem while you calculated the 5 + (12/6) on the bottom of the problem.

Early experiments suggested that the capacity of short-term memory was only about 5 to 9 (the "magic 7," + or − 2) separate new bits of information at once (Miller, 1956). Later, we will see that this limitation can be overcome using strategies such as chunking or grouping, but the 5 to 9 limit generally holds true in everyday life. It is quite common to remember a new phone number after finding it on the Internet, as you make the call. But what if you have two phone calls to make in succession? For most of us, the two new phone numbers (14 digits) cannot be stored simultaneously. Baddeley (2001, 2007) suggests that we can hold as much in the phonological loop as we can rehearse (say to ourselves) in 1.5 to 2 seconds. A 7-digit telephone number fits this limitation. But what if you tried to hold these 7 words in mind: *disentangle estivate gossamer anti-intellectual preventative foreclosure documentation* (Gray, 2011)? The problem, besides being a mouthful, is that these words take longer than 2 seconds to rehearse and are more difficult to hold in working memory than 7 single digits or 7 short words. In addition, if the words are unfamiliar, they are harder to rehearse.

Remember that working memory is temporarily holding and processing new information for a few seconds. In daily life we can hold more than 5 to 9 bits or 1.5 seconds of information at once. While you are dialing that 7-digit phone number you just looked up, you are bound to have other things "on your mind"—in your memory—such as how to use a telephone, whom you are calling, and why. You don't have to pay attention to these things; they are not new knowledge. Some of the processes, such as dialing the phone, are *automated* tasks. However, because of the working memory's limitations, if you were in a foreign country and were attempting to use an unfamiliar telephone system, you might very well have trouble remembering the phone number because your central executive was searching for strategies to use the phone system at the same time. Even a few bits of new information can be too much to remember if the new information is complex, unfamiliar, or if you have to integrate several elements to make sense of a situation (Sweller, van Merrienboer, and Paas, 1998).

The Visuospatial Sketchpad

Try this problem. Rotate the letter p 180 degrees clockwise. Do you get a d or a b?

Most people answer this question by creating a visual image of a "p" and rotating it. The **visuospatial sketchpad** is the place where you manipulated the image (after your central executive retrieved the meaning of "180 degrees" and "clockwise," of course). Working in the visuospatial sketchpad has some of the same aspects as actually looking at a picture or object. If you have to solve the "p" problem and also pay attention to an image on a screen, you will be slowed down just as you would be if you had to look back and forth between two different objects. But if you had to solve the "p" problem while repeating digits, there is little slowdown. You can use your phonological loop and your visuospatial sketchpad at the same time, but each is quickly filled and easily overwhelmed. In fact, each kind of task—verbal and visual—appears to happen in different areas of the brain, and moreover, there are some individual differences in the capacities of these systems (Ashcraft and Radvansky, 2010; Gray, 2011).

The Episodic Buffer

The episodic buffer is the workbench of working memory. It is the process that integrates information from the phonological loop, visuospatial sketchpad, and long-term memory, under the supervision of the central executive, to create complex memories, such as storing the appearance, voice, words, and actions of an actor in a film to create a complete character.

One thing is clear: The duration of information in working memory is short, lasting about 5 to 20 seconds. You may believe that a memory system with a 20-second time limit is not useful. Think again. Without this short-term memory, you would have already forgotten the first part of this sentence before you came to these last few words. Understanding sentences would be difficult at best.

Cognitive Load

Some activities or tasks are more demanding on working memory than others. *Cognitive load* refers to the amount of mental resources (mostly working memory) required to perform a particular task. The extent of cognitive load in a given situation depends on many things, including prior knowledge about the task as well as the supports that are available. There are three kinds of cognitive load. One is unavoidable, one hinders, and one is helpful.

Intrinsic cognitive load is unavoidable—it is the amount of cognitive processing required to understand the material. The amount depends on how many elements you have to consider, the complexity of the interactions, and your level of expertise in the problem area (Antonenko, Paas, Grabner, and van Gog, 2010). Even though working memory can hold 5 to 9 new bits of information, it can process only about 2 to 4 at a time, so if you have to understand how many separate elements interact in a complex system, such as comprehending the structure and function of DNA, you are in trouble unless you already have some relevant knowledge—vocabulary, concepts,

procedures, and so on (van Merriënboer and Sweller, 2005). Intrinsic cognitive load is intrinsic to the task. Although it cannot be eliminated, good instruction can help manage and overcome the load.

Extraneous cognitive load is the cognitive capacity you use to deal with problems not related to the learning task, like struggling with a poorly organized and written textbook. Good instruction can help overcome extraneous load by providing supports, underscoring and organizing the main ideas, and generally supplying scaffolding.

Helpful cognitive load is called germane because it is directly related to high-quality learning. *Germane cognitive load* evolves from deep processing of relevant information—organizing and integrating the material with what you already know and in the process creating new understandings. Instruction can also support this process. For example, ask students to take careful notes, to explain the material to each other or to themselves, and to pictorially display their understandings (Berthold and Renkl, 2009; Mayer, 2011; van Gog et al., 2010). Just a note: some psychologists suggest that there is no practical distinction between intrinsic and germane load—a student must deal with both to learn (Kalyuga, 2011).

Retaining Information in Working Memory

Working memory is fragile. It must be kept activated or the information will be lost (Anderson, 2010). To keep information activated in working memory for longer than 20 seconds, most people need to engage in specific remembering strategies. Rehearsal is one option.

There are two types of **rehearsal** (Ashcraft and Radvansky, 2010; Craik and Lockhart, 1972) —maintenance and elaborative rehearsal. Maintenance rehearsal is repeating the information in your mind. As long as you repeat the information, it can be maintained in working memory. Such rehearsal is useful for retaining something, like a phone number that you plan to use and then forget. Elaborative rehearsal is associating the information you are trying to remember with something you already know—information from long-term memory. For example, if you meet a parent whose name is the same as your assistant principal's, you don't have to repeat the name to keep it in memory; you just have to make the correct association. Elaborative rehearsal not only improves working memory, but helps move information from short-term to long-term memory.

A strategy of **chunking** can be used to overcome the limited capacity of working memory. The number of bits of information, not the size of each bit, is the limitation for working memory. You can retain more information if you can group or chunk individual bits of information into meaningful units. For example, if you have to remember the six digits 1, 5, 1, 8, 2, and 0, it is easier to put them together into three chunks of two digits each (15, 18, 20) or two chunks (151, 820). If you can make these changes, then there are only two or three chunks of information to hold at one time rather than six.

Long-Term Memory

Working memory holds the information that is temporarily activated, such as a telephone number you have been given to dial. Long-term memory holds the information that you have learned, for example, telephone numbers you already know.

Recently, some psychologists have suggested that there are not two separate memory stores—working and long-term. Rather, working memory is part of long-term memory. In other words, working memory acts on (processes) currently activated information and is more about processing than storage. The difference between working memory and long-term memory may simply be in how active or inactive a particular memory is (Anderson, 2010; Wilson, 2001). This model views memory as a set of nested systems with very short-term storage (phonological loop, visuospatial sketchpad, and other brief holding areas) nested in working memory, which is just the active part of long-term memory that does the integrating of old and new information (Sternberg and Sternberg, 2012).

Capacity and Duration of Long-Term Memory

Information enters working memory very quickly, but to store it in long-term memory (remember it) requires some effort. Whereas the capacity of working memory is limited, the capacity of long-term memory is virtually unlimited. Most of us never approach our capacity of long-term memory, and once information is securely stored in long-term memory, it can remain there indefinitely. Theoretically, although we should be able to remember as much as we want for as long as we want, the challenge is recall, that is, finding the right information when we want it. Access to information requires time and effort because we have to search the vast amount of information in long-term memory, and the less information is used, the harder it is to find.

Contents of Long-Term Memory

Most cognitive theorists distinguish among three kinds of long-term memory: episodic, procedural, and semantic. Memory about information associated with a particular place and time, especially personal memories about the events of your own life, is called *episodic memory*. Episodic memory keeps things ordered; it is where details of a conversation as well as jokes, gossip, or plots from films are stored. Memory for how to do things is called *procedural memory*. It may take a while to learn a procedure—such as how to do a school budget, hit a golf ball, or conduct a school board meeting—but once learned, this knowledge is remembered for a long time. Procedural memories are represented as conditional statements such as, if A occurs, then do B. For example, "If I want to lower resistance to an innovation, involve participants in making decisions," or "To improve student achievement, focus on the academic task." People can't necessarily state all their conditional rules,

but they act on them nonetheless. The more practiced the procedure, the more automatic the action (Ashcraft, 2006). *Semantic memory* is memory for meaning; it is the memory of general concepts, principles, and their associations. Two important ways that semantic memories are stored are images and schemas. Let's examine each.

Images are representations based on visual perceptions—on the structure or appearance of the information (Anderson, 2010). As we form images, we try to remember or recreate the physical characteristics and spatial structure of information. For example, when asked what store is beside the McDonald's at a particular intersection in town, many people would look "in their mind's eye" to view the intersection and "look" beside the McDonald's. However, psychologists don't agree on exactly how images are stored in memory. Some argue that images are stored as pictures; others claim we store propositions in long-term memory and convert to pictures in working memory when necessary. The debate continues (Sternberg and Sternberg, 2012). Images are useful in making many practical decisions such as how a desk might look in your office or how to drive to the next school. Images may also be helpful in abstract reasoning. Physicists, such as Feynman and Einstein, report creating images to reason about complex new problems (Gagné, Yekovich, and Yekovich, 1993; Feynman, 1985).

Schemas (sometimes called schemata) are abstract knowledge structures that organize large amounts of information. A schema is a pattern or guide for understanding an event, a concept, or a skill. My simplified schema for reinforcement is summarized in Figure 2.4—it is a partial representation of knowledge about reinforcement; it tells you what features are typical of a category, what to expect. A schema is a pattern, specifying the "standard" relationships in an object or situation. The pattern has "slots" that are filled with specific information as we apply the schema in a particular situation. Schemas are individual. For example, a teacher and a principal may have

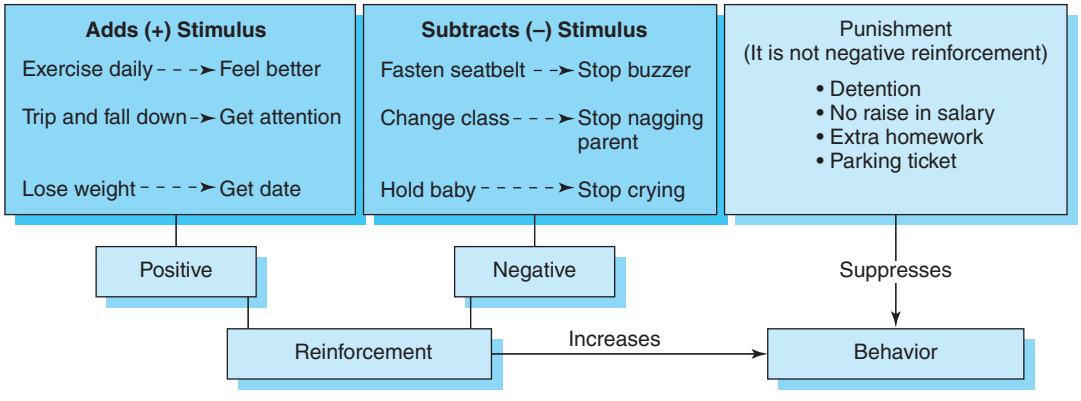


FIGURE 2.4 *Simple Schema for Reinforcement*

very different schemas about shared decision making—who makes what school decisions and when, where, and how. In Chapter 11, we have produced an idealized schema for participation in decision making (Figure 11.4); it specifies when to involve teachers, how to involve them for each situation, the structure of the process, and the various roles of the principal depending on the situation.

Storing and Retrieving Information in Long-Term Memory

How do people "save" information permanently, that is, create semantic, episodic, or procedural memories? How can we make the most effective use of our virtually unlimited capacity to learn and remember? Your initial learning—the way you process the information at the outset—seems to affect its recall. If you integrate new material with information already stored in long-term memory as you construct an understanding, you are more likely to remember. Elaboration, organization, and context aid such integration.

Elaboration is adding meaning to new information by connecting it with already existing knowledge. In other words, we apply our schemas and draw on existing knowledge to construct new meaning as we refine our existing knowledge. Often elaboration occurs automatically. For example, new information about a prior experience of a teacher activates our existing knowledge about that teacher and provides a better and more complete understanding of the teacher.

Information that is elaborated when first learned is easier to recall because elaboration is a form of rehearsal that keeps the material activated in working memory long enough to improve the likelihood of permanent storage in long-term memory. Moreover, elaboration builds extra links to existing knowledge. The more one chunk of information is associated with others, the more routes there are to follow to get to the original chunk. Put simply, you have several "handles" or retrieval cues to recognize or "pick up" the information you might be seeking (Bruning et al., 2011). The more students elaborate new ideas, the more they "make them their own," the deeper their understanding, and the better their memory for the knowledge will be. We help students elaborate when we ask them to:

- Translate information into their own words.
- Create examples.
- Explain to a friend.
- Act out the relation.
- Draw a diagram.
- Apply the information to new problems.

Of course, if students elaborate new information by making incorrect connections and developing misguided explanations, unfortunately these misconceptions will be stored and remembered too.

Organization also improves learning. Well-organized material is easier to learn and remember than unorganized bits and pieces, especially when the information is complex. Putting concepts in a structure helps you learn and remember both general definitions and specific examples. Structure serves as a guide back to the information when you need it. For example, knowing the basic dimensions of power (Chapter 7) helps us remember the key aspects of power relationships as well as specific examples of each.

Context is another element of processing that influences learning. The physical and emotional aspects of context—places, how we feel on a particular day, who is with us—are learned along with other information. Later, if you try to remember the information, it will be easier if the current context is similar to the original one (Ashcraft and Radvansky, 2010). For example, in a classic study, scuba divers who learned a list of words underwater and then were tested underwater remembered more than scuba divers who learned underwater but were tested on dry land (Godden and Baddeley, 1975).

Craik and Lockhart (1972) suggest that the length of time we remember information is determined by how the information is analyzed and integrated with other information; the more completely information is processed, the better our chances of remembering it. For example, if you are asked to sort pictures of dogs based on the color of their coats, you might not remember many of the pictures later, but if asked to determine how likely each dog is to chase you as you jog, you are likely to remember more of the pictures because you will pay attention to details in the pictures, relate features of the dogs to characteristics associated with danger, and so on.

Retrieving Information from Long-Term Memory

When we need information from long-term memory, we search for it. Sometimes the search is conscious, as when you see a familiar face and search for the name, and other times it is automatic, as when you dial a telephone. Think of long-term memory as a huge shed full of tools and supplies ready to be used when needed. Because the shed (long-term memory) is so large and full, it is often difficult to find what you need. The workbench (working memory) is small, but everything is ready for immediate use. But the workbench can get cluttered and supplies (chunks of information) can be lost, fall off, or get covered as one bit of information interferes with another (Gagné, 1985).

The size of the network in long-term memory is huge, but only small parts from it are activated at any one time—in fact, as you saw earlier, some psychologists say the smaller activated part *is* working memory. Information is retrieved in this network through spreading activation. When a particular proposition or image is active—when we are thinking about it—other closely associated knowledge can be primed or triggered as well, and activation can spread through the network (Anderson, 2010). For example, if you think, "I need to give Susan a makeup exam today," related ideas such as "I need to change some questions on the test,"

"I'm behind schedule," and "I need to warm up the car before I leave for school" come to mind. As activation spreads from the "makeup" to "warming the car," the original thought disappears from working memory because of the limited space.

In long-term memory the information is still available, even though you are not thinking about it. If spreading activation does not "find" the needed information, then we might still be able to reconstruct it by using logic, cues, and other knowledge to fill in the missing parts. Unfortunately, sometimes reconstructed recollections are incorrect. For example, in 1932, F. C. Bartlett conducted a series of famous studies on remembering stories. He read a complex, unfamiliar Native American tale to students at England's Cambridge University. After various lengths of time, he asked students to recall the story. The recalled stories were generally shorter and were reconstructed into the concepts and language of their culture. For example, many students remembered the story of a seal hunt as a "fishing trip," which was more consistent with their experience and schemas.

Forgetting and Long-Term Memory

Over 100 years ago, Hermann Ebbinghaus (1885/1964), a pioneer in research on memory for verbal information, concluded, "All sorts of ideas, if left to themselves, are gradually forgotten. This fact is generally known" (p. 62). Information seems to be lost from long-term memory through time decay and interference. For example, memory for Spanish–English vocabulary decreases for about 3 years after completing your last course in Spanish, then remains level for about 25 years, then declines again for the next 25 years. One explanation for this decrease is that neural connections, like muscles, grow weak without use. After 25 years, the memories may still be somewhere in the brain, but they languish because they are too weak to be reactivated. Also, physiological deterioration that comes naturally with age may explain the later decline; some neurons simply die (Anderson, 2010). Finally, newer memories may interfere with older ones, and older memories may interfere with memory for new material. Long-term memory, however, is remarkable. Information in working memory can be lost, but information stored in long-term memory may remain available with the right cues (Erdelyi, 2010). Teaching strategies that encourage student engagement, deep processing of information, and high levels of initial learning are associated with longer retention. Examples of such strategies include frequent reviews and tests.

Why do some people learn and remember more than others? For those who hold an information-processing view, part of the answer lies in how the information is processed. We have already discussed maintenance rehearsal, elaborative rehearsal, organization, and elaboration. These processes are sometimes called **metacognitive skills**, because the processes can be intentionally used to regulate cognition.

Metacognition and Regulation

Emily Fox and Michelle Riconscente define **metacognition** simply as "knowledge or awareness of self as knower" (2008, p. 373). Metacognition is thinking about thinking—something William James wrote about over 100 years ago (though he did not call it metacognition). Metacognition is higher-order knowledge about your own thinking and your ability to use this knowledge to manage your own cognitive processes, for example, as you engage in problem solving (Bruning et al., 2011). One reason people differ in how well and how quickly they learn is because they differ in their metacognitive knowledge and skills.

Planning, monitoring, and evaluation are three crucial cognitive skills (Brown, 1987; Nelson, 1996). Planning is deciding how much time to give to a task, what strategies to use, how to begin, what to gather, what order to follow, what to skim, what to focus on, and so on. Monitoring is the awareness of how I'm doing. Is this making sense? Am I trying to go too fast? Do I have it yet? Evaluation is making judgments about the outcomes of thinking and learning. Should I change strategies? Get help? Give up for now? Is this report (proposal, budget, formula, model, action plan, supervisory report, etc.) finished or does it need more work? Many planning, monitoring, and evaluation processes are not conscious, especially among adults and experts. They become automatic; in fact, experts often have difficulty explaining their own processing (Schraw and Moshman, 1995). Fortunately, metacognitive skills can be taught; thus they are an important basis of teaching.

TEACHING APPLICATIONS OF THE COGNITIVE APPROACH

Just as experienced and expert teachers make good use of behavioral theory, they also incorporate sound cognitive approaches in their teaching. Before we provide examples of the contributions of cognitive theory to teaching and learning, we summarize some of the guiding principles:

- Remember that perception and attention are flexible, but limited.
- Make sure that you have the student's attention.
- Guide perception and attention by previous knowledge.
- Help students focus on the most important information.
- Help students make connections between new information and what they already know.
- Recognize that resources and data limitations restrain learning.
- Help students organize information in meaningful chunks.
- Provide students with opportunities to use both verbal stories and visual images.
- Provide review and repetition of information.
- Present information in an organized and clear fashion.
- Focus on meaning, not memorization.

- Make sure that students have the needed declarative knowledge to understand new information.
- Help students learn to manage their resources, know their own cognitive skills, use them deliberately, and monitor comprehension—that is, become self-regulated. (Bruning, Schraw, and Ronning, 1999; Woolfolk, 2013)

Some of the most important applications of cognitive theories are teaching students how to learn and remember by using learning tactics and strategies. Learning strategies are a special kind of procedural knowledge—*knowing how* to do something. There are a myriad of strategies, some general and taught in school, such as concept mapping, graphing, summarizing, or outlining. Others are specific to a subject, such as using a mnemonic to remember the functions of administration (POSDCoRB). Other strategies may be original, invented by an individual, for example, to learn the names of the four types of school climate. Learning strategies can be cognitive (summarizing or outlining the main ideas), metacognitive (monitoring comprehension—do I understand?), or behavioral (using an alarm clock to work for a set time period) (Cantrell et al., 2010). These strategies are simply ways of accomplishing a learning task, and they are intentionally applied when usual ways of accomplishing the task have not worked well (Harris, Alexander, and Graham, 2008). Over time, as you become more expert using such strategies, you are likely to become more automatic in applying them; that is, the strategies become your usual ways of accomplishing that kind of task until they no longer work.

Most teachers will tell you that they want their students to "learn how to learn." For all students, there is a positive relationship between using learning strategies and academic success, for example, high school GPA and retention in college (Robbins, Le, and Lauver, 2005). Although some students learn productive strategies on their own, all students can benefit from direct teaching, modeling, and practicing effective learning strategies. Newly mastered concepts, principles, and strategies should be applied in a wide variety of situations and many types of problems (Chen and Mo, 2004). Positive transfer is facilitated when skills are practiced under authentic conditions similar to those that will exist when the skills are needed later. For example, students can learn to write by corresponding with e-mail pen pals in other countries, and they can learn historical research methods by studying their own family history. Some applications, however, should include complex, ill-defined, unstructured problems, because many of the problems to be faced in later life, both in school and out, will not come with instructions.

Underlining or Highlighting

If you are like most people, you underline or highlight key phrases in textbooks. Are the words turning yellow or pink at this very moment? Do you outline or take notes? Underlining and highlighting are probably two of the

most commonly used strategies among graduate students. Few students, however, know the best ways to underline or highlight, so it is not surprising that many use ineffective strategies. How many times have you looked down to see virtually the entire page highlighted?

Most students underline or highlight much too much. Less is often better and selectivity is crucial. In studies that limit how much students can underline (e.g., to only one sentence per paragraph) learning has improved (Snowman, 1984). In addition to being selective, it helps if you actively transform the information into your own words as you underline or take notes. Don't rely on the words of the book. Think of connections between what you are reading and other things you know. Draw diagrams and pictures to illustrate relationships. Diagrams help you find the missing gaps as well as synthesize what you are trying to learn. Finally, look for organization in the material and use the patterns to guide your underlining (Irwin, 1991; Kiewra, 1988).

Taking Notes

As you sit in class, taking notes, frenetically trying to keep up with your professor, you may wonder if any of it matters. The answer is yes because taking notes has at least two important functions. First, note taking focuses attention and helps encode information so it has a better chance of making it into long-term memory. When you record the key ideas in your own words—translate, connect, elaborate, and organize—it helps you process deeply. Even if students don't review their notes before a test, just taking notes appears to aid learning. Like many things, note taking is a skill that requires practice. Students, for example, must be careful that taking notes does not detract from listening and making sense of the presentation (Van Meter, Yokoi, and Pressley, 1994). Second, notes provide a "permanent" record that permits students to return and review. Students who use their notes to study tend to perform better on tests, especially if they take notes that capture key ideas, concepts, and relationships (Kiewra, 1985, 1989).

Research demonstrates that understanding is best when students use note taking to underscore important ideas. As a course progresses, skillful students match notes to their anticipated use. In addition, they make modifications in strategies after tests or assignments, use personal codes to flag difficult material, fill in gaps by consulting other sources (including classmates), and record information verbatim only when required. In general, successful students are strategic about taking and using notes (Peverly, Brobst, Graham, and Shaw, 2003).

Visual Tools

Effective use of underlining and note taking requires an understanding of the structure and organization of the material to be learned. Visual mapping

strategies are useful in this regard (Van Meter, 2001). Creating graphic organizers such as concept maps, diagrams, or charts is more effective than simply outlining the text (Robinson and Kiewra, 1995). For example, Armbruster and Anderson (1981) taught students specific techniques for diagramming relationships among ideas presented in a text and found that they improved learning. Mapping relationships by noting causal connections, making comparisons and contrasts, and providing examples improves recall. For instance, it is helpful when students compare one another's "maps" and discuss the differences. An exciting possibility is **Cmaps**, developed by researchers at the Institute for Human Machine Cognition (IHMC). Joseph Novak, a senior researcher at the institute, created concept mapping in the 1970s at Cornell University. Now Novak and the IHMC have developed tools that everyone in the world can download free to make concept maps (see http://cmap.ihmc.us/). Our students at Ohio State use these tools—one even planned his dissertation and organized all the reading for his doctoral examinations using the maps. Computer Cmaps can be linked to the Internet, and students in different classrooms and schools all over the world can collaborate on them.

Other useful techniques are Venn diagrams, which show how ideas or concepts overlap, and tree diagrams, which demonstrate how ideas branch from each other. Tree diagrams are especially useful, for example, in developing decision-making strategies (see Chapter 10).

Mnemonics

Mnemonics are systematic procedures for improving memory. Many mnemonic strategies use imagery (Levin, 1985; McCormick and Levin, 1987). For example, to remember a grocery list, you might visualize each item in an especially memorable place in your house—perhaps a bunch of bananas hanging from a kitchen plant, a quart of milk on top of the refrigerator, a turkey on top of the stove, and so forth. These places are the pegs that help you remember. So every time you have a list to remember, use the same peg (places) but substitute the objects of the new list.

Acronyms help individuals remember information for long periods of time. An acronym is a form of abbreviation—a word formed from the first letter of each word or a phrase, such as AASA, the American Association of School Administrators. POSDCoRB (Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting, and Budgeting) is an acronym to recall the seven functions of administration. Another method forms phrases or sentences out of the first letter of each word or item in a list. For example, the question, "How do I cause regularity?" is a good prompt to remember the fundamental features of bureaucracy—Hierarchy, Division of labor, Impersonality, Career orientation, and Rules and regulations. Another approach is to incorporate all the items to be memorized

into a jingle with rhymes, like "i before e except after c" to help spell certain words.

The mnemonic system that has been most extensively researched in teaching is the keyword method. Joel Levin and his colleagues (Jones, Levin, Levin, and Beitzel, 2000) use a mnemonic (the Three Rs) to teach the keyword mnemonic method:

- Recode the vocabulary item to be learned as a more familiar, concrete keyword—this is the keyword.
- Relate the keyword clue to the vocabulary item's definition through a sentence.
- Retrieve the desired definition.

For example, to remember that the English word "carlin" means old woman, you might recode carlin as the more familiar keyword "car." Then make up a sentence such as "The old woman was driving a car." When you are asked for the meaning of the word "carlin," you think of the keyword "*car,*" which triggers the sentence about the car and the old woman, the meaning (Jones, Levin, Levin, and Beitzel, 2000).

Teaching strategies based on cognitive views of learning, particularly information processing, highlight the importance of attention, rehearsal (practice), and elaboration in learning and provide ways to give students more control over their own learning by developing and improving their own metacognitive processes.

In summary, information processing approaches to learning regard the human mind as a symbol processing system. This system converts sensory input into symbol structures (propositions, images, or schemas), and then processes (rehearses or elaborates) those symbol structures so knowledge can be held in memory and retrieved. The outside world is seen as a source of input, but once the sensations are perceived and enter working memory, the important work is assumed to be happening "inside the head" of the individual (Schunk, 2000; Vera and Simon, 1993). Constructivist perspectives challenge such views.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

How is the curriculum in your school helping students develop learning strategies as well as curriculum content? For example, what planning, memory, or monitoring strategies should your students develop to improve their performance on their proficiency tests? How can these strategies be taught as part of the curriculum?

A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO LEARNING

Constructivism is a broad term used by philosophers, curriculum specialists, psychologists, and educators to describe perspectives grounded in the research of Piaget, Vygotsky, and the Gestalt psychologists as well as the philosophy of John Dewey and the work in anthropology of Jean Lave, to mention just a few intellectual roots. Although there is no one constructivist theory of learning, most constructivists agree on two central ideas:

1. Learners are active in constructing their own knowledge.
2. Social interactions are important in this knowledge construction process (Bruning, Schraw, and Norby, 2011).

Constructivist approaches in science and mathematics education, in educational psychology and anthropology, and in computer-based education all embrace these two ideas. But, even though many psychologists and educators use the term constructivism, they often mean very different things (Martin, 2006; McCaslin and Hickey, 2001; Phillips, 1997).

Types of Constructivism

Virtually all the theories in cognitive science include some kind of constructivism because these theories assume that individuals construct their own cognitive structures as they interpret their experiences in particular situations (Palincsar, 1998). One way to organize constructivist views is to talk about two forms of constructivism: psychological and social (Palincsar, 1998; Phillips, 1997).

Psychological/Individual Constructivism

Psychological constructivists are interested in individual knowledge, beliefs, self-concept, or identity, so they are sometimes called individual constructivists. They all focus on the inner psychological life of people and how individuals build up their cognitive or emotional structures and strategies (Phillips, 1997; Windschitl, 2002). For example, Piaget proposed a sequence of cognitive stages that all humans pass through. Thinking at each stage builds on and incorporates previous stages as it becomes more organized and adaptive and less tied to concrete events. Piaget described how individuals develop *schemes*—the basic building blocks of thinking. Schemes are organized systems of actions or thought that allow us to mentally represent or "think about" the objects and events in our world. Schemes may be very small and specific, for example, the sucking-through-a-straw scheme or the recognizing-a-rose scheme. Or they may be larger and more general—the drinking scheme or the categorizing-plants scheme.

Two processes are applied to schemes. *Assimilation* involves trying to understand something new by applying existing schemes—fitting the new

into what we already know. At times, we may have to distort the new information to make it fit. For example, the first time many children see a skunk, they call it a "kitty." They try to match the new experience with an existing scheme for identifying animals. *Accommodation* occurs when a person must change existing ways of thinking to respond to a new situation. We adjust our thinking to fit the new information, instead of adjusting the information to fit our thinking. Children demonstrate accommodation when they add the scheme for recognizing skunks to their other systems for identifying animals. People adapt to their increasingly complex environments by using existing schemes whenever these schemes work (assimilation) and by modifying and adding to their schemes when something new is needed (accommodation).

Piaget's psychological constructivist perspective was less concerned with "correct" representations and more interested in meaning as constructed by the individual. Piaget's special concern was with logic and the construction of universal knowledge that cannot be learned directly from the environment—knowledge such as conservation or reversibility (Miller, 2002). Such knowledge comes from reflecting on and coordinating our own cognitions or thoughts, not from mapping external reality. Piaget saw the social environment as an important factor in development, but did not believe that social interaction was the main mechanism for changing thinking (Moshman, 1997).

Piaget did not make specific educational recommendations. He was more interested in understanding children's thinking. He did express some general ideas about educational philosophy, however. He believed that the main goal of education should be to help children learn how to learn, and that education should "form not furnish" the minds of students (Piaget, 1969, p. 70). Even though Piaget did not design programs of education based on his ideas, many other people have. For example, the National Association for the Education of Young Children has guidelines for developmentally appropriate education that incorporate Piaget's findings (Bredekamp and Copple, 1997).

Some educational and developmental psychologists have referred to Piaget's kind of constructivism as **"first wave" constructivism** or "solo" constructivism, with its emphasis on individual meaning-making (DeCorte, Greer, and Verschaffel, 1996; Paris, Byrnes, and Paris, 2001). **"Second wave" constructivism** puts thinking and learning in the context of social situations and cultural practices. Vygotsky's theory is an example of a second wave constructivism.

Vygotsky's Social Constructivism

Lev Semenovich Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist, was only 38 when he died of tuberculosis almost 80 years ago, but he had produced over 100 books and articles. Vygotsky believed that knowledge is socially constructed; that is, knowledge is built upon what participants contribute and construct

together. Thus development may proceed differently in different cultural contexts. Social interaction, cultural tools, and activity shape individual development and learning.

Vygotsky believed that *cultural tools*, including real tools (such as printing presses, rulers, and the abacus, along with tools we would add today such as PDAs, computers, and the Internet) and symbolic tools (such as numbers and mathematical systems, Braille and sign language, maps, works of art, signs and codes, and language), play very important roles in cognitive development. For example, as long as the culture provides only Roman numerals for representing quantity, certain ways of thinking mathematically—from long division to calculus—are difficult or impossible. But if a number system has a zero, fractions, positive and negative values, and an infinite number of numbers, then much more is possible. The number system is a cultural tool that supports thinking, learning, and cognitive development. This symbol system is passed from adult to child through formal and informal interactions and teachings.

Vygotsky emphasized that all higher-order mental processes, such as reasoning and problem solving, are mediated by (accomplished through and with the help of) psychological tools, such as language, signs, and symbols. Adults teach these tools to children during day-to-day activities and the children internalize them. Then the psychological tools can help students advance their own development (Karpov and Haywood, 1998). The process is something like this: As children engage in activities with adults or more capable peers, they exchange ideas and ways of thinking about or representing concepts—drawing maps, for example, as a way to represent spaces and places. Children internalize these co-created ideas. Thus, children's knowledge, ideas, attitudes, and values develop through appropriating or "taking for themselves" the ways of acting and thinking provided by their culture and by the more capable members of their group (Kozulin and Presseisen, 1995).

Radical Constructivism

Radical constructivism has become popular in recent years with the rise of postmodern thought and critique in American education; in fact, it has been called a species of postmodernism (Moshman, 1997). Radical constructivists maintain that knowledge is not a mirror of the external world in spite of the fact that experience affects thinking and thinking influences knowledge. All of knowledge is socially constructed, and, more important, some people have more power than others do in defining what constitutes such knowledge. This approach encourages collaboration to understand diverse viewpoints and often challenges traditional bodies of knowledge (Gergen, 1997). It finds no basis for evaluating or interpreting any belief as any better or any worse than any other (Garrison, 1995; Woods and Murphy, 2002).

A difficulty with this position is that, when pushed to the extreme of relativism, all knowledge and beliefs are equal because all are constructed.

This way of thinking offers problems for educators. First, teachers have a professional responsibility to emphasize some values, such as honesty or justice, over others such as bigotry. All beliefs are not equal. As teachers we ask students to work hard to learn. If learning cannot advance understanding because all understandings are equally good, then, as David Moshman (1997) notes, "we might just as well let students continue to believe whatever they believe" (p. 230). Also, it appears that some knowledge, such as counting and one-to-one correspondence, is not constructed but universal. Knowing one-to-one correspondence is part of being human (Geary, 1995; Schunk, 2000). We agree with those scholars and researchers who are critical of the radical constructivist perspective (Chandler, 1997; Moshman, 1997; Phillips, 1997).

These different perspectives on constructivism raise some general questions and disagree on the answers. These questions can never be fully resolved, but different theories tend to favor different positions.

How Is Knowledge Constructed?

One tension among different approaches to constructivism is based on *how* knowledge is constructed. Moshman (1982) describes three explanations.

1. *The realities and truths of the external world direct knowledge construction.* Individuals *reconstruct* outside reality by building accurate mental representations that reflect "the way things really are." Information processing holds this view of knowledge (Cobb and Bowers, 1999).
2. *Internal processes such as Piaget's organization, assimilation, and accommodation direct knowledge construction.* New knowledge is abstracted from old knowledge. Knowledge is not a mirror of reality, but rather an abstraction that grows and develops with cognitive activity. Knowledge is not true or false; it just grows more internally consistent and organized with development.
3. *Both external and internal factors direct knowledge construction.* Knowledge grows through the *interactions* of internal (cognitive) and external (environmental and social) factors. Vygotsky's description of cognitive development through the appropriation and use of cultural tools such as language is consistent with this view (Bruning, Schraw, and Ronning, 1999). Table 2.2 summarizes the three general explanations about how knowledge is constructed.

Knowledge: Situated or General?

A second question that cuts across many constructivist perspectives is whether knowledge is internal, general, and transferable or bound to the time and place in which it is constructed. Psychologists who emphasize the social construction of knowledge and situated learning affirm Vygotsky's notion that learning is inherently social and embedded in a particular cultural

TABLE 2.2

How Knowledge Is Constructed

What Directs Knowledge Formation?	Assumptions about Learning and Knowledge	Example Theories
External world	Knowledge is acquired by constructing a representation of the outside world. Direct teaching, feedback, and explanation affect learning. Knowledge is accurate to the extent that it reflects the "way things really are" in the outside world.	Information processing
Internal processes	Knowledge is constructed by transforming, organizing, and reorganizing previous knowledge. Knowledge is not a mirror of the external world. Exploration and discovery are more important than teaching.	Piaget
Both external and internal factors	Knowledge is constructed based on social interactions and experience. Knowledge reflects the outside world as filtered through and influenced by culture, language, beliefs, interactions with others, direct teaching, and modeling. Guided discovery, teaching models, and coaching as well as the individual's prior knowledge, beliefs, and thinking affect learning.	Vygotsky

setting (Cobb and Bowers, 1999). What is true in one time and place—such as the "fact" before Columbus's time that the earth was flat—becomes false in another time and place. Particular ideas may be useful within a specific community of practice, such as 15th-century navigation, but useless outside that community. What counts as new knowledge is determined in part by how well the new idea fits with current accepted practice. Over time, the current practice may be questioned and even overthrown, but until such major shifts occur, current practice will shape what is considered valuable.

Situated learning emphasizes that the real world is not like studying in school. It is more like an apprenticeship where novices, with the support of an expert guide and model, take on more and more responsibility until they are able to function independently. For those who take a situated learning view, this explains learning in factories, around the dinner table, in high school halls, in street gangs, in the business office, and on the playground.

Situated learning is often described as "enculturation," or adopting the norms, behaviors, skills, beliefs, language, and attitudes of a particular community. The community might be mathematicians or gang members or

writers or students in your eighth-grade class or soccer players—any group that has particular ways of thinking and doing. Knowledge is seen *not* as individual cognitive structures but as a creation of the community over time. The practices of the community—the ways of interacting and getting things done, as well as the tools the community has created—constitute the knowledge of that community. Learning means becoming more able to participate in those practices, use the tools, and take on the identity of a member of the community (Derry, 1992; Garrison, 1995; Greeno, Collins, and Resnick, 1996; Rogoff, 1998).

At the most basic level, situated learning asserts that much of what we learn is tied to the context in which we learned it (Anderson, Reder, and Simon, 1996, p. 5). Thus, some would argue, learning to do calculations in school may help students do more school calculations, but may not help them balance a checkbook because the skills can be applied only in the context in which they were learned, namely school (Lave, 1997; Lave and Wenger, 1991). But it also appears that knowledge and skills can be applied across contexts that were not part of the initial learning situation, as when you use your ability to read and calculate to do your income taxes, even though income tax forms were not part of your high school curriculum (Anderson, Reder, and Simon, 1996). So learning that is situated in school does not have to be doomed or irrelevant (Berieter, 1997).

Much of the work within constructivist perspectives has focused on teaching. Many of the new standards for teaching, such as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics' Curriculum and Evaluation Standards for School Mathematics and the American Association for the Advancement of Science's Benchmarks for Science Literacy, are based on constructivist assumptions and methods. Many of the efforts to reform and restructure schools are attempts to apply constructivist perspectives on teaching and learning to the curriculum and organization of entire schools.

TEACHING APPLICATIONS OF CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES

Expert teachers use good constructivist theories as well as sound behavioral and cognitive theories. Before we provide examples of the contributions of constructivist approaches to teaching and learning, we summarize some of the activities that encourage knowledge construction, taken from Mark Windschitl (2002):

- Teachers elicit students' ideas and experiences in relation to key topics, and then fashion learning situations that help students elaborate on or restructure their current knowledge.
- Students are given frequent opportunities to engage in complex, meaningful, problem-based activities.
- Teachers provide students with a variety of information resources as well as the tools (technological and conceptual) necessary to mediate learning.

- Students work collaboratively and are given support to engage in task-oriented dialogue with one another.
- Teachers make their own thinking processes explicit to learners and encourage students to do the same through dialogue, writing, drawings, or other representations.
- Students are routinely asked to apply knowledge in diverse and authentic contexts, to explain ideas, interpret texts, predict phenomena, and construct arguments based on evidence, rather than to focus exclusively on the acquisition of predetermined "right answers."
- Teachers encourage students' reflective and autonomous thinking in conjunction with the conditions listed above.
- Teachers employ a variety of assessment strategies to understand how students' ideas are evolving and to give feedback on the processes as well as the products of their thinking. (p. 137)

In addition, constructivist approaches include *scaffolding* to support students' developing expertise. Here is a good definition of scaffolding that emphasizes the dynamic interactive nature of scaffolding as well as the knowledge that both teacher and student bring—both are experts on something: "Scaffolding is a powerful conception of teaching and learning in which teachers and students create meaningful connections between teachers' cultural knowledge and the everyday experience and knowledge of the student" (McCaslin and Hickey, 2001, p. 137). One implication of Vygotsky's theory of cognitive development is that deep understanding requires that students wrestle with problems in their zone of proximal development, but they need scaffolding to work effectively in that zone.

Even though there are different views of scaffolding, most educational psychologists agree on three characteristics (van de Pol, Volman, and Beishuizen, 2010):

1. *Contingency Support:* The teacher is constantly adjusting and tailoring responses to the student.
2. *Fading:* The teacher gradually withdraws support as the students develop understanding and skills.
3. *Transferring Responsibility:* Students assume more and more responsibility for their own learning.

Constructivists believe that students should not be given basic skills drills and simple or artificial problems, but instead should be challenged with complex situations and "fuzzy" problems, the kind they will find in the world outside the classroom. Such problems should be embedded in **authentic tasks** and activities, the kinds of situations that students will face as they apply what they are learning to real-world problems (Brown, 1990; Needels and Knapp, 1994).

Three examples of constructivist approaches to teaching, which are consistent with these guiding principles, are problem-based learning, cognitive apprenticeships, and cooperative learning.

Problem-Based Learning

The basic goals of problem-based learning are:

- To help students develop knowledge that is useful and flexible, not inert; inert knowledge is information that is memorized but seldom applied
- To enhance intrinsic motivation and skills in problem solving
- To increase collaboration, evidence-based decision making, and self-directed lifelong learning (Cognition and Technology Group at Vanderbilt [CTGV], 1996; Whitehead, 1929).

In problem-based learning, students are confronted with actual problems that launch their inquiry as they collaborate to find solutions. The students identify and analyze the problem based on the facts from the scenario, which they use to generate hypotheses about solutions. As they develop hypotheses, they identify missing information about what they need to know to test their solutions. Thus their research begins. Students then apply their new knowledge, assess their problem solutions, and redo their research again if necessary. Finally, they reflect on the knowledge and skills they have gained.

Throughout the entire process, students are not unguided. Their thinking and problem solving is scaffolded by the teacher, computer software, models, coaching, expert hints, guides, organizational aids, or other students in the collaborative groups—so working memory is not overloaded. For example, as students work on their problems, they may be required to fill in a chart that helps them distinguish between "claims" and "reasons" in a scientific argument (Derry, Hmelo-Silver, Nagarajan, Chernobilsky, &Beitzel, 2006; Hmelo-Silver, Ravit, & Chinn, 2007).

In true problem-based learning, the problems are real and the students' actions matter. For example, during the 2010 Deepwater oil spill, many teachers seized upon the crisis as a springboard for learning. Their students researched how this spill compared to others in size, location, costliness, causes, and attempted solutions. What could be done? How do currents and tides play a role? What locations, businesses, and wildlife are in the greatest danger? How long does the oil last in the ocean? What happens to it? What are the financial and the environmental impacts, short-term and long-term? What actions can students take to play a positive role? Teachers blogged about using the oil spill in problem-based learning and collected resources for other teachers (see http://www.edutopia.org/blog/oil-spill-project-based-learning-resources).

Research on Problem-Based Learning

Research on problem-based learning (PBL) has been done mostly in medical schools and results have been mixed. In one study, students learning through problem-based instruction were better at clinical skills such as problem formation and reasoning; however, they felt less prepared in science and actually had less basic knowledge of science (Albanese and Mitchell, 1993). A review of problem-based learning curricula in medical schools concluded

that a problem-based approach was not effective in promoting higher levels of student knowledge (Colliver, 2000).

But in another study, medical students who learned using problem-based approaches created more accurate and coherent solutions to medical problems (Hmelo, 1998). Further, in an extensive study of a problem-based medical program in the Netherlands, Schmidt and his colleagues (2009) concluded that, compared to graduates of conventional programs, graduates of the PBL program had better interpersonal skills, had higher levels of practical skills, graduated more quickly, and had small positive differences in their medical knowledge and diagnostic reasoning. MBA students who learned a concept using problem-based methods were better at explaining the concept than students in traditional lecture and discussion classes (Capon and Kuhn, 2004). Students who are better at self-regulation may especially benefit more from problem-based methods (Evensen, Salisbury-Glennon, and Glenn, 2001), but using problem-based methods over time can help *all* students to develop self-directed learning skills.

Cindy Hmelo-Silver (2004; Hmelo-Silver et al., 2007) found substantial evidence in the research that problem-based learning supports the construction of flexible knowledge and enhances the development of problem-solving and self-directed learning skills; however, there is less evidence that participating in problem-based learning is intrinsically motivating or that it teaches students to collaborate. In studies of high school economics and mathematics, recent research shows that problem-based approaches help students learn more complex concepts and solve multistep word problems.

The best approach in elementary and secondary schools may be a balance of content-focused inquiry and problem-based methods (Arends, 2000). For example, Eva Toth, David Klahr, and Zhe Chen (2000) tested a balanced approach for teaching fourth-graders how to use the controlled variable strategy in science to design good experiments. The method had three phases: (1) in small groups, students conducted exploratory experiments to identify variables that made a ball roll farther down a ramp; (2) the teacher led a discussion, explained the controlled variable strategy, and modeled good thinking about experiment design; and (3) the students designed and conducted application experiments to isolate which variables caused the ball to roll farther. The combination of inquiry, discussion, explanation, and modeling was successful in helping the students understand the concepts.

Cognitive Apprenticeships

Apprenticeships are an effective form of education. By working with a master and sometimes other apprentices, neophytes have learned many skills, trades, and crafts. Why are they effective? Apprenticeships are rich in information because the experts with extensive knowledge guide, model, demonstrate, and correct, as well as provide a personal bond that is motivating. The performances required of the learner are real, important, and grow more complex as the learner becomes more competent (Collins, Brown, and Holum, 1991).

Collins and his colleagues (1989) argue that knowledge and skills learned in school often are irrelevant to the world beyond school. To address this problem, schools sometimes adopt many of the features of apprenticeship, but rather than learning to sculpt or lay bricks, apprenticeships in schools focus on cognitive objectives such as reading comprehension or mathematical problem solving or application of professional skills in internships. Most cognitive apprenticeship models share six features:

- Students observe an expert (usually the teacher) model the task.
- Students get support through coaching or tutoring—including hints, feedback, models, and reminders.
- Conceptual scaffolding—outlines, explanations, notes, definitions, formulas, procedures, and the like—is provided and then gradually reduced as the student becomes more competent and proficient.
- Students continually articulate knowledge—putting their understanding into their own words.
- Students reflect on their progress and compare their problem solving both to an expert's performance and to their own earlier performances.
- Students explore new ways to apply what they are learning—ways they have not practiced at the master's side.

Cooperative Learning

David and Roger Johnson (2009), two of the founders of cooperative learning, define formal *cooperative learning* as "students working together, for one class period to several weeks, to achieve shared learning goals and complete jointly specific tasks and assignments" (p. 373). Cooperative learning has a long history in American education, moving in and out of fashion over the years. Today, evolving constructivist perspectives have produced a growing commitment to learning situations that rely on elaboration, interpretation, explanation, and argumentation—that is, cooperative learning (Webb and Palincsar, 1996, p. 844). David and Roger Johnson note:

> From being discounted and ignored, cooperative learning has steadily progressed to being one of the dominant instructional practices throughout the world. Cooperative learning is now utilized in schools and universities throughout most of the world in every subject area and from preschool through graduate school and adult training programs. (p. 365)

Johnson and Johnson (2009) list five elements that define true cooperative learning groups:

- Promotive interaction
- Positive interdependence
- Individual accountability
- Collaborative skills
- Group processing

Promotive interaction means that group members encourage and facilitate one another's efforts. They usually interact face-to-face and close together, not across the room, but they could interact via digital media around the world. Group members experience *positive interdependence*—they need one another for support, explanations, and guidance. Even though they work together and help one another, members of the group must ultimately demonstrate learning on their own—they are held *individually accountable* for learning, often through individual tests or other assessments. *Collaborative skills* are necessary for effective group functioning. Often these skills, such as giving constructive feedback, reaching consensus, and involving every member, must be taught and practiced before the groups tackle a learning task. Finally, members monitor *group processes* and relationships to make sure the group is working effectively and to learn about the dynamics of groups. They take time to ask, "How are we doing as a group? Is everyone working together?" Let's examine a few of the popular cooperative learning techniques.

Jigsaw

One format for cooperative learning, Jigsaw, emphasizes high interdependence. Each group member is given part of the material to be learned by the whole group and becomes an "expert" on that piece. Students teach one another, so they depend on one another and everyone's contribution is important. A more recent version, Jigsaw II, adds expert meetings in which students who have the same material consult to make sure they understand their assigned part and then plan how to teach the information to their group. After the expert meeting, students return to their groups and bring their expertise to the learning sessions. Finally, students take an individual test on all the material and earn points for their learning team score. Teams work either for rewards or simply for recognition (Slavin, 1995).

Scripted Cooperation

Donald Dansereau and his colleagues have developed a method for learning in pairs called scripted cooperation. Students work cooperatively on some task—reading a selection of text, solving math problems, or editing writing drafts. For example, in reading, both partners read a passage. Then one student gives an oral summary and the other comments on the summary, noting omissions or errors. Next the partners collaborate to refine and improve the information—create associations, images, mnemonics, ties to previous work, examples, analogies, and so on. The partners switch the reading and commentary roles for the next passage and continue to take turns until they finish the assignment (Dansereau, 1985; O'Donnell and O'Kelly, 1994).

There are many other forms of cooperative learning. Kagan (1994) and Slavin (1995) have written extensively on cooperative learning and developed and refined a variety of formats. Regardless of the format, the key to

learning in groups is the quality of the discourse among the students. Talk that is interpretive—that analyzes and discusses explanations, evidence, reasons, and alternatives—is more useful than talk that is only descriptive. Teachers play an important role in cooperative learning; they are important guides. Effective teachers seed the discussion with ideas and alternatives that push and prod student thinking (Palincsar, 1998).

Cooperative Learning and Inclusive Classrooms

Sometimes including students with special needs in cooperative activities requires extra attention to planning and preparation. For example, in cooperative structures such as scripted questioning or peer tutoring, you want to see and hear explaining and teaching, not just telling or giving right answers. But many students with learning disabilities have difficulties understanding new concepts, so both the explainer and the student can get frustrated, and the student with learning disabilities might face social rejection. Because students with learning disabilities often have problems with social relations, it is not a good idea to put them in situations where more rejection is likely. So when students are learning new or difficult-to-grasp concepts, cooperative learning might not be the best choice for students with learning disabilities (Kirk et al., 2006). In fact, research has found that cooperative learning in general is not always effective for students with learning disabilities (Smith, 2006).

A second concern is that mixed ability groups may not be beneficial for gifted students. The pace often is too slow and the tasks are too simple and repetitive. Also, gifted students often end up in the role of teacher or just doing the work quickly for the whole group. The challenges for teachers who use mixed ability groups and include gifted students are to use complex tasks that allow work at different levels and keep gifted students engaged without losing the rest of the class (Smith, 2006).

Cooperative learning may be an excellent choice, however, for English language learners (ELL). In many classrooms, four, five, six, or more languages might be represented. Teachers can't be expected to master every language spoken by all their students every year. Here cooperative groups can help as students work together on academic tasks. Students who speak two languages can help translate and explain lessons to others in the group. Because speaking in a smaller group may provoke less anxiety for students who are learning a language, ELL students may get more language practice with feedback in these groups (Smith, 2006). The Jigsaw cooperative structure is especially helpful for ELL students because these students have information that the group needs, so they too must talk, explain, and interact. In fact, the Jigsaw approach was developed in response to needs for creating high interdependence in diverse groups.

See Table 2.3 for a summary of the learning perspectives discussed in this chapter.

TABLE 2.3

Four Learning Perspectives

	Behavioral **Skinner**	*Cognitive* **Anderson**	*Individual Contructivist* **Piaget**	*Social Constructivist* **Vygotsky**
Knowledge	Fixed body of knowledge to acquire	Fixed body of knowledge to acquire	Changing body of knowledge, individually constructed in the social world—but some under standings clearly superior to others	Socially constructed knowledge; knowledge reflects the outside world as filtered through and influenced by culture, language, beliefs, and interactions with others
Learning	Acquisition of facts, skill, concepts Occurs through explanation, demonstration, and guided practice	Acquisition of facts, skill, concepts and strategies Occurs through the effective application of strategies	Active construction and reconstruction of prior knowledge Occurs through multiple opportunities to connect with what is already known	Collaborative construction of socially defined knowledge and values Occurs through socially constructed opportunities
Teaching	Transmission—telling	Transmission—guiding toward more accurate and complete information	Challenging and guiding students toward a more complete understanding	Teacher and student co-constructing knowledge
Role of Teacher	Supervisor—correct wrong answers	Guide—model effective strategies and correct misconceptions	Guide and facilitator—listen to student's ideas and thinking and guide	Guide, facilitator, and partner—listen to socially constructed knowledge and help co-construct knowledge
Role of Classmates	Not essential	Not essential, but can facilitate information processing	Not essential, but can stimulate questions and raise questions	Part of the process of knowledge construction
Role of Student	Receiver of information; active in practice	Processor of information; strategy user	Active constructor of knowledge; active thinker and interpreter	Active co-constructor of knowledge; active social participant
Example of Teaching Approaches	Learning objectives; direct instruction	Visual tools—graphs and charts; mnemonic strategies	Conceptual change teaching; pure discovery learning	Cognitive apprenticeship; reciprocal teaching



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Think of an important concept in a subject you have taught (ecological niche, point of view, story tone, reciprocal determinism, former/latter, distributive property, democracy . . .). Now plan a lesson on the concept that reflects Piaget's individual constructivism and another lesson exemplifying Vygotsky's social constructivism. What are the main differences between the two perspectives as revealed in your lesson plans?



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Cooperative Learning: Sound Practice or Social Experiment?

This is your second year as principal of Jackson Middle School. The first year was a major adjustment for you because you went directly from being teacher to principal, and most of your energy was focused on keeping the school running smoothly, but this year is different. This year you have a plan to begin to improve the achievement of weak students in Jackson. You have started in a modest way by getting three sixth-grade teachers to volunteer to use cooperative learning in their classes. The teachers took a two-course sequence in cooperative learning at the university last summer, and now they are well into the second month of the innovation—enjoying the challenge and believing they are making a difference.

You are more than a little upset because you just got a call from Dr. Anita Rodriquez, your superintendent. Dr. Rodriquez has always been very supportive; in fact, it was she who talked you into moving into the principalship. But the phone conversation was troubling. The superintendent reported that she and several of the board members were getting calls from parents about the "cooperative learning experiment," as the parents put it. The superintendent remained supportive, but she concluded her phone conversation with you by saying that she just wanted you to know that there was opposition to your new cooperative learning experiment and that you should be prepared for some trouble.

Indeed, you had personally experienced a number of parental complaints about the cooperative learning program that you had dismissed as the growing pains of the new program. For example, one parent complained that the cooperative learning was "just another passing educational fad" and that she wanted her children to learn the basics. She had attended parochial school as a child and was proud of her no-nonsense education. She concluded that "learning is not fun and play—it is serious business and hard work." You tried to assure her that her son would learn and perhaps come to enjoy the process of learning, but she left still seemingly unconvinced of the merits of cooperative learning. It was also true that another parent expressed some alarm that the school was "experimenting" with her daughter. In that case, after reviewing some of the facts and purposes of the cooperative leaning program, you thought you were successful in defusing the issue because the parent left feeling much better about school and her daughter. As you reflect further on your interactions, you realize that perhaps there is more resistance than you originally thought—obviously the superintendent and the board are getting complaints. You are committed to the program and want to support the three teachers who volunteered and are moving forward with the innovation.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

You decide to talk directly with the teachers about reactions from the parents. An after-school meeting with the three teachers for the purpose of gauging community resistance and assessing the progress of the program yields some surprises. Your teachers have been handling many more negative complaints than you are aware of, yet they are enthusiastic and committed to the program. They believe that they have turned the corner because most of the students are truly enjoying the teamwork, and student performance, especially of the slower students, is definitely improving. What are the parental criticisms of the program?

- The program slows down my child; she is smart and doesn't need help.
- I don't like you experimenting with my kids.
- Competition, not cooperation, is what makes this country great. In the business world, it is dog eat dog.
- My child is going to get lower grades because she is being dragged down by others in her group.
- The kids don't work hard; they play and it is a waste of time.
- My son does all the work for his group and it is not fair.
- I spend all my spare time driving my daughter around to work on group projects with classmates.
- My son does fine on his own; he doesn't like group work.
- Kids in the group are mean to my son; they don't include him; he hates school.

You all agree that too many parents are misinformed about cooperative learning and need to be educated not only about the basic principles undergirding the new program but also about other learning strategies that are occurring in the classroom. To that end you agree, with the help of your cooperative learning teachers, to prepare a short speech for the next PTA meeting. The talk will review the new cooperative learning program, address each of the listed criticisms of the program, and use learning and teaching principles from the behavioral, cognitive, and constructivist perspectives to bolster the teaching and learning program of the school. The aim is to educate and allay parent anxiety.

You are that middle school principal, so it is up to you to prepare the speech. Do it.

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Ensure that positive actions are recognized and rewarded: Reinforcement strengthens behavior.
2. Accompany all punishment with rewards for correct behavior: Emphasize the positive.
3. Understand the function of negative behavior: Help students reach their goals through positive actions instead.
4. Match instruction to learning goals: Direct teaching is useful when students have limited knowledge.
5. Help students focus attention on the big ideas: Learning is difficult when you don't know what is important.
6. Avoid overwhelming working memory: Extraneous cognitive load limits learning.
7. Build knowledge in long-term memory by making many connections: Deeply processed and elaborated information is easier to remember.

8. Teach memory and learning strategies directly: Without guidance, some students will never master powerful strategies.
9. Create situations in which students actively construct meaning: To invent is to understand.
10. Position students at the center of learning: Build on their knowledge and interests.
11. Provide authentic problems as a launching pad for learning: Useful knowledge grows from solving real-life challenges.
12. Build collaborative skills among students and faculty: Cooperation leads to respect and critical thinking.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. If the frequency or intensity of a behavior is maintaining or increasing, then something is reinforcing the behavior.
2. If an action allows you to escape or avoid a bad situation, you are likely to repeat the action when faced with the situation again.
3. Current thinking suggests that it is better to have a few important, broad, but measurable instructional objectives for teaching than to have very specific or very general objectives.
4. Direct instruction is effective when the material to be learned is explicit, factual, and hierarchical.
5. Declarative knowledge (knowing what) and procedural knowledge (knowing how) can be used most effectively if you also have self-regulatory knowledge (knowing when and why to apply your knowledge). Many children and adults lack conditional knowledge.
6. When working memory is overloaded, information is lost.
7. Information is easier to remember if is well organized, elaborated (connected to other things you know), and learned in meaningful contexts.
8. Learning strategies need to be explicitly taught and practiced extensively in a variety of situations.
9. There are many different meanings of the term "constructivism" depending on whether the theorists emphasize social and cultural or individual factors in knowledge constructions.
10. Inquiry learning is based on Piaget's theory of cognitive development, which highlights the individual's discovery and invention of knowledge. These methods may not be helpful for less prepared students.
11. Problem-based learning emphasizes Vygotsky's concern with authentic activity in cultural contexts. These methods may be better for understanding process than for learning basic content.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

technical core, *p. 43*
learning, *p. 43*
positive reinforcement, *p. 45*
negative reinforcement, *p. 46*
punishment, *p. 46*
direct punishment, *p. 47*
removal punishment, *p. 47*
cueing, *p. 48*
prompting, *p. 48*
functional behavioral assessment (FBA), *p. 51*
positive behavioral support (PBS), *p. 51*
instructional objective, *p. 52*
direct instruction, *p. 53*
basic skills, *p. 53*
general knowledge, *p. 56*
domain-specific knowledge, *p. 56*
declarative knowledge, *p. 56*
procedural knowledge, *p. 57*
self-regulatory knowledge, *p. 57*
information processing, *p. 57*
perception, *p. 59*
central executive, *p. 61*
phonological loop, *p. 62*
visuospatial sketchpad, *p. 63*
rehearsal, *p. 64*
chunking, *p. 64*
metacognitive skills, *p. 69*
metacognition, *p. 70*
Cmaps, *p. 73*
mnemonics, *p. 73*
"first wave" constructivism, *p. 76*
"second wave" constructivism, *p. 76*
radical constructivism, *p. 77*
situated learning, *p. 79*
authentic tasks, *p. 81*

SUGGESTED READINGS

Alberto, P. A., and Troutman, A. C. *Applied Behavior Analysis for Teachers* (8th ed.). Boston: Pearson, 2009.

A good resource on behavioral theories for teachers.

Bruning, R. H., Schraw, G. J., and Norby, M. M. *Cognitive Psychology and Instruction* (5th ed.). Boston: Pearson, 2011.

A clear and readable summary of the cognitive theories of learning and implications for teaching.

Kirschner, P. A., Sweller, J., and Clark, R. E. "Why Minimal Guidance during Instruction Does Not Work: An Analysis of the Failure of Constructivist, Discovery, Problem-Based, Experiential, and Inquiry-Based Teaching." *Educational Psychologist* 41 (2006), pp. 75–86.

A strong challenge to the common assumptions that inquiry, problem-based, and constructivist teaching is useful when learners have limited knowledge in an area. Based on excellent research on the human brain and learning.

Landrum, T. J., and Kauffman, J. M. "Behavioral Approaches to Classroom Management." In C. M. Evertson and C. S. Weinstein (Eds.), *Handbook of*

Classroom Management: Research, Practice and Contemporary Issues. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2006.

An up-to-date look at how behavioral learning principles can be applied in managing classrooms.

Locke, E. A., and Latham, G. P. "Building a Practically Useful Theory of Goal Setting and Task Motivation: A 35-Year Odyssey." *American Psychologist* 57 (2002), pp. 705–17.

The gurus of goal theory summarize over three decades of research.

Mayer, R. E. *Applying the Science of Learning*. Boston: Pearson, 2011.

A short, readable source on implications of the learning sciences for teaching.

Popham, W. J. *Classroom Assessment: What Teachers Need to Know* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2011.

A well-written, often humorous, and always accurate resource on learning objectives and classroom assessment issues.

Stage, S. A., et al. "A Validity Study of Functionally-Based Behavioral Consultation with Students with Emotional/Behavioral Disabilities."*School Psychology Quarterly* 23(2008), pp. 327–353.

Describes how FBA can be used with students with emotional and behavioral challenges.

Windschitl, M. "Framing Constructivism in Practice as the Negotiation of Dilemmas: An Analysis of the Conceptual, Pedagogical, Cultural, and Political Challenges Facing Teachers." *Review of Educational Research* 72 (2002), pp. 131–75.

Abroad look at the dilemmas posed by constructivism in classrooms today.

Woolfolk, A. *Educational Psychology* (12th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2013.

A good source for information on learning, teaching, class management, and assessment.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Imagine you are the principal in a school with a large influx of new teachers who have been prepared to use constructivist teaching strategies and to distrust direct instruction. Your older teachers, on the other hand, are the opposite—they distrust the new constructivist approaches and believe strongly in "traditional teaching."

Prepare a 45-minute discussion/presentation about different theories of teaching and learning, including direct instruction. Include a PowerPoint presentation on the strengths and weaknesses of each of the learning

perspectives discussed in this chapter—behavioral, cognitive, and constructivist. Be sure to discuss the situations for which each perspective is most appropriate, for example, the tasks or situations for which the behavioral approach is best. Give at least one example for each approach. Make sure that during your 45 minutes, you

- Consider the pros and cons of direct instruction.
- Contrast direct instruction with a constructivist approach to teaching.
- Examine under what situations each approach is appropriate.
- Propose and defend a balanced approach to teaching.

Leadership Standards 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 (see inside front cover)

NOTE

Wayne K. Hoy and Anita Woolfolk Hoy wrote this chapter jointly. Some sections draw heavily from Woolfolk (2013).

CHAPTER 3



STRUCTURE IN SCHOOLS

Every organized human activity—from the making of pots to the placing of a man on the moon—gives rise to two fundamental and opposing requirements: the division of labor into various tasks to be performed, and the coordination of these tasks to accomplish the activity. The structure of the organization can be defined simply as the sum total of the ways in which it divides its labor into distinct tasks and then achieves coordination among them.

Henry Mintzberg
The Structuring of Organizations

PREVIEW

1. Five key organizational features define the classic Weberian bureaucracy: division of labor, impersonal orientation, hierarchy of authority, rules and regulations, and career orientation.
2. The Weberian model is criticized because of its dysfunctional consequences, neglect of the informal organization, internal inconsistencies, and gender bias.
3. Rules have both positive and negative consequences for organizational participants; administrators must consider both.
4. Enabling and hindering bureaucracies are two contrasting types of structure, one productive and the other not.
5. Bureaucratic and professional dimensions of organization combine to define four structural arrangements for schools: Weberian, authoritarian, professional, and chaotic.
6. There is no one best way to organize. Building effective structures demands matching the structure with its goals, environment, technology, people, and strategy.
7. Designing an effective organizational structure also involves balancing a host of countervailing forces created by the basic organizational dilemma of needing both order and freedom.
8. Organizations monitor and control work by mutual adjustment, direct supervision, standardization of work, standardization of outputs, and standardization of skills.
9. The key elements of structure are the strategic apex, middle line, operating core, support staff, and technostructure.
10. School structures vary widely. Some are simple structures; others are machine bureaucracies; a few are professional bureaucracies; some are hybrids; but for some, structure is irrelevant—they are politicized.

11. Structural elements can be tightly and loosely coupled; both arrangements have positive and negative consequences and both exist in schools.
12. A fundamental source of conflict for professionals working in organizations comes from the systems of social control used by bureaucracies and the professions.
13. Organizations accommodate to this conflict by establishing loose structures, developing dual authority structures, or engaging in socialization.

The structural element of the school as a social system is found in its formal organization. Max Weber's (1947) classic analysis of bureaucracy is a good beginning point for our discussion of the organizational structure in schools because it is the theoretical basis of most contemporary treatments (e.g., Hall, 1991, 2002; Perrow, 1986; Bolman and Deal, 2008; Scott, 2003; Tolbert and Hall, 2008; Hoy and Sweetland, 2000, 2001).

WEBERIAN MODEL OF BUREAUCRACY

Almost all modern organizations, including schools, have the characteristics enumerated by Weber: a division of labor and specialization, an impersonal orientation, a hierarchy of authority, rules and regulations, and a career orientation.

Division of Labor and Specialization

According to Weber, **division of labor** and **specialization** mean "the regular activities required for the purposes of the bureaucratically governed structure are distributed in a fixed way as official duties" (Gerth and Mills, 1946: 196). Because the tasks in most organizations are too complex to be performed by a single individual, division of labor among positions improves efficiency. In schools, for example, division of labor is primarily for instructional purposes. Within that division, subspecialties are based on level—elementary and secondary—and subject—math, science, and other specialties such as reading, bilingual, and special education.

Efficiency increases because division of labor produces specialization, which in turn leads to employees who become knowledgeable and expert at performing their prescribed duties. Such division enables the organization to employ personnel on the basis of technical qualifications. Hence, division of labor and specialization produce more expertise in school personnel.

Impersonal Orientation

Weber (1947, p. 331) argued that the working atmosphere of a bureaucracy should provide an **impersonal orientation**, "the dominance of a spirit of formalistic impersonality, 'sine ira et studio,' without hatred or passion, and hence

without affection or enthusiasm." The bureaucratic employee is expected to make decisions based on facts, not feelings. Impersonality on the part of administrators and teachers assures equality of treatment and facilitates rationality.

Hierarchy of Authority

Offices are arranged vertically in bureaucracies; that is, "each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one" (Weber, 1947, p. 330), which produces a **hierarchy of authority**. This bureaucratic trait is made manifest in the organizational chart, with the superintendent at the top and assistants, directors, principals, teachers, and students at successively lower levels.

Hierarchy is perhaps the most pervasive characteristic in modern organizations. Almost without exception, large organizations develop a well-established system of superordination and subordination, which attempts to guarantee the disciplined compliance to directives from superiors that is necessary for implementing the various tasks and functions of an organization.

Rules and Regulations

Weber (1947, p. 330) asserts that every bureaucracy has a system of **rules and regulations,** a "consistent system of abstract rules which have normally been intentionally established. Furthermore, administration of law is held to consist in the application of these rules to particular cases." The system of rules covers the rights and duties inherent in each position and helps coordinate activities in the hierarchy. It also provides continuity of operations when there are changes in personnel. Rules and regulations thus ensure uniformity and stability of employee action.

Career Orientation

Because employment in a bureaucratic organization is based on technical qualifications, employees think of their work as a career. Whenever there is such a **career orientation,** Weber (1947, p. 334) maintains, "there is a system of promotion according to seniority, achievement, or both. Promotion is dependent on the judgment of superiors." To foster loyalty to the organization, individuals with special skills must be protected from arbitrary dismissal or denial of promotion. Employees are protected in the sense that superiors are supposed to make dispassionate decisions. Bureaucracies also institutionalize protection through such deeds.

Efficiency

To Weber (1947, p. 337), bureaucracy maximizes rational decision making and administrative efficiency: "Experience tends to universally show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization . . . is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency." Division of

labor and specialization produce experts, and experts with an impersonal orientation make technically correct, rational decisions based on the facts. Once rational decisions have been made, the hierarchy of authority ensures disciplined compliance to directives and, along with rules and regulations, a well-coordinated system of implementation and uniformity and stability in the operation of the organization. Finally, a career orientation provides the incentive for employees to be loyal to the organization and to produce extra effort. These characteristics function to maximize administrative efficiency because committed experts make rational decisions that are executed and coordinated in a disciplined way.

Ideal Type

Although Weber's conception of bureaucracy is an **ideal type** that may or may not be found in the real world, it does highlight or emphasize basic tendencies of actual organizations:

- Division of labor (specialization)
- Impersonality
- Hierarchy of authority (centralization)
- Rules and regulations (formalization)
- Career orientation

The ideal type is useful for analytic purposes. As Alvin Gouldner (1950) explains, the ideal type may serve as a guide to help us determine how a formal organization is bureaucratized. Some organizations will be more bureaucratically structured than others. A given organization can be more bureaucratized on one characteristic and less on another. The model, as a conceptual scheme, raises important questions about organizing different kinds of formal bureaucracies. For example, under what conditions are the dimensions of bureaucracy related in order to maximize efficiency? Under what conditions does such an arrangement hinder efficiency?

CRITICISMS OF THE WEBERIAN BUREAUCRATIC MODEL

The Weberian model of bureaucracy has been attacked on a number of fronts. First, Weber is criticized for not being attentive to the dysfunctional features of his formulation. Second, the model has been criticized for its neglect of the informal organization. Third, Weber does not deal with the potential internal contradictions among the elements in the model. Finally, feminists denounce the model as gender biased. We turn to an analysis of each of these criticisms.

Functions and Dysfunctions of the Model

Weber's model of bureaucracy is functional in that application of the principles can promote efficiency and goal attainment. There is, however, the

possibility of dysfunctional, or negative consequences—a possibility to which Weber pays limited attention. Let us consider each of the above bureaucratic characteristics or principles in terms of both possible functions and dysfunctions.

Although division of labor and specialization can produce expertise, they also can produce boredom. The literature is replete with instances where such boredom leads to lower levels of productivity or to a search on the part of employees for ways to make their work life more interesting, for example, the Hawthorne studies discussed in Chapter 1. Indeed, many highly bureaucratized organizations that have experienced the negative consequences of extreme division of labor are enlarging employee responsibility to alleviate boredom.

Impersonality may improve rationality in decision making, but it also may produce a rather sterile atmosphere in which people interact as "nonpersons," resulting in low morale. Low morale, in turn, frequently impairs organizational efficiency.

Hierarchy of authority does enhance coordination, but frequently at the expense of communication. Two of the major dysfunctions of hierarchy are distortion and blockage in communication. Every level in the hierarchy produces a potential communication block because subordinates are reluctant to communicate anything that might make them look bad in the eyes of their superiors; in fact, there is probably a tendency to communicate only those things that make them look good or those things that they think their superiors want to hear (Blau and Scott, 2003).

Rules and regulations, on the one hand, do provide for continuity, coordination, stability, and uniformity. On the other hand, they often produce organizational rigidity and goal displacement. Employees may become so rule oriented that they forget that the rules and regulations are means to achieve goals, not *ends* in themselves. Disciplined compliance with the hierarchy, and particularly with the regulations, frequently produces rigidity and an inability to adjust. Such formalism may be exaggerated until conformity interferes with goal achievement. In such a case, the infamous characteristic of bureaucratic red tape is vividly apparent (Merton, 1957).

Career orientation is healthy insofar as it produces a sense of employee loyalty and motivates employees to maximize effort. Promotion, however, is based on seniority and achievement, which are not necessarily compatible. For example, rapid promotion of high achievers often produces discontent among the loyal, hard-working, senior employees who are not as productive or creative.

The potential dysfunctional consequences of each bureaucratic characteristic are not adequately addressed in Weber's ideal type. Merton, for example, was one of the first to argue that structural arrangements established to maintain reliability and efficiency—rules, disciplined compliance, a graded career, impersonal decision making—can "also lead to an overconcern with strict adherence to regulations which induces timidity, conservatism, and technicism" (1957, p. 199). Table 3.1 summarizes some of the dysfunctions as well as

TABLE 3.1

Functions and Dysfunctions of the Weberian Model

Bureaucratic Characteristic	Dysfunction	Function
Division of Labor	Boredom	Expertise
Impersonal Orientation	Lack of morale	Rationality
Hierarchy of Authority	Communication blocks	Disciplined compliance and coordination
Rules and Regulations	Rigidity and goal displacement	Continuity and uniformity
Career Orientation	Conflict between achievement and seniority	Incentive

the functions of the Weberian model. The question now becomes: Under what conditions does each characteristic lead to functional but not dysfunctional consequences? Whatever the answer to this question, the model remains quite useful as both an analytical tool and a guide to scientific research.

Functions and Dysfunctions of Rules

To illustrate the analytic and research usefulness of the model, we focus on Gouldner's (1954) discussion of organizational rules. Almost without exception, large, formal organizations have systems of rules and regulations that guide organizational behavior. For example, most school districts have elaborate policy manuals. Rules are so universally present because they serve important functions.

Organizational rules have an explication function—that is, they explain in rather concise and explicit terms the specific obligations of subordinates. Rules make it unnecessary to repeat a routine order; moreover, they are less ambiguous and more carefully thought out than the hasty verbal command. Rules act as a system of communication to direct role performance.

A second function of rules is to screen—that is, to act as a buffer between the administrator and his or her subordinates. Rules carry a sense of egalitarianism because they can be applied equally to everyone. An administrator's denial of a request from a subordinate can be on the grounds that the rules apply to everyone, superior and subordinate alike, and cannot be broken. Subordinate anger is therefore redirected to the impersonal rules and regulations. As Gouldner (1954) explains, rules impersonally support a claim to authority without forcing the leader to legitimize personal superiority; conversely, they permit a subordinate to accept directives without betraying his or her sense of being any person's equal.

Organizational rules may also legitimize punishment. When subordinates are given explicit prior warning about what behavior will provoke sanctions and about the nature of those sanctions, punishment is legitimate. As Gouldner (1954) indicates, there is a deep-rooted feeling in our culture that punishment is permissible only when the offender knows in advance that certain behaviors are forbidden; ex post facto judgments are not permissible. In effect, rules not only legitimize but also impersonalize the administration of punishment.

Rules also serve a bargaining, or "leeway," function. Using formal rules as a bargaining tool, superiors can secure informal cooperation from subordinates. By *not* enforcing certain rules and regulations, one's sphere of authority can be expanded through the development of goodwill among subordinates. Rules are serviceable because they create something that can be given up as well as given use.

For each functional consequence of rules discussed thus far, a corresponding dysfunctional outcome results. Rules reinforce and preserve apathy by explicating the minimum level of acceptable behavior. Some employees remain apathetic because they know how little is required for them to remain secure. When apathy is fused with hostility, the scene is set for "organizational sabotage," which occurs when conforming to the letter of the rule violates the express purpose of the rule (Gouldner, 1954).

Although rules screen the superior from subordinates, that protection may become dysfunctional. **Goal displacement** develops; the means, in this case rules, become ends in themselves. By using rules to make important decisions, administrators may focus attention on the importance of a rule orientation, often at the expense of more important goals.

Another dysfunctional consequence that emerges from the screening and punishment functions of rules is legalism. When rules and punishments are pervasive, subordinates can adopt an extremely legalistic stance. In effect, they become "Philadelphia lawyers," willing and potentially able to win their case on a technicality. In its extreme form, employees may use legalism as an excuse for inactivity in any area not covered by a rule. When an individual is asked why he or she is not performing a reasonable task, the pat answer is "no rule says I have to." To say the least, such extreme legalism creates an unhealthy climate in schools.

The leeway function of rules—not enforcing them in exchange for informal cooperation—involves the ever-present danger of being too lenient. The classic example of this kind of permissiveness is seen in the indulgency pattern described in Gouldner's study of a factory in which few, if any, rules were enforced; although superior-subordinate relations were friendly, productivity suffered. The functions and dysfunctions of rules are summarized in Table 3.2.

Educational administrators must learn how to anticipate and avoid the negative consequences of bureaucratic rules. They must ask: How can the functional consequences of rules be maximized and the dysfunctional consequences minimized? Gouldner's (1954) research provides some guidelines. He maintains that rules having a punishment-centered pattern are most

TABLE 3.2

The Double-Edged Nature of Bureaucratic Rules

Functions		Dysfunctions
Explication	⟷	Apathy reinforcement
Screening	⟷	Goal displacement
Punishment-legitimizing	⟷	Legalism
Leeway	⟷	Indulgency

likely to evoke negative consequences. *Either workers or administrators initiate punishment-centered rules*, but not jointly, to coerce the other group to comply; and they result in punishment of one group by the other when the rules are violated, producing tension and conflict.

On the other hand, **representative rules** are initiated and supported by *both* workers and administrators. Although such rules are enforced by the administration and obeyed by subordinates, they result in efforts to educate because rule violations are interpreted as a lack of information. Representative rules are least likely to evoke dysfunctional consequences because they have been jointly initiated, they are generally supported by the parties concerned, and they empower subordinates. Therefore, representative rules, as contrasted with **punishment-centered rules**, are more likely to have the desired functional consequences without many of the unintended dysfunctional consequences.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Give three examples of rules in your school that are useful. Why are they helpful? Now identify three rules in your schools that cause more problems than they solve. Why do they hinder? What guidelines would you use to establish school rules when you are a principal?

In sum, rules are necessary for effective administration of schools, but they are not cast in stone. Consider the administrative guides for developing and using bureaucratic rules in Table 3.3.

Neglect of the Informal Organization

The Weberian model of organization also has been criticized for its omission of the informal structure. **Informal organization** is a system of interpersonal relations that forms spontaneously within all formal organizations. It is a system that is not included in the organizational chart or official blueprint.

TABLE 3.3

Ten Guides for Developing and Using Rules

1. There are exceptions to most rules: Recognize them.
2. There are times when the rules don't work: Suspend them.
3. Some rules encourage mindlessness: Avoid them.
4. Some rules support mindfulness: Develop them.
5. Many rules become unnecessary: Eliminate them.
6. Some rules enable positive outcomes: Create them.
7. Some rules create dependence: Beware of them.
8. Some rules encourage a playful approach: Invent them.
9. Rules set precedents: If the precedents are bad, change the rules.
10. Rules are best to guide but not to dictate.

Absolute Rule: With this exception, there are no absolute rules.

SOURCE: Hoy, 2010, *www.waynehoy.com*.

It is the natural ordering and structuring that evolves from the needs of participants as they interact in their workplace. It contains structural, normative, and behavioral dimensions; that is, it includes informal structure, informal norms, and informal patterns of leadership (Scott, 1992). Teachers, administrators, and students within schools inevitably generate their own informal systems of status and power networks, communication, and working arrangements and structures.

The Development of Informal Organization

As people interact in organizations, networks of informal relations emerge that have important effects on behavior. Official as well as unofficial roles, norms, values, and leaders all shape individual behavior. Informal relations comprise patterns of such social interactions as communicating, cooperating, and competing. When individuals find themselves together in formal organizations, informal interaction inevitably occurs. People talk to each other about personal and social issues. As a consequence, some individuals are liked, others disliked. Typically, people seek continued interactions with those they like and avoid interactions with those they dislike. These informal social exchanges produce differences in social relations among group members and, importantly, define the informal status structure of the group.

A member's status in the group, therefore, depends upon the frequency, duration, and character of interaction patterns with others, and the extent to which others respect the individual in the group. Consequently, some group members are actively sought out, whereas others are avoided; some are admired, others are not; some are leaders, others are followers; and most are integrated as members of a group, although a few are isolated.

The informal interactions produce subgroups; cliques develop within the group structure, some of which have more status, power, and significance than others. Clique membership provides status in the larger group through the prestige of the subgroup. In brief, the differential patterns of interactions among individuals and groups, and the status structure characterized by them, define the social structure of the informal organization.

In addition to the social structure, a normative orientation emerges that serves as a guide for behavior. As individuals engage in social interaction, common conceptions of desirable and acceptable behavior occur. Common values arise to define ideal states of affairs, and social norms develop that prescribe what individuals should do under different situations and the consequences of deviations from those expectations. Norms contain two important features: a general agreement about appropriate behavior and mechanisms to enforce expectations. The distinction between norms and values is sometimes a fuzzy one, but generally values define the ends of human behavior, and social norms provide the legitimate and explicit means for pursuing those ends (Blau and Scott, 2003). Finally, and in addition to the general values and norms that are shared and expected to integrate the group, sets of expectations are differentiated according to the role or status position of the individual in the group. The role of "taskmaster" is quite different from the role of "group comedian"; the role of leader is quite different from the role of follower. In brief, the main components of informal organization are the social structure and normative orientation of the group.

A Hypothetical Illustration in Schools

Imagine the situation of a new school, where the superintendent hires a new principal who in turn hires an entire new staff of teachers, none of whom know each other. At the beginning of the year, we simply have a collection of individuals bound together by the formal requirements of the school and their jobs. The professional staff, however, will quickly become more than the sum of the individuals composing it. Behavior will be determined not only by the formal expectations of the school but also by the informal organization that spontaneously emerges as the participants interact.

As school begins, faculty and staff begin to work together, attend meetings, eat together, socialize in the faculty lounge, and plan school activities. Teacher relations will, in part, be determined by the physical features of the school, such as a faculty lounge, a faculty lunch room, the library, and the arrangement of the classrooms; the technical aspects of the job—for example, department structure, team teaching, and extracurricular responsibilities; and social factors such as the leadership styles of the superintendent and principals. The initial relations of teachers in a school can be examined in terms of formal activities and interactions. Teachers have a need to keep their jobs, and a formal system has been established to achieve school objectives. This formal organization comprises a hierarchy of authority, division of labor, formal rules and regulations, impersonality, and a

formal communication structure, developed and implemented to achieve school goals.

A number of consequences follow from the establishment of the initial, formal relations. New sentiments develop that are different from the work-motivated ones that brought teachers together in the first place. The new sentiments are ones of liking and disliking other teachers and groups within the school. Some of the teachers will become well liked and respected; their colleagues will frequently ask them for advice and seek them out. Such sentiments and behavior serve as the basis for an informal ranking of individuals and groups. Moreover, new informal activities will develop, some of which are a direct reaction to the formal organization. For example, the inability of faculty to influence policy through the formal structure may result in informal activities, conversations, and initiatives. New patterns of interaction will elaborate themselves in the school—for example, association in cliques, informal webs of communication, discipline networks centering on informal leadership, and a status structure among groups of teachers. Some informal groups will become more prestigious and powerful than others.

In addition to the informal social structure that develops, a system of informal shared values and beliefs will emerge—the normative orientation. The faculty will define ideal and appropriate behavior. Their ideal, for example, may be a school characterized by hard work, mastery of the basics, an academic orientation, and positive student-teacher relations. To this end, norms emerge to guide teacher behavior: few hall passes will be issued; substantial and meaningful homework assignments will be made; orderly and industrious classrooms will be maintained; and extra help for students will be readily available. If teachers violate these norms, they lose the respect of their colleagues, and social sanctions will be applied. They may find themselves disparaged and isolated by their colleagues. Teachers will also assume specific informal roles; an unofficial teacher spokesperson may serve as a powerful liaison with the principal; another teacher may provide a strong critical voice of school policy in faculty meetings; still another teacher may organize social activities for the faculty; and there may be the teacher who always offers comic relief, especially when events are tense.

The informal organization, then, arises from the formal organization and then reacts to it. The development of group norms, the division into cliques, and the ranking of individuals and subgroups are conditioned directly by the formal structure and indirectly by the school environment. Hence, we can begin with the formal system of the school and argue that the informal is continually emerging from the formal and continually influencing the formal. The formal and informal systems go together; after all, there is only one organization. Yet the distinction is useful because it calls attention to the dynamic nature of organizational life in schools and to the continuous processes of elaboration, differentiation, and feedback in schools. The dynamic character of the informal organization as well as its interplay with the formal organization is summarized in Figure 3.1.

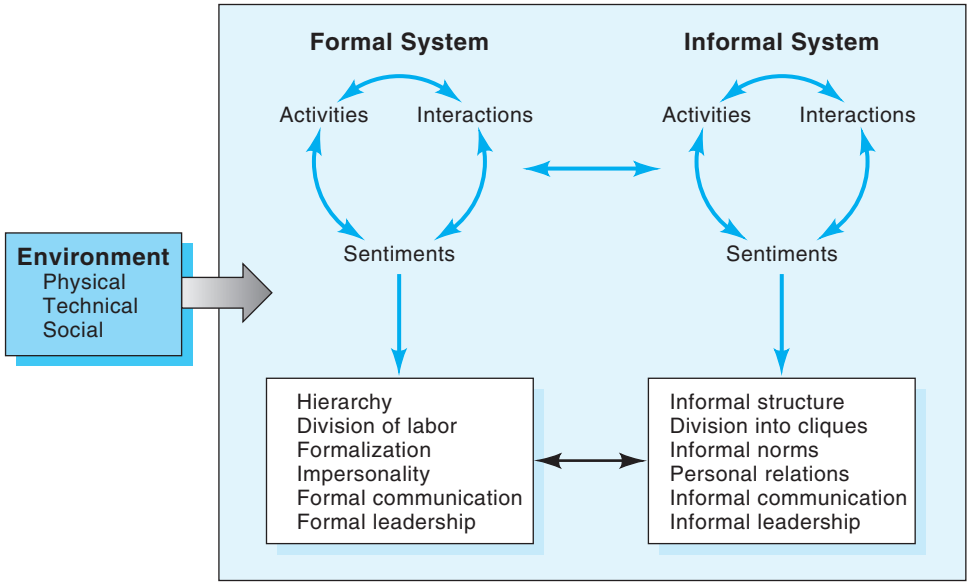


FIGURE 3.1 *Elements of the Formal and Informal Organization*

The impact of the informal on the formal organization can be constructive or destructive. For example, the Hawthorne studies (see Chapter 1) showed that the informal organization restricted production. Evidence also exists, however, that the informal organization can be a constructive force in efficient operation of bureaucratic organizations as well as a mechanism for change. In Chester Barnard's (1938) classic theoretic analysis of organizations, he argued that informal organizations have at least three crucial functions:

- As vehicles for effective communication: The grapevine works well.
- As means for developing cohesion: Like-minded individuals form cohesive groups.
- As devices for protecting the integrity of individuals: The informal network enables participants to express themselves authentically.

Formal communications systems in organizations such as schools are typically insufficient and are inevitably supplemented by informal ones; in fact, informal communication systems, so-called grapevines, exist in all organizations regardless of how elaborate the formal communications system (Iannaconne, 1962; Hoy and Forsyth, 1986; Robbins, 1998) and are used constructively in effective organizations (Peters and Waterman, 1982). The informal structure provides a channel for circumventing formally prescribed rules and procedures. Many pressing problems emerge for which efficient solutions or communications are not possible within the formal framework; hence, the informal structure assumes added importance. Official communications must be routed through the "chain of command," which often is a long-drawn-out process. Frequently,

circumventing the official communication channel through the grapevine appears to be precisely what is necessary for solving crucial problems (Page, 1946; Peters and Waterman, 1982). The knowledgeable and flexible administrator uses the grapevine, thus avoiding the bureaucratic frustration of those who only play it by the book. As a communication vehicle, the grapevine often provides efficient machinery. Indeed, generally speaking, the informal organization is an important device for implementing many important organizational objectives.

Informal organization also can promote cohesion. Patterns of social relationships usually emphasize friendliness, cooperation, and preservation of the group. Informal groups emerge spontaneously and are built on shared interests and friendships. They arise from such simple events as common classroom areas, liking certain colleagues, shared lunch hours, car pools, same planning periods, and other fortuitous activities. Such situations and the accompanying social relationships can provide the social cement that binds faculty by promoting an atmosphere of cordiality and friendliness that is potent enough to cause members to feel that they belong to the group; cohesion and solidarity are the by-products of informal groups (Boyan, 1951; Robbins, 1998).

The informal organization functions to maintain a sense of personal integrity, self-respect, and independence for individuals (Barnard, 1938). Unlike the formal hierarchy, impersonality and formal authority do not dominate the informal. Rather, the informal is an outgrowth of the individual and personal needs of members. It is a means by which teachers can maintain their individual personalities in spite of organizational demands that invariably attempt to depersonalize individuals (Hoy and Forsyth, 1986).

The informal organization exists. It is not an enemy to be eliminated or suppressed; on the contrary, it can be a useful vehicle for improving efficiency. It is irrational to administer a formal organization, such as a school, according to the purely technical criteria of rationality and formality because that ignores the nonrational aspects of informal organization (Blau, 1956). The formal focuses on efficiency, predictability, control, specificity, discipline, hierarchical relations, and rationality, whereas the informal emphasizes adaptability, innovation, spontaneity, collaborative relations, and emotionality (Katzenbach and Khan, 2010). From a theoretical perspective, our position is that administrative practice is enhanced by using both the formal and the informal components of schools; a blending of the two is required for effectiveness.

In sum, the informal organization provides a number of benefits to the formal; therefore, administrators should consider the following actions:

- Blend the formal and informal.
- Use the effective practices of the informal to design aspects of the formal.
- Tap the informal organization to expand formal authority.
- Use the informal communication (grapevine) to communicate quickly and efficiently.
- Use the informal to promote cohesiveness and teamwork.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Who are the informal leaders in your school? Why are these people leaders? How well do they get along with the principal? Describe the grapevine in your school. What are the significant cliques? How do the cliques get along? How would you describe the informal organization of your school? Where do you fit into the informal organization?

Dual Structure of the Bureaucratic Model

Another frequent criticism of the Weberian model is its internal contradictions among certain bureaucratic principles of organization. According to Weber, all characteristics of his ideal type are logically consistent and interact for maximum organizational efficiency; however, both theoretical and empirical analyses indicate that things are not so smooth and integrated in the real world of organizational functioning.

Talcott Parsons (1947) and Gouldner (1954) question whether the guiding principle of bureaucracy is authority based on technical competence and knowledge or authority based on legal powers and discipline. Weber (1947, p. 339) maintains that "bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge." On the other hand, he writes, "The content of discipline is the consistently rationalized, methodically trained and exact execution of the received order, in which all personal criticism is unconditionally suspended and the actor is unswervingly and exclusively set for carrying out the command" (Gerth and Mills, 1946, p. 196). Hence, Weber is proposing the central importance of discipline as well as expertise. Is bureaucratic administration based primarily on expertise, or is it based on disciplined compliance with directives? Unless one assumes that there will be no conflict between authority based on "technical competence and expertise" and that based on "incumbency in a hierarchical position," the seed of contradiction and conflict rests within these two authority bases that are integral to the Weberian model. In fact, Gouldner (1954) and Constas (1958) suggest that Weber may have been implicitly describing not one but two types of bureaucracy, a conclusion supported by a number of empirical studies (Stinchcombe, 1959; Udy, 1959).

Similarly, Blau and Scott's (2003) analysis of the dual nature of the Weberian model also led them to conclude that Weber failed to distinguish bureaucratic from professional principles. They similarly maintain that bureaucratic discipline and professional expertise are alternative methods for coping with uncertainty. Discipline reduces the scope of uncertainty, whereas expertise provides the knowledge to handle uncertainty. The crux of the problem seems to be that professionals are often employees of bureaucratic

organizations; hence, these alternative modes of rationality are frequently mixed, producing strain and conflict. A typical example is the school principal. Does his or her authority reside in the bureaucratic office or in professional expertise? Obviously, a mixture is present and seems to result in some degree of strife.

A Feminist Critique of Bureaucracy

Feminists are often critical of bureaucratic organizations in fundamental ways that go far beyond the common accusation that qualified women in modern organizations do not receive equal treatment or compensation (Scott, 1992, 1998). Joanne Martin (1990b; Martin and Knopoff, 1999), for example, argues that in spite of Weber's analysis of the central features of bureaucracy being gender neutral and universal in his description of administration based on expertise, women are disadvantaged. The emphasis on full-time commitment and extensive training as qualifications for job holding hinders women who routinely confront the conflicting demands of job and family responsibilities. Women often lack equal access to training programs, and discussions of bureaucracy frequently overlook the interdependence of job and family responsibilities, treating work as public and masculine and family as private and feminine (Bose, Feldberg, and Sokoloff, 1987; Martin, 1990a). Hence, bureaucracies are gender biased not only in their *application* of appointment and promotion criteria but also in their *selection* of the criteria (Scott, 1992).

Feminists also argue that bureaucratic structures perpetuate systems of male domination. Ferguson (1984), for one, argues that bureaucracy's patent emphasis on authority, rules, regulations, and rationality recreates paternalistic domination. Bureaucratic structures give priority to masculine virtues and values. Scott (1992, p. 325) explains, "The principles by which organizations are structured—inequality, hierarchy, impersonality—devalue alternative modes of organizing that are alleged to be more characteristic of women's values: equalitarian and personalized associations." In the same vein, Ferguson (1984) argues that bureaucratic control invades social life by "feminizing" participants—that is, by making them nonassertive and dependent; in fact, women are bound to supportive roles by structures that see feminine characteristics as subordinate and masculine ones as dominant. Male characteristics of independence, rationality, and competitiveness are dominant instrumental features of bureaucracy, whereas the more feminine features of dependence, emotionality, and cooperation are subordinate properties of organizations. The hallmarks of achievement—competition and independence—are quite different from the nurturant expressive behaviors of the feminine style (Gilligan, 1982; Ferguson, 1984). In fact, the feminine side is often repressed and devalued by bureaucracies, creating an oppression of women. Bureaucracies are not caring institutions, but reproducers of patriarchy and reinforcers of patterns of domination (Clark et al., 1994).

FORMAL STRUCTURE IN SCHOOLS

Schools are formal organizations with many of the same characteristics as bureaucratic organizations. Max Abbott (1965a, p. 45), for example, using the characteristics of the Weberian model developed earlier in this chapter, has concluded: "The school organization as we know it today . . . can accurately be described as a highly developed bureaucracy. As such, it exhibits many of the characteristics and employs many of the strategies of the military, industrial, and governmental agencies with which it might be compared." The bureaucratic model is the one that many school administrators adopt, and this may explain why the model can be used to analyze behavior in schools (Abbott, 1965a; Miles, 1965; Firestone and Herriott, 1981; Abbott and Caracheo, 1988; Corwin and Borman, 1988).

A basic assumption of bureaucracies is that every subordinate has less technical expertise than his or her superior. This assumption certainly does not apply in schools, nor does it apply in other professional organizations. On the contrary, professionals often have more competence and technical expertise than the administrators who occupy a higher level in the organization. Consequently, to find strain and tension in schools between teachers and administrators should not be surprising.

Rather than thinking of schools as bureaucratic or nonbureaucratic, a more useful approach is to examine the degree of bureaucratization with respect to the important components of the Weberian model. Such an approach differentiates types of organizational structures. Richard H. Hall (1962, 1987, 1991), Wayne K. Hoy and Scott R. Sweetland (2000, 2001), and Henry Mintzberg (1979, 1989) are among the contemporary theorists and researchers who have systematically examined structure.

Hall on Bureaucratic Structure

One of the earliest systematic attempts to measure bureaucratization is Hall's (1962) development of an organizational inventory to measure six central characteristics of bureaucratic structure: (1) hierarchy of authority, (2) specialization, (3) rules for incumbents (i.e., those assuming an organizational role), (4) procedure specifications, (5) impersonality, and (6) technical competence. D. A. MacKay (1964) subsequently adapted and modified the organizational inventory in his study of the bureaucratization of schools. He measured bureaucratic patterns in schools using the school organizational inventory (SOI), a questionnaire that operationalizes the same six dimensions of structure.

The interrelationships of these bureaucratic characteristics of schools also have been explored empirically (Kolesar, 1967; Isherwood and Hoy, 1973; Abbott and Caracheo, 1988). Studies indicate that there are two relatively distinct patterns of rational organization rather than one completely integrated bureaucratic pattern. Hierarchy of authority, rules for incumbents,

TABLE 3.4

Two Types of Rational Organization in the School Setting

Organizational Characteristics	Organizational Patterns
Hierarchy of authority Rules for incumbents Procedural specifications Impersonality	Bureaucratic
Technical competence Specialization	Professional

procedural specifications, and impersonality tend to vary together, and specialization and technical competence similarly vary together; however, the two groups are found to be independent of or inversely related to each other.

Organizational Types

In the school, as in other kinds of organizations, the components of Weber's ideal type do not necessarily form an inherently connected set of variables; instead, there are likely to be distinct types of rational organization. These results are summarized in Table 3.4.

In Table 3.4 we have labeled the first set of characteristics "bureaucratic" and the second set "professional." The distinction once again calls attention both to the potential conflict between authority based on technical competence and expertise and that based on holding an office in a hierarchy and to the potential incompatibility between professionalization and bureaucratization. To lump together the bureaucratic and professional patterns in a single model of bureaucracy seems to obscure important differences among schools. Indeed, separating two patterns of rational organization and administration makes it possible to explore combinations of the two patterns. For example, if each pattern is dichotomized, as shown in Figure 3.2, then four types of organizations are possible.

		Professional Pattern	
		High	Low
Bureaucratic Pattern	High	Weberian	Authoritarian
	Low	Professional	Chaotic

FIGURE 3.2 *Typology of School Organizational Structure*

A Weberian school structure is one in which professionalization and bureaucratization are complementary; both are high. This pattern is similar to the ideal type described by Weber; hence we call it a **Weberian structure**.

An **authoritarian structure** emphasizes bureaucratic authority at the expense of professional consideration. Authority is based on position and hierarchy. Disciplined compliance to the rules, regulations, and directives is the basic principle of operation. Power is concentrated and flows from top to bottom. Rules and procedures are impersonally applied. The superior always has the last say. Furthermore, promotions to administrative positions typically go to those who have been loyal to the organization and to their superiors. In many respects, this authoritarian structure is similar to the one Gouldner (1954) described as a punishment-centered bureaucracy.

A **professional structure** is one in which substantial decision making is delegated to the professional staff. Members of the staff are viewed as professionals who have the expertise and competence to make important organizational decisions. Rules and procedures serve as guides rather than as strict formats to be applied uniformly. Special cases are likely to be the rule rather than the exception. Teachers have much power in the organizational decision-making process. In brief, decisions are made by those who have the knowledge and expertise to make them. We refer to this type of school structure as professional.

Finally, a **chaotic structure** has a low degree of bureaucratization and professionalization; therefore confusion and conflict typify day-to-day operations. Inconsistency, contradiction, and ineffectiveness are likely to pervade the chaotic structure. Invariably, strong pressures will arise to move toward one of the other structural types.

This typology presents four potential school structures that are quite different and probably have different consequences for teachers and students alike. Henry Kolesar (1967), for example, found that a sense of student powerlessness was significantly higher in authoritarian than in professional school structures. Geoffrey Isherwood and Wayne K. Hoy (1973) uncovered the same finding for teachers in the two types of schools. Overall, the sense of powerlessness among teachers was much greater in authoritarian than in professional structures. But organizationally and socially oriented teachers (those who identify themselves with the values and goals of the organization and of family and friends, respectively) had less of a sense of powerlessness in the authoritarian structure than professionally oriented teachers. Apparently, individual work orientation mediates the relationship between organizational structure and alienation. Teachers with an organizational orientation may not be alienated by authoritarian structures and procedures and indeed may be quite content. Gerald H. Moeller and W. W. Charters's (1966) finding that teachers in highly bureaucratic systems had more sense of power than those in less bureaucratic systems lends support to this speculation.

It is also true that the type of school organizational structure may influence student achievement. Research (MacKay, 1964; B. Anderson, 1971;

MacKinnon and Brown, 1994) suggests the possibility that highly bureaucratic structures may have negative effects on student achievement and innovation. Finally, the evidence continues to mount that specialization (professional pattern) and centralization (bureaucratic pattern) are mildly, but negatively related (Hage, 1980; Corwin and Herriott, 1988; Hall, 1991).[1]

Changing School Structures

The classification of school structures into these four structural types seems useful; in fact, the typology can serve as a basis for a theory of school development. Chaotic structures are ineffective and candidates for swift action. Boards of education will be under great pressure from both within and without to bring order to the existing chaos. The typical response is to get "new leadership." The new leadership invariably turns to starkly bureaucratic and authoritarian procedures to gain order. That is, it seems likely that chaotic structures will move to authoritarian ones.

Authoritarian structures are mechanistic. Power and authority rest almost exclusively in a tightly coupled organizational structure; administrators engage in unilateral decision making and teachers are expected to comply with their directives without question. Relations are typically formal, impersonal, and vertical. A single set of clear, formal goals buttressed by bureaucratic authority guide organizational behavior. Instruction is coordinated by administrative enforcement of schedules, rules, and procedures. Expected conflict is moderate—lower than that found in chaotic structures, but higher than that found in Weberian and professional structures. School effectiveness is predicted to be moderate, provided the environment is supportive, stable, and simple.

The next logical step in an evolutionary development of school structure is toward a Weberian configuration. Here the forces of centralization and specialization are balanced. The bureaucratic attributes of hierarchy, rules, procedures, and impersonality complement the technical competence and specialization of teachers. Administrators and teachers share in decision making, with both groups focused on common interests and with both committed to a single set of shared goals. Conflict between teachers and administrators is limited, yet the couplings between organizational parts are moderately tight. In brief, formal and informal properties are integrated. School effectiveness is predicted to be high, and such a structure should function most effectively in a simple and stable environment.

Most individuals prefer order to chaos; hence, movement from a chaotic structure to an authoritarian one is relatively straightforward. The challenge, however, of moving an authoritarian school structure to a Weberian or professional one is much more difficult. Our own experience and research (Isherwood and Hoy, 1973; Firestone and Herriott, 1982; Hoy, Blazovsky, and Newland, 1983; Abbott and Carecheo, 1988; Hoy and Sweetland, 2000, 2001) suggest that many schools remain basically authoritarian; they are top-down

structures that do not readily evolve into Weberian and professional structures. Moreover, external environmental forces influence school structure. During the last decade there were pressures for movement toward more professional structures as reform in education pressed for teacher empowerment (Goldring and Chen, 1992), school-based management (Malen, Ogawa, and Kranz, 1990; Malen and Ogawa, 1992), decentralization (Brown, 1990; Hill and Bonan, 1991; Bimber, 1993), and a general restructuring of schools (David, Purkey, and White, 1989; Clune and White, 1990), but strong countervailing forces for increased centralization have already muted those forces since the passage of No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top legislation. Thus, the pull is now for centralization, standards, and accountability rather than decentralization, professional judgment, and autonomy.

As the occupation of teaching becomes more fully professionalized, a few school structures may evolve from Weberian to professional structures. The professional structure is loose, fluid, and informal. Teacher professionals control decision making; indeed, teacher groups are the dominant source of power. Administrators are subordinate to teachers in the sense that their primary role is to serve teachers and facilitate the teaching-learning process. The burden for integrating the activities of the school rests with the teacher professionals. Professional structures are complex organizations with a highly professional staff, multiple sets of goals, high teacher autonomy, and horizontal rather than vertical relations. Ultimately, the effectiveness of such organizations depends almost exclusively on the expertise, commitment, and service of the teachers. Professional organizations have the potential for high effectiveness in a stable and complex environment, which has confidence in its professionals.

We have proposed a model of school development in which schools move progressively from chaotic to authoritarian to Weberian to professional structures (see Figure 3.3). There is nothing inevitable about the evolution; in fact, we suspect it will be difficult for schools to become professional structures or even Weberian structures in the near future. Moreover, it is likely

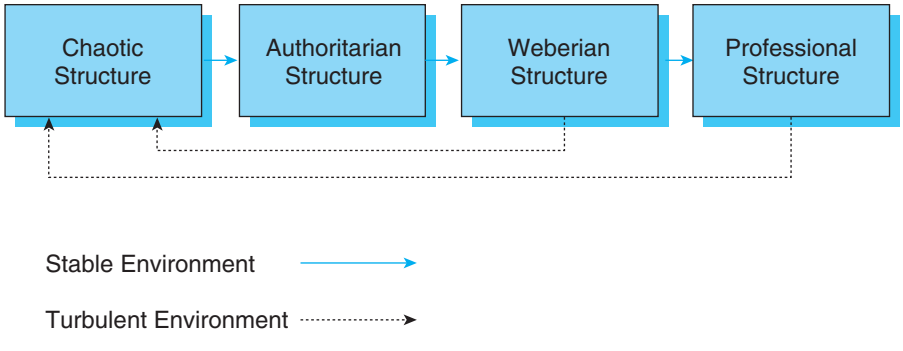


FIGURE 3.3 *Predicted Evolutionary Changes in School Structure*

that many school structures will slip back to chaos as the environment becomes turbulent. Remember also that the four types of structures are ideal types; most schools are variations on these four themes. Nonetheless, the framework should be useful to administrators and students of school organizations as they analyze and attempt to change their own school structures and empower teachers. We now turn to how formalization and centralization can be combined to produce enabling school structures.

Hoy and Sweetland on Structure

Bureaucracies can alienate individual participants, but that is only half the story because research also suggests they can improve worker satisfaction (Michaels et al., 1988), increase innovation (Damanpour, 1991; Craig, 1995), reduce role conflict (Senatra, 1980), and reduce feelings of alienation (Jackson and Schuler, 1985). Indeed, organizational research depicts two conflicting views of the human outcomes of bureaucracy. The negative side suggests that bureaucracy alienates, fosters dissatisfaction, stifles creativity, and demotivates employees, whereas the positive view maintains that it provides needed guidance, clarifies responsibility, reduces role stress, and helps individuals feel and be more effective (Adler and Borys, 1996). How can we reconcile these two views?

Paul Adler and Bryan Borys (1996) offer a possible solution as they interpret formalization as an organizational technology and identify two types of formalization—enabling and coercive. In the Weberian sense, formalization is the extent of written rules, regulations, procedures, and instructions. The notion of enabling and coercive formalization is not unlike Gouldner's (1954) representative and punishment-centered rules. Hoy and Sweetland (2000, 2001) build upon Adler and Borys's (1996) formulation of enabling and hindering formalization to examine the structure of schools.

Let's begin with definitions of the two types of formalization. *Enabling formalization* is a set of procedures that help employees deal more effectively with inevitable problems. Rules and procedures do not have to be designed to make the work foolproof; in fact, they cannot be. Rather, what is needed is a flexible set of guidelines or best practices that enable one to deal more effectively with the surprises that occur. For example, a rule not to act until data can be accumulated provides the stimulus for problem solving and is enabling rather than restraining. On the other hand, an automatic detention for talking back to a teacher is punishing and does enable the student to make improvements. *Coercive formalization* is a set of procedures that punishes and attempts to force reluctant subordinates to comply. Rules and procedures become substitutes for commitment rather than complements to it. Instead of giving committed employees access to accumulated organizational learning and best-practice guidelines, coercive procedures are designed to force compliance and extract recalcitrant effort.

Next we consider centralization or the hierarchy of authority of organizations. Similar to formalization, there are two kinds of authority structures.

Enabling centralization helps employees solve problems rather than getting in the way of their work; it is flexible, cooperative, and collaborative rather than rigid, autocratic, and controlling. Administrators use their power to help teachers and design structures that facilitate teaching and learning. Enabling hierarchy is an amalgam of authority where teachers feel confident and are able to exercise power in their professional roles. *Hindering centralization* refers to a hierarchy and administration that gets in the way rather than helps its participants solve problems and do their work. In such structures, the hierarchy obstructs innovation and administrators use their power and authority to control and discipline teachers.

Enabling School Structure

Not surprisingly, there is a close relationship between formalization (a system of rules, regulations, and procedures) and centralization (hierarchy of authority) in schools; that is, when the rules and procedures are enabling so is the hierarchy and vice versa. Thus school structures can be described along a continuum from enabling to hindering.

An **enabling school structure** is a hierarchy that helps rather than hinders and a system of rules and regulations that guides problem solving rather than punishes failure. In enabling school structures, principals and teachers work cooperatively across recognized authority boundaries while retaining their distinctive roles. Similarly, rules and regulations are flexible guides for problem solving rather than constraints that create problems. In such structures, both hierarchy and rules are mechanisms to support teachers rather than vehicles to enhance principal power.

In contrast, a **hindering school structure** is a hierarchy that impedes and a system of rules and regulations that is coercive. The basic objective of hierarchy is disciplined compliance of teachers; thus, teacher behavior is closely managed and strictly controlled. Both the hierarchy and rules are used to gain control and conformity. The structure is used to ensure that reluctant, incompetent, and irresponsible teachers do what administrators prescribe. The power of the principal is enhanced, but the work of the teachers is diminished.

The contrasting features of these two kinds of school structure are stark. Enabling structures call for two-way communication; viewing problems as learning opportunities; supporting differences; and encouraging trust, cooperation, openness, joint problem solving, and innovation. Hindering structures are typically characterized by top-down, one-way communication, viewing problems as constraints, forced consensus, mistrust, control, and punishment. The processes of developing enabling strategies are ones of participation and problem solving; that is, teachers and principals working together to find ways to solve problems in mutually satisfying ways. Trust is the heart of the enterprise and improvement is the goal. Hindering structures have different strategies, ones of control and enforcement of administrative decisions; principals are intent on watching, controlling, and punishing teachers who do not

comply. Principals simply do not trust teachers; and consequently, suspicion, control, and punishment imbue the process.

The administration in an enabling school finds ways to help teachers succeed rather than monitoring teacher behavior to ensure compliance. Let's take one concrete example of enabling structure in terms of the principal's behavior:

> In one school where there was tremendous pressure on everyone to get student proficiency tests above the state average, we found a principal with an open door policy with teachers. She cared for teachers and respected their professional judgments. She was unwilling to tell teachers how to get the scores up, and instead was a colleague working with them on this difficult problem. She demonstrated her commitment to them and problem solving by working long and hard with teachers. One hallmark of her supportive behavior was that teachers knew that they could always find this principal in her office every Saturday from nine-to-noon. There was no press for teachers to be in school on Saturdays, but everyone knew that this principal was always available and ready to talk either on the phone or in person. She enabled. No secretaries, no students, no guidance counselors, no other administrators, just the principal was there every Saturday. Leading by example was evident; her standards for her own behavior were higher than those she held for her teachers, and teachers respected her for it. (Hoy and Sweetland, 2001)[2]

Mindful Schools

Just as individuals can be mindful or mindless, so too can schools—for example, mindless adherence to rules is just one example of a collective mindlessness that sometimes imbues school life. One goal of all school administrators should be to make their schools mindful (Hoy, 2003). Weick and Sutcliffe (2001) first introduced the notion of mindfulness to organizations as they studied high-reliability organizations. They found five processes that promoted mindfulness in organizations: preoccupation with failure, reluctance to simplify interpretations, sensitivity to basic operations, commitment to resilience, and deference to expertise.

To *focus on failure* at first blush seems wrong-headed, but it is not; such a perspective leads to continuously scanning for problems or seeking to eliminate small problems before they become big ones. Mindful organizations and administrators avoid preoccupation with their successes, in part because success breeds contentment, sometimes arrogance, and too often vulnerability.

Mindful schools and their leaders are also *reluctant to accept simplifications;* their goal is to simplify less and see more. Knowing that schools are complex and unpredictable, mindful school administrators position themselves to see as much as possible and try to reconcile different interpretations without destroying the nuances of diversity and complexity.

Mindful schools signal a constant concern for the unexpected. Organizational surprises are not unexpected; they are inevitable. With the

unexpected in mind, leaders try to see the "big picture." School leaders need to stay close and *be sensitive to the core operations* of teaching and learning in the classroom. There is a close tie between sensitivity in operations and sensitivity in interpersonal relationships. Teachers who refuse to speak freely enact a deficient system that limits school effectiveness. Sensitivity to teaching and learning enhances real-time information, which enables effective operations.

Mindful schools are *committed to resilience.* No organization or system is perfect; hence, mindful school leaders know that they must detect and bounce back from mistakes. No amount of anticipation prevents either mistakes or surprises. Schools must not only deal with the unexpected by anticipation but also by resilience (Wildavsky, 1991); that is, schools and their leaders must learn to be sufficiently strong and flexible to cope—they need to detect, contain, and rebound from mistakes.

Finally, mindful schools do not embrace rigid administrative structures. Instead they match expertise with problems and encourage a fluid decision-making system by *deferring to expertise*, not to status or experience. Hindering and rigid structures are replaced by enabling structures, in which expertise is paramount. Authority is situational and anchored in expertise. Expertise rules regardless of rank.

Mindfulness is a paradox: it sees problems as opportunities and views successes as problems; it is both optimistic and skeptical. Here are a few guides for mindful administration:

- Be careful of success; it has the seeds of its own destruction.
- Be careful of simplification; it destroys the nuances of diversity and complexity.
- Be sensitive to core operations; teaching and learning are basic to schools.
- Be committed to resilience; mistakes and failure are inevitable but not permanent.
- Defer to expertise; expertise is paramount to success.

Enabling and Mindful School Structures

Enabling and mindful structures are complementary; they are not the same, but they have much in common. **Mindful organizations** have a preoccupation with failure, a resiliency, and sensitivity to the unexpected that some enabling structures may lack. Yet, mindfulness and enabling structures go together (Gage, 2004; Watts, 2009).

Figure 3.4 presents a synthesis of the two constructs with predictions of their actual frequencies for schools. Organizations that are both mindful and enabling are learning organizations and should be the goal. Autocratic organizations are both mindless and hindering; they are misdirected, rigid structures that punish participants for noncompliant behavior. Both learning and

		Enabling Structure	
		Enabling	Hindering
Mindful Organization	Mindful	Learning Organization **(Likely)**	Mindful, but Hindering Organization **(Least Likely)**
	Mindless	Mindless Organization **(Less Likely)**	Autocratic Organization **(Likely)**

FIGURE 3.4 *A Typology of School Organizations*

SOURCE: Adapted from Hoy (2003).

authoritarian organizations are likely occurrences because enabling structures facilitate mindfulness just as hindering ones promote mindlessness. Occasionally, enabling structures are mindless in their pursuit of the wrong strategies and objectives. Finally, although theoretically possible, it seems rare that organizations will be both mindful and hindering.

Research in schools (Hoy and Sweetland, 2000, 2001; Hoy, 2003; Sinden, Hoy, and Sweetland, 2004a; Sinden, Hoy, and Sweetland, 2004b; Hoy, Gage, and Tarter, 2006) is beginning to show that there are significant differences in the structures of schools, and not surprisingly, enabling and mindful structures usually enhance the administration and operation of schools. Further, school mindfulness is positively related to academic optimism as well as the openness and health of school climate (Reeves, 2010; Williams, 2010). The picture that emerges from this research is that enabling school structure is imbued with trust—faculty trust in the principal, colleagues, and faculty commitment to their school. Principals and teachers are open and authentic with each other. On the other hand, a hindering structure is characterized by teachers' sense of powerlessness, role conflict, and dependence on rules and the hierarchy. Teachers in hindering structures avoid conflict and play it safe by hiding behind rules and demonstrating unflagging obedience to principals and a general sense of mindlessness. Moreover, when teachers are confronted with coercive rules they likely defend their actions by spinning the truth in ways to satisfy their superiors and avoid conflict and punishment.

In sum, enabling and hindering school structures, as teachers experience them, have different features, develop through different processes, and have different consequences for the teaching-learning context (see Table 3.5). Furthermore, this conceptual refinement of structure provides a potential

TABLE 3.5

Two Types of School Structure: Enabling and Hindering

	Enabling Structure	Hindering Structure
Formalization	Promotes flexible rules and procedures Views problems as learning opportunities Values differences Encourages initiative Fosters trust	Enforces rigid rules and procedures Views problems as constraints Demands consensus Punishes mistakes Fosters suspicion
Centralization	Facilitates problem solving Promotes cooperation Encourages openness Protects teachers Encourages innovation Seeks collaboration	Demands compliance Embraces control Fosters mistrust Punishes teachers Discourages change Rules autocratically
Processes	Participative decision making Problem solving	Unilateral decision making Enforcement
Context	Teacher trust Truthfulness and authenticity Cohesiveness Teacher sense of power	Teacher distrust Truth spinning and deception Conflict Teacher sense of powerlessness

explanation for the conflicting findings regarding the impact of bureaucracy on participants—namely, that it is the *kind (hindering)* and not the *amount* of structure that explains the negative effects of bureaucracy. Enabling school structures produce positive outcomes; hindering ones yield negative outcomes. In other words, enabling structures are functional; hindering ones are dysfunctional.[3]



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Give two or three examples of your principal's behavior that you consider to be enabling, that is, behavior that supports teachers' attempts to improve teaching and learning. Now, identify several rules that hinder or punish teachers. What is the balance in your school between enabling and hindering principal behavior? How mindful is your principal? How successful is the principal in managing the unexpected? Examples? How resilient is your school in responding to failure and disappointment? Give some examples.

Mintzberg on Structure

Henry Mintzberg (1979, 1980, 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1989) provides another, more comprehensive conceptual framework for examining organizational structure. He describes structure simply as the ways in which an organization divides its labor into tasks and then achieves coordination among them. Five basic **coordinating mechanisms** are the fundamental means organizations use to monitor and control work: mutual adjustment, direct supervision, standardization of work processes, standardization of outputs, and standardization of worker skills. These mechanisms glue the organization together.

Coordinating Mechanisms

Mutual adjustment is coordination through the simple process of informal communication. Workers coordinate their efforts by informal discussion and adjustment. Mutual adjustment is direct and basic; it is necessary not only in the simplest organization, but also in the most complicated.

Direct supervision is coordination through personal command. One individual has the responsibility for monitoring and controlling the work of others. As the size of an organization increases, so too does the likelihood that mutual adjustment will become less effective and direct supervision more necessary. As work activities become more and more complicated, however, neither mutual adjustment nor direct supervision is sufficient. Hence, the work is standardized; coordination of parts is achieved by incorporating them in a carefully planned program for the work. There are three basic ways to obtain standardization in organizations: standardize the work processes, the outputs, or the skills.

Standardization of work is achieved by specifying or programming the contents of the work. The written directions to develop a lesson plan are an example. The process of developing the plan is described carefully in step-by-step directions.

Standardization of output is attained by specifying the results of the work; the fundamental dimensions of the product or of the performance are enumerated. Taxicab drivers, for example, are not usually given a route; they are merely told the destination. Similarly, teachers may simply be told that the student should be able to perform at a basic level in a given area; the means to achieve that level may be left to the teacher. The outcomes of the work are described carefully and employees are expected to achieve the standard.

Standardization of skills is a coordination mechanism that provides indirect control of work. Here specifying the kind of training required to do the work standardizes skills and knowledge. Training supplies workers with patterns of work to be performed as well as the bases of coordination. Mintzberg observes that when an anesthesiologist and a surgeon meet in the operating room, typically little communication occurs; by virtue of their respective training, each knows precisely what to expect. Their standardized skills provide most of the coordination.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Think of your school. Give a specific example of the following coordination mechanisms: mutual adjustment, direct supervision, standardization of work, standardization of output, and standardization of skills. Which of these means of coordination is most prevalent in your school? Are any absent? Evaluate the overall practices of coordination. What would you change if you could? Why?

Key Parts

Although most organizations of any size use all five means of coordination, each organization specializes in one, a fact that has important consequences for the basic structure of the organization. Mintzberg also identifies five key parts of the organization (see Figure 3.5). These are the significant aspects of the structure, each with a critical function to perform.

The **operating core** comprises those who perform the basic work—activities directly related to the production of products and services. The core is the heart of the organization; it produces the essential output. In schools, teachers are the operating core and teaching and learning are the outcomes.

The administrative component of the organization has three parts. First, the **strategic apex** consists of the top administrators (superintendent and assistants) who are charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the organization effectively serves its mission. Those administrators who connect the apex with the operating core through the formal authority structure constitute the **middle line.** In school systems, principals are the middle managers. Any

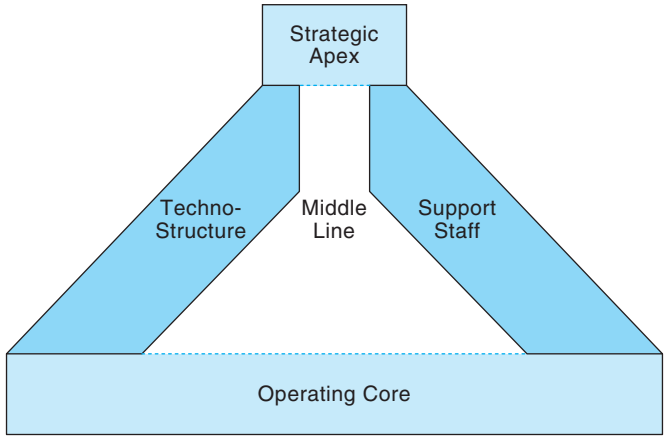


FIGURE 3.5 *Mintzberg's (1979) Five Basic Elements of Structure*

organization that relies primarily on direct supervision for control and coordination is bound to have a large middle line. The **technostructure** is the administrative component charged with the responsibility of planning. It is composed of analysts who standardize the work of others and apply their analytic techniques to help the organization adapt to its environment. These analysts design, plan, and train, but they do not directly manage. Curriculum coordinators and instructional supervisors are often members of the school technostructure; their role is to help teachers design and plan instruction and to provide in-service opportunities for professional growth and development.

Finally, a fifth component—the **support staff**—is composed of specialized units that exist to provide support for the organization outside the operating workflow. In schools, for example, we find a building and grounds department, a maintenance department, a cafeteria, and a payroll department. None of these units is part of the operating core, but each exists to provide indirect support for the school.

These five key parts of the organization and the five coordination mechanisms that hold them together serve as the basis for five configurations:

- *Simple structure:* The strategic apex is the key part and direct supervision is the central coordinating device.
- *Machine bureaucracy:* The technostructure is the key part and standardization of work processes is the central coordinating device.
- *Professional bureaucracy:* The operating core is the key part and standardization of skills is the central coordinating device.
- *Divisionalized form:* The middle line is the key part and standardization of outputs is the central coordinating device.
- *Adhocracy:* The support staff is the key part and mutual adjustment is the central coordinating device.[4]

Our discussion will focus on the forms most likely to be found in schools.

Mintzberg's Perspective Applied to Schools

The configurations that Mintzberg describes are abstract ideals, yet these simplifications of more complex structures do come to life in the analysis of schools. Schools experience the basic forces that underlie these configurations: the pull to centralize by top management, the pull to formalize by the technostructure, and the pull to professionalize by teachers.[5] Where one pull dominates, then the school will likely be organized close to one of Mintzberg's ideal configurations; that is, the pull to formalize moves the organization toward machine bureaucracy; the pull to centralize yields a simple structure; and the pull to professionalize leads to professional bureaucracy. With the passage of No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top legislation, however, there is a national pull to centralize, formalize, and standardize schools. Clearly one pull does not always dominate and the basic processes may have to coexist in balance. We turn to structural configurations expected in many schools.

Simple Structure An organization that is coordinated by a high degree of direct supervision, that has a small strategic apex with virtually no middle line, and that is highly centralized is a **simple structure.** In such an organization there is little elaboration—little technostructure, little support staff, little division of labor and specialization, and a small administrative hierarchy.

Because power over important decisions tends to be centralized in the hands of the top administrator, the strategic apex is the key part of the organization. Standardization in a simple structure is unnecessary because things are worked out as they arise; there are loose, informal working relations among participants. Thus, communication flows informally, but most of it is between the top administrator and everyone else. The name tells it all—the structure is simple.

New organizations usually begin simply and elaborate their administrative structures as they grow. Many small organizations, however, retain a simple structure. Informal communications remain effective and a one-person strategic apex attends to coordination. The simple structure can vary. For example, the *autocratic organization* is a simple structure where the top administrator hoards power and rules by fiat; and the *charismatic organization* is a variant where the leader has the same power not because it is hoarded but because the followers lavish it upon the leader. The major strength of the simple structure is its flexibility; only one person must act.

The simple structure is of interest because many schools, particularly small elementary school districts, have such a structure. Autocratic and sometimes charismatic principals who rule with an iron hand administer them. Although some teachers enjoy working in a small, intimate school, where its charismatic principal leads the way, others perceive the simple structure as highly restrictive and autocratic. Such structures are highly dependent upon the expertise, imagination, and energy of the chief executive. As the executive goes, so goes the organization. These are highly centralized structures in which the top administrator makes all major decisions and formal authority flows in one direction—top-down. Schools with simple structures face especially difficult problems in executive succession and as growth renders direct supervision inadequate. A simple structure can be relatively enduring or only a phase in the development and maturing of an organization. Mintzberg (1979, 1989) defines organizational structures that rely on any form of standardization for coordination as bureaucratic. Of the common school configurations derived from Mintzberg's formulation, the simple structure is the only one that is nonbureaucratic; its structure is organic.

Machine Bureaucracy An organization that is fine-tuned and standardized to run as an integrated, regulated machine is called a **machine bureaucracy.** The work processes in this kind of structure are routine and standard. Indeed, standardization of work is the prime coordinating mechanism and the technostructure is the key part of the structure because it contains the analysts

who do the standardizing. In these organizations, a high degree of centralization is supported by considerable formalization: rules and regulations permeate the structure; formal communication predominates at all levels; and decision making follows the hierarchical chain of authority.

This is the Weberian structure of bureaucracy—standardized responsibilities, technical qualifications, formal communication channels, rules and regulations, and hierarchy of authority. It is a structure geared for precision, speed, clarity, continuity, unity, subordination, and efficiency. Machine bureaucracy is obsessed with control; a control mentality develops from top to bottom. As Mintzberg (1979, p. 321) cogently notes, "The problem in the Machine Bureaucracy is not to develop an open atmosphere where people can talk the conflicts out, but to enforce a closed, tightly controlled one where the work can get done despite them."

Considerable power rests with the administrators of the strategic apex; in fact, the only others to share much power with the top administrators are the analysts of the technostructure because their role is standardizing the work processes of the organization. Machine structures work best when the work is routine—that is, when people must perform an integrated set of simple, repetitive tasks precisely and consistently (Mintzberg, 1979).

A few schools or school districts are machine bureaucracies; they are usually large districts where an elaborate technostructure attempts to standardize the work or in states with elaborate statewide technostructures. Behavior is formalized by an extensive set of rules, procedures, and job descriptions. Moreover, power tends to be highly centralized in the apex of the structure; authority flows downward. Although many schools have the trappings, most are not machine bureaucracies in the pure sense because typically they lack an elaborate administrative structure, a large middle line, and an elaborate technostructure. In fact, the structure of many public schools is a cross between the simple structure and the machine bureaucracy—what Mintzberg calls a simple bureaucracy.

Professional Bureaucracy Bureaucratic structure can be defined in terms of "the extent to which behavior is predetermined or predictable, in effect, standardized" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 86). Thus, organizations can be bureaucratic without being centralized. A **professional bureaucracy** is a structure that permits both decentralization and standardization at the same time. These organizations use standardization of skills as the prime coordinating mechanism; the operating core is the key organizational part; and professionalization is the crucial process. All such structures rely on the skills and knowledge of their operating professionals to function effectively.

The professional bureaucracy receives its coordination indirectly by relying on the standardization of skills that professionals have acquired in their training; hence, it is not surprising to find relationships in these organizations to be much more loosely coupled than in machine or simple bureaucracies. Yet teamwork and collaboration among school professionals seem

essential if our schools are to be productive (Tschannen-Moran et al., 2000; Marks and Printy, 2003). The structural looseness of the school supports a professional basis of organization; however, the demand for uniformity in product, the need for movement of students from grade to grade and school to school in an orderly process, and the long period over which students are schooled require a standardization of activities and hence a bureaucratic basis of school organization (Mintzberg, 1979).

The administrative structure of the professional bureaucracy is relatively flat. It does not need an elaborate hierarchy to control and coordinate or a technostructure to design work standards. Professionals control themselves and, in a sense, develop their own work standards. The standards of the professional bureaucracy originate largely from outside its structure, in self-governing associations to which the professionals belong. These associations set general standards that universities teach and all organizations of the profession use. As we have noted before, two sources generate organizational authority. Machine and simple bureaucracies rely on the authority of the position or office, and professional bureaucracies are built on the authority of knowledge and expertise.

Professional bureaucracy is decentralized; a great deal of power rests with the professionals in the operating core. The work is too complex to be supervised directly by managers or standardized by analysts; hence, professionals have a great deal to say about what they do and how they do it. Professionals have close working relations with clients and loose ones with colleagues. It makes more sense to think in terms of a personal strategy for each professional rather than an integrated organizational strategy. Some schools have the characteristics of the professional bureaucracy—a skilled operating core, standardized work skills, professional norms and autonomy, professional associations, structural looseness, and a flat administrative structure. Such schools are staffed by highly competent and well-trained teachers who control their own work and who seek collective control over decisions that affect them.

We have suggested that some small elementary schools are simple structures; they are centralized, but informal structures. The chief administrator provides strong (often autocratic) direction in an informal atmosphere unfettered with rules and regulations. A few schools are machine bureaucracies; they are usually found in large districts where an elaborate technostructure attempts to standardize the work or in states with elaborate statewide technostructures. Behavior is formalized by an extensive set of rules, procedures, and job descriptions. Moreover, power tends to be highly centralized in the apex of the structure; authority flows downward. A few schools are also professional bureaucracies. They are staffed by highly competent and well-trained teachers who monitor their own work and engage in teamwork, collaboration, and shared instructional leadership with their colleagues (Tschannen-Moran et al., 2000; Marks and Printy, 2003). The structure is decentralized and democratic among the professionals. Although some schools fit into one of these three configurations, most schools are hybrid variants of the three "ideal types" that have been described.

A number of elements in the situation influence the particular configuration of schools. For instance, the age and size of a school are likely to influence its structure. As schools age and grow, informal relations and direct supervision are likely to be replaced by formalization and bureaucratic control. When the technical system is defined as complex (i.e., teaching is viewed as a complex process requiring individualization and multiple and changing strategies), then a highly professional workforce is needed and decentralization of decision making is required. When, on the other hand, the technical system is defined as routine (i.e., teaching is viewed as a routine process of providing standard and simple minimum skills), then the technical system can be regulated through bureaucratic procedures. Moreover, the more organizations are controlled externally, the more centralized and bureaucratic they tend to become. Again consider the impact of the No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top legislation. Mintzberg argues that the two most effective means to control an organization from the outside are to hold its most powerful decision maker responsible and to impose specific standards, usually in the form of rules and regulations.

As school districts are increasingly faced with demands for accountability, minimum basic skills, tests for graduation, and myriad other performance targets from state departments of education, the pulls are for more formalization, more centralization, less professionalization, and a more well-developed state technostructure to regulate and control schools. On the other hand, school reformers continue to lament the negative impact of bureaucratic control and call for redesigning school structures to make them more hospitable to competent and skilled teachers (Darling-Hammond, 1985; Darling-Hammond and Wise, 1985; McNeil, 1986, 1988a, 1988b; Elmore, 1988; Wise, 1988; Prestine, 1991; Ouchi, 2003); here the pull is away from formalization and toward more decentralization and increased professionalization.

LOOSE COUPLING PERSPECTIVE

Five decades ago Charles Bidwell (1965) analyzed structural looseness in school organizations. He noted that in order to deal with the problem of variability in student abilities on a day-to-day basis, teachers need to have freedom to make professional judgments. Professional autonomy seems undeniable in schools. Teachers work alone in their classrooms, are relatively unobserved by colleagues and administrators, and possess broad discretionary authority over their students. The result is a structural looseness *within* the school. Similarly, structural looseness exists *among* the school units in the system. Administrators and teachers of each school enjoy broad discretionary powers with respect to curriculum, teaching methods, and teacher selection. For example, even though the system recruits teachers, they typically are not assigned to a particular school without the principal's approval.

The structural looseness of the school supports a professional basis of organization; however, the demand for uniformity in product, the need for

movement of students from grade to grade and school to school in an orderly process, and the long period of time over which students are schooled require a routinization of activities and, hence, a bureaucratic basis of school organization. Bidwell (1965), therefore, depicts the school as a distinctive combination of bureaucracy and structural looseness. Loose coupling theorists (Weick, 1976; Aldrich, 1979) and institutional theorists (Meyer, 1978; Meyer and Rowan, 1977, 1978; Rowan, 1982) focus on the disconnectedness of behavior and outcomes in organizations. Weick (1976) develops probably the most thorough analysis of the concept of loose coupling. By **loose coupling,** he conveys "the image that coupled events are responsive, but that each event also preserves its own identity and some evidence of its physical or logical separateness" (Weick, 1976, p. 5). Loose coupling connotes weak or infrequent ties between elements that are minimally interdependent; hence, the phrase is invoked to refer to a variety of situations.

Empirical evidence to support the existence, extent, and patterns of loose couplings in schools is mixed; in fact, the crude distinction between bureaucracy and loosely coupled systems can be misleading (Boyd and Crowson, 2002; Corwin and Borman, 1988; Meyer, 2002a; Orton and Weick, 1990; Rowan, 2002) and counterproductive. Most elementary schools are more tightly structured than secondary schools, but it is a matter of degree. Routine tasks and functions are bureaucratically organized in secondary schools. In fact, a comparative analysis of public secondary schools and social welfare agencies by Hoy and his colleagues (Hoy, Blazovsky, and Newland, 1983) found schools to be dramatically more formalized and centralized than welfare agencies. Not one welfare agency had as much hierarchical control or rule enforcement as the *least* centralized or least formalized high school.

In a comprehensive review of the loose coupling literature, R. M. Ingersoll (1993, p. 108) concludes "that the loose coupling perspective has offered an incomplete and faulty view of the organization of schools." From a Weberian bureaucratic perspective, the recurring surprise is that organizations routinely exhibit structural looseness whereas from a Weickian coupling perspective, the recurring surprise is that organizations routinely exhibit tight couplings (Orton and Weick, 1990). The point is, of course, that schools are complex organizations with both tight and loose structural connections.

Our analysis leads us to the conclusion that in schools there are two basic organizational domains: a bureaucratic one consisting of the institutional and managerial functions of mediating between the school and community, implementing the law, administering internal affairs, procuring and allocating necessary resources, and mediating between students and teachers; and a professional one involved with the actual technical processes of teaching and learning.[6] The bureaucratic domain is typically a tightly linked and cohesive structure, at times too rigid, preventing adaptation and producing alienation among teachers. The professional sphere is much more loosely structured; teachers have broad discretion to make professional judgments about the teaching-learning process; at times, too much independence

produces conflict, confusion, and coordination problems, reducing productivity and hindering efficiency.[7] Schools are affected by their environments; they are open systems. As forces in society change, pressures to tighten and loosen organization linkages also vary. For example, the No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top legislation has served to tighten couplings in schools as the push for accountability becomes more pronounced. Clearly, administrators need to know the organization and be aware of and sensitive to the negative consequences of *both* tight and loose coupling. In general, the public school is a distinctive combination of bureaucratic and professional elements, a theme we will now explore in more detail.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Describe a school structure that would enhance creativity, foster professional judgment, encourage mindfulness, and emphasize expertise. How would the hierarchy look and function? What would be the extent and nature of the rules? How would teacher and administrative roles be differentiated and integrated? What would be the roles and importance of personality and knowledge? How would they complement each other?

PROFESSIONAL AND BUREAUCRATIC CONFLICT

Professionals and semiprofessionals employed in formal organizations bring into focus a basic conflict between professional values and bureaucratic expectations. Although many similarities exist between professional and bureaucratic principles, the potential for conflict remains because differences do exist (Blau and Scott, 2003). The major similarities and differences are summarized in Table 3.6.

Both bureaucrats and professionals are expected to have technical expertise in specialized areas, to maintain an objective perspective, and to act impersonally and impartially. Professionals, however, are expected to act in the best interests of their clients, whereas bureaucrats are expected to act in the best interests of the organization. This apparent conflict between the interests of clients and the organization poses a problem for many formal organizations, but for service organizations such as schools, social work agencies, and hospitals it may not be a major dilemma. Unlike business concerns, the prime beneficiary of service organizations is the client. For service organizations, then, the prime objective of both the bureaucrat and the professional is the same—service to clients.

A fundamental source of **professional-bureaucratic conflict** does emerge from the system of social control used by bureaucracies and the

TABLE 3.6

Basic Characteristics of Professional and Bureaucratic Orientations: Similarities and Differences

Professional Orientation	Bureaucratic Orientation
Technical expertise	Technical expertise
Objective perspective	Objective perspective
Impersonal and impartial approach	Impersonal and impartial approach
Service to clients	Service to the organization
Major Sources of Conflict	
Colleague-oriented reference group	Hierarchical orientation
Autonomy in decision making	Disciplined compliance
Self-imposed standards of control	Subordination to the organization

professions. Professionals attempt to control work decisions. They have been taught to internalize a code of ethics that guides their activities, and colleagues support this code of behavior. Professionals are basically responsible to their profession, and at times their colleagues may censure them. On the other hand, control in bureaucratic organizations is not in the hands of the colleague group; discipline stems from one major line of authority. As Blau and Scott (2003, p. 63) explain, "Performance is controlled by directives received from one's superiors rather than by self-imposed standards and peer-group surveillance, as is the case among professionals."

Considerable variation exists, however, among various professional groups and in the scope of their professional domains. For example, elementary and secondary schoolteachers may have a relatively narrow scope, whereas physicians and scientists typically have broad authority (Scott, 1992). The ultimate basis for a professional act is professional knowledge; however, the ultimate justification of a bureaucratic act is its consistency with the organizational rules and regulations and approval by a superior. Therein lies the major source of conflict between the organization and the profession—conflict between "professional expertise and autonomy" and "bureaucratic discipline and control."

Professional and Bureaucratic Orientations in Schools

Whether or not teaching is a full-fledged profession is debatable. However, few would argue either that teachers are closer to the professional end of an occupational continuum than blue-collar and white-collar workers, or that they are further from the professional pole than physicians or lawyers. Nonetheless, the growth of knowledge and skills to solve the problems of teaching and learning, increased responsibility for student success and

welfare, emphasis on professional community, a push for academic engagement, and self-enforcement of standards, as well as increased claims for professional autonomy provide the bases for viewing teaching as a profession (Ingersoll, 2001; McMahon and Hoy, 2009).

Given the bureaucratization of schools and the growing professionalization of teachers, continued conflict seems likely. In teaching, the immediate issues of conflict revolve around the amount of control teachers should have over the selection of textbooks, teaching procedures and methods, and curriculum reform and development; however, the underlying issue is peculiar neither to teaching nor to school organizations. The conflict is between professional expertise and autonomy and bureaucratic discipline and control.

As long as the basic bureaucratic structure of the school tends to be authoritarian, teacher authority will continue to be a major source of tension. If the organizational structure of the school becomes more professional, then the chances for ameliorating the conflict and tension will be greatly improved. In fact, a dual orientation (local-cosmopolitan) of teachers might be the rule rather than the exception. In professional organizational structures, teachers might increasingly have high commitments both to the organization and to the profession. Some research supports the notion that bureaucratic orientation and professional attitudes of teachers need not be in conflict if schools increase the professional autonomy of teachers (Marjoribanks, 1977; DiPaola and Hoy, 1994).

Several other studies of teacher orientations are relevant. Edward Kuhlman and Wayne K. Hoy (1974) studied the bureaucratic socialization of new schoolteachers. They were interested in the extent to which the professional and bureaucratic orientations of beginning teachers were changed as a result of initial socialization attempts by the school organization. They theorized that a dual-role orientation might emerge among new teachers as they were socialized. New teachers, however, did not become both more professional and more bureaucratic in orientation during the first year of teaching. On the contrary, secondary teachers became significantly more bureaucratic and less professional during the first year. The orientations of beginning elementary teachers remained relatively constant, although as a group they were significantly more bureaucratic than secondary teachers. The hypothesis was not supported that a dual orientation would evolve during the initial experience of teaching and would enhance the effectiveness of both the professional and the organization. Furthermore, Harold Wilensky's (1964) contention regarding an interpenetration of bureaucratic and professional cultures in many organizations was not supported by the findings in secondary schools.

The forces of bureaucratic socialization in a majority of secondary schools seem strong. Most schools begin almost immediately to mold neophytes into roles devised to maintain stability, encourage subordination, and promote loyalty to the organization; in fact, the socialization process begins with the student-teaching experience. Student teachers, as a result of their practice teaching experience, appear to become significantly more

bureaucratic in orientation (Hoy and Rees, 1977). Similar socialization forces and outcomes have been reported for other aspiring professions, especially for social work (Enoch, 1989).

In sum, research portrays the school as a service organization staffed predominantly with professionals and semiprofessionals. The structure of the school organization is basically bureaucratic, with authoritarian trappings. Teachers as a group are becoming somewhat more professional and more militant; yet the bureaucratic structure, especially at the secondary level, seems quite effective at socializing new members to the appropriate bureaucratic stance, often at the expense of professional considerations. Hence, the school milieu comprises a number of countervailing forces. One hopes that administrators and teachers alike will strive to make school organizations more professional and less authoritarian. In such organizations a dual orientation seems likely to become increasingly prevalent, with teachers who are highly committed to both the profession and the school.[8]



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Problems at West High

You have been appointed the new principal at West High School. The school has 1,150 students, 85 teachers, an assistant principal, 4 secretaries, and 2 guidance counselors. West High is one of two high schools in a midsized school system on the East Coast. The school district is average in terms of support for education, falling about at the 48th percentile on statewide per pupil expenditures. You had been a high school teacher and assistant principal in a district 75 miles to the north. When the opportunity presented itself, you applied, were hired, and are eager to do well in your first job as principal of your own school. The job is a promotion and a significant step up in salary. Moreover, it is conveniently located at the site of the state university, where you are completing your doctoral study—albeit at a slower pace for a while.

Your predecessor at West High was a very popular principal who retired after 30 years on the job. Most of the veteran faculty members liked his unobtrusive style; in fact, his style might more aptly be described as indulgent. He permitted teachers to do just about anything they wanted as long as it caused no problems in the community and, for the most part, the community was apathetic. Occasionally an angry citizen would call asking why one of the teachers was at the bank or in the coffee shop when school was in session. Good "Old Bob," as his teachers fondly called him, always covered for them: "They were on school business." Old Bob had been around so long that many of the parents of the community had been students at the high school when he was a beginning principal, and his nickname then was "Mellow Bob." Although he had been a fixture at West High, few saw him as a leader, but most were satisfied. Why rock the boat was the common refrain when talk turned to change. Old Bob just sailed along blissfully in his role as high school principal. He had an assistant principal, Pete Marshall, who ran interference for him if he needed it and a loyal faculty who knew a good deal when they experienced it.

But things were changing. Statewide testing was revealing inadequacies in the instructional program. Students were getting into more trouble both in and out of school. Indeed, students were getting out of control—class cutting, fights,

(Continued)



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

absenteeism, and dropouts were on the rise. Parents were beginning to request that their kids be sent to East High, the other high school in the district. Students of East High did better academically and socially, and the school was cleaner and had a more orderly environment. The administration at East High was directive and sometimes harsh with both students and faculty, but many parents wanted the strong discipline of East High rather than the laid-back approach at West High. As long as there were no crises, however, Old Bob was happy and so were most of his teachers.

Two years ago the school district had hired a new superintendent, Rebecca Goldberg, and the winds of change had been blowing ever since. Rebecca and Old Bob became antagonists almost immediately. Rebecca had a vision for the district, one of better schools, higher statewide test scores, more parental involvement, new curricular programs, and fewer dropouts. Well, two years of interference were more than Old Bob could take. At the early age of 62, he retired and said farewell to his friends. He steadfastly refused to "buckle under" to the new superintendent. Old Bob's teachers were loyal, and they were shocked and a little anxious when he decided to call it a career and retire. After all, he was very teacher-friendly. He opposed bureaucratic rules and regulations because they constrained the activities of his professional faculty. He rewarded his loyal teachers with a hands-off policy. He never threw his position or title around—he was just "one of the boys," a saying that irritated some of the younger women teachers. Yet none said or did anything to offend Old Bob because he was benign. Any time they did need a favor, they could count on him. He had had a great relationship with the previous superintendent; they had been friends for 20 years and it had been about that long that Old Bob had engaged in a pattern of indulgency and benign neglect with his teachers. No one remembered the time when a new teacher did not get tenure; in fact, the way you got hired at West High was to know someone who knew Old Bob. Bob hired and the appointment was always approved by the superintendent and board—until two years ago. The new superintendent had different ideas; the board had hired Rebecca Goldberg with the goal of changing and improving the district. Some say Old Bob was just forced out; whatever the dynamics, Old Bob is gone and he left behind a faculty that he had handpicked.

Pete Marshall, Bob's 10-year assistant, had been personally groomed by Old Bob to take over the reins—so it was a bombshell when the school board decided to go outside to hire a successor. The board selected you because of your vision of a school with high academic standards, but one that was nurturing as well as rigorous. The board of education wanted you as principal because they liked your progressive ideas and energy, and both the board and superintendent had given you a mandate for change. You arrived at West High just a month before school opened and now you have been on the job for nearly two months. You really believe that you can turn things around, but it is not going to be as easy as you originally thought. You have inherited a loyal faculty; unfortunately, they are loyal to Old Bob and his assistant principal. It seems that you are being opposed on every issue. There are virtually no operating procedures in this school; teachers do what they want to do and the result is near chaos. When you question a teacher on anything, the response is always the same—"That's the way we always did it." When you suggest that perhaps a change could improve things, the common response is "That's not the way Old Bob did it."

Pete, your assistant principal, is distant and not particularly helpful: in fact, you get the idea that he is working to undermine you. Just last week you passed his office and overheard him remarking to a parent on the phone that you were never around and it made things difficult. You are trying to be supportive of Pete and work with him because you know he is disappointed that he did not get the job. Perhaps you should have taken up the superintendent on the offer to transfer Pete Marshall to East High. You have enough problems with teachers and students without having to



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

watch your back with your assistant. This is a close-knit school and unfortunately, you are an outsider. The board and superintendent expect results and change, but you are getting blocked everywhere you turn. The faculty resents the professional development meetings you have scheduled as part of an upcoming in-service. The faculty resists any attempt to change. You cannot count on your assistant for support; you just don't trust him. Even your secretary (Old Bob's secretary) cannot be depended upon. She too is always idealizing Old Bob. You are sick and tired of hearing about how great Old Bob was; you know that was not the case. You suspect the degree of talk about your predecessor is simply an index of resistance to your leadership. You are frustrated and feel the need to make some drastic changes. The school year is only a month old, but you must do something. You are in charge. You have the support of the board and superintendent right now. You must act, but you need help and you need a plan. Today is the beginning of change at West High, you vow, as you pick up the phone to schedule an appointment with the superintendent. You figure you have a little time to sketch a plan of action, and you believe the superintendent is sympathetic to your plight.

- Should you ask that Pete Marshall be transferred?
- How can you get a supportive secretary?
- How can you use the authority of your office for change?
- Is it time for some unilateral changes in your school? Top-down changes?
- Is it time to institute a system of rules, regulations, and procedures? How?
- Is it time for a dramatic restructuring?
- Is democracy in this situation an unrealistic dream?

These are just some of the questions you must answer before you propose a plan for change to the superintendent. You are the principal; you have the support of your superiors but not your subordinates; your superiors expect improvement; the school needs change; and you need a plan.

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Ensure that those with expertise make the important decisions: Knowledge rules.
2. Substitute professional judgment for rules when possible: Judgment trumps rules.
3. Initiate enabling structures: They facilitate positive school cultures.
4. Avoid hindering structures: They frustrate professional judgment and teacher creativity.
5. Anticipate the negatives consequences of rules: Be prepared and flexible.
6. Review and delete rules each year: The fewer the number of rules, the better.
7. Know your informal school leaders: Informal leadership is an important complement to the formal.
8. Balance formal demands with individual capabilities: Both are critical for success.
9. Make the workplace interesting and challenging: Create structures that nurture creativity.

10. Be mindful: Make mindfulness in attitude, organization, and behavior a habit of thought and action.
11. Institutionalize structures that work: Change structures that don't.
12. Move from bureaucratic to professional control: Teacher judgment should eventually substitute for administrative control.
13. Seek harmony between the formal and informal organizations: Both are imperative for effective organization.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Virtually all organizations, including schools, have hierarchical structures.
2. Division of labor promotes specialization, which in turn produces expertise.
3. Informal organization is the other side of formal; in every formal organization there is informal structure, which emerges spontaneously.
4. Organizational structure has both positive and negative consequences; the administrative challenge is to achieve the positive and avoid the negative.
5. The kind of organizational structure (enabling or hindering, mindful or mindless, tight or loose coupling) is just as important as the amount of structure (tall or flat, centralized or decentralized).
6. There is no one best structure; appropriate structure depends upon the people, task, goals, technology, and context.
7. Organizations are faced with the problems of control and coordination as well those of creativity and change.
8. Tight coupling improves organizational efficiency and accountability, but loose coupling promotes creativity and professionalism.
9. All organizations are faced with the dilemma of order and freedom; there is no final solution but rather a continuous effort to get the right balance.
10. A structural perspective rests on the belief in rationality and confidence that appropriate structural arrangements minimize problems.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

division of labor, *p. 95*
specialization, *p. 95*
impersonal orientation, *p. 95*
hierarchy of authority, *p. 96*
rules and regulations, *p. 96*
career orientation, *p. 96*
ideal type, *p. 97*
goal displacement, *p. 100*
representative rules, *p. 101*
punishment-centered rules, *p. 101*
informal organization, *p. 101*
Weberian structure, *p. 111*
authoritarian structure, *p. 111*
professional structure, *p. 111*
chaotic structure, *p. 111*
enabling school structure, *p. 115*

hindering school structure, *p. 115*
mindful organizations, *p. 117*
coordinating mechanisms, *p. 120*
mutual adjustment, *p. 120*
direct supervision, *p. 120*
standardization of work, *p. 120*
standardization of output, *p. 120*
standardization of skills, *p. 120*
operating core, *p. 121*
strategic apex, *p. 121*
middle line, *p. 121*
technostructure, *p. 122*
support staff, *p. 122*
simple structure, *p. 123*
machine bureaucracy, *p. 123*
professional bureaucracy, *p. 124*
loose coupling, *p. 127*
professional-bureaucratic conflict, *p. 128*

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PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Use the conceptual perspective of *enabling and hindering school structure*. Define and develop the concepts and how they are related; that is, explain the perspective thoroughly. Then do the following:

- Go to www.coe.ohio-state.edu/whoy and download the Enabling Structure Scale (ESS).
- Then administer the instrument to 8 or 10 teachers in your school who are agreeable. Interview each teacher to check the validity of the measure. Keep both the school and the respondents anonymous.
- Next score the instrument and determine how enabling the structure of your school is. Compare and contrast your school with an average school as defined on the website. How representative do you think the results are for your school? Would your principal agree? How fairly are the teachers treated by the administration?
- Use the results and analyze the strengths and weaknesses of your school structure. Develop a plan to improve the structure of your school to be implemented in the next year. Provide a step-by-step description of your plan. Make sure it is realistic.
- How does your plan capitalize on the diversity of the school to improve? How would you then assess the effectiveness of your plan? Make sure you speak to the things that are necessary to improve your school's structure.

Leadership Standards 3 and 5 (see inside front cover)

NOTES

1. The Aston studies done by D. S. Pugh and his associates (1968, 1969, 1976) at the University of Aston in Birmingham, England, are a comprehensive set of studies of bureaucracy using interview inventories to assess the structure of work organizations rather than questionnaires. The technique has been used by Canadian researchers (Newberry, 1971; Kelsey, 1973; Holdaway et al., 1975; Sackney, 1976) at the University of Alberta and by U.S. researchers (Sousa and Hoy, 1981; Guidette, 1982; Haymond, 1982) at Rutgers University to study educational organizations. Regardless of research strategy, the results of the study of bureaucratic structures in schools are quite consistent.
2. For other specific examples of enabling rules and enabling structure, see Hoy (2003).
3. A note of caution: Enabling school structures can enable the wrong goals just as some parents enable their children to engage in destructive behavior. Enabling structure is neither a panacea nor a substitute for appropriate goals, technology, and expertise. See Hoy (2003).

4. To these five original configurations, Mintzberg (1989) has added two additional ones—the missionary organization and the political organization. Sometimes either ideology or politics becomes so pervasive that it overrides the standard configurations and creates its own configuration. If the organization's ideology (culture) becomes so strong that its entire structure is built around it, Mintzberg labels the configuration a missionary organization. If the politics becomes so strong that it captures the organization, the configuration is labeled a political organization. But typically, politics (Chapter 7) and ideology (Chapter 5) are components of the standard forms; they are overlays on the five conventional configurations.
5. Mintzberg (1979) also identifies the pull to Balkanize by managers of the middle line and the pull to collaborate by the support staff, which are less pronounced in schools and found predominately in divisional structures and adhocracies.
6. Parsons (1967) details the institutional, managerial, and technical functions in schools.
7. For an insightful discussion of the separate zones of control of principals and teachers, see Lortie (1969).
8. Carlson (1962) provides an intriguing research analysis of local-cosmopolitan orientations for superintendents as they affect administrator behavior, and Hoy and Aho (1973) and Ganz and Hoy (1977) do the same thing for secondary and elementary principals, respectively. See Gouldner (1958) for the classic study of local-cosmopolitan orientations.

CHAPTER 4



INDIVIDUALS IN SCHOOLS

Among the mechanisms of agency, none is more central or pervasive than beliefs of personal efficacy. Unless people believe they can produce desired effects by their actions, they have little incentive to act.

Albert Bandura
Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control

It ain't hard to learn what you want to know.

Anonymous Urban Student
Washington, DC

PREVIEW

1. Individuals in schools are motivated by their needs, beliefs, and goals.
2. Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory postulates five basic categories of needs arranged in a hierarchy of prepotency: physiological, safety, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization needs.
3. Herzberg's hygiene-motivator theory postulates two distinct sets of needs leading to satisfaction and dissatisfaction.
4. Achievement and autonomy needs are also strong motivating forces for many individuals.
5. Attribution theory explains that motivation will be strong when causes of outcomes are perceived to be internal, amenable to change, and controllable.
6. Equity theory maintains that individuals will work hard when they believe that they have been treated fairly—that is, that they have received appropriate rewards, that allocations of rewards are fair, and that they have been treated with respect.
7. Expectancy theory suggests that individuals will work hard if that extra effort will improve their performance, good performance will be noticed and rewarded, and they value the rewards.
8. Self-efficacy contributes to motivation by determining what goals individuals set for themselves, how much effort they expend, how long they persevere in the face of difficulties, and their resilience to failures.
9. Goal-setting theory suggests that when an individual accepts specific, realistic, and challenging goals, motivation will be strong, especially if feedback about progress is forthcoming.
10. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are two different strategies for motivating individuals.

When administrators analyze their organizations, sometimes they focus on structure to the detriment of the individual. But organizations exist to serve human needs as much as to attain organizational goals. To neglect either the structural or individual element of the school social system is shortsighted and incomplete. As we saw earlier (see Chapter 1), students, teachers, and administrators bring with them needs and develop their own personal orientations and cognitive understanding of their roles. What facets of the individual are most instrumental in determining work and other behaviors in schools? What characteristics of the individual motivate behavior in school? Responses to such questions can be framed in many ways because individuals are so complex and because insights regarding human behavior are rooted in many perspectives and disciplines. We believe that a powerful way to gain insights about students, teachers, and administrators as individuals in the school social system is to examine their *needs, beliefs, goals,* and *motivations.*

NEEDS

Although people occupy roles and positions in schools, they are not merely actors devoid of unique needs; in fact, human needs and motivations are key elements in determining how individuals behave in organizations. Individuals working in organizations are always concerned about fulfilling their needs in the course of doing their jobs. Parents are concerned about the needs of their children, politicians are attuned to the needs of their constituencies, teachers try to meet the needs of their students, and most principals are sensitive to the needs of their teachers. There is little doubt that individual needs are important in organizations. People have different personal needs that shape their behavior. As far as possible, most individuals try to personalize their roles in an organization, that is, stamp their own brand of behavior on expected roles, behavior that is consistent with their needs. One reason why people who occupy the same roles behave so differently is that each has his or her own style. Teachers have different styles and so do students and administrators.

Edwin A. Locke (1991) observes that needs are used loosely in everyday conversation, but in their biological context, needs are requirements for an organism's survival and well-being. More formally, **needs** are internal states of disequilibrium that cause individuals to pursue certain courses of action in order to regain internal equilibrium (Steers and Porter, 1991). The concept of need explains at a most basic level why living organisms behave as they do, and it is the standard to judge whether a specific action is healthy or not.

Hierarchy of Needs: Basic Needs

The humanistic psychologist Abraham Maslow (1970) developed a fascinating theory of human needs; in fact, his need hierarchy model has become one

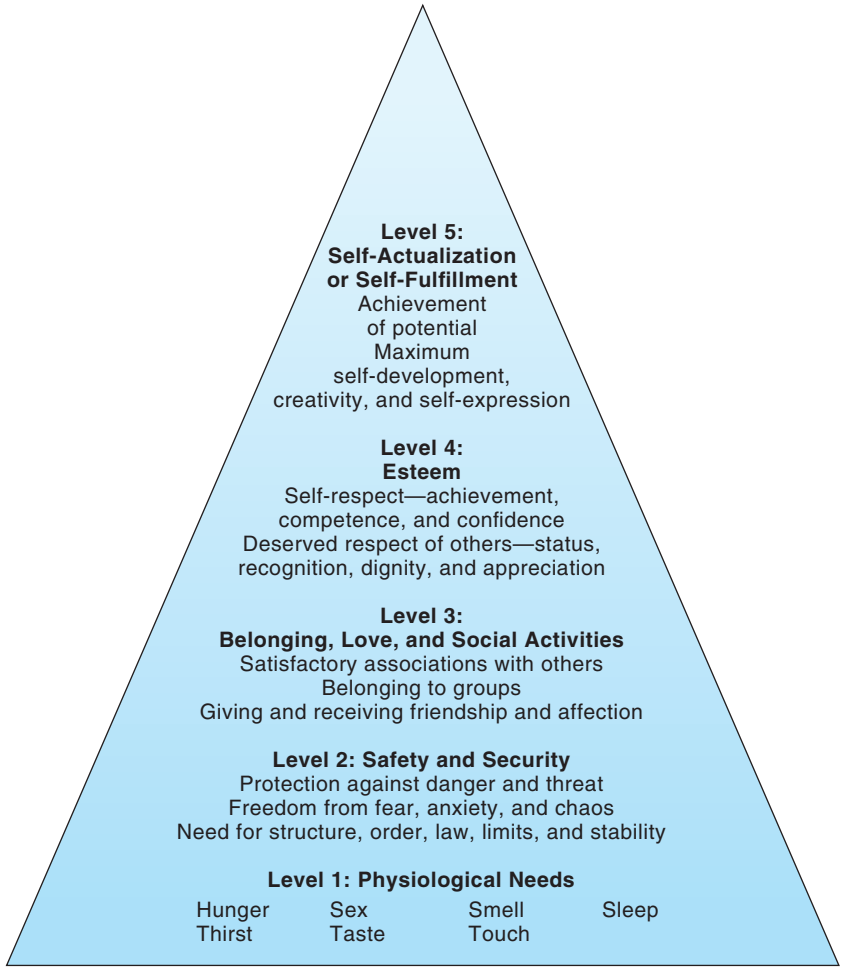


FIGURE 4.1 *Maslow's Need Hierarchy Theory*

of the most widely discussed and influential perspectives of human motivation. The model was derived primarily from Maslow's experience as a clinical psychologist and not from systematic research (Campbell and Pritchard, 1976; Steers and Porter, 1983). His theory posits a **need hierarchy**—a basic innate or inborn set of human needs arranged in a hierarchical order (Kanfer, 1990).

Five basic categories of needs, arranged in hierarchical levels (identified and described in Figure 4.1) constitute the foundation of Maslow's (1970) model:

- At the first level of the hierarchy are *physiological needs*, which consist of such fundamental biological functions as hunger and thirst.

- *Safety and security needs*, the second level, derive from the desire for a peaceful, smoothly running, stable society.
- On the third level, *belonging, love, and social needs* are extremely important in modern society. Maslow contends that maladjustment stems from frustration of these needs. He believes that some proportion of youth rebellion, for example, is motivated by the profound need to belong to a group.
- *Esteem needs*, at the fourth level, reflect the desire to be highly regarded by others. Achievement, competence, status, and recognition satisfy esteem needs.
- Finally, Maslow maintains that discontent and restlessness develop unless individuals do what they are best suited to do—that is, unless they meet their need for *self-actualization*, the fifth level. The meaning of self-actualization is a subject of much discussion. A succinct and simple definition of **self-actualization** is that it is the need to be what an individual wants to be, to achieve fulfillment of life goals, and to realize the potential of his or her personality (Campbell and Pritchard, 1976). Maslow viewed self-actualization as a process, not an end state. Individuals are continually in the process of becoming more and more of what they are uniquely capable of becoming (Cherrington, 1991).

Maslow's needs are related to one another and are arranged in a hierarchy of prepotency, or urgency for survival, of the individual. The more prepotent a need is, the more it precedes other needs in human consciousness and demands to be satisfied. This observation leads to the fundamental postulate of Maslow's theory: *higher-level needs become activated as lower-level needs become satisfied*. Thus, Maslow suggests that a person lives by bread alone—when there is no bread. But when there is plenty of bread, other and higher needs emerge. They, in turn, dominate the person and, as they become satisfied, are displaced by new needs. The sequence—increased satisfaction, decreased importance, increased importance of next higher need level—repeats itself until the highest level of the hierarchy is reached. Therefore, individual behavior is motivated by an attempt to satisfy the need that is most important at that time (Lawler, 1973).

The successive emergence of higher needs is limited because lower-level needs are never completely satisfied; moreover, if an individual cannot satisfy needs at a given level for any period of time, those needs again become potent motivators. A completely satisfied need is not an effective motivator. Hence, the concept of gratification is as important as that of deprivation. Maslow reasons that gratification releases the person from the domination of one need, allowing for the emergence of a higher-level need. Conversely, if a lower-order need is left unsatisfied, it reemerges and dominates behavior.

A common misconception about Maslow's theory is that one need must be entirely satisfied before the next level of needs emerges. Maslow

asserts that normal individuals are usually only partially satisfied in all their basic needs. A more realistic description of the need structure is that the percentage of satisfaction decreases as one goes up the hierarchy of prepotency. Maslow argues that for the majority of people, needs at the first three levels are regularly satisfied and no longer have much motivational effect; however, satisfaction of esteem and self-actualization needs is rarely complete. The higher-level needs continually motivate. In other words, most behavior is motivated by needs from more than one level of the hierarchy, and new need states do not emerge in a crisp, all or nothing lockstep fashion (Pinder, 1984).

Several observations about work in educational organizations can be made using Maslow's theory. First, although physiological needs seem reasonably well met for educators, some students are deprived of even the most basic needs and therefore present a potent motivational problem. Moreover, the needs for safety and security, the second hierarchical level, certainly can become motivating factors for school employees and students alike. Violence to and from school and within the school has increasingly become a way of life for many students. It is difficult to concentrate on studying or teaching when you are frightened. Administrative actions that arouse uncertainty with respect to continued employment, or discrimination, can affect every individual from custodian to superintendent. Furthermore, Maslow theorizes that broader aspects of the attempt to seek safety and security are seen in the preference many people have for familiar rather than unfamiliar things, for the known rather than the unknown. In schools, those people who have high safety needs may resist change and desire job security, injury-compensation plans, and retirement programs to satisfy those needs.

The need to belong causes an individual to seek relationships with coworkers, peers, superiors, and subordinates. For educators, friendship ties, informal work groups, professional memberships, and school memberships satisfy this need. The need for esteem and status, the fourth hierarchical level, causes an educator to seek control, autonomy, respect from and for others, and professional competence. Finally, the need for self-actualization motivates educators to be the best people they are capable of being. This need is less frequently apparent than others, however, because many individuals are still concerned with lower-level needs. Nevertheless, Maslow (1965) clearly advocates that organizations such as schools should provide the highest level of need satisfaction that is possible because self-actualizing students, teachers, and administrators are the best performers.

Maslow's need hierarchy theory, then, is based on three fundamental postulates (Cherrington, 1991):

- Individual needs are universal and arranged in a hierarchy.
- Unfilled needs lead individuals to focus exclusively on those needs.
- Lower-level needs must be largely satisfied before higher-level needs can be felt and pursued.

One of the reasons that Maslow's theory is so popular is because it is intuitively appealing, but research designed to test it has yielded mixed results (Baron, 1998). There is no clear evidence showing that human needs are classified into five distinct categories, or that these categories are structured in any special hierarchy. In fact, the findings of a number of studies do not support the fundamental assumption of a hierarchy of prepotency; other studies have found modest support (Miner, 1980; Steers and Porter, 1983; Landy and Becker, 1987; Cherrington, 1991). Of three studies published since 1980, one strongly challenges the theory (Rauschenberger, Schmitt, and Hunter, 1980); and two show only modest support (Betz, 1984; Lefkowitz, Somers, and Weinberg, 1984).

In brief, this appealing analysis of human needs should be viewed as an intriguing but unverified perspective for examining and explaining behavior. This does not mean the theory is wrong, but merely that it has not been supported at this time (Miner, 2002).

Needs and Worker Satisfaction

Frederick Herzberg and his colleagues (Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman, 1959) developed a theory of motivation and job satisfaction based on the findings from their now famous study of engineers and accountants. The results led them to conclude that factors leading to positive job attitudes (motivators) do so because of their potential to satisfy the individual's need for self-actualization, or in Herzberg's terms, promote psychological growth. Conversely, a separate set of factors, hygiene factors, is related to physiological, safety, and social needs. Maslow focuses on general human needs of the psychological person, while Herzberg (1982) concentrates on the psychological person in terms of how the job affects basic needs.

The theory, which has been called motivation-hygiene theory, two-factor theory, dual-factor theory, and simply Herzberg's theory, has been widely accepted by administrators and policy makers. Herzberg and his colleagues found that positive events were dominated by references to achievement, recognition (for achievement), the work itself (challenging), responsibility, and advancement (promotion). Negative events were dominated by references to interpersonal relations with superiors and peers, technical supervision, company policy and administration, working conditions, salary, and personal life. They concluded that the presence of certain factors in the job act to increase an individual's job satisfaction, but absence of these same factors does not necessarily produce job dissatisfaction. The theory has several basic assumptions:

- There are two separate sets of factors in explaining work satisfaction and dissatisfaction.
- Motivators tend to produce satisfaction, and hygiene factors tend to produce dissatisfaction.
- Work satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not opposites, but rather separate and distinct dimensions.

Hence, motivation-hygiene theory postulates that the gratification of certain needs, called **motivators** (i.e., achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, and advancement), increases satisfaction, but when the motivators are not gratified, only minimal dissatisfaction results. On the other hand, when factors called **hygienes** (i.e., interpersonal relations, supervision, policy and administration, working conditions, salary, and personal life) are not gratified, negative attitudes are created, producing job dissatisfaction. Gratification of hygienes leads only to minimal job satisfaction. For example, being restricted in your ability to copy exams on the school's copy machine is likely to cause dissatisfaction, but the availability of such service is unlikely to promote high job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is more likely to come from autonomy, responsibility, and the challenge of the job itself. In brief, motivators tend to produce job satisfaction, whereas hygiene factors tend to produce job dissatisfaction. Why the name "hygienes" for factors that produce dissatisfaction and are relatively unimportant in promoting satisfaction? It's a medical metaphor: Although hygiene is very important in preventing serious infection, hygiene alone typically does not produce a cure, just as hygiene factors alone cannot produce high levels of satisfaction.

Miner (2002, 2004) observes that the five motivator factors are both conceptually and empirically related. When these elements are present in work, the individual's basic needs of personal growth and self-actualization will be satisfied; positive feelings and improved performance will also result. The hygiene factors, when provided appropriately, can serve to remove dissatisfaction and improve performance up to a point. But hygiene elements do not produce as positive feelings or as high performance levels as are potentially possible.

Although Herzberg's theory became quite controversial, it has had a major impact on the field of work motivation and job design. Steers and Porter (1991) argue that Herzberg deserves a great deal of credit. By calling attention to the need for improved understanding of the role played by motivation in work organizations, he filled a void in the late 1950s. His approach is systematic and his language understandable. He advanced a theory that is simple to grasp, based on empirical data, and offers specific action recommendations to administrators. Pinder (1984) offers an even stronger defense for the model. He argues that substantial evidence exists that Herzberg's ideas concerning the design of jobs have considerable validity and practical utility.

In brief, administrators should be aware of both sets of factors as they attempt to design and enrich teaching jobs to make them inherently challenging and interesting as well as to eliminate those aspects of the job that are most likely to produce dissatisfaction. Both hygiene and motivator factors are important but for different reasons (see Table 4.1). One caveat: the two sets of factors are not as separate as theory implies; for example, salary is not just a dissatisfier but also acts as a motivator for some people (Miner, 2002). Yet it is useful to remember that things that encourage dissatisfaction often are different from those that promote satisfaction.

TABLE 4.1

Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory

Hygienes	Motivators
• Interpersonal relations (with subordinates)	• Achievement
• Interpersonal relations (with peers)	• Recognition
• Supervision (technical)	• Work itself
• Policy and administration	• Responsibility
• Working conditions	• Advancement
• Personal life	
• Job security and salary	
↓	↓
Dissatisfaction	Satisfaction

Need for Achievement: An Acquired Need

David C. McClelland's (1961, 1965, 1985) **achievement motivation theory** is commonly called need achievement or *n*-achievement theory.[1] The need to accomplish hard tasks, to overcome difficulties and obstructions, and to excel is the need for achievement. Individuals who strive for excellence in any field for the sake of achievement, not some other rewards, are considered to have a high need for achievement. In contrast to Maslow's fixed hierarchy and innate needs, McClelland's framework asserts that motives are learned; they become arranged in a hierarchy of potential for influencing behavior; and they vary from person to person. As people develop, they learn to associate positive and negative feelings with certain things that happen to and around them. Accordingly, the achievement value is learned when opportunities for competing with standards of excellence become associated with positive outcomes (Pinder, 1984). For an individual, achievement is directed toward the top of the motive hierarchy, and it takes only minimal achievement cues to activate the expectation of pleasure. Thus, the likelihood of achievement striving is increased. Under such circumstances weaker motives will probably give way to the achievement and assume a distinct secondary role in influencing behavior (Miner, 1980).

McClelland (1961, 1985) hypothesized that individuals who are high in achievement motivation have three key characteristics:

- First, they have a *strong desire to assume personal responsibility* for performing a task or solving a problem. Consequently, they tend to work alone rather than with others. If the job requires others, they

tend to choose co-workers on the basis of their competence rather than their friendship. Individuals with high achievement needs prefer situations that allow them to take personal responsibility and get personal credit for the outcomes (Miner, 1980).

- Second, those with high achievement needs tend to *set moderately difficult goals* and take intermediate levels of risk. Where tasks are too hard, the chance of succeeding and probability of satisfaction are low. Easy tasks represent things that anyone can do; thus little satisfaction will be gained in accomplishing them. High achievers tend to calculate the risks and select situations in which they anticipate feeling slightly overextended by the challenges, but not too overextended (Miner, 1980, 2002).
- Third, people with high achievement needs have a *strong desire for performance feedback.* These individuals want to know how well they have done and are eager to receive information about results, regardless of whether they have succeeded or failed (Cherrington, 1991). There is little opportunity for achievement satisfaction when a person cannot tell success from failure.

Individuals with high achievement needs are characterized by their single-minded absorption with task accomplishment (Cherrington, 1991). Consequently, the need for achievement is an important motive in schools because students, teachers, and administrators who have a single-minded preoccupation are often successful. McClelland concluded from his research that the achievement motivation is apparently learned at an early age and largely influenced by child-rearing practices and other influences of parents. Children who see that their actions have an impact on their success and who are taught how to recognize good performance are more likely to grow up with the desire to excel (Schunk, 2000).

Other theorists, however, view achievement motivation as a set of conscious beliefs and values that are shaped by recent experiences with success and failure and by such factors in the immediate situation as the difficulty of the task and available incentives. Thus a teacher may have high motivation with her algebra class because she is doing well with the class but low motivation with her geometry class because the class is disinterested and struggling (Stipek, 1993).

Harnessing an existing need for achievement in teachers or students is one thing, but developing the achievement need in those without it is quite a different challenge. One general strategy for changing motives is through education and training (Katzell and Thompson, 1990). Attempts to instill achievement motivation should likely be characterized by:

- Establishing situations in which individuals can succeed.
- Placing emphasis on setting reasonable and achievable goals.
- Accepting personal responsibility for performance.
- Providing clear feedback on performance.

Achievement motivation can be strengthened in schools and other settings through training, with favorable consequences for future success. The need for achievement, rather than being satisfied with accomplishment, seems to grow as it is attained rather than diminish (Wood and Wood, 1999). One caveat: Most of McClelland's research evidence pertains to boys and men, so his theory is currently limited to males; in fact, attempts to generalize it to females have been less successful (Pinder, 1984).

Need for Autonomy

The need for autonomy or self-determination is the desire to have choice in what we do and how we do it. In other words, it is the desire to act independently, rather than to have external pressures and rewards determine our actions (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, and Ryan, 1991; Ryan and Deci, 2000; Deci & Ryan, 2006). People seek to be in charge of their own behavior. In fact, Porter (1961) has argued that the need for independent thought and action, autonomy, is a basic need. People resist and struggle against pressure from external forces such as rules, regulations, orders, and deadlines imposed by others because it interferes with their need for autonomy. Sometimes a person even rejects help to remain in control (deCharms, 1976, 1983; Pink, 2009).

Richard deCharms (1976, 1983) used the metaphor of individuals as "origins" and "pawns" to capture the difference between people with self-determination and those with other-determination. Origins perceive of themselves as the origin or source of their intentions to act. Pawns see themselves in a game controlled by others and powerless to determine their actions. When people are pawns, play becomes work, leisure becomes obligation, and intrinsic motivation becomes extrinsic motivation (Lepper and Greene, 1978). For example, you may have had the experience as a principal of deciding to involve teachers in decision making only to have your motivation dampened by a superintendent who insists on a well-defined program of site-based management. Your chance to be an origin is spoiled by a hierarchical attempt to control you. You have little appetite for site-based management that has been dictated from above because your sense of self-determination has been stolen; indeed, teachers are likely to feel the same way about top-down efforts by principals (Woolfolk, 2004, 2010).

DeCharms's work with students led him to conclude that students are too little controlled by their own intrinsic motivation and too powerless to control their own actions. They are too often pawns rather than origins. It seems likely that teachers and administrators will suffer the same, perhaps stronger, consequences when they find themselves as pawns rather than origins—they become passive and take little responsibility for their work. Individual autonomy can be developed by activities and programs that emphasize setting realistic goals, personally planning goals, accepting personal responsibility for actions, and developing self-confidence

(Woolfolk, 2004, 2010). Results of some studies show that when individuals feel more like origins than pawns, they have higher self-esteem, feel more competent, and perform at higher levels of accomplishment (deCharms, 1976; Ryan and Grolnick, 1986). Needs for autonomy and self-determination can be enhanced by encouraging individuals to:

- Make their own choices.
- Plan their own courses of action.
- Accept responsibility for the consequences of their own choices.

It seems likely that as we grow, develop, and mature, the need for autonomy becomes increasingly more important.

The needs for *achievement*, *autonomy*, *social relations*, *self-esteem*, and *self-actualization* are some of the key needs that motivate teachers and administrators and influence their perceptions and intellectual understandings of their organizational roles. Beliefs are also important factors that explain motivation.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

We have talked about the needs that employees have for security, respect, self-actualization, autonomy, satisfaction, and achievement. In your school, give some examples of which of these needs are most important. Explain why that is the case in your school, and discuss ways a principal might help teachers fulfill these needs and help teachers be more productive.

BELIEFS

Individuals also act on their beliefs. **Beliefs** are general understandings or generalizations about the world; they are what individuals hold to be true. Beliefs are typically assertions of the existence of things such as intelligence or cause; they also often are associated with an ideal image that contrasts with the existing state; they are frequently associated with evaluations of what should be, for example, the fairness of school rules and regulations; and they are often linked to remembered episodes or events, for instance, the unfairness of school rules and regulations might be traced to an unfortunate episode in school (Nespor, 1987).

Beliefs play a pivotal role in motivating individuals to act. Individual beliefs about causality, fairness, intelligence, the consequences of our actions, and our ability to control our own destiny are a few of the pivotal beliefs that influence behavior. We turn to explanations of motivation that are anchored in beliefs.

Beliefs about Causality: Attribution Theory

As individuals see things happen to themselves and others, they ask why and then make inferences or attributions about causes. For example, students ask: Why did I fail the final examination? Was it because of a lack of effort? Or am I not smart enough to understand the material? Based on such observations and questions, Bernard Weiner (1972, 1985, 1986, 1992, 1994a, 1994b) uses the notion of attribution to create a model of motivation. In essence, **attribution theory** deals with causal explanations that individuals make about past behaviors, especially in regard to achievement efforts and expectancies. Attribution theorists assume that individuals naturally search for understanding about why events happen, especially when the outcome is important or unexpected (Stipek, 1993). People attribute successes and failures to such factors as ability, luck, effort, mood, interest, and unfair procedures. When people make causal attributions, they are essentially seeking or creating beliefs about what happened and why. Once they create the explanation, individuals can often use it to better manage themselves and their environments.

Dimensions of Causality

Weiner (1985, 1986, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 2000) argues that most of the causes to which individuals attribute their successes and failures can be characterized in terms of three **dimensions of causality**—locus, stability, and responsibility.

- *Locus* (internal versus external) defines the location of the cause. Ability and effort are the most common internal factors on the locus dimension. Task difficulty and luck are common external determinants of outcomes.
- *Stability* (stable versus variable) designates causes as constant or varying over time. Ability is stable because an individual's aptitude for a task is thought to be relatively fixed, whereas effort is variable because people can vary their labor from one situation to another.
- *Responsibility* (controllable versus uncontrollable) refers to personal responsibility, that is, whether the person can control the cause. Effort is controllable because individuals are thought to be responsible for how hard they try. In contrast, ability and luck are generally believed to be beyond personal control (Weiner, 1986, 2000; Kanfer, 1990; Graham, 1991).

Each of these three dimensions has important implications for motivation because they tend to generate emotional reactions to success and failure. For example, internal-external locus seems to be closely related to self-esteem (Weiner, 2010). If success or failure is attributed to internal factors, then success typically produces pride, whereas failure diminishes self-esteem. The stability dimension is linked to emotions that implicate future expectations. For instance, stable causes for failure (e.g., an unfair teacher)

produce hopelessness, apathy, and resignation. The responsibility dimension is linked to a set of social emotions that includes guilt, shame, pity, and anger. We feel guilty when the causes of personal failure are due to factors under our control such as lack of effort and deciding not to take responsibility for action; we are proud if we succeed. Embarrassment or anger is more likely if personal failures are due to uncontrollable factors such as ability or the difficulty of the task, whereas succeeding leads to feeling lucky or just grateful. Also, feeling in control of your own destiny seems related to choosing more difficult tasks, working harder, and persisting longer (Schunk, 2000; Weiner, 1994a, 2000, 2010).

By attaching emotional reactions to the three attributional dimensions, outcomes may be perceived to have internal and variable causes yet fall within an individual's responsibility and choice (Kanfer, 1990). For example, if new teachers perceive their failure to engage students in a class project as caused by a lack of preparation, then they will suffer low self-esteem and guilt for their poor performance. Their perception of the cause as being internal, variable, and controllable—that is, within their power to change—enables them to be optimistic for future success. However, highly experienced teachers who have repeatedly failed to engage students in classroom projects are likely to attribute the cause of their failure to a lack of ability—that is, the cause is internal, stable, and uncontrollable. These teachers expect repeated failures, hopelessness, low self-esteem, and shame. They have low motivation to perform in the classroom. Figure 4.2 sketches two attribution paths of failure: (1) when failure is attributed to lack of effort, which is seen as controllable, the individual feels responsible and guilty and will likely engage in behavior to improve performance, but (2) when failure is attributed to lack of ability, which is seen as uncontrollable, the individual does not feel responsible for the failure but is embarrassed and will likely avoid the task as performance declines.

Some criticize attribution theory as no more than common sense (Graham, 1991). For example, we pity the handicapped but feel anger toward the lazy who are unwilling to work, or we expect to repeat our successes when we have high ability. Some might contend that such causal attributions are part of our shared ways of thinking about our social world and not scientific knowledge. Attribution theorists argue, however, that an important goal is to systematize what we know to be common sense and place it in a conceptual framework that accounts for a wide array of social phenomena. The research shows consistent support for the attribution mechanisms and effects of expectancy for future performance (Miner, 1980, 2002; Weiner, 1986, 1994a, 1994b, 2000; Kanfer, 1990).

The central ingredients of attribution theory can be summarized with a series of questions:

- *Causal Question:* What are the causes of the outcome? Effort? Ability? Luck? Difficulty? Help? Bias?

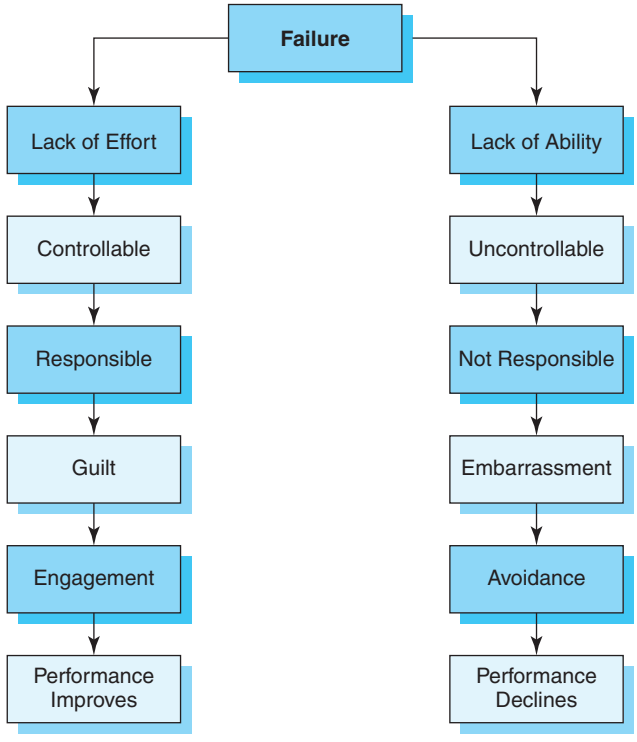


FIGURE 4.2 ***Weiner's Attribution Theory Explaining Failure***

- *Locus Question:* Is the cause internal or external? For example, is the cause within (ability, effort) or outside (luck and task difficulty) the individual?
- *Stability Question:* Are causes stable or variable? Is the cause fixed like difficulty or variable like effort?
- *Controllability Question:* Can I control causes? Can I control my effort? My ability? The difficulty of the task? Help? Ratings? Bias?

Students, teachers, and administrators will be highly motivated when they know the causes of the outcomes and these causes are internal (locus), amenable to change (variable), and under their control (controllable). Using attribution theory there are many explanations for poor job performance. For example in Figure 4.3, we illustrate eight attributions for poor performance based on the various combinations of locus, stability, and controllability.

	Internal		External	
	Stable	Variable	Stable	Variable
Controllable	Typical Effort	Preparation	Observer Bias	Help from Team
Uncontrollable	Ability	Mood	Task Difficulty	Luck

Dimension Classification	Reason for Poor Performance
Internal-Stable-Uncontrollable Internal-Stable-Controllable	Low Ability Typical Effort Insufficient
Internal-Variable-Uncontrollable Internal-Variable-Controllable	Bad Mood at Time of Observation Not Prepared for the Task
External-Stable-Uncontrollable External-Stable-Controllable	Task Was Too Difficult Observer Was Biased
External-Variable-Uncontrollable External-Stable-Controllable	Bad Luck Teammates Failed to Help

FIGURE 4.3 *Possible Causes and Attributions for Poor Performance*

Beliefs about Ability

Some of the most powerful attributions that affect motivation and behavior are beliefs about ability. If we examine those beliefs, we can begin to understand why people set inappropriate and unmotivating goals, why some teachers give up, and why students sometimes adopt self-defeating strategies.

Adults have two general views of ability—stable and incremental (Dweck, 1999, 2006; Elliot and Dweck, 2005). A **stable view** (sometimes called an entity view) **of ability** assumes that ability is a stable and uncontrollable trait, that is, a characteristic of an individual that cannot be changed (Dweck and Bempechat, 1983). Accordingly, some people have more ability than others and the ability level is fixed. An **incremental view of ability** (sometimes called a growth view), on the other hand, assumes that ability is unstable and controllable—an expanding reservoir of knowledge and skills. Thus, people with an incremental view believe that by hard work, persistence, study, and practice, knowledge can be increased and ability can be improved.

Young children hold almost an exclusively incremental view of ability (Nicholls and Miller, 1984). In the early grades in elementary school, for example, most students believe that effort is the same as intelligence. Smart people try hard and trying hard makes you smarter. So if you don't do well, you are not smart because you did not try hard enough. If you do well, you must be a smart, hard worker (Stipek, 1993, 2002). About the age of 12,

however, students begin to differentiate between effort and ability. Students begin to realize that some people achieve without working hard and these are smart people. At this point, beliefs about ability begin to influence motivation (Anderman and Maehr, 1994).

People who hold a stable view of intelligence tend to set performance goals. They seek situations where they will look good and protect their self-esteem. They often continue to do what they can do well without expending too much effort or without risking failure because either working hard or failing suggests to them low ability. Moreover, to work hard and fail is a devastating blow to confidence and sense of ability. Such individuals would rather not try than fail; in fact, if you don't try, no one can accuse you of being dumb. When you fail, the reason is obvious—you just didn't prepare or try hard. So not trying or preparing becomes a strategy for protecting oneself from failure and looking dumb. We have all had experiences with students who are content with a C or just passing. Sometimes "just getting by" is a protective strategy for not looking bad. The student who tries for an A and gets a C risks feeling inadequate—so why try and risk humiliation when it is safe to just get by. Such strategies do protect one's self-esteem, but they do not enhance learning.

Individuals with an incremental view of intelligence, in contrast, tend to set learning goals and seek situations in which they can learn and progress because improvement means increasing their ability. To such people, children or adults, failure is not devastating; it merely suggests that more work is needed to improve. Ability is not threatened by failure; in fact, often failure is accepted as a challenge to work harder (Woolfolk, 2004, 2010). People with an incremental view of ability are most likely to set challenging but realistic goals, and as we have seen, such goals are effective motivators.

In brief, one's beliefs about ability play an important role in motivation and performance in students, teachers, or administrators. Those individuals who believe that they can improve their ability are more likely to set learning goals that are moderately difficult and challenging and are concerned with mastering the task at hand. On the contrary, those who hold a stable, fixed view of ability are more likely to set performance goals that are either very easy or very difficult because they are concerned with self in the eyes of others; they want to look good and avoid anything that would threaten that image. Indeed, they often equate high effort with low capabilities.

Organizations often fall prey to such thinking. There is a "talent mindset" that pervades many American organizations: Hire the brightest and best, and they will become stars that lead the organization to new levels of success. Unfortunately, smart is not enough; in fact, when individuals are immersed in an environment that celebrates them solely for their "talent," they begin to define themselves as endowed, and when things get tough and their self-image is threatened, they have difficulty with negative consequences (Gladwell, 2002). Under these conditions they would rather lie than stand up and admit they were wrong. Gladwell (2002) puts it simply: "The talent myth assumes that people make organizations smart. More often than not, it's the other way

around" (p.32). There is no substitute for conscientious administrators who believe that hard work is the path to improve their own knowledge as well as the performance of their organization; ability is not enough.

Beliefs about Fairness: Equity Theory and Organizational Justice

Students, teachers, and administrators, like most individuals in our society, are concerned about matters of basic fairness. We all know of teachers who barely do the minimum on their jobs. They often arrive late, give few tests, never volunteer for anything, leave promptly at the end of the school day, avoid all the meetings they can, and delegate their work to others. Imagine the chagrin of young, new teachers who work long hours, go the extra mile to help students after school, prepare hard for each class, and assist with extracurricular activities when they find that their malingering colleague is making twice the salary and doing half the work.

Equity Theory

Basic unfairness in the workplace is what some theorists (Greenberg, 1993a; Tyler, 1994; Folger, 2005) call an inequity, and it brings us to yet another perspective on motivation called **equity theory,** which focuses on perceived fairness—individuals' beliefs about whether they are being treated fairly or not. The perceived fairness of the procedures used to allocate resources is called *procedural justice* (Greenberg, 1997, 2000; Greenberg and Colquitt, 2005) and is the key concept in equity theory.

How do individuals decide whether they are being treated unfairly? Equity theory suggests that the key mechanism for such decisions is social comparison; we compare ourselves with others. In more technical terms, we compare our ratio of inputs (everything we contribute—contributions) to outputs (everything we receive—rewards) to the input/output ratio of others (Kulik and Ambrose, 1992). In particular, we select those who are similar to us in various ways. In the example above, young teachers compare themselves with an older teacher. Two points seem worth making. Both young and old teachers were performing the same role, yet the older teacher had more seniority. The inequity would have been viewed as even greater if the teacher comparison had been among those with similar experience and age. In the example above, some rationalization of the difference might occur because of the greater experience of the older teacher.

Equity theory explains that if the input/output ratios are about the same for those with whom we compare ourselves, then we view our treatment as fair. If, however, the ratios are not roughly equal, we believe that we have not been treated fairly and a sense of inequity develops. Inequities are annoying and we try to eliminate them. One of the potential consequences of feelings of inequity is reduced motivation. Baron (1998) explains that feelings of inequity interfere with work motivation and individuals attempt to reduce

such feelings in three ways:

- They try to increase their outcomes—they seek increased benefits such as a raise or other reward.
- They try to leave—they quit and find another job.
- They reduce their inputs—they expend less effort on the job.

The latter tactic seems quite common for individuals who conclude that they are being underrewarded, that is, are receiving less than they merit. They often reduce their efforts relative to those they believe are being treated fairly (Harder, 1992). Reduced performance is not the only demonstration of lowered motivation. For example, some workers attempt to balance things out by engaging in secret actions that yield extra benefits including theft (Greenberg and Scott, 1995; Greenberg, 1993b).

Three more issues should be noted about the theory. First, *individual judgments about fairness are subjective*; they are in the eye of the beholder. The individual does the comparing and makes the judgment about equity. Second, *individuals are more sensitive to receiving less than they deserve rather than more* (Greenberg, 1993a). It is easier to rationalize receipt of more rather than less than one deserves, but over time receiving more than one deserves also has the potential to reduce motivation. Third, *equity and justice are important motivating forces to many individuals*. Equity theory is summarized in Figure 4.4.

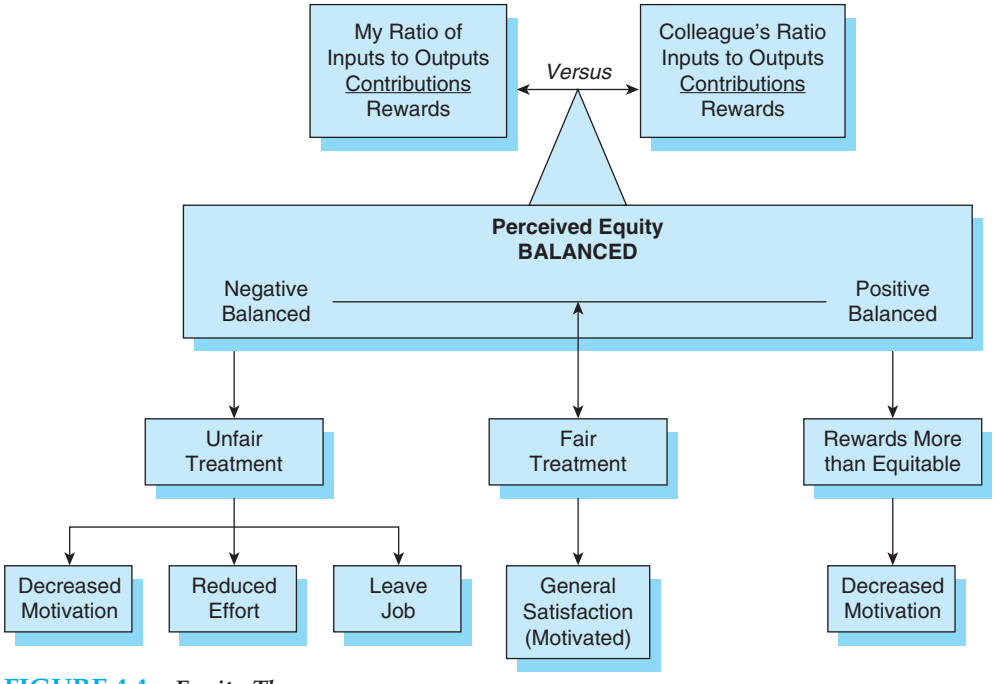


FIGURE 4.4 *Equity Theory*

In sum, when students, teachers, or administrators conclude that they are being treated unfairly, their performance motivation often declines dramatically, and they may even plan to "even the score" by cheating or engaging in other questionable practices. Thus, there are important practical, as well as ethical, reasons for ensuring that fairness is the standard operating procedure in schools and other work organizations (Baron, 1998). In fact, Greenberg (2000) concludes that fair procedures and practices enhance the acceptance of organizational performance.

Organizational Justice

The construct of organizational justice has emerged from the research literature on equity theory and procedural justice (Miner, 2004; Greenberg and Colquitt, 2005). **Organizational justice** is organizational members' perceptions of fairness in the organization and includes both *distributive justice*—the fairness of the distribution of resources—and *procedural justice*—the fairness of the procedures for distributing resources. How can principals create a school atmosphere that is perceived as fair and just? To answer the question, we summarize 10 principles gleaned from the literature to guide administrative behavior (Levanthal, Karuza and Fry, 1980; Greenberg and Lind, 2000; Hoy and Tarter, 2004b).

In brief, a sense of organizational justice in the school workplace is dependent upon administrative behavior that is equitable, sensitive, respectful, consistent, free of self-interest, honest, and ethical. In addition, voice, egalitarianism, and representativeness are crucial in any attempt to empower teachers. Teachers want to participate in decisions that affect them (voice), but they must be willing to put the interests of the school ahead of their own (egalitarianism) and feel that their views are being authentically represented in the process of deciding (representativeness). Finally, principals must have the good sense and confidence to reverse and correct poor decisions as they get feedback and new and more accurate information. These 10 principles of organizational justice are summarized in Figure 4.5.

Beliefs about Outcomes: Expectancy Theory

One of the most reliable and valid explanations of what motivates people to work is expectancy theory. Although expectancy models have a long history in psychology, the approach was popularized and modified specifically for work settings during the 1960s by Victor Vroom (1964) and others (Graen, 1963; Galbraith and Cummings, 1967; Porter and Lawler, 1968). In fact, Vroom (1964) sparked an explosion of research with his formulation of expectancy theory. His model was developed to predict choices among jobs, tasks, and effort levels that yield the highest perceived benefits (Kanfer, 1990). During the late 1960s through the early 1980s, the prevalence of expectancy theory in the literature clearly indicates its centrality to the research on

Principles of Organizational Justice	
Equity Principle	Rewards should be proportional to contributions.
Perception Principle	Individual perceptions of fairness define justice.
The Voice Principle	Participation in decisions enhances fairness.
Interpersonal Justice Principle	Dignified and respectful treatment promotes fairness.
Consistency Principle	Consistently fair behavior promotes a sense of justice.
Egalitarian Principle	Self-interest should be subordinated to the good of the whole.
Correction Principle	Faulty decisions should be quickly corrected.
Accuracy Principle	Decisions should be anchored in accurate information.
The Representative Principle	Decisions must represent those concerned.
Ethical Principle	Prevailing moral and ethical standards should be followed.

FIGURE 4.5 *Principles of Organizational Justice*

SOURCE: Adapted from Hoy and Tarter, 2004b.

motivation in organizations. Although the frequency of publication has declined, its use has continued (Miller and Grush, 1988; Vroom, 2005). Expectancy theory presents a complex view of individuals in organizations. The basic assumptions, concepts, and generalizations of expectancy theory, however, are easily identified and explained.

Expectancy theory rests on two fundamental premises. First, individuals make decisions about their own behavior in organizations using their abilities to think, reason, and anticipate future events. Motivation is a conscious and cognitive process. People subjectively evaluate the expected value on outcomes or personal payoffs resulting from their actions, and then they choose how to behave. Second, individual values and attitudes interact with environmental components, such as role expectations and school culture, to influence behavior. This second assumption is not unique to expectancy theory, and in fact, it was posed in Chapter 1 as a generalization from social systems theory.

Expectancy theory builds on these assumptions with three fundamental concepts—expectancy, instrumentality, and valence.

Expectancy is the extent to which an individual believes that hard work will lead to improved performance. The expectancy question is: If I work hard, will I be successful? For example, if teachers think that a high probability exists of improving student achievement by increasing their own efforts, then they have a high expectancy level. If students strongly believe that they can design and implement a project in science, then the students have high expectancy levels.

Instrumentality is the perceived probability that good performance will be noticed and rewarded. Instrumentality is high when individuals perceive a strong association between performance and being rewarded. The instrumentality question is: If I succeed, what will I receive in return? If teachers think that high student achievement in their classrooms is likely to result in public recognition of their teaching ability, then instrumentality is high. Similarly, if the students perceive that successfully designing and implementing a science project will increase their knowledge about science, then their instrumentalities are high.

Valence is the perceived value or attractiveness of a reward. The concept of valence is similar to the concept of values—that is, what people consider or believe beneficial to their welfare or important in its own right. It is the strength of a person's desire for a particular reward. The valence question is: How do I feel about the rewards of my efforts? Feelings of competence, autonomy, recognition, accomplishment, and creativity, for example, represent valued work outcomes for educators and produce high levels of satisfaction.

In general, motivation to behave in a certain way is greatest when the individual believes that

- He or she has the ability to perform at the desired level (high expectancy).
- The behavior will lead to anticipated outcomes and rewards (high instrumentality).
- These outcomes have positive personal values (high valence).

When faced with choices about behavior, the individual goes through a process of considering three questions:

- The expectancy question: Can I perform the task if I work hard?
- The instrumentality question: If I perform at the desired level, what are the outcomes?
- The valence question: How do I like these outcomes?

The individual then decides to behave in the way that appears to have the best chance of producing the desired outcomes (Nadler and Lawler, 1977). In other words, individuals consider alternatives, weigh costs and benefits, and select courses of action of maximum utility (Landy and Becker, 1987).

Expectancy theory is summarized in Figure 4.6. Note that the strength of motivation is a function of the interaction of the expectancy, instrumentality, and valence. The interaction suggests that the motivation will not be strong if any of the three elements is near zero. For example, if I believe there is no possibility of improving my performance even if I work hard, then my motivation will be low regardless of how much I desire the outcome and its rewards. Similarly, even if I believe I can accomplish my goal through hard work, but I believe that either my performance will not be rewarded or the rewards are insignificant, the strength of my motivation will remain low.

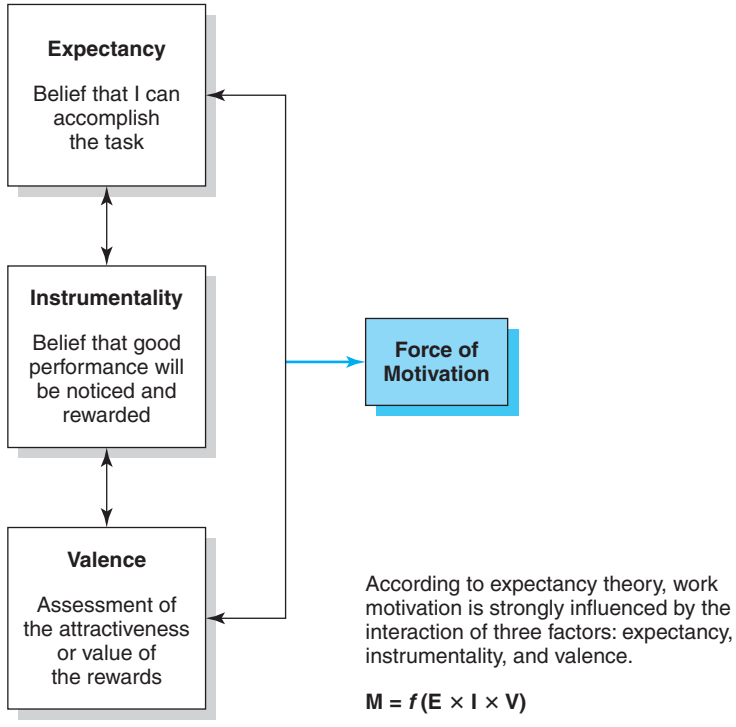


FIGURE 4.6 *Expectancy Theory*

Let's take a specific example. To motivate your teachers to commit to a new curricular program, you must first convince them that with extra effort the program can be implemented. Further, they have to believe that the consequences of the new program will be noticed and recognized and, finally, that the rewards are worthwhile—in this case, that their students will do significantly better on standardized tests.

Several authors (Heneman and Schwab, 1972; Mitchell, 1974; Campbell and Pritchard, 1976) have systematically reviewed the research literature on expectancy motivation theory and their conclusions are similar. The force of motivation in an expectancy model is positively correlated with job satisfaction, effort, and performance in a variety of settings, including schools (Graham, 1980; Kottkamp and Mulhern, 1987; Mowday, 1978; Miskel, DeFrain, and Wilcox, 1980; Miskel, McDonald, and Bloom, 1983). More recent studies also continue to confirm the theory (Tubbs, Boehne, and Dahl, 1993; Van Erde and Thierry, 1996).

In sum, expectancy theory has generated a large number of investigations in educational as well as business settings. The results are generally supportive. Pinder (1984, 1998) concludes that there are grounds for optimism

that the theory is a reasonably valid model of the causes of work behavior. The following conclusions are warranted from the literature:

- Expectancy theory is an excellent predictor of job satisfaction.
- Expectancy theory predicts performance but not as well as it predicts satisfaction.
- Expectancy theory demonstrates that people work hard when they think that working hard is likely to lead to desirable outcomes.

Beliefs about Capabilities: Self-Efficacy Theory

Among all the aspects of self-knowledge and self-regulation, personal efficacy is probably the most influential in everyday life. **Self-efficacy** is *a person's judgment about his or her capability to organize and execute a course of action that is required to attain a certain level of performance* (Bandura, 1986, 1991, 1997, 2005). In other words, it is an individual's overall judgment of his or her perceived capacity for performing a task. For example, the belief of a mathematics teacher that he or she can successfully teach calculus to a class of twelfth-grade students is an efficacy judgment. Similarly, principals with high self-efficacy might believe that they can have a positive effect on student achievement or they might increase the emphasis on academic learning in schools. Note that, in contrast to causal attributions where the focus is on the past, perceptions of self-efficacy represent future expectations of being able to attain certain levels of performance.

Self-efficacy beliefs contribute to motivation by determining the goals that individuals set for themselves, how much effort they expend, how long they persevere in the face of difficulties, and their resilience to failures (Wood and Bandura, 1989; Bandura, 1993, 2000). The stronger people believe in their capabilities, the greater and more persistent are their efforts. People tend to avoid tasks and situations that exceed their capacity; they seek activities they judge themselves capable of handling. The consequences of high self-efficacy—willingness to approach and persist on tasks, selection of task and situation, a focus on problem-solving strategies, reduced fear and anxiety, positive emotional experiences—affect achievement outcomes (Stipek, 1993). Hence, people who have the same skills but different levels of personal efficacy may perform at different levels because of the way they use, combine, and sequence their skills in a changing context (Gist and Mitchell, 1992).

Development of Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy expectations develop from a variety of sources, including performance feedback, previous history, and social influence. However, four primary sources of experience—mastery experiences, modeling, verbal persuasion, and physiological arousal—are postulated for self-efficacy.

Mastery experience is the single most important source of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). Performance successes and failures (i.e., actual experiences)

in completing tasks have strong effects on self-efficacy. Recurrent successes raise efficacy perceptions; regular failures produce self-doubts and reduce self-efficacy, especially if failure occurs early in a task sequence and does not reflect a lack of effort or opposing external influences. Efficacy is facilitated as gradual accomplishments build skills, coping abilities, and exposure needed for task performance.

Modeling and vicarious experience affect self-perceptions of efficacy through two processes. First, it provides knowledge. Watching an expert complete a task conveys effective strategies for managing similar tasks in different situations. Second, people partly judge their capabilities using social comparisons. Seeing or visualizing people similar to oneself successfully perform a task can raise one's own beliefs about self-efficacy. By observing people modeling certain behaviors, individuals convince themselves that if others can do it, they can at least achieve some improvement in their own performance. Modeling experiences are most influential for individuals in situations in which they have limited personal experience with the task (Bandura, 1997).

Verbal persuasion is widely used to try to talk people into believing that they have the capacity to achieve what they want to accomplish. Social persuasion alone has limited power to create lasting increases in self-efficacy, but it can contribute to successful performance if the heightened appraisal is within realistic bounds. To the extent that verbal persuasion boosts self-efficacy and people try hard to succeed, verbal persuasion can promote the development of skills (Bandura, 1986; Gist, 1987; Wood and Bandura, 1989).

People also rely partly on information from their *physiological* and *affective states* to judge their capability. Individuals make judgments about anticipated performance based on positive arousal such as excitement, enthusiasm, and getting "psyched" (Schunk, Pintrich, and Meese, 2008) and on negative factors such as fear, fatigue, stress, and anxiety. General physical condition, personality factors (Type A), and mood can all induce arousal (Gist, 1987). Hence, another way to modify beliefs of self-efficacy is for individuals to enhance their physical well-being and to reduce their stress (Wood and Bandura, 1989).

In the general organization and management literature, empirical studies of self-efficacy have produced consistent results. Self-efficacy is associated with such work-related performance as productivity, coping with difficult tasks, career choice, learning and achievement, and adaptability to new technology (Gist and Mitchell, 1992). Similar results are evident in educational settings. Self-efficacy research in schools tends to focus on one of two areas or approaches. The first group of studies tests for the effects of student and teacher self-efficacy on various motivational and achievement indicators. The general finding is that self-efficacy is positively related to student achievement (Armor et al., 1976), course grades (Pintrich and Garcia, 1991), student motivation (Midgley, Feldlaufer, and Eccles, 1989), teacher adoption of innovations (Berman et al., 1977; Smylie, 1988), superintendents' rating of teachers' competence (Trentham, Silvern, and Brogdon, 1985), classroom

management strategies of teachers (Ashton and Webb, 1986), and is a strong predictor of behavior in general (Anderman and Anderman, 2009). Moreover, experimental studies have consistently found that changing self-efficacy beliefs can lead to better use of cognitive strategies and higher levels of academic achievement for mathematics, reading, and writing tasks (Schunk, 1991).

To summarize, self-efficacy is an important motivational factor that influences a number of behavioral and performance outcomes. Self-efficacy is learned through a variety of experiences and is dynamic; it can change over time as new information and experiences are acquired. Four conclusions are warranted:

- Individuals who have stronger beliefs about their capabilities are more successful and persistent in their efforts.
- Individuals tend to avoid tasks and situations that exceed their capacity.
- Individuals seek activities they judge themselves capable of handling.
- Individuals develop self-efficacy through mastery experiences, modeling, persuasion, and physiological arousal.

Self-Efficacy of Teachers

Over the past 20 years, the construct of teacher efficacy has evolved from J. B. Rotter's (1966) locus of control theory and Albert Bandura's (1977, 1986, 1997) social cognitive theory. The meaning of teacher efficacy, however, has produced considerable debate and some confusion among scholars and researchers (Ashton et al., 1982; Gibson and Dembo, 1984; Guskey, 1987; Guskey and Passaro, 1994; McIntyre, 2011; Pajares, 1996, 1997; Tschannen-Moran, Woolfolk Hoy, and Hoy, 1998; Woolfolk Hoy, Hoy, and Davis, 2009).

Using the theoretical perspectives of Rotter (1966), researchers at the Rand Corporation studying the effectiveness of reading instruction first viewed teacher efficacy as the extent to which teachers believed that they could control the reinforcement of their actions. Teachers who believed that they could influence student achievement and motivation (internal locus) were more effective than those who thought the external forces could not be overcome. A second, more recent and useful conceptual strand of theory and research has evolved from the work of Bandura (1977). He defined teacher efficacy as a type of self-efficacy—the outcome of a cognitive process in which people construct beliefs about their capacity to perform well. These self-efficacy beliefs affect how much effort people expend, how long they will persist in the face of difficulties, their resilience in dealing with failures, and the stress they experience in coping with demanding situations (Bandura, 1997). The existence of the two separate but intertwined conceptual strands emerging from two theoretical perspectives has contributed some confusion about the nature of teacher efficacy; however, perceived self-efficacy is a much stronger predictor of behavior than locus of control (Bandura, 1997; Tschannen-Moran, Woolfolk Hoy, and Hoy, 1998).

A Model of Perceived Efficacy for Teaching

In response to the conceptual confusion surrounding teacher efficacy and in keeping with the substantial body of research, Megan Tschannen-Moran, Anita Woolfolk Hoy, and Wayne K. Hoy (1998) developed an integrated model of teacher efficacy. **Teacher efficacy** is the *teacher's belief in his or her capability to organize and execute courses of action required to successfully accomplish a specific teaching task in a particular context*. Consistent with social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986, 1997), the major influences on efficacy beliefs are the attributional analysis and interpretation of the four sources of information about efficacy—mastery experience, vicarious experience (modeling), verbal persuasion, and physiological arousal. All four of these sources are important in the interpretation and cognitive processing of information.

Teacher efficacy is context-specific; teachers do not feel equally efficacious for all teaching situations. Teachers feel efficacious for teaching particular subjects to certain students in specific settings, but often feel more or less efficacious under different circumstances. Even from one class period to another, teachers' levels of efficacy may change (Ross, Cousins, and Gadalla, 1996; Raudenbush, Rowen, and Cheong, 1992). Therefore, in making an efficacy judgment, consideration of the teaching task and its context are required as well as an assessment of one's strengths and weaknesses *in relation* to the requirements of the task at hand.

In analyzing the *teaching task and its context*, the relative importance of factors that make teaching difficult or act as constraints is weighed against an assessment of the resources available that facilitate learning. In assessing *self-perceptions of teaching competence*, the teacher judges personal capabilities such as skills, knowledge, strategies, or personality traits balanced against personal weaknesses or liabilities in this particular teaching context. The interaction of these two components leads to judgments about self-efficacy for the teaching task at hand. The model is summarized in Figure 4.7.

One of the things that makes teacher efficacy so powerful is its cyclical nature. As noted in Figure 4.7, the proficiency of a performance creates a new mastery experience, which provides new information (feedback) that will be processed to shape future efficacy beliefs. Greater efficacy leads to greater effort and persistence, which leads to better performance, which in turn leads to greater efficacy. The reverse is also true. Lower efficacy leads to less effort and giving up easily, which leads to poor teaching outcomes, which then produce decreased efficacy. Thus, a teaching performance accomplished with a level of effort and persistence influenced by the performer's sense of efficacy, when completed, becomes a source of future efficacy beliefs. Over time this process stabilizes into a relatively enduring set of efficacy beliefs.

There are both theoretical and practical implications for the teacher-efficacy model. Both self-perception of teaching competence (including an assessment of internal resources and constraints) and beliefs about the task requirements in a particular teaching situation (including an assessment of resources and constraints external to the teacher) contribute to teacher

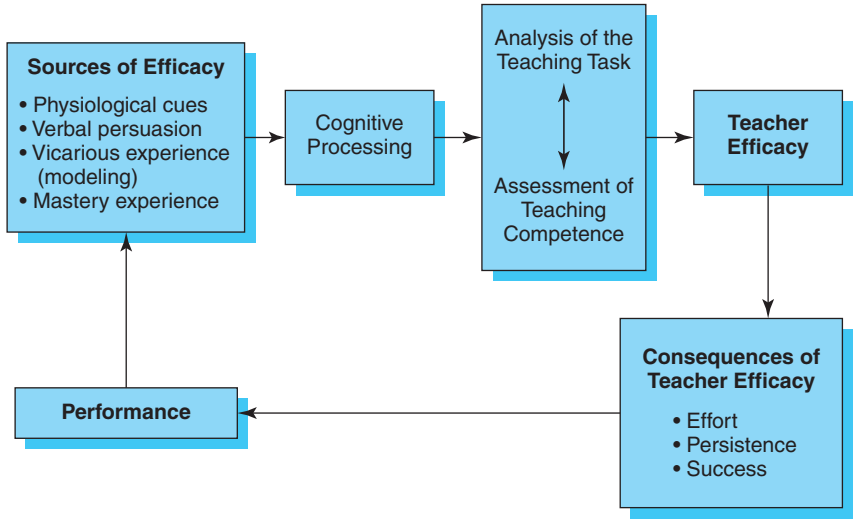


FIGURE 4.7 *A Model of Teachers' Perceived Efficacy*

SOURCE: Adapted from Tschannen-Moran, Woolfolk Hoy, and Hoy (1998).

efficacy and to the consequences that stem from efficacy beliefs. Once stabilized, beliefs about both the task of teaching and assessment of personal teaching competence are likely to remain unchanged unless "compelling evidence" intrudes and causes them to be reevaluated (Bandura, 1997). Consequently, helping teachers develop strong efficacy beliefs early in their careers will pay lasting dividends.

During the past two decades, researchers have consistently established strong connections between teacher efficacy and teacher behaviors that foster student achievement (Allinder, 1994; Ashton and Webb, 1986; Gibson and Dembo, 1984; Hoy and Woolfolk, 1990, 1993; Tschannen-Moran, Woolfolk Hoy, and Hoy, 1998; Woolfolk and Hoy, 1990; Woolfolk, Rosoff, and Hoy, 1990). Teaching success, effort, and persistence depend on the extent to which a teacher believes he or she has the capability to organize and execute teaching that will lead to successful learning in a specific situation. Thus, there are two key efficacy questions for teachers:

- *Teaching Task Question:* How difficult is the teaching task at hand and can I do it?
- *Teaching Competence Question:* Given the task and situation, do I have the needed skills and knowledge?

Positive answers to these two questions reveal strong teacher efficacy. In sum, beliefs about causality, ability, fairness, outcomes, and self-efficacy are critical elements of motivation; however, another driving force that influences behavior is goals.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

A teacher's strong sense of self-efficacy helps students be more efficient learners. Bandura suggests that the major sources of self-efficacy are mastery experiences, modeling, verbal persuasion, and physiological and emotional states. Assume you are a principal in a school and you have hired a talented young teacher. Her problem is that she is anxious and not very confident about her capability to get kids to learn. Develop a plan to increase this beginning teacher's sense of self-efficacy. In your plan be sure to explain how and why you expect to succeed in working with this new teacher.

GOALS

A **goal** is a future state that an individual is striving to attain. Suppose you are getting ready for a big exam. Do you tell yourself that you will not stop studying until you have read so many pages, memorized your notes completely, done so many problems, and completed several practice exams? If you are a serious student, the chances are that you have set a series of similar goals to get ready for that important event. Most people set concrete goals for themselves because goals help eliminate the discrepancy between "where you are" and "where you want to be." Goal setting works for me. One reason that I have been successful in writing this book is that I set realistic writing goals for myself. For example, I write at least one page a day. I stick to it and you are reading the result.

Goals are aims or outcomes that an individual would like to achieve. They define for the individual an acceptable level of performance or direction of action. In terms of individual motivation, goals are always within the person, although they are often constructed from contextual information (Ford, 1992). For example, teachers will commonly adopt goals shared by other teachers or developed by the school. Locke and Latham (1990) suggest two key dimensions to goals—their content and intensity.

Goal content is the object or result being sought and varies from specific to abstract. Examples of concrete or specific goal content include losing 10 pounds in the next two months or, earning an A on the next test. An example of an abstract goal is "to do your best." Goal content varies for individuals not only in specificity, but also in time perspective (short term or long term), difficulty (easy or hard), and number (few or many).

Goal intensity is best illustrated by commitment to the goal—the degree to which the individual considers it important, is determined to reach it, and keeps it in the face of setbacks and obstacles. Factors that enhance commitment are ones that convince people that achieving the goal is possible and important or appropriate (Latham and Locke, 1991). Commitment influences and

regulates goal striving because important goals are more likely to be accepted, to elicit intense involvement, and to foster persistent actions (Miner, 1980, 2002). It is virtually axiomatic that if there is no commitment to goals, then they do not work (Locke, Latham, and Erez, 1988; Latham, Winters, and Locke, 1994).

Goal-Setting Theory

Although the historical origins of goals as important aspects of motivation date to the early 20th century, Edwin A. Locke and his associate Gary P. Latham (Locke, 1968; Locke and Latham, 1984, 1990, 2005, 2009; Latham, 2000) are generally recognized for the development of contemporary goal-setting theory. Actually, goal-setting theory did not begin as a theory, but was one of those cases in which an interesting research triggered the search for an explanation, and hence the significance of goal-setting theory (Baron, 1998). The research finding was simple, clear, and impressive. Let's examine the details of the serendipitous study that begged for theoretical explanation.

Latham and Baldes (1975) studied lumber camp crews who hauled logs to a nearby sawmill. Before the study began, the crews loaded the large lumber trucks to about 60 percent capacity, which was wasteful because mileage for the huge trucks was horrendous—gallons per mile, not miles per gallon. To improve the situation, Latham and Baldes engaged the workers in a discussion of the problem. Together, they set a specific goal: to load all trucks to 94 percent capacity before transporting the logs to the sawmill. What happened? The performance levels improved dramatically and the increased performance persisted; in fact, in a follow-up study seven years later, crews were still loading the trucks to near capacity because the goal had become accepted and was now a regular part of the job (Baron, 1998).

Why do goals often improve our performance? Locke and Latham (1990) propose that successful goal performance meet four conditions:

- First, goals must be *specific*.
- Second, goals must be *challenging*.
- Third, goals must be *attainable*.
- Finally, individuals must be *committed* to the goals.

Research findings (Mento, Locke, and Klein, 1992; Wright et al., 1994; Latham, 2000; Locke and Latham, 2002) have demonstrated that when these four conditions are met, goal setting is an effective way of increasing motivation and performance.

What explains why goal setting is so effective? The basic postulate of the theory is that the intention to achieve a goal is a primary motivating force for behavior. Goals direct both mental and physical actions of individuals. Locke and Latham (1990) use four goal mechanisms to explain the positive effect of goals on action. First, goals *increase attention* to the immediate task; that is, they affect choice by helping individuals focus. Second, goals *increase*

the effort expended on activities; they help people take action on goal-relevant activities while ignoring others. Third, goals *increase persistence* because there is less temptation to quit once a goal has been clearly established. Once a person decides on a goal, these three mechanisms become relatively automatic. Finally, goal setting increases motivation and performance by encouraging the *development of specific task strategies*, that is, ways of performing the task. Task strategies are conscious and deliberate plans the individual develops to achieve the goals. So whereas attention, effort, and persistence are fairly automatic consequences of goal setting, developing task strategies has conscious, deliberative, and creative consequences.

Feedback is also important in making goal setting an effective motivating force. In order to be motivated, the individual needs an accurate sense of the discrepancy between "where one is" and "the desired state." Feedback helps individuals evaluate their progress. If they have fallen short, then they can exert more effort or even try another strategy. When the feedback highlights accomplishment, the tendency is for the individual's self-confidence, analytic thinking, and performance to improve (Bandura, 1993).

Support for Locke's ideas came from a series of well-controlled laboratory experiments. Most of these studies used college students who performed relatively simple tasks for short periods of time. Because the theory originally relied on evidence from sheltered and contrived situations, the theory's proponents next attempted to respond to the following question: Can a practice so deceptively simple as setting specific, difficult goals increase the performance of employees in natural organizational settings where experimental effects are absent and goal acceptance is not easily obtained? Yes, the evidence from field studies indicates that goal-setting theory is valid for improving employee behavior in organizations such as schools (Latham and Yukl, 1975; Locke and Latham, 1990; Pinder, 1998).

In particular, three generalizations from goal theory continue to enjoy substantial research support (Locke and Latham, 1990). First, *difficult goals, if accepted, result in higher levels of performance than easy ones.* An explanation of the goal-difficulty effect is that hard goals lead to greater effort and persistence than do easy goals, assuming they are accepted. Similarly, hard goals make self-satisfaction contingent on a higher level of performance than do easy goals.

Second, *specific goals produce higher levels of performance than such vague goals as "do your best" or no goals at all.* General goals are inherently ambiguous, and people give themselves the benefit of the doubt in evaluating their performance; they assume that they have met the "do your best" criterion. From the standpoint of goal-setting theory, however, a specific hard goal clarifies for the person what constitutes effective performance, and the person is no longer able to interpret a wide range of performance levels as indicative of excellent performance (Latham and Locke, 1991). A recent study

of teaching aids for elementary school students (Audia et al., 1996) underscores the significance of quantitative rather than qualitative goals. Quantity goals (make five products in a specific time) but not quality goals (make products without any defects) increased participants' tendencies to use task strategies that increased production. Again we see that specific goals work more effectively than general ones.

A third and controversial generalization deals with the source of goals, commitment, and performance. Goals can be set in three ways: individuals can choose their own goals, they can be set jointly, or others can assign them. Because of the contradictory research findings, Locke and Latham (1990) helped design an elaborate set of research projects to test the effects of participation in goal settings on commitment and performance. The results suggested that the motivational effects of assigned goals can be as powerful as jointly set goals in generating high goal commitment and subsequent performance. Likewise, self-set goals are not consistently more effective in bringing about goal commitment or an increase in performance than other methods of goal setting. *The key to effective motivation seems to be whether the goals are embraced by individuals regardless of their origin.* People are generally more likely to accept and embrace goals if they are realistic, reasonably difficult, and meaningful (Erez and Zidon, 1984).

In sum, goal-setting theory suggests that specific and challenging but attainable goals can and often do increase motivation because such goals lead to increased focus, effort and persistence as well as the development of specific task strategies to accomplish the goal. Feedback about progress toward achieving goals reinforces attention, effort, and persistence, or provides information for refining and altering the strategy to make it more effective (see Figure 4.8). The evidence of the effectiveness of goal-setting theory is overwhelming (Locke and Latham, 1990; Baron, 1998; Pinder, 1998; Latham, 2000; Locke and Latham, 2002, 2005, 2009; Fried and Slowik, 2004; Ordonez, Schweitzer, Galinsky, and Bazerman, 2009). Figure 4.9 provides a simplified integration of the motivation theories discussed in this chapter.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

You have just been hired as a new principal of a small school with 20 teachers. This is your first job as principal and you want to succeed. What goals would you establish for yourself? Write two short-term goals (to be accomplished in the first month on the job) and two long-term goals (to be accomplished during the first year). Describe *why* you selected those goals and your commitment to them. Make sure the goals are specific, realistic, challenging, and attainable. How will you get feedback to assess your progress?

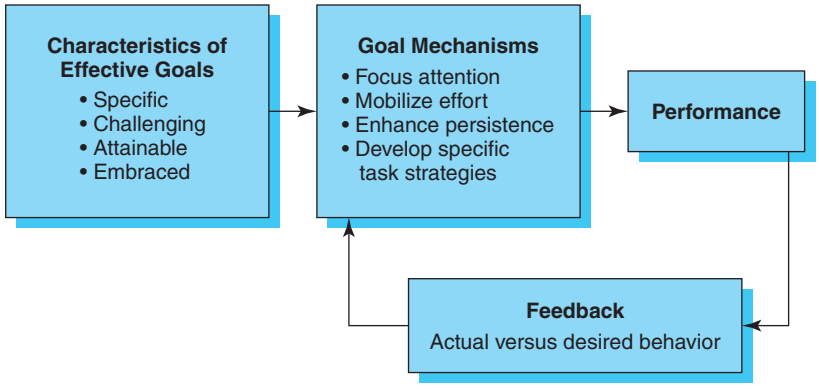


FIGURE 4.8 *Goal-Setting Theory*

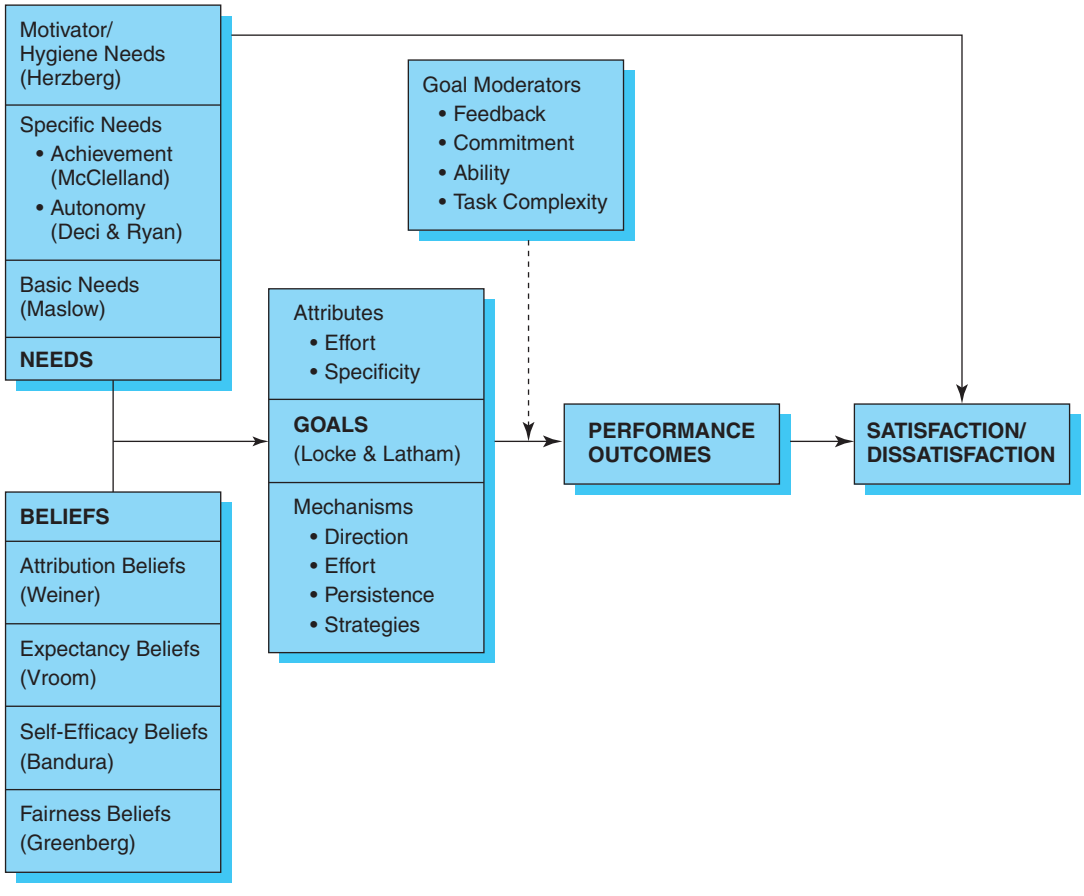


FIGURE 4.9 *A Simplified Model of Work Motivation*

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION

We have seen how needs, beliefs, and goals are important aspects of motivation. **Motivation** is generally defined as an internal state that stimulates, directs, and maintains behavior. Psychologists who study motivation have focused on five basic aspects: choices, initiation, intensity, persistence, and reaction (Graham and Weiner, 1996). We now turn to two important distinctions in examining theories of motivation—intrinsic and extrinsic. We all know what it feels like to be motivated—to energetically tackle a task. We also know how it feels to work hard even though the task is not all that intriguing. What energizes and directs our behavior? Some explanations argue that motivation is personal and internal and relies on needs, interests, curiosity, and enjoyment. Other explanations are linked to external and environmental factors such as incentives, rewards, pressure, punishment, and so on. We are concerned with **work motivation,** "a set of energetic forces that originate both within as well as beyond an individual's being, to initiate work-related behavior, and to determine its form, direction, intensity, and duration" (Pinder, 1984, p. 8). The challenge for administrators is to develop motivated teachers who are actively engaged in teaching and learning, open to new ideas and approaches, and committed to students and who change over the lifetime of their teaching careers.

Motivation that comes from factors such as interest and curiosity is called **intrinsic motivation** (Woolfolk, 2013). Intrinsic motivation is the natural tendency to seek and accept challenges as we pursue personal interests and exercise capabilities (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Reeve, 1996; Deci, Koestner, and Ryan, 1999; Deci and Ryan, 2002; Reeve, Deci, and Ryan, 2004). Punishment and rewards are not needed because *the activity itself is rewarding*. Simply put, intrinsic motivation is what stimulates us to do something when we don't have to do anything (Raffini, 1996). **Extrinsic motivation,** in contrast, is based on rewards and punishment. We act to earn a good grade or to get a merit increase or to get promoted or to avoid a grievance. We are not interested in the activity for its own sake, but rather for what the activity will bring us. Extrinsic motivation is a behavioral perspective on motivation because it explains motivation and behavior in terms of rewards and punishment. Extrinsic motivation stimulates us to act with incentives and disincentives.

The key difference between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is the individual's reason for acting. Is the locus for action internal (intrinsic) or external (extrinsic)? If one freely chooses to act on the basis of personal preferences, the cause is internal and the motivation is intrinsic. The dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic is a bit too simple because many actions have traces of both kinds of motivation. For example, what starts out as extrinsic motivation, studying to get a good grade, may become intrinsic when curiosity takes over. Moreover, some individuals may choose to work hard on things that they don't particularly enjoy because they know that the activities are important in achieving a valued goal such as earning a superintendent's

TABLE 4.2

Summary of How Needs, Beliefs, and Goals Motivate

Needs Theory

Suggests that people work hard when
- Lower-order needs are met—physiological, safety, and belongingness needs.
- Higher-order needs present the challenge—esteem and self-actualization needs.

Motivation-Hygiene Theory

Suggests that
- Unmet lower-level needs produce dissatisfaction with the job.
- Gratified higher-level needs produce job satisfaction.

Goal-Setting Theory

Suggests that people work hard when
- They have realistic, specific, and challenging goals.
- They are committed to the goals.
- They receive feedback about progress toward the goals.

Attribution Theory

Suggests that people work hard when they believe that causes for success are
- Internal—due to ability and effort.
- Not fixed—effort, for example, can vary from one situation to another.
- Controllable—causes can be controlled by hard work, using proper strategy, etc.

Equity Theory

Suggests that people work hard when they have been fairly treated and
- They have been given the rewards they deserve.
- The rewards have been allocated fairly.
- They have been treated with respect and courtesy.

Expectancy Theory

Suggests that people work hard when
- They believe extra effort will improve performance.
- Good performance will be noticed and rewarded.
- The rewards are valued.

Self-Efficacy Theory

Suggests that people work hard when
- They believe they have the capabilities to be successful.
- They believe that the task is not too difficult.
- They have had success at completing similar tasks.
- They have good models of success.

certificate. In the latter case, the person *has internalized an external cause* and the motivation is "in-between." The person has freely chosen to accept the outside cause and is trying to get the most benefit from the choice (Vansteenkiste, Lens, and Deci, 2006). The point is, that although the instrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy may be useful in some cases, in others a blending of the two is necessary. Administrators and teachers need to encourage and nurture intrinsic motivation, while ensuring that extrinsic motivation supports the task at hand (Anderman and Anderman, 2009; Pink, 2009; Woolfolk, 2013). To do this, they need to know the factors that affect motivation. Table 4.2 summarizes how needs, beliefs, and goals motivate behavior.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Motivational and Leadership Challenge

You have just started as the new principal of Martin Luther King Elementary School. This is your first job as principal. After serving in a nearby elementary school, first as a teacher for three years and then as the assistant principal for two years, the opportunity opened for you to become the principal of your own school. King Elementary School (K–5) is a relatively small school with only 21 teachers. The school is an urban one with a diverse student population—approximately 40 percent African American, 30 percent Hispanic, 20 percent white, and the remainder of Asian descent. The school scores on statewide proficiency tests are slightly below average, falling at the 48th percentile.

The first few months of school have passed quickly for everyone, especially for you.You have spent most of the time getting to know your students and teachers and making sure that the school is running smoothly. You feel good about how things have gone thus far. There are always the routine problems with student discipline, complaining parents, teacher tensions, PTA initiatives, and bureaucratic directives, but you have done well and most would agree that your school is administered well.

But you have a troublesome feeling that more has to be done in the classrooms to improve the basic skill areas of reading, writing, and mathematics. Nothing specific leaps to mind. Perhaps what is nagging at you is that the night you were hired, your superintendent proclaimed confidence in your ability to improve student performance at King Elementary. She was clear that the proficiency test scores needed to rise, and you embraced the challenge; in fact, your words keep coming back to you. "No problem!" you had exclaimed as you shook hands with the superintendent. You were pleasantly surprised a month later when the superintendent sent you a personal memo encouraging you to "make a difference" and offering you monetary support for the professional development of teachers in your school. "No problem, make a difference," you keep thinking.

Now you are feeling the reality of the challenge and your response, "No problem, make a difference." It is time to move from maintaining the organization to initiating actions that will have a positive impact on the teachers and students of your school. You consider the three groups of teachers in your school. One group is composed of seven teachers who are either second-year or third-year teachers plus three new teachers you helped select. All 10 of these teachers are eager, enthusiastic, and cooperative. Seven others are good teachers, but they are rather indifferent to any new programs; they just do their jobs well. Finally, like most schools, you have three teachers who are "Old Guard." These three teachers account for 81 years of teaching experience, most of



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

it in the same building stretching back to the time when the school was simply the Second Street Elementary with a predominantly white population. The Old Guard is a difficult group. No matter what comes up, they say, "It won't work," "We've been there and done that," and "Not a good idea." The indifferents usually just shrug and do their jobs effectively, whereas the new group is open and eager to try new things.

At the last faculty meeting, you suggested that each grade level set goals to improve reading performance. Resistance had met your suggestion. "We tried that eight years ago and it made no difference," was the first response from the leader of the Old Guard. What happened for the next 30 minutes was general carping about the low ability and indifference of the students, lack of student and parent motivation, not enough time, not enough extra materials, not enough teaching aids, and on and on. The Old Guard led the "do nothing" charge; the indifferents said nothing; and the new group simply appeared to be a bit overwhelmed and immobilized by the meeting. This was not what you had in mind, but you could see a pattern of apathy and opposition emerging. The new group of 10 is able and willing, but you are afraid that unless you get them moving, they will be influenced by the more experienced teachers into a mode of pessimistic rather than optimistic thinking.

You need a plan to motivate the teachers. The reading and mathematics instructional programs appear more than adequate. Each teacher has at least a part-time teaching aide. Class size is reasonable. Teachers get the instructional materials they want. All in all, the materials and curriculum are fine. What is lacking, in your judgment, is positive motivation on the part of some of your teachers. You decide that you have to encourage and protect the new teachers, stimulate the indifferents to commit to share and work with their newer colleagues, and isolate the Old Guard while working one-on-one with each of them to improve the performance of their students. You have the resources that you need to engage in professional development with your teachers; that is, you have professional development days and money. You need a plan.

Should you engage in different motivational strategies for each of the groups—new teachers, indifferents, and Old Guard? You begin to consider the options to motivate teachers at King Elementary School.

- Develop a strategy to enhance a high degree of collective efficacy among the new teachers and indifferents. What mastery experiences are needed, and how will you get them for your teachers? What kinds of models or other vicarious experiences should your teachers have, and where will they get them? What kind of activities will be useful to persuade teachers that they can improve the proficiency of their students? What kind of affective state is needed in your school to develop the collective efficacy that you need? How will you achieve that state?
- Develop a strategy to have your teachers set some realistic performance goals for their students. Make sure the goals are specific, challenging, and attainable. Also, find ways to have teachers embrace the goals.
- Design a strategy to develop a high degree of teacher efficacy in selected teachers. How can you help develop in the teachers a belief that they have the capability to organize and execute the courses of action required to successfully improve the reading performance of their students? How can you make their task attainable? What kinds of skills and knowledge do they need?
- Develop a strategy to motivate the Old Guard teachers. What kind of motivation is mostly likely to work—intrinsic or extrinsic? What are your alternatives in each area? How much time should you invest in these teachers? Should you just forget about these teachers and focus all your energy on the others? But what about their students?

(Continued)



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP *(Continued)*

Place yourself in the role of this new principal and develop a plan and implementation strategy to motivate your teachers to improve the reading performance of their students. Make sure that your plan deals with all three groups of teachers. Over the next year, specify the details of your plan. You are not limited to strategies that the current principal is considering, but that is a good framework for action. What theories of motivation do you want to implement, and how will you do it? How will you tell if you have been successful? At what point will you use student performance scores to evaluate your success? Should you assess the reading performance classroom by classroom?

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Celebrate the successes of your faculty: Positive reinforcement is a strong motivator.
2. Articulate clear, specific, and achievable goals: They provide focused targets for persistent effort.
3. Nurture an incremental view of intelligence: It enhances achievement.
4. Be fair in both deciding and distributing school resources: Participants expect to be treated fairly.
5. Equip teachers with skills and resources needed to succeed: Teachers work smarter when they have the right tools.
6. Develop a sense of efficacy in teachers and students: Both increase academic achievement.
7. Provide teachers with constructive feedback in their quest for goal achievement: Verbal persuasion increases perseverance.
8. Create teacher situations that lead to successful experiences: Mastery experiences are the most valuable source of teacher self-efficacy.
9. Provide teachers with models of successful practice: Such models are strong determinants of self-efficacy.
10. Encourage teachers to accept responsibility for achievement: Responsibility produces commitment, perseverance, and success.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Individuals work hard when their lower-level needs of safety and security are met while higher-level needs are challenged by the task.
2. If individuals have the requisite knowledge and skills to perform a task, then their embrace of specific, challenging, and attainable goals produces success.

3. Difficult goals, if accepted, produce higher levels of performance than easy goals.
4. Individuals work hard when they believe that causes for success are under their control.
5. Organizational justice enhances the acceptance of organizational outcomes.
6. Individuals are highly motivated when they believe extra effort will be rewarded by outcomes that they desire.
7. Self-efficacy beliefs determine what goal challenges to undertake, how much effort to exert, and how long to persist; thus, a strong sense of capability to perform a task promotes success.
8. Motivation to avoid failure is usually counterproductive to success, whereas motivation to achieve is a powerful impetus to success.
9. Anxiety improves performance on simple tasks, but hinders performance on complex tasks.
10. People will work hard to solve problems that have personal meaning, that is, problems that are intriguing, challenging, and enjoyable.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS

needs, *p. 139*
need hierarchy, *p. 140*
self-actualization, *p. 141*
motivators, *p. 144*
hygienes, *p. 144*
achievement motivation theory, *p. 145*
beliefs, *p. 148*
attribution theory, *p. 149*
dimensions of causality, *p. 149*
stable view of ability, *p. 152*
incremental view of ability, *p. 152*
equity theory, *p. 154*
organizational justice, *p. 156*
expectancy theory, *p. 157*
expectancy, *p. 157*
instrumentality, *p. 158*
valence, *p. 158*
self-efficacy, *p. 160*
teacher efficacy, *p. 163*
goal, *p. 165*
goal content, *p. 165*
goal intensity, *p. 165*
motivation, *p. 170*
work motivation, *p. 170*
intrinsic motivation, *p. 170*
extrinsic motivation, *p. 170*

SUGGESTED READINGS

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PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Develop a plan to create an environment that supports fairness and fosters the development of self-efficacy in the school workplace. As a school administrator, how can you use the principles of organizational justice and the four primary sources of efficacy to inform your plan? Describe practical actions and real situations that you could provide to your staff to support the development of both fairness and self-efficacy. Be specific. The outline that follows is simply a guide to get you started.

Sources of Fairness	**Proposed Administrative Action**
Equity Principle	
Perception Principle	
The Voice Principle	
Interpersonal Justice Principle	
Consistency Principle	
Egalitarian Principle	
Correction Principle	
Accuracy Principle	
The Representative Principle	
Ethical Principle	
Sources of Self-Efficacy	**Proposed Administrative Action**
Mastery Experience	
Modeling	
Verbal Persuasion	
Physiological Arousal	

Leadership Standards 1, 2, 3, and 5 (see inside front cover)

NOTE

According to Campbell, Dunnette, Lawler, and Weick (1970), McClelland sought to refine and investigate a subset of motives from a longer list developed by H. A. Murray. Three motives received the most attention—need for achievement, need for power, and need for affiliation. Achievement motivation has received the most attention and was formalized into a theory of expectancy achievement motivation. For present purposes, we limit our discussion to the value portion of the theory.

CHAPTER 5



ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE OF SCHOOLS

The behavior of a group cannot be predicted solely from an understanding of the personality of each of its members. Various social processes intervene . . . the group develops a "mood," an "atmosphere." In the context of the organization, we talk about a "style," a "culture," a "character."

Henry Mintzberg
Power In and Around Organizations

PREVIEW

1. Organizational culture is a contemporary perspective for examining the distinctive character of schools.
2. Organizational culture is manifested in norms, shared values, and basic assumptions, each occurring at a different level of abstraction.
3. Strong organizational cultures can improve or hinder the effectiveness of an organization: Different cultures are effective depending on environmental constraints.
4. School cultures can be interpreted by analyzing their symbols, artifacts, rites, ceremonies, icons, heroes, myths, rituals, and legends.
5. Often the most important thing about events in organizations is not what happened but what the events mean.
6. Organizational cultures enhance stability in the social system by providing the social glue that binds the organization together.
7. School cultures can be conceived of in many ways—we view school culture in terms of control, efficacy, trust, and academic optimism.
8. Cultures of efficacy, trust, and optimism promote student achievement, whereas cultures of humanistic control support the socioemotional development and positive self-concept of students.
9. Changing the culture of a school is difficult at best, but one general procedure for improving a school's culture is a norm-changing strategy.

Behavior in organizations is not simply a function of formal expectations and individual needs and motivation. The relationships among these elements are dynamic. Participants bring to the workplace a host of unique values, needs, goals, and beliefs. These individual characteristics mediate the rational aspects of organizational life. Moreover, a collective sense of identity emerges that transforms a simple aggregate of individuals into a distinctive workplace "personality."

This indigenous feel of the workplace has been analyzed and studied under a variety of labels, including "organizational character," "milieu," "atmosphere," "ideology," "climate," "culture," "emergent system," and "informal organization." Our analysis of the internal workplace environment will focus on two related concepts—organizational culture in this chapter and organizational climate in the next. Each of these notions suggests a natural, spontaneous, and human side to the organization; each suggests that the organizational whole is greater than the sum of its parts; and each attempts to uncover the shared meanings and unwritten rules that guide organizational behavior.[1]

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Concern for the culture of the work group is not new. As we have seen, in the 1930s and 1940s, both Elton Mayo (1945) and Chester Barnard (1938) were stressing the importance of work-group norms, sentiments, values, and emergent interactions in the workplace as they described the nature and functions of informal organization. Philip Selznick (1957) extended the analysis of organizational life by viewing organizations as institutions rather than merely rational organizations. Institutions, according to Selznick (1957, p. 14), are "infused with value beyond the technical requirements at hand." This infusion of value produces a *distinctive identity* for the organization; it defines organizational character. Selznick (1957) continues:

> Whenever individuals become attached to an organization or a way of doing things as persons rather than technicians, the result is apprising of the device for its own sake. From the standpoint of the committed person, the organization is changed from an expendable tool into a valued source of personal satisfaction. Where institutionalization is well advanced, distinctive outlooks, habits, and other commitments are unified, coloring all aspects of organizational life and lending it a social integration that goes well beyond formal co-ordination and command. (p. 14)

Indeed, it is Selznick's formulation of organizations as institutions, each with distinctive competence and organizational character, that provides a basis for contemporary analyses of organizations as cultures (Peters and Waterman, 1982).

Organizational culture is an attempt to get at the feel, sense, atmosphere, character, or image of an organization. It encompasses many of the earlier

notions of informal organization, norms, values, ideologies, and emergent systems. The popularity of the term "organizational culture" is in part a function of a number of popular books on successful business corporations that emerged in the 1980s (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Ouchi, 1981). The basic theme of all these analyses was that effective organizations have strong and distinctive corporate cultures and that a basic function of executive leadership is to shape the culture of the organization.

Definition of Organizational Culture

The notion of culture brings with it conceptual complexity and confusion. No intact definition for culture from anthropology exists; instead, we find numerous diverse definitions. It should not be surprising, therefore, that there are many definitions of organizational culture. Consider the following:

- William Ouchi (1981, p. 41) defines organizational culture as "symbols, ceremonies, and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of that organization to its employees."
- Henry Mintzberg (1989, p. 98) refers to culture as organization ideology, or "the traditions and beliefs of an organization that distinguish it from other organizations and infuse a certain life into the skeleton of its structure."
- Edgar Schein (1992, 1999), however, argues that the culture should be reserved for a "deeper level of basic assumptions, values, and beliefs" that become shared and taken for granted as the organization continues to be successful.

Our general definition of **organizational culture** is *a system of shared orientations that hold the unit together and give it a distinctive identity*. But substantial disagreement arises about what is shared—norms, values, philosophies, perspectives, beliefs, expectations, attitudes, myths, or ceremonies. Another problem is determining the intensity of shared orientations of organizational members. Do organizations have a basic culture or many cultures? Moreover, there is disagreement on the extent to which organizational culture is conscious and overt or unconscious and covert.

Levels of Organizational Culture

One way to begin to untangle some of the problems of definition is to view culture at different levels. As illustrated in Figure 5.1, culture is manifested in norms, shared values, and basic assumptions, each occurring at different levels of depth and abstraction.

Culture as Shared Norms

A fairly concrete, some would say superficial, perspective on culture emerges when behavioral norms are used as the basic elements of culture (see Figure 5.1).

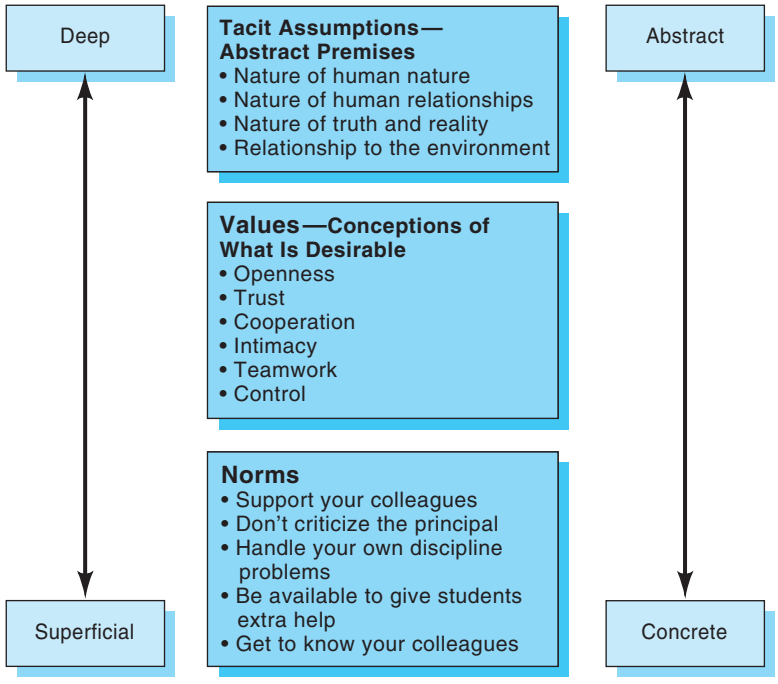


FIGURE 5.1 *Levels of Culture*

Norms are usually unwritten and informal expectations that occur just below the surface of experience. Norms directly influence behavior. They are much more visible than either values or tacit assumptions; consequently, they provide a clear means for helping people understand the cultural aspects of organizational life. Moreover, if we are concerned with changing organizational behavior, then it is important to know and understand the norms of that culture.

Norms are also communicated to participants by stories and ceremonies that provide visible and potent examples of what the organization stands for. Sometimes stories about people are created to reinforce the basic norms of the organization. The principal who stood by the teacher despite overwhelming pressure from parents and superiors becomes a symbol of the cohesiveness and loyalty in a school's culture; it is a story that is retold many times to new teachers. Teachers quickly learn the norms, "don't tell tales out of school," "support your colleagues," and "support your principal." Norms determine the way people dress and talk; the way participants respond to authority, conflict, and pressure; and the way people balance self-interests with organizational interests. Examples of norms include the following: don't rock the boat; don't criticize fellow teachers to students or parents; all men wear neckties; handle your own discipline problems; don't let students out of class before the bell rings; and change the bulletin boards frequently.

As noted in Chapter 1, norms are enforced by sanctions; people are rewarded and encouraged when they conform to norms and are confronted, ostracized, or punished when they violate the cultural norms of the group. In brief, the norms of the work group define a major slice of the culture of the organization.

Culture as Shared Beliefs and Values

At a middle level of abstraction, culture is defined as shared beliefs and values. **Values** are beliefs of what is desirable. They are reflections of the underlying assumptions of culture and lie at the next level of analysis. Values often define what members should do to be successful in the organization. When we ask people to explain why they behave the way they do, we may begin to discover the central values of the organization. Shared values define the basic character of the organization and give the organization a sense of identity. If members know what their organization stands for, if they know what standards they should uphold, they are more likely to make decisions that will support those standards. They are also more likely to feel part of the organization and that organizational life has important meaning.

William Ouchi's (1981) book on the success of Japanese corporations was one of the first contemporary analyses of corporate culture. Ouchi argued that the success of effective corporations in both Japan and America was a function of a distinctive corporate culture, one that was internally consistent and characterized by the shared values of intimacy, trust, cooperation, teamwork, and egalitarianism. Success of these organizations was not as much a matter of technology as it was of managing people. He labeled the American organizations with these values Theory Z cultures.

Theory Z organizations have a number of properties that promote this distinctive culture (see Table 5.1). Long-term employment opprtunities create in employees a sense of security and commitment to the organization; participants become invested in the organization. The process of slower rates of promotion creates more opportunities to broaden experiences and more diverse career paths as employees perform different functions and occupy different roles. This effectively produces company-specific skills and promotes

TABLE 5.1

Theory Z Organization and Culture

Organizational Characteristic	Core Value
1. Long-term employment	Organizational commitment
2. Slower promotion rates	Career orientation
3. Participative decision making	Cooperation and teamwork
4. Individual responsibility for group decisions	Trust and group loyalty
5. Holistic orientation	Egalitarianism

career development. Participative and consensual decision making demands cooperation and teamwork, values that are openly communicated and reinforced. Individual responsibility for collective decision making demands an atmosphere of trust and mutual support. Finally, concern for the total person is a natural part of the working relationship, which tends to be informal and emphasizes the whole person and not just the individual's work role. This holistic perspective promotes a strong egalitarian atmosphere, a community of equals who work cooperatively on common goals rather than relying on the formal hierarchy. Thus Theory Z organizations are structured and operate to promote the basic values of intimacy, trust, cooperation, and egalitarianism. These **core values** of the culture are the dominant values that most of the organizational members accept and share; they influence virtually every aspect of organizational life.

Other studies (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman, 1982) of successful corporations also suggest the pivotal importance of strong organizational cultures in fostering effectiveness. Deal and Kennedy (1982) suggest that successful organizations share some common cultural characteristics. They argue that such organizations have

- A widely shared organizational philosophy.
- Concern for individuals that is more important than formal rules and policies.
- Rituals and ceremonies that build a common identity.
- A well-understood sense of the informal rules and exceptions.
- A belief that what employees do is important to others.

Therefore, sharing information and ideas is encouraged.

In **strong cultures,** beliefs and values are held intensely, shared widely, and guide organizational behavior. It might be tempting to jump to the conclusion that a specific set of values defines excellence in organizations, but that would be unjustified. What promotes excellence yesterday does not necessarily promote it today or tomorrow (Aupperle, Acar, and Booth, 1986; Hitt and Ireland, 1987). In fact, a strong culture can be a liability in times of rapid change because the organization's culture may be so ingrained that it prevents adaptation to new constraints. Hanson (2003) observes that in many ways the link between culture and effectiveness is the same as that between structure and effectiveness. Both culture and structure can undermine outcomes by either stagnating or disrupting the system through rigidities, conflicts, and hidden agendas.

Culture as Tacit Assumptions

At its deepest level, culture is the collective manifestation of tacit assumptions. When members of an organization share a view of the world around them and their place in that world, culture exists. That is, a pattern of basic assumptions has been invented, discovered, or developed by the organization

as it learned to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration. This pattern has worked well enough to be considered valid, and it is taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. Because the assumptions have worked repeatedly, they have become so basic that they are taken for granted, tend to be nonconfrontable and nondebatable, and thus are highly resistant to change. From this perspective, the key to understanding organizational culture is to decipher the tacit assumptions members share and to discover how these assumptions fit together into a cultural pattern or paradigm.

Tacit assumptions are abstract premises about the nature of human relationships, human nature, truth, reality, and environment (Dyer, 1985). For example, is human nature basically good, evil, or neutral? How is truth ultimately determined—is it revealed or discovered? What are the assumed relationships among members of the group—primarily hierarchical, cooperative, or individualistic? When organizations develop consistent and articulate patterns of basic assumptions, they have strong cultures.

Consider two strong but contrasting school cultures. The first school has a strong, distinctive culture based on the following assumptions as suggested by Schein (1985):

- Truth ultimately comes from teachers themselves.
- Teachers are responsible, motivated, and capable of governing themselves and making decisions in the best interests of their students.
- Truth is determined through debate, which often produces conflict and testing of ideas in an open forum.
- Teachers are a family; they accept, respect, and take care of each other.

These core assumptions give rise to such shared values as individualism, autonomy, openness, professionalism, and authority of knowledge.

In contrast, a second school is guided by the following assumptions:

- Truth ultimately comes from experienced teachers and administrators.
- Most teachers are committed and loyal to the school. (They are good "soldiers.")
- Relationships in the school are basically hierarchical.
- Yet, teachers respect and honor each other's autonomy in the classrooms.
- Teachers are family who take care of each other.

In this school the core assumptions produce such values as respect for authority, respect for territory, and conflict avoidance.

There is no simple way to uncover the basic patterns of assumptions that underlie what people value and do. Schein (1992, 1999) develops an elaborate set of procedures to decipher the culture of an organization. It is an approach that combines anthropological and clinical techniques and involves a series of encounters and joint explorations between the investigator and

various motivated informants who live in the organization and embody its culture. Joint effort usually involves extensive data-gathering activities that explore the history of the organization, critical events, organizational structure, myths, legends, stories, and ceremonies. Schein (1992, 1999, 2004) eschews questionnaires as devices to identify tacit assumptions; at best, he argues, such instruments produce only some of the espoused values of group members. But increasingly researchers (O'Reilly, Chatman, and Caldwell, 1991; Chatman and Jehn, 1994; Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Maslowski, 2006) are using quantitative instruments to assess the shared values of culture.

Functions of Culture

Although there may be no one best culture, strong cultures promote cohesiveness, loyalty, and commitment, which in turn reduce the propensity for members to leave the organization (Mowday, Porter, and Steers, 1982). Moreover, Robbins (1991) summarizes a number of important functions performed by the organization's culture:

- Culture has a boundary-defining function; it creates distinctions among organizations.
- Culture provides the organization with a sense of identity.
- Culture facilitates the development of commitment to the group.
- Culture enhances stability in the social system.
- Culture is the social glue that binds the organization together; it provides the appropriate standards for behavior.

Culture serves to guide and shape the attitudes and behavior of organizational members. It is important to remember, however, that a strong culture can be either functional or dysfunctional—that is, it can promote or impede effectiveness.

School Culture

Although organizational culture has become a fashionable construct for analysis in education, much of the recent discussion about school culture remains analytical, philosophical, and rhetorical rather than empirical (see Cusick, 1987; Marion, 2002). It is not difficult, for example, to use the research results on corporate cultures (Ouchi, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman, 1982) and the effective schools research (Brookover et al., 1978; Rutter et al., 1979; Clark, Lotto, and Astuto, 1984) to develop an ideal description of an effective school culture. For instance, Terrence Deal (1985) proposes that effective schools have strong cultures with the following characteristics:

1. Shared values and a consensus on "how we get things done around here."
2. The principal as a hero or heroine who embodies core values.
3. Distinctive rituals that embody widely shared beliefs.
4. Employees as situational heroes or heroines.

5. Rituals of acculturation and cultural renewal.
6. Significant rituals to celebrate and transform core values.
7. Balance between innovation and tradition and between autonomy and control.
8. Widespread participation in cultural rituals.

What are the core values that transform a school into an effective institution? Schools are for students; experiment with your teaching; teaching and learning are cooperative processes; stay close to your students; strive for academic excellence; demand high, but realistic, performance; be open in behavior and communication; trust your colleagues; and be professional. Are these core values or empty slogans? If these beliefs are strongly shared and widely enacted, then these sloganlike themes can define a strong school culture. Unfortunately, there is little systematic research that directly examines the institutional cultures of effective schools.

Anthropological and sociological studies of school cultures are needed. The thick descriptions of qualitative studies are necessary to map the basic assumptions and common values of the cultures of schools. Educational researchers must consider the school as a whole and analyze how its practices, beliefs, and other cultural elements relate to the social structure as well as give meaning to social life. To understand culture one must be immersed in the complex clustering of symbols people use to give meaning to their world.

William Firestone and Bruce Wilson (1985) provide a useful framework for beginning to study the organizational cultures of schools. They suggest that the analysis of school culture can be addressed by studying its content, the expressions of culture, and primary communication patterns.

The symbols through which culture is expressed often help identify important cultural themes. Three symbol systems communicate the contents of a school's culture: stories, icons, and rituals.

- **Stories** are narratives that are based on true events, but they often combine truth and fiction.
- **Myths** are stories that communicate an unquestioned belief that cannot be demonstrated by the facts.
- **Legends** are stories that are retold and elaborated with fictional details.

For example, the principal who stood by her teachers despite overwhelming pressure from parents and superiors becomes a symbol of the cohesiveness and loyalty in the school's culture. It is a story that is retold many times to new teachers, one that takes on special meaning as it is interpreted and embellished. Stories are often about organizational heroes or heroines who epitomize the organization; they provide insight into the core values of the organization. Icons and rituals are also important.

- **Icons** are physical artifacts that are used to communicate culture (logos, mottoes, and trophies).
- **Rituals** are the routine ceremonies and rites that signal what is important in the organization.

TABLE 5.2

Examples of School Rites, Ceremonies, and Consequences

Type	Examples	Possible Consequences
Rites of Passage	Student teaching Tough class for neophytes Lunch duty Retirement	Facilitate transition to new role; socialization
Rites of Degradation	Negative evaluation Public rebuke	Reduce power; reaffirm appropriate behavior
Rites of Enhancement	Assembly recognition: Teacher of the year Debate team champions Football champions	Enhance power; reinforce appropriate behavior
Rites of Integration	Holiday party Coffee group Teacher's lounge	Encourage common experiences that bind the group together

Janice Beyer and Harrison Trice (1987) identify rites of passage, degradation, enhancement, and integration as examples of routine ceremonies used to develop and sustain organizational culture. Table 5.2 contains some school examples of these four rites and their likely consequences. Much of the culture of a school can be constructed from artifacts, rites, rituals, and ceremonies related to assemblies, faculty meetings, athletic contests, community activities, cafeteria, report cards, awards and trophies, lesson plans, and the general decor of the school.

An examination of the informal communication system is also important in the cultural analysis of a school. The communication system is a cultural network itself (Bantz, 1993; Mohan, 1993). As Deal and Kennedy (1982) have observed, storytellers, spies, priests, cabals, and whisperers form a hidden hierarchy of power within the school that communicates the basic values of the organization. **Mythmakers** are storytellers who are so effective in informal communication that they create organizational myths. The identification of not only the myths, but also the process of their creation, is important to a full understanding of culture.

Studies of organizational culture often try to capture the essence of culture by using metaphors. For example, consider the use of the following metaphors to describe school cultures:

- *The academy:* The school is a place where learning is dominant and the principal is a master teacher and learner.
- *The prison:* The school is a custodial institution for students in need of control and discipline and the principal is the warden.

- *The club:* The school is a social club where everyone has a good time and the principal is the social director.
- *The community:* The school is a nurturing environment where people learn from and support each other and the principal is the community leader.
- *The factory:* The school is an assembly line producing finely tuned student-machines and the principal is the foreman.

Research on School Culture

Good contemporary research on school culture is sparse, a conclusion confirmed by Firestone and Louis (1999) in their review of the literature on school culture. Although there have been numerous analyses of corporate cultures and extrapolations of those findings to public schools, few educational researchers have tested those findings directly in schools. Several important theoretical and practical issues must be addressed in the study of school culture. We have suggested that the conceptual frameworks developed by Firestone and Wilson (1985) and Deal (1985) are useful in the analysis of school cultures. Bates (1987), however, argues that such formulations treat organizational culture as synonymous with managerial culture and are much too narrow to capture the essence of culture. This observation leads to a more general issue of whether most schools have a culture or a variety of subcultures. To expect schools to bear unique and unitary cultures may be more hope than fact, but the issue is ultimately an empirical one.

Whether culture can or should be intentionally managed will be hotly contested. Much of the early literature on school cultures is directed toward change and school improvement and assumes that understanding culture is a prerequisite to making schools more effective (Deal, 1985; Metz, 1986; Rossman, Corbett, and Firestone, 1988; Deal and Peterson, 1990). The success of cultural change and its influence on effectiveness are worthy topics for inquiry. One argument suggests that the level and number of cultures in the organization influence the process of changing culture. A change of norms, for example, is more likely than a change in shared values or tacit assumptions. Others contend that any change is difficult and fraught with ethical dilemmas. For example, Schein (1985) strongly argues that a large part of an organization's culture represents the ways its members have learned to cope with anxiety; therefore, attempts to change culture can be tantamount to asking people to surrender their social defenses. To Schein, the issue of cultural change becomes an ethical question. In a somewhat similar vein, Bates (1987) maintains that advocates of strong organizational cultures are conducting cultural analyses on behalf of managers. What is good for management is not necessarily good for the workers (Hoy, 1990).

The analysis of schools in terms of culture calls attention to the symbolic nature of social interactions in schools (Bolman and Deal, 2003, 2008;

Cunningham and Gresso, 1993). In fact, Lee Bolman and Terrence Deal (2003) refer to the culture perspective as the "symbolic frame" for viewing organizations. They argue that the frame is based on the following unconventional assumptions about the nature of organizations and behavior:

- What is most important about events in organizations is *not* what happened, but *what they mean*. Meaning is often more important than fact.
- Events and meanings, however, are often unclear because events have different meanings for different people. Individuals use different schemas to interpret their experiences. Meaning is elusive and sometimes not shared.
- Because events are typically ambiguous or uncertain, it is difficult to know what happened, why it happened, and what will happen next. Explanation is difficult.
- The greater the ambiguity and uncertainty in events, the more difficult it is to use rational approaches in organizational analysis. Rationality clearly has limits.
- Confronted with ambiguity and uncertainty, people create symbols and stories to resolve confusion and provide understanding. Stories create clarity.
- Thus, for many organizational events, importance rests with what they express rather than what is produced; secular myths, rituals, ceremonies, and sagas give people the meanings they seek.

One conclusion from the literature on organizational culture is clear: much of what occurs in schools must be interpreted in the context of the school's culture; often what is said or done is not nearly as important as its symbolic significance. Maslowski (2006) provides a critical review of existing school culture inventories.

We finish our analysis of culture by examining four kinds of school culture. Each culture describes the shared beliefs of teachers in the school. Schools with strong cultures of efficacy, trust, and academic optimism provide higher levels of student achievement whereas schools with custodial cultures impede the socioemotional development of students.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Write a one or two-page description of the culture of your school. Analyze the popular symbols, artifacts, and rites of passage. What icons epitomize the culture of your school? Who are the heroes and what are the legends surrounding your school? What are the myths and rituals that define the basic aura of your school?

A Culture of Efficacy

The shared beliefs of capacity and ability of teachers and administrators are an important part of the culture of a school. **Collective teacher efficacy** is the *shared perception of teachers in a school that the efforts of the faculty as a whole will have a positive effect on students.* According to Bandura (1993, 1997), collective teacher efficacy is an important school property from an organizational perspective because it helps explain the differential effect that schools have on student achievement. At the collective level, a culture of efficacy is a set of beliefs or social perceptions that are strengthened rather than depleted through their use and that give the school a distinctive identity.

Sources of Collective Efficacy Organizations, like individuals, learn (Cohen and Sproull, 1996); in fact, organizations use processes akin to learning in individuals (Cook and Yanon, 1996). Schools act purposefully in pursuit of their educational goals. For example, one school may be working to raise student achievement scores, whereas another works to increase the rate and quality of parental involvement. Organizational functioning depends on the knowledge, vicarious learning, self-reflection, and self-regulation of individual members. For example, a school that responds to declining achievement scores by implementing a curricular reform that was effective in a neighboring district is engaged in a self-regulatory process that is informed by the vicarious learning of its members. Such examples demonstrate the importance of vicarious learning and self-regulation at the organizational level, although we must recognize that it is through individuals that organizations act. As we have seen, the four primary sources of self-efficacy information are mastery experience, vicarious experience, social persuasion, and emotional arousal. Just as these sources are critical for individuals, they are also fundamental in the development of collective teaching efficacy.

Mastery experiences are important for organizations. Teachers as a group experience successes and failures. Successes build strong beliefs in a faculty's sense of collective efficacy; failures undermine it. If success, however, is frequent and too easy, failure is likely to produce discouragement. A resilient sense of collective efficacy requires experience in overcoming difficulties through persistent effort. Indeed, organizations learn by experience and thus are likely to succeed in attaining their goals (Huber, 1996; Levitt and March, 1996).

Direct experience is not the only source of information for teachers about their collective efficacy. Teachers also listen to stories about the accomplishments of their colleagues as well as success stories of other schools. Similarly, the effective schools research describes the characteristics of exemplary schools. So just as *vicarious experience* and *modeling* serve as effective sources of personal teacher efficacy, they also promote collective teacher efficacy. Organizations learn by observing other organizations (Huber, 1996).

Verbal persuasion is another means of strengthening a faculty's conviction that they have the capabilities to achieve what they seek. Teachers can be

changed by talks, workshops, professional development activities, and feedback about achievement. In fact, the more cohesive the faculty, the more likely the group as a whole can be persuaded by sound argument. Verbal persuasion alone, however, is not likely to be a powerful change agent, but coupled with models of success and positive direct experience, it can influence the collective efficacy. Persuasion can promote extra effort and persistence, both of which can lead to the solution of problems.

Organizations have *affective states*. Just as individuals react to stress, so do organizations. Efficacious organizations tolerate pressure and crises and continue to function effectively; in fact, they learn how to adapt and cope with disruptive forces. Less efficacious organizations react in dysfunctional ways when confronted by such problems, which often reinforces their basic dispositions toward failure. They misinterpret stimuli—sometimes overreacting and other times underreacting or not reacting at all. The affective state of an organization has much to do with how it interprets challenges.

Formation of Collective Efficacy Although all four of these sources of information are pivotal in the creation of collective efficacy, processing and interpreting the information is critical. Teachers assess what they will require as they engage in teaching; we call this process the analysis of the teaching task. Such analysis occurs at two levels—the individual and the school. At the school level, the analysis produces inferences about the challenges of teaching in that school, that is, what it would take for the school to be successful. Considerations include the abilities and motivations of students, availability of instructional materials, community constraints, and the quality of physical facilities of the school, as well as a general optimism about the capability of the school to deal with negative situations in the students' homes as well as in the school. Teachers analyze the means needed to make the school successful, the barriers or limitations to be overcome, and the resources that are available. Then teachers evaluate the teaching task in conjunction with their assessment of the teaching competency of the faculty; in fact, teachers make explicit judgments of the teaching competence of their colleagues in light of the teaching tasks in their specific school. At the school level, the analysis of teaching competence leads to inferences about the faculty's teaching skills, methods, training, and expertise. Judgments of teaching competence might include faculty beliefs in the ability of all children in their school to succeed. Because the analyses of task and competence occur simultaneously, it is difficult to separate these two domains of collective teaching efficacy. They interact with each other as collective teacher efficacy emerges.

In sum, the major influences on collective teacher efficacy are assumed to be the analysis and interpretation of the four sources of information—mastery experience, vicarious experience, social persuasion, and emotional state. In these processes, the organization focuses its attention on two related domains: the teaching task and teaching competence. Both domains are assessed in terms of whether the organization has the capacities to succeed in teaching

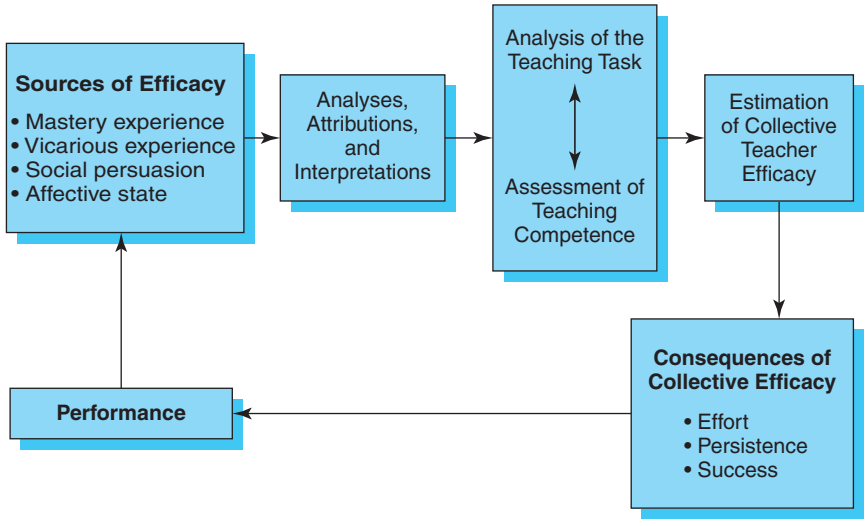


FIGURE 5.2 *A Model of Collective Efficacy*

students. The interactions of these assessments shape collective teacher efficacy in a school. The consequences of high collective teacher efficacy will be the acceptance of challenging goals, strong organizational effort, and a persistence that leads to better performance. Of course, the opposite is also true. Lower collective efficacy leads to less effort, the propensity to give up, and a lower level of performance. The process and components of collective teacher efficacy are similar to those of individual teacher efficacy and are illustrated in Figure 5.2. As the figure shows, the proficiency of performance provides feedback to the organization, which provides new information that will further shape the collective teacher efficacy of the school. Beliefs about both the task of teaching and the teaching competence, however, are likely to remain unchanged unless something dramatic occurs because, once established, a school culture of efficacy is a relatively stable property that requires substantial effort to change. It is relatively easy to map the collective efficacy of a school because Goddard and his colleagues (Goddard, Hoy, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2000; Goddard, 2002a) have developed several valid and reliable instruments to measure it. Information about the Collective Efficacy Scale (CE Scale), its properties, and scoring directions is available at www.waynekhoy.com.

Collective Efficacy: Some Research Findings

Research support for the model and the importance of collective efficacy in student achievement is limited but continues to grow. In his seminal study of collective teacher efficacy and student achievement, Bandura (1993) first uncovered two key findings: (1) student achievement (aggregated to the school

level) was significantly and positively related to collective efficacy, and (2) collective efficacy had a greater effect on student achievement than did student socioeconomic status (aggregated to the school level). These findings have been supported in subsequent studies. Roger Goddard and colleagues (Goddard, Hoy, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2000, 2004) also found strong support for the model and again confirmed the significance of collective teacher efficacy in facilitating high student achievement. In subsequent research, the finding that collective efficacy is a positive force in enhancing student achievement, even controlling for the socioeconomic status, has been consistently supported in both elementary and high schools (Goddard, Hoy, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2000; Goddard, Sweetland, and Hoy, 2000a, 2000b; Goddard, 2001; Goddard, 2002b; Hoy, Sweetland, and Smith, 2002; Hoy, Smith, and Sweetland, 2002a; Goddard, Hoy, and LoGerfo, 2003; Goddard, LoGerfo, and Hoy, 2004). In brief, a strong school culture of efficacy seems to promote high student achievement, in part, because it leads to the acceptance of challenging goals, strong organizational effort, and a persistence that leads to better performance. Bandura (1997) observes that because schools present teachers with a host of unique challenges involving such things as public accountability, shared responsibility for student outcomes, and minimal control over work environments, the task of developing high levels of collective teacher efficacy is difficult but possible.

A Culture of Trust

Another view of school culture can be mapped in terms of faculty trust, the collective shared beliefs of teachers. Trust is a little like air; no one thinks much about it until it is needed and it is not there. Yet trust in schools is important because it facilitates cooperation (Tschannen-Moran, 2001); it enhances openness (Hoffman, Sabo, Bliss, and Hoy, 1994); it promotes group cohesiveness (Zand, 1997); it supports professionalism (Tschannen-Moran, 2009); it builds organizational capacity (Cosner, 2009); and it improves student achievement (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, and Hoy, 2001; Hoy, 2002; Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Tschannen-Moran, 2004; Cybulski, Hoy, and Sweetland, 2005). Everyone wants to trust and be trusted. But trust means many things.

Trust relationships are built upon interdependence; that is, the interests of one cannot be achieved without reliance upon another (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, and Camerer, 1998). Not surprisingly, the need for trust exists in many social relations in schools because of the high level of interdependence. For example, teachers depend on the principal but the principal is also dependent on teachers, and the same can be said for teachers and students and teachers and parents. But interdependence in a relationship typically creates vulnerability, which is a common feature of trust (Baier, 1986; Bigley and Pearce, 1998; Coleman, 1990; Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman, 1995; Mishra, 1996). Individuals intuitively know what it is to trust—it means making oneself vulnerable to others with confidence that the others will not act in ways detrimental to you—but trust is complex with many faces.

In addition to vulnerability, there are five other common facets of trust: benevolence, reliability, competence, honesty, and openness (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 1999, 2003; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000; Tschannen-Moran, 2004). Research on faculty trust in schools (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2003) demonstrates that all these facets of trust vary together and form a coherent notion of trust in schools. In other words, when the faculty has a high level of trust toward the principal, the faculty also believes that the principal is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest, and open in interactions with teachers. Thus, **faculty trust** is *the teachers' willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest, and open.*

Trust is embedded in relationships and specified by its reference to others. Four referents of faculty trust are of particular interest in mapping a culture of organizational trust in schools. The extent to which the faculty trusts its students, its principal, its parents, and each other provides a base for a general picture of trust in schools. Actually, however, teachers do not distinguish between trusting students and trusting parents; to trust the students is the same as trusting the parents and vice versa (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2003). Thus, a culture of trust can be sketched by examining the degree to which faculty trust the students and parents, the principal, and colleagues.

These three referents of trust tend to be moderately and positively related to each other such that trust in one referent spills over to the others, but it is still possible, for example, for teachers to demonstrate high trust in the principal and in colleagues but not in students and parents or to profess strong trust in colleagues but not in the principal. Nonetheless, it is possible to get a good picture of collective trust in the school by examining a profile of faculty trust in the principal, colleagues, and students and parents.

A prototype for a **culture of trust** in schools is one in which faculty trust is high on all three referents. First, teachers trust the principal. They believe that the principal will consistently act in their best interests and is open, honest, and competent. Moreover, the faculty also sees their teacher colleagues as competent, open, honest, and authentic in their interactions with each other; teachers have learned to depend on each other and have confidence that their colleagues, even in difficult situations, will not betray their trust. Finally, the faculty as a whole believes in the students and parents; teachers believe that students are competent learners; they believe what parents and students tell them; they believe they can consistently depend on parents and students; and they believe that parents and students are honest, open, and authentic. In brief, a strong culture of organizational trust in schools is one in which the faculty trusts the principal, faculty members trust each other, and the faculty trusts both students and parents; all groups work together cooperatively.

Faculty trust in a school can be determined by administering the Omnibus T-Scale to the school faculty. The 26-item scale, and plots which can be used at the elementary, middle, or high school levels, measures all three

referents of trust—faculty trust in the principal, in colleagues, and in students and parents. Each of the three subtests of the scale measures faculty trust in terms of all the facets of trust discussed earlier. Further, each measure is highly reliable and has demonstrated construct and predictive validity (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2003). The entire T-Scale can be found online at www.waynekhoy.com, and Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (2003) have published technical details about its development and testing.

Faculty Trust: Some Research Evidence

Trust has been found to be an important aspect of relationships in many organizations, including schools. About four decades ago, Rensis Likert (1967) identified trust as a critical element in the interaction-influence process of organizational life. More recently, Thomas Sergiovanni (1992) has argued that trust is indispensable to the moral leadership of school principals, and Wayne Hoy and his colleagues (Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp, 1991; Hoy and Sabo, 1998; Hoy, Smith, and Sweetland, 2002b; Tarter and Hoy, 2004) have provided research support for the significance of trust in the leadership efforts of both elementary and secondary principals. Other contemporary organizational scholars (Bennis, 1989; Ouchi, 1981; Zand, 1997) have similarly concluded that trust is a fundamental feature of successful leadership in a variety of organizational settings. How much participants trust their leader determines how much access they will give the leader to their knowledge and commitment (Zand, 1997; Shockley-Zalabak, Morreale, and Hackman, 2010). One challenge for leaders is clear: to generate the loyalty and trust of subordinates. If the relationships in schools are to be open and healthy, as we have seen, it seems likely that teachers must trust not only their leaders but also their colleagues as well as students and parents.

Evidence (Hoy, Smith, and Sweetland, 2002a; Geist and Hoy, 2003, 2004) suggests, however, that factors that enhance faculty trust in the principal are different from those that provide for faculty trust in colleagues, which are different yet from factors that lead to faculty trust in parents and students. Faculty trust in the principal is built by principal behavior that is considerate, supportive, and collegial. Faculty trust in colleagues is built not by principals but by the teachers themselves acting professionally and supportively with colleagues and developing a sense of solidarity and affiliation with each other. Faculty trust in parents and students is more a function of the academic orientation of the school. When the faculty presses for academic excellence and achievement, there is likely a corresponding emphasis on teacher trust in students and the parents. Thus, faculty trust in parents and students seems to be a necessary condition for an academic emphasis in the school, and conversely, an academic emphasis in the school enhances faculty trust in parents and students.

One of the most useful sets of research findings is the strong link between faculty trust in students and parents and student achievement. A number of

separate studies have demonstrated this significant relationship between trust and student achievement, even after controlling for the socioeconomic status of the school (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011; Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, and Hoy, 2001; Hoy, 2002). For example, although Anthony Bryk and Barbara Schneider (2002) did not start out to study trust in their study of the Chicago public schools, they found that trust was pivotal in the improvement in mathematics and reading performance; in fact, they report, "Schools reporting strong positive trust levels in 1991 were three times more likely to be categorized eventually as improving in mathematics and reading than those with very weak trust reports" (p. 111). These findings persisted even after controlling for teacher background, student demographics, and other school context factors. Increasingly the evidence is mounting that trusting relations among teachers, parents, and students promote student achievement and improvement. This is an important finding because changing the trust relations among teachers, parents, and students, although not easy, is much more manageable than changing the socioeconomic status of parents.

A Culture of Academic Optimism

Another way to conceptualize the culture of a school is in terms of the collective optimism of principals and teachers. Such optimism is a function of efficacy, faculty trust, and academic emphasis of the school. These three collective properties are not only similar in their nature and function but also in their potent and positive impact on student achievement; in fact, the three properties work together in a unified fashion to create a positive school environment called *academic optimism* (Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006a, 2006b; McGuigan and Hoy, 2006; Smith and Hoy, 2006). Many conceptions treat optimism as a cognitive characteristic (Peterson, 2000; Snyder et al., 2002). The current conception of academic optimism, however, includes cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Collective efficacy is a group belief; it is *cognitive.* Faculty trust in parents and teachers is an *affective* response of the school, and academic emphasis is the *behavioral* enactment of efficacy and trust.

Academic optimism is a collective set of beliefs about strengths and capabilities in schools that paints a rich picture of human agency in which optimism is the overarching theme that unites efficacy and trust with academic emphasis. A school culture imbued with such beliefs has a sense of the possible. Efficacy provides the belief that the faculty can make a positive difference in student learning; *teachers believe in themselves.* Faculty trust in students and parents reflects the belief that teachers, parents, and students can cooperate to improve learning, that is, *the faculty believes in its students.* Academic emphasis is the enacted behavior prompted by these beliefs, that is, *the faculty focus on student success in academics.* Thus, a school with high academic optimism defines a culture in which the faculty believes that *it can* make a difference, that *students can* learn, and academic performance *can be* achieved (Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006b). These three aspects of collective

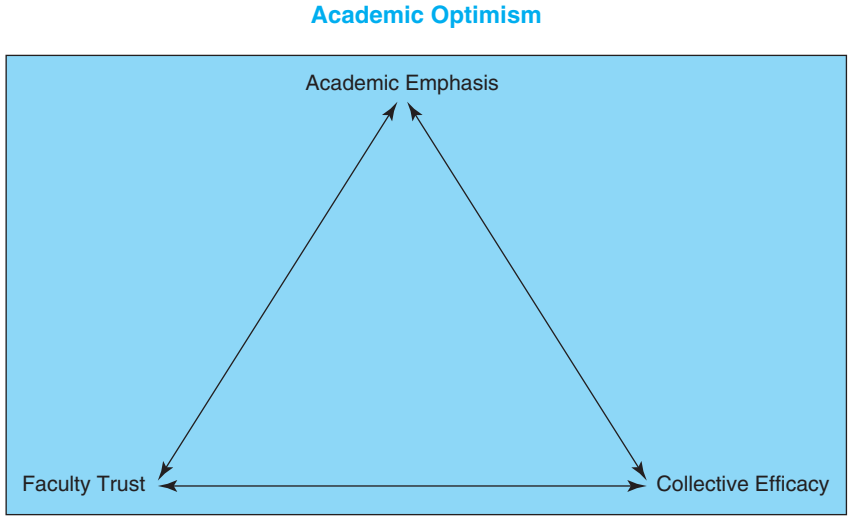


FIGURE 5.3 *The Reciprocal Nature of the Three Dimensions of Academic Optimism*

optimism interact with each other (see Figure 5.3). For example, faculty trust in parents and students facilitates a sense of collective efficacy, but collective efficacy reinforces the trust. Similarly, when the faculty trusts parents, teachers believe they can insist on higher academic standards without fear that parents will undermine them, and emphasis on high academic standards in turn reinforces the faculty trust in parents and students. Finally, when the faculty as a whole believes it can organize and execute actions needed to have a positive effect on student achievement, they will stress academic achievement, and academic emphasis will in turn reinforce a strong sense of collective efficacy. In brief, all the dimensions of academic optimism are in transactional relationships with each other and interact to create a culture of academic optimism in the school workplace.

School Conditions That Promote Achievement

Bryk and Schneider's (2002) research on trust in urban schools connected interpersonal trust with achievement, but the researchers suggested that trust had only an indirect influence on achievement. They argued that trust fostered a set of school conditions, which in turn directly promoted higher student achievement. In particular, they proposed that the following organizational conditions fostered high student achievement:

1. A teacher's "can do" attitude and internalized responsibility
2. Outreach to and collaboration with parents
3. Professional community—collaborative work practices and high academic expectations and standards
4. Commitment to school community

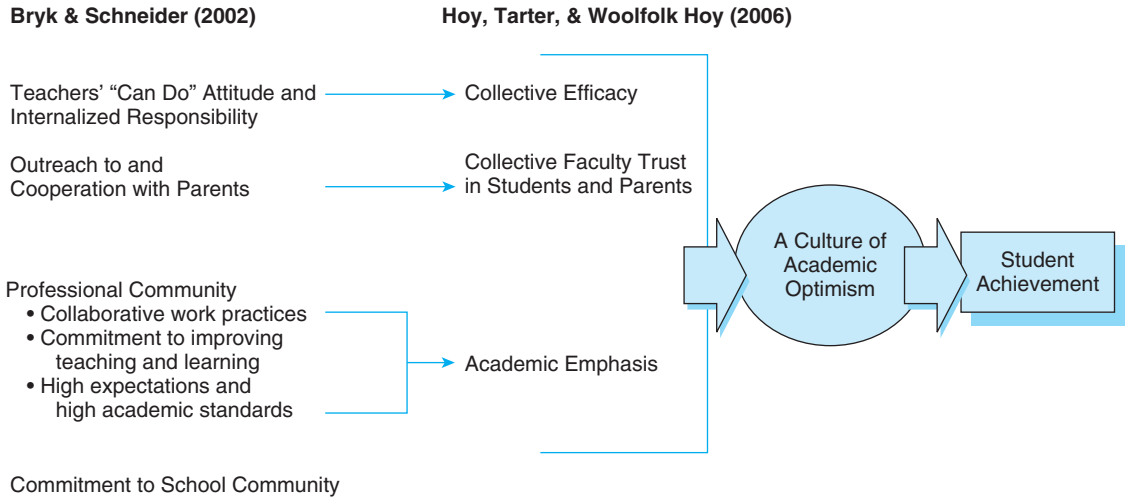


FIGURE 5.4 ***School Conditions That Promote Student Achievement***

SOURCE: © Hoy, 2011

What is striking about Bryk and Schneider's school conditions that promote learning is that they are remarkably similar to the elements of academic optimism (Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011; Hoy, in press). In fact, most of the organizational conditions identified by Bryk and Schneider map directly on the basic elements that compose academic optimism. The "*can do attitude*" of the group is defined by collective efficacy. The *outreach to and cooperation with parents* is encompassed by collective trust in parents and students. *Professional community* in terms of collaborative work practices and high expectations and academic standards are incorporated into a climate of academic emphasis. In other words, a culture of academic optimism encompasses the organizational conditions that Bryk and Schneider say promote student achievement. The mapping is summarized in Figure 5.4.

Utility of a Culture of Academic Optimism

Several factors underscore the utility of a culture of academic optimism. The term "optimism" itself suggests learning possibilities; a pessimistic school workplace can change. Faculty can learn to be optimistic. Academic optimism gains its name from the conviction that its composite properties all express an optimistic perspective and are malleable. Administrators and teachers have reason to be optimistic—they are empowered to make a difference. Neither the faculty nor their students have to be irretrievably trapped by socioeconomic factors that breed a sense of hopelessness and cynicism. The research is encouraging. Academic optimism has a strong positive impact on school achievement, even controlling for socioeconomic factors, previous success, and other demographic variables (DiPaola and Wagner, in press;

Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006a, 2006b; Kirby and DiPaola, 2009; McGuigan and Hoy, 2006; Smith and Hoy, 2006; Wagner and DiPaola, 2009).

You may ask, "What does a culture of academic optimism bring to our understanding that the individual elements of collective trust, collective efficacy, and academic emphasis don't already bring?" First, as we have explained above, academic optimism brings together into one concept the school conditions that have been found through years of research to improve student learning. The research (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011; and Hoy, in press) maps a theory of the dynamics of how school conditions promote student achievement, which has important implications for improving schools. To be sure, our model (Figure 5.2) and explanation are only a beginning and not an end, but the theory does point the way for future research and practice.

In academic optimism we have a practical roadmap to guide school and student improvement. A culture of academic optimism provides at least three separate, but related paths to enhance academic achievement: foster collective efficacy, create collective trust, and strengthen academic emphasis. For example, a reasonable way to promote collective efficacy is to create situations in which teachers and students (1) experience academic achievement, (2) see models of success in environments free of unnecessary stress, and (3) are persuaded by others to believe in themselves and their capabilities (Bandura, 1997; Goddard, LoGerfo, and Hoy, 2004). Further, faculty trust in students and parents can be created by useful interchanges and cooperative projects, both formal and informal, between parents and teachers (Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006b; Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011).

The principal must be the intellectual leader of the school and forge a climate in which academic success is a basic goal. Schools should celebrate the intellectual and academic successes of teachers and students. A caveat, however, is in order. Any intervention to improve one of the elements of academic optimism must also be supportive of the other two. For example, a strategy to strengthen academic emphasis of the school, such as more competitive grading or higher standards, can undermine trust among teachers, students, and parents. Avoid strengthening one element of academic optimism at the expense of others; it's counter productive. Use the three criteria of collective trust, collective efficacy, and academic emphasis to assess possible change. Regardless of the intervention, make sure that the school suffers on none of these criteria.

At a theoretical level, a culture of optimism is a powerful force for improvement. Seligman (1998, 2011) was the first to challenge the traditional view of achievement and success as a function of talent and motivation. He offers evidence for a third basic factor in success—optimism. He makes the case that optimism matters as much as talent or motivation in success; learned optimism moves individuals over the wall of learned pessimism. Pessimism is a major inhibitor of success. As we have explained elsewhere (Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006b), pessimism at both the individual and

organizational level leads to a sense of hopelessness and futility. Pessimism in schools promotes a weary resignation that these kids can't learn and there is nothing the teacher can do about it. Unfortunately, this view is crushing and self-perpetuating. "Pessimism also breeds fear and a focus on avoiding mistakes, which stunts courageous and energetic innovation and persistence" (Hoy, in press). "Academic optimism, in stark contrast, views teachers as capable, students as willing, parents as supportive, and the task as achievable" (Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006a, p. 40).

In sum, academic optimism creates a culture with collective beliefs and norms that view teachers as capable, students as willing, parents as supportive, and academic success as achievable. To measure the academic optimism of your school, see www.waynekhoy.com. In addition, recent measures of the academic optimism of individual teachers and individual students have also been developed (Beard, Hoy, Woolfolk Hoy, 2010; Fahy, Wu, and Hoy, 2010; Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011; Woolfolk Hoy, Hoy, and Kurtz, 2008) and are posted at www.waynekhoy.com.

A Culture of Control

Another way to conceptualize the culture of the school is in terms of dominant beliefs that teachers and principals share about controlling students. Willard Waller (1932), in one of the first systematic studies of the school as a social system, called attention to the importance of pupil control with regard to both structural and normative aspects of the school culture. In fact, most studies that have focused on the school as a social system have described antagonistic student subcultures and attendant conflict and pupil problems (Gordon, 1957; Coleman, 1961; Willower and Jones, 1967).

Pupil control is a central aspect of school life. Given its saliency, the concept can be used to distinguish school types. The conceptualization of pupil control in research by Donald J. Willower, Terry I. Eidell, and Hoy (1967) at The Pennsylvania State University provides the basis for such a perspective.[2] The Penn State researchers postulated a pupil-control continuum from custodial to humanistic. Prototypes of the two extremes are briefly summarized below.

The model for a **custodial culture** is the traditional school, which provides a rigid and highly controlled setting in which maintenance of order is primary. Students are stereotyped in terms of their appearance, behavior, and parents' social status. Teachers who hold a custodial orientation conceive of the school as an autocratic organization with a rigid pupil-teacher status hierarchy. The flow of power and communication is unilateral and downward; students must accept the decisions of their teachers without question. Teachers do not attempt to understand student behavior but instead view misbehavior as a personal affront. They perceive students as irresponsible and undisciplined persons who must be controlled through punitive sanctions. Impersonality, cynicism, and watchful mistrust pervade the atmosphere of the custodial school.

The model for the **humanistic culture** is the school conceived of as an educational community in which students learn through cooperative interaction and experience. This model views learning and behavior in psychological and sociological terms. It substitutes self-discipline for strict teacher control. A humanistic orientation leads to a democratic atmosphere with two-way communication between pupils and teachers and increased self-determination. The term "humanistic orientation" is used in the sociopsychological sense suggested by Erich Fromm (1948); it stresses both the importance of the individual and the creation of an atmosphere that meets student needs.

The pupil-control orientation of a school can be measured by pooling the individual orientations of the professional staff of the school using the Pupil Control Ideology (PCI) form (Willower, Eidell, and Hoy, 1967; Hoy, 2001). For a copy of the PCI and scoring directions, see www .waynekhoy.com.

Pupil Control: Some Research Findings

Appleberry and Hoy (1969) and Hoy and Clover (1986) found that humanism in the pupil-control orientation of schools and the openness of the organizational climate of schools are strongly correlated. Hoy and Appleberry (1970) compared the most humanistic schools and the most custodial schools in terms of their climate profiles. Schools with a custodial pupil-control orientation had significantly greater teacher disengagement, lower levels of morale, and more close supervision by the principal than those with a humanistic, pupil-control orientation. The pupil-control orientation of a school is related to many important aspects of school life.

Consider the following general picture of the school's character that emerges from the research. Custodial schools have more alienated students than humanistic ones (Hoy, 1972), whereas humanistic schools provide healthy social climates that lead to the development of more mature self-images for the students (Diebert and Hoy, 1977). Moreover, students' perceptions of a humanistic school climate are positively related to their motivation, problem solving, and seriousness to learn (Lunenburg, 1983) as well as their positive perceptions of the quality of school life (Lunenburg and Schmidt, 1989). The more custodial the climate of the school, the greater the student vandalism, the more violent incidents, the more suspensions (Finkelstein, 1998), and the more hindering the school structure tends to be (Hoy, 2001).

The evidence suggests a need for public schools that are less custodial and more humanistic because such schools have less alienated, more satisfied, and more productive students. Changes in the humanistic direction, however, are more easily described than made, and inevitably they are slow in coming and often unsuccessful; nevertheless, the effort should be made.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Select either the Academic Optimism Scale or the Omnibus Trust Scale (www.waynekhoy.com). Administer the scale to a random sample of about ten teachers in your school. Then score the measure as detailed on the Web page. Now interpret the results as you describe either a culture of academic optimism or a culture of trust. How does your school compare? If you were principal of this school, how satisfied would you be? What might you plan to improve the organizational culture of your school?

CHANGING SCHOOL CULTURE

We have little information on, let alone answers to, the complex problem of changing the school workplace. Two things are clear, however. There is no quick and simple way to change the culture or climate of schools. Long-term systemic effort is more likely to produce change than short-term fads. Ralph Kilmann (1984) has successfully implemented a procedure for changing the normative culture of organizations.

A Norm-Changing Strategy

Most organizational members can list the norms that operate in their work group and even suggest new norms that would be more effective for improving productivity or morale (Kilmann, Saxton, and Serpa, 1985). A number of ways can be used to surface actual norms, but participants are usually reluctant to specify norms *unless* they are confident that the information will not be used against them or the organization. Thus, anonymity and confidentiality of respondents are crucial in identifying the salient norms in an organization.

Kilmann and his associates (1985) have successfully used small groups in workshop settings to elicit norms. He suggests that with just a little prodding and a few illustrations to get the group started, members quickly begin to enumerate many norms; in fact, they revel in being able to articulate what beforehand was not formally stated and rarely discussed.

Prevailing norms map the "way things are" around the organization. Indeed, norm statements often begin with "around here." For example, "Around here, it is all right to admit mistakes, as long as you don't make them again." The key norms of an organization are usually related to such important areas as control, support, innovation, social relations, rewards, conflicts, and standards of excellence. To begin to identify the norms of a school, teachers might be asked to list their views of the school in terms of "around here" statements. For example, they are asked to complete the following statements:

1. At the end of a typical faculty meeting, everyone _____.
2. Around here, the real basis for reward _____.

3. Around here, control of students _____.
4. Around here, decisions are reached through _____.
5. Around here, risk taking _____.
6. Around here, differences in opinion are handled by _____.
7. Around here, achievement standards _____.
8. Around here, we handle problems by _____.

Kilmann (1984) recommends the following five-step procedure as a **norm-changing strategy**:

- *Surface norms*. Teachers, usually in a workshop setting, identify the norms that guide their attitudes and behaviors.
- *Articulate new directions.* Teachers discuss where the school is headed and identify new directions that are necessary for progress.
- *Establish new norms.* Teachers identify a set of new norms that they believe will lead to improvement and organizational success.
- *Identify culture gaps*. Teachers examine the discrepancy between actual norms (step 1) and desired norms (step 3). This discrepancy is a culture gap; the larger the gap, the more probable that the existing norms are dysfunctional.
- *Close the culture gaps.* The act of listing new norms often results in many group members actually adopting the new and desired norms (Kilmann, 1984). But the teachers as a group must also agree that the desired norms will replace the old norms and that the changes will be monitored and enforced. Subsequent teacher meetings can then be used to reinforce the new norms and prevent regression to old norms and practices.

John Miner (1988) notes that this process is especially useful in identifying and changing negative aspects of an organization's culture. For example, negative norms surfaced in step 1 can be replaced by more desirable norms identified in step 3, as follows:

- *From:* Don't rock the boat; don't volunteer to do anything extra; don't share information; don't tell your colleagues or superiors what they don't want to hear.
- *To:* Experiment with new ideas; help others when they need help; communicate openly with your colleagues; persist in identifying problems.

Miner (1988) argues that this group approach to cultural change may be more useful for identifying dysfunctional aspects of the culture than for bringing about real change, and Schein (1985) charges that this process deals at best with the superficial aspects of culture. Nonetheless, Kilmann's five-step process seems a useful vehicle for helping groups of teachers get specific information about the nature of their workplace and for developing a plan for change. Deal and Peterson (2009) provide another interesting perspective on shaping school culture, which may be useful to school principals.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Ambivalence at East High School

You are in your third year as principal of East High School, a large urban school in the Midwest. You have sensed that the faculty is a little apathetic; teachers have been frustrated for some time now because student achievement scores have not been rising as quickly as the community would like. Most of your teachers seem to be working hard, and yet you sense something is missing. There is neither the excitement nor the optimism that you are attempting to instill in the faculty.

At the last faculty meeting you administered the Omnibus T-Scale, the short version of the Collective Efficacy Scale, and the Academic Emphasis Scale from the OHI. The entire battery of scales took only 15 minutes to complete, and the faculty, for the most part, was cooperative. All responses were anonymous; in fact, you left the room during the administration and asked one of the senior teachers to pick up the measures when they were complete. You have had the scales scored and summarized for you by one of your assistants. The results were not inconsistent with your expectations, and they did provide a nice picture of the culture of East High School.

Results of the Culture Surveys

Faculty Trust in the Principal	510 (about average)
Faculty Trust in Colleagues	530 (above average)
Faculty Trust in Students and Parents	450 (below average)
Academic Emphasis	490 (about average)
Collective Efficacy	440 (below average)
Academic Optimism	460 (below average)

What does this culture profile tell you about your school? Your teachers are surprisingly curious about the results of the surveys; in fact, a number have made inquiries about the results. They want to know when they will hear about the findings.

- Will you share the results with your teachers? If so, how will you do it?
- What is your interpretation of the profile?
- What can be done to improve the profile?
- Outline a five-minute talk about the results, which you will present at the next faculty meeting.
- What are the likely consequences of a weak culture of academic optimism?
- You need an improvement plan. How can you improve the academic optimism of your school?

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Cultivate a culture of academic optimism: A sense of helplessness immobilizes participants, whereas optimism empowers.
2. Build rituals that reinforce positive norms: A positive and cohesive culture can enhance effectiveness.

3. Design opportunities for teachers and parents to learn to cooperate and trust each other: Faculty trust in parents facilitates academic achievement.
4. Imbue the school with a sense of the importance of individual needs: A humanistic perspective develops strong student self-concepts and reduces alienation.
5. Use mistakes as learning opportunities: Be positive about learning in all situations—crises are learning opportunities.
6. Create a culture of openness and authenticity: Transparency and truth promote trust.
7. Celebrate academic success in school: Realistic academic goals facilitate further success.
8. Orchestrate harmony among students, teachers, administrators, and parents: Such cooperation is essential for the academic success of all students.
9. Discover the basic informal norms of the school: Norms are a good gauge as to what you can and cannot change easily.
10. Assess and improve the culture of your school: Use multiple frames to evaluate school culture.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Schools have distinctive cultures, core values, and beliefs, which provide members with a sense of organizational mission and identity.
2. Strong cultures can be good or bad because they can promote or impede effectiveness.
3. Culture calls attention to the symbolic nature of organizations; often what is said or done is not as important as what it symbolizes.
4. School cultures of efficacy, of trust, and of academic optimism promote student achievement.
5. A custodial culture of pupil control impedes the socioemotional development of students, whereas a humanistic culture promotes it.
6. The most important thing about events in organizations is not the events themselves, but what they mean and symbolize.
7. School cultures can be interpreted in many ways, but the rites, ceremonies, icons, myths, heroes, rituals, and legends always provide concrete guides to culture.
8. Organizational culture is the social glue that binds an organization together.
9. Changing the culture of a school is usually a difficult, continuous, and long-term process.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

organizational culture, *p. 180*
norms, *p. 181*
values, *p. 182*
core values, *p. 183*
strong cultures, *p. 183*
tacit assumptions, *p. 184*
stories, *p. 186*
myths, *p. 186*
legends, *p. 186*
icons, *p. 186*
rituals, *p. 186*
mythmakers, *p. 187*
collective teacher efficacy, *p. 190*
faculty trust, *p. 194*
culture of trust, *p. 194*
academic optimism, *p. 196*
custodial culture, *p. 200*
humanistic culture, *p. 201*
norm-changing strategy, *p. 203*

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An early and popular analysis of corporate culture, which underscored the importance of organizational culture in business corporations and stimulated a decade of research on organizational culture.

Schein, E. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2004.

A thoughtful and comprehensive analysis of organizational culture and leadership by one of the most distinguished students of corporate culture.

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A practical hands-on guide for establishing and maintaining trust within schools as well as an analysis of strategies to repair broken trust.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Select about a dozen teachers in your school, interview them, collect survey data, and do an analysis of your school culture in terms of trust. In preparation, do the following:

- Interview the teachers to determine how much they trust their *principal*, their *colleagues*, their *students*, and their *parents*. Get specific examples of trust at each level that you describe and develop in your paper.
- Wait a few days and administer the Omnibus T-Scale to these same teachers. Go to www.waynekhoy.com for copies of the instrument and scoring directions.
- Score the trust scale and interpret your results. To what extent do the interviews support the questionnaire results? If there is a discrepancy, offer a tentative explanation for the difference in results. Then do some more interviews to test your explanation.
- Compare and contrast your school with the "average school." Would your principal agree with your picture of the culture of the school? Why? Why not? What would be the principal's reaction to the Omnibus T-Scale? What would you predict his or her responses would be like? Does your principal have an accurate sense of the school culture? Why? How do you know?
- Discuss the strengths and weakness of your school culture. Is it a good place to work?
- Develop a short-term and long-term plan for improving the culture of your school if you became the principal.

Leadership Standards 1, 2, and 3 (see inside front cover)

NOTES

1. Informal organization is another concept that describes the nature of the workplace in terms of the social structure and culture of the work group. You might find it useful to review the discussion of informal organization in Chapter 3.
2. Most of this large body of the research can be found in the Pupil Control Studies Archives, The Pennsylvania State University, Pattee Library, University Park, PA 16802.

CHAPTER 6



ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE OF SCHOOLS

Anyone who visits more than a few schools notes quickly how schools differ from each other . . . in one school the teachers and principal are zestful . . . in another school the brooding discontent of the school is palpable; the principal tries to hide his incompetence . . . behind a cloak of authority . . . a third school is marked by neither joy nor despair, but by hollow ritual . . . each appears to have a "personality."

Andrew Halpin
Theory and Research in Administration

PREVIEW

1. Organizational climate is another contemporary perspective for examining the distinctive character of schools.
2. Organizational climate is a relatively enduring quality of a school that is manifested in teachers' collective perceptions of organizational behavior.
3. Organizational climate and culture are partly competing, partly complementary: Organizational culture refers to shared beliefs, whereas climate reflects the dominant patterns of behavior in organizations.
4. School climate can be viewed from a variety of vantage points: Four useful perspectives are the openness of behavior, the health of interpersonal relations, a simplified view of both health and openness, and the citizenship behavior of teachers.
5. Each of these climate perspectives can be reliably measured using the appropriate instrument—OCDQ, OHI, OCI, and OCB.
6. Standardized norms make it possible for teachers and principals to compare their climate profiles with those of other schools.
7. School openness, health, and citizenship are different school attributes, but they are all positively related to one another.
8. The openness, health, and citizenship behaviors of a school are related to important organizational outcomes, including faculty morale, collective trust, and school quality and effectiveness.
9. There is no quick and simple way to change the climate of a school: Long-term planning is more likely to produce positive change than short-term fixes.
10. Two complementary strategies for school change are a clinical view and a growth-centered approach.

Although the term "organizational culture" is currently in vogue, the concept of organizational climate has generated much more research and until recently was used by most organizational theorists to capture the general feel or atmosphere of schools. Unlike culture, from the beginning, organizational climate has been tied to the process of developing measuring instruments (Pace and Stern, 1958; Halpin and Croft, 1963; Denison, 1996; Hoy, 1997). Climate has its historical roots in the disciplines of social psychology and industrial psychology, whereas culture has its origins in anthropology and sociology.

ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE

In the last chapter, we used the concept of organizational culture to examine the nature of the internal workplace of schools. Organizational culture was defined in terms of *shared beliefs*—assumptions, norms, and values. We now turn to the *dominant patterns of behavior* that make the workplace distinctive. We view organizational culture and organizational climate primarily as complementary perspectives that describe the collective identity of a school, which emerges spontaneously as teachers, administrators, parents, and students interact with one another. Organizational climate focuses on shared behavior rather than beliefs. To be sure, there is a difference between behaviors and beliefs, but the two views, for the most part, supplement each other.

Definition of Organizational Climate

Climate was initially conceived as a general concept to express the enduring quality of organizational life. Renato Taguiri (1968, p. 23) notes that "a particular configuration of enduring characteristics of the ecology, milieu, social system, and culture would constitute a climate, as much as a particular configuration of personal characteristics constitute a personality."

B. H. Gilmer (1966, p. 57) defines organizational climate as "those characteristics that distinguish the organization from other organizations and that influence the behavior of people in the organizations." George Litwin and Robert Stringer (1968, p. 1) introduce perception into their definition of climate: "a set of measurable properties of the work environment, based on the collective perceptions of the people who live and work in the environment and demonstrated to influence their behavior." Over the years, there has been some consensus on the basic properties of organizational climate. Marshall Poole (1985) summarizes the agreement as follows:

- Organizational climate is concerned with large units; it characterizes properties of an entire organization or major subunits.
- Organizational climate describes a unit of organization rather than evaluates it or indicates emotional reactions to it.

- Organizational climate arises from routine organizational practices that are important to the organization and its members.
- Organizational climate influences members' behaviors and attitudes.

School climate is a broad term that refers to teachers' perceptions of the general work environment of the school; the formal organization, informal organization, personalities of participants, and organizational leadership influence school climate. Put simply, the set of internal characteristics that distinguish one school from another and influence the behavior of each school's members is the **organizational climate** of the school. More specifically, **school climate** is a relatively enduring quality of the school environment that is experienced by participants, affects their behavior, and is based on their collective perceptions of behavior in schools. The definition of organizational climate as a set of internal characteristics is similar in some respects to early descriptions of personality. Indeed, the climate of a school may roughly be conceived as the personality of a school—that is, personality is to the individual as climate is to the organization.

Because the atmosphere of a school has a major impact on the organizational behavior, and because administrators can have a significant, positive influence on the development of the "personality" of the school, it is important to describe and analyze school climates. Climate can be conceived from a variety of vantage points (see Anderson, 1982; Miskel and Ogawa, 1988). We turn to a variety of lenses to view school climate, including openness, health, and citizenship. Each provides the student and practitioner of administration with a valuable set of conceptual capital and measurement tools to analyze, understand, map, and change the work environment of schools.

A Climate of Organizational Openness

Probably the most well-known conceptualization and measurement of the organizational climate of schools is the pioneering study of elementary schools by Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft (1962). They began mapping the domain of organizational climate of schools because although schools differ markedly in their feel, the concept of morale did not provide an adequate explanation. In a series of factor analytic studies they developed a descriptive questionnaire, the Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ), to measure important aspects of teacher-teacher and teacher-principal interactions. They asked the faculties of schools to describe the behavior of their colleagues and principals by indicating how frequently certain behaviors occurred in their school, such as, "The principal goes out of his way to help teachers," and "Routine jobs interfere with the job of teaching." Table 6.1 presents examples from a contemporary version of the OCDQ.

There are now three contemporary versions of the OCDQ—one for elementary, one for middle, and one for high schools. For example, the OCDQ-RE defines the climate of elementary schools with six dimensions;

TABLE 6.1

Sample Items from the OCDQ-RE

DIRECTIONS: THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL. PLEASE INDICATE THE EXTENT TO WHICH EACH STATEMENT CHARACTERIZES YOUR SCHOOL BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

RO = RARELY OCCURS SO = SOMETIMES OCCURS O = OFTEN OCCURS
VFO = VERY FREQUENTLY OCCURS

1. The teachers accomplish their work with vim, vigor, and pleasure.....	RO	SO	O	VFO
2. Teachers' closest friends are other faculty members at this school	RO	SO	O	VFO
3. Faculty meetings are useless	RO	SO	O	VFO
4. The principal goes out of his/her way to help teachers.....	RO	SO	O	VFO
5. The principal rules with an iron fist	RO	SO	O	VFO
6. Teachers leave school immediately after school is over	RO	SO	O	VFO
7. Teachers invite faculty members to visit them at home	RO	SO	O	VFO
8. The principal uses constructive criticism	RO	SO	O	VFO

For the complete instrument and details for scoring, see Hoy and Tarter (1997b) or www.coe.ohio-state.edu/whoy.

three describe openness in interactions between the principal and teachers, and three describe openness of interactions among colleagues. Table 6.2 defines the six dimensions measured by the OCDQ-RE. All the climate instruments (elementary, middle, and high school) provide valid and reliable means to map *openness in the behaviors* of teachers and administrators in schools (Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp, 1991; Hoy and Tarter, 1997a; Hoy and

TABLE 6.2

The Dimensions of the OCDQ-RE

Supportive Principal Behavior—reflects a basic concern for teachers. The principal listens and is open to teacher suggestions. Praise is given genuinely and frequently and criticism is constructive.

Directive Principal Behavior—requires rigid, close supervision. The principal maintains close and constant control over all teacher and school activities, down to the smallest details.

Restrictive Principal Behavior—hinders rather than facilitates teacher work. The principal burdens teachers with paperwork, committee requirements, routine duties, and busywork.

Collegial Teacher Behavior—supports open and professional interactions among teachers. Teachers are enthusiastic, accepting, and respectful of the professional competence of their colleagues.

Intimate Teacher Behavior—reflects a strong, cohesive network of social support within the faculty. Teachers know each other well, are close personal friends, and socialize together regularly.

Disengaged Teacher Behavior—refers to a lack of meaning and focus to professional activities. Teachers are simply putting in time. Their behavior is negative and critical of their colleagues.

Tarter, 1997b).[1] The OCDQ instruments, scoring instructions, and interpretations are online for your use at www.waynekhoy.com.

The **open climate** is marked by cooperation and respect within the faculty and between the faculty and principal. The principal listens and is open to teacher suggestions, gives genuine and frequent praise, and respects the professional competence of the faculty (high supportiveness). Principals also give their teachers freedom to perform without close scrutiny (low directiveness) and provide facilitating leadership behavior devoid of bureaucratic trivia (low restrictiveness). Similarly, teacher behavior supports open and professional interactions (high collegial relations) among the faculty. Teachers know each other well and are close personal friends (high intimacy). They cooperate and are committed to their work (low disengagement). In brief, the behavior of both the principal and the faculty is open and authentic.

The **closed climate** is virtually the antithesis of the open climate. The principal and teachers simply appear to go through the motions, with the principal stressing routine trivia and unnecessary busywork (high restrictiveness) and the teacher responding minimally and exhibiting little commitment (high disengagement). The principal's ineffective leadership is further seen as controlling and rigid (high directiveness) as well as unsympathetic, unconcerned, and unresponsive (low supportiveness). These misguided tactics are accompanied not only by frustration and apathy, but also by a general suspicion and lack of respect of teachers for each other as either friends or professionals (low intimacy and no collegial relations). Closed climates have principals who are nonsupportive, inflexible, hindering, and controlling and a faculty that is divisive, intolerant, apathetic, and uncommitted. Figure 6.1 shows the contrasting climate profiles for schools with open and closed organizational climates. Use the appropriate OCDQ to determine the openness of your school climate.

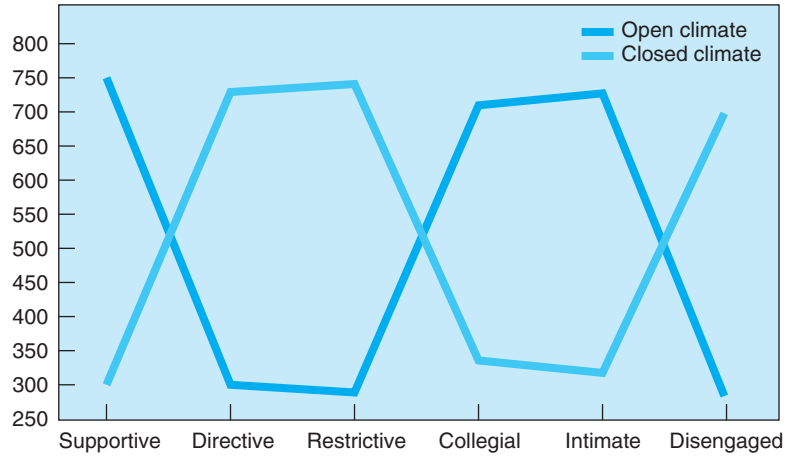


FIGURE 6.1 *Climate Profiles of Open and Closed Elementary Schools*

OCDQ: Some Research Findings

The revised versions of the OCDQ for elementary, middle, and secondary schools are relatively recent developments. Nevertheless, a consistent body of research is beginning to emerge. We do know, for example, that the openness index from the original OCDQ is highly correlated with the new and refined subtests that measure openness. Moreover, openness in climate is positively related to open and authentic teacher and principal behavior (Hoy, Hoffman, Sabo, and Bliss, 1994; Hoy and Sweetland, 2001). Thus, it is expected that the new measures will replicate and refine results from earlier studies.

Those earlier OCDQ studies demonstrated that the openness of a school's climate was related to the emotional tone of the school in predictable ways. Schools with open climates have less sense of student alienation toward the school and its personnel than those with closed climates (Hartley and Hoy, 1972). As one might also suspect, studies that examine relationships between characteristics of the principal and the climate of the school often indicate that, in comparison to closed schools, open schools have stronger principals who are more confident, self-secure, cheerful, sociable, and resourceful (Anderson, 1964). Moreover, the teachers who work under principals in open schools express greater confidence in their own and the school's effectiveness (Andrews, 1965). Such principals have more loyal and satisfied teachers (Kanner, 1974).

More recent research (Tarter and Hoy, 1988; Reiss, 1994; Reiss and Hoy, 1998) with the new climate instruments also shows that open school climates are characterized by higher levels of loyalty and trust, faculty trust both in the principal and in colleagues, than closed climates. Principals in open schools also generate more organizational commitment to school—that is, identification and involvement in school—than those in closed climates (Tarter, Hoy, and Kottkamp, 1990). Further, openness of the climate is positively related to teacher participation in decision making (Barnes, 1994) as well as to ratings of school effectiveness (Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp, 1991) and, in middle schools, to student achievement in mathematics, reading, and writing as well as to overall effectiveness and quality (Hoy and Sabo, 1998).

In conclusion, the three versions of the OCDQ for elementary, middle, and secondary schools are useful devices for general charting of school climate in terms of teacher-teacher and teacher-principal relationships. The subtests of each instrument seem to be valid and reliable measures of important aspects of school climate; they can provide climate profiles that can be used for research, evaluation, in-service, or self-analysis. In addition, the openness indices provide means of examining schools along an open-closed continuum. Halpin and Croft (1963) suggest that openness might be a better criterion of a school's effectiveness than many that have entered the field of educational administration and masquerade as criteria. Openness is likely an important condition in fostering effective organizational change. Similarly,

principals who want to improve instructional effectiveness are more likely to be successful if they first develop an open and trusting climate (Hoy and Forsyth, 1987). Although there is much argument about what constitutes school effectiveness (see Chapter 9), there is less doubt that the OCDQ measures provide a useful battery of scales for diagnostic as well as prescriptive purposes.

A Climate of Organizational Health

Another frame for viewing the climate of the school is its **organizational health** (Hoy and Feldman, 1987; Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp, 1991; Hoy and Sabo, 1998). The idea of positive health in an organization is not new and calls attention to conditions that facilitate growth and development as well as to those that impede healthy organizational dynamics (Miles, 1969). A school with a healthy organizational climate is one that copes successfully with its environment as it mobilizes its resources and efforts to achieve its goals. The organizational health of secondary schools is defined by seven specific interaction patterns in schools (Hoy and Feldman, 1987, 1999). These critical components meet the basic needs of the social system and represent the three levels of responsibility and control within the school.

The *institutional* level connects the organization with its environment. It is important for schools to have legitimacy and backing in the community. Administrators and teachers need support to perform their respective functions in a harmonious fashion without undue pressure and interference from individuals and groups outside the school. This level is examined in terms of the school's integrity. That is, institutional integrity is the school's ability to adapt to its environment and cope in ways that maintain the soundness of its educational programs. Schools with integrity are protected from unreasonable community and parental demands.

The *managerial* level mediates and controls the internal efforts of the organization. The administrative process is the managerial function, a process that is qualitatively different from teaching. Principals are the prime administrative officers in schools. They must find ways to develop teacher loyalty and trust, motivate teacher effort, and coordinate the work. Four key aspects of the managerial level must be determined—principal influence, consideration, initiating structure, and resource support. Influence is the ability of the principal to affect the decisions of superiors. Consideration is principal behavior that is open, friendly, and supportive, whereas initiating structure is behavior in which the principal clearly defines the work expectations, standards of performance, and procedures. Finally, resource support is the extent to which the principal provides teachers with all the materials and supplies they need and request.

In schools, the *technical* function is the teaching-learning process, and teachers are directly responsible. Educated students are the product of schools, and the entire technical subsystem revolves around the problems

associated with effective learning and teaching. Morale and academic emphasis are the two key elements of the technical level. Morale is the enthusiasm, confidence, and sense of accomplishment that pervade the faculty. Academic emphasis, on the other hand, is the school's press for student achievement. The seven dimensions of organizational health are defined, summarized by level of responsibility, and illustrated in Table 6.3.

TABLE 6.3

The Dimensions of the OHI-S and Sample Items

Institutional Level

Institutional Integrity—describes a school that is not vulnerable to narrow, vested interests from the community. The school is able to cope well with outside destructive forces.

Sample items:
- The school is protected from unreasonable community and parental demands.
- The school is vulnerable to outside pressures.*

Managerial Level

Principal Influence—refers to the principal's ability to affect the action of superiors. The influential principal works successfully with the superintendent for the benefit of teachers.

Sample items:
- The principal gets what he or she asks for from superiors.
- The principal is impeded by superiors.*

Consideration—describes behavior by the principal that is friendly, supportive, open, and collegial.

Sample items:
- The principal looks out for the personal welfare of faculty members.
- The principal is friendly and approachable.

Initiating Structure—describes behavior by the principal that is task and achievement oriented. The principal makes his expectations clear and maintains standards of performance.

Sample items:
- The principal lets faculty members know what is expected of them.
- The principal maintains definite standards of performance.

Resource Support—refers to a situation at the school in which adequate classroom supplies and instructional materials are available and extra materials are easily obtained.

Sample items:
- Extra materials are available if requested.
- Teachers are provided with adequate materials for their classrooms.

Technical Level

Morale—refers to a sense of trust, confidence, enthusiasm, and friendliness among teachers. Teachers feel good about each other and, at the same time, feel a sense of accomplishment from their jobs.

Sample items:
- Teachers in this school like each other.
- The morale of teachers is high.

Academic Emphasis—refers to the school's press of achievement. High but achievable academic goals are set for students; the learning environment is orderly and serious; teachers believe in the ability of their students to achieve; and students work hard and respect academic achievement.

Sample items:
- The school sets high standards for academic performance.
- Students respect others who get good grades.

*Item is scored in reverse.

Specifically, a **healthy organization** is *one in which the technical, managerial, and institutional levels are in harmony. The organization is both meeting its needs and successfully coping with disruptive outside forces as it directs its energies toward its mission.*

The **healthy school** is protected from unreasonable community and parental pressures. The board successfully resists all narrow efforts of vested interest groups to influence policy. The principal of a healthy school provides dynamic leadership—leadership that is both task oriented and relations oriented. Such behavior is supportive of teachers and yet provides direction and maintains high standards of performance. Moreover, the principal has influence with his or her superiors as well as the ability to exercise independent thought and action. Teachers in a healthy school are committed to teaching and learning. They set high but achievable goals for students; they maintain high standards of performance; and the learning environment is orderly and serious. Furthermore, students work hard on academic matters, are highly motivated, and respect other students who achieve academically. Classroom supplies and instructional materials are accessible. Finally, in a healthy school teachers like each other, trust each other, are enthusiastic about the work, and are proud of their school.

The **unhealthy school** is vulnerable to destructive outside forces. Teachers and administrators are bombarded with unreasonable demands from parental and community groups. The school is buffeted by the whims of the public. The principal does not provide leadership: there is little direction, limited consideration and support for teachers, and virtually no influence with superiors. Morale of teachers is low. Teachers feel good neither about each other nor about their jobs. They act aloof, suspicious, and defensive. Finally, the press for academic excellence is limited. Everyone is simply "putting in time."

The organizational health of a school can be measured using the Organizational Health Index (OHI). For example, the OHI for secondary schools is a 44-item descriptive questionnaire composed of seven subtests to measure each of the basic dimensions as well as the general health of the school. Like the OCDQ, the OHI is administered to the professional staff of the school. Three valid and reliable contemporary versions of the OHI are now available—one for each school level. Health profiles for three schools are graphed in Figure 6.2. School A represents a school with a relatively healthy climate; all dimensions of health are substantially above the mean. School C, in contrast, is below the mean in all aspects of health, and school B is a typical school—about average on all dimensions. All the OHI instruments, scoring instructions, and interpretations are available online for your use.

OHI: Some Research Findings

The OHI is a useful tool for measuring school climate, with three versions—one each for elementary, middle, and high schools. The instruments measure

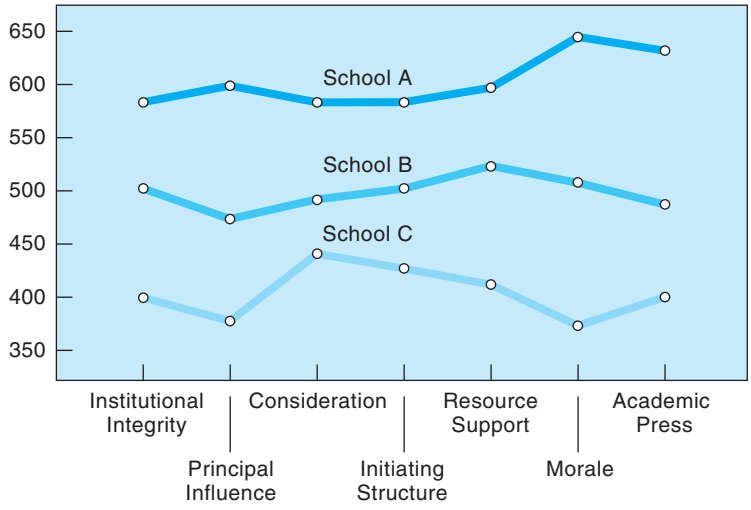


FIGURE 6.2 ***Health Profiles of Three Schools***

key dimensions of organizational health of schools. Moreover, the conceptual underpinnings are consistent with many of the characteristics of effective schools. In addition, a study of high schools in Taiwan demonstrated stability of the OHI across cultures (Liao, 1994).

Research findings using the OHI continue to be encouraging. As one would expect, the healthier the organizational dynamics, the greater the degree of faculty trust in the principal, in colleagues, and in the organization itself (Tarter and Hoy, 1988; Hoy, Tarter, and Wiskowskie, 1992; Smith, Hoy, and Sweetland, 2001). Not surprisingly, there is a correlation between the openness and the health of schools; healthy schools have high thrust, high esprit, and low disengagement (Hoy and Tarter, 1990). In brief, open schools tend to be healthy and healthy schools tend to be open. Health is also related to the organizational commitment of teachers to their schools; healthy schools have more committed teachers (Tarter, Hoy, and Bliss, 1989; Tarter, Hoy, and Kottkamp, 1990).

Research findings also show that organizational health is positively related to student performance; in general, the healthier the school climate, the higher the achievement levels on math and reading achievement test scores of high school students (Hoy and Tarter, 1990). More specifically, the stronger the academic emphasis of the climate of middle schools, the higher the student achievement levels on standardized math, reading, and writing tests (Hoy and Hannum, 1997; Hoy, Hannum, and Tschannen-Moran, 1998; Hoy and Sabo, 1998; Goddard, Sweetland, and Hoy, 2000a, 2000b). A study of elementary teachers also demonstrated that a healthy school climate was conducive to the development of teacher efficacy, the belief that they could positively influence student learning (Hoy and Woolfolk, 1993). Our own research continues to demonstrate

that school health is related to a host of other important school variables. For example, it is positively related to humanism, teacher participation in decision making, a strong school culture, and a variety of measures of school effectiveness. Finally, it seems likely that a school's health will be significantly related to less student alienation, lower dropout rates, and higher student commitment.

In conclusion, the appropriate OHI instrument can reliably determine the health of a school. Moreover, sound interpersonal dynamics in school life are not only important as ends in themselves but also predictive of school effectiveness, student achievement, organizational commitment, humanism in teacher attitudes, and faculty trust in colleagues and in the principal. Healthy schools are likely to have committed teachers who trust each other, who trust the principal, who hold high academic standards, who are open, and who have students who achieve at high levels. In such schools, the improvement of instruction and the continued professional development of teachers and administrators are achievable goals.

A Synthesis: The Organizational Climate Index

The OCDQ focuses on the openness of school relationships, whereas the OHI examines the climate from the perspective of healthy interpersonal interactions. Moreover, the OCDQ is limited to relations among teachers and between the principal and teachers. Organizational health provides a broader perspective that describes not only teacher-teacher interactions and principal-teacher interactions but also relations between the school and community as well as student-teacher relations that emphasize intellectual and academic achievement. At Ohio State, we have developed a quick view of school climate, the **Organizational Climate Index** (OCI), which examines and measures relations at four critical levels: the institutional, managerial, teacher, and student. The OCI has only four dimensions, but it taps four crucial aspects of schools.

The conceptual framework for the OCI identifies one important feature at each of four levels to provide a snapshot of four of the most important facets of a school. From our research on school climate, we have found that academic press, sometimes called academic emphasis, is especially important in facilitating higher levels of academic achievement (Alig-Mielcarek and Hoy, 2005; Hoy and Hannum, 1997; Hoy and Sabo, 1998). At the teacher level, professionalism, especially in the form of professional learning communities, is valuable in nurturing student achievement (Bryk and Schneider, 2002). The leadership of the principal is also key in both nurturing social relations as well as motivating and helping teachers improve the teaching-learning process (Alig-Mielcarek and Hoy, 2005; Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp, 1991; Hoy and Sabo, 1998). Finally, schools need to have institutional integrity; that is, it is important for schools to have legitimacy and backing in the community. Administrators and teachers need support to perform their respective functions in a harmonious fashion without undue pressure and interference from individuals and groups outside the school (Hoy, Tarter,

and Kottkamp, 1991; Hoy and Sabo, 1998). In brief, the literature supports a picture of a quality school as one in which:

1. Teachers and principals get support to work cooperatively with each other without undue interference from outsiders.
2. The principal demonstrates concern for both social support of teachers as well as their task accomplishment through an open, collegial leadership pattern.
3. Teachers view and respect each other as professionals.
4. Students, teachers, and the principal view academic achievement and success as central.

Accordingly, the OCI measures the school climate in terms of Institutional Vulnerability, Professional Teacher Behavior, Collegial Leadership, and Achievement Press. The scale consists of 30 descriptive items that gauge these aspects of school climate. Table 6.4 summarizes each of the dimensions

TABLE 6.4

The Dimensions of the OCI and Sample Items

Institutional Level

Institutional Vulnerability—the extent to which the school is susceptible to a few vocal parents and citizen groups. High vulnerability suggests that both teachers and principals are unprotected and put on the defensive.

Sample items:
- A few vocal parents can change school policy.
- The school is vulnerable to outside pressures.

Principal Level

Collegial Leadership—The principal treats teachers as professional colleagues, is open, egalitarian, and friendly, but at the same time sets clear teacher expectations and standards of performance.

Sample items:
- The principal treats all faculty members as equals.
- The principal lets faculty members know what is expected of them.

Teacher Level

Professional Teacher Behavior—is marked by respect for colleague competence, commitment to students, autonomous judgment, and mutual cooperation and support.

Sample items:
- Teachers respect the professional competence of their colleagues.
- Teachers in this school exercise professional judgment.

Student Level

Achievement Press—describes a school that sets high but achievable academic standards and goals. Students persist, strive to achieve, and are respected by each other and teachers for their academic success. Parents, teachers, and the principal all press students for high standards and school improvement.

Sample items:
- The school sets high standards for academic achievement.
- Academic achievement is recognized and acknowledged by the school.

of school climate in this perspective and gives a sample of the items used to assess each dimension. The entire scale as well as norms for high schools are found online at www.waynekhoy.com.

OCI: Some Research Findings

The OCI is an additional tool to measure important aspects of school climate; the scale provides a quick view of the openness and health of the school. For the most part, the OCI has been used to measure the climate of high schools (Hoy, Smith, and Sweetland, 2002). The instrument is relatively new, but the initial results are encouraging. These four aspects of climate foster a culture of trust (Hoy, Smith, and Sweetland, 2002), which in turn promotes high levels of student achievement regardless of the socioeconomic status (SES) of a school (Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011; Hoy, in press). In addition, the openness and health of schools (as measured by the OCI) have positive associations with change orientations of teachers (Kearney and Smith, 2010; Maika, 2007), with strong community relations (Smith and Miaka, 2008), and with school mindfulness (Ferguson, 2006), and a negative correlation with student bullying (Gonzales, 2006).

The OCI of Arlington High School: Open and Healthy

The profile of Arlington High School is as follows:

	OCI Score
Institutional Vulnerability	430 (Below Average)
Collegial Leadership	620 (High)
Professional Teacher	660 (High)
Achievement Press	670 (High)

Examine the profile and see if you can describe the school climate in words. There is little question that this is a productive high school in which teachers like to work. Why?

To be specific, the school climate has high institutional integrity as indicated by its low score on vulnerability (430); teachers are protected from unreasonable demands from parents and others in the community. The leadership is open and collegial (620). The principal is open and friendly and treats teachers fairly and as colleagues while at the same time holding them to high standards of performance. Teachers respond to the leadership of the principal by following her or his example; the professional behavior score is very high (660). Teachers respect the competence and teaching ability of their colleagues, and they are committed to their students as they work together cooperatively exercising professional judgment. Finally, there is a strong press for achievement and academic success (670). In general, students are highly motivated by their teachers. Further, teachers, parents, and the principal stress and celebrate academic success. In brief, the climate at Arlington High is open, healthy, and focused on academic attainment. How does the school in which you work compare? Use the OCI and find out (www.waynekhoy.com).

A Climate of Citizenship

Another frame for viewing the climate of the school is in terms of the citizenship behavior of its members. **Organizational citizenship** is behavior that goes beyond the formal responsibilities of the role by actions that occur freely to help others achieve the task at hand. The willingness of members to exert effort beyond what the job formally prescribes has long been recognized as essential for effective organizational performance (Bateman and Organ, 1983; Organ, 1988; Organ and Ryan, 1995). Only recently, however, has the term been applied to schools by DiPaola and his colleagues (DiPaola and Tschannen-Moran, 2001; DiPaola and Hoy, 2005a, 2005b; DiPaola, Tarter, and Hoy, 2005). Citizenship behavior has five specific aspects, which are all highly interrelated in schools: altruism, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, courtesy, and civic virtues.

The prototype of a **climate of citizenship** is a school in which teachers help each other and new colleagues by giving freely of their own time. Teachers are conscientious and routinely go beyond the prescribed duties of the job. They also avoid complaining and whining as they engage in productive efforts to improve teaching and learning. In such a school, teachers treat each other with courtesy by giving advance notice of change and reminders and by respecting each other as professionals. Virtually all the teachers believe that it is their duty to promote the best interests of the school by serving on committees and voluntarily attending school functions.

The citizenship behavior of a school is measured by the Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) scale. The OCB is a short 12-item Likert scale, which is reliable and valid (DiPaola, Tarter, and Hoy, 2005). Table 6.5 identifies aspects of citizenship the OCB measures and provides some examples. The scores of all the teachers are aggregated to determine the degree of citizenship of the school. The OCB is online and available for your use at www.waynekhoy.com.

TABLE 6.5

Aspects of Organizational Citizenship and Sample Items

Altruism—helping new colleagues and freely giving time to others.
Sample item: Teachers voluntarily help new teachers.

Conscientiousness—using time efficiently and going beyond minimum expectations.
Sample item: Teachers arrive to work and meetings on time.

Sportsmanship—spending time on constructive efforts and avoiding complaining.
Sample item: Teachers give an excessive amount of busywork (reverse score).

Courtesy—providing advance notices and reminders.
Sample item: Teachers give colleagues advance notice of changes in schedule or routine.

Civic Virtue—serving on committees and voluntarily attending functions.
Sample item: Teachers voluntarily serve on new committees.

OCB: Some Research Findings

The OCB is a useful tool to measure another important aspect of school climate. Although the instrument and its use in schools are relatively recent, the research results are encouraging. The scale works well in elementary, middle, and high schools; that is, it is valid and reliable for all three levels of schools (DiPaola, Tarter, and Hoy, 2005). Organizational citizenship is consistently and positively related to such other organizational properties as collegial principal behavior, teacher professionalism, academic press, and school mindfulness (DiPaola and Hoy, 2005a, 2005b). Moreover, schools with high degrees of citizenship are more effective (DiPaola, Tarter, and Hoy, 2005) and have higher levels of student achievement (DiPaola and Hoy, 2005b), even controlling for socioeconomic status. Effective schools are efficient, flexible, adaptable, and innovative (Mott, 1972; Uline, Miller, and Tschannen-Moran, 1998) because good school citizens look for ways to make their schools work more efficiently and effectively. Organizational citizenship is a positive complement to schools that are both open and healthy (DiPaola and Tschannen-Moran, 2001). Each of these conceptual perspectives of climate brings a slightly different view of climate in the school, but all measure important aspects of quality school climates.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Select a framework of either openness (OCDQ), health (OHI), the OCI, or citizenship (OCB). What do you like about this theoretical perspective? Why do you find it useful? What advantages and disadvantages does this framework have for examining your school climate? Administer the appropriate instrument to five or six teachers in your school who are agreeable. Next, score the instrument and develop a climate profile for the school as a chart or graph and explain what the figure means in words. Compare and contrast your school with an average school. How representative do you think the results are for your school? Would your principal agree? Finally, discuss the strengths and weaknesses of your climate. Then read the next section on changing school climate, and develop a plan for improving the climate of your school if you were appointed principal.

CHANGING THE CLIMATE OF SCHOOLS

We have little information on, let alone answers to, the complex problem of changing the school workplace. Two things are clear, however. There is no quick and simple way to change the culture or climate of schools. Long-term systemic effort is more likely to produce change than short-term fads.

Two general strategies for change follow. Alan Brown (1965) has developed a clinical strategy as well as a growth-centered approach. The two

strategies are not alternatives to each other; they can be used simultaneously because they complement each other. The growth-centered strategy is concerned with the nature of individual development within the school; it embodies a set of assumptions that guide all attempts to change the climate of the school, whereas the clinical strategy is a specific action–oriented approach to change. Each of these change strategies offers potential guidelines for the practicing administrator that we will review briefly.

The Clinical Strategy

The manipulation of intergroup and interpersonal interactions can foster change. Such a **clinical strategy** for change can proceed through the following steps.

1. *Gaining knowledge of the organization:* The approach begins with a thorough knowledge of the dynamics of the school organization. Such knowledge, of course, comes through careful observation, analysis, and study. The perceptive principal may have acquired much of this knowledge through experience but, typically, a more systematic analysis is enlightening and valuable. As a prelude to such a study, he or she must understand the salient aspects of organizational life including the basic norms and values of the faculty. The conceptual perspectives provided by such measures as the OCDQ, OHI, PCI, and OHB can substantially aid this learning about the school organization.
2. *Diagnosis:* The second step in the process is diagnostic. Here again conceptual capital, from a variety of perspectives, can provide labels for diagnosing potential trouble areas. Poor morale, high disengagement, custodialism, distorted communication, unilateral decision making, and low academic expectations are examples of such conceptual labels. The extent to which these concepts are clearly defined in the mind of the practitioner and fit together in a broader perspective probably mediates the effectiveness of the diagnosis.
3. *Prognosis:* In the third step, the "clinician" judges the seriousness of the situation and develops a set of operational priorities to improve the situation.
4. *Prescription:* The appropriate course of action is often hidden. Suppose we decided that the school's atmosphere is too custodial in pupil-control orientation. How can the situation be remedied? We might replace a number of "custodial" teachers with younger "humanistic" teachers. Research suggests, however, that the pupil-control ideology of beginning teachers becomes significantly more custodial as they become socialized by the teacher subculture (Hoy, 1967, 1968, 1969; Hoy and Woolfolk, 1989), which in this case tends to equate tight control with good teaching. Merely replacing a number of custodial teachers without altering basic teacher norms about pupil control will probably have little or no impact. Altering basic teacher norms calls

for a more sophisticated strategy (see below). A first step in such a strategy is to eliminate teacher and administrator ignorance about the PCI—that is, to erase the shared misperceptions of educators with respect to pupil-control ideology. Teachers generally think that principals are much more custodial in pupil-control ideology than they themselves are, and conversely, principals typically believe that teachers are more custodial in pupil-control orientation than they report themselves to be (Packard and Willower, 1972). These common misperceptions need to be swept away if a more humanistic perspective is to be achieved. In other words, developing prescriptions at first seems easy enough, but experience shows that solutions to various school problems are usually oversimplified and often irrelevant. If administrators are going to be successful in changing the school climate and culture, then they must change the norms and values of the teacher subculture as well as the basic, shared assumptions of the faculty and administration.

5. *Evaluation:* The last step in the clinical strategy is to evaluate the extent to which prescriptions have been implemented and are successful. Because planned change in social systems is often slow, continuous monitoring and evaluation are required.

The Growth-Centered Strategy

A **growth-centered strategy** simply involves the acceptance of a set of assumptions about the development of school personnel and the use of these assumptions as the basis for administrative decision making. The assumptions are the following:

1. *Change is a property of healthy school organizations.* The principal should see schools, and hence school climate, in a constant state of flux.
2. *Change has direction*. Change can be positive or negative, progressive or regressive.
3. *Change should imply progress*. Change should provide movement of the organization toward its goals. Of course, not all change represents progress; yet the principal's stance is progress oriented.
4. *Teachers have high potential for the development and implementation of change.* Principals are always ready to provide teachers with more freedom and responsibility in the operation of the school.

These basic assumptions, if acted upon, would allow for a growth policy, which in turn leads to increased opportunities for professional development. From this perspective, administrators would remove obstacles from the path of professional growth and not manipulate people. Finally, the approach should help facilitate a climate of mutual trust and respect among teachers and administrators.

The clinical and growth-centered approaches do not conflict in their assumptions, although they have different focuses—organizational and individual. The astute administrator draws on both strategies to change the climate of the school.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Disbelief at Albany Middle School

You have been principal at Albany Middle School for more than a year. Albany is one of three middle schools in West Jersey, a middle-class community of 38,000 people in the Midwest. Your middle school (grades 5–8) has 22 teachers and just over 700 students. You believe that you have a good school with good faculty, but there is definitely room for improvement. Since your arrival at Albany, you have worked very hard to get to know the teachers. This is your first job as a principal after teaching 10 years in a middle school in Greensburg, a community similar to Albany, but 75 miles to the west. You feel comfortable in your new role and believe that you have been accepted as the new leader at Albany.

Because you want a candid appraisal, you decide to have a teacher administer the Organizational Health Inventory (OHI) to your faculty at the conclusion of the next faculty meeting without your presence. The anonymous questionnaires should take only 10 minutes to complete and can be scored quickly. You also decide to complete the questionnaire yourself, and then compare your perception of the school climate with the perceptions of the teachers.

Categories	**Teachers' Perceptions**	**Your Perceptions**
Institutional integrity	480 (average)	600 (high)
Collegial leadership	509 (average)	700 (very high)
Principal influence	450 (below average)	600 (high)
Resource support	500 (average)	720 (very high)
Teacher affiliation	590 (high)	660 (very high)
Academic emphasis	600 (high)	700 (very high)
Overall school health	522 (average)	664 (very high)

You are right: the teachers seem glad to respond to the OHI; it takes only about 10 minutes, and not even a grumble from teachers. You are, however, quite surprised at the results. Indeed, surprised may be the wrong word; dismayed seems more appropriate. Clearly, your view of the school climate is much more optimistic than the teachers' perspective. The data provide a reality check.

- Do you have a problem here? If so, what is it?
- How should you share the data with your teachers? Or should you?
- Why the major discrepancies between your teachers' and your own perceptions?
- What should you do next?
- Should you use a growth-centered strategy? Clinical strategy?
- You need a plan, but what to do?

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Routinely check the organizational climate of your school: Data rule.
2. Build trust and foster authenticity in behavior: Trust is pivotal in successful teamwork.
3. Use a variety of perspectives and measures of school climate: Multiple perspectives enrich analysis.
4. Build a climate of openness, health, and citizenship: It enhances both the academic achievement and socioemotional development of students.
5. Focus on academic emphasis, but not at the expense of healthy interpersonal relationships: Both social and task needs of schools should be met.
6. Use both the climate and culture measures as part of a systematic professional development program: Climate and culture are complementary yet different views of schools.
7. Encourage teachers to use data and evidence in their decision making: Opinion and experience are insufficient.
8. Use the data from the school climate instruments to evaluate yourself and your school: Critical analysis and reflection improve performance.
9. Set professional goals based on data assessment: Then monitor progress.
10. Use negative data positively: Seize shortcomings as learning opportunities.
11. Enlist your teachers in the development of school improvement plans: Teachers should be full partners because ultimately only teachers themselves can improve instruction.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Schools have patterns of behavior that make them different from one another; that is, they have unique climates much as individuals have different personalities.
2. School climate emerges from routine organizational practices—both formal and informal activities.
3. The organizational climate of a school is the set of faculty perceptions of the dominant behaviors of organizational participants.
4. School climate influences the attitudes and behavior of students, teachers, and principals.
5. School climate can be conceived from a variety of vantage points, including the openness, health, and citizenship behavior of a school.
6. Openness of the school climate is an indicator of the authenticity of interpersonal relations.
7. Health of the school climate is the soundness and well-being of interpersonal relations.
8. Openness of climate is positively related to loyalty, trust, and commitment of teachers.

9. A climate of citizenship refers to a dominant pattern of altruism and helping teacher behavior in schools, which improves school performance.
10. The health of organizational climate is positively related to openness in member interactions as well as to school effectiveness.
11. Academic emphasis promotes student achievement regardless of socioeconomic conditions.
12. A climate of citizenship positively influences school effectiveness and student achievement.
13. Changing the climate of a school is a difficult, continuous, and long-term process; there are no quick fixes.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

organizational climate, *p. 210*
school climate, *p. 210*
open climate, *p. 212*
closed climate, *p. 212*
organizational health, *p. 214*
healthy organization, *p. 216*
healthy school, *p. 216*
unhealthy school, *p. 216*
Organizational Climate Index, *p. 218*
organizational citizenship, *p. 221*
climate of citizenship, *p. 221*
clinical strategy, *p. 223*
growth-centered strategy, *p. 224*

SUGGESTED READINGS

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A contemporary analysis of how to assess and manage culture.

Freiberg, H. J. *School Climate: Measuring, Improving and Sustaining Healthy Learning Environments*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge Falmer, 2005.

A good review of a variety of frameworks for measuring school climate.

Hoy, W. K., Tarter, C. J., and Kottkamp, R. B. *Open Schools/Healthy Schools: Measuring Organizational Climate.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991.

A thorough discussion of the concept of school climate, including the development of several school climate measures and research relating climate to school effectiveness. The book is online at www.coe.ohio-state.edu/whoy.

Hoy, W. K., and Sabo, D. *Quality Middle Schools*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin, 1998.

An empirical and theoretical analysis of the relationships between school climate and school quality in middle schools.

James, L. R., Choi, C. C., Ko, C. E., McNeil, P. K., Minton, M.K., Wright, M. A., and Kim, K. "Organizational and Psychological Climate: A Review of Theory and Research." *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology 17*(2008), pp. 5–32.

A contemporary review of the literature on organizational climate.

Tagiuri, R. "The concept of organizational climate." In R. Tagiuri and G. W. Litwin (Eds.), *Organizational Climate: Explorations of a Concept*. Boston: Harvard Business School, 1968.

A classic inquiry into the nature of organizational climate.

Van Houtte, M., and Van Maele, D. "The Black Box Revelation: In Search of Conceptual Clarity." *Oxford Review of Education 23*(2011), pp. 505–524.

An intriguing perspective on the nature of organizational climate and culture.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Select a representative sample of about 10 teachers in your school and administer either the OCDQ or the OHI to them. Then do the following:

- Score the measure using the directions found at www.waynekhoy.com.
- Follow the scoring directions to standardize the scores; then develop a climate profile for your school using all of the climate dimensions.
- Use the profile to write a description of the climate of your school. Keep it clear, simple, and comprehensive. You might ask a few teachers and parents for their reactions.
- Analyze the positive and negative features of your school.
- Identify any areas of the climate that need improvement.
- Speculate on how your principal might describe the climate. The same as teachers? In other words, develop a working hypothesis about whether the principal would describe the climate better or worse than teachers or about the same. Why? Can you test your hypothesis?

Leadership Standards 1, 2, and 3 (see inside front cover)

NOTE

1. The specifics for calculating the openness indices are found in Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp (1991). We discuss only the elementary version of the OCDQ in the text, but full descriptions of the other versions are available elsewhere. For the secondary school version, see Kottkamp, Mulhern, and Hoy (1987); Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp (1991); and Hoy and Tarter (1997b). For the middle school version, see Hoy, Hoffman, Sabo, and Bliss (1994); Hoy and Tarter (1997a); and Hoy and Sabo (1998).

CHAPTER 7



POWER AND POLITICS IN SCHOOLS

Political realists see the world as it is: an arena of power politics moved primarily by perceived immediate self-interests, where morality is rhetorical rationale for expedient action and self-interest. It is a world not of angles but of angles, where men speak of moral principles but act on power principles.

Saul Alinsky
Rules for Radicals

Since my intention is to say something that will prove of practical use to the inquirer, I have thought it proper to represent things as they are in real truth, rather than as they are imagined.

Niccolo Machiavelli
The Prince

PREVIEW

1. Power is a broad construct that includes both legitimate and illegitimate methods of ensuring compliance.
2. Power can be classified not only as legitimate or illegitimate but also as formal or informal; hence, four basic kinds of organizational power exist: two forms of legitimate power—formal and informal authority—and two kinds of illegitimate power—coercive and political.
3. Legitimate power is more likely to promote commitment and compliance, whereas illegitimate power produces conflict and alienation.
4. Organizations are political arenas in which power and politics are central.
5. Coalitions of individuals and groups bargain to determine the distribution of power in organizations.
6. The external coalition can be dominated, divided, or passive, and it affects the internal coalition.
7. Internal coalitions can be personalized, bureaucratic, ideologic, professional, or politicized, and they can affect the distribution of power.
8. Power often concerns itself with defining rather than discovering organizational reality.

9. Power and politics are realities of organizational life, and they often undermine rationality.
10. Although the means of politics are illegitimate, the ends need not be; politics can be cruel and destructive or considerate and constructive.
11. Ingratiating, networking, information management, impression management, coalition building, and scapegoating are common political tactics organizational members use to gain advantage.
12. Political games are played to resist authority, to counter the resistance to authority, to build power bases, to defeat rivals, and to produce organizational change.
13. Conflict can be successfully managed by competing, collaborating, accommodating, compromising, or avoiding—depending on the situation.

All social organizations control their participants, but the problem of control is especially important in formal organizations, and the essence of organizational control is power. The classic definition of **power** is the ability to get others to do what you want them to do, or as Weber (1947, p. 152) defines it, "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance." Power for our purposes is a general and comprehensive term. It includes control that is starkly coercive as well as control that is based on nonthreatening persuasion and suggestion. Authority has a narrower scope than power. Weber (1947, p. 324) defines authority as "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons." Weber is quick to indicate that authority does not include every mode of exercising power of influence over other persons. He suggests that a certain degree of voluntary compliance is associated with legitimate commands.

Organizations are created and controlled by legitimate authorities, who set goals, design structures, hire and manage employees, and monitor activities to ensure behavior is consistent with the goals and objectives of the organization. These official authorities control the legitimate power of the office or positions, but they are only one of many contenders for other forms of power in organizations (Bolman and Deal, 2008). We first examine legitimate forms of power and then turn to illegitimate ones.

SOURCES OF AUTHORITY: LEGITIMATE POWER

Authority relationships are an integral part of life in schools. The basis of many student-teacher, teacher-administrator, or subordinate-superior relations is authority. Unfortunately, many individuals view authority and authoritarianism as synonymous. Because this is not the case, authority as a theoretical concept must be clearly defined.

Contrary to some popular beliefs, the exercise of authority in a school typically does not involve coercion. Herbert A. Simon (1957a, pp. 126–27) proposed that **authority** is distinguished from other kinds of influence or power in that the subordinate "holds in abeyance his own critical faculties for choosing between alternatives and uses the formal criterion of the receipt of a command or signal as his basis of choice." Therefore, two criteria of authority in schools are crucial in superior-subordinate relationships: (1) voluntary compliance to legitimate commands; and (2) suspension of one's own criteria for decision making and acceptance of the organizational command.

Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott (1962, 2003) argue that a third criterion must be added to distinguish authority from other forms of social control. They maintain that a value orientation arises that defines the use of social control as legitimized, and this orientation arises only in a group context. Authority is legitimized by a value that is held in common by the group (Suchman, 1995). Blau and Scott conclude that a basic characteristic of the authority relation is the subordinates' willingness to suspend their own criteria for making decisions and to comply with directives from the superior. This willingness results largely from social constraints exerted by norms of the social collectivity (teachers and students) and not primarily from the power the superior (administrator) brings to bear. Such social constraints are not typical of coercive power and other types of social influence. Authority relations in schools, then, have three primary characteristics: (1) a willingness of subordinates to comply; (2) a suspension of the subordinates' criteria for making a decision prior to a directive; and (3) a power relationship legitimized by the norms of a group.

Authority exists when a common set of beliefs (norms) in a school legitimizes the use of power as "right and proper." Weber (1947) distinguishes three types of authority—charismatic, traditional, and legal—according to the kind of legitimacy typically claimed by each.

Charismatic authority rests on devotion to an extraordinary individual who is leader by virtue of personal trust or exemplary qualities. Charismatic authority tends to be nonrational, affective, or emotional and rests heavily on the leader's personal qualities and characteristics. The authority of the charismatic leader results primarily from the leader's overwhelming personal appeal, and typically a common value orientation emerges within the group to produce an intense normative commitment to and identification with the person. Thus students may obey classroom directives because of a teacher's personal "mystique."

Traditional authority is anchored in an established belief in the sanctity of the status of those exercising authority in the past. Obedience is owed to the traditional sanctioned *position* of authority, and the person who occupies the position inherits the authority established by custom. In a school, for example, students may accept the authority of the position and obey the teacher because their parents and grandparents did so before them.

Legal authority is based on enacted laws that can be changed by formally correct procedures. Obedience is not owed to a person or position per se but to the *laws* that specify to whom and to what extent people owe compliance. Legal authority thus extends only within the scope of the authority vested in the office by law. In schools, obedience is owed to the impersonal principles that govern the operation of the organizations.

Other scholars and organizational theorists have extended these basic concepts of authority. Robert Peabody (1962) distinguishes the bases of formal authority—legitimacy and position—from the bases of functional authority—competence and personal or human relations skills, whereas Blau and Scott (1962, 2003; Scott, 2003) simply describe the authority relation as formal or informal depending on the source of legitimacy for the power.

Formal authority is vested in the organization and is legally established in positions, rules, and regulations. In joining the organization, employees accept the authority relation because they agree, within certain limits, to accept the directives of their supervisors; the organization has the right to command and the employees have the duty to obey (March and Simon, 1958). The basis of formal authority, then, rests with the legally established agreement between the organization and the employees.

Functional authority has a variety of sources, including authority of competence and authority of person. Although Weber treats authority of competence as part of the legal-rational pattern of bureaucracies, competence is not always limited to position. Technical competence can provide the source for legitimate control and directives in a formal organization regardless of the specific position held. This fact poses a dilemma and conflict for professionals.

Informal authority is still another source of legitimate control stemming from personal behavior and attributes of individuals. Regardless of formal position, some organizational members develop norms of allegiance and support from their colleagues. These informal norms buttress and legitimize their power and provide informal authority.

Authority and Administrative Behavior in Schools

Authority is a basic feature of life in schools because it provides the basis for legitimate control of administrators, teachers, and students. A primary source of control is formal authority that is vested in the office or position and not in the particular person who performs the official role (Merton, 1957). When administrators, teachers, and students join a school organization, they accept the formal authority relation. They agree within certain limits to follow directives that officials issue for the school. In short, school members enter into contractual agreements in which they sell their promises to obey commands (Commons, 1924).

Formal authority, anchored and buttressed by formal sanctions, has a somewhat limited scope. The existence of what Chester Barnard (1938) refers

to as a bureaucratic "zone of indifference"—in which subordinates, including administrator and teacher professionals, accept orders without question—may be satisfactory for eliciting certain minimum performance levels, but it seems likely that this does not lead to an efficient operation. Formal authority promotes minimal compliance with directives and discipline, but it does not encourage employees to exert effort, to accept responsibility, or to exercise initiative (Blau and Scott, 1962, 2003; Kotter, 1985). Therefore, a basic challenge facing all administrators, and one especially significant for first-level line supervisors such as school principals, is to find methods to extend their influence over their professional staff beyond the narrow limits of formal positional authority.

Hoy and Williams (1971) and Hoy and Rees (1974) have elaborated and empirically examined these ideas. They reasoned that many school administrators have the power and authority of their offices alone. In a sense, they are sterile bureaucrats, not leaders. Barnard (1938) suggests that only when the authority of leadership is combined with the authority of position will superiors be effective in inducing subordinates to comply with directives outside the bureaucratic zone of indifference. Indeed, the possession of both formal and informal authority distinguishes formal leaders from officers and informal leaders. Figure 7.1 illustrates these relationships.

How can school administrators broaden the bases of their authority and enhance their leadership position? The informal organization is an important source of authority that frequently remains untapped. Where legal contracts and position legitimize formal authority, the common values and sentiments that emerge in the work group legitimize informal authority. In particular, informal authority arises from the loyalty that the superior commands from group members (Blau and Scott, 1962, 2003). The significance of subordinate loyalty to superiors is clear. Administrators who command subordinate loyalty seem to have a distinct advantage in enlarging their authority base.

Although authoritarian principal behavior and teacher loyalty to principals are probably incompatible, one strategy some administrators use for

		Formal Authority	
		Yes	No
Informal Authority	Yes	Formal Leader	Informal Leader
	No	Officer	Follower

FIGURE 7.1 *Types of Authority Positions*

extending the scope of formal authority over subordinates is domination (Blau and Scott, 1962, 2003). Authoritarian administrators, for example, attempt to increase control by resorting to formal sanctions or to threats of using those sanctions; however, their prolonged use probably tends to undermine their authority. Subordinates, particularly professionals, resent constant reminders of their dependence on the superior, especially in an egalitarian culture. Given a strategy of domination and close supervision, authoritarian administrators are *unlikely* to command loyalty and support from professionals easily. Blau (1955) neatly called this the *dilemma of bureaucratic authority*. The dilemma depends on the power of sanction, but it is weakened by frequent resort to sanctions. In fact, nonauthoritarian and supportive supervisors seem likely to engage in a contrasting strategy—one of leadership in which they furnish services and assistance to subordinates. Using formal authority to perform special favors, services, and support can create social obligations and build goodwill among subordinates. The result should be enhanced development of subordinate loyalty and informal authority.

The nature of supervision in schools should focus on helping, not directing, teachers to improve their teaching for a number of reasons. Teachers work in closed rooms and are not easily observed. Moreover, teachers frequently make strong claims for professional autonomy, and close supervision seems likely to be seen as an infringement on that autonomy. Finally, teachers attach great importance to authority on the basis of professional competence—much more so than similar professional groups such as social workers (Peabody, 1962). Therefore, it should not be surprising that research consistently demonstrates that authoritarian principals in schools are not successful at generating trust and teacher loyalty, whereas supportive ones are highly successful (Hoy and Rees, 1974; Isaacson, 1983; Mullins, 1983; Hoffman et al., 1994; Reiss, 1994; Reiss and Hoy, 1998). Close, authoritarian control of teachers does not generate informal authority; supportive and helpful supervision does.

Emotional detachment and hierarchical independence are two other important characteristics of principal-teacher relationships. Emotional detachment is the ability of administrators to remain calm, cool, and collected in difficult situations; and hierarchical independence is the extent to which administrators demonstrate their autonomy from superiors as they interact with teachers. Principals stand in the middle—with the higher administration on one side and professional teaching faculty on the other. Their effectiveness depends on the support they receive from both, yet they are likely to be the objects of conflicting pressures from both groups. Consequently, emotional detachment from subordinates and independence from superiors are important in establishing social support from teachers for principals. Indeed, the research has demonstrated the significance of both, but especially emotional detachment, in generating teacher loyalty to principals (Hoy and Williams, 1971; Hoy and Rees, 1974; Isaacson, 1983; Mullins, 1983).

Similarly, hierarchical influence is another attribute of administrators who are likely to tap into the informal teacher groups for authority to lead. Administrators who are able and willing to exert their influences with their superiors on teachers' behalf are respected and valued by teachers, and they earn the confidence, support, and loyalty of their teachers (Isaacson, 1983; Mullins, 1983).

Finally, the authenticity of the principal in dealing with teachers is a critical factor in the administrative process, enabling principals to generate teacher loyalty and informal authority. Leader authenticity is a slippery concept. People glibly talk about genuine, real, and authentic behavior, yet clear definition is another matter. Based on the work of Henderson and Hoy (1983) and Hoy and Henderson (1983), principal authenticity is defined as the extent to which teachers describe their principals as accepting responsibility for their own actions, as being nonmanipulating, and as demonstrating a salience of self over role. In contrast, inauthentic principals are viewed as those who pass the buck, blame others and circumstances for not being successful, manipulate teachers, and hide behind their formal position. As one would expect, leader authenticity is strongly related to commanding trust and teacher loyalty (Hoffman, 1993).

In sum, the implications of the research are clear. If administrators are to command loyalty, expand their influence, and be successful, then they must

- Be considerate and supportive of their teachers: help teachers be successful.
- Be authentic: be straight, share in the blame, and avoid manipulating others.
- Be unfettered by bureaucracy: substitute good judgment for rigid rules.
- Demonstrate autonomy: be your own person.
- Demonstrate influence: go to bat for your teachers with superiors.
- Stay calm and cool, especially in difficult situations: don't "blow up."
- Avoid the use of authoritarian behavior: it is doomed to failure.

SOURCES OF POWER

Although authority implies legitimacy, not all power is legitimate. Individuals, groups, or organizations can use power. For example, a department or group can have power, which suggests that it has the ability to influence the behavior of other individuals or groups, perhaps in personnel or budgeting decisions. Likewise, an individual can have power, which indicates success in getting others to comply with directives or suggestions. Leaders have power; they get others to comply with their directives. As we have seen, whether a leader or not, most administrators have power simply because as

representatives of the organization, they have the power of the organization. But administrators can derive power from personal as well as organizational sources; those who have power influence the behavior of others. One of the first attempts to analyze sources of power was the pioneering work of John R. P. French and Bertram H. Raven (1968). Their focus on the bases of interpersonal power led them to the identification of five kinds of power—reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert. Their typology of interpersonal power has been extended to the organizational level.

Reward power is the administrator's ability to influence subordinates by rewarding their desirable behavior. The strength of this kind of power depends on the attractiveness of the rewards and the extent of certainty that a person can control the rewards. For example, the principal who controls the allocation of teaching assignments or developmental grants for teaching innovations, or who can release teachers from routine housekeeping duties, has reward power over teachers in that school. Teachers may comply with the principal's requests because they expect to be rewarded for compliance. It is important, however, that the rewards be linked to compliance and that the influence attempts are proper and ethical. Philip Cusick (1981) describes one principal's attempt to use reward power by administering the schedule, additional assignments, and unallocated resources. The principal controlled just the things that many teachers desired. The principal could award a department chairperson with a free period, a favorite class, a double lunch period, an honors section, or support for a new activity.

Coercive power is an administrator's ability to influence subordinates by punishing them for undesirable behavior. The strength of coercive power depends on the severity of the punishment and on the likelihood that the punishment cannot be avoided. Punishment can take many forms—official reprimands, undesirable work assignments, closer supervision, stricter enforcement of the rules and regulations, denial of salary increments, or termination. Punishment is not without its negative effects. An official reprimand to a teacher for consistently leaving school early may result in frequent absenteeism, refusal to provide extra help to students unless specified in the contract, and a general tendency to avoid all but the essential aspects of the job. Interestingly, the same relationship can be viewed as one of reward power in one situation but as coercive power in another. For example, if a teacher obeys a principal through fear of punishment, it is coercive power; but if another teacher obeys in anticipation of a future reward, it is reward power.

Legitimate power is the administrator's ability to influence the behavior of subordinates simply because of formal position. Subordinates acknowledge that the administrator has a right to issue directives and they have an obligation to comply. Every administrator is empowered by the organization to make decisions within a specific area of responsibility. This area of responsibility defines the activities over which the administrator has legitimate power. The further removed a directive is from the administrator's area of

responsibility, the weaker his or her legitimate power. When directives from an administrator are accepted without question, they fall within the subordinate's "zone of indifference." Such an order lies within an area that was anticipated at the time the employee contracted with the organization and is seen by the employee as a legitimate obligation. For example, teachers expect to compute and turn in grades on time for each marking period. Outside the zone, however, legitimate power fades quickly. It is one thing for the principal to insist that grades be promptly computed and turned in to the office; it is quite another to order teachers to change a grade. The legitimacy of the first request is clear, but not so for the second; hence, compliance with the second request is questionable.

Referent power is an administrator's ability to influence behavior based on subordinates' liking and identification with the administrator. The individual with referent power is admired and respected, and serves as a model to be emulated. The source of referent power rests with the extraordinary personality and skilled interpersonal relations of the individual. For example, young teachers may identify with the principal and seek to imitate the personal demeanor and perhaps the leadership style of the more experienced and well-liked principal. Not only individuals but also groups can have referent power. Members of a positive reference group can also provide a source of referent power. Referent power does not rest simply with the official power holders of an organization. Teachers as well as principals can have referent power; in fact, any highly attractive individual who develops respect, trust, and loyalty among colleagues is likely to develop such power.

Expert power is the administrator's ability to influence subordinates' behavior on the basis of specialized knowledge and skill. Subordinates are influenced because they believe the information and expertise the administrator holds to be relevant, helpful, and things they themselves do not have. Like referent power, expert power is a personal characteristic and does not depend on occupying a formal position of power. Expert power is, however, much narrower in scope than referent power. The useful knowledge defines the limits of expert power. New administrators are likely to have a time lag in the acquisition of expert power because it takes time for expertise to become known and accepted by subordinates. New principals must demonstrate that they know how to perform their administrative functions with skill before we willingly accept their attempts to implement new practices and procedures.

These five types of power can be grouped into two broad categories—organizational and personal. Reward, coercive, and legitimate power are bound to the organizational position. The higher the position, the greater the potential for power. In contrast, referent and expert power depend much more on the personal attributes of the administrator, such as personality, leadership style, knowledge, and interpersonal skill. In brief, some sources of power are more amenable to organizational control, whereas others are more dependent on personal characteristics.

ADMINISTRATIVE USES OF POWER

A large portion of any administrator's time is directed at "power-oriented" behavior—that is, "behavior directed primarily at developing or using relationships in which other people are to some degree willing to defer to one's wishes" (Kotter, 1978, p. 27). Administrators possess varying degrees and combinations of the types of power that have just been discussed. Moreover, the way administrators use one type of power can hinder or facilitate the effectiveness of other kinds (Pfeffer, 1992).

Reward power is likely to produce positive feelings and facilitate the development of referent power, but coercive power has the opposite effect (Huber, 1981). Moreover, subordinates may view administrators who demonstrate expertise as having more legitimate power. In fact, expert power may be the most stable form of power. In one study, changes in the reward structure of an organization increased the perceived use of coercive power and reduced the perceived use of reward, legitimate, and referent power of the administrator, but expert power remained stable (Greene and Podsakoff, 1981).

Gary Yukl (2002) offers some guidelines to administrators for building and using each of the five kinds of power. The likely consequences of the uses of power are important considerations for administrators. Table 7.1 summarizes the probable outcomes of each form of power in terms of commitment, simple compliance, or resistance. For example, the use of referent power is most likely to promote commitment, next most likely to result in simple compliance, and least likely to create resistance and develop alienation. Commitment is most likely with the use of referent and expert power; legitimate and reward power are most likely to promote a simple compliance; and coercive power will probably produce resistance and eventually alienation. Amitai Etzioni (1975) draws similar conclusions in his analysis of the consequences of using power in organizations.

TABLE 7.1

Probable Subordinate Responses to Power

	Probable Subordinate Responses to Power		
Type of Power	**Commitment**	**Simple Compliance**	**Resistance**
Referent	XXX	XX	X
Expert	XXX	XX	X
Legitimate	XX	XXX	X
Reward	XX	XXX	X
Coercive	X	XX	XXX

XXX—Most likely.
XX—Less likely.
X—Least likely.

Referent power depends on personal loyalty to the administrator that grows over a relatively long period of time. The development of loyalty to one's superior is a social exchange process, which is improved when administrators demonstrate concern, trust, and affection for their subordinates. Such acceptance and confidence promote goodwill and identification with superiors, which in turn create strong loyalty and commitment. Referent power is most effective if administrators select subordinates who are most likely to identify with them, make frequent use of personal appeals, and set examples of appropriate role behavior—that is, lead by example.

Expertise itself is usually not enough to guarantee commitment of subordinates. Successful use of expert power requires that subordinates recognize the administrator's knowledge and perceive the exercise of that expertise to be useful. Thus, administrators must demonstrate their knowledge convincingly by maintaining credibility, keeping informed, acting decisively, recognizing subordinate concerns, and avoiding threats to the self-esteem of subordinates. In short, administrators must promote an image of expertise and then use their knowledge to demonstrate its utility.

Authority is exercised through legitimate power. Legitimate requests may be expressed as orders, commands, directives, or instructions. The outcome of the administrator's request may be committed compliance, simple compliance, resistance, or alienation depending on the nature and manner of the request. There is less likelihood of resistance and alienation if the administrator makes the request politely and clearly, explains the reasons for the request, is responsive to the concerns of subordinates, and routinely uses legitimate authority (Yukl, 1994, 2002).

The use of reward power is a common administrative tactic to achieve compliance with organizational rules or specific leader requests. The rewards may be either explicit or implicit, but it is important that they are contingent on compliance with administrative directives. Compliance is most likely when the request is feasible, the incentive is attractive, the administrator is a credible source of the reward, the request is proper and ethical, and the compliance to the request can be verified. There are some dangers in the use of rewards. Subordinates can perceive reward power as manipulative, a common cause of subordinate resistance and hostility. Moreover, the frequent use of reward power can define the administrative relationship in purely economic terms; thus, subordinate response becomes calculated on the basis of tangible benefits. When a reward is given to express an administrator's personal appreciation for a job well done, however, it can become a source of increased referent power. People who repeatedly provide incentives in an acceptable manner gradually become better liked by the recipients of the rewards (French and Raven, 1968).

Most effective administrators try to avoid the use of coercive power because it typically erodes the use of referent power and creates hostility, alienation, and aggression among subordinates. Absenteeism, sabotage, theft, job actions, and strikes are common responses to excessive coercion.

The use of coercion is usually considered when the problem is one of discipline and is most appropriate when used to deter behavior detrimental to the organization—for example, stealing, sabotage, violation of rules, fighting, and direct disobedience to legitimate directives (Yukl, 2002). To be most effective, subordinates need to be informed about the rules and penalties for violations. Coercion is never without the potential to alienate; thus discipline must be administered promptly, consistently, and fairly. The administrator must maintain credibility, stay calm, avoid appearing hostile, and use measured and appropriate punishments. Three guides should be helpful to administrators:

- Avoid the use of coercive power: coercion alienates.
- Use organizational power to develop personal power.
- Use personal power to motivate and create commitment.

Power need not be thought of as a constraining force on subordinates. **Empowerment** is the process by which administrators share power and help others use it in constructive ways to make decisions affecting themselves and their work (Schermerhorn, Hunt, and Osborn, 1994; Hardy and Leiba-O'Sullivan, 1998; Leach, Wall, and Jackson, 2003). More than ever before, administrators and reformers are trying to empower teachers (Conley and Bacharach, 1990; Gaziel, 2002; Pugh and Zhau, 2003; Rice and Schneider, 1994; Marks and Louis, 1997, 1999; Rinehart, Short, and Johnson, 1997; Rinehart, Short, Short, and Eckley, 1998). Empowerment gets translated into shared decision making (Hoy and Tarter, 2004a), delegation of authority, teamwork (Dee, Henkin, and Duemer, 2003; Lally and Scaife, 1995), and site-based management. Rather than viewing power as the domain of administrators, adherents of empowerment increasingly see it as something to be shared by everyone in more collegial organizations (Lugg and Boyd, 1993). When teachers are empowered, principals are less likely to boss and push them around (use coercive power) and more likely to serve as facilitators who guide teams of teachers using their knowledge and expertise (expert power). Principals will increasingly be less able to rely on their position (legitimate power) to direct subordinates; in fact, as teachers are empowered, expertise will become the most significant element in power relationships between teachers and principals. Finally, evidence is beginning to emerge that shows empowering teachers in curricular matters is related to improving student performance (Sweetland and Hoy, 2000a, 2001).

MINTZBERG'S PERSPECTIVE ON POWER

Henry Mintzberg (1983a) proposes another way to analyze power in and around organizations. In his view, power in organizations stems from control over a *resource,* a *technical skill*, or a *body of knowledge*. In all cases, however, to serve as a basis for power the resource, skill, or knowledge has to be

important to the functioning of the organization; it must be in short supply; and it must not be readily replaceable. In other words, the organization must need something that only a few people can supply. For example, the principal who has primary responsibility for determining tenure for teachers has resource power. The assistant principal who has the interpersonal skills to deal effectively with irate parents, students, and teachers has power, as does the teacher who alone in the school understands the elements of a new curriculum thrust.

A fourth general basis of power derives from *legal prerogatives*, which give some individuals the exclusive right to impose choices. School boards have the legal right to hire and fire administrators and teachers; they are vested with such power through state statute. School administrators in turn are often required by state law to evaluate the competence of nontenured teachers. Moreover, they are delegated the right to issue orders to employees, which are tempered by other legal prerogatives that grant power to teachers and their associations.

Finally, power often comes to those who have *access* to power holders. Many principals' secretaries have power because of their access to and influence with those who wield power. Similarly, friends of the board president or superintendent or principal often change the course of organizational decision making.

Mintzberg also proposes a set of four internal power systems that are the basic sources for controlling organizational life: the system of authority, the system of ideology (climate and culture), the system of expertise, and the system of politics.

The **system of authority** is the formal flow of power through legitimate channels that enable the organization to achieve its formal goals. This system includes two subsystems of control, personal and bureaucratic. *Personal control* is wielded by giving orders, setting decision premises, reviewing decisions, and allocating resources, all of which give administrators considerable power to orient the decisions and actions of their faculties. *Bureaucratic control,* on the other hand, rests with the imposition of impersonal standards that are established to guide the general behavior of teachers across a whole range of areas—for example, the time they are expected to be at school each day, cafeteria duty, and grading and homework requirements.

The **system of ideology** is the set of informal agreements among teachers about the school and its relationships to other groups that emerge as the organization develops its culture. Climate and culture are the terms we use in this text (see Chapters 5 and 6) to capture the essence of the system of ideology. The openness of the climate and the basic values of the school culture provide powerful sources of power and control.

The **system of expertise** is the interplay among experts or professionals to solve critical contingencies that the organization confronts. Faced with the complex tasks of teaching and learning, schools hire specialists (e.g., teachers, counselors, psychologists, and administrators) to achieve their basic

goals. The need for autonomy to make professional decisions often conflicts with the system of formal authority, perhaps an inevitable consequence of professionals working in bureaucratic structures (see Chapter 3). As teachers continue to become increasingly professional, the demand for greater autonomy and power seems likely, and the granting of such power will likely be at the expense of the formal authority system.

The **system of politics** is the network of organizational politics, which does not have the legitimacy of the other three systems of power. This system also lacks the consensus and order. There is no sense of unity or pulling together for a common good. Politics can be described as a set of games that power holders play. The political games can coexist with the legitimate systems, be antagonistic to the systems, or substitute for the legitimate systems of control.

School administrators need to understand these systems of influence and know how to tap into and use them. Clearly the system of authority is the beginning point for school administrators because their positions are vested with formal power, but the personal and bureaucratic control of the position is not usually sufficient to motivate teachers to expend extra effort or to be creative in their service to the school and students. Exclusive reliance on the system of authority risks resistance, alienation, and hostility from teachers. Overreliance on formal authority is a major danger for educational administrators.

Organizational ideology (culture) can produce a sense of mission among members. Principals are key actors in the development of the ideology and culture of the school. The goal is to create a belief among teachers and students that there is something special about their school, that it has a distinctive identity. We have already discussed some of the ways that principals can tap into the informal organization, develop loyalty and trust, and enlarge the scope of their authority. Informal authority, however, also is not enough. Ultimately, the principal must go beyond commanding personal loyalty and generate an organizational commitment in which teachers identify with and are proud of their school. An important consequence of a strong ideology is to redistribute power; that is, power becomes more evenly distributed among educators.

Although the systems of authority and ideology promote coordination and compliance, they are rarely sufficient. When work is complex, experts or professionals are required, and with them come demands for autonomy to make decisions on the basis of professional considerations and knowledge, not on the basis of authority or ideology. To be most successful, administrators need to share power with professionals (Chapter 11). As teaching becomes more fully professionalized as an occupation, teacher empowerment will likely become a reality rather than merely a slogan, and many more schools will move toward organizational structures that are professional and enabling structures (see Chapter 3).

Our discussion of Mintzberg's systems of power makes one thing clear for school administrators: They must be ready to share power. Those who

hoard power are likely to become victims of teacher and student dissatisfaction, alienation, and hostility. Moreover, the inadequacy of their systems of control is likely to open the way in schools for the play of informal power of a more clandestine nature—that is, political power, a topic to which we will return later in this chapter. We summarize this section with four imperatives for effective administrators:

- Extend your system of authority; formal authority is not sufficient for leadership.
- Tap into the system of ideology; organization culture and informal organization are other sources of authority.
- Tap into the system of expertise; empower teachers by availing youself of their knowledge.
- Know and understand the system of politics; limit it.

A COMPARISON AND SYNTHESIS OF POWER PERSPECTIVES

Our analysis of authority and power has covered a number of conceptual views (see Table 7.2). The perspectives can be compared in terms of the extent to which the power is legitimate or illegitimate and formal or informal.

TABLE 7.2

Comparison of Sources of Power and Authority

	Peabody (1962)	**Blau and Scott (1962)**	**Weber (1947)**	**French and Raven (1968)**	**Mintzberg (1983a)**
Legitimate Formal Power	Formal authority	Formal authority	Bureaucratic authority	Reward power and legitimate power	System of authority
Legitimate Informal Power	Functional authority	Informal authority	Charismatic authority and traditional authority	Referent power and expert power	System of ideology and system of expertise
Illegitimate Formal Power				Coercive power*	
Illegitimate Informal Power					System of politics*

*The power can be legitimate, but it is typically not.

		Source of Power	
		Formal	Informal
Legitimacy of Power	Legitimate	Formal Authority	Informal Authority
	Illegitimate	Coercive Power*	Political Power*

*The power can be legitimate, but is typically not.

FIGURE 7.2 *Synthesis of Power Relations*

By definition, the three formulations of authority consider only legitimate power. In contrast, the perspectives on power deal with both legitimate and illegitimate control as well as formal and informal power, but none of the frameworks is so comprehensive as to consider all four combinations of power; hence, we propose a synthesis. The French and Raven (1968) typology provides a classic analysis of interpersonal power, whereas Mintzberg (1983a) focuses his analysis on organizational power, and he develops four systems of influence to explore the power configurations in and around organizations. Only Mintzberg's formulation, however, considers power that is both illegitimate and informal—the system of internal politics. We propose a synthesis of power relations to include formal and informal authority (legitimate power), and coercive and political power (illegitimate). See Figure 7.2.

In analyzing power, a structural perspective calls attention to authority—the legitimate, formal power of the office or position (see Chapter 3). A cultural perspective underscores the legitimate, informal power of the organizational culture (see Chapter 5). An individual perspective emphasizes the legitimate, informal role of expertise and knowledge in generating power (see Chapter 4). But it is the political perspective that calls attention to the illegitimate, informal power that is inherent in organizations.

POWER, RATIONALITY, AND RATIONALIZATION

Power often blurs the difference between rationality and rationalization:

- *Rationality* is the application of evidence and reason to make decisions.
- *Rationalization* is an attempt to make a decision seem rational after it has already been made.

Rationalization masquerading as rationality can be a basic strategy in the exercise of power. Kant (1794) first noted that the possession of power spoils the free use of reason. Many of us have experienced how the view from the top (superintendent, dean, or principal) gets interpreted as the "truth." Power has a way of defining reality because people in power spin the truth to suit their own purposes (Sweetland and Hoy, 2000b). On the basis of an in-depth case study of politics and power, Bent Flyvbjerg (1998) advances a critical theory of power that is instructive to our analysis.

Power often defines reality because superiors specify what counts as knowledge. Those in power interpret and sometimes reinterpret evidence. Nietzsche (1968) said it well: "Interpretation is itself a means of becoming master of something and subduing and becoming masters involves a fresh interpretation" (p. 342). When the principal or superintendent explains, teachers are expected to listen and accept. Power is part of rationality because rationality is penetrated by power. Put simply, rationalization and using power are often more forceful tactics than rational argument. Not surprisingly, when powerful participants need support, it is rationalization and not rationality that prevails.

In the world of practice, however, it is difficult to distinguish between rationality and rationalization because rationalization is cloaked in rationality. Although rationality is more legitimate and acceptable, backstage, hidden from public scrutiny, power and rationalization dominate. A rationalized front is not necessarily dishonest because many individuals and organizations believe their own rationalizations. Self-delusion may be part of the will to power (Nietzsche, 1968). Not surprisingly, many administrators are true believers of their own rationalizations; they convince themselves of both the merit and the rationality of their rationalizations.

Machiavelli warns that "we must distinguish between . . . those who to achieve their purpose can force the issue and those who must use persuasion. In the second case, they always come to grief." (1984, pp. 51–52). These are strong words, but power does enable leaders to define the situation. The greater the power, the less the need to discover the facts because strong leaders can use their power successfully to create the reality they prefer; in fact, a leader's unwillingness to present rational argument or documentation may simply be an indicator of his or her power to act.

Stable power relations are more common in politics and administration than antagonistic confrontations in large part because of the pain and extra effort antagonism demands. Confrontations are actively avoided most of the time, and when they do occur, they are quickly transformed into stable power relations (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Conflict and antagonism get attention because they are not common and they cause organizational excitement, which is fodder for rumor and innuendo. Most administrators, however, prefer harmony and stability to antagonism and instability, and they work to avoid conflict and gain a steady equilibrium of relative harmony.

The use of power is strong and active in all contemporary organizations; power and politics are inevitable. In fact, open, antagonistic confrontation

involves little contest. Knowledge and rationality carry little weight; power trumps knowledge. The proverb that "truth is the first casualty of war" is confirmed in organizations. For example, Flyvbjerg (1998) found that the "use of naked power tends to be more effective than any appeal to objectivity, facts, knowledge, or rationality, even though feigned versions of the latter, that is, rationalization, may be used to legitimate naked power" (p. 232).

Where rational considerations do play a role, they do so in the context of stable power relations. Although stability does not guarantee rationality, rationality is more common in stable power relations because administrators are likely to be more open to rational argument than they are in antagonistic or confrontational ones. School administrators are more likely to listen to reason when relationships with their teachers and the union are not hostile; that is, the power of rationality is most effective and emerges most frequently in the absence of confrontation.

In brief, we cannot escape the fact that much organizational behavior is irrational and that power often undermines rationality. Although Bacon's (1597) famous dictum that "knowledge is power" is true, it is also the case that "power is knowledge." Flyvbjerg's perspective on power and rationality raises a number of intriguing questions, for example:

- Is rationality such a weak form of power that organizations built on rationality will fail?
- Does an emphasis on rationality leave us ignorant about how politics and power work in schools?
- Does a democratic emphasis make school participants more vulnerable to manipulation by those in power?
- Are democracy and rationality insufficient ways to solve problems in schools?

Let us return to Machiavelli's (1984, p. 91) warning concerning the dangers and reality of power: "A man who neglects what is actually done for what should be done learns the way to self-destruction." We need to see and understand organizational life as it is so that we have some chance to move it toward what we believe it should be; hence, power and politics cannot be neglected.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Describe the people in your school who have power. What is the source of their power? Who are the individuals who have informal power? Why do they have such power? How do the power holders relate to each other? How much confrontation and hostility exist in your school? Evaluate the extent to which rationality and rationalization prevail in your school. Which is dominant and why? Are teachers in your school cynical or optimistic about the distribution of power? Explain.

ORGANIZATIONAL POWER AND POLITICS[1]

Organizational politics is "individual or group behavior that is informal, ostensibly parochial, typically divisive, and above all, in the technical sense, illegitimate—sanctioned neither by formal authority, accepted ideology, nor certified expertise" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 172). Such politics is typically illegitimate because personal agendas are substituted for organizational ones (Tarter and Hoy, 2004). Although there are powerful individuals, the political arenas of organizations are composed of **coalitions** of individuals—groups who bargain among themselves to determine the distribution of power (Cyert and March, 1963). Despite all attempts to integrate individual needs in the service of the organization's goals, individuals have their own needs to fulfill. Inevitably, they get caught up in attempts to satisfy their more parochial needs and, in the process, they form coalitions with others who have similar aspirations.

These major interest groups are varied and diverse; for example, they represent departmental, professional, gender, and ethnic groups as well as internal and external interests. That is, there are **internal coalitions**—organizational participants who band together in common cause—as well as **external coalitions**—outside influence groups, who organize to influence the organization. There are enduring differences in values, beliefs, knowledge, and perceptions among coalitions. These differences change slowly and are sources of much tension and conflict. For example, many of the most important organizational decisions concern allocating scarce resources. Thus, a critical issue becomes how each coalition articulates its preferences and mobilizes its power to obtain resources (Bolman and Deal, 2008).

Significant outside influencers of schools include a myriad of external coalitions, such as teacher associations, unions, parent-teacher associations, taxpayer groups, state departments of education, consortia of colleges and universities, professional organizations, the media, and other organized special interest groups. Most of these outside-influence groups are trying to bring their own interests and external power to bear on the activities of the school. Their problem, of course, is figuring out how to achieve the outcomes they desire when they are functioning outside the official decision-making structure of the school.

Mintzberg (1983a) notes that the impact of organized groups varies dramatically and identifies three basic kinds of external coalitions. Sometimes an external coalition is active and powerful—a **dominated external coalition**. In such cases in schools, the external coalition controls not only internal ones but also the board of education and the superintendent. Indeed, the board and superintendent are simply tools of the external coalition. On occasion a community issue such as "back to basics" can become so popular that a concerted effort by an organized external coalition comes to dominate not only curriculum change but, if left unchallenged, the basic policy and activities of the school. At other times external coalitions are in sharp

competition with each other—**divided external coalitions**. Here there is a rough balance of influence among the conflicting groups. For example, in school communities the balance can be between two external coalitions, one conservative and the other progressive. The curriculum and instructional programs are battlegrounds for control as the coalitions compete. Finally, **passive external coalitions** exist when the number of outside groups of external influencers increases to the point where the power of each is diffuse and limited. Most administrators prefer an external environment that is relatively stable, calm, dispersed, and passive.

Just as the organization can be influenced by external coalitions, it is also affected by internal ones. External coalitions shape the kind of internal coalitions that emerge. A dominated external coalition tends to weaken internal coalitions; a divided external coalition tends to politicize them; and a passive external coalition gives internal coalitions a chance to flourish. But regardless of the kind of external coalition, it is through the efforts of the internal coalitions that the organization functions.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Describe the power coalitions in your school. What groups of teachers have power? Why do these groups have power? Does their power come from the organization, the union, the informal organization, the culture, or expertise? How do they exercise the power? Which is dominant and why? To what extent do external coalitions influence internal ones? Who are the leaders of the internal coalitions in your school? Do the coalitions in the school make organizational life better or worse? Explain.

THE POWER GAME

Power matters; it is an important aspect of what an organization does, and it affects what its members do. Hirschman (1970), in his classic book, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*, observes that participants in any system have three basic options:

- Leave: find another place—exit.
- Stay and play: try to change the system—voice.
- Stay and contribute as expected: be a loyal member—loyalty.

Those members who leave the organization cease to be influencers; those who are loyal choose not to participate as active influencers; but those who choose to stay and speak out become players in the power game. Access to power itself, however, is not sufficient. Power players must also have the *will*

to play, which means they must be willing to expend the energy to be successful, as well as the *skill* to act strategically and tactically when necessary. Power is an elusive blend of negotiating advantages and then willingly and skillfully exploiting those bargaining advantages (Allison, 1971).

Politics is a fact of organization life. Mintzberg (1983a, 1983b) argues that internal politics is typically clandestine and illegitimate because it is designed to benefit the individual or group, usually at the expense of the organization; therefore, the most common consequences of politics are divisiveness and conflict. Conflict is not necessarily bad; in fact, it sometimes calls attention to problems in the legitimate systems of control. Remember, however, that politics is not typically sanctioned by formal authority, ideology, or certified expertise; in fact, it arises because of default or weakness in the other systems of influence, or by design to resist or exploit others in control. Notwithstanding its lack of legitimacy, politics, like all forms of power, can solve important organizational problems (Mintzberg, 1983a):

- Politics ensures that the strongest members of the organization are brought into positions of leadership.
- Politics ensures that all sides of an issue are debated; the systems of authority, ideology, and sometimes even expertise tend to promote only one side.
- Politics are often needed to promote change blocked by the formal organization.
- Politics can ease the execution of decisions; administrators play political games to implement their decisions.

There is no guarantee that those who gain power will use it rationally or justly, but power and politics are not always demeaning and destructive. Politics can be a vehicle for achieving noble purposes (Bolman and Deal, 2008).

Where the formal system is usually a highly organized structure, George Strauss (1964) observes that the political system is a mass of competing power groups, each seeking to influence organizational policy for its own interests, or at least, in terms of its own distorted image of the organization's interest. Successful politics requires organizational members to bargain, negotiate, jockey for position, and engage in a myriad of political games, strategies, and tactics to influence the goals and decisions of their organization. As we have already noted, these politics can coexist with other more legitimate forms of power, array themselves in opposition to the legitimate power, or become substitutes for weak legitimate systems of control. With this view in mind, we turn to three important topics—political tactics, political games, and conflict management.

Political Tactics

All members of an organization can engage in organizational politics. In fact, it seems likely that, regardless of level or position, everyone is a player in the

game of politics. Thus, we turn to a set of political tactics that employees at all levels commonly use (Vecchio, 1988).

Ingratiating is a tactic used to gain the goodwill of another through doing favors, being attentive, and giving favors. It is based on what sociologists call the "norm of reciprocity," a pervasive norm in American society. Help a colleague or superior and the person feels obliged to return the favor or repay the positive action. Teachers often attempt to gain the goodwill and obligation of their colleagues and principals by going beyond their duty in helping others. Daniel Griffiths and his colleagues (1965), in a study of teacher mobility in New York City, described how teachers used this tactic to become administrators. A sizable number of teachers volunteered for jobs that most teachers perceived as irritants: teacher in charge of the lunchroom, administrator of the annual field day, school coordinator for student teachers, or trainer of the school track team. None of these jobs was paid, but they earned the teachers the goodwill and attention of superiors and frequently gained them more important positions such as assistant principal or acting chair.

Networking is the process of forming relationships with influential people. Such people may or may not be in important positions, but they often have access to useful information. Teachers who have close, friendly relations with the teachers' union representative or principal usually have access to important information. Likewise, teachers who have contacts with the spouse of the board president or who have an indirect link to the superintendent or who know the union head are also likely to gain valuable inside information.

Information management is a tactic individuals use to control others or build their own status. Although having critical information is useful in itself, the techniques used to spread the information can enhance one's position in both the formal and informal organizations. Releasing information when it has full impact can promote self-interest and defeat the ambitions of others. The key to information management is first to get crucial information (networking) and then to use it skillfully, making things known to others in ways that increase their dependence and build your reputation as one who "really knows" what is happening. Teachers who have networks that garner them important information are typically major actors in the political life of the school, and their careful nurturing and managing of that knowledge usually enhances their roles as important players in the political games of the school.

Impression management is a simple tactic that almost everyone uses from time to time to create a favorable image. The tactic includes dressing and behaving appropriately, underscoring one's accomplishments, claiming credit whenever possible, and creating the impression of being important, if not indispensable. The key is to build an image such that others see you as knowledgeable, articulate, sensible, sensitive, and socially adept.

Coalition building is the process of individuals banding together to achieve common goals. Teachers often join forces to oppose a proposed policy, to resist a proposed change, or to initiate change. A change in the

curriculum is often successful depending on which teacher coalitions support or oppose it. Individuals alone are much less effective at influencing than groups; and relatively powerless groups become stronger if they can act together in coalition. Those teachers who are effective at organizing internal coalitions are often the political power players in a school.

Scapegoating is blaming and attacking others when things go wrong or badly. Principals often try to blame teachers when their statewide proficiency test scores are not high, and teachers seek to find someone to blame too: the administration, the school board, the parents, or another teacher. Blaming others for shortcomings is common in all organizations, and schools are no exception. Finding a scapegoat can allow politically astute individuals an opportunity to shift attention and "get off the hook" by finding someone else to take the fall.

Increasing indispensability is a tactic by which individuals or units make themselves necessary to the organization. Crafty administrators often develop specialized skills or units that make them important and essential in the operation of the organization. For example, they specialize in critical areas that require specialized knowledge such as computers and finance. Thus, their goal is to make the organization dependent upon their knowledge and skill. Further, they are not especially forthcoming in explaining or preparing others to do what they do. Such individuals are increasingly called upon to solve problems, and their successful solutions further enhance their status and value.

Flattering is another effective tactic to gain power and influence (Cialdini, 2005; Pfeffer, 2010). Flattery works for a number of reasons. First, people like to feel good about themselves and what they do. And flattery plays to that need; it gives individuals a sense of accomplishment. Second, flattery works because it is built upon the norm of reciprocity: When someone does you a good turn, you feel obligated to return the favor. If you compliment someone, that person feels a need to reciprocate, perhaps with favor. Finally, flattery is effective because it engages the self-enhancement motive that exists in virtually everyone. Pfeffer (2010) examines research on the use of flattery and, surprisingly, concludes that the exercise of flattery is difficult to overdo; in fact, there is no research evidence that too much flattery is ineffective. Sucking up works! Apparently, individuals feel good about flattery even if they think someone is overdoing it.

Getting attention of superiors (GASing) is another successful tactic to gain influence, which is particularly well suited for beginners in an organization. There is a lot of competition to get ahead, and getting noticed is important. Griffiths and his colleagues (1965) were first to document the importance of GASing as a tactic for promotions in schools. Standing out and getting attention is still recognized as an important tactic in most organizations (Pfeffer, 2010). Strategies for standing out include volunteering for unpopular tasks, being brash, speaking up, breaking insignificant rules, and doing significantly more than requested. For example, as an undergraduate

TABLE 7.3

Summary of Political Tactics

Political Tactic	Purpose
Ingratiating	Gain favors by doing favors
Networking	Gain influence by courting influentials
Managing information	Manipulate information to your advantage
Managing impressions	Create a positive image by appearance
Coalition building	Band together with others to achieve goals
Scapegoating	Shift the blame to others for bad outcomes
Increasing indispensability	Make yourself indispensable to the organization
Flattering	Gain influence by making others feel good
Getting attention of superiors	Stand out and get ahead

at Harvard, Henry Kissinger wrote a 383-page honors thesis. The length and quality of the paper got everyone's attention; in fact, his action resulted in an informal rule referred to as the "Kissinger rule": All undergraduate theses are now limited to 150 pages (Isaacson, 2005). Of course, after you get attention, you need to produce. The common tactics are summarized in Table 7.3.

Some tactics are natural and legitimate; others are devious and illegitimate. When the tactics are based on dishonesty, deceit, and misinformation, they are hard to justify on moral grounds. Robert Vecchio (1988) argues that on the grounds of self-defense, one should be familiar with such devious political tactics as scapegoating, nurturing conflict by spreading false rumors, excluding rivals from important meetings, and making false promises. Although political tactics are a fact of organizational life, not all are viewed as legitimate (Cox, 1982). Moreover, there are a number of common blunders that are costly political mistakes.

- Violating the chain of command.
- Losing your temper in public.
- Saying no too often to superiors.
- Challenging cherished beliefs. (Vecchio, 1988)

Persuading and Influencing: Some Basic Principles

Persuading and influencing are important, if not essential, in the political activities of securing consensus, compromising, and winning concessions. Robert Cialdini (2001) wrote an intriguing article on "Harnessing the Power of Persuasion," in which he highlighted six principles of persuasion, all gleaned from social science research. Hoy and Smith (2007) refined, added, and applied the principles to educational organizations and administrators. Let's review a few of the more useful principles.

Attractiveness: *People like, are attracted to, and follow others that they believe are kindred spirits.* The implications for educational administrators are clear; establish bonds with students, teachers, and others by discovering genuine common interests and establishing good will and trust. Praise, admiration, commendation, and honor are keys in such relationships. Engage in acts of kindness, respect both colleagues and subordinates, treat everyone with dignity, celebrate achievements, and be supportive of creative and extraordinary performance. Such actions build attraction, which promotes influence.

Reciprocity: *People feel obligated to return a good deed; individuals help those who help them.* School leaders can motivate desired behaviors from students, teachers, and parents by modeling the behavior first—whether the behavior is trust (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999), civility (Selznick, 1992), or self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), to mention only a few. Help others solve a problem, and you can depend on their help later.

Public Commitment: *People are motivated to act on the basis of their public commitments.* Most individuals who make a public commitment stick to their promise; in fact, once a commitment is spoken aloud or written down, it becomes active and is much more unlikely to be reversed (Cioffi & Garner, 1996). Commitments focus attention, mobilize effort, and enhance persistence. Administrators can intensify teacher motivation if commitments are voluntary, public, explicit, and in writing.

Colleagueship: *People listen to and follow the lead of respected colleagues*. Many individuals rely on cues about how to feel, act, and think on a variety of issues. Views are seen as correct if they coincide with others that one respects. Cialdini (2001) calls this tendency to follow the lead of others the principle of "social proof." The practical implication is clear: school administrators should identify respected faculty members, solicit their advice, and win their support. In brief, tap into the informal colleague network and use horizontal power to initiate action.

Optimism: *Optimism enhances success.* Optimism is a positive view of life in which people focus on constructive aspects of events and experience; they think possibilities and positives. Seligman (1998) makes the strong case that optimism matters as much as talent or motivation in achieving success. Optimism views individuals as capable, willing, and able. Optimistic administrators look for opportunities in problems and focus on possibilities, not obstacles. Problems are filled with possibilities: Just find them.

Fairness: *People believe they are entitled to fair treatment*. Influence is inextricably related to fairness. Teachers expect to be treated fairly with respect to both the distribution of resources as well as the procedures of distribution (see Chapter 4). A perception of injustice or unfairness inhibits influence and power; unjust action trumps

influence. Administrators should be guided by the golden rule of fairness: Treat others as you would be liked to be treated. Invest in fairness and garner influence.

Expertise: *People defer to those with demonstrated expertise.* It is much easier to persuade and influence others if your expertise is active. Simply being principal buys you a certain amount of influence, but the key to enhanced power is proven expertise. Formal and informal meetings are great places to demonstrate your knowledge and problem-solving capabilities. Do not assume your expertise is obvious; exhibit it.

In brief, school administrators can enhance their power and persuasion by skillfully applying these seven principles of winning friends and influencing people. The principles are summarized in Table 7.4.

TABLE 7.4

Seven Principles of Influence That Work

Principle	School Application
Attractiveness People are attracted to and follow others who are kindred spirits.	Establish bonds with others by acts of kindness, praise, and celebration.
Reciprocity People feel obligated to return a good deed.	Help others solve a problem and you can rely on their help later.
Public Commitment People are motivated to act on the basis of their public commitments.	Make teacher commitments public, voluntary, explicit, and in writing.
Colleagueship People listen to and follow the lead of respected colleagues.	Use horizontal power to influence teachers; seek support from respected teacher leaders to lower resistance to change.
Optimism Optimism enhances success.	Search for opportunities in problems. Focus on positives and possibilities, not negatives and obstacles.
Fairness People believe they are entitled to fairness.	Invest in fairness and garner influence. Treat others as you would like to be treated.
Expertise People defer to those with proven expertise.	Don't assume your expertise is obvious. Demonstrate it.

Political Games[1]

One way to describe organizational politics more fully is to conceive of it as a set of political games that organizational participants play. The games are complex, with intricate and subtle tactics played according to the rules. Some rules are explicit; others implicit. Some rules are quite clear; others fuzzy. Some are very stable; others are ever-changing. But the collection of rules, in effect, defines the game. First, rules establish position, the paths by which people gain access to positions, the power of each position, and the action channels. Second, rules constrict the range of decisions and actions that are acceptable. Third, rules can sanction such moves as bargaining, coalitions, persuasion, deceit, bluff, and threat while making other moves illegal, immoral, or inappropriate (Allison, 1971).

Mintzberg (1983a) identifies five general kinds of games that organizational members play: games to resist authority, games to counter that resistance, games to build power bases, games to defeat opponents, and games to change the organization. Relying heavily on Mintzberg's work, we will discuss each.

Insurgency games usually are played to resist formal authority. They range from resistance to sabotage to mutiny. When an order is issued, there is typically some discretion in executing it. Because there is no guarantee that the order will be carried out to the letter, the individual who receives the order can manipulate the action to serve his or her own ends. For decisions supported, one can go beyond the spirit, if not the letter. For those not supported, Graham Allison (1971, p. 173) notes that one can "maneuver, to delay implementation, to limit implementation to the letter but not the spirit, and even to have the decision disobeyed."

Participants at the bottom of the structure have little power over the organization; hence, they sometimes attempt control by circumventing, sabotaging, and manipulating the formal structure (Mechanic, 1962). Teacher professionals can and do resist formal actions of the administration. A rule requiring teachers to stay 15 minutes after school each day to help students with their work can easily be undermined by all teachers staying exactly 15 minutes—that is, by meeting the letter but not the spirit of the rule. If the climate of the school (see Chapter 6) is not healthy, then most likely the insurgency is symptomatic of more endemic problems rather than the particular issue itself. Administrators, however, often use more authority to fight resistance to authority. For example, when rules are ignored or undermined, a typical administrative response is to develop further rules and buttress their enforcement with close supervision and punishment for those who do not comply. The attempted solution usually fails because it does not deal with the cause of the problem, only the symptom. Thus, if administrators are to successfully counter insurgency, they must expend a great deal of their own political skill together with the power and authority of their position "to persuade, cajole, and bargain with operators to get what they want" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 193). They end up bargaining and making informal deals with key actors in the system.

Power-building games are used by participants to build a power base. Superiors, peers, or subordinates can be used in the process. The *sponsorship game* is a simple one in which a subordinate attaches himself or herself to a superior and then professes absolute loyalty in return for a piece of the action. For example, the young teacher who would be principal sometimes tries to enlist the sponsorship of an influential vice principal or principal. Rosabeth M. Kanter (1977) notes that such sponsors provide three important services for their protégés. They fight for them and stand up for them in meetings; they enable them to get information and bypass formal channels; and they provide a signal to others, a kind of reflective power. Of course, there are costs in the sponsorship game. When the sponsor falls, the protégé is also in danger, and there is great danger if the young teacher goes against the sponsor or does not show proper deference. Sponsorship is a vulnerable means of power, yet it is a frequent power game many play at virtually all levels in the organization. Principals, assistant principals, teachers, and secretaries all can play if they can find a sponsor and are willing to provide a service in return for a share of the power.

The power-base game is also played among colleagues; here it becomes an *alliance-building game*. Mintzberg (1983a) describes the process in the following way: Either an individual develops a concern and seeks supporters, or a group of individuals concerned about an issue seek out an informal leader who can effectively represent their position and around whom they can coalesce. Thus the nucleus of an interest group is formed. Some interest groups disappear as the issue is resolved, but others persist because the players have a number of common issues; they become factions. Interest groups and factions often lack the power to win an issue on their own. Consequently, they enlist the aid of other interest groups or factions to enlarge their power base. Thus alliances are formed. Groups are enticed, threatened, and cajoled to join the alliance. Kanter (1977, p. 185) notes, "Peer alliances often worked through direct exchange of favors. On lower levels information was traded; on higher levels bargaining and trade often took place around good performers and job openings." The alliance continues to grow until no more players are willing to join, or until it dominates or runs into a rival alliance. Over time, issues are won and lost and there is a gradual shifting of membership, but there is a basic stability in the membership of an alliance.

The *empire-building game* is the attempt of an individual, usually in middle management, to enhance his or her power base by collecting subordinates and groups. Empire building is fought over territory. In most school systems, empire building takes place as a budgeting game. Principals want a disproportionate share of the total budget. There is rivalry and feuding among principals as they compete for scarce resources; they want more teachers, more support staff, more computers, more space, more of everything than their competitors have. The goal of the game is simple: Get the largest possible allocation for your school. The strategies are fairly clear: always request more than you need because the request will be cut; highlight

all rational arguments that support a large budget and suppress those that do not; and always spend the entire budget for the year, even if some is wasted. In fact, some administrators like to go a "little in the red" to demonstrate that their allocations were inadequate, a risky strategy that may cause scrutiny of expenditures.

Expertise is another base upon which to build power. The *expertise game* is usually played by professionals who really have developed skills and expertise needed by the organization. They play the power game aggressively by exploiting their knowledge to the limit. They emphasize the uniqueness and importance of their talents as well as the inability of the organization to replace them. At the same time, they strive to keep their skills and talents unique by discouraging any attempts to rationalize them. Occasionally a master teacher will develop a reputation in a district as a truly outstanding teacher. Such a teacher has an edge in developing a power base not only on the basis of expertise, but also in terms of playing the alliance and sponsorship games. Moreover, principals who demonstrate rare administrative and leadership skills can use that power as a base to engage in alliance and empire building as well as in sponsorship. Indeed, principals who are successful in building a strong power base become formidable candidates for the superintendency.

The last of the power-building games is *lording,* in which those who have legitimate power "lord it over" those who are their subordinates, thus exploiting them in illegitimate ways. Individuals with limited power are tempted to play the lording game. Kanter (1977, p. 189) asserts, "When a person's exercise of power is thwarted or blocked, when people are rendered powerless in the larger arena, they tend to concentrate their power needs on those over whom they have even a modicum of authority." Teachers who are frustrated by the full weight of strong bureaucratic control and an authoritarian principal may displace control downward to students, demonstrating that they too can flex their power as they boss their students around. In like fashion, the principal who is ruled with an iron fist by the superintendent may be tempted to lord it over the teachers. Although such behavior may give the players a sense of power over someone, it is no way to build a substantial power base.

Rival games are those to defeat competitors. The *line and staff game* is a classic confrontation between middle-line managers with formal authority and staff advisors with specialized expertise. In schools it often is a conflict between the principal of a school and a districtwide curriculum coordinator. The curriculum coordinator reports directly to the superintendent and so does the principal. In a sense the players are peers. The object of the game is to control behavior in the school. The curriculum coordinator is the expert, but the principal is the formal authority. The game becomes one of the formal authority of the line against the informal authority of expertise. The battles arise over issues of change. Staff is concerned with change and improvement. The curriculum coordinator wants changes in the curriculum. But change

often produces conflict and turmoil. Principals as line administrators are responsible for smoothly running organizations; principals have a vested interest in relative stability. The battle lines are drawn. The superintendent will likely get involved, but there is usually no simple solution as each party in the game develops its respective case and mobilizes political allies.

The *rival-camps game* occurs when there are two and only two major alliances facing each other. These are generally vicious games in which all the stops are pulled, and in which there are winners and losers. The game can be between two personalities, between two units, or between forces for stability and change. Proposed changes, for example, can split the organization into two factions—the Old Guard and the New Guard. Normally, the battle is resolved with one group winning and the organization moving ahead with its work. But occasionally no group can win decisively. Schools often have to balance the traditional goals of teaching basic skills with the progressive goals of social and emotional development. So while the balance sometimes shifts one way or the other, the battles continue.

Change games are designed to alter the organization or its practices. The *strategic-candidates game* can be played by anyone in the organization. All it takes is an individual or group to seek a strategic change by using the legitimate system of authority to promote a proposal or project—its "strategic candidate." Those who are successful in initiating an important change gain a large amount of power in the organization. Because many strategic decisions are made in ways that are fundamentally unstructured, they invite political gamesmanship as different alliances and factions champion their cause—that is, their candidates for change (Mintzberg, Raisinghani, and Theoret, 1976). The strategic-candidates game combines the elements of most of the other games. Mintzberg (1983a) describes the process as follows:

> Strategic candidates are often promoted in order to build empires, and they often require alliances; rivalries frequently erupt between line and staff or between rival camps during the game; expertise is exploited in this game and authority is lorded over those without it; insurgencies sometimes occur as byproducts [sic] and are countered; capital budgets often become the vehicles by which strategic candidates are promoted; and sponsorship is often a key to success in this game. (p. 206)

The *whistle-blowing game* has become increasingly more common in all organizations. It is designed to use inside information on particular behavior that an individual believes violates an important norm or perhaps the law. The player blows the whistle by informing an external authority of the foul play. Because the informer is circumventing the legitimate channels of control and is subject to reprisal, the player typically attempts to keep the contact a secret. For example, the story may be published in the newspaper and attributed to an unidentified source. Whistle-blowing is often a dramatic affair that does cause change in the organization, but it is a high-risk game. Whistle-blowers are typically not admired.

Perhaps the most intense of all the games is the *Young Turks game*. The stakes are high; the goal is not simple change or change to counter authority, but rather "to effect a change so fundamental that it throws the legitimate power into question" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 210). The Young Turks challenge the basic thrust of the organization by seeking to overturn its mission, displace a major segment of its expertise, replace its basic ideology, or overthrow its leadership. This is major rebellion and the consequences are severe. Curriculum reform is one area in schools where the Young Turks game is played. Alliances develop and the showdown comes in an intense struggle in which teachers, staff, and administrators find themselves in one of two rival camps, either "for" or "against" the change. If the existing legitimate power yields to the Young Turks, the Old Guard will never have the same authority; indeed, the organization will never be the same because it is quite likely that the Young Turks will take over leadership. If the Young Turks lose, on the other hand, they are permanently weakened. They frequently leave the organization, and sometimes a schism is created within the organization. This is often an all-or-nothing game—win it all or lose it all.

There is virtually no research literature that examines the relationships among political games, but there are a number of studies of noneducational organizations that probe into specific commonly played political games (Kanter, 1977; Zald and Berger, 1978). There is little doubt that much game playing occurs in school organizations; however, usually the system of politics coexists with the legitimate means of authority without dominating it. In Mintzberg's (1983a, p. 217) words, "Here the System of Politics seems to consist of a number of mild political games, some of which exploit the more legitimate systems of influence, and in the process actually strengthen them, others which weaken them, but only to a point, so that politics remains a secondary force." Mintzberg's system of games is concerned with contesting authority, building power bases, defeating rivals, and producing change; they are summarized in Table 7.5.

Conflict Management

Because power and organizational politics inevitably produce conflict, we conclude our analysis of power with a brief discussion of conflict and its management. We hasten to add that all conflict is neither bad nor destructive. Conflict can be a source of positive change. Some scholars go so far as to claim that conflict is necessary for authentic involvement, empowerment, and democracy (Tjosvold, 1997). Further, conflict can be used to balance power, to improve communication, and to develop a foundation to manage differences (Putnam, 1997). A useful distinction is the type of conflict: cognitive or affective (DeDreu, 1997; DiPaola and Hoy, 2001; Uline, Tschannen-Moran, and Perez, 2003). Cognitive conflict revolves around issues related to the task at hand, policies, and resources whereas affective conflict centers on social-emotional matters, values, and group identity. Research (DeDreu, 1997) has shown that cognitive

TABLE 7.5

Summary of Political Games Played by Teachers and Administrators

Games to Contest Authority	Games to Build a Power Base
Insurgency	*Sponsorship*
Counterinsurgency	*Alliance Building*
	Empire Building
	Budgeting
	Lording
Games to Defeat Rivals	**Games to Produce Change**
Line versus Staff	*Strategic Candidates*
Rival Camps	*Whistle-Blowing*
	Young Turks



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Describe and explain the political tactics and games that are played in your organization. What are the political tactics that you have successfully used in your school to gain an advantage or to protect yourself? What are the major political games that you have seen unfold in your school? Are you an observer or player? What games or tactics may you engage in to make a difference in your school? In the context of your school, discuss the extent to which politics has been good or bad and explain why. How does your principal view the politics in your school? Is he or she a victim of politics or a skillful player? Explain.

issues promote more problem solving and less contending behaviors than affective ones. Moreover, contending behaviors often involve affective issues and diminish problem solving. Clearly, affective conflict is fraught with potential negative consequences and is more difficult to manage than its cognitive counterpart. One key to effective conflict management, however, is to promote constructive conflict while avoiding and dampening the destructive variety. That is, conflict resolution can be used as a creative force for positive change rather than a necessary evil to be controlled. We turn to a useful model for managing conflict in a productive way.

Kenneth Thomas (1976) provides a useful typology for examining five **conflict-management styles**. He identifies two basic dimensions of behavior that can produce conflict: attempting to satisfy one's concerns (organizational demands in the case of administrators), and attempting to satisfy

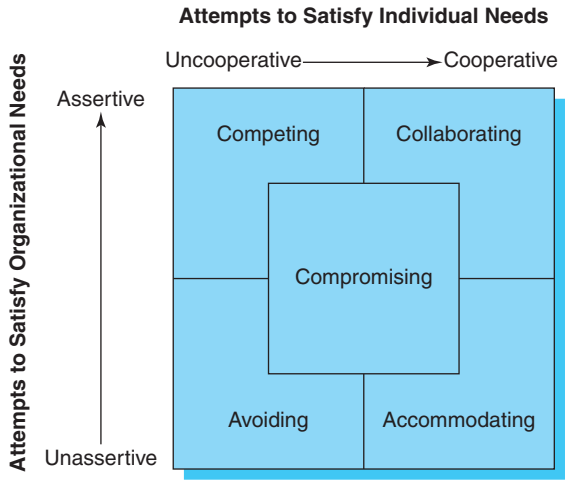


FIGURE 7.3 *Conflict-Management Styles*

others' concerns (individual needs of the members). Attempting to satisfy organizational demands can be viewed along an assertive-unassertive continuum; attempting to satisfy individual needs can be conceptualized from uncooperative to cooperative. Figure 7.3 shows the five conflict-management styles that result.

An *avoiding style* is both unassertive and uncooperative. Here the administrator ignores conflicts, hoping that they will remedy themselves. Problems are simply put on hold. When they are considered, drawn-out procedures are used to stifle the conflict, and secrecy is used as a tool to avoid confrontation. Often the administrator will turn to bureaucratic rules to resolve the conflict.

A *compromising style* is a balance between the needs of the organization and those of the individual. The focus of this style is on negotiating, looking for the middle ground, trade-offs, and searching for solutions that are satisfactory or acceptable to both parties.

The use of a *competitive style* creates win–lose situations. The administrator is assertive and uncooperative in attempts to resolve conflict. Invariably, competition produces rivalry, with the objective being to achieve the goals at the expense of others. Power is used to achieve submission—to win.

The *accommodating style* is unassertive and cooperative. The administrator gives in to the demands of the subordinates; it is a submissive and compliant approach.

The *collaborating style* is assertive and cooperative. This is a problem-solving approach. Problems and conflicts are seen as challenges. Differences are confronted and ideas and information are shared. There is a concerted effort to find integrative solutions, those in which everyone wins.

Thomas (1977) proposes that each of the five styles may be effective depending on the situation; in fact, using data collected from a set of chief executives, he matches the five conflict-management styles with the appropriate situations:

Competing

- When quick, decisive action is essential—e.g., emergencies.
- When critical issues require unpopular action—e.g., cost cutting.
- When issues are vital to the welfare of the organization.
- Against individuals who take unfair advantage of others.

Collaborating

- When both sets of concerns are so important that only an integrative solution is acceptable; compromise is unsatisfactory.
- When the goal is to learn.
- To integrate insights from individuals with different perspectives.
- When consensus and commitment are important.
- To break through ill feelings that have hindered relationships.

Compromising

- When the objectives are important, but not worth the potential disruption.
- When there is a "standoff."
- To gain temporary settlements to complex problems.
- To expedite action when time is important.
- When collaboration or competition fails.

Avoiding

- When the issue is trivial.
- When the costs outweigh the benefits of resolution.
- To let the situation "cool down."
- When getting more information is imperative.
- When others can solve the problem more effectively.
- When the problem is a symptom rather than a cause.

Accommodating

- When you find you have made a mistake.
- When the issues are more important to others.
- To build goodwill for more important matters.
- To minimize losses when defeat is inevitable.
- When harmony and stability are particularly important.
- To allow subordinates a chance to learn from their mistakes.

As with so many things, there is no one best way to manage conflict. Rather, successful conflict management is likely by carefully matching the style with the situation, a topic to which we will return in our discussion of leadership (see Chapter 13).



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

*Conflict at Washington High School**

Washington High School had been a peaceful, traditional school for many years. It was located in a bucolic, suburban Midwest community. Citizens were proud of their school and their students excelled academically. That was before a court-ordered busing initiative had brought a substantial population of African American students into the high school. Citizens of the town remember when things were stable and idyllic in this quiet farming community, but that was 15 years ago. Now the community is surrounded by the industrial sprawl of Metro City, and forced busing had changed the composition of the student body from virtually an all-white school to one that now had about 25 percent African American students. The change brought with it racial tensions.

Racial tensions peaked at Washington High School (WHS) about the time the United States was sending troops to the Gulf War. The scene was the annual talent show at WHS. Amid high feelings of patriotism and anxiety for the "boys going to the Gulf," seven African American students launched their talent show with a large paper replica of an American flag. They walked through the flag, ripped it apart, crumpled up the pieces, and threw them into the audience. Then the boys unfurled an African National Congress flag and paraded across the stage as they engaged in an original rap piece. The audience went wild. Some got up to leave in protest; others started to argue and yell; some booed while others cheered; it was pandemonium.

As the crowd got louder so did the rappers. Things quickly got out of control; indeed, the assistant principal in charge thought there was going to be a riot. Genuinely shaken by the sudden turn of events, an assistant principal had jumped to the stage and announced that the talent show was over. That action was met with more hostility and turmoil. Eventually, order returned and the administrators in charge decided to continue with the rest of the show because "no real harm had occurred."

To the principal of WHS, the talent show performance by the African American students was about a group of students who had broken the school rules and whose misbehavior was punishable by school policy, which clearly stated that no unauthorized acts were permitted. In fact, all students were given a copy of the rules for the talent show before their acts were approved for production. It was clear that the African American students had knowingly violated the rules to stage their protest. Although the principal and his three assistants acknowledged that there were some racial tensions between black and white students in the high school, their view was that this incident was clearly a case of misbehaving students violating school policy and they should be punished. School policy clearly stated that any unauthorized student performance at a school-sponsored event called for "an automatic three-day suspension." Thus, the administrative team (the principal and his three assistants) unanimously concurred that all seven students should be suspended for three days and it was done.

But the incident was far from over. Student protests and racial tensions quickly escalated. The suspensions had exacerbated the racial tensions. The black and white students segregated

*This incident is based on an actual case study (Larson, 1997). After you have analyzed what you would do as principal in this case, we urge you to read Professor Larson's sociopolitical analysis of the case and its aftermath.

(Continued)



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

themselves into groups and harassed each other. The white students began to wear American flags and the black students African National flags. Students increasingly exchanged racial comments. The captain of the basketball team, a white student, started to collect money to "send black kids back to Africa." Groups of students would walk down the halls and not give students of the opposite race enough room to pass.

The principal and his team knew they were sitting on a powder keg, but they were adamant in their belief that they had made the right decision concerning the student protest at the talent show. It was clear that the students had violated school policy and they had been punished accordingly; yet the repercussions would not go away. Teachers in the school were generally supportive of the administrative action, but a growing number of teachers were having misgivings about the events of the past few days. The issue had become a political one. Teachers and students were choosing sides. Now, leaders of the African American community wanted to discuss the talent show protest. A local African American activist pastor demanded a meeting with the principal to "redress the grievances" of the black students.

- What is the immediate problem? The long-term problem?
- Is this a racial problem? Political problem? Social problem?
- How should the principal handle this situation?
- Should the principal schedule a meeting with the African American pastor? If so, what is the agenda?
- Develop a plan of action for the next several weeks. For the next year.

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Stay calm in difficult situations: Don't "blow up" in public.
2. Demonstrate your authenticity and autonomy: Openness and independence heighten influence.
3. Expand your power by cultivating informal relationships: The informal organization is an important source of power.
4. Use coercive power only as a last resort: Coercive power alienates.
5. Become politically savvy to the reality of organizational politics: Politics is a fact of organizational life.
6. Understand that organizations are not always fair: Sometimes they are unfair.
7. Exhaust the informal organization before resorting to the formal: The informal is often more powerful than the formal.
8. In conflict—avoid, compete, collaborate, compromise, and accommodate: Resolution depends upon matching strategies with the situation.
9. Use rationality, not rationalization, to make decisions: Rationalization often masquerades as rationality.
10. Get noticed to gain power: Stand out in the crowd with good ideas.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Authority is legitimate power that emerges from the formal organization (formal authority), the informal organization (informal authority), expertise (functional authority), and extraordinary personal attributes (charismatic authority).
2. Coercive power tends to alienate subordinates and produces resistance and hostility.
3. Referent power and expert power typically create subordinate commitment.
4. Organizational politics is usually dysfunctional because decisions are made on the basis of individual needs rather than organizational ones.
5. Power invariably blurs the distinction between the rationality and rationalization, and rationality is the victim.
6. Organization politics is influenced by both external and internal coalitions.
7. Power and politics in organizations are inevitable, and organization members have three basic choices—they can stay and play (give voice), stay and contribute as expected (be loyal), or leave (exit).
8. Success in the game of organizational politics requires members to negotiate, jockey for position, and engage in a myriad of games, strategies, and tactics.
9. Organizational conflict can be constructive or destructive.
10. There is no one best way to manage conflict; success is dependent on matching the right resolution approach with the situation.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS

power, *p. 230*
authority, *p. 231*
charismatic authority, *p. 231*
traditional authority, *p. 231*
legal authority, *p. 232*
formal authority, *p. 232*
functional authority, *p. 232*
informal authority, *p. 232*
reward power, *p. 236*
coercive power, *p. 236*
legitimate power, *p. 236*
referent power, *p. 237*
expert power, *p. 237*
empowerment, *p. 240*
system of authority, *p. 241*
system of ideology, *p. 241*
system of expertise, *p. 241*
system of politics, *p. 242*
organizational politics, *p. 247*
coalitions, *p. 247*
external coalitions, *p. 247*
internal coalitions, *p. 247*
dominated external coalitions, *p. 247*
divided external coalition, *p. 248*
passive external coalitions, *p. 248*
ingratiating, *p. 250*
networking, *p. 250*
information management, *p. 250*
impression management, *p. 250*
coalition building, *p. 250*

scapegoating, *p. 251*
increasing indispensability, *p. 251*
flattering, *p. 251*
GASing, *p. 251*
principle of attractiveness, *p. 254*
principle of reciprocity, *p. 254*
principle of public commitment, *p. 254*
principle of colleagueship, *p. 254*
principle of optimism, *p. 254*
principle of fairness, *p. 254*
principle of expertise, *p. 254*
insurgency games, *p. 255*
power-building games, *p. 256*
rival games, *p. 257*
change games, *p. 258*
conflict-management styles, *p. 260*

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PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Do a written analysis of organizational politics in your school, and then summarize your school's power relations by *creating a visual representation of organizational power and politics within your school, district, and community.* Be sure to include the following:

- Describe the informal political groups of teachers in your school.
- What does each group stand for and who are the leaders? Who has the most power?
- Describe at least two or three political games played in your school.
- How do these political groups interact with the administration and one another?
- Identify the political forces outside the school that make a difference within the school.
- Use the concepts of internal and external coalitions as part of your visual presentation.

Leadership Standards 2, 5, and 6 (see inside front cover)

NOTE

1. This section draws heavily on the power analysis of Mintzberg (1983a).

CHAPTER 8



EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENTS AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF SCHOOLS

It becomes evident that the choices of expanding organizations about what units to add are not random but are, rather, partially determined by conditions in the institutional environment.

Brian Rowan
"Organizational Structure and the Institutional Environment: The Case of Public Schools"

PREVIEW

1. Schools are open systems and depend on exchanges with the environment to survive.
2. Multiple environmental influences come from different levels of society and affect what happens in schools: The federal government is becoming an increasingly significant environmental force.
3. Two general views of environment are a resource-dependence framework and an institutional perspective.
4. The resource-dependence perspective views the environment as a place to gain scarce resources (e.g., fiscal, personnel, information, knowledge, and products and services) to support the technical processes of schools.
5. In contrast to the resource-dependence perspective, institutional theory assumes that the environment encourages schools to conform to powerful sets of rules and requirements that are imposed by the legal, social, professional, and political institutions.
6. Institutional theory asserts that school structures and processes mirror the norms, values, and ideologies institutionalized in society. Institutional environments of schools press more for form than for substance.
7. Schools use both internal and external strategies to minimize the influence of the external environment on their operations.
8. Schools are facing stronger demands for technical performance and for institutional conformity.
9. The standards and accountability movement begun by federal initiatives (No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top) are strong external forces propelling school reform.
10. Accountability using high-stakes testing has a dysfunctional potential.

The open-systems concept (see Chapter 1) highlights the vulnerability and interdependence of organizations and their environments. The outputs of organizations contribute positively (e.g., products) and negatively (e.g., pollutants) to the external environment. External environments have an impact as well—they affect the inputs, internal structures and processes, and outputs of organizations. Hence, one is forced to look both inside and outside the organization to explain behavior within school organizations. Indeed, the larger social, cultural, economic, demographic, political, and technological trends all influence the internal operations of schools and districts.

Because schools are conceptualized as part of a larger universe or environment, an argument can be made that anything that happens in the larger environment may affect schools and vice versa. For example, the revolutionary developments in computing and information technology created whirls of activity and change in school districts as they tried to find ways to purchase and use the emerging technologies. Incidents of extreme violence in schools such as occurred at Columbine High School fixate the media, public, and political leaders, necessitating schools far away from the violent episodes to prepare contingency plans, hire security officers, and install weapon detectors. Even with these vivid examples and a long-standing emphasis on the importance of external environments, educators commonly underestimate the extent to which their organizations are affected by the larger environment (Scott and Meyer, 1991). In contrast, W. Richard Scott (2003) stresses that all organizations are open systems and depend on exchanges with other organizations in the environment as a condition of their survival.

Multiple environmental influences come from different levels of society and affect what happens in schools. Technological and informational developments, political structures and patterns of legal norms, social conditions and cultural values, economic and market factors, and population and demographic characteristics influence school structures and processes. Within a specific locality, many stakeholder groups—for example, individual parents, taxpayer associations, business groups, legislatures, and accrediting agencies—play key roles in affecting educational practice. Notwithstanding all these environmental influences, government actions such as No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top require schools to implement new curricular standards, testing policies, and in some cases, even options for outside tutors and school choice; in fact, of all the external forces on contemporary American schools, governmental forces are among the strongest.

With increasing accountability demands and withering financial resources, effective management of the external environment can mean the difference between a high- or low-performing district and school. Administrators need conceptual tools to help them understand and adapt to external conditions. This chapter provides such tools through the resource-dependence and institutional perspectives. These perspectives are useful frameworks with which to view the interaction between the external environment and internal school operations.

RESOURCE-DEPENDENCE PERSPECTIVE

A **resource-dependence perspective** views the environment as a place to gain scarce resources for operating the organization. Four general types of environmental resources are typically identified (Aldrich, 1972; Benson, 1975):

- Fiscal (e.g., taxes, grants, state and federal aid)
- Personnel (e.g., students, teachers, administrators, and board members)
- Information and knowledge (e.g., outcomes from research and evaluation projects)
- Products and services (e.g., instructional materials and test scoring services)

W. Norton Grubb (2009) argues that single-factor investments similar to those described above are simple inputs into schools. Simple resources like new teacher evaluation tools, more teachers to reduce class size, and supplemental student support expenditures are necessary but insufficient for meaningful school improvement. For example, reduced class size will not change student learning if instructional practices remain the same. Bonus pay for National Board Certification will not change teacher effectiveness if teachers are burned out or if the instructional environment standardizes teaching.

Grubb distinguishes among *simple* resources (like number of teachers), *compound* resources (like student-teacher ratios), *complex* resources (like teaching approaches), and *abstract* resources (like school culture and cohesion). This framework is a helpful way to think about resource-dependence because it suggests that simple inputs from the environment are insufficient for school effectiveness. The importance of expanding the concept of resources is illustrated by Grubb's research (2006), which demonstrated complex and abstract resources were stronger predictors of student achievement than simple inputs into schools. His findings corroborate other evidence that intangible elements such as collective efficacy, academic optimism, trust, and neighborhood affiliations—abstract resources—are powerful mechanisms behind school improvement (see Bryk et al., 2010; Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011). In brief, environments that are rich in abstract resources tend to support social and psychological needs of students (Coleman, 1987; Ryan and Deci, 2000), reinforce innovative and constructivist instruction (Windschitl, 2002), and fulfill teachers' professional needs (Ingersoll, 2004; Leithwood, 2007), all of which support higher levels of school performance.

Availability of Resources

Environmental resources are commonly conceptualized on a continuum of **scarcity** to **munificence**–that is, the extent or capacity of the environment to provide resources that support sustained growth of the organization.

The relative abundance of resources in the environment is the ultimate determinant of sufficient input for any organization. When resources are munificent, survival is relatively easy and the pursuit of wide-ranging task goals becomes possible (Castrogiovanni, 1991). Many wealthy districts benefit from an external environment where shared assumptions and expectations about education facilitate the formation of complex and abstract resources (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Grubb, 2006). For example, human and social resources in affluent communities often extend learning opportunities beyond schools and classrooms by exposing children to experiences that support their development and socialize them to value education (Louis et al., 2010).

Under conditions of limited capacity, or scarcity, competition for resources among subgroups can take the form of a zero-sum game with each subgroup caring more about its share of finite resources than for the overall welfare of the organization. For example, school districts in impoverished environments would be limited to a basic academic curriculum, and extracurricular programs would compete for what might be left over. In this case, resources to meet social and emotional needs would have to come from outside traditional funding sources.

Although less evident, an external environment with diminished capacity affects the formation of complex and abstract resources as well (Benveniste, Carnoy, and Rothstein, 2003; Rothstein, 2004). Louis and her colleagues (2010) found that as poverty and minority representation in schools increased, collective responsibility, openness to parents, and administrative support decreased. Wilson's (1987) study of urban poverty in Chicago also described how scarce human and social resources in communities (e.g., positive role models, mentoring relationships, extracurricular experiences, parent support, and the like) lessened the effect of educational opportunities. Schools in environments with scarce resources are often affected by competing policy goals (Honig and Hatch, 2004), diminished instructional capacity (Corcoran and Goertz, 1995; Newman, King, and Rigdon, 1997), and limited social capital in the community (Bryk et al., 2010; Coleman, 1987). Students in poorer districts and schools are at a clear disadvantage.

Dependence

Dependence is defined both by the extent of need for a resource and its availability (i.e., scarcity/munificence) in the environment. For educational settings, dependence is directly related to the school's need for resources controlled by other organizations and inversely related to the resource availability. That is, if schools cannot accomplish their goals without resources controlled by other organizations and are unable to secure them elsewhere, they become dependent on the provider of the resource. This description of dependence fits with Grubb's concept of simple resources. Districts

and schools depend on organizations like textbook companies, test publishers, and state governments for instructional materials, student assessments, and financial support.

Dependence is not limited to simple inputs. Schools also depend on the external environment to convert simple inputs into complex and abstract resources. For instance, communities and families that socialize students to value school and to engage in the learning process enable schools to use social controls that foster self-regulated and self-determined learning, which are requisite internal states for quality performance (Ryan and Deci, 2000). School performance also depends on colleges of education and other preparation programs (e.g., Teach for America) to develop a pipeline of teacher and leadership talent that can result in improved human and social capital.

Notice in the above examples that dependence is an attribute of the relationship between schools and entities in the environment, not an attribute of individual organizations in isolation (Aldrich and Mindlin, 1978; Sutcliffe, 1994). It follows that the greater the resource dependence, the more organizations need to communicate with each other (Van de Ven and Ferry, 1980). A natural consequence of increased dependence is that suppliers gain power over schools. With this power, suppliers control whether schools get the resources they need, whether schools can use the resources in the way they want (Froosman, 1999), and the nature of the resources supplied.

School finance and the control of educational reform from governmental agencies illustrate the dependence concept. As fiscal resources from local property taxes and federal grants decline, school districts have an increased need to secure additional appropriations from state legislatures. Because greater percentages of their budgets are supplied by the state, the dependence of school districts on state governments grows dramatically. In a parallel fashion, the power of the state over local school districts expands and state legislatures and offices of education are able to dictate educational reforms to school districts–for example, curriculum standards and testing programs.

Because all organizations are dependent on their environments, external control of organizational behavior is possible and constraint inevitable. Organizations cannot thrive and may not survive without adapting to the environment. In other words, organizational survival hinges on the ability to procure essential resources from the external environment (Casciaro and Piskorski, 2005). Hence, the resource-dependence model emphasizes that organizations adapt to their environments and that they can act to improve their chances of survival (Scott, 2003). But demands often conflict; thus, organizations cannot flourish by simply responding to every environmental demand. The challenge for school decision makers is to determine the extent to which their schools can adapt to various environmental demands and the implications of those responses for their organizations.

In sum, from a resource-dependence framework, schools view their external environments as providing a variety of resources for their operations in exchange for products and services valued in the external environment. Resources take the form of simple, compound, complex, and abstract, with complex and abstract resources having the largest effect on school performance, which are the hardest to develop and sustain. As schools become more dependent on their environments, internal control is reduced and external constraints are imposed.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Applying the Resource-Dependence Perspective to Schools

Consider the school district or school attendance area in which you are now living.

- Give an example of each of the following resources available to your school: simple, compound, complex, and abstract resources.
- How does the competition for resources affect your athletic program? Are there enough resources to fund both academic and athletic programs? How would a decrease in funds from the state affect both programs? What can administrators do to adapt effectively to such constraints?
- What abstract resources from the school culture are most likely to improve academic achievement? How?
- What abstract resources from the external environment are most important?

Administering Resource Environments

Environmental factors can threaten or constrain educator autonomy and drive changes in the internal structures and operations of school organizations. Therefore, educational administrators often try to minimize external effects and assume key roles in managing the external environments of their school (Pfeffer, 1976). Employing a variety of tactics, educators strive to gain control over resources to avoid becoming dependent, to make others dependent on them, and to absorb uncertainty. Attempts to reduce environmental uncertainty and dependence can be grouped into internal or interorganizational coping strategies. Both sets of strategies are designed to protect key processes from environmental influences by increasing certainty and gaining additional resources. Before elaborating a number of these tactics, however, we offer two cautions. The external environments for schools remain highly dynamic; and even when a modicum of control is achieved through well-designed and executed strategies, it can easily and quickly be lost (Gross and Etzioni, 1985).

Internal Coping Strategies

Environment may impose technical and resource constraints on organizations. To combat these restraints, organizations commonly use strategies involving buffering and adjusting internal operations.

Buffering Monty L. Lynn (2005, p. 38) defined **buffering** as "the regulation and/or insulation of organizational processes, functions, entities, or individuals from the effects of environmental uncertainty or scarcity." This is a strategy of isolation based on the assumption that efficiency can be maximized only when the technical core, for example, teaching in schools, is not disturbed by external uncertainties and dependencies. Stated simply, buffering creates a protective layer between the organization and its environment (Miner, Amburgey, and Stearns, 1990; Pennings, 1992).

Using structures and processes that insulate or surround internal activities and absorb environmental disturbances, educators buffer their schools from external demands by directing, limiting, or even suspending environmental interaction (Honig and Hatch, 2004). For instance, schools create specific departments, roles, and processes to deal with uncertainty and dependence. Purchasing, planning, human resources, curriculum, and facilities departments are established to buffer teachers from the school's environment. These departments transfer materials, services, information, money, and other resources between the environment and school. In addition, principals play key buffering roles in dealing with parental complaints about teachers (Fauske and Johnson, 2002). Moreover, principals and other administrators create formal rules and procedures that require outsiders, such as representatives of community groups and social service agencies, to make their initial contacts with them rather than with teachers (DiPaola and Tschannen-Moran, 2005). The goal of buffering is to make the technical core as near to a closed system as possible and thereby to enhance efficiency (Daft, 1989).

Planning and forecasting buffer organizations by anticipating environmental changes and taking actions to soften their adverse effects on individuals and on internal structures and processes. In uncertain and dependent situations, school districts frequently create separate planning departments or assign planning duties to a specific administrator. Educational planners are expected to identify the important environmental elements and to analyze potential actions and counteractions by other organizations. Planning must be extensive and forecast a variety of scenarios. For example, some schools routinely do enrollment projections to determine the impact of population changes. Will they have to close schools or build new ones? As conditions change, the plans must be updated. To the extent that educators can accurately forecast environmental fluctuations, they have an opportunity to reduce uncertainty, dependence, and disruption caused by unexpected change.

Boundary spanning creates internal roles to cross organizational boundaries to link schools with elements in the external environment. Two functions are typically performed by boundary-spanning roles: detecting

information about changes in the external environment and representing the organization to the environment (Aldrich and Herker, 1977).

For detecting, boundary roles concentrate on the transfer of information between the environment and schools. Boundary personnel scan and monitor events in the environment that can create abrupt changes and long-term trends, and communicate the information to decision makers (Daft, 1989). As they identify technological development, curricular innovations, regulations, and funding patterns, boundary personnel provide data that enable educators to orchestrate the rate and direction of change. By the time the environmental shock waves reach the stability-sensitive area of teaching and learning, for example, they can be diffused into manageable modifications and innovations (Lynn, 2005). A number of individuals in schools—superintendents, principals, and curriculum coordinators—protect the technical core through boundary-spanning activities. For example, the district curriculum coordinator is responsible for aligning the curriculum with state testing. Not surprisingly, the director meets routinely with state department officials, and perhaps curriculum specialists at the local college; he or she bridges to other organizations to anticipate disruptions—in this case to the state department of education or to a college.

For the representation function, boundary-spanning personnel send information into the environment from the organization. The idea is to influence other people's perceptions of the organization, reduce uncertainty, and hence buffer its operating core. Schools often have offices for public stakeholders. Other district offices also can serve this function. For example, community and adult education programs, which primarily attract tax-paying patrons, can exemplify the quality of instruction that is available to students. Business and legal departments can inform legislators about the school needs or views on political matters. Boards of education and school advisory committees attempt to manage their environments by showcasing school successes. Similarly, women, minority group members, and students are appointed to advisory committees to connect to the public in important ways (Aldrich and Herker, 1977). When the public has a positive image of the school, uncertainty and dependence may be reduced. Boundary spanners play key roles in interorganizational relations (Friedman and Podolny, 1992) and often influence school decisions (At-Twaijri and Montanari, 1987).

Adjusting Internal Operations The resource-dependence perspective suggests a structural contingency approach to organizational design (Aldrich and Mindlin, 1978; Pennings, 1992). The way an organization should be designed depends in part on its environment. In other words, no one best way exists to organize schools. Rather, the most effective school structure is one that takes advantage of its environment.

The first researchers to indicate that different types of organizational structure might be effective in different environments were Tom Burns and G. M. Stalker (1961). They found that the types of structure that existed in

dynamic environments were different from the kinds that existed in stable environments. When the external environment was stable, the internal organization was "mechanistic" or highly bureaucratic—that is, characterized by formal rules and regulations, standard operating procedures, and centralized decision making; interpersonal relationships were formal, impersonal, rigid, and clear-cut. Relying heavily on programmed behaviors, mechanistic organizations performed routine tasks effectively and efficiently, but responded relatively slowly to unfamiliar events.

In highly unstable environments, the internal organization was "organic" or informal—that is, few rules, informal agreements about operating procedures, and decentralized decision making; interpersonal relations were informal, personal, flexible, and somewhat ambiguous. Burns and Stalker did not conclude that the mechanistic model was inferior to the organic model, but rather, that the most effective structure is one that adjusts to the requirements of the environment—a mechanistic design in a stable environment and an organic form in an unstable environment. Danny Miller (1992) found considerable support for the contingency or environmental fit model.

The research evidence suggests an environmental-fit model (Mintzberg, 1983a). If the environment is stable, a mechanistic structure is an effective accommodation, but if the environment is unstable, then an organic structure is the better fit. However, if the environment is stable and the organizational structure is organic, a dysfunctional flexibility emerges. In contrast, if the environment is unstable and the structure is mechanistic, a dysfunctional rigidity is produced. If the fit with the environment is to be congruent, structure must change as the environment does. Figure 8.1 summarizes the environmental-fit model.

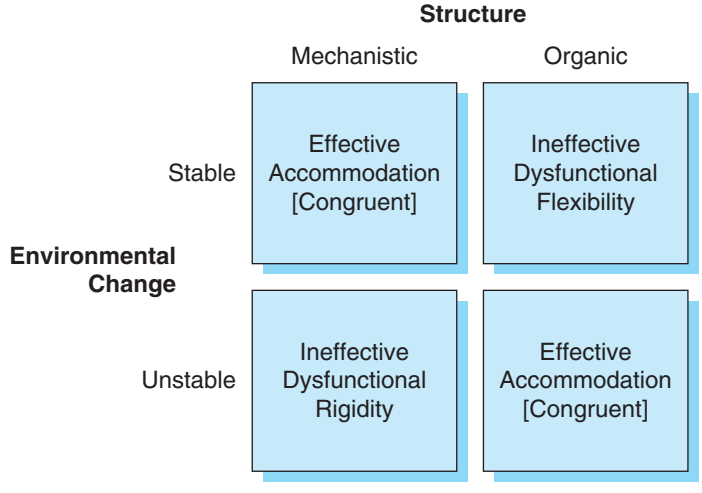


FIGURE 8.1 *An Environmental-Fit Model: A Contingency Model of Organizational Accommodation of Structure to Environmental Change*

Resource-dependence theory highlights the importance of environmental factors in promoting and restraining organizational decisions and actions, yet at the same time leaves room for the operation of strategic choice on the part of administrators as they maneuver through unknown contexts. In other words, the resource-dependence model posits that although environmental influences are important, environmental constraints do not reduce the feasible set of structures to only one form. Rather, a variety of internal structures and actions are consistent with the survival of the organization (Aldrich and Pfeffer, 1976).

Interorganizational Coping Strategies

Thus far we have described ways in which school organizations can adapt internally to the external environment. Administrators do not have to simply accept the environment as it is; they can sometimes shape the environment to their advantage. James G. March (1981) even asserts that, in part, organizations create their environments. Two types of strategies are used to manage the external environment—establishing favorable linkages and shaping environmental elements. A point to be remembered about attempts to control the environment is that it, too, has organized character and the ability to fight back (Katz and Kahn, 1978).

Establishing Favorable Linkages As a strategy to gain additional control over their resource environments, nonprofit organizations, such as public schools, have been actively increasing the number of alliances, partnerships, and collaborations with other organizations. This growth in collaborative arrangements shows different organizations working together to address problems through cooperative efforts, and sharing ownership of the final products and services. (Guo and Acar, 2005).

Interorganizational linkages are important because they increase organizational power, reduce uncertainty, increase performance by ensuring a stable flow of critical resources, and protect the organizations from adverse effects of environmental uncertainty and scarcity (Stearns, Hoffman, and Heide, 1987). Moreover, strong ties with other organizations promote adaptation and innovation by increasing communication, sharing information, and using flexible strategies (Goes and Park, 1997; Kraatz, 1998). The connections are often in complex networks that try to regularize the flow of information and reduce uncertainty. The primary social process is believed to be some form of social and economic exchange. Organizations create links by exchanging information, personnel, funds, equipment, and other needed items; that is, resources are exchanged in an effort to control the environment. For instance, collaborative arrangements reduce information uncertainty and help schools acquire needed resources (Guo and Acar, 2005).

In business organizations a favorite mechanism to reduce competition and dependence is the merger. If a source of raw material is uncertain, buying

the supplier removes the dependence on the external element. Although educational organizations cannot rely on mergers, they do enter into joint ventures with other organizations. School districts form *partnerships, collaboratives,* or *coalitions* with businesses, foundations, universities, and federal and state governments to share the risks and costs associated with large-scale innovations and research projects. Current examples of joint ventures between business and school organizations include creating and implementing comprehensive school reform with the New American Schools initiative, running a variety of school-to-work programs, and developing and operating charter schools. The number of joint ventures may be the best predictor of organizational influence on the environment (Boje and Whetten, 1981). Given the recent emphasis on market models of change such as charter schools, public school districts may link with parent groups to create their own charter schools as a way to reduce the number established by non–school district groups.

Cooptation is another strategy of developing favorable linkages. It brings leaders from outside the school into the decision structure of the school; for example, influential citizens are appointed to boards or to advisory committees. The idea is to socialize outsiders to the problems and needs of your organization (Casciaro and Piskorski, 2005). When cooptation cannot be established directly, organizations use indirect means; that is, they build linkages with individuals who can influence those who otherwise would be coopted (Pfeffer,1997). The evidence is mixed, however, for increasing the influence of organizations through advisory councils. Some research is supportive (Pfeffer, 1972); other studies are not (Boje and Whetten, 1981).

Shaping Elements in the Policy-Making Environment Kingdon (1995) depicts policy-making environments as being comprised of two layers—inside government and outside government. Inside government, three groups control the policy process: elected office holders and their appointees in the executive branch, civil servants, and legislators and their staffs. Outside government, four types of groups are influential: interest groups, collections of individuals (e.g., academics, researchers, and consultants), the media, and election-related participants. While no policy actor dominates policy processes, elected officials in the executive and legislative branches and their appointees are generally the most influential. This conclusion is supported by the findings of Mengli Song and Cecil Miskel (Miskel & Song, 2004; Song & Miskel, 2005). They found that a small clique of insiders fashioned major changes in national reading policy through the enactment of the Reading First legislation. Similarly, government officials (insiders) played significantly more central and prestigious roles in setting state reading policy than outsiders.

To offset the power of government representatives and to amplify their own efforts in shaping external environments, educators and other outsiders are increasingly pooling their resources by expanding the political missions

of their associations. With the pooled resources, the educational organizations or **interest groups** can afford to pay people to carry out activities such as lobbying legislators, influencing new or modifying existing regulations, promoting educational programs, and presenting public relations campaigns. Examples of education interest groups include the Parent-Teacher Association, National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, American Association of School Administrators, Council for American Private Education, Council of Exceptional Children, and Council of Chief State School Officers. Miskel and his colleagues (2003) identified 272 interest groups across eight states that were attempting to influence state reading policy. This growth in the number and types of organizations attempting to influence educational policy extends across a range of interest groups, including private foundations, teacher unions, K–12 and higher education associations, businesses, citizen groups, think tanks or policy institutes, and the media.

Interest groups frequently attempt to influence policy formulation by advocating for issues related to their interests and by working to block unfavorable alternatives. For example, public schools have engaged in extensive efforts to block state and federal support to private schools. Using a relatively large but common set of tools of tactics to promote their interests, school officials and paid lobbyists express their views to local, state, and federal policy makers (Kollman, 1998). As shown in Table 8.1, Baumgartner and Leech (1998) describe 12 types of **influence tactics.** Using these tactics with the intent of influencing public policy is lobbying. Information technologies such as e-mail, Internet search engines and websites, and computerized fax machines enhance both the urgency and pervasiveness of these influence efforts. Education interest groups at both the state and national levels employ a wide array of these strategies. At the national level, Sims, McDaniel, and Miskel (2000) found that education interest groups lobbied

TABLE 8.1

Influence Tactics of Interest Groups

- Testifying at legislative or agency hearings
- Contacting legislators and other officials directly
- Making informal contacts with legislators and government officials
- Generating constituent influence
- Litigating
- Protesting and demonstrating
- Presenting research results
- Monitoring, influencing appointments, and doing favors for officials
- Drafting legislation and regulations and serving on commissions
- Engaging the mass media
- Electing and endorsing policy allies
- Forming coalitions

most frequently by presenting research findings, contacting government officials, and testifying at hearings. Tamara V. Young and Miskel (2004) found similar patterns of lobbying at the state level. Less frequent activities at both the state and national levels include litigating and endorsing political allies for elective offices.

Whether they are inside or outside government, interested individuals and groups do not remain isolated in the policy environment; they actively seek allies for support and leverage of their ideas. For example, Baumgartner and Walker (1989) found that government agencies dealing with education policy and education interest groups seek each other out for consultation and advice in the policymaking process. Indeed, Heclo (1978) asserts that small circles or "iron triangles" of participants no longer control policy making. Rather, with the growth in the government bureaucracies and the interest group systems, policy making typically takes place within relatively open issue or policy networks, and it is easy to overlook many webs of influence that provoke and guide decision making.

The overall implication for practice is that school organizations do not have to be simple, passive instruments of the external environment. Buffering strategies can diminish environmental influences on internal school operations. Politicking by individuals, interest groups, and network alliances can actually shape the policy environments of schools. In sum, by employing both internal and external strategies, educational administrators can lessen or modify external demands, reduce uncertainty, and increase resource acquisitions.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Administering Environments

Think of a recent controversy or program innovation by the school district or school in which you reside or work. What were the major points of contention? What strategies did the educators use to gain information and resources from the environment? Did they try to shape the environmental factors? What tactics did individuals, groups, and organizations in the environment use to influence the controversy or innovation? Were the strategies effective?

INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Although the important elements of task environments for organizations are material and resource based, the primary factors in institutional environments are symbolic and cultural in nature (Scott, 2003). Moreover, the **institutional perspective** has become a leading approach to understanding

organizations and their environments (Mizruchi and Fein, 1999). Brian Rowan (1993) characterizes it as one of the most vital formulations in organizational theory today. The roots of institutional theory are found in the works of Philip Selznick (1949, 1957). His ideas were revitalized and elaborated by Meyer and Rowan (1977) to create a "new" institutional theory. Since the late 1970s institutional theory has generated widespread interest among scholars and provides valuable conceptual and practical insights about schools.

According to Rowan and Miskel (1999), the goal of institutional theory is to explain how socially organized environments arise and how they influence social action. In essence, social actors of all kinds—individuals, administrators, teachers, interest groups, and schools—are seen as embedded in socially organized environments. These environments generate rules, regulations, norms, and definitions of the situation that constrain and shape behavior. Institutional arrangements are found in virtually all social systems (e.g., societies, organizations, and small groups); have regulative, normative, cognitive roots (Scott, 1995, 2001); and have activities and functions that occur in a stable and recurring fashion.

Institutions can be formal organizations, but they do not have to be. Some institutions are based on formal, written codes of conduct—that is, laws, constitutions, standard operating procedures, and so forth—that are enforced by the coercive power of social agencies. Other institutions endure less formally as norms and values—that is, as strongly felt obligations that have been internalized through socialization. Still others persist as cognitive schema—that is, as relatively tacit, taken for granted, rulelike understandings of a situation. Objects that are commonly thought of as institutions, for example, include marriage, family, voting, the handshake, formal organizations, schools, attending school, teaching, teaching profession, academic tenure, the school principal, labor unions, and schooling (Rowan and Miskel, 1999). To capture this diversity of institutional structures, Peter Abell (1995) defines the **institution** as a more or less agreed-upon set of rules that carry meaning for and determine the actions of some population of actors. More explicitly, Scott (2001, p. 48) declares that "Institutions are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life."

Jepperson (1991) further observes that all institutions simultaneously empower and control; they are vehicles for activity within constraints. All institutions are frameworks of programs and rules establishing identities and activity schemes. For instance, a school considered as an institution is a packaged social technology, with accompanying rules and instructions for its incorporation and employment in a social setting. Institutions, then, embody common actions or standardized activities in situations that become taken for granted. Schools as institutions are taken for granted in the sense that they are treated as fixtures in a social environment and are explained as performing a function in that environment.

The **institutional environment,** therefore, is characterized by elaborate rules and requirements to which individual organizations must conform if they are to receive support and legitimacy. In modern societies, the environmental requirements (e.g., rules, norms, values, and ideologies) are rational in form, with the chief sources of rationalization being governments and professions. Executive and legislative agencies at the state and federal levels dealing with education like to create policies and bureaucratic arrangements that centralize discretion and limit autonomy of local practitioners. Professionals and their associations prefer weaker and more decentralized structures that locate maximum discretion in the hands of local educators. Whatever the source, however, organizations are rewarded for conforming to these institutional rules, beliefs, and ideologies (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Scott, 1995; Scott and Meyer, 1991).

In fact, rationalized myth is commonly used in discussions of institutions and their environments. Myths are widely held beliefs that cannot be objectively tested. They are true because they are believed. Myths become rationalized when they take the form of bureaucratic or professional rules specifying procedures necessary to accomplish a given end (Scott, 1992). **Rationalized myths,** then, are rules specifying procedures to accomplish an outcome on the basis of beliefs that are assumed to be true. For example, a rationalized myth is the use of psychological tests and classification systems to place students in special education classes. These diagnostic approaches are rational because they provide procedures for assessing intellectual and emotional processes. They are myths because their use depends heavily on endorsements by professional associations, accrediting bodies, and funding agencies (D'Aunno, Sutton, and Price, 1991).

Conformity and Institutional Environments

Institutional theory emphasizes that organizations are open systems, which are strongly influenced by their environments. Moreover, many of the most decisive forces are not rational pressures for more effective performance but social pressures to conform to conventional beliefs (Scott, 1992). Hence, a basic premise of institutional theory is that organizational structures and processes mirror the norms, values, and ideologies institutionalized in society. Accordingly, organizations conform to institutionalized rules and procedures to gain legitimacy—that is to secure cultural support for the organization. In other words, institutional conformity promotes the apparent success and long-term survival of the organization independent of any effects that conformity might have on technical productivity. By designing a formal structure that conforms to the prescriptions of the institutional environment, an organization demonstrates that it is acting on collectively valued purposes in a proper and adequate fashion (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Rowan, 1993). This thesis is particularly salient to educators because organizations lacking clear technologies and not operating in competitive markets—that is, public school

systems—are especially likely to adopt institutionalized elements and conform to the institutional environment (DiMaggio, 1988).

Similarly, Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell (1983, 1991) contend that organizational change in institutional environments makes organizations more alike without making them more efficient. Organizations within the same institutional environments tend to become homogenized. Public schools within a given country, for example, resemble each other. Their buildings and pedagogies are similar, with classrooms designed for a teacher, a set of students, and similar ways of engaging in teaching and learning processes. DiMaggio and Powell identify three mechanisms that promote institutional conformity.

Coercive conformity stems from political influence and problems of legitimacy. Coercive conformity results when organizations follow the rules and regulations promulgated by government agencies and thereby produce similar structures or processes (Rowan and Miskel, 1999). Common coercive pressures for school change include government mandates and inducements. On the basis of both federal and state regulations, for example, schools now hire special education teachers to serve special-needs children, develop curriculum materials to meet standards or frameworks, and give students achievement tests that conform to government standards. Coercive forces can also be invisible, informal, and subtle, as when a school board member believes that phonics is the only way to teach reading (Hanson, 2001). A major problem with coercive policy instruments is that they often increase enforcement without producing the predicted gains in efficiency and effectiveness.

Imitative conformity results from adopting standard responses from other sources to reduce uncertainty. This process is similar to Meyer and Rowan's (1977) concept of rationalized myths, where organizations mimic successful or prestigious organizations. In other words, when organizations such as schools have weak technologies and ambiguous goals, they may model themselves on other organizations that they perceive to be more legitimate and successful. Mark Hanson (2001) observes that mimicry is abetted and supported by educational consultants, professional conferences, and administrators moving from position to position. Recent instances of imitative conformity have involved total quality management, block scheduling, phonics instruction, effective schools movement, and systemic reform.

Rodney T. Ogawa (1992) offers the following example of an imitative process: A school adopts a new structure to enhance efficiency. If the new structure is perceived to improve performance, others may copy it. Over time, schools may adopt the new structure, not for the technical purpose of improving efficiency but for the institutional purpose of gaining legitimacy with constituents by mimicking a successful organization. A specific instance is the adoption of school-based management by a few urban school districts, an idea designed to deal with a multitude of problems, such as low academic achievement and tight budgets. As word spread of the successes enjoyed by these "innovative" districts, other districts uncritically implemented the innovation, even though they did not share the problems encountered by the

original adopters. Betty Malen (1993) similarly concludes that school-based management is tied to a belief that attaches virtue to innovation and helps school districts retain their reputations as progressive systems.

Normative conformity arises when personnel who have been socialized to follow professional standards spread professional codes across organizations (Rowan and Miskel, 1999). Two aspects of professionalism are particularly important in producing conformity in school organizations. The first rests on formal education and cognitive knowledge. Professionals learn standard methods of practice and normative rules about appropriate behavior. The second comes from the growth of professional networks and associations that span organizations and allow new models to diffuse rapidly. Associations or labor unions of teachers and administrators, for example, facilitate the exchange of information among professionals and provide policies and practices that can be copied throughout education.

Rowan's (1982) work tracing the incorporation of three occupations into California school district structures illustrates how normative conformity can produce new educational programs. He charted how health, psychological, and curriculum services and occupations were created and institutionalized by the rules and ideologies of state agencies, legislatures, and professional groups, and were then incorporated into the structure of local school districts. For example, as early as 1909, the legislature passed legislation permitting school personnel to make medical inspections of children. The original purpose of the inspections was to combat the spread of infectious diseases. After the legislation passed, crusaders engaged in institution building. The result was that by 1935, the *School Code* mandated yearly medical inspections.

Through these conformity forces, schools produce similar structures and services and begin to resemble each other. Schools tend to look very much alike (Ogawa, 1992). In fact, pressures for conformity probably produce a surprising level of homogeneity within the American public school system. Meyer, Scott, and Deal (1992) found that schools go to great lengths to maintain their legitimate status as schools. They seek accreditation by conforming to a set of rules that are professionally specified or legally mandated. They hire licensed teachers who are assigned carefully defined students. Students are classified in grades that are given standardized meanings throughout the country. Finally, the teachers and students engage a curriculum that in turn is organized in fairly standardized categories of science, English, and mathematics. In other words, individual schools conform to and are constrained by institutional rules of what society defines a school to be; schools are expected to reflect the goals, values, and culture of broader society (Bacharach and Mundell, 1993).

Adapting to External Environments

Many school systems sit adrift waiting for the next wave of reform to pass them by, or they ride one wave of reform after another. Effective schools

respond differently to the external context; they anticipate change and adapt to uncertainty by strategically using external demands and resources to improve school performance. To create both efficient and effective schools, administrators face the challenge of developing coherence and predictability in the technical core while also adapting to external uncertainty (Lynn, 2005). It is clear that growing external demands for educational reform require administrators to assume key roles in managing the environments of their schools (Pfeffer, 1976). Actions of administrators influence how much or how little the external context constrains or enhances internal operations (Honig and Hatch, 2004). Buffering and boundary-spanning activities are strategies schools rely on to cope with their environments.

Buffering Strategies

Recall from our earlier discussion that buffers are structures and processes that insulate or surround internal activities and absorb environmental disturbances. Buffering essentially creates a protective layer between the organization and its environment. A major problem to resolve by buffering mechanisms is conflicts between pressures for technical efficiency and institutional rules. From an institutional perspective, decoupling and managing the image are two ways to buffer school organizations from their environments.

Decoupling Meyer and Rowan (1977) say that organizations designed for efficiency ideally attempt to maintain a close alignment between their structures and their technical activities. Close alignment in institutionalized organizations makes public a record of inefficiency and inconsistency. As a consequence, organizations functioning in institutionalized environments attempt to decouple their institutional structures from their technical structures and activities. **Decoupling** is intentionally neglecting to provide adequate control of work processes (Ingersoll, 1993). Decoupling divides organizations into two parts: one primarily links to the institutional environment and one produces the technical activities. Thus, the technical portion faces inward to its technical core and turns its back on the environment, whereas the institutional part turns its back on the technical core in order to focus on conforming to its institutional environment (Meyer, Scott, and Deal, 1992).

Decoupled school organizations exhibit a number of characteristics. For example, activities are performed beyond the purview of administrators and professionalism is actively encouraged. Goals are made ambiguous and categorical ends are substituted for technical ends—that is, schools produce students, not academic learning (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Organizations decouple for several reasons. Decoupling masks or buffers inconsistencies, irrationalities, and poor task performance that might undermine public faith in the organization. Moreover, decoupled organizations can incorporate and display structural elements that conform to institutionalized conventions and yet preserve some autonomy of action. In inconsistent or

conflicting environments, decoupling represents a particularly useful strategy (Scott, 1992).

Managing the Image This strategy involves **impression management** to portray structures and actions in ways that garner endorsement (Elsbach and Sutton, 1992). Impression management makes extensive use of symbolic categories and coding rules, showcases successes, and rationalizes failures. Symbolic categories are created to select, identify, classify, and label the things or people being processed by the organization. With symbolic action, school administrators give the impression of meeting external demands but do not completely adhere to prescribed practices or activities. Meyer and Rowan (1977), for instance, state that using cost analysis to justify school projects is an institutional norm that can provide a rationale even if a project fails. Administrators whose plans have failed can demonstrate to others that the procedures were prudent and that their decisions were made rationally. Assume, for example, that a special program is developed. If the project fails, administrators can demonstrate that both prudence and compassion guided their actions in spite of the intractability of the problem. Hence, institutionalized practices and impression management help justify administrators' actions and portray a positive image. A degree of buffering appears necessary for limiting the effects of environmental constraints on school performance (Meier & O'Toole, 2008).

Boundary-Spanning Strategies

Earlier in this chapter, boundary spanning, or bridging, was defined as activities that create internal roles to cross organizational boundaries and link the school organization with elements in the external environment. Meyer and Rowan (1977), DiMaggio and Powell (1991), and Scott (1992) propose conformity as the central boundary-spanning strategy in institutional environments. By incorporating institutional rules, beliefs, and ideologies into their own structures, organizations become more homogeneous and gain legitimacy. Scott proposes three types of bridging strategies that can be used to manage institutional environments.

Categorical Conformity According to Scott (1992), **categorical conformity** is a process in which rules provide organizations with a way to pattern their structures, called ritual categories (Meyer and Rowan, 1978). These distinctions are examples of a widely shared cognitive system that has elaborate rules for classifying teachers—for example, elementary or secondary—and each category has its own qualifications and credentials. Students, similarly, are categorized by grade level, ability level, and courses completed. Standard categories and ritual classification procedures involve not only educators and students, but also curriculum topics and schools (e.g., alternative and traditional). Schools that incorporate these shared cognitive belief systems—that

is, exhibit categorical conformity—enhance their legitimacy and increase their resource capacities.

Structural Conformity Sometimes institutional environments impose very specific structural requirements on schools as a condition of acceptance and support (Scott, 1992). External mandates cause schools to implement new programs. In the past three decades, many special-education programs—for example, programs for those who are mildly learning disabled to severely and profoundly challenged, and for those who have hearing, visual, and other impairments—have been incorporated into educational organizations to meet various legislative laws, administrative rules, and parental beliefs. Using various arrangements, schools have developed structures to conform to the special-need categories designated in the institutional environments. Administrators know the score—success comes with meeting the demands for institutional conformity rather than with instructional efficiency (Rowan, 1981). Schools often borrow or imitate successful structural forms when they confront uncertainty. Thus, by choice and coercion, schools frequently use **structural conformity** as a mechanism for adapting to the environment (Scott, 1992).

Procedural Conformity Meyer and Rowan (1977) observe that despite the lack of coordination and control of the technical activities, schools are not anarchies. Day-to-day activities occur in an orderly fashion. In fact, institutional environments pressure schools toward **procedural conformity,** carrying out activities in specified ways. School organizations can respond with rational myths that detail the steps to be followed in carrying out certain types of procedures. For example, schools tightly control such processes as hiring teachers with proper credentials, assigning students to classes, and scheduling events (Meyer and Rowan, 1978). Adherence to procedural specifications is a method by which stable school forms can be created and legitimated to work in institutional environments. By using socially acceptable procedures to execute controversial activities, schools can maintain the impression that they are rational and legitimate (Scott, 1992).



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Coping with the Environment

Think of a recent controversy or program innovation by the school district or school in which you reside or work. What were the major points of contention? Did the educators use institutional strategies, for example, conformity and decoupling, to meet the demands from the environment? Were the strategies effective?

ACCOUNTABILITY AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Recognizing that the flood of reforms during the 1980s were having limited effects on performance outcomes, Smith and O'Day (1991) decried the fragmented, complex, and multilayered features of the policy system that prevented the development and maintenance of successful schools. To loosen the constraints and improve school effectiveness, they called for a coherent systemic approach to educational reform. In their influential essay, "Systemic School Reform," they make a well-reasoned argument for establishing systems of school accountability and improvement using a set of critical environmental, input, transformational, and performance outcome variables. The critical components of the model include a unifying vision with supporting goals and an instructional guidance scheme consisting of curriculum frameworks and standards aligned with high-quality assessment instruments. Strong state leadership and robust governance structures for local flexibility promote the alignment of standards and accountability systems with curricular and instructional materials, professional development, and preservice teacher education. Charter schools and vouchers also foster accountability. In essence, the drive for accountability is based on three underlying principles:

- Schools should be held accountable for higher standards of performance.
- Schools should be provided assistance to build their capacities for delivering improved education.
- Schools must increase the quality and quantity of their performance outcomes, especially student achievement.

Accountability

Accountability in education is the acknowledgment of the responsibility of schools for a thorough and efficient education of their students. Traditionally in the United States, accountability has been rooted in community and parental control through local school boards (Carnoy and Loeb, 2002). With virtually all 50 states developing standards-based accountability systems for schools and districts, however, the locus of accountability has shifted dramatically from local school boards to state and federal agencies.

Evolving primarily at the state level during the 1990s, accountability systems focus on performance outcomes with data collected and reported school by school (Fuhrman, 1999). Accountability plans generally include three components:

- *Standards to identify the subject matter knowledge and skills to be learned*. As a specific form of goal statement, **standards** detail what is expected. Outcome standards specify what students should know and be able to do and are used to gauge student achievement.

In other words, standards describe the knowledge, skills, and other learning that schools should teach and define the levels of competence students must attain. Advocates maintain that standards provide schools with a common sequence of goals and supply students, teachers, and principals with a consistent and coherent guide for selecting content, developing teaching and learning strategies, and assessing whether the goals have been met. However, the creation of standards is fraught with difficulty (Hanushek and Raymond, 2002). Terry Moe (2003) asserts that creating standards is hardly an objective process, even for relatively well-defined subjects like mathematics and science.

- *Tests aligned with the standards.* Using tests in accountability systems to determine whether the standards have been met and to evaluate school improvement initiatives generates considerable controversy. Conflicts arise about the procedures and adequacy of testing programs. Intense arguments are generated when stakeholders start responding to questions such as the following:

  - Who should be tested?
  - What content should be assessed?
  - What types of measures should be used?
  - How often should the examinations be administered?
  - Are the assessments valid?
  - What level or cut score indicates the standard has been met?

  Concerns also occur about how much importance to assign to testing. Paul E. Barton (2001) contends that standards-based reform is perilously close to becoming simply a testing movement. Similarly, Elmore (2002b) harshly criticizes the No Child Left Behind law for grossly overemphasizing testing, calling it an "unwarranted intrusion."

- *Consequences of differing levels of goal attainment*. The supposition undergirding this component is that rewarding successful schools, educators, and students will reinforce good performance and enhance motivation. Conversely, penalizing those not meeting expectations will alter their behavior and subsequently improve poor performance. However, states are finding it very hard to enforce penalties by holding children in the same grade, denying diplomas, or removing teachers and principals (Finn, 2003b). Fixing incentives and punishment to student performance raises the issue of fairness because accountability systems generally are not designed to motivate students (Fuhrman, 1999; Goertz and Duffy, 2001). Because academic achievement is coproduced by teachers and students, teacher success depends on student effort in school and on tests.

Although a three-prong accountability system is relatively easy to describe, many complex and contentious jobs must be completed for standards-based approaches to influence substantially classroom instruction and student learning. For instance, state agencies, district offices, and schools must create new instructional frameworks, curricula, and assessments and insist that educators make teaching more demanding and coherent (Cohen, 1996; Coggshall, 2004).

Federal Reform Initiatives

The beginning of the new millennium was accompanied by a major federal intrusion into public education. Historically, individual states through local school boards were responsible for and controlled American public schools. The reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education School Act in 2001 as No Child Left Behind [NCLB] introduced for the first time a federal accountability program for all of the nation's public schools. Based on a historical analysis of federal education programs, Lorraine M. McDonnell (2005) concluded that NCLB represents an evolutionary step with deep roots in previous policies.

The No Child Left Behind Act No Child Left Behind increased the expectations and demands for the nation's public school systems through the creation of measures designed to ensure that all students are proficient in reading and mathematics. States were required to establish standards of learning and assess students' progress in meeting those standards. Particular attention was placed on students with disabilities, economically disadvantaged students, students with limited English proficiency, and students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. The NCLB Act requires annual testing in grades 3 through 8, and the law mandates that schools, school districts, and states meet increasing annual benchmarks to claim Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) on statewide tests in reading and mathematics. Each year pass rates for reading and mathematics increase with the intended result that 100 percent of students in each subgroup pass by 2013–2014. When schools and districts fail to meet the annual benchmarks, corrective action plans must be developed and implemented to assist failing schools (No Child Left Behind, 2002). Sanctions for those schools not meeting AYP are severe and include measures that range from making additional services to students available through outside private providers, offering parents and students school choice, to replacing a school's principal, reconstituting the teaching staff, or ultimately closing the school. As a result of these increasing academic demands across the nation, schools have been searching for the right combination of instructional strategies and environmental conditions to increase student achievement.

Federal policies calling for evidence-based practice (EBP) demand that school districts use research-based evidence to ground educational

improvement. The first push in U.S. educational policy to use evidence or findings collected through rigorous research, evaluation, or assessment to inform educational practices emerged during the debates over federal reading instruction policy in the 1990s (Manna and Petrilli, 2009). The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (H.R. Res. 1, 2002) emphasized the use of scientifically based research to inform practice and required school districts to use research evidence in educational policy and practice (Datnow, Park, and Wohlstetter, 2007). The path to scientifically based evidence is through research that involves the application of rigorous, systematic, and objective procedures to obtain reliable and valid knowledge relevant to education activities and programs (H.R. Res. 1, 2002).

This U.S. Department of Education's model advocates the rational use of scientifically based evidence in decisionmaking. It assumes that educational practitioners will use evidence directly to make decisions related to policy or practice, but the evidence will be mediated and interpreted by administrators' professional wisdom (Marsh, Paine, and Hamilton, 2006; REL-Southeast, 2007). The model appears to be consistent with satisficing models of decision making in that it recognizes that real-world decision making must meet criteria for adequacy, taking into account contextual constraints (Hoy and Tarter, 2008). However, the model fails to align with the realities of decision making in most school districts. The body of research on implementation supports the observations that research evidence is seldom used in practice to directly inform decision making. Instead, evidence seems to be used to strengthen the individual and collective working knowledge of district administrators and strategically support predetermined policy or practice decisions (Kennedy, 1982). Current federal policy does not acknowledge this reality. Furthermore, it assumes that research-based evidence is neutral and that its meaning and implications are self-evident. In the complex context of a school district office, there can be multiple legitimate interpretations of the meaning and implications of a given piece of evidence (Coburn et al., 2009). Interpreting and using evidence in decision making is often a social process in which individuals or groups within district central offices fit new knowledge into pre-existing understandings or cognitive frameworks (Honig and Coburn, 2008).

Race to the Top In 2009, President Obama signed into law the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA)—historic legislation designed to stimulate the economy, support job creation, and invest in critical sectors, including education. The act lays the foundation for education reform by supporting investments in innovative strategies that are most likely to lead to improved results for students, long-term gains in school and school system capacity, and increased productivity and effectiveness. The recovery act provided $4.35 billion for the Race to the Top Fund, a competitive grant program designed to encourage and reward states that are

creating the conditions for educational innovation and reform; achieving significant improvement in student outcomes, including making substantial gains in student achievement, closing achievement gaps, improving high school graduation rates, and ensuring student preparation for success in college and careers; and implementing ambitious plans in four core educational reform areas. Race to the Top has not only stirred significant controversy among state-level policy makers and K–12 educators, but clearly adds considerable impetus to the accountability movement. For example, Race to the Top requires implementation of four core educational reform areas:

- *Adopting standards and assessments* that prepare students to succeed in college and the workplace and to compete in the global economy, that is, generating a national set of common Core Content Standards and Assessments.
- *Building data systems that measure student growth and success*, which inform teachers and principals about how they can improve instruction, that is, creating the ability to track the progress of individual students nationwide.
- *Recruiting, developing, rewarding, and retaining effective teachers and principals*, especially where they are needed most, that is, linking student performance directly to teacher evaluation.
- *Turning around our lowest achieving schools*, that is, providing these schools with skillful teachers and principals.

The Race to the Top Act and the accompanying monetary incentives provided strong stimulus for states to embrace these four educational reforms. The consequence has been that virtually all states are competing for federal funds, but to do so they are required to adopt the Core Content Standards and other elements of these reforms. The Common Core State Standards have been built from the best and highest state standards, which were evidence-based, aligned with college and work expectations, had rigorous content and skills, and were informed by other top performing countries. The standards were developed in consultation with teachers and parents from across the country so they are also realistic and practical. Far from looking for the "lowest common denominator," these standards were designed to ensure that all students, regardless of where they live, are learning what they need to know to graduate from high school ready for college or a career. If the four educational reforms become a reality, then the logical consequences of these actions are national standardized assessments, performance-based evaluation of teachers, and the emergence of a national curriculum. Whether these consequences become realities, however, depends upon unpredictable economic and political events. Time will tell.

Effective Adaptation to Accountability Policies

Mandated accountability outcomes from state and federal agencies are geared to improve student achievement for which test scores have become the primary indicator. Such outcomes as rising test scores or student growth and achievement over time are accountability ends, but the means to achieve those ends are not specified as clearly as the standards. Local schools know that test scores must rise, and the stakes are high for schools. Therefore, schools may choose to follow a stark path to raising scores through teaching to the test and other dubious practices. Other schools may choose a longer path through a variety of instructional innovations that are anchored in sound research. The former path is tempting because results are quickly seen. The latter, on the other hand, is more costly and problematic because connecting the research to practice is complex. There are no simple solutions or quick fixes. Different schools face different issues that require different practices. No one size fits all (Glass, 2008).

Why are high-stakes testing and teaching to the test shortsighted? They increase the likelihood of cheating by students, teachers, administrators, and school districts; this phenomenon is an illustration of **Campbell's Law** (Campbell, 1976; Nichols and Berliner, 2007): *The more any quantitative social indicator is used for social decision making, the more it will distort and corrupt the very social processes it is intended to monitor.* Further, standardized tests have difficulty capturing real-life problems such as selecting the "best" mortgage rate, using a strategy of "comparison shopping," or understanding the fine print in contracts. Being able to identify vocabulary words in a test does not translate into their proper use in reading and writing or using them in creative ways. Teaching to the test and high-stakes testing in general often push administrators to look good at the short term and neglect long-term consequences. A major danger is to fall prey to a "bottom-line mentality." Schools, like banks, must avoid things that promote a positive balance sheet in the short run but have deleterious long-term effects.

If accountability practices are to be effective, they must shun short-term successes in favor of rigorous systemic changes that actually improve schools. For example, early-warning testing in elementary schools may push out students who are likely to fail the test because both the school and students believe that these students are a poor bet for finishing high school (McNeil and Valenzuela, 2001). This is good example of *looking good but failing*. Poor students are pushed out, test scores go up, but the schools have failed their students. Schools must tackle the more complex problem of identifying evidence-based practices that fit their local situation. The measure of performance, as an adaptation to accountability, needs to be a process in which the means of goal achievement are as important as the ends themselves. In other words, how we accomplish the end is often as important as the end itself.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Rite of Passage

The students of Middletown High School (MHS), one of the state's premier high schools, are consistently in the top ranks of National Merit finalists, IvyLeague acceptances, and percentage of students going on to higher education. MHS is recognized by virtually everyone as arguably the most prestigious high school in the state. While the students are diligent and even scholarly, they are prone to adolescent high jinks, one of which has been below the radar for a decade. Unfortunately, the annual hazing ritual is now out in the open. In fact, it has received attention in the national news media. Each year for the past 10, the senior girls have created a "slut list" of incoming freshmen, which is prepared for the first day of school. About a dozen names are enumerated on a secret e-mail with crass descriptions and are sent to a select group of girls in the senior class with the admonition to keep the source secret but the list moving.

The principal has known about the list and other initiation activities that occur in MHS, but the practices have become an integral part of the school culture. No one seems to get overly concerned about the ritual. Until recently, parents chuckled and students seemed relatively unaffected by the whole affair. When contacted by the press, the principal said, "It is an interesting dilemma for the school because many of the girls want to make the list and are disappointed if they don't, whereas an equal number who make the list are embarrassed and appalled." When pushed, the principal admitted that it was basically a "a crude and offensive practice." In fact, this year for the first time a small group of parents complained to public school officials.

In neighboring schools, students found responsible for such hazing practices had been suspended for three to five days, but in MHS the practices have always been tolerated and at the same time subtly discouraged by occasionally speaking to the student council about the practice and asking teachers to make sure that hazing is seen as a lack of civility and respect for fellow students. Until this year the strategy of unobtrusive disapproval seemed to be working; the practice was in decline.

This year, however, the hazing went over the top; a list was compiled at a party of senior girls involved in athletics, which took special aim at attractive and popular incoming ninth graders. The principal and her staff had talked to several dozen freshmen and at least that many seniors, and not one individual was willing to name names. The principal was frustrated and claimed, "There is not much we can do if students don't come to us and tell us what actually happened." She added that none of the 86 faculty members in this 1,112-student school reported viewing any hazing incidents this year. Of the girls interviewed, none said that she had ever been hazed. Some were unaware of the problem, and those few who admitted to knowing about the problem said it was "no big deal and done in good fun."

This year was different, however, because clearly some of the freshmen were nervous and complained to their parents about what they claimed to be unfair treatment and bullying. A few of the parents reported that their daughters were reluctant to go to school on certain days. Some parents were becoming increasingly upset and angry with the school and its administration. One parent explained, "The administration has an obligation to protect all new students, but especially the more vulnerable ones. The administration cannot shirk its responsibility by blaming the students." The parent, however, insisted on anonymity, saying, "My daughter would never feel safe in this school again."

An emerging influence in the community was, however, the Citizens for the Restoration of Decency (CRD). The CRD was a combination of church and civic leaders, who felt that the school should be a citadel of civility and morality. The group was appalled at the rumors describing



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

bullying and hazing at MHS. They demanded that the board and superintendent improve the social environment of the school. The CRD had been a reliable partner in such MHS activities as recognizing members of the National Honor Society and funding scholarships for MHS students bound for college, and it had been a recent ally in passing the latest school levy. The CRD saw the rumored events at MHS as a serious deviation from the basic norms and values of the community. As a consequence, it was mobilizing other organizations in the community such as Middletown Taxpayers Association, the Business Roundtable, and the Rotary Club to intervene and reclaim the fundamental values of the community.

Most students, especially the upper classmen, didn't see the issue as a serious breach of respect. The common response is, "We like our school and the hazing is just a fun part of school life. Get over it; it's just harmless fun." One senior, as she was pulling away from school in her late-model BMW, remarked, "The hazing this year was no worse than it has ever been. A few parents are out of control."

The superintendent and school board were beginning to feel the press from not only isolated parents, but also the CRD and its allies. Even the press in a recent editorial questioned the climate of civility at MHS. The superintendent promised a full investigation of the problem and an end to the hazing. The superintendent said, that "Those found to be guilty of this despicable behavior will be punished." In a less public venue, the superintendent made his displeasure known to the principal and demanded the immediate resolution of this problem.

- What is the problem? Short-term and long-term?
- How should school deal with the CRD? Is the CRD a potent environmental force?
- To what extent is the conflict a community problem?
- What is the problem from the perspective of the resource-dependence model? Institutional model?
- Are there useful buffering and bridging strategies to be used?
- Should community groups be involved in this problem? If so, how?
- To what extent is the school responsible?
- What is a reasonable plan to address and end this practice?
- First analyze the case from the superintendent's perspective.
- Then analyze the case from the principal's perspective.

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Keep organizational structures flexible: It is imperative to respond quickly to environmental constraints.
2. Nurture healthy relations with local groups and agencies: Parental groups and local organizations are important aspects of the immediate environment.
3. Engage the environment: It presents both constraints and opportunities.
4. Develop internal and external coping strategies: Buffering and bridging are two general strategies to cope positively with the external environment.

5. Recognize that schools are institutions: Schools mirror the norms, values, and ideology of the broader society.
6. Develop fair accountability systems for teachers: Accountability is an organizational reality.
7. Ensure that tests are aligned with standards: Clear and rational alignment limits conflict and improves success.
8. Be open to constructive change: Change and reform are integral parts of contemporary schooling.
9. Beware of the dysfunctional consequences of high-stakes testing: A focus on standardized test scores can encourage cheating and limit poor students' prospects for success.
10. Seek abstract resources such as neighborhood affiliations or school culture: Abstract resources are more potent than simple ones in school improvement.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. As open systems, schools are embedded in a broader environment, which influences many of their practices.
2. Because schools are unable to generate the necessary resources to maintain themselves, they must enter into exchanges with the environment to acquire needed resources.
3. Administrators must manage the external environments as well as the internal operations of their schools.
4. In institutional environments, schools are rewarded primarily for their conformity to professional standards and legal requirements rather than for the quality of their performance.
5. Schools face the perplexing paradox of fostering environmental exchanges but limiting their negative effects on teaching and learning.
6. Models of resource-dependence are more dominant than the institutional ones in explanations of environmental influence on schools.
7. Abstract resources such as neighborhood affiliations and a culture of academic optimism are powerful drivers of school improvement.
8. The federal government is becoming an increasingly important environmental force affecting schools.
9. Accountability procedures emerging from No Child Left Behind and the Race to the Top are critical aspects of contemporary American education.
10. Campbell's Law is a cautionary note on overreliance on high-stakes testing: The more one relies upon quantitative measures for critical social decisions, the more subject the decisions will be to corruption.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

resource-dependence perspective, *p. 270*
scarcity, *p. 270*
munificence, *p. 270*
dependence, *p. 271*
buffering, *p. 274*
planning and forecasting, *p. 274*
boundary spanning, *p. 274*
interest groups, *p. 279*
influence tactics, *p. 279*
institutional perspective, *p. 280*
institution, *p. 281*
institutional environment, *p. 282*
rationalized myths, *p. 282*
coercive conformity, *p. 283*
imitative conformity, *p. 283*
normative conformity, *p. 284*
decoupling, *p. 285*
impression management, *p. 286*
categorical conformity, *p. 286*
structural conformity, *p. 287*
procedural conformity, *p. 287*
accountability, *p. 288*
standards, *p. 288*
No Child Left Behind, *p. 290*
Race to the Top, *p. 291*
Campbell's Law, *p. 293*

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Summarizes a wide range of models and research dealing with interest groups and influence processes.

Chubb, J. E., and Moe, T. M. *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1990.

Argues the conceptual case for competitive markets and charter schools.

Glass, G. V. *Fertilizers, Pills, and Magnetic Strips: The Fate of Public Education in America*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age, 2008.

An analysis of how economics and demographic change has influenced educational reform.

Lubienski, C. "Innovation in Education Markets: Theory and Evidence on the Impact of Competition and Choice in Charter Schools." *American Educational Research Association 40*(2) (2003), pp. 395–443.

Gives a comprehensive review of the literature dealing with competitive markets and charter schools and represents an excellent resource.

Lynn, M. L. "Organizational Buffering: Managing Boundaries and Cores." *Organization Studies 26*(1) (2005), pp. 37–61.

Details extensive historical, theoretical, and empirical analyses of the buffering concept.

Nichols, S. L., and Berliner, D. C. *Collateral Damage: How High-Stakes Testing Corrupts America's Schools.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2007.

A critical analysis of high-stakes testing.

Ogawa, R. T. "The Institutional Sources of Educational Reform: The Case of School-Based Management." *American Educational Research Journal, 31*(3) (1994), pp. 519–48.

Analyzes school-based management using institutional theory.

Powell, W. W., and DiMaggio, P. J. (Eds.). *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Contains a collection of chapters on institutional theory, including the classics by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983).

Scott, W. R. *Institutions and Organizations* (3rd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008.

Provides a comprehensive consideration of the institutional perspective.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Race to the Top is the latest national reform effort. In some ways it changes the direction of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), but in other ways it complements it. Compare and contrast the critical aspects of each of these federal initiatives.

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of each?
- Where does your state and school stand on compliance with each act?
- Was your state successful in obtaining Race to the Top funds?
- To what extent does NCLB affect your district?
- How has your school district benefited from NCLB?
- Describe any administrative changes in your district that are consequences of this federal legislation.

Standards 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (see inside front cover)

CHAPTER 9



SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

By definition, effective schools should produce stable and consistent results over time that apply to all students within the school. . . . Underlying the notion of school accountability is the belief that school personnel should be held responsible for improving student learning.

Ronald H. Heck
Examining School Achievement over Time

But skills and knowledge—the stuff you can measure with tests—is only the most superficial component of human capital. U.S. education reforms have generally failed because they try to improve the skills of students without addressing the underlying components of human capital.

David Brooks
Columnist, Psst! 'Human Capital'

PREVIEW

1. An open social-systems model provides a guiding framework for considering the multidimensional concept of school effectiveness.
2. To maximize school effectiveness, the internal systems of teaching and learning, school structure, school culture and climate, power and politics, and motivation must work harmoniously to produce desired performance outcomes.
3. During the past three decades, calls for higher levels of school effectiveness (especially in terms of student achievement) have intensified, and the national legislation acts of No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top have emphasized school improvement and accountability.
4. Student engagement, student learning strategies, positive school climate, supportive social and parental influences, as well as peer support for high academic performance are keys to academic achievement.
5. A culture of academic optimism leads teachers and students to set and embrace specific, challenging goals that are attainable, which in turn enhances student motivation and improves academic performance.
6. Teachers are the most direct and powerful force in student learning.
7. Effective school leaders cooperate with their teachers to create school cultures and classroom climates conducive to learning. Mistakes must be seen as opportunities for

students to learn, relearn, and explore without the fear of failure.

8. In general, effective organizations have higher quality outputs and adapt more effectively to environmental and internal problems than less effective ones.
9. Because school effectiveness is a complex concept, which does not lend itself to simple solutions, multiple measures of school effectiveness should be used in evaluating the performance of schools: One imperative is to measure student performance at both the cognitive and affective levels.
10. Principals are also an important force for improving schools in general and academic achievement in particular, but their influence for the most part is *indirect* and mediated through the school context and the faculty. Hence, principals improve school effectiveness by working with teachers to enlarge instructional capacity and to develop a school culture that nurtures academic success.

In Chapter 1, we proposed an open social-systems framework of school organization using input, transformation, and output components. The guiding framework first presented as Figure 1.6 is used extensively in this chapter and is reproduced as Figure 9.1. In Chapters 2 through 7, we make

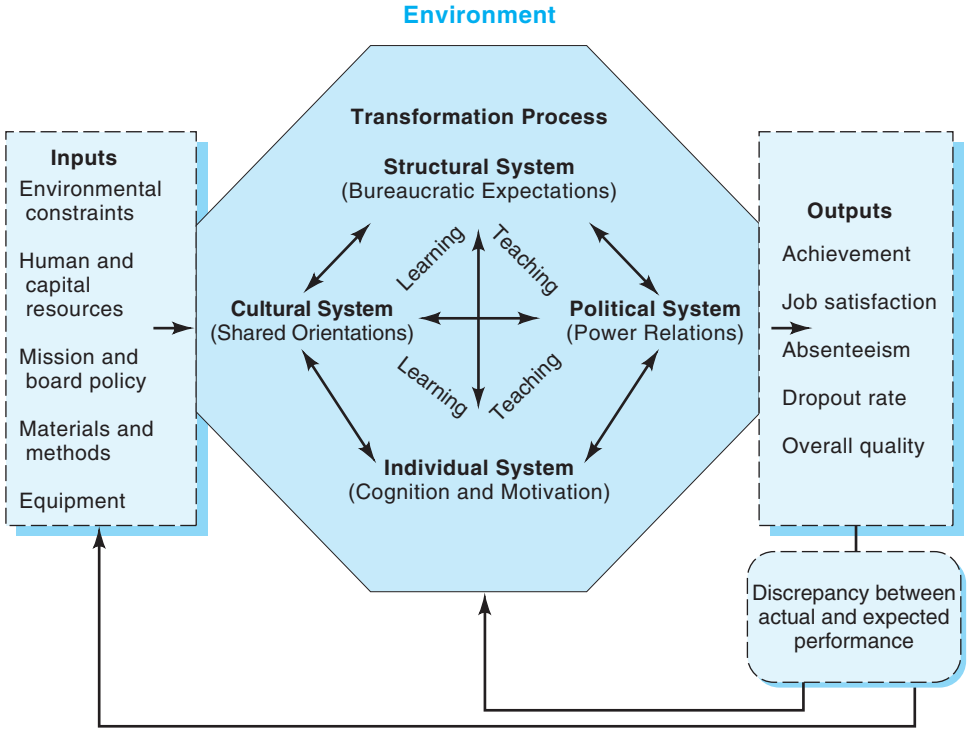


Figure 9.1 *Social-System Model for Schools*

detailed analyses of five internal transformation elements—learning and teaching, school structure, individuals, school culture and climate, and power and politics. Moreover, school outputs constitute the performance outcomes of students, teachers, and administrators and can be assessed for both their quantity and quality. In Chapter 8 we posit that important constituents in the external environment of schools are calling for added emphasis on task accomplishment. As an overall generalization of open-systems theory, outputs of schools are a function of the interaction of five internal transformation elements as shaped and constrained by environmental forces. We further specify this generalization with a congruence hypothesis that other things being equal, the greater the harmony among the transformation elements, the more effective the system. Clearly, organizational effectiveness constitutes a key and integrating concept in open-systems theory and poses increasingly difficult practical tests for school leaders.

SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS—CHALLENGING ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES

Issues of **school effectiveness** represent an enduring and fundamental challenge to administrative practice. First, there is no agreed-upon definition of school effectiveness; different constituents demand different learning outcomes. Some parents are convinced that effective schools emphasize basic skills for success in life. Others believe in cultivating the desire to learn. Based on information of varying accuracy and completeness, parents decide, for example, to locate in a given area because they know that Lynn Cheney Elementary emphasizes basic skills and has high academic expectations and standards, whereas John Dewey Elementary uses high-quality motivational, hands-on teaching, and discovery learning techniques. With their differing perceptions and choices, constituents often question educators about the effectiveness of their schools. Administrators must respond to this challenge by developing coherent and sustainable perspectives on effectiveness. School officials report results to the public that educators believe represent their accomplishments and innovative practices. To illustrate quality and productivity, they promote standardized achievement test scores and college admissions as well as demonstrating effectiveness in art shows, music performances, science fairs, and athletic events.

A second important challenge is that definitions of organizational effectiveness continually change because they are influenced by preferences of constituencies, which in turn reflect social changes. During the 1970s, for example, schools emphasized social and emotional growth and equity for all students, but with the reform reports of the early 1980s, the public started demanding an emphasis on efficiency, academic achievement, and employment skills (Cuban, 1990; Wimpelberg, Teddlie, and Stringfield, 1989). During the 1990s as well as into the new century, the focus continued on academic

achievement with a strong thrust for ways to ensure accountability. Hence, as preferences, practices, and theories change, performance that is judged effective today may be considered less important tomorrow (Cameron, 1984, 2005). For school administrators, then, the goal of creating effective schools is dynamic, not static; the effectiveness target keeps moving.

A third challenge emerges from multiple stakeholders, such as parents, administrators, students, teachers, school board members, businesspeople, policy makers, news media, and taxpayers, with each group often offering different and frequently conflicting effectiveness preferences. Administrators and board of education members, for instance, like to emphasize how money is allocated and how teachers are evaluated. In contrast, teachers prefer to emphasize teaching and learning, arguing that effectiveness is rooted in instructional methods, positive classroom climates, and relationships with and among students. Taxpayers and board members might favor such outcome and efficiency measures as academic achievement and cost per student. Cameron (2005) is probably correct in his pessimistic observation, "Consensus regarding the best, or sufficient, set of indicators of effectiveness is impossible to obtain" (p. 312).

In sum, school administrators face three basic challenges:

- How to develop a working definition of effectiveness.
- How to cope with shifting definitions of effectiveness.
- How to respond to multiple stakeholders with varying definitions of effectiveness.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF REFORM

Much to the dismay of school administrators, the report *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) found that academic achievement levels in America's schools were not competitive internationally. Jacob E. Adams and Michael W. Kirst (1999) contend that the National Commission on Excellence in Education expanded the definition of excellence for schools and the public. To reduce the nation's risk, the public must provide support to help students meet high expectations and achieve academically. In other words, the commission called for higher levels of effectiveness, especially student achievement, and for stronger accountability.

A Nation at Risk set off an explosion of state-level reform activity. In attempts to follow the commission's recommendations, for example, many states changed their high school graduation requirements, extended the school day and year, established new career paths for teachers, created competency tests for graduation, and instituted various types of diplomas to recognize different levels of student performance. This burst of activity during the 1980s became known as the "first wave" of educational reform. During the late 1980s, the substance of the reform movement changed (Vinovskis,

1999) and a second wave of reform activity started. The National Governors' Association and then-President George H. Bush met at the Charlottesville Education Summit in 1989. The focus of their reform was the establishment of national education goals whose aim was to improve student achievement through exemplary teaching in safe and orderly schools. Parent participation and lifelong learning were also basic goals.

Although the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act was supposed to be reauthorized in 2007, with the election of President Barack Obama the plans for school reform changed. In March 2010, the Obama administration released *A Blueprint for Reform: The Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/blueprint/publicationtoc.html for a copy) to describe a vision for the reauthorization of NCLB, which is often called the Race to the Top Act. A major change was to move from a so-called punishment-based system to one that rewards excellent teaching and student growth. The Blueprint described five priorities (USDE, 2010).

1. *College- and Career-Ready Students:* Regardless of income, race, ethnic or language background, or disability status, every student should graduate from high school ready either for college or a career. To meet this objective, the Blueprint recommended *assessments* and *turnaround grants* to improve schools. The secretary of education waived the 100 percent proficiency requirement if states adopted their own assessment and accountability programs and were making progress in preparing college- or career-ready high school graduates (Dillon, 2011).
2. *Great Teachers and Leaders in Every School:* The research is clear: Top-performing teachers make a dramatic difference in student achievement. In fact, having a top teacher year after year significantly narrows achievement gaps (USDE, 2010, p. 13). To develop outstanding teachers and leaders in every school, the Blueprint proposed a Teacher and Leader Improvement Fund of competitive grants and new pathways for preparing educators.
3. *Equity and Opportunity for All Students:* All students are to be included in an accountability system that supports the college- and career-ready standards, rewards progress and success, and mandates rigorous interventions in the lowest performing schools.
4. *Raise the Bar and Reward Excellence:* Race to the Top is a series of competitive grants for schools that has provided incentives for excellence by encouraging state and local leaders to cooperate on reforms, make difficult choices, and develop comprehensive plans to improve student outcomes.
5. *Promote Innovation and Continuous Improvement:* In addition to the Race to the Top grants, an Investing in Innovation Fund provides local and nonprofit leaders with support to develop and scale up programs that have demonstrated success, as well as to discover the next generation of innovative solutions.

The reform efforts of the 1980s did focus the public's attention on academic learning, but new policies came under intense criticism as being fragmented, lacking coherence, doing little to change the content and methods of instruction, failing to involve teachers, and slighting factors directly related to learning and achievement (Fuhrman, Elmore, and Massell, 1993; Smith and O'Day, 1991; Vinovskis, 1999). In reaction to such shortcomings, a so-called third wave of school reform became firmly established during the 1990s. Known as "systemic reform," this approach attempted to unite the earlier waves of activity with two dominating themes: comprehensive change of many school elements simultaneously and policy integrations and coherence around a set of clear outcomes (Fuhrman, Elmore, and Massell, 1993). Under the push of the third wave of school reform, the concentration on school performance increased substantially, and the heightened concern continues today. Terms such as "accountability," "academic achievement," "performance standards," "assessments," "high-stakes tests," "teacher quality," and "student dropout rates" infused conversations among educators, policy makers, business leaders, and the public. Moreover, systemic and whole-school reform came to dominate the language of school improvement. Race to the Top might be considered a fourth wave of reform, extending NCLB and focusing on excellence and continuous improvement. All of these ideas are compatible with a social-systems framework, which we will use to present major conceptions and research for organizational and school effectiveness.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Given the preceding discussion, consider the school system in which you are currently working or the school district in which you live. How is the effectiveness of your system determined? How dynamic is the notion of school effectiveness; that is, to what extent has the definition of school effectiveness changed during the past 10 years? How does your school system convince the public that it is doing a good job? How does your district measure up to others? What is the evidence?

SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

To ask global questions about whether a school is effective or ineffective is of limited value. Effectiveness is not one thing. For instance, effectiveness indicators can be derived for each phase of the open-systems cycle—inputs (How effective is the school in acquiring abstract and fiscal resources?), transformations (How effective is the school in its internal operations?), and outputs (How effective is the school in achieving its academic and social goals?). At one time or another, virtually every input, transformation, or outcome variable has

been used as an indicator of organizational effectiveness. Consequently, the social-system model can be used as a theoretical guide to advance our understanding of school effectiveness and to assess the actions necessary to promote school effectiveness. This point is illustrated by considering each phase of the open-systems cycle as a category of effectiveness indicators.

Input Criteria

Inputs (see Figure 9.1) for schools include environmental components that influence organizational effectiveness. Inputs can be both fiscal and abstract. Fiscal resources commonly refer to taxable wealth, money, or things that money buys (Cohen, Raudenbush, and Ball, 2003). Examples include formal qualifications of the faculty and administration, books, libraries, instructional technology, and physical facilities. Abstract inputs are elements such as state and local educational policies and standards, political structures, organizational arrangements, parental support, and abilities of students. The input criteria indicate neither the amount nor the quality of the work performed, but rather set the limits or capacity for the transformation processes and performance outcomes of the system. In other words, input criteria strongly influence the school's beginning capacity and potential for effective performance. Until recently, school accreditation models relied heavily on input indicators; that is, good schools had high percentages of experienced teachers holding advanced degrees, plentiful support staff, low student-teacher ratios, great libraries with many books, and well-equipped beautiful modern buildings. In brief, schools were judged to be effective based on such indicators.

Performance Outcomes

Organizational effectiveness has been defined relative to the degree of goal attainment. Similar to the definition of individual goals in Chapter 4, **organizational goals** can be defined simply as the desired states that the organization is trying to attain. Goals provide direction and motivation, and they reduce uncertainty for participants and represent standards for assessing the organization. As Scott (2003) posits, "Goals are used to evaluate organizational activities as well as to motivate and direct them" (p. 353). Goals and their relative accomplishment are essential in defining the criteria for organizational effectiveness.

In the current policy environment of education, goals are reflected in the standards for judging the quality and quantity of performance outcomes schools produce. Performance outcomes constitute the quantity of the school's services and products for students, educators, and other constituents and the quality of each output. From a social-system perspective, important outputs include, for students, academic achievement, creativity, self-confidence, aspirations, expectations, graduation, and dropout rates; for teachers, job

satisfaction, absenteeism, and turnover; for administrators, job satisfaction, balanced budgets, and commitment to school; and for society, perceptions of school effectiveness. From a goal or performance outcome perspective, a school is effective if the outcomes of its activities meet or exceed its goals.

A frequently overlooked factor in goal or outcome models, however, is that complex organizations such as schools have multiple and conflicting goals (Hall, 2002). On the surface, the goal of expecting educators to maintain secure and orderly environments in schools is incompatible with the goal of developing the values of trust, group loyalty, and caring among students. Similarly, the mounting emphasis on standards and high-stakes achievement tests clashes with maintaining educator job satisfaction, an outcome that continues to attract substantial interest. Utilitarian, humanitarian, and organizational effectiveness rationales support the importance of job satisfaction as a component of organizational effectiveness (Spector, 1997). At least partially, job satisfaction is an indicator of good treatment and can reflect how well the school organization is functioning.

Schools contribute much more than the academic achievement of students, and focusing on such a narrow outcome fails to account for the wide range of things that comprise positive school performance. Nonetheless, many parents and other citizens, policy makers, and scholars more and more define the desired performance outcomes for schools narrowly; they equate school effectiveness with the level of academic achievement as measured by standardized tests. These important educational constituencies see test scores as having intrinsic value. Schools with high test scores are seen as being effective. Moreover, achievement growth as a **value-added** outcome is being added to the definition of school effectiveness (Heck, 2000). Using a value-added line of reasoning, Peter Mortimore (1998) maintains that effective schools are ones in which students score higher on achievement tests than might be expected from their characteristics at entry. Consequently, an emerging definition of school effectiveness includes both the level and change in academic achievement. In other words, for schools to be judged effective, they have to demonstrate high achievement test scores and show substantial gains for all their students. As evidence of its popularity, policy makers are including the value-added criterion in their policy initiatives. For example, schools receiving funds under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (P.L. 107–110) must show that their students are making "adequate yearly progress or AYP," that is, making specified gains in academic achievement during a school year. In addition, policy makers seemingly have been relying on input-output approaches to predict and compare the performance outcomes of schools.

Input-Output Research

Input-output research, or production-function studies, examine how educational resources or inputs are changed into educational outcomes (Rice, 2002).

Production function research assumes that the performance outcomes of schools are related directly to inputs such as per pupil expenditures, teacher characteristics, teacher-student ratios, and student and family characteristics, whereas the outcomes are scores on achievement tests (Monk and Plecki, 1999). In other words, the purpose of production-function research is to predict an outcome such as test scores rather than to explain how the result was produced. Consequently, production-function research ignores the system's internal transformational processes and uses only inputs to predict outputs.

Production-function research gained popularity in the mid-1960s when James S. Coleman and his associates (1966) conducted a highly influential study reflecting this approach, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Popularly known as the Coleman Report, it remains the largest survey of American public education ever undertaken. The most surprising finding was that when home background variables were controlled, school inputs or capacity indicators showed limited relationships to test scores. Differences among school libraries, education and experience of teachers, expenditure levels, laboratories, gymnasiums, and other conventional resources had weak relationships with differences in student achievement (Cohen, Raudenbush, and Ball, 2003). In contrast, students' home backgrounds before entering school mattered more than the capacity characteristics of schools. Based on the more recent findings of Brian Rowan, Richard Correnti, and Robert J. Miller (2002), this conclusion needs to be tempered. They found that when students enter kindergarten, their levels of achievement are moderately correlated to such factors in their home environments as family size, family structure, and socioeconomic status. These home conditions evidently produce differential opportunities to learn prior to attending school. Once students enter elementary school, however, the effects of home background apparently fade and achievement growth can largely be explained by the effects of instructional differences among schools and classrooms. In other words, differences in family backgrounds are more strongly correlated to initial levels of student achievement in elementary school than their year-to-year achievement gains. Nonetheless, learning in the home is extremely important.

Since the Coleman Report, a large number of additional production-function studies have been conducted. As a strong proponent of the approach, Eric A. Hanushek (1981, 1989, 1997) concludes that production-function research in education has produced startlingly consistent results—variations in school expenditures are not systematically related to variations in student performance. Furthermore, schools are inefficient organizations because there is no strong or consistent relationship between variations in school resources and student performance. Recently, Hanushek (2003) has become even more adamant in stating: "Class sizes have fallen, qualifications of teachers have risen, and expenditures have increased. Unfortunately, little evidence exists to suggest that any significant changes in student outcomes have accompanied this growth in resources devoted to schools" (p. F67). In sum, Hanushek maintains that production-function

research generally finds little evidence to support the idea that spending additional money on current schools will improve student learning.

Scholars such as David H. Monk and Margaret L. Plecki (1999) criticize production-function research for lacking a driving theoretical framework that predicts, describes, and explains the findings. Others such as Alan B. Krueger (2003) and Larry V. Hedges, Richard Laine, and Rob Greenwald (1994) strongly dispute the methods, findings, and implications of this approach. After reanalyzing Hanushek's data, Hedges and his colleagues (1994) found that the influence of school inputs on student performance outcomes are considerably more consistent and positive than Hanushek alleged. In a follow-up study, Greenwald, Hedges, and Laine (1996) assessed the effects on student achievement of three sets of inputs—expenditures (per pupil costs, teacher salaries), teacher background characteristics or quality indicators (ability, education, experience), and size (class, school, district). They concluded that in general, school inputs are systematically related to academic achievement and that the magnitudes of the relationships are large enough to be important. In particular, higher achievement is associated with higher per pupil expenditures, smaller classes and schools, and the quality of teachers. J. D. Finn and Charles M. Achilles (1999) provide substantial support for the conclusion about class size. Their findings from Tennessee's Project STAR (Student/Teacher Achievement Ratio study) show that students, especially minority and inner-city children, in small classes in kindergarten through the third grade performed better than those in regular classes. Nye and her colleagues (2000), in their analysis of the Tennessee data, found that class size effects were consistent and large enough to be important for educational policy. Hanushek (2003) disagreed with the policy implication; he argued that the actual gains were small and that one experimental study with flaws was insufficient for such a costly reform.

Even proponents of production-function research such as Hanushek (2003) acknowledge that differences among schools and teachers produce important and differential changes in academic achievement. Schools are not homogeneous in their effects on students; schools differ in the effectiveness of their efforts to influence performance outcomes. Steven T. Bossert (1988) maintains that input-output studies typically do not consider how students actually use available school resources or how schools deliver instructional services to their students. On the basis of reasoning similar to Bossert's, a new line of inquiry emerged that was designed to explain how home, school, and internal-system factors influence the performance outcomes of schools.

Transformational Criteria

Transformational criteria are the quantity, quality, and consistency of the internal processes and structures that transform the inputs to outcomes (see Figure 9.1). Examples of transformational criteria are the structure and content of the curriculum, health of the interpersonal climate, motivation levels

of students and teachers, teacher and administrator leadership, quality and quantity of instruction, and trust, collective efficacy, and academic optimism.

To maximize school effectiveness, the internal elements of teaching and learning, school structure, school culture and climate, power and politics, and motivation must work harmoniously to produce the desired performance goals. Congruence among these internal elements increases the system's ability to secure needed resources from the environment (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967), to build the capacity of the transformational system, and ultimately to improve effectiveness. In an empirical test of this congruence hypothesis in schools, John Tarter and Wayne Hoy (2004) found support for the relationship. Student achievement as well as overall school effectiveness were each positively related to the elements of the social system (structural, individual, cultural, and political) as these elements were consistent with each other. Not surprisingly, educational administrators place great importance on maintaining harmony because conflict impedes the system's ability to achieve at high levels.

Models of School Effectiveness: Improving Academic Performance

Using a systems perspective, contemporary research not only considers inputs but also relates transformational processes of the school and classrooms to educational outcomes. Inputs not withstanding, teaching and learning and other classroom practices (instructional methods, classroom organization, opportunities to learn, time to learn) as well as school properties (school culture, motivation, school structure, and politics) influence such outputs as job satisfaction, graduation rates, and student achievement.

This general approach is most commonly called **effective-schools research,** though it is sometimes referred to as process-product research or school effects research. The vast majority of this research uses cross-sectional procedures that focus on student achievement at a single point in time. For assessing improvement efforts and student growth, Heck (2005) cautions that cross-sectional methods are not sensitive to changes that occur within schools over time and recommends using longitudinal studies that attend to student experiences in a school over the course of a year with a specific teacher.

To illustrate the effective-schools research, we turn now to recent examples of models that explain academic achievement. Although there are many desirable outcomes that schools use to assess their effectiveness, most agree that academic achievement is a critical feature of school effectiveness. Others hold that more subjective and global descriptions of school performance provide useful gauges of success. Our position is that there is much to be gained from both specific, objective measures of effectiveness as well as general, subjective ones. First, we examine three examples from the research of Lee and Shute (2010), Bryk and his colleagues (2010), and Hoy and his colleagues (2006a,b). Each of these groups develops a fairly comprehensive model to

explain school effectiveness in terms of student performance and achievement. Then, we consider more global and comprehensive models of school effectiveness that are concerned not only with the quantity and quality of school performance but also with the capacity of the school to adapt to its environment and innovate in ways that improve school performance. Finally, we also explore the role of values in conceiving of effective organizations.

Lee and Shute's Model of Academic Achievement

Jihyun Lee and Valerie Shute (2010) did an extensive review of the research on achievement with the goal of developing a model to explain academic achievement in K–12 schools. They identified four sets of factors that account for reading and mathematics performance—student engagement, student learning strategies, school climate, and social and parental influences, which in turn integrate into a general framework for explaining student academic performance. What is especially interesting is their emphasis on the attitudes and behavior of the individual learner. Successful learners use a mix of strategies to engage in the work of learning as they monitor and manage their own progress. These factors do not operate isolated from such school factors as academic emphasis, collective efficacy, and the active engagement of the principal. Moreover, the parents' support of academic goals and the influence of fellow students who value academic achievement are also critical factors of success.

We turn to an explication of the elements of their model (see Table 9.1). Two personal or student factors are central in achievement: student engagement and student learning strategies. **Student engagement** is characterized by such behavior as attending class, following rules, and participating in school activities as well as a cognitive motivational engagement, that is, a willingness and belief that one can learn. Emotional engagement, a positive affective attitude toward learning, completes the definition of student engagement. A set of student learning strategies complements student engagement. Behavioral learning strategies focus on time management, test-taking, help-seeking, homework management, and note-taking. **Cognitive strategies** are the knowledge and skills to process information such as summarizing, inferring, applying, and reasoning. Finally, **metacognitive strategies** are self-regulation processes that monitor and manage one's own learning. These two student factors, student engagement and student learning strategies, are reciprocally related, that is, student engagement influences learning strategies, which in turn, reinforce student engagement.

Two social-contextual or environmental factors also affect academic achievement: school climate, and social and parental influences. School climate is defined by academic emphasis, teacher interactions, and principal leadership. Academic emphasis is the extent to which the school holds high expectations for its students and the degree to which the school community supports those expectations. Teacher interaction is a broader concept that

Table 9.1

Student, School, and Environmental Factors Affecting Academic Achievement

Student (Personal) Factors	
Student Engagement	Examples
• Behavioral Engagement	Attending classes, following rules and procedures
• Cognitive Engagement	Cognitive investment—willingness and belief one can learn
• Emotional Engagement	Interest and positive affective states
Student Learning Strategies	
• Behavioral Strategies	Time management, test-taking, help-seeking, homework, note-taking strategies
• Cognitive Strategies	Information processing strategies: summarizing, inferring, applying, and reasoning
• Metacognitive Strategies	Self-regulation—monitoring and managing one's own learning
Social-Contextual (Environmental) Factors	
School Climate	Examples
• Academic Emphasis	High academic expectations
• Teacher Interactions	Collective efficacy, teacher empowerment, morale
• Principal Leadership	Collegiality, consideration, initiating structure
Social and Parental Influences	
• Parental Involvement	Parents' participation and support of school activities as well as a positive attitude toward education and their child's aspirations
• Peer Influence	Peers support high academic performance

SOURCE: Adapted from Lee and Shute, 2010

includes the collective efficacy of the faculty, faculty perceptions of their empowerment, and sense of teacher affiliation. Principal leadership is the influence the principal has in shaping and clarifying the curriculum and mission of the school while maintaining the teachers' trust; leadership here is a combination of behaviors characterized by collegiality, consideration, and initiating structure to improve student performance.

Social and parental influences make up the environmental forces at work on the school. Parental involvement is participation and support of school activities, for example, volunteering for PTO/PTA and other school-community endeavors. Further, positive expectations and aspirations that parents hold for their children's education influence academic achievement. Peer influence is captured in the statement "My friends make fun of people who try to do well in school" (Lee and Shute, 2010, p.198). As students increasingly agree with that statement, peer influence on the student will

depress academic performance. Lee and Shute argue that peer reinforcement is a substantial force on student performance. When students respect others who are academically productive, the force of peer pressure turns positive in terms of academic achievement. The two social contextual factors, school climate, and social and parental influences have a reciprocal relationship with each other. School climate enhances parental involvement and peer influence, which in turn reinforces a positive school climate, one that is efficacious, collegial, and holds high academic expectations.

The personal factors of student engagement and learning strategies both affect and are affected by the social and contextual factors of school climate, and social and parental influences. The more that students engage behaviorally, cognitively, and affectively, the more likely they will be successful and develop learning strategies that contribute to performance. A school climate that reinforces high expectations for students develops a collective sense of efficacy, and empowerment of faculty also facilitates high student achievement. When parents actively participate in school affairs and support educational aspirations, and when peers value academic achievement, then levels of student success increase. In brief, the Lee-Shute model can be simplified as follows: *Student engagement and learning strategies operating in a school climate conducive to learning and reinforced by parents and peers produce high academic achievement.*

Bryk and Colleagues: Model of Essential Supports for Academic Achievement

Anthony Bryk and his colleagues (Bryk et al., 2010) at the University of Chicago performed a longitudinal study of the Chicago Public Schools (1990–1996), which provided the basis for another model of academic achievement. The researchers identified a set of concepts that they called essential supports for achievement along with drivers and environmental conditions that facilitate academic achievement (see Table 9.2).

School leadership was conceptualized in terms of two important aspects: instructional leadership and shared leadership. Instructional leadership is the principal monitoring student progress, providing constructive feedback, maintaining high academic standards, and performing active observation of teachers. Shared leadership complements the instructional thrust by involving teachers and parents in such school decisions as selecting texts, influencing instruction, allocating school resources, and adhering to locally developed school improvement plans. Such leadership provides the driving force for development of four essential supports within the school: *professional capacity, school-learning climate, parent-school-community ties, and instructional guidance.*

Professional capacity refers to the quality, engagement, creativity, and commitment of the faculty, which enables formative evaluation among teachers and fosters the development of collective responsibility for success.

TABLE 9.2

Concepts of a Framework of Essential Supports for Academic Achievement

Instructional leadership is tracking and monitoring student progress, maintaining high academic standards, hands-on observation of teaching, constructive feedback to teachers, monitoring the development and implementation of a locally developed school improvement plan.

Shared leadership is the extent to which teachers and parents through local school councils are involved in important school decisions such as selecting texts, influencing instruction, and allocating school resources.

Professional capacity is a cluster of behaviors that include gauging the quality of the faculty, the engagement of the faculty, creativity of the faculty, formative evaluation and reflective dialogue among teachers, commitment of teachers to the school, and collective responsibility for school performance.

Student-centered learning climate is the students' sense that their classroom is a safe and orderly place in which teachers hold high expectations, take a personal interest in the progress of the student, and students respect others who work hard and are successful in school.

Parent-community-school ties is the extent to which teachers know the community, have close ties with parents about school activities, which are reciprocated, and the teachers use the resources of the community.

Instructional guidance is the degree of curriculum mapping and alignment that focuses on students mastering and applying basic skills.

Relational trust is a pervasive sense of trust among students, teachers, and parents based on social respect, personal regard, role competence, and personal integrity.

Social capital is a complex net of social relationships that provide support and resources for purposive action.

Bonding social capital is the density and strength of political, religious, and other organizational ties that provide childcare and protection, and is mobilized to solve local problems.

Bridging social capital is the extent of interactions between community residents and external individuals and organizations, which are mobilized to solve community problems.

SOURCE: Bryk, Sebring, Allensworth, Luppescu, and Easton, 2010

Professional capacity directly affects and is affected by a positive school-learning climate. The **school-learning climate** is student-centered; students sense that their classrooms are safe and free from disruption, their teachers take a personal interest in their learning, and their peers are not antagonistic toward academic success. The school-learning climate also positively influences strong **parent-school-community ties,** which in turn reinforce a student-centered learning climate, that is, as teachers take an increased personal interest in their students, they come to a better knowledge of the parents, community, and its resources.

Instructional guidance is the degree of curriculum mapping and alignment that facilitates the mastery and application of basic skills. It is theorized that such guidance as well as professional capacity, school-learning climate,

and parent-school-community ties all have a positive impact on the operation of the classroom social system. Bryk and his colleagues liken the interactions of these four central supports as the ingredients of a cake. If any one is missing, "it is just not a cake" (p. 203).

The classroom social system does not operate in isolation; like all social systems, it is affected by the broader environment. Two pervasive elements are critical in the dynamic operation of the model: relational trust, and bonding and bridging social capital. **Relational trust** is a general sense of confidence and dependence among students, teachers, and parents based on social respect, personal regard, role competence, and personal integrity. Such trust is also a necessary ingredient of effective schools; in brief, relational trust is essential for effective organizational operations.

Social capital is a complex net of social relationships that provides support and resources for purposive action. Two forms of social capital were salient in Bryk and his colleagues' research: bonding and bridging. **Bonding social capital** is the density and strength of institutions that tie the community together and help it achieve common purpose. **Bridging social capital** is the extent of interaction between the community and individuals and organizations external to the community. In general, bonding social capital establishes bridging social capital, and both are necessary for local institutions to work on behalf of the school and community (Bryk et al., 2010). The dynamics of how the essential supports and their accompanying drivers (instructional and shared leadership) and conditions (relational trust, and bonding and bridging social capital) facilitate student performance are illustrated in Figure 9.2. One thing that is missing from the model is the particulars of how the school social system is affected by the essential school supports; in effect, the internal dynamics remain a black box.

Hoy and Woolfolk Hoy: An Organizational Model for Student Achievement

In Chapter 5, we defined academic optimism as a collective set of shared beliefs and behaviors about the strengths and capabilities of a school that infuse it with the capacity to achieve academic success. Recall that academic optimism refers to the interaction of three concepts that have been consistently tied to high achievement: collective efficacy, faculty trust in students and parents, and academic emphasis (see Figure 5.3). A school culture imbued with these features has a sense of the possible. Collective efficacy signals that teachers believe in themselves and their ability to make a difference. Faculty trust in students and parents reflects the belief that teachers, parents, and students can cooperate to improve student learning. Academic emphasis is the enacted behavior prompted by collective efficacy and faculty trust—an emphasis on intellectual pursuits and academic success. In brief, a school with high academic optimism defines a culture in which the faculty believes that it can make a difference, that all students can learn, and that academic

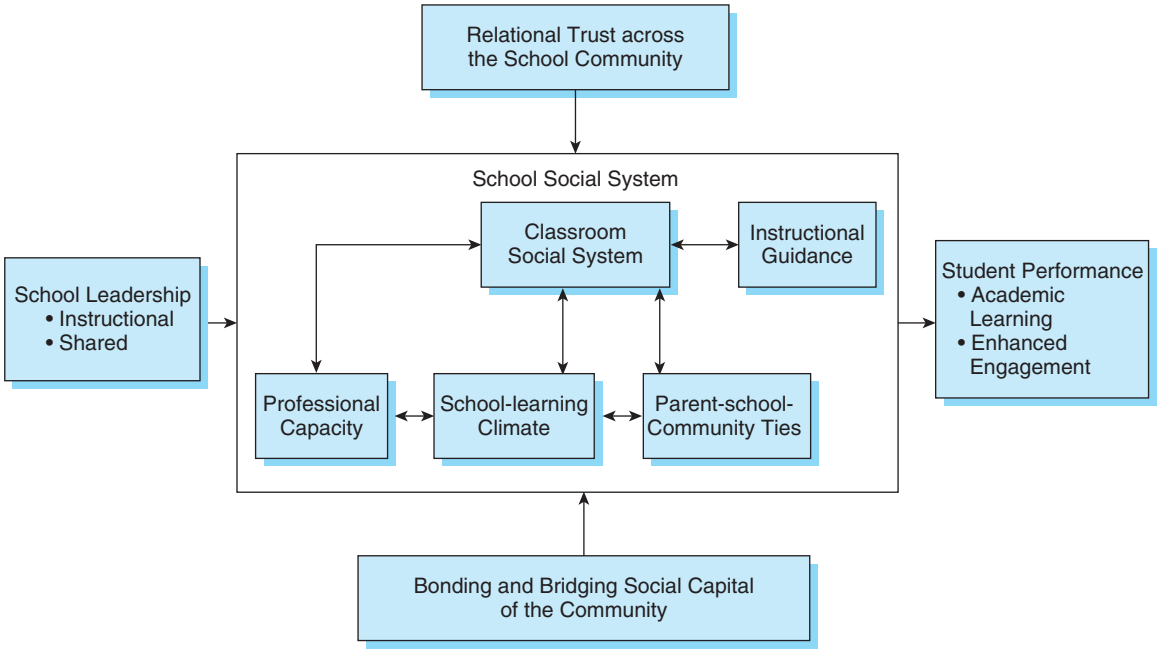


FIGURE 9.2 ***A Framework of Essential Supports for Student Performance***

SOURCE: Adapted from Bryk et al., 2010

performance can be achieved (Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006b). Although academic optimism has been consistently related to academic achievement regardless of socioeconomic status (Forsyth, Adams, and Hoy, 2011; DiPaola and Wagner, in press; Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006a; Kirby and DiPaola, 2009; McGuigan and Hoy, 2006; Smith and Hoy, 2007), how academic optimism explains student achievement has received less attention. We turn to an organizational model for student achievement that synthesizes the research and theory as well as advances an explanation of the dynamics of school achievement.

First, we examine the results of two separate but related streams of research that led to some similar conclusions. Anthony Bryk and Barbara Schneider's (2002) longitudinal study of the Chicago Public Schools was designed to study school effectiveness, but during the course of their research, quite accidentally, they discovered the strong influence of trust in schools. They found that, "Schools reporting strong positive trust levels in 1994 were more than three times as likely to be categorized eventually as improving in reading and mathematics than those with very weak reports" (p. 111). They argued, however, that trust promoted school effectiveness indirectly by fostering four organizational conditions that more directly explained achievement: positive "can do" attitude of teachers, outreach to

and cooperation with parents, professional community, and commitment to school community.

What is striking about these school conditions that promote learning is their remarkable similarity with Hoy and his colleagues' concept of academic optimism. The organizational conditions identified by Bryk and Schneider map on the core elements that compose academic optimism. The "can do attitude" of the group is defined by collective efficacy. The outreach to and collaboration with parents is embodied by collective trust in parents and students. Finally, professional community in terms of collaborative work practices, commitment to improving teaching and learning, and high expectations and academic standards is captured by academic emphasis. This mapping was displayed in Figure 5.4. In short, a culture of academic optimism comprises the key facets of organizations that drive student achievement for all students.

How does this constellation of school properties produce high student achievement? Hoy and Woolfolk Hoy (Hoy, in press; Hoy and Woolfolk Hoy, 2011) provide a theoretical guide in this regard. A culture of academic optimism leads teachers and students to set and embrace specific, challenging goals that are attainable, which in turn promotes student motivation. Second, academic optimism and relational trust (working through academic optimism) foster a learning environment in which students and teachers accept responsibility for learning, are motivated to exert strong effort, persist in difficult tasks, and are resilient in the face of problems and failures. Third, academic optimism encourages cooperation among students, teachers, and parents in matters of student learning, which enhances student motivation. Moreover, relational trust between parents and teachers supports academic optimism as well as furthers cooperation. Both challenging goals and cooperation among students, teachers, and parents lead to strong motivation, which in turn leads to high levels of achievement, which in turn reinforces both relational trust and academic optimism. These interrelationships producing student achievement are summarized and illustrated in Figure 9.3.

Hattie's Analysis of Academic Achievement

In what is arguably the most comprehensive analysis of academic achievement, John Hattie (2009) examines and summarizes 800 meta-analyses of student achievement over 15 years. Not surprisingly, he found that the quality of teachers and their pedagogy is the most important factor influencing academic achievement—after all, teachers are most directly related to teaching and learning in classrooms. The conclusion of his assessment can be summarized in six signposts:

1. Teachers matter; they are the most powerful forces in helping students to learn.
2. Effective teachers are directive, caring, and passionately engaged in the teaching-learning process.
3. Effective teachers are aware of what each student is thinking, which enables them to construct meaning and relevant experiences for their

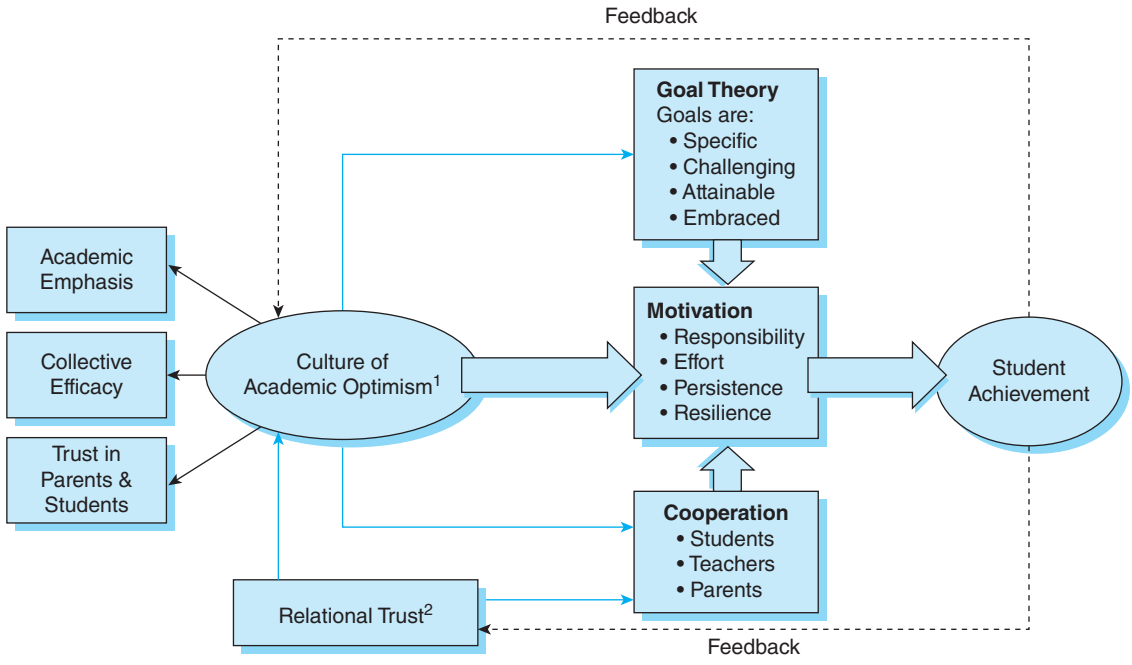


FIGURE 9.3 ***A Model of the Dynamics of Student Achievement***

SOURCE: © Hoy, 2010

[1]Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy (2006)

[2]Bryk and Schneider (2002)

students. This requires a proficient and deep understanding of their subject matter so they can provide useful feedback as they move the student through the curriculum.

4. Effective teachers know what they want to teach, how to do it successfully, when each student understands, and what to do when understanding falls short.
5. Effective teachers use multiple perspectives to convey ideas so that learners can construct and reconstruct knowledge–it is the learner's construction of knowledge that is critical.
6. Effective school leaders cooperate with their teachers to create a school culture and classroom climates conducive to learning. Mistakes must be seen as opportunities for students to learn, relearn, and explore without the fear of failure.

These six signposts provide a safe environment where teachers learn to discuss, evaluate, and plan their teaching using feedback about their success and failures. The key is not simply critical reflection, but critical reflection in light of evidence about their teaching and student learning. *The ultimate goal*

TABLE 9.3

School Characteristics That Enhance Academic Achievement

School Characteristic	Studies of Support
Organizational Trust	(Bryk and Schneider, 2002: Forsyth et al., 2010; Goddard et al., 2001; Hoy, 2002; Tschannen-Moran, 2004)
Collective Efficacy	(Goddard et al., 2000; Goddard et al., 2001; Goddard et al., 2003; Hoy et al., 2002)
Academic Optimism	(DiPaola and Wagner, in press; Jackson and DiPaola, 2011; Hoy et al., 2006; Smith and Hoy, 2007; Wagner and DiPaola, 2009)
Organizational Citizenship	(DiPaola and Hoy, 2005; Tarter & Cooper, 2011)
Instructional Capacity	(Bryk et al., 2010; Heck, 2010; Printy, 2010)
Instructional Leadership	(Alig-Mielcarek and Hoy, 2005: Hattie, 2009; Heck, 2010; Heck and Hallinger, 2010; Printy, 2011)
Professional Learning Community	(Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Bryk et al., 2010; Louis and Marks, 1998)
Academic Emphasis	(Alig-Mielcarek and Hoy, 2005; Hoy et al., 1991; Hoy and Sabo, 1998; Lee and Bryk, 1989)
Parental Involvement	(Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Bryk et al., 2010; Lee and Shute, 2010)

of effective teaching is to have teachers see learning through the eyes of their students and to have students see themselves as their own teachers (Hattie, 2009).

Although Hattie's work focuses on teachers, it is consistent with the organizational research that promotes academic achievement in schools. We have seen that some of the critical factors of the school context that facilitate achievement are collective trust, collective efficacy, academic emphasis, and academic optimism. Academic optimism reduces the sense of vulnerability that students and teachers experience as they take on the uncertain tasks of new learning. Such optimism opens up the workplace and mistakes tend not to be hidden or feared; students and teachers accept responsibility for learning; and academic optimism creates effort, resilience, and persistence (Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy, 2006b).What does a high-achieving school look like? Based on the extant research, Table 9.3 summarizes some of the major organizational properties that promise academic achievement.

Models of School Effectiveness: Beyond Academic Performance

As we have seen, the demands for accountability and national legislation such as No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top focus attention on school

outcomes, particularly on the use of objective, standardized tests to assess school effectiveness. There seems to be little doubt that school effectiveness is a complex concept, which does not lend itself to simple solutions. Our view is that multiple measures of school effectiveness should be used in evaluating the performance of schools, and one imperative is to measure student performance at both the cognitive and affective levels. Notwithstanding that decisions about how to measure school effectiveness are driven by state and national policy, subjective evaluations and values also influence judgments about school effectiveness. Thus we turn to two more models that have a broader perspective in defining and measuring school effectiveness. First, we examine a general perspective with multiple dimensions to assess effectiveness, which is a more subjective approach with a strong research base—Mott's (1972) general model of organizational effectiveness. Then we examine Quinn and Quinn's (2009) competing values framework of effectiveness.

Mott's General Model of Organizational Effectiveness

Paul Mott (1972) developed a multifaceted perspective for measuring organizational effectiveness. He argued that effective organizations "produce more and higher quality outputs and adapt more effectively to environmental and internal problems than other, similar organizations" (p. 17). He sets forth a set of criteria for organizational effectiveness that includes:

- Quantity and quality of outputs.
- Efficiency of production.
- Adaptability and flexibility of the organization.

Mott argued that these organizational attributes define the ability of the organization to mobilize its centers of power for action to achieve its goals, to fulfill worker needs, and to adapt to the environment. His study of hospitals and a study of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (Mott, 1972) provided strong empirical evidence to support the validity and reliability of his measure of effectiveness—the Index of Perceived Organizational Effectiveness.

Miskel and his colleagues (Miskel, Fevurly, & Stewart, 1979; Miskel, McDonald, & Bloom, 1983) were first to adapt the Mott measure and used it successfully to study the effectiveness of schools. Hoy and Ferguson (1985) demonstrated that the index correlated with many other measures of school effectiveness, including cohesiveness, faculty commitment, and student achievement, thus providing validity for the use of the scale in schools. Further, Hoy and his colleagues (Hoy and Sabo, 1998; Hoy, Tarter, and Wiskoskie, 1992) demonstrated the validity of the index as they examined the relationship between faculty trust and school effectiveness in middle and elementary schools. The latest version of the Index of Perceived School Effectiveness is called the SE-Index and is displayed in Table 9.4.

TABLE 9.4

Perceived School Effectiveness Index

SE-Index

Directions: Teachers produce a variety of product such as lesson plans, new curricula, student learning as well as numerous services including teaching, advising, counseling, and parent conferences. Think of these products and services as you respond to each item and indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements about your school.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. The *quality* of products and services produced in this school is outstanding.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
2. The *quantity* of products and services in this school is high.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
3. The teachers in my school do a good job *coping* with emergencies and disruptions.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
4. Most everyone in the school *accepts* and *adjusts* to changes.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
5. When changes are made in the school, teachers accept and adjust *quickly.*	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
6. Teachers in this school are well *informed* about innovations that could affect them.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
7. Teachers in this school *anticipate* problems and prevent them.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
8. Teachers in this school use available resources *efficiently.*	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

© Hoy, 2009

For building administrators who want a quick snapshot of the effectiveness of their school, we recommend administering the index to faculty to gauge perceptions of effectiveness. Typically, the result is stable and reliable. You might also consider administering the SE-Index to a representative sample of parents to get a feel for their perceptions. It is useful and interesting to compare faculty, parent, and self-perceptions of school effectiveness.

Quinn and Quinn's Competing Values Framework

Most people, including researchers who have studied organizational effectiveness, apply negative values to aspects of effectiveness that they are not enamored with and positive values to those features they like. For example, individuals who favor competitive values tend to label collaborative values as "soft" or "flaky" whereas those with collaborative values call competitive values "aggressive" or "callous."

Quinn and Quinn (2009) elaborate this distinction by developing a typology of alternative views of organizational effectiveness built upon a preference for *stable or flexible structures* and the tendency to focus on *internal*

or external issues. Structures, as we have seen in Chapter 3, can be tightly coupled, bureaucratic, predictable, and stable or loosely coupled, informal, organic, and flexible. Internal issues are concerned with the smooth and efficient operation of the organization through formal and informal procedures. External issues are concerned primarily with the organization's exchange with its environment with attention to both innovation and goal achievement. The following four perspectives emerge for schools:

1. The *Competitive View* (Stable Structure and External Focus) defines effectiveness in terms of how productive the school is compared to other similar schools using such measures as student test scores and value-added scores.
2. The *Collaborative View* (Flexible Structure and Internal Focus) defines effectiveness in terms of collaborative and developmental features of the school using such indicators as faculty morale, student social and emotional development, cohesiveness, and openness and health of the school climate.
3. The *Control View* (Stable Structure and Internal Focus) defines effectiveness in terms of how stable and reliable the school is focusing on such criteria as efficiency, tight coupling, and management of school community relations.
4. The *Creative View* (Flexible Structure and External Focus) defines effectiveness in terms of how adaptable and innovative the school is measuring such features as successful reform, creativity, and uniqueness.

We have summarized the four views in Figure 9.4. It behooves administrators to view their school from all four perspectives to get a comprehensive assessment of the effectiveness of their school. Moreover, Quinn and Quinn (2009) suggest that each of these perspectives has positive individual and organizational consequences. The collaborative view stresses an *other-focused perspective*; others are seen as having legitimate needs and desires. The creative view stresses *openness to the environment* and feedback to monitor progress. The control view is *internally directed* to find and react to gaps to improve predictability. Finally, the competitive view is *purpose-centered*—to achieve extraordinary outcomes. What is the dominant view of effectiveness in your school? In other words, using the dimensions of focus and structure, what is the prevailing view of your school on organizational effectiveness?

Administrator and Teacher Effects

A commonly heard contention is that principals are the key to school effectiveness. However, the links between school administrators and student achievement are not as clear as some proponents of the effective-schools programs claim. For instance, Good and Brophy (1986) conclude that nearly all

		FOCUS ON: Internal Issues	FOCUS ON: External Issues
STRUCTURE	Flexible	***Collaborative View*** **[Internal and Flexible]** Values: Human Relations Developmental Collaboration Desired Outcomes: Morale Openness and Health Cohesiveness	***Creative View*** **[External and Flexible]** Values: Adaptability Creativity Flexibility Desired Outcomes: Growth Innovation Readiness
	Stable	***Control View*** **[Internal and Stable]** Values: Predictability Control Stability Desired Outcomes: Manage the Environment Internal Efficiency Tight Couplings	***Competitive View*** **[External and Stable]** Values: Planning and Execution Competition Stability Desired Outcomes: Efficiency Productivity Goal Achievement

FIGURE 9.4 *Alternative Views of Organizational Effectiveness*

studies of effective schools support the importance of principal leadership, but limited accord exists on the behaviors and practices that characterize leadership for enhanced academic achievement. In an even stronger statement, Bossert (1988) maintains that effective-schools studies have tried to resurrect the bureaucratic ideal by stating that strong principal leadership is necessary to structure schools for effectiveness. However, the research is silent on which processes must be structured and which structures need to be created to produce success. Bossert did identify four characteristics that are typically associated with principals who administer effective schools: goals and production emphasis, power and strong decision making, effective management, and strong human relations skills.

Other scholars agree with Bossert and add specificity to his conclusions. Philip Hallinger and Heck (1996, 1998, 2010; Heck, 2000, 2005, 2010) found that principal leadership has measurable influence on student achievement, but that the effects are *indirect* and occur when principals manipulate internal school structures, processes, and visions that are directly connected to student learning (Leithwood and Jantzi, 1999; Witziers, Bosker, and Kruger, 2003). In a wide-ranging review and analysis of the

literature, Kenneth Leithwood, Karen Seashore Louis, Stephen Anderson, and Kyla Wahlstrom (2004) conclude that leadership is second to classroom teaching in contributing to what students learn in schools. Similar to the earlier works by Bossert, Heck, and Hallinger, they cite three ways, also indirect, that educational leadership makes a difference in improving student learning.

- Setting direction by envisioning clear, shared, and understandable courses of action and goals. Leadership practices to facilitate goal setting include articulating a vision, generating high performance expectations, monitoring school performance, and providing feedback about performance to others.
- Developing people by providing educators and others with the needed support and training. Leadership actions to help make the transformations include offering intellectual stimulation, giving individualized support, and supplying models of best practices and beliefs.
- Redesigning the school organization by making it work to ensure that a wide range of conditions and incentives support teaching and learning. Leadership acts to advance organizational change include strengthening school cultures and building collaborative processes.

Recent research has also shown support for the indirect influence of the principal on student achievement (Heck, 2010; Leithwood, Patten, and Jantzi, 2010; Robinson, Lloyd, and Rowe, 2008). For example, Viviane Robinson and her colleagues (2008) carried out a two-stage meta-analytic inquiry and found especially strong relationships of the principals' involvement in teacher learning and development to positive student achievement. They concluded that the closer educational leaders get to the core process of teaching and learning, the more likely they are to have a positive impact on student achievement. In other words, principal leadership needs to be directly related to improving teaching and learning in the classroom if it is to have the positive effect on teacher behavior that will enhance student learning.

The foregoing conclusions should be interpreted and applied with caution, however. As Leithwood and Ben Levin (2005) note, leadership does not have large, independent effects on student learning, and finding small, meaningful effects remains a persistent challenge for educational researchers and program evaluators. Moreover, just because the effects of principals are mediated by other school factors does not diminish the importance of their contributions to school effectiveness.

In contrast to principals, teachers directly influence student learning through a variety of classroom behaviors and activities. William L. Sanders (1998) contends that "the single largest factor affecting academic growth . . . of students is differences in effectiveness of individual classroom teachers" (p. 27).

Jennifer King Rice (2003) agrees with Sanders's contention. Based on her review of the literature, Rice declares that "teacher quality matters. In fact, it is the most important school related factor influencing student achievement" (p. v). Empirical support, for example, is provided by Heck (2000) and Hattie (2009). Heck found that schools with higher than expected student achievement are staffed by teachers rated high for creating classroom environments that emphasize academics and for holding strong expectations for student learning. Steven G. Rivkin, Hanushek, and John F. Kain (2005) recently found that teachers have a powerful impact on reading and mathematics achievement. These observations and findings suggest that the most direct path for a school district, state, or a country to attain substantial gains in student performance is to adopt policies and practices that will improve its teaching force (Hanushek, 2005a).

From the foregoing reviews of the many conceptual and research approaches to organizational effectiveness, it seems clear that educational scholars, practitioners, and policy makers have a body of knowledge that they can use to design methods for enhancing school effectiveness. We agree with Rowan, Correnti, and Miller (2002) that a promising way to school improvement is through instructional interventions that diminish differences among classrooms and create positive instructional contexts. In brief, principals are an important force for improving schools in general and academic achievement in particular; however, their influence for the most part is indirect and mediated through the school context and the faculty. To improve academic achievement the principal must work with teachers to build instructional capacity (e.g., curriculum design, instructional delivery, and assessment together with positive teacher-student social relationships) and to develop a school culture that nurtures academic success (e.g., a culture of academic optimism anchored in trust, efficacy, and academic emphasis).



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

You have just been appointed principal of your school. How would you go about determining the effectiveness of your school? What criteria would you use? Consider at least three sets of criteria: input, transformation, and performance. Which set of criteria would you emphasize and why? After you have decided on your effectiveness criteria, prepare a brief PowerPoint presentation in which you discuss school effectiveness, the criteria you selected to demonstrate your school's level of effectiveness, and how you will measure each criterion. You will make the presentation at your faculty meeting with the superintendent present.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Turn Around School

You have recently been appointed as the principal of New Central High School (NCHS), which is to open next fall. This new school is located in the inner corridor of a large urban city in the northeast. The new building was awarded a prize for its architectural design and is equipped with the latest instructional and security technology. The school is projected to have 2,500 students who have been attending two nearby schools—East and West High Schools. Both are being closed at the end of the academic year. The students come primarily from low-income, minority families. Both schools have been experiencing declining enrollments, high dropout rates, and low scores on state-mandated tests. NCHS will open with a professional staff of 150. You have been able to select your administrative staff and to influence the selection of the teachers. However, the contract with the teachers' union specifies that many of the teachers would be assigned to NCHS on the basis of seniority. The low test scores and high dropout rates of East and West High Schools place them in the low-performing category on the state report card. Given the large investment in the new facility with its state-of-the-art equipment, the parents and other stakeholders expect NCHS to overcome the performance problems of its predecessors. The pressure is on you to show improvement and make this school a much more effective one than the schools that have been closed: turn NCHS around.

- What criteria will you advance for determining the effectiveness of the new school? How will you select the criteria of effectiveness?
- Who should be involved in establishing the importance of the effectiveness outcomes?
- Which context factors will likely have the most effects on the performance outcomes? Which ones can you influence?
- Given your analysis of the outcome and context factors, which transformational characteristics should be given the highest priority? What actions on your part might promote the effectiveness of these processes?
- Select one of the models for improving academic performance and develop a plan to implement and monitor its success.

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Look outward: The external environment is a valuable resource.
2. Look inward: Internal dynamics drive the system.
3. Focus on students: Learning is the end and engaged students are the means.
4. Focus on teachers: Teachers are the most direct and powerful aid to student learning.
5. Focus on instruction: Quality of teaching is the most important factor in student learning.
6. Cultivate a culture of academic optimism: Efficacy, trust, and academic emphasis undergird motivation.
7. Develop professional capacity: It creates positive school-learning climates.
8. Reach out to parents: Teacher-parent cooperation is a powerful catalyst to learning.

9. Monitor the effectiveness of your school: Use multiple indicators of cognitive and affective success.
10. Use structure, culture, politics, and motivation to support teaching and learning: These are building blocks of effectiveness.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. A social-systems perspective on school effectiveness has three important dimensions: acquiring resources from the environment (input), harmonious operation of the school's internal components (transformation), and goal achievement (output performance).
2. Congruence among the internal elements enhances the system's ability to secure needed resources from the environment, to build the capacity of the transformational system, and to effectively achieve its goals.
3. School effectiveness is a dynamic concept that has multiple dimensions, multiple stakeholders, and multiple environmental constraints.
4. Student learning in the home is extremely important. Differences in socioeconomic background are highly related to student achievement.
5. Socioeconomic status is not a factor that school leaders can control, but they can directly influence the transformation process within the school.
6. The principal is an important force for improving schools in general and academic achievement in particular; however, this influence for the most part is *indirect and mediated* through the school context and the faculty.
7. Student engagement and learning strategies operating in a positive school climate conducive to learning and reinforced by parents and peers produce high academic achievement.
8. Three pervasive elements are critical in the dynamic operation of the school social system: school leadership, relational trust, and bonding and bridging social capital.
9. Academic optimism and relational trust foster a learning environment in which students and teachers accept responsibility for learning, are motivated to exert strong effort, persist in difficult tasks, and are resilient in the face of problems and failures.
10. The ultimate goal of effective teaching is to have teachers see learning through the eyes of their students and to have students see themselves as their own teachers.
11. Effective organizations mobilize their centers of power for action to achieve their goals, to fulfill worker needs, to develop a cohesive work group, and to adapt to the environment.
12. Values about stability-flexibility of structure and internal-external focus determine one's view of organizational effectiveness.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

organizational goals, *p. 305*
value-added, *p. 306*
input-output research, *p. 306*
effective-schools research, *p. 309*
student engagement, *p. 310*
cognitive strategies, *p. 310*
metacognitive strategies, *p. 310*
professional capacity, *p. 312*
instructional guidance, *p. 313*
instructional leadership, *p. 313*
parent-school-commiunity ties, *p. 313*
school-learning climate, *p. 313*
shared leadership, *p. 313*
professional capacity, *p. 313*
relational trust, *p.314*
bonding social capital, *p. 314*
bridging social capital, *p. 314*

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Presents a comprehensive, in-depth, and comparative review of the school effectiveness literature.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Assume that you are the principal of a school. Outline a plan for your school to monitor its effectiveness. Use multiple dimensions of effectiveness and describe not only what effectiveness indicators you would use but also how you would measure them.

Standards 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 (see inside front cover)

NOTE

C. John Tarter is the coauthor of this chapter.

CHAPTER 10



DECISION MAKING IN SCHOOLS

The task of "deciding" pervades the entire administrative organization. . . . A general theory of administration must include principles of organization that will insure correct decision making, just as it must include principles that will insure effective action.

Herbert A. Simon
Administrative Behavior

PREVIEW

1. Administrative decision making is a dynamic process that solves some organizational problems and, in the process, often creates others.
2. Decision making is a general pattern of action found in the rational administration of all functional and task areas in organizations.
3. Values are an integral part of decision making.
4. The classical decision-making model uses a strategy of optimizing to maximize the achievement of goals, but the model is an ideal rather than an actual description of practice.
5. Satisficing is a pragmatic decision-making strategy that some administrators use to solve the problems of practice.
6. Most administrators probably use an incremental model of deciding; they muddle through.
7. An adaptive strategy of deciding unites the rationalism and comprehensiveness of satisficing with the flexibility and utility of the incremental model.
8. Like most complex processes, however, there is no single best way to decide; the best approach is the one that best fits the circumstances. Thus a contingency approach is proposed.
9. Not all organizational decisions are rational; the garbage can model helps explain nonrational decision making.
10. Irrationality in decision making is often produced by stress; the Janis-Mann conflict model describes the pitfalls of defective decision making.

Decision making is a major responsibility of all administrators, but until decisions are converted into action they are only good intentions. Deciding is a sine qua non of educational administration because the school, like all formal organizations, is basically a decision-making structure. Our analysis begins with an examination of classical decision making.

THE CLASSICAL MODEL: AN OPTIMIZING STRATEGY

Classical decision theory assumes that decisions should be completely rational; it employs an **optimizing** strategy by seeking the best possible alternative to maximize the achievement of goals and objectives. According to the classical model, the decision-making process is a series of sequential steps:

1. A problem is identified.
2. Goals and objectives are established.
3. *All* the possible alternatives are generated.
4. The consequences of each alternative are considered.
5. All the alternatives are evaluated in terms of the goals and objectives.
6. The *best* alternative is selected—that is, the one that maximizes the goals and objectives.
7. Finally, the decision is implemented and evaluated.

The **classical model** is an ideal (a normative model), rather than a description of how most decision makers function (a descriptive model). Most scholars, in fact, consider the classical model an unrealistic ideal, if not naive. Decision makers virtually never have access to all the relevant information. Moreover, generating all the possible alternatives and their consequences is impossible. Unfortunately, the model assumes information-processing capacities, rationality, and knowledge that decision makers simply do not possess; consequently, it is not very useful to practicing administrators.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MODEL: A SATISFICING STRATEGY

Given the severe limitations of the classical model, it should not be surprising that more realistic conceptual approaches to decision making in organizations have evolved. The complexity of most organizational problems and the limited capacity of the human mind make it virtually impossible to use an optimizing strategy on all but the simplest problems. Herbert Simon (1957a) was the first to introduce the **administrative model** of decision making to provide a more accurate description of the way administrators both do and should make organizational decisions.[1] The basic approach is **satisficing**—that is, finding a satisfactory solution rather than the best one. Before analyzing the satisficing strategy in detail, we examine the basic assumptions upon which the model rests.

Decision-Making Process: An Action Cycle

The decision-making cycle inevitably begins with the definition of a problem and comes to fruition with the implementation and evaluation of action. Although the process can be conceived as a sequence of steps, in reality the process is dynamic and best described as an action cycle (see Figure 10.1). Further, many decision-making action cycles occur simultaneously in schools. One elaborate cycle, regarding fundamental goals and objectives (strategic planning), may be proceeding at the level of the board of education, while smaller and related sequential cycles, regarding curriculum and instruction, pupil personnel services, finance and business management, and facilities planning, may be progressing at the school and district level. Before we describe the cycle in detail, we preview a few assumptions about administrative decision making.

First, *the process is an active one in which as some problems are solved others emerge*. There are no final solutions, only satisfactory answers for the moment.

Second, *administrators operate in a world of* ***bounded rationality;*** that is, they limit the scope of their decisions so that rationality can be approached (Gigerenzer, 2004; Simon, 1955, 1956, 1957a). They recognize that their perceptions of the world are drastically simplified ones and focus only on those factors that they find most relevant and important (Simon, 1991).

Third, *values are an integral part of deciding*; *decisions are not value free*. For example, when administrators pursue actions that they believe will attain a

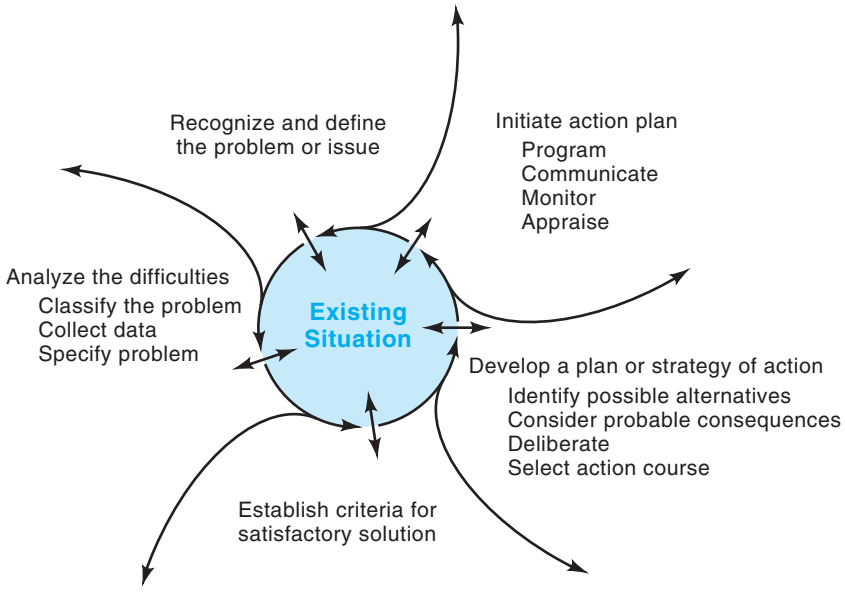


FIGURE 10.1 *Decision-Making Action Cycle*

valued outcome, they are making judgments of values between competing goods or the lesser of evils.[2] Judgments of value are inextricably related to judgments of fact.

Fourth, *decision making is a general pattern of action found in all organizations and in the rational administration of all major tasks and functions*. The structure and process of decision making are the same irrespective of the kind of organization—business, military, educational, or industrial—and regardless of the task at hand, be it formulating policy, allocating resources, developing curriculum, or making financial decisions (Litchfield, 1956). Schools are different from industrial and business organizations in important ways, but the decision-making process is not.

We turn to a more detailed analysis of each step in the action cycle.[3]

Step 1. Recognize and Define the Problem or Issue

The recognition of a difficulty or disharmony in the system is the first step in the decision-making process. Effective administrators are sensitive to organizational actions and attitudes that do not measure up to the prescribed standards. The common retort, "We don't have problems; we have answers," is symptomatic of insensitive administrators who are headed for trouble. Although it may be possible for them to maintain equilibrium in the organization over the short run, the likelihood of organizational chaos over the long run seems great.

The recognition and definition of a problem are crucial to deciding and often do not receive adequate attention. The way a problem is conceptualized is important to subsequent analysis and solution. Not only are sensitivity and perceptual acuteness in the administrator necessary, but a rich conceptual background and a thorough understanding of formal and informal organizations are desirable in framing the problem. Too often administrators define problems quickly and narrowly and, in so doing, restrict their options. They treat only the symptoms of the problems, not the problem itself. For example, a principal may see a request from a teacher group for more autonomy in selecting curricular materials as an attempt to undermine administrative authority. The problem so conceived yields a set of alternatives that likely will be unduly narrow and restrictive. Such a teacher request, however, can open up a host of positive, creative possibilities for long-range curriculum development. This example, coincidentally, underscores the importance of security and confidence; the secure and confident administrator is unlikely to view such a teacher request as a threat to his or her authority.

During this first stage in the process, it is important to place the problem in perspective. If the problem is complex, its definition likewise will be complicated, perhaps multidimensional. The problem may need to be broken down into subproblems, with each subproblem cycled through the decision-making process. Furthermore, the problem may require several

solutions. For instance, the problem of districting in a school system where large numbers of parents want their children in school X rather than Y may be settled in the short run by a policy statement indicating that a child will be assigned to a school solely on the basis of geographic location. The long-run solution, however, might well involve equalizing educational opportunities and improving the program of instruction in one or more schools.[4] There are two guides for defining the problem:

- First, define the immediate problem.
- Then, define the long-term problem.

Step 2. Analyze the Difficulties in the Existing Situation

This stage of the decision-making process is directly related to the first stage; in fact, some writers prefer to combine definition and analysis. However, analysis calls for the classification of the problem. Is the problem unique? Or is it a new manifestation of a typical difficulty for which a pattern of action has already been developed?

Peter F. Drucker (1966) proposed two basic kinds of decisions—generic or unique. **Generic decisions** arise from established principles, policies, or rules. Indeed, recurring problems are routinely solved by formulaic rules and regulations. A great many decisions that confront school principals are generic. That is, the organization has established mechanisms and procedures for dealing with problems. This does not mean, however, that they are unimportant; it simply means that they belong to a general group of organizational problems that frequently occur and that the organization wants to be prepared to deal with. Such decisions are needed when a principal implements policy mandated by the board, monitors absenteeism among teachers, mediates student-teacher conflicts, and interprets disciplinary procedures. All these generic decisions can be intermediary or appellate decisions (originating from above or below the principal in the hierarchy). In most cases the principal should be able to handle the situation by applying the appropriate rule, principle, or policy to the concrete circumstances of the case.

Unique decisions, however, are probably creative decisions that require going beyond established procedures for a solution; in fact, they may require a modification of the organizational structure. Here the decision maker deals with an exceptional problem that is not adequately answered by a general principle or rule. Creative decisions quite often change the basic thrust or direction of an organization. In order to seek a creative solution, decision makers explore all ideas that are relevant to the problem.

A unique decision might arise when principal and staff work to resolve a curricular issue where there are no established guidelines. The superintendent may specifically request an innovative solution. Completely unique events are rare; nevertheless, the distinction between problems that are

routine and those that are unique is an important one in terms of deciding. Administrators need to guard against two common mistakes:

- Treating a routine situation as if it were a series of unique events.
- Treating a new event as if it were just another old problem to which old procedures should be applied.

Once the problem has been classified as generic or unique, the administrator is in a position to address a number of other questions. How important is the problem? Can the problem be more fully specified? What information is needed to specify the problem? The original definition of a problem is usually global and general. After classifying and determining the importance of the problem, the decision maker begins to define more precisely the problem and issues involved. This entails the need for information. The amount of information that should be collected depends on a number of factors, including the importance of the problem, time constraints, and the existing procedures and structure for data collection. The more important the problem, the more information the decision maker gathers. Time, of course, is almost always a constraint. Finally, the existing procedures for data collection may facilitate or prohibit the search for relevant information.

In brief, decision makers need relevant facts. What is involved? Why is it involved? Where is it involved? When? To what extent? Answers to these questions provide information to map the parameters of the problem. Such information can be collected in formal, sophisticated ways, making use of operations research and computer facilities, as well as in informal ways, through personal contacts, by telephone, or in conversations.

Step 3. Establish Criteria for a Satisfactory Solution

After the problem has been analyzed and specified, the decision maker must decide what constitutes an acceptable solution. What are the minimum objectives that are to be achieved? What are the musts compared to the wants? It is not unusual for the perfect solution in terms of outcomes to be unfeasible. What is good enough? Answers to such questions help the decision maker establish his or her aspiration level. That is, what are the criteria for a satisfactory decision? At this point, sometimes the decision maker will rank possible outcomes along a continuum from minimally satisfying to maximally satisfying; a completely satisfactory outcome usually does not remain after compromise, adaptation, and concession. It is also useful to consider what is satisfactory in both the short and long term.

Criteria of adequacy need to be specified early so that the decision maker knows that a "right" decision is being made and not just one that will be accepted. In general, the criteria used to judge the decision should be consistent with the organization's mission. What we have referred to as criteria of adequacy, scientists often refer to as **boundary conditions**—the limits that the decision maker must meet if the decision is to be judged satisfactory.

Step 4. Develop a Plan or Strategy of Action

This is the central step in the process. After recognizing the problem, collecting data, and specifying the problem and its boundary conditions, decision makers develop a systematic and reflective plan of action. The process involves at least the following steps:

- Specify alternatives.
- Predict the consequences of each alternative.
- Deliberate.
- Select a plan of action.

Before we proceed to analyze each of these steps, several limitations need to be reiterated. Administrators base their plans of action on simplified pictures of reality; they choose the factors that they regard as most relevant and crucial; and thus they are able to come to some general conclusions and take actions without becoming paralyzed by the facts that "could be" indirectly related to the immediate problems. In describing the art of administrative decision making, Barnard (1938) warns:

- Do not decide questions that are not pertinent.
- Do not decide prematurely.
- Do not make decisions that cannot be effective.
- Do not make decisions that others should make.

The search for alternatives to solve a particular organizational problem is called **problemistic search.** It is distinguished from random curiosity and from the search for understanding per se (Cyert and March, 1963; Bass, 1985b). Problemistic search is straightforward, usually reflecting simplified notions of causality, and based on two simple rules:

- Search in the area of the problem symptom(s).
- Search in the area of the current alternative(s).

When these two rules do not produce enough reasonable alternatives, expand the search. Problemistic search probably is the dominant style of administrators; hence, most decision making is reactive.

But deciding need not be reactive. James D. Thompson (1967) has suggested that it is possible to develop behavior-monitoring procedures to search the environment for opportunities that are not activated by a problem. He calls this process **opportunistic surveillance;** it is the organizational counterpart of curiosity in the individual. Obviously, a decision-making structure that encourages opportunistic surveillance is more desirable than one that allows for only problemistic search.

Specifying Alternatives A preliminary step in formulating an intention to act is to list possible alternatives. In actuality, only some of the options are specified because, as we have noted earlier, people do not have the information-processing capacity to think of all alternatives. With few exceptions, advancing

a greater number of choices increases the likelihood of finding satisfactory alternatives that meet the already-specified conditions. One such exception is the expert with much experience in the decision context (Klein, 1997; Salas and Klein, 2001; Klein, 2003; Gladwell, 2005). For example, expert chess players (Klein et al., 1995) make high-quality decisions based on the first option they consider, as do experienced fighter pilots (Klein, 1997). Hence, experts in a situation often limit their search for options without undermining decision quality.

Creative decision makers are able to develop unique, viable alternatives, an often time-consuming task. Unfortunately, too many administrators do not take the time to develop a comprehensive set of possible options; they see the solution as a simple dichotomy—it is either this or that. Don't be overly impressed with speed in deciding; it is often a symptom of sloppy thinking. The impact of a solution is much more important than the technique. Educational organizations need sound decisions, not clever techniques.

Time is necessary to develop a comprehensive set of alternatives, yet time is limited. Consider as your first alternative doing nothing. Once in a great while, such an alternative turns out to solve the problem; things work themselves out. Unfortunately, most problems do not just work themselves out, but the decision not to decide should always be reflectively considered. Even if "doing nothing" does not solve the problem, sometimes it buys time for further thinking and information gathering; that is, it becomes a short-term strategy. In fact, it is useful to consider other temporary alternatives that do not really solve the problem but that provide more time for deliberation. Temporary alternatives, once refined and more completely thought through, are often the basis for more elaborate proposals. The key in developing preliminary and temporary alternatives is that, if successful, they buy time without creating hostility. There is always the danger that options that buy time will be seen as stalling; hence, buying time should be used sparingly and adroitly.

Routine decisions often can be handled quickly and effectively. Unique decisions demand more thoughtful and creative decision making. Creative thinking is of particular value in generating options. To think creatively, individuals must be able to reduce external inhibitions on the thinking process, to make relativistic and nondogmatic distinctions, to be willing not only to consider but also to express irrational impulses, and to be secure and amenable to brainstorming. Of course, the climate and culture (see Chapters 5 and 6) of the organization can either inhibit or facilitate creative thinking.

In brief, the development of effective solutions typically requires the following:

- A willingness to make fewer black-and-white distinctions.
- The use of divergent and creative thinking patterns.
- Time to develop reasonable alternatives.

Frequently time is a limiting factor, and occasionally the decision is not so important as to warrant an extensive application of the satisficing model.

Under such conditions, **truncated satisficing** may be more appropriate; only a select few alternatives are considered before developing a strategy of action.

Predicting Consequences For each alternative that is developed, probable consequences should be proposed. Although for analytic purposes we have treated specifying alternatives and predicting consequences as separate operations, they usually occur simultaneously. The formulation of alternatives and probable consequences is a good place to use groups—pooling brainpower and experience to make predictions as accurately as possible. By and large, predicting consequences to proposed alternatives is hazardous. On some issues—for example, those involving financial costs—accurate predictions of consequences can be made; however, when trying to anticipate the reactions of individuals or groups, the results typically are much more problematic.

Predicting consequences underscores the need for a good management-information system, and those school structures that have built-in capacities to collect, codify, store, and retrieve information have a distinct advantage in the decision-making process. In addition, consulting with a number of individuals who are in a position to know improves one's predictive power. For each decision alternative, the consequences can be predicted only in terms of probable rather than certain outcomes.

Deliberating on and Selecting the Course of Action The final phase of developing a strategy for action involves a reflective analysis of the alternatives and consequences. Sometimes it is helpful to list all the alternatives with their accompanying probable consequences. Prior to selecting the appropriate alternatives, decision makers carefully weigh the probable consequences of each alternative in light of the criteria for a satisfactory solution. After such reflection, they choose the "best" alternative or select a series of alternatives that are linked in some sequential order, which provides a strategy and plan of action; the more problematic the issue, the more likely a complex course of action.

To illustrate the planning of strategy, let us simplify the procedure. It may be possible to set up a strategy several moves in advance, just as a good chess player does. Alternative A may result in a positive and acceptable solution; however, if it does not, the decision maker goes to alternative B and, if need be, to alternative C, and so on, provided the probable consequences are still satisfactory. Of course, unanticipated consequences may require a rethinking of viable alternatives. Occasionally decision makers cannot find an acceptable alternative. A reduction in the aspiration level may be necessary; that is, the criteria for a satisfactory solution are reconsidered (return to step 3). A new set of objectives, new alternatives, new data, and a new and more feasible strategy may have to be formulated.

In the process of searching for satisfactory alternatives, decision makers seek to keep the activity manageable by using simplified decision rules

called **heuristics**—simple rules of thumb that guide the decision making and enable us to make decisions in a rapid and efficient manner.[5] For example, rules about when to take a "hit" in blackjack ("hit on 16, stick on 17") or how to play chess (dominate the center of the board) are heuristics. Some heuristics are useful, but others can be misleading (Gigerenzer, 2000; Gigerenzer, Todd, and ABC Research Group, 1999). Consider the following four heuristics:

- The **recognition heuristic** is the tendency to infer a higher value (e.g., stronger, faster, higher) to that which is familiar. The heuristic can be misleading, but not always. For example, if one of two objects is recognized and the other is not, the recognition rule of thumb is quite powerful (Gigerenzer, Todd, and ABC Research Group, 1999).
- The **availability heuristic** is the tendency for decision makers to base their judgments on information already available to them (Abelson and Levi, 1985). Although such a strategy is quick and efficient, it is limited by what is known and what first comes to mind. Moreover, this heuristic can cause people to make errors (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974) and to overestimate the frequencies of events. What is available in the decision maker's memory is often inadequate and sometimes misleading.
- The **representative heuristic** is the tendency to view others as the typical stereotype that they represent; for example, an accountant is seen as bright, mild-mannered, and precise (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974; Greenberg and Baron, 1997). The representative heuristic applies to events and objects as well as people. Even though such quick judgments are incomplete and prone to error, they are quite common in decision making (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974, 1981).
- The **anchoring-and-adjustment heuristic** is a mental rule of thumb in which existing information is accepted as a reference point for decision making but is adjusted as new information becomes available (Baron, 1998).

The influence of heuristics on decision making is strong and often occurs unconsciously; in fact, recent evidence suggests that arbitrary numbers can anchor people's judgments even when the numbers are irrelevant to the decision (Wilson et al., 1996). The bad news is that the potential sources of errors of some heuristics are strong; but the good news is that such errors can be reduced by experience and expertise (Frederick and Libby, 1986; Northcraft and Neale, 1987; Smith and Kida, 1991). Figure 10.2 summarizes some hidden traps in decision heuristics and strategies to escape from them, which grow out of the research and literature (Bazerman and Chugh, 2006; Charan, R., 2006; Hammond, Keeney, and Raiffa, 2006; Pfeffer and Sutton, 2006).

Anchoring Trap *Escape*	Giving disproportional weight to initial information. • *Be open-minded; push for numerous options; be skeptical of information.*
Comfort Trap *Escape*	A bias toward alternatives that support the status quo. • *Always consider change and don't exaggerate the costs of change.*
Overconfidence Trap *Escape*	Tendency to be overconfident about our ability to estimate and predict. • *Always consider the extremes and check with experts.* • *Seek disconfirming evidence; force yourself to be skeptical.*
Recognition Trap *Escape*	Tendency to place a higher value on that which is familiar. • *Search for the unfamiliar; focus on creativity and novelty.*
Representative Trap *Escape*	Tendency to see others as representative of the typical stereotype. • *Search for specific counterexamples to the stereotype; be mindful.*
Sunk-Cost Trap *Escape*	Tendency to make decisions that justify past decisions even when earlier decisions don't work well. • *Remind yourself that even good choices can have bad consequences.* • *"When you find yourself in a hole, quit digging." (Warren Buffett)*
Framing Trap *Escape*	The framing of a problem impacts both options and consequences. • *Pose problem in neutral, redundant terms; get outsider perspectives.* • *Force yourself to reframe the problem at least one more time.*
Prudence Trap *Escape*	Tendency to be overcautious when faced with high-stakes decisions. • *Push the edges and adjust your actions according to new information.*
Memory Trap *Escape*	The tendency to base predictions upon our memory of past events, which are overinfluenced by both recent and dramatic events. • *Assume data exist and find them; use statistics; ask for evidence.* • *Avoid being guided by impressions.*

FIGURE 10.2 ***Traps Hidden in Decision Making and Escapes***

SOURCE: Based on the work of Hammond, Keeney, and Raiffa (1998, 2006)

Step 5. Initiate the Plan of Action

Once the decision has been made and a plan of action formulated, the decision needs to be implemented, which is the last element in the decision-making cycle. The initiation of the plan of action requires at least four steps: programming, communicating, monitoring, and appraising. Decisions must be translated into a rational, specific, and realistic plan of action. Those individuals involved need to become fully aware of their roles and responsibilities, and the plan must be coordinated and monitored as it moves forward. Finally, the success of the implemented plan is appraised in terms of the criteria for a satisfactory solution, which were set earlier in the process.

Decisions commonly are made in situations where probabilities, not certainties, are weighed. Even the most carefully conceived and executed

decisions can fail or become obsolete. Organizational decisions are made in a context of change—facts, values, and circumstances change. Therefore, a fully articulated decision—one that has been reflectively made, programmed, communicated, and monitored—in itself brings about sufficient change to necessitate its own further reevaluation and appraisal (Litchfield, 1956). Hence, evaluation of the success of the plan is both an end and a new beginning in the action cycle of decision making. Clearly, *there are no ultimate solutions—only satisfactory decisions and solutions for the moment.*

THE INCREMENTAL MODEL: A STRATEGY OF SUCCESSIVE LIMITED COMPARISONS

Although the satisficing strategy that we have just described in detail is well suited to dealing with many problems in educational administration, occasionally some situations require an incremental strategy. When relevant alternatives are difficult to discern or the consequences of each alternative are so complicated as to elude prediction, even satisficing does not work well (Grandori, 1984). For example, to what new activities should a school administrator allocate more resources? The answer to this question is probably more adequately addressed by considering only alternatives that differ marginally from existing conditions. The underlying assumption of the strategy is that small incremental changes will not produce major unanticipated negative consequences for the organization.

Charles Lindblom (1959, 1965, 1980; Braybrook and Lindblom 1963; Lindblom and Cohen, 1979) first introduced and formalized the incremental strategy. He characterizes this method of deciding as the science of **muddling through** and argues that it may be the only feasible approach to systematic decision making when the issues are complex, uncertain, and riddled with conflict. The process is best described as a method of successive limited comparisons. Deciding does not require objectives, exhaustive analysis of alternatives and consequences, or a priori determination of either optimum or satisfactory outcomes. Instead, only a small and limited set of alternatives, similar to the existing situation, is considered by successively comparing their consequences until decision makers come to some agreement on a course of action.

This incremental approach has a number of important features. First, the setting of objectives and the generation of alternatives are not separate activities. Goals and objectives are not established prior to decision analysis. Rather, a feasible course of action emerges as alternatives and consequences of action are explored. The more complex the problems, the more likely objectives will change as the decision evolves. Thus, the marginal differences in value among alternative courses of action rather than any prior objectives serve as the basis for deciding.

The **incremental model** also greatly reduces the number of alternatives. The strategy considers only alternatives that are very similar to the

existing situation, analyzes only differences between the current state and proposed outcomes, and ignores all outcomes that are outside the decision maker's narrow range of interest. With this approach, the complexity of the decision making is dramatically reduced and made manageable. Lindblom (1959) argues that this simplification of analysis, achieved by concentrating on alternatives that differ only slightly, is not capricious; simplifying by limiting the focus to small variations from existing situations merely makes the most of available knowledge. Administrators who limit themselves to a reasonable set of alternatives on the basis of their experiences can make predictions of consequences with accuracy and confidence. Moreover, emphasizing only differences among alternatives conserves time and energy. The narrow focus on outcomes avoids possible paralysis caused by attempts to predict and analyze all possible outcomes of a specific course of action.

Finally, successive comparison is often an alternative to theory. In both the classical and the administrative models, theory is viewed as a useful way to bring relevant knowledge to bear on specific problems. As problems become increasingly complex, however, the inadequacies of our theories to guide decisions become more prevalent. The strategy of successive limited comparisons suggests that, in such complex situations, decision makers make more progress if they successively compare concrete practical alternatives rather than emphasize more abstract, theoretical analyses.

In brief, the incremental approach has the following distinctive features:

- Means-end analysis is inappropriate because setting objectives and generating alternatives occur simultaneously.
- Good solutions are those upon which decision makers agree regardless of objectives.
- Alternatives and outcomes are drastically reduced by considering only options similar to the current state of affairs.
- Analysis is restricted to differences between the existing situation and proposed alternatives.
- The incremental method eschews theory in favor of successive comparisons of concrete, practical alternatives.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Describe a recent administrative problem in your school. How did the administration respond? What decision strategy was used? Did the administration choose a satisficing model or an incremental model? How open was the decision-making process? What were the consequences of the administrative action? Assess the success of the action.

THE MIXED-SCANNING MODEL: AN ADAPTIVE STRATEGY

Although widely used, muddling through has its limitations: It is conservative and aimless (Hoy and Tarter, 2003). Yet most administrators make decisions with only partial information and under the press of time. Amitai Etzioni (1967, 1986, 1989) offers a model of decision making that is a pragmatic approach to complexity and uncertainty. His adaptive model, or **mixed-scanning model,** is a synthesis of the administrative and incremental models that we have just described (Thomas, 1984; Wiseman, 1979a, 1979b).

Mixed scanning involves two questions:

- What is the organization's mission and policy?
- What decisions will move the organization toward its mission and policy?

Mixed scanning seeks to use partial information to make satisfactory decisions without either getting bogged down examining all the information or proceeding blindly with little or no information.[6] This **adaptive satisficing** is "a mixture of shallow and deep examination of data—generalized consideration of a broad range of facts and choices followed by detailed examination of a focused subset of facts and choices" (Etzioni, 1989, p. 124). Higher-order, fundamental decision making (mission or policy decisions) is combined with lower-order, incremental decisions that work out the higher-order ones (Etzioni, 1986; Goldberg, 1975; Haynes, 1974). Mixed scanning unites the rationalism and comprehensiveness of the administrative model with the flexibility and utility of the incremental model.

As we have suggested, there are times when alternatives are difficult to discern and when consequences are hard to predict. In these situations, administrators often muddle through. Their incremental decisions are tentative or remedial—small steps taken in directions not far afield from the existing state. Such decision making has its downside, however; it is patently conservative and often without direction. That is, unless decision makers evaluate these incremental decisions in terms of some broad, fundamental policy, drift is likely. Broad guidelines, however, are not incrementally formulated; in fact, they have all the trappings of grand, a priori decisions, which incrementalism seeks to avoid (Etzioni, 1989).

The mixed-scanning model has its roots in medicine. It is the way effective physicians make decisions. Unlike incrementalists, doctors know what they are trying to achieve and on which parts of the organism to focus attention. Moreover, unlike decision makers who seek to optimize, they do not engage all their resources on the basis of an initial diagnosis, or wait for every conceivable bit of personal history and scientific data before beginning treatment. Doctors survey the symptoms of a patient, analyze the

difficulty, initiate a tentative treatment, and, if it fails, try something else (Etzioni, 1989).

The principles for mixed scanning are straightforward; in fact, Etzioni (1989) advances seven basic rules for a mixed-scanning strategy, which Wayne Hoy and John Tarter (2003) have summarized as follows:

1. *Use focused trial and error*. First, search for reasonable alternatives; then select, implement, and test them; and finally, adjust and modify as the outcomes become clear. Focused trial and error assumes that, despite the fact that important information is missing, the administrator must act. Thus decisions are made with partial information and then carefully monitored and modified in light of new data.
2. *Be tentative; proceed with caution*. Be ready to modify a course of action as necessary. It is important that administrators view each decision as experimental, expecting to revise it.
3. *If uncertain, procrastinate*. Waiting is not always bad. When the situation is ambiguous, delay as long as possible so that more information can be collected and analyzed before taking action. Complexity and uncertainty frequently justify delay.
4. *Stagger your decisions*. Commit to a decision in stages, evaluating the outcomes of each phase before proceeding to the next phase.
5. *If uncertain, fractionalize decisions*. Staggered decisions can be tested in parts. Do not invest all your resources to implement a decision, but instead use partial resources until the consequences are satisfactory.
6. *Hedge your bets*. Implement several competing alternatives, provided that each has satisfactory outcomes. Then make adjustments on the basis of the results.
7. *Be prepared to reverse your decision*. Try to keep decisions tentative and experimental. Reversible decisions avoid overcommitment to a course of action when only partial information is available.

Educational administrators can skillfully employ all of these adaptive techniques; all illustrate flexibility, caution, and a capacity to proceed with partial knowledge. When time is limited or the decision is not that important, **truncated adaptive satisficing** may be appropriate, in which case, both the range and number of facts and choices are limited and the analyses are not as deep or penetrating.

In sum, the mixed-scanning model has the following distinctive features:

- Broad, organizational policy gives direction to tentative incremental decisions.
- Good decisions have satisfactory outcomes that are consistent with organizational policy and mission.
- The search for alternatives is limited to those close to the problem.

- Analysis is based on the assumption that important information is missing but action is imperative.
- Theory, experience, and successive comparisons are used together.

The major differences in the four models of decision making—classical, administrative, incremental, and mixed scanning—are compared in Table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1

Comparison of the Classical, Administrative, Incremental, and Mixed-Scanning Models of Decision Making

Classical	Administrative	Incremental	Mixed Scanning
Objectives are set prior to generating alternatives	Objectives are usually set prior to generating alternatives.	Setting objectives and generating alternatives are intertwined.	Broad policy guidelines are set prior to generating alternatives.
Decision making is a means-ends analysis: first, ends are determined, and then the means to obtain them are sought.	Decision making is typically means-ends analysis; however, occasionally ends change as a result of analysis.	Because means and ends are not separable, means-ends analysis is inappropriate.	Decision making is focused on broad ends and tentative means.
The test of a good decision is that it is shown to be the best means to achieve the end.	The test of a good decision is that it can be shown to result in a satisfactory means to achieve the end; it falls within the established boundary conditions.	The test of a good decision is that decision makers can agree an alternative is in the "right" direction when the existing course proves to be wrong.	The test of a good decision is that it can be shown to result in a satisfactory decision that is consistent with the organization's policy.
(Optimizing)	(Satisficing)	(Muddling through)	(Adaptive satisficing)
Engage in comprehensive analysis; all alternatives and all consequences are considered.	Engage in "problemistic search" until a set of reasonable alternatives is identified.	Drastically limit the search and analysis: focus on alternatives similar to the existing state. Many alternatives and important outcomes are ignored.	Limit the search and analysis to alternatives close to the problem, but evaluate tentative alternatives in terms of broad policy. More comprehensive than incrementalism.
Heavy reliance on theory.	Reliance on both theory and experience.	Successive comparisons reduce or eliminate the need for theory.	Theory, experience, and successive comparisons used together.

A CONTINGENCY MODEL: MATCHING STRATEGY AND SITUATION

We have examined four decision-making models thus far. Which is the best way to decide? *There is no best way to decide* just as there is no best way to organize, to teach, to do research, or to do a myriad of other jobs. As in most complex tasks, the correct approach is the one that best matches the circumstances—a **contingency model**.

The decision strategies can be ordered according to their capacity to deal with complexity and conditions of increasing uncertainty and conflict (Grandori, 1984). When decisions are simple, information complete and certain, and a collective preference (no conflict) exists, then an optimizing strategy is most appropriate. As we have already noted, however, organizational problems are almost never simple, certain, and without conflict in preferences; thus, optimizing is not really a choice.

When uncertainty and conflict prevail, as is typically the case in administrative decision making, a satisficing strategy becomes appropriate. The administrative model is flexible and heuristic. Decisions are based on comparisons among consequences of alternatives and the decision maker's aspiration level. Only a partial exploration of the alternatives is performed until a satisfactory course of action is discovered. If satisfactory solutions are not found, then the aspiration level is lowered. Lack of time, of course, may truncate the process by forcing the consideration of fewer options.

When alternatives are difficult if not impossible to discern or consequences are so complicated as to elude prediction, even a satisficing strategy has its limits. In such situations, a muddling or incremental strategy may be appropriate because such an approach deals with both uncertainty and conflict of interest by assuming that small changes will not produce large negative consequences for the organization (Grandori, 1984). Thus, when the organization is in turmoil and without direction, muddling through may be the appropriate *short-run* strategy.

Some students of organization (Starkie, 1984; Etzioni, 1989), however, argue that even when the decisions are complex and outcomes are difficult to predict, incrementalism is too conservative and self-defeating. Small, incremental decisions made without guidelines lead to drift—to action without direction. Instead, mixed scanning or adaptive decision making is recommended to deal with exceedingly complex decisions. Mixed scanning combines the best of both the satisficing and the incremental models; a strategy of satisficing is combined with incremental decisions guided by broad policy. Full scanning is replaced by partial scanning of a set of satisfactory options, and tentative and reversible decisions are emphasized in an incremental process that calls for caution as well as a clear sense of destination. Time again may limit the number of possibilities considered before action. In brief, the appropriate decision strategy depends on the information, complexity of the situation, time, and importance of the decision.

We propose a simplified contingency model for selecting the appropriate decision model based on three questions:

- *Information:* Is there sufficient information to define a satisfactory outcome?
- *Time:* Is there time to engage in a comprehensive search?
- *Importance:* How important is the decision?

If there is sufficient information to define a satisfactory outcome, then satisficing is the model of choice. But depending on time and the importance of the decision, the satisficing strategy can be truncated and adapted. For example, if there is sufficient time to engage in a comprehensive search, but the decision is not that important, then truncated satisficing is the appropriate strategy.

If, however, there is insufficient information, then adaptive satisficing is the preferred strategy. But again depending on time and importance of the decision, adaptive satisficing may be truncated or moderated by muddling through. For example, if there is insufficient information and time and the decision is not that important, then muddling through seems an appropriate decision strategy.

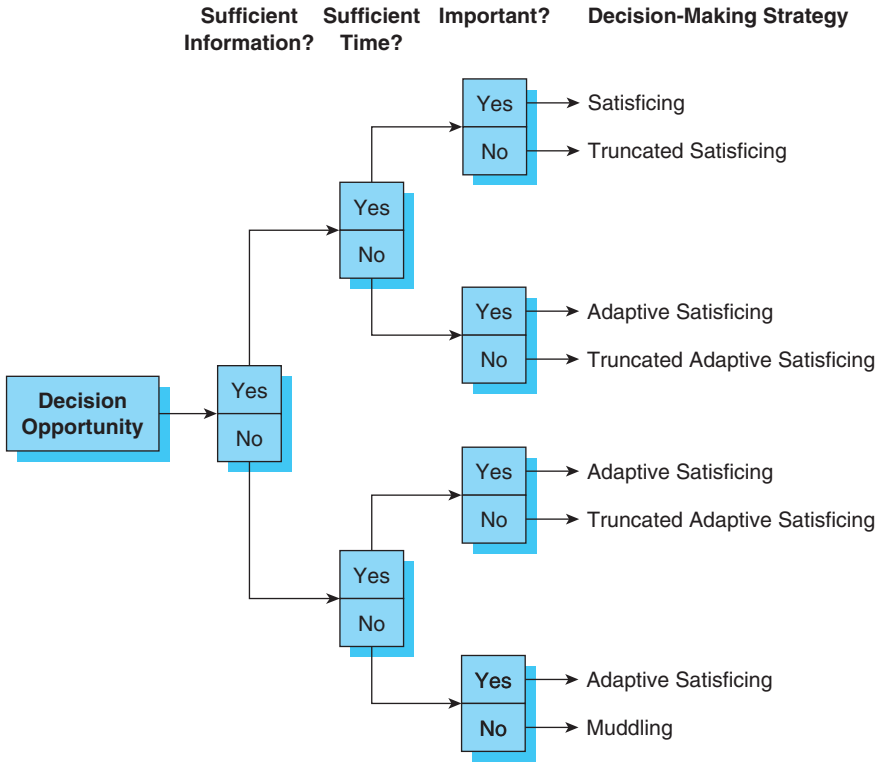


FIGURE 10.3 *Contingency Model: Matching Strategies with Situations*

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The three questions guide the decision maker along eight possible paths—each with an appropriate decision strategy. Satisficing, adaptive satisficing, truncated versions of each, as well as muddling through are appropriate depending on the situation, and the situations are defined by information, time, and importance. The decision tree in Figure 10.3 summarizes our contingency model of decision making.

SWIFT AND SMART DECISION-MAKING PRINCIPLES

As we have suggested, time is one of the most serious constraints on decision makers. Time is a scarce commodity that restrains the number of options a decision maker can generate and assess; hence, it is no surprise that quick satisficing strategies are valuable tools, especially when time for a decision is short. How can administrators make fast decisions and be confident of their success? Hoy and Tarter (2010) have culled from the literature nine basic rules to guide swift and smart decision making. The work of Gerd Gigerenzer and his colleagues at the Max Planck Institute was especially useful (1999, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2007).

I. Satisficing Rule: *Optimizing is impossible in school administration; learn to satisfice*. Satisficing is making satisfactory decisions—those decisions that are "good enough." We have already discussed in detail Simon's process of satisficing rather than optimizing. Suffice it to say, satisficing models are quite useful for school administrators. Set your criteria for a satisfactory decision *before* generating and selecting options. Then use those criteria to judge the solution. Quick and smart decision makers inevitably use one of several modes of satisficing.

II. Framing Rule: *Frame problems in positive terms for positive results.* Framing or defining the problem in a positive fashion virtually guarantees that initial options will be constructive actions rather than defensive reactions. Put simply, negative wording limits positive thinking, whereas positive framing increases optimism, efficacy, and success (Bandura, 1997; Tversky and Kahneman, 1981). For example, consider the problem of surgery for a serious condition. If the surgery option is represented as "75 percent chance of survival" rather than "25 percent chance of death," most select the survival option in spite of the fact that both options are logically equivalent. Framing makes a difference, and positive framing is likely to enhance success.

III. Default Rule: *Consider as a first option "doing nothing*." The default option in quick decision making is to do nothing. At worst, the default will be rejected and the decision maker is forced into action. At best, the problem will disappear without further action. Time has its way of solving some problems, but it is not dependable.

Gigerenzer (2007) has a slightly different version of the default rule. Some decisions have a default built into a system of response. Doing nothing

in such cases is a decision, not an option. Gigerenzer (2007) illustrates his version of the default rule with the case of organ donors. Although most American citizens say they approve of organ donation, few actually register; in fact, only 28 percent of Americans compared to a striking 99.9 percent of French citizens are potential donors (Gigerenzer, 2007). Why? The American default system requires citizens to choose to be donors, otherwise they are not. The reverse is true in France; citizens must choose not to participate, otherwise they are considered donors. In this example, the default of doing nothing is, in fact, a decision. Note that the framing of the default rule (to opt in or to opt out) can have dramatic consequences for the likely choice.

IV. Simplicity rule: *Simplicity trumps complexity; start simple.* Many school problems are complex and seem to invite complex solutions. Administrators often believe that solutions must match problems in their complexity, but this need not be the case. Too much information is worse than too little information; in fact, forgetting is functional because it is an antidote to a paralysis brought on by a wave of information that swamps the decision maker (Pinker, 2002). Or, as the psychologist William James put it, "If we remember everything, we should on most occasions be as ill off as if we remembered nothing" (1981, p. 680).

School leaders who follow the simplicity rule are more inclined to incremental decisions (adaptive satisficing) with the idea of starting small and evolving to complex options only as needed and always carefully. The motto is, "Simpler is better." Simpler solutions are more likely to succeed, to be accepted, to be understood, and to cause fewer unanticipated consequences; hence, start simple and evolve to complexity only if needed.

V. Uncertainty Rule: *Uncertain environments often require ignoring information; trust your intuition in this regard.* This rule may be seen as a corollary to the simplicity rule. Simplicity is an adaptation to uncertainty. In unpredictable and uncertain environments, simple rules of action can predict complex phenomena as well as or better than more complex rules do (Gigerenzer, 2007). Experienced decision makers know or sense only the key elements in the past and ignore the rest. Simon (1987) has argued that intuition comes from the experience of seeing patterns in behavior. Intuitive decision making is knowing what to ignore and what to value. Some call the skillful ignoring of information intuition; others call it expertise. Too much information is often as dysfunctional as too little. Trust your intuition when information is uncertain.

VI. Take-the-Best Rule: *Choose the first satisfactory option.* This rule applies to satisficing, that is, selecting an option that meets the criterion of satisfaction—what is good enough. After the problem has been defined and framed, and information gathered, the decision maker searches for satisfactory options. *Take the best* mandates that the search stops as soon as the decision maker finds a satisfactory option. For example, suppose the problem were to find a rental unit in Manhattan, which is a notoriously difficult search. The strategy calls for deciding the minimal

criteria for satisfaction—cost, location, convenience, size, and amenities. The search ends with the first rental that meets the pre-established criteria of satisfaction. The first is almost always the best (Gigerenzer, Todd, and ABC Research Group, 1999; Gigerenzer, 2000, 2007).

VII. Transparency rule: *Make transparency in decision making a habit of thought and action.* It is axiomatic that transparency in personal interactions is a catalyst for trust. Secrecy, in contrast, promotes distrust. Decision makers should be open and authentic in their interactions with subordinates (Henderson and Hoy, 1983; Hoy and Henderson, 1983) because authenticity and openness promote trust, and trust in turn enhances the acceptance of the decision and cooperation with the decision maker (Vroom and Jago, 1988). Cooperation in an unpredictable environment requires trust—the lifeblood of community instinct (Gigerenzer, 2007).

Transparency is not simply a question of making certain data and practices visible. Rather it is a general approach to making decisions. Some believe mystique cultivates followership. It is much more likely, however, that transparency elicits cooperation and trust—both essential ingredients of successful decision making. In the end, subordinates have as much to do with success as leaders because they are the agents of implementation.

VIII. Contingency Rule: *Reflect on your successes and failures; think conditionally.* There is no one best way to make decisions. Effective decision makers use reflective thinking and recognize that various situations (contingencies) often demand different modes of action. Christensen, Johnson, and Horn (2008) suggest that the effective tools of cooperation and change must match the organizational situation. Making decisions and implementing them requires conditional thinking. Instead of searching for the best solution, the quest is for a satisfactory one, which works reasonably well in that specific situation.

Such conditional thinking requires flexibility, understanding of the situation, recognizing there are multiple paths to success, and crafting options suited to the situation. What worked in the past may not work in the future because organizations are dynamic. For example, if the circumstances are uncertain and the goals are vague, then adaptive satisficing is a swift and smart strategy, which matches specific alternatives to a particular situation.

IX. Participation rule: *Involve others in decisions when you deem they have relevant knowledge, a personal stake, and are trustworthy.* This rule is a quick way to determine if teachers should be involved in a decision. The rule suggests that teachers should be fully involved in decision making only if three conditions prevail—expertise, relevance, and trust.

- Do teachers have the expertise to contribute?
- Do teachers have a personal stake in the outcome?
- Are teachers willing to set aside their own personal preferences for the good of the school?

Ask the questions, reflect, and act—a quick and easy way to decide whether to empower teachers on any given issue. This quick and smart procedure improves both the quality and acceptance of decisions. In the next chapter we will develop a more comprehensive model for shared decision making.

Like most good principles, these rules are guidelines and not substitutes for reflective thinking. Rather, the set of rules provides a toolbox of swift and smart responses to day-to-day problems.

JANIS-MANN CONFLICT THEORY: STRESS AND IRRATIONALITY IN DECISION MAKING

Regardless of which decision-making strategy is employed, the pressures of the situation and the decision-making process itself often produce stress. Irving Janis and Leon Mann (1977) have developed an insightful model of conflict that answers the following two questions:

- Under what conditions does stress have unfavorable effects on the quality of decision making?
- Under what conditions will individuals use sound decision-making procedures to avoid choices that they would quickly regret?[7]

People handle psychological stress in different ways as they make vital decisions. The main sources of such stress are the fear of failure, worry about unknown consequences, concern about making a public fool of oneself, and losing self-esteem if the decision is disastrous (Janis, 1985). Critical decisions also usually involve conflicting values. People face the unsettling dilemma that any choice they make will require sacrificing other valued objectives; hence, the decision makers' anxiety, shame, and guilt rise, which increases the level of stress (Janis, 1985).

There is no question that errors in decision making are a result of a myriad of causes, including poor analysis, ignorance, bias, impulsiveness, time constraints, and organizational policies. But another major reason for many poorly conceived and implemented decisions is related to the motivational consequences of conflict—in particular, attempts to overcome stress produced by extremely difficult choices of vital decisions. Thus people employ a variety of defensive mechanisms. Some people ignore information about risks and forge ahead (unconflicted adherence). Others simply accept the most popular course of action (unconflicted change), and still others procrastinate and avoid action (defensive advoidance). At the other extreme, some decision makers panic and become hypervigilant as they search frantically for a solution, rapidly vacillating back and forth between alternatives, and then impulsively seize upon a hastily contrived solution that promises immediate relief. All of these actions are dysfunctional and typically lead to defective decisions.

Better decisions are likely if the decision makers are vigilant; that is, they search carefully for relevant information, assimilate the information in an

unbiased manner, and then evaluate the alternatives before making a reflective choice. The vigilant decision maker is most effective because he or she avoids many of the traps of the other four patterns (Janis and Mann, 1977). But even when decision makers are vigilant, they sometimes make mistakes by taking cognitive shortcuts. All kinds of people, including scientists and statisticians, make cognitive errors such as overestimating the likelihood that events can be easily imagined, giving too much weight to information about representativeness, relying too much on small samples, and failing to discount biased information (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973; Nisbett and Ross, 1980; Janis, 1985). Moreover, these kinds of errors probably increase when decision makers are under psychological stress. The bottom line is that stress often has negative consequences on decision making.

What are the conditions that foster and hinder vigilance? When confronted with a decision, typically decision makers either consciously or unconsciously consider four issues (Janis and Mann, 1977):

Question 1: *Are the risks serious if I don't change?* If the answer is no, then change is unlikely. But if the answer is yes, then a second question is asked.

Question 2: *Are the risks serious if I do change?* If the anticipated losses of changing are minimal, then the risks are not serious and the decision maker is predicted to accept uncritically the first reasonable alternative. If the answer to the second question is yes, then stress builds because there are serious risks in both changing and not changing. The anxiety typically produces another question.

Question 3: *Is it realistic to hope to find a better solution?* If the decision maker believes there is no realistic hope of finding a better solution, then the result is a state of defensive avoidance. In order to escape from the conflict and reduce the stress, the individual avoids making the decision by either passing the buck or rationalizing the current situation. However, if there is hope for a better solution, another question emerges.

Question 4: *Is there sufficient time to search and deliberate?* If no, then a state of hypervigilance may occur. Panic sets in and the individual seizes upon a hastily contrived solution that promises immediate relief. If time is ample, then the decision maker is much more likely to engage in vigilant information processing, a process that enhances the effectiveness of the decision making through careful search, appraisal, and contingency planning. The path to vigilance is sketched in Figure 10.4.

Clearly, administrators should seek vigilance in decision making; however, the forces of labor, time, and stress often operate against vigilance. Knowing the dangers and when they are most likely to occur should help avoid the pitfalls. Vigilant decision making usually requires risk taking, determination, and finding or making time to engage in reflection and contingency planning.

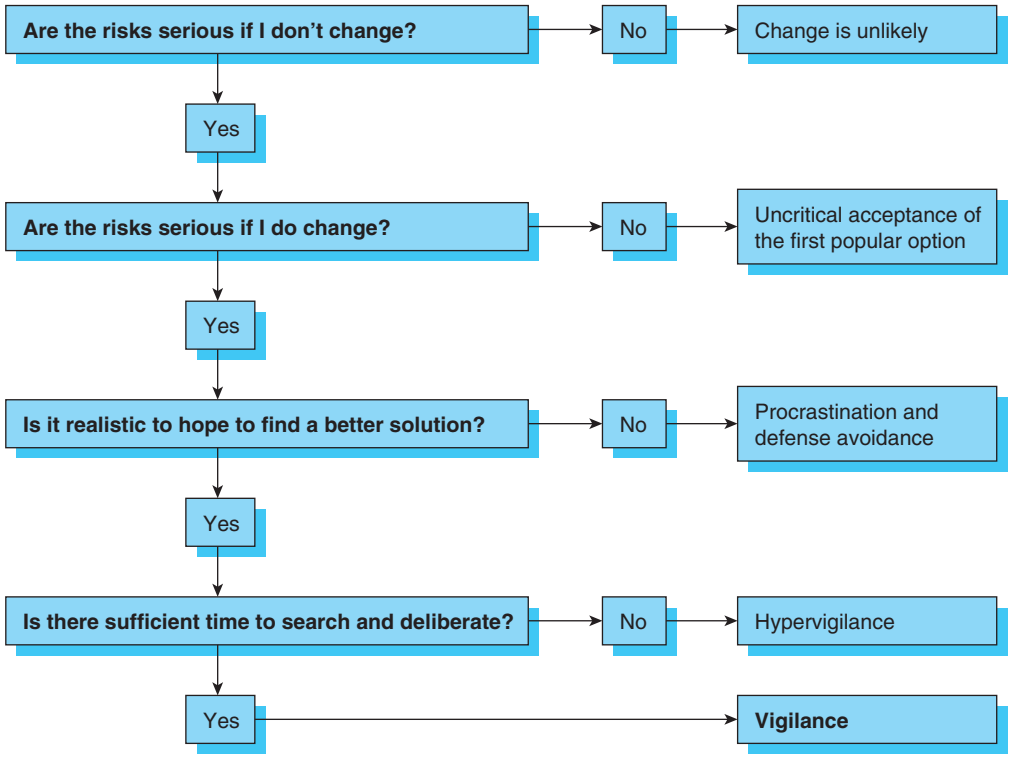


FIGURE 10.4 *The Path to Vigilance in Decision Making*



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

The Teachers Council[8]

Few would deny that Superintendent Beverly Edison had the best of intentions in setting up a Teachers Council elected by teacher-representatives of every public school faculty in this large industrial city. Widely acknowledged to be an educator of the highest professional standing, Dr. Edison was a woman of impeccable integrity. She frequently assured large groups of her teachers that she wanted them to regard her as their "colleague with special responsibility." Her office was open to teachers who had problems of any kind. She routinely consulted teachers on proposed policies and rule changes before her recommendations were submitted to the board of education for adoption. It is true that teacher suggestions were not always adopted, but enough were accepted to give teachers both individually and collectively the feeling that their superintendent meant what she said in the matter of wanting a democratic school system.

In 1992, after six years of service in Metro City, Superintendent Edison announced a plan for setting up the Teachers Council to give the superintendent a vehicle to meet and communicate with rank-and-file teachers. She wanted a direct



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

connection with the teachers to assess their reaction to her and the policies and conditions in the schools. The teachers' union (American Federation of Teachers—AFT), the exclusive bargaining agent for the teachers with a membership of 8,000, wrote to the superintendent, after due consideration and vote by the union's executive committee, that the proposed council would simply duplicate functions now performed by the union and other existing organizations. Dr. Edison responded that it was not her plan to have the Teachers Council vote or advise her on matters pertaining to teachers' benefits or welfare. She promised the union that she had no intention of having the council usurp the functions of the union. "All I want," she wrote, "is to have an opportunity to meet with teachers so that I can interpret our policies and to have the teachers advise me about educational issues in our schools. The council will not concern itself with issues of teacher welfare and benefits." Despite some protest from the union, Dr. Edison proceeded to set up the council.

Since approximately 80 percent of teachers were union members, the union adopted a circumspect strategy to deal with the council threat. Union members would be elected to serve on the council to keep the deliberations under control. The union, working quietly through its membership and under the procedures instituted by Dr. Edison, was successful in electing union members to 90 percent of the council seats for an initial one-year term.

Trouble was not long in coming. Written minutes of the council's monthly meetings with the superintendent revealed detailed accounts of the deliberations, and the union viewed with alarm the fact that questions of teacher welfare were raised and discussed at the meetings. Was the council already beginning to usurp the union's authority?

Vincent Riley, a long-term union leader, was outraged by the turn of events. He felt betrayed and undermined by Dr. Edison. After consulting with the executive board of the union, he officially notified Superintendent Edison that the union regarded the Teachers Council as inappropriate, counterproductive, and illegitimate; Riley wanted to abolish the council. He reminded the superintendent that the union was the exclusive bargaining agent for the teachers and that discussing questions of teacher welfare violated the contract.

Dr. Edison was surprised by this turn of events. She replied that the council's meetings were informal and that no votes or formal actions were taken. The council was merely an informal source of communication and advice. It enabled her to take the pulse of the teachers in this large district. Nevertheless, she yielded to the union. In light of the union's opposition, she would submit to the council the union proposal that it be dissolved. The council promptly responded by voting unanimously to continue its existence. Union leaders were caught flat-footed by their members' show of independence.

The union represented only 80 percent of the teachers. It had come into prominence at a time when Metro City teachers were not being paid very well and the state and local teacher associations were seen as inactive and controlled by the administration. Teacher pay and working conditions steadily deteriorated until Vincent Riley and a handful of union teachers waged a "war" to break the tyrannical hold of the former superintendent and board of education on the school system and its employees. The union swept into power by first winning the right to be the teachers' exclusive bargaining agent, and then negotiating "the best contract teachers had had for more than a decade." Many in the community, including most teachers, believed that the union had freed the school system from a despotic administration. Decisions were now made on the basis of merit rather than political influence, and the union was seen as an agent of responsible change. Unfortunately the dishonesty and repression of the former administration left scars that had not healed. It was probably this history of distrust and manipulation that colored the union's reaction to Dr. Edison's proposal for the Teachers Council. Despite the fact

(Continued)



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

that during her six-year tenure, Dr. Edison demonstrated a democratic and impartial leadership style, the union was not entirely trustful of any administrator.

Metro City is a blue-collar city. Trouble with one union could be trouble with all the unions in the city. The school system could be paralyzed completely by a strike of its nonprofessional workers as well as its teachers. Union members across the city would observe picket lines around the schools. Unionized truck drivers would not make deliveries.

Many teachers, however, felt peculiar about being considered union members rather than professionals, and Dr. Edison sensed a need to go beyond simple labels. She had argued often with Vincent Riley over the union's assertion that it represented everybody. In point of fact, 2,000 teachers were not represented by the union. Many of these teachers had strong ties with the state educational association affiliated with the National Education Association (NEA). Dr. Edison contended that through the Teachers Council she could meet with the representatives of all the teachers.

The union, although well disposed toward Dr. Edison, was concerned that a future administration might resort to the "old ways" and use the council to destroy the union. Because the union represented most of the teachers, it did not share her concern for the minority that it did not represent; in fact, it viewed this group as "freeloaders." Dr. Edison was concerned that the majority could completely disregard the wishes of the minority.

A superintendent faces many conflicting pressures. There is a constant push and pull of forces. No doubt pressures were operating to get Dr. Edison to reduce its strength, if not eliminate the union. Representatives of large industrial and business establishments as well as taxpayer groups did not want labor-oriented groups to dominate the schools. However, union leaders did not believe that Dr. Edison would appease these groups by destroying the union because of the progress that had occurred and the good relationships that had developed during the past six years. Dr. Edison was far too worthy a professional to succumb to such pressure. In fact, she was on record as describing the Metro City Teachers' Union as one of the most highly professional and responsible organizations she had ever dealt with. She, in turn, was held in high regard. She welcomed the union's generous financial support of the Self-Help School Alliance, a federation of voluntary community associations providing opportunities for disadvantaged children in the school system. She approved of the union's lobbying of the legislature to increase state support for urban schools. In spite of her strong support of the union, she was unwilling to give in to its demand to abolish the Teachers Council. She believed that she had a right—no, an obligation—to consult with all the teachers, not merely union members.

In her last meeting with Vincent Riley, Riley had said, "This most recent audit of our finances shows that out of a total of 10,000 teachers, we have 7,953 paid memberships."

"You don't represent all the teachers," rejoined Dr. Edison. "I want to know how all my teachers feel about our programs and policies. I need information about educational issues, not union matters. It is curriculum and instructional matters that provide the salient topics for the Teachers Council. I need the professional advice of all the teachers if this district is to prosper and develop."

Riley paused momentarily; then responded, "Maybe you should spend less time in your office. I realize it is hard for a lady to go into some of these rougher schools. But I am in the schools every day, and I can tell you that the professionals are union teachers. Furthermore, if you submit the question of whether the Teachers Council should be continued to a vote of all teachers, I have no doubt that a majority would vote to abolish the council."

Dr. Edison could feel her face redden, and she fought back the urge to respond to his insensitive, if not sexist, comment. Finally, she said, "The council didn't vote that way, and many of your people are council members."



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

When Vincent Riley reported the result of this meeting to the union executive board, they agreed that Dr. Edison should be given a chance to explain her actions to the committee before any formal grievance was initiated. The board hoped the grievance committee could convince Dr. Edison of the threat the council posed to good management-labor relations.

The executive board conceded the good intentions of the superintendent, recognizing Dr. Edison's desire to democratize the school system. Despite good intentions, however, the union was worried about the turn of events. It saw itself as the guardian of the teachers' interests and the integrity of the schools. It needed to act decisively.

Dr. Edison received a letter on Metro City Federation of Teachers stationery, over the signature of Donald Strickland, executive committee chairman (Strickland is a full-time employee of the union; he is not a teacher), requesting an appointment for the committee and Vincent Riley to discuss the advisability of continuing the Teachers Council.

- Assume you are Dr. Edison. What are your next steps?
- What are the long-term and short-term problems?
- Is the council worth the aggravation? How important is the council?
- If you give in to the union, what are the consequences?
- If you resist the union, what are the consequences?
- Select the appropriate decision model and formulate a plan of action.

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Use satisficing models of decision making: Optimizing is impossible.
2. Frame problems in ways that enhance positive, productive solutions: Framing does affect solutions.
3. View decision making as a continuous process: There are no final solutions.
4. View problems in terms of both short- and long-term goals: Immediate actions should be consistent with long-term goals.
5. Employ decision-making heuristics carefully: Avoid their hidden traps.
6. Use adaptive satisficing when information is vague or overwhelming or when time is of the essence: Adapt decision making to these decision constraints.
7. Employ objectives, mission, or policy to guide your decisions making: Adaptive satisficing needs direction.
8. Decide on the appropriate decision-making strategy: Assess the sufficiency of information, available time, and the importance of the decision before deciding.
9. Use soft vigilance to solve problems under pressure: Hypervigilance produces panic.
10. Remember there are no final solutions, but only satisfactory solutions for the present.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Administrators use a satisficing model of decision making because they have neither the ability nor capacity to optimize the decision process.
2. Decision making is an ongoing process that solves some problems and creates others.
3. Values are an integral part of making decisions.
4. Decision making is a general pattern of action found in the rational administration of tasks and functions in all organizations.
5. An incremental model of decision making (muddling through) is a popular but limited framework for organizational decision making.
6. A mixed-scanning perspective of decision making (adaptive satisficing) combines the best of the incremental and satisficing models.
7. There is no one best decision-making strategy or model.
8. The appropriate decision strategy depends upon sufficient information, sufficient time, and the importance of the decision.
9. Use swift and smart decision-making principles to improve the quality of decisions.
10. Psychological stress increases poorly conceived and implemented decisions.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS

optimizing, *p. 330*
classical model, *p. 330*
administrative model, *p. 330*
satisficing, *p. 330*
bounded rationality, *p. 331*
generic decisions, *p. 333*
unique decisions, *p. 333*
boundary conditions, *p. 334*
problemistic search, *p. 335*
opportunistic surveillance, *p. 335*
truncated satisficing, *p. 337*
heuristics, *p. 338*
recognition heuristic, *p. 338*
availability heuristic, *p. 338*
representative heuristic, *p. 338*
anchoring-and-adjustment heuristic, *p. 338*
muddling through, *p. 340*
incremental model, *p. 340*
mixed-scanning model, *p. 342*
adaptive satisficing, *p. 342*
truncated adaptive satisficing, *p. 343*
contingency model, *p. 345*
satisficing rule, *p. 347*
framing rule, *p. 347*
default rule, *p. 347*
simplicity rule, *p. 348*
uncertainty rule, *p. 348*
take-the-best rule, *p. 348*
transparency rule, *p. 349*
contingency rule, *p. 349*
participation rule, *p. 349*

SUGGESTED READINGS

Buchanan, L., and O'Connell, A. "A Brief History of Decision Making," *Harvard Business Review* 84 (2006), pp. 33–41.

A brief but intriguing history of decision making from before the sixth century up to and including decision making in the 21st century.

Gilboa, I. (2011). *Making Better Decisions: Decision Practice and Theory.* Walden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

An accessible treatise on intuition and habits of making decisions aimed at improving our decision making and better understanding the decisions of others.

Gilboa, I. (2009). *Theory of Decision under Uncertainty.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

A scholarly, rigorous, and thought-provoking analysis of theory of choice under uncertainty.

Gladwell, Malcolm. *Blink: The Power of Thinking without Thinking*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2005.

A contemporary analysis of intuition and decision making.

Herbert, W. *On Second Thought: Outsmarting Your Mind's Hard-Wired Habits*. New York: Crown, 2010.

A thoughtful analysis of decision heuristics, knowing when to trust them, and avoiding their traps.

Hodgkinson, G. P., and Starbuck, W. H. *The Oxford Handbook of Organizational Decision Making.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008.

A comprehensive set of analyses devoted to contemporary thinking and research on the various aspects of decision making.

Kahneman, D. *Thinking, Fast and Slow.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.

A provocative analysis of the two systems that drive the way we think and make decisions.

Klein, G. *Streetlights and Shadows: Searching for the Keys to Adaptive Decision Making*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009.

An engaging analysis of the decision making in complex and ambiguous situations.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE—A CASE STUDY

Pick an administrative issue or problem that occurred in your school in the last year or two. Describe the case in some detail; your case should be about four to six typewritten pages. Then develop a solution strategy to deal with the problem. Be sure to do the following:

- Provide some background about the school size, level, type (urban, suburban, or rural), the community, and any other factors that would give the reader a good sense of school and faculty.
- Describe the circumstances leading up to the problem.
- Describe the critical facts and issues of the case.
- Who were the major people involved, why, and how?
- End the case right at decision time.
- Then assume the role of administrator.
- Select an appropriate decision-making model and apply it to the case.
- Develop a decision strategy to deal with the problem.

Leadership Standards 2, 5, and 6 (see inside front cover)

NOTES

1. Research suggests that many administrators ignore normative methods prescribed by scholars for effective decision making and persist in questionable decision tactics. See Nutt (1984).
2. For an excellent discussion and application of values and valuation in the practice of educational administration, see Willower and Licata (1997).
3. Iterations of this cycle occur frequently in the organizational literature. For example, see Griffiths (1959), Daft (1989), and Hoy and Tarter (2004).
4. The problem is much more complex, however, if it also involves the integration of minority students into segregated schools.
5. A group of cognitive psychologists called the *prospect school* has made a critical and interesting analysis of heuristics. Their main thesis is that individuals cope with their limited cognitive abilities by using heuristic devices to solve complex problems. Although the heuristics help, they themselves sometimes introduce systematic biases that may subvert decision making. For example, see Nisbett and Ross (1980); Kahneman, Solvic, and Tversky (1982); Kahneman and Tversky (1996); and Gigerenzer (2004).
6. Etzioni (1967) reports that 50 articles and Ph.D. dissertations have been written on mixed scanning since his original article. For his synthesis, see Etzioni (1986).
7. This section draws heavily on the work of Janis (1985) and Janis and Mann (1977).
8. From Wayne K. Hoy and C. J. Tarter, *Administrators Solving the Problems of Practice*, © 1995. Published by Allyn & Bacon, Boston, MA. Copyright © 1995 by Pearson Education. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

CHAPTER 11



SHARED DECISION MAKING: EMPOWERING TEACHERS

The 21st century is destined to be different. Instead of leaders calling most every shot, followers will have more of a say, more often, than they ever did.

Barbara Kellerman

PREVIEW

1. Sometimes teacher participation improves the quality of decisions and sometimes it does not; hence, the question is not whether to empower teachers, but when and how.
2. Two models of shared decision making are proposed to guide decision makers.
3. In making decisions, both the quality of decisions and the acceptance of the decisions are critical.
4. There are at least three major limitations on group decision making—the talent of the participants, the motivations of the participants, and the time available for the decisions.
5. There are many decision-making styles; five styles are suggested for each of the models of shared decision making.
6. The Vroom model of shared decision making is built upon 10 criteria, which determine multiple paths for participation in decisions.
7. The simplified Hoy-Tarter model of shared decision making rests upon three important questions, which guide behavior.
8. Relevance, expertise, and trust are critical aspects of shared decision making.
9. One of the dangers of group decision making is groupthink, shared illusions about the correctness and invulnerability of the group.
10. Groupthink can be avoided by understanding its causes and by appropriately structuring group decision making.

Slogans of empowerment are not sufficient. Clearly there are circumstances when empowerment of teachers is appropriate, but at other times, it is shortsighted. There are times when teacher participation improves the quality of the decision as well as times when it impedes effective decisions. The

critical question is, "Under what conditions should subordinates be involved in decision making?" Put another way—when and how should teachers be empowered?

DECISION-MAKING CYCLE: AN EXTENSION AND SOME SUGGESTIONS

Even though our focus in this chapter is on shared decision making, empowerment, and teacher participation in leadership, it is essential not to lose sight of the fact that the process of rational decision making is the same whether executed by a single individual, group, or a team. Thus, we briefly review the general pattern of action that comprises a satisficing model of making decisions and add one other step in the process, an inclusive one of determining if others should be involved.

- Recognizing and defining the problem or issue.
- Analyzing the difficulties in the situation.
- Establishing criteria for a satisfactory solution.
- *Involving others in the decision?*
- Developing a strategy for action.
- Initiating a plan of action.
- Evaluating the outcomes.

Rational decision makers first recognize and identify a problem, and then they collect and analyze the critical facts of the case as they specify the problem. Next, they decide what they would be satisfied with in terms of outcomes (criteria of satisfaction). Before engaging in the development of a comprehensive set of alternatives and likely consequences, we suggest that prudent leaders determine if others should be involved in the decision, and if so, who, how, and to what extent? The analysis of alternatives and consequences in turn leads to the formulation of a feasible plan of action. The plan is then initiated and the outcomes and process are evaluated.

In the last chapter, we focused on the general process of making decisions as well as some guidelines for making swift and smart decisions. Here we add to those ideas by underscoring a number of propositions gleaned from the research, which help improve and facilitate good decisions (Hoy and Tarter, 2011).

The Power of Perception

Perception dictates how a problem is framed, and framing a problem has much to do with its eventual solution; in fact, sometimes apparently insoluble problems become solvable merely by reframing. For example, consider a case about tenants who were angry because the elevators in their building were so slow (Woolfolk, 2010). The tenants complained, and experts were hired to "fix the problem." The consultants, however, reported that the

elevators were no worse than average and that improvement would be very expensive. Then, as a supervisor watched people waiting impatiently for an elevator, he speculated that the issue was not slow elevators, but rather the culprit was boredom; people had nothing to do while they waited.

When the problem was reframed as boredom instead of slow elevators, the challenge changed to improving the "waiting experience." The simple action of installing a mirror by the elevator on each floor gave people something to do as they waited (checking their appearance) and eliminated the complaints. The problem was solved efficiently and quickly by reframing. Reframing is deceptively simple. After all, how does one consciously move from a pessimistic constraint to an optimistic opportunity? That is the challenge—to see problems in their potential to improve the organization; the more serious the problem, the greater the opportunity for change.

The Power of Simplification

Simplification is genius, but the challenge here is to simplify without becoming simplistic. Too much complexity overwhelms decision makers, but too much simplification undermines deep understanding—a dilemma all reflective leaders must confront. Decision makers should be reluctant to oversimplify lest important distinctions are lost, but failure to reduce ideas to their core meaning swamps cognitive capacity, paralyzes analysis, and promotes inaction.

For example, computer software programmers speak to the issue of user-friendly software. The challenge is to develop easy-to-use and yet powerful software; indeed, the most popular computer devices and software programs typically are those that are easy to use and powerful; they are elegant and make complex tasks simple. Consider the iPhone with its myriad of easy-to-use apps. To find the best restaurant in the area is only a click or two away; it does not require scanning the Yellow Pages. To find the best price on an item that you are buying is another click or two away. Finding your way in a strange city is another click. Relatively complex tasks are achieved in a simple and easy manner. Some would argue that the advantage that Apple brings to the wireless world is simplicity. It is not surprising that Henry David Thoreau more than a century ago admonished individuals to "Simplify! Simplify!" Increasing complexity demands simplification, a fact that should not be lost on decision makers. Simplicity rules.

The Power of Decisiveness

Just as simplicity is essential to navigating complexity, so too is decisiveness. The indecisive decision maker is an oxymoron; decisions must be made if the organization is not to come to a grinding halt. One of the most difficult tasks is to stop searching for options. It is natural to want to keep your options open, especially when the decision is important, complicated, and involves

others. Ariely (2008) argues that keeping one's options open often distracts us from our main objective. In modern democracy individuals are beset with an abundance of opportunities, and therein lies a major dilemma—to choose from a myriad of opportunities guarantees fewer possibilities. When a road diverges, taking one rules out the other. It's unnatural to close out your options because there is a natural yearning for freedom (Fromm, 1969) and autonomy (Deci and Ryan, 2000).

Groups and leaders must unshackle themselves from "the irrational impulse of chasing worthless options" (Ariely, 2008, p.148). There is always a price for keeping your options open. Time spent on searching is time stolen from something else (Shin and Ariely, 2004). Of course, searching for options is critical in rational decision making, but ceasing the search is also crucial. The balance between a timely decision and time spent in keeping one's options open is struck only if the leaders and the group remember that not deciding is costly. Decisiveness is especially important in satisficing; in fact, it pays to act on the first satisfactory option, that is, use the take-the-best rule (see Chapter 10).

The Power of Deadlines

Deadlines promote decisiveness by specifying the endpoint of an event. The admonition to "finish in a timely fashion" has about as much motivating power as the encouragement to "do your best." Specific, achievable, and challenging goals elicit strong motivation; general encouragement does not (Locke and Latham, 1990). Whether it is MIT students (Ariely, 2008) or elementary or secondary students (Emmer and Evertson, 1982, 2009; Emmer, Evertson and Anderson, 1980), the research is clear—structure and deadlines promote decisiveness. Thus, group decision making should have structure, realistic timetables, and specific deadlines for making a decision and taking action.

The Power of Ownership

Ownership creates value; in fact, when we own something, whether it is a car, an idea, or even a problem, it takes on increased value and importance (Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler, 1990, 1991). The application of this proposition is straightforward for leaders who want to involve others in decision making. The challenge is to get others to buy into the problem, that is, to accept the issue as their own and not simply the leader's or the organization's problem.

There are several themes to the creation of value through ownership. First, the leader creates ideas that teachers will find useful. The value of these ideas, however, will be greatly enhanced when the teachers view the ideas as their own. Second, although it is important for leaders to generate ideas, they must also be skillful at getting teacher groups or teams to "buy into" the

problem, that is, to take on the problem or issue as their own. In brief, a leader who wants to involve teachers effectively in decision making has three important objectives: to get teachers to take on the problem as their own, to create new ideas that teachers identify with, and to fashion an environment in which teachers initiate novel approaches to shared problems. In these instances, ownership intensifies the value of the ideas and ensures their use.

The Power of Emotional Self-Regulation

One of the most difficult things for administrators to do is to remain calm in the face of emergency or calamity. Most leaders agree that nothing is to be gained by becoming emotional in a crisis; however, knowing something is not the same as doing it. It is one thing to know the advantage of staying calm, cool, and rational in difficult situations, but it is quite another to do it. This dictum holds for groups as well as individuals; in fact, it may be more difficult for groups with multiple personalities to remain composed in trying situations.

As passion inflames a situation, people suddenly move to unpredictable and irrational behavior. How do we handle others and ourselves under intense emotional stress? *Do nothing while under severe pressure*. As simple as that answer appears to be, doing nothing often is not an option. What are some of the factors that make decision making so difficult in emotionally charged situations? Weick's (1990) study of an air disaster provides some clues. Severe pressure produces a loss of cognitive efficiency due to an uncontrollable rush of adrenaline, a loss of accuracy in communication, and an increased likelihood of making small errors because of the press to make quick decisions.

There is no one best way to control completely this natural tendency toward irrational behavior in difficult circumstances, but some safeguards can be taken. Consider the following guidelines when confronting emotional and demanding situations:

- Self-enforce a cooling-off period before deciding or acting; slow down the process.
- Delegate action to trusted colleagues not involved in the emotion of the moment.
- Resist writing formal responses until reason returns—draft, but do not send.
- Refrain from displaying anger or panic in public.

More effective decisions are likely if decision makers practice **soft vigilance**—a kind of mindfulness that monitors a situation and creates competing explanations of events (Langer, 1989). In this process, one is wary of routine and senseless generalizations. Mindfulness increases the emotional distance between the problem and the response and bridges to an understanding of the emotional state at the other side of the stressful experience. Mindfulness is a

habit of mind that is a safeguard against irrationality. Review Chapter 3 for a more comprehensive discussion of mindfulness.

General Propositions for Decision Making

The previous discussion can be summarized with six general propositions, which are relevant for participative decision making.

- The *power of perception* dictates how a problem is framed: Broaden the context, use multiple perspectives, and reframe in novel contexts.
- The *power of simplification* gives decision makers a path to solving complex problems: Simplify complexity by identifying the core ideas of complex events.
- The *power of decisiveness* is the ability to take action: Strike a balance between decisive action and reflective analysis in favor of action.
- The *power of deadlines* promotes decisiveness by structuring the endpoint of an event: Impose structure and deadlines for teachers and administrators as they engage in making decisions.
- The *power of ownership* creates value in problems and ideas: Foster group ownership; get the group to take on problems and ideas as their own.
- The *power of emotional self-regulation* helps leaders cope with highly charged crisis situations: *Soft vigilance* is a watchful habit that safeguards against irrationality.

We return to the initial question posed in this chapter: "Under what conditions should administrators empower teachers by involving them in decisions?" We address this query with two models of shared decision making: one based on a comprehensive set of decision rules (Vroom and Yetton, 1973) and the other on a simple set of three criteria—expertise, relevance, and trust in subordinates. Both models are designed to empower teachers, to enhance acceptance of decisions, and to improve the quality of decisions (Bridges, 1967; Hoy and Tarter, 1992, 1993a, 1993b).

THE VROOM MODEL OF SHARED DECISION MAKING

Victor Vroom and his colleagues (Vroom and Yetton, 1973; Vroom and Jago, 1988) proposed a model of shared decision making that develops two sets of rules from the extant empirical evidence. Clearly, it is the best-known model of management of participation in organizations; in fact, after reviewing research evidence on normative leadership theories, Miner (1980, 1988, 2005) concludes that no leadership theory surpasses the Vroom model in either its

validity or usefulness. In its latest version, Vroom and Jago (1988) identify a set of problem properties that should influence subordinate participation in decision making in a variety of situations. These properties are defined by a set of decision rules and their operational questions.

Enhancing the Quality and Acceptance of Decisions

The Vroom model matches participation in decision making with the nature of the problem and situation. Based on their research, they posit four rules to enhance the quality of decisions.

1. Quality Rule. *Use a unilateral approach to decision making only if—*
   - The quality requirement is low and the matter unimportant to subordinates, or
   - The quality requirement is low, the decision is important, and will be readily accepted by subordinates.
2. Leader Information Rule. *Don't make a unilateral decision if—*
   - The quality of the decision is important and you don't possess sufficient information and expertise to solve the problem alone.
3. Trust Rule (Goal Congruence). *Make a unilateral decision when—*
   - The quality of the decision is important and you can't trust subordinates to decide on the basis of the organizational goals.
4. Problem Structure Rule. *Involve knowledgeable subordinates to collect relevant information when—*
   - The quality of the decision is important, the problem is unstructured, and you lack sufficient information or expertise.

Although improving the quality of a decision is important, so too is getting subordinates to embrace and accept decisions. Four rules enhance the acceptance of decisions.

1. The Acceptance Rule. *Involve subordinates if—*
   - Their acceptance of the decision is critical for effective implementation and you are unsure if they will accept an autocratic decision.
2. The Subordinate Conflict Rule. *Involve subordinates when—*
   - There is conflict among subordinates, acceptance of the decision is critical, and an autocratic decision is unlikely to be accepted.
3. Subordinate Commitment Rule. *A group decision should be made—*
   - Even when the quality of the decision is not important, but its acceptance is critical and problematic. A group decision will likely generate more acceptance and commitment than a hierarchical one.
4. The Subordinate Information Rule. *Subordinates should not be called upon—*
   - To make a decision for which they have insufficient information or expertise.

Constraints on Decision Making

In addition to these rules for improving the quality and enhancing the acceptance of decisions, there are two strong constraints on decision making:

1. The Time Constraint (Motivation-Time). Time is often critical.
   - Time is not free. The amount of time used in making a decision is a cost expressed in terms of the loss of attention to other activities.
2. The Development Constraint (Motivation-Development). Subordinates often don't have the knowledge and skills to contribute.
   - Decision making is a learned skill developed through practice. To empower teachers means to give them the skills and opportunities to make important decisions.

Time limits the extent of participation in decision making, but if time permits, the leader can develop the knowledge and skills that enable teachers to participate effectively in decisions.

Decision-Making Styles

Vroom and Yetton (1973) make a distinction between "individual" problems and "group" problems. An individual problem is one that has the potential to affect one and only one person. We are concerned with group problems in this formulation, that is, those issues that affect others. Vroom and Yetton (1973) suggest five decision styles that can be arrayed along a *continuum from autocratic to group participation*:

- *Autocratic:* The leader using the existing information solves the problem unilaterally.
- *Informed-Autocratic:* The leader solves the problem unilaterally after obtaining necessary information from subordinates. Subordinates may or may not be told of the purpose of questions, but they do not play a role in defining the problem or generating and evaluating alternative solutions.
- *Individual-Consultative*: The leader shares the problem with subordinates, soliciting their ideas individually, and makes a decision that may not reflect the influence of subordinates.
- *Group-Consultative*: The leader shares the problem with group members, solicits their ideas, and makes the decision, which may or may not reflect the influence of subordinates.
- *Group-Agreement*: The leader shares the problem with subordinates as a group and together generates and evaluates alternatives in an attempt to reach consensus. This is a group decision in which the leader is willing to accept the decision of the group.

To illustrate these decision styles with a school example, consider the following. Suppose you are the principal of a high school. You want to broaden the curriculum by developing a new instructional program in AIDS

prevention; in fact, you have been instructed to add AIDS prevention to the program by the superintendent and the board of education.

Using the **autocratic style,** you simply develop a plan based on available knowledge. For example, you might just direct that the health and physical education program teach a unit on the subject.

If you feel you need more information before acting, you might solicit information from the health teachers about the difficulties of implementing such a plan before issuing your directive—an **informed-autocratic style**.

If you want more consultation, you might employ one of two consultative strategies. In the **individual-consultative style,** you would check with a key individual or two, soliciting their ideas individually before you decide on action.

Alternatively, you might bring a group of health teachers together for the same purpose—a **group-consultative style**.

Finally, if you want to maximize the involvement of teachers, you would share the problem with the entire faculty, seek teacher views, have them generate and evaluate alternatives, and then have the faculty make a democratic decision. The principal acts as the moderator of the group and accepts, supports, and implements the group decision, using the **group-agreement style**.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Analyze the decision-making styles of your principal using Vroom's five decision-making styles. Does you principal use all five styles? What is the dominant style of your principal? What decision style does your principal use least often? How easy is it for your principal to shift styles as the situation changes? How well does your principal match the style to the situation? What are the basic strengths and weaknesses of your principal's decision-making styles?

Decision-Making Trees

The effectiveness of a decision depends on its quality, its acceptance, and its timeliness (Vroom and Jago, 1988). The key to effective decision making is to match the appropriate leader style with the decision rules in a timely fashion. The eight rules and two constraints define situations that call for one of the five decision styles in the model, but matching situations, rules, and constraints is no simple matter. The eight rules and two constraints taken two at a time yield more than 1,000 different situations and multiple sets of paths. Thus, the analysis can be a little overwhelming and intimidating.

The use of decision trees, however, is helpful. A **decision tree** is a pictorial scheme that traces the possible decisions that arise by following a set of decision rules, which in this case is the result of the solution to a series of simultaneous equations that are based on the results of empirical findings of Vroom and his colleagues. The tree simplifies the paths for involving teachers in decisions and defines the role of the principal and teachers. In Figure 11.1 we illustrate how the eight decision rules are used to plot the appropriate decision style depending on the situation when the development of teacher skill and knowledge is desired.

In the figure, the rules have been stated as questions. First, consider the quality question, which has two branches: whether a high or low quality decision is imperative. Each of these branches leads to the next question (how important is subordinate commitment?), which defines two new branches, and so on. Answering the questions and following the branches of the decision tree eventually lead to the appropriate decision-making style.

When is an autocratic decision appropriate? According to the model in Figure 11.1, if the quality requirement is low and the issue is unimportant to teachers, an autocratic decision is desirable. Or, if the quality of the decision is not high, but the issue is important to teachers, then an autocratic approach is appropriate only if it is likely that teachers will accept an autocratic decision. Remember that the decision style and the problem properties are combined through a series of complex equations (Vroom and Yetton, 1973; Vroom and Jago, 1988) to determine the appropriate matching, and the decision trees in Figures 11.1 and 11.2 are solutions to those equations. Figure 11.1 is the solution under the condition of teacher development and Figure 11.2 is the solution under the condition of time pressure.

Familiarize yourself with the model and the decision path by "walking through" the decision trees. For example, note when is it appropriate to use an *individual-consultative style*, that is, to share the problem with teachers, soliciting their ideas individually without forming a group, and then make the decision, which may or may not reflect the influence of teachers. Start with the decision style, *individual consultative*, and work your way back through the model. There are two paths to the first individual-consultative style found in Figure 11.1.

FIRST: Tracing the path back from an individual-consultative style, note that *conflict is high, subordinates do not share goals*, and there is high probability of acceptance, sufficient information, high subordinate commitment, and *a high quality requirement.*

SECOND: Another path to an individual-consultative style is found when *conflict is high, teachers do not share goals*, there is a high probability of acceptance, a structured problem, insufficient leader information, high subordinate commitment, and *a high quality requirement.*

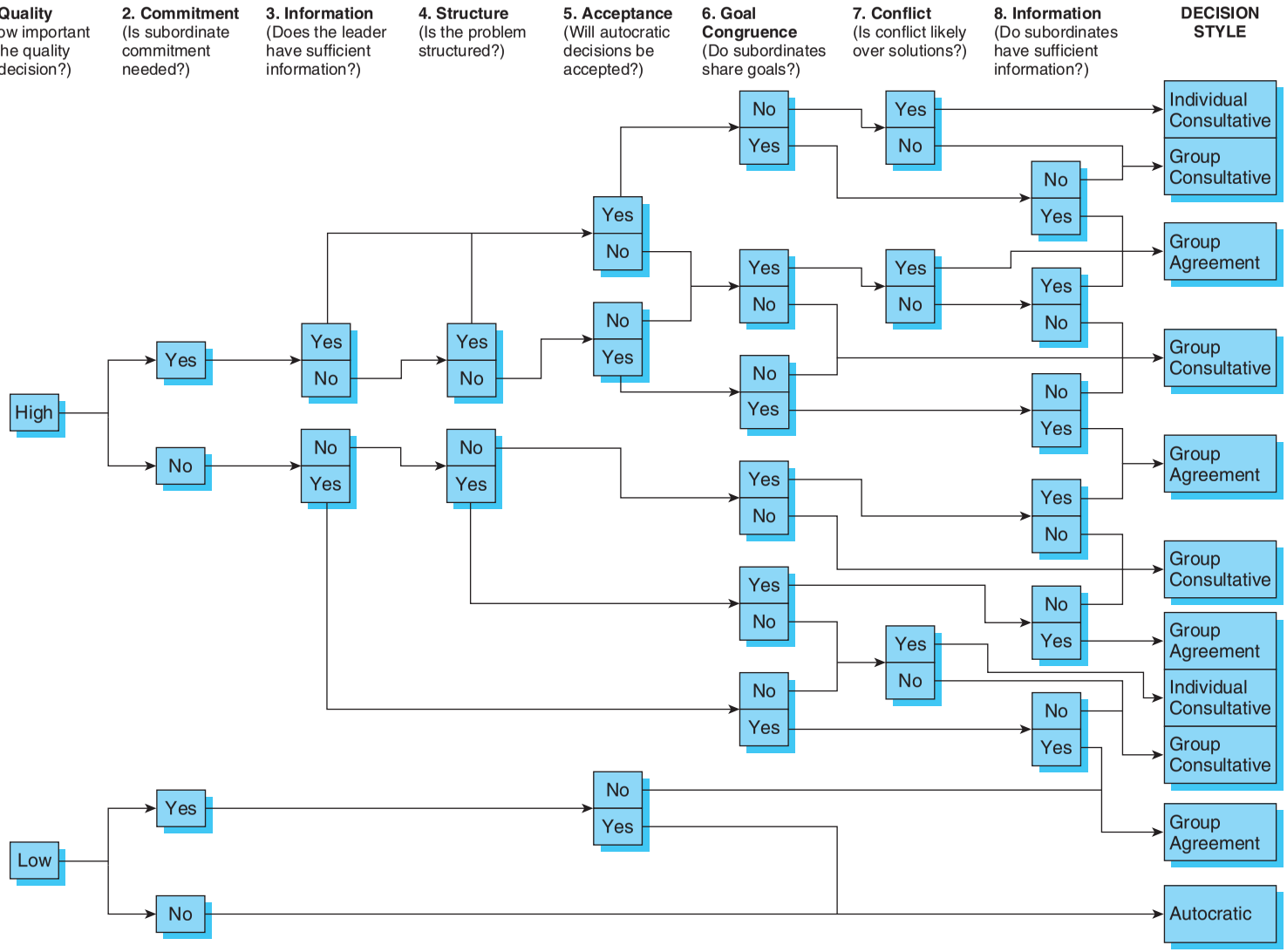


FIGURE 11.1 *Decision Tree for Group Decision Making under Time Pressure*

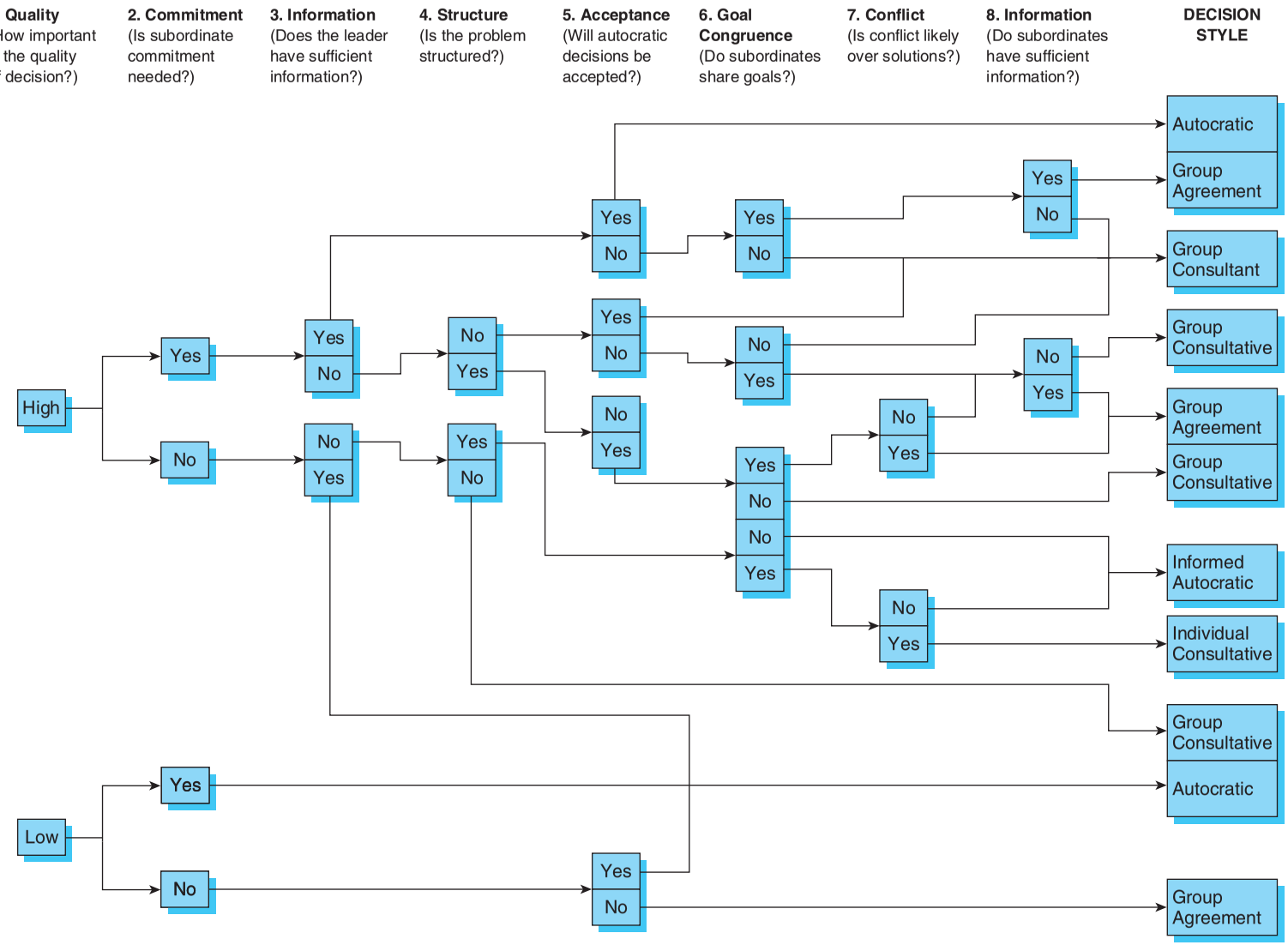


FIGURE 11.2 *Decision Tree for Group Decision Making for Teacher Development*

There are two other paths (sets of conditions) that lead to the second individual-consultative style in Figure 11.1.

THIRD: Tracing the path back, we see that *conflict is high, subordinates do not share goals*, the problem is structured, there is insufficient leader information, low subordinate commitment, and *a high quality requirement.*

FOURTH: The final path depicts a situation in which *conflict is high, subordinates do not share goals*, and there is sufficient leader information, but low subordinate commitment, and *a high quality requirement.*

In brief, *an individual-consultative style* is called for when a high-quality decision is required, subordinates do not share goals, and conflict is high.

There is no question that the model is complex, but so, too, is decision making. It may not seem so at first blush, but the model actually simplifies the process. Research suggests that the questions proposed by Vroom and his colleagues are critical ones that influence the effectiveness of leadership and decision making. In the model pictured in Figure 11.1, there are more than 30 appropriate paths to the five decision styles, but that number pales by comparison to the myriad of paths that are possible using all eight criteria through the following questions:

1. *How important is the technical quality of this decision*?
2. *How important is teacher commitment to the decision*?
3. *Do you have sufficient information for a quality decision*?
4. *Is the problem well structured*?
5. *Will an autocratic decision be accepted*?
6. *Do teachers share organizational goals*?
7. *Is teacher conflict over solutions likely*?
8. *Do teachers have sufficient information to make a high-quality decision*?

Recall that the decision tree in Figure 11.1 operates under the constraint of teacher development. Suppose the major constraint is time rather than development. Figure 11.2 depicts the paths to an appropriate style of decision. The decision questions are the same, but the paths are different. Compare Figures 11.1 and 11.2. When time is a constraint, it is more likely that autocratic, unilateral decisions will be made; but when subordinate development is the constraint, group agreement is more likely. In other words, when time intrudes, a more unilateral approach is necessary, but when time is not an issue and a goal is to develop the skills and knowledge that enable teachers to contribute to decision making, then collaboration is not only more likely but also necessary. We recommend a developmental model when time permits because ultimately we want teachers to initiate their own leadership acts and accept responsibility; that is, we want to empower teachers.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Assess the extent to which your school faculty is generally ready for empowerment. How often does your faculty accept an autocratic decision? Do most of the faculty members share the goals of the organization? That is, are they willing to subordinate personal goals for organizational ones? How much teacher conflict exists? How much principal-teacher conflict exists? How much expertise exists within the faculty? In what decisions should the faculty not be involved? How openly does the administration communicate information to the faculty? How open and supportive is the principal? How well does the principal tolerate dissent? In short, what are the greatest obstacles to shared decision making in your school?

Some Cautions

The Vroom model is a powerful tool that guides participation of subordinates in decision making. The answers to each question have been dichotomized to make the model usable without a computer. Even with this simplification, however, the analysis is so complex that, without the use of the decision trees, most leaders simply ignore the procedure. Therein lies the rub. The model is useful, but a little too complex for routine use. The model, however, forces one to consider the important requirements of quality and acceptance of decisions, and it raises critical questions that should be addressed before rendering any decision. What leaders need are useful models they can readily use rather than store on computers or on index cards. Keeping that conclusion in mind, we turn to a simplified model of shared decision making—one that leaders can keep in their heads as they grapple with the problems of practice.

THE HOY-TARTER MODEL: A SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF SHARED DECISION MAKING

The research on teacher participation in decision making has generally supported the desirability of empowering teachers in the process, but that research also suggests that participation is not always advantageous; that is, the effectiveness of teacher participation depends on the problem and situation. A careful examination of the theory and research on participation in decision making in business and educational organizations reveals the following conclusions:[1]

- The opportunity to share in formulating policies is an important factor in the morale of teachers and in their enthusiasm for the school.

- Participation in decision making is positively related to the individual teacher's satisfaction with the profession of teaching.
- Teachers prefer principals who involve them in decision making.
- Decisions fail because of poor quality or because subordinates do not accept them.
- Teachers neither expect nor want to be involved in every decision; in fact, too much involvement can be as detrimental as too little.
- The roles and functions of both teachers and administrators in decision making need to be varied according to the nature of the problem.

Again we emphasize that the appropriate question is *not* "Should teachers be involved in decisions?" Rather, the critical questions are more complex:

- Under what conditions should teachers be involved in decisions?
- To what extent should teachers be involved?
- How should teachers be involved?
- What is the administrator's role in the process?

Vroom has proposed one answer to the questions, albeit a complicated one. We now turn to a simplified model of participation—one that educational administrators can easily master, remember, and use readily to guide their practice. The Hoy-Tarter model (1992, 1993a, 1993b, 2003, 2004) has evolved into a user-friendly model that administrators can keep in their heads and easily apply when the situation is appropriate. In our test of the models, we found that solutions using the two different models were congruent with each other more than 90 percent of the time; in those few cases where there were differences, they were ones of style rather than substance.

The Hoy-Tarter Model of Shared Decision Making

Subordinates accept some decisions without question because they are indifferent to them. As Barnard (1938, p. 167) explains, there is a **zone of indifference** "in each individual within which orders are accepted without conscious questioning of their authority." Simon prefers the more positive term, **zone of acceptance**, but the terms are used interchangeably in the literature. The subordinates' zone of acceptance is critical in deciding under what conditions to involve or not involve subordinates in decision making.

Zone of Acceptance: Its Significance and Determination

Drawing on the work of Barnard (1938), Simon (1957a), and Chase (1951), Edwin M. Bridges (1967) advances two propositions about shared decision making:

1. As subordinates are involved in making decisions located within their zone of acceptance, participation will be less effective.

		Do Subordinates Have a Personal Stake?	
		Yes	No
Do Subordinates Have Expertise?	Yes	Outside Zone of Acceptance (Probably Include)	Marginal with Expertise (Occasionally Include)
	No	Marginal with Relevance (Occasionally Include)	Inside Zone of Acceptance (Definitely Exclude)

FIGURE 11.3 *The Zone of Acceptance and Involvement*

2. As subordinates are involved in making decisions located outside their zone of acceptance, participation will be more effective.

The problem for the administrator is to determine which decisions fall inside and which outside the zone. Bridges suggests two tests to answer this question:

- **The test of relevance**: Do the subordinates have a personal stake in the decision outcomes?
- **The test of expertise**: Do subordinates have the expertise to make a useful contribution to the decision?

The answers to these two questions define the four situations pictured in Figure 11.3. When subordinates have both expertise and a personal stake in the outcomes, then the decision is clearly outside their zone of acceptance. But if subordinates have neither expertise nor a personal stake, then the decision is inside the zone. There are, however, two marginal conditions, each with different decisional constraints. When subordinates have expertise but no personal stake, or have a personal stake but no particular expertise, the conditions are more problematic. Hoy and Tarter (1993a) propose two additional theoretical propositions for guidance:

3. As subordinates are involved in making decisions for which they have marginal expertise, their participation will be marginally effective.
4. As subordinates are involved in making decisions for which they have marginal interest, their participation will be marginally effective.

Trust and Situations

One more consideration is useful if we are to be successful in applying the model to actual problems. Trust of subordinates should sometimes moderate their degree of involvement.[2] When subordinates' personal goals conflict with organizational ones, it is ill-advised to delegate decisions to them

because of the high risk that decisions will be made on personal bases at the expense of the overall welfare of the school.[3] Thus subordinate trust is important, and to gauge trust, we propose a final test.

- **The test of trust**: Are subordinates committed to the mission of the organization? And can they be trusted to make decisions in the best interests of the organization?

Application of the three tests produces the following five viable situations, each with a different strategy for involvement:

Democratic Situation: Extensive Involvement. If the decision is outside the zone of acceptance and if subordinates can be trusted to make decisions in the best interest of the organization, then participation should be extensive. The earlier individuals can be involved in the decision, the better. The principal might go so far as to have the group reframe the problem and examine relevant data before developing options, predicting the consequences of each option, and formulating a decision strategy. We call this a *democratic situation* because typically the decision will be made by majority rule. There are, however, extraordinary situations that demand total consensus—when the law mandates it or when success of implementing the decision requires it.

Conflictual Situation: Limited Involvement. If the decision is outside the zone and there is little trust in the subordinates, then we have a *conflictual situation* and participation should be restricted. To do otherwise invites moving in directions inconsistent with the overall welfare of the organization. This is a situation that requires trust building, and until such time as trust is developed, participation is restricted.

Noncollaborative Situation: No Involvement. If the decision issue is not relevant to subordinates (they have no personal stake in the outcome) and they have no expertise, then the decision clearly falls within their zone of acceptance and involvement should be avoided; this is a *noncollaborative situation*. Indeed, participation in such cases will likely produce resentment because subordinates typically are not interested and have no stake in the outcome.

Stakeholder Situation: Limited Involvement. When subordinates have a personal stake in the issue but little expertise, we have a *stakeholder situation* and subordinate participation should be limited and only occasional. To do otherwise courts trouble. If subordinates have nothing substantive to contribute, the decision ultimately will be made by those with the expertise (not subordinates), and a sense of frustration and hostility may be generated. Subordinates, in fact, may perceive the experience as an empty exercise in which the decisions have "already been made." Daniel L. Duke, Beverly K. Showers, and Michael Imber (1980) conclude from their research that shared decision making is often viewed by teachers as a formality or attempt to create the illusion of

teacher influence. On the other hand, occasionally it may be useful to involve teachers in a limited way. When involvement is sought under these circumstances, it must be done skillfully. Its major objectives should be to open communication with subordinates, to educate them, and to gain support for the decision.

Expert Situation: Limited Involvement. Finally, there is an *expert situation*—when subordinates have no personal stake in the outcome but do have the knowledge to make useful contributions. Should subordinates be involved? Only occasionally and sparingly! To involve subordinates indiscriminately in decisions of this type is to increase the likelihood of alienation. Selectively involve only individuals and groups with expertise. Although involvement under these circumstances increases the administrator's chances of reaching a higher-quality decision, frequent involvement may become burdensome and have subordinates wondering aloud "what the administrator gets paid for." After all, in this situation subordinates have little or no personal stake in the outcome.

These **five decision-making situations** and appropriate responses are summarized in Figure 11.4.

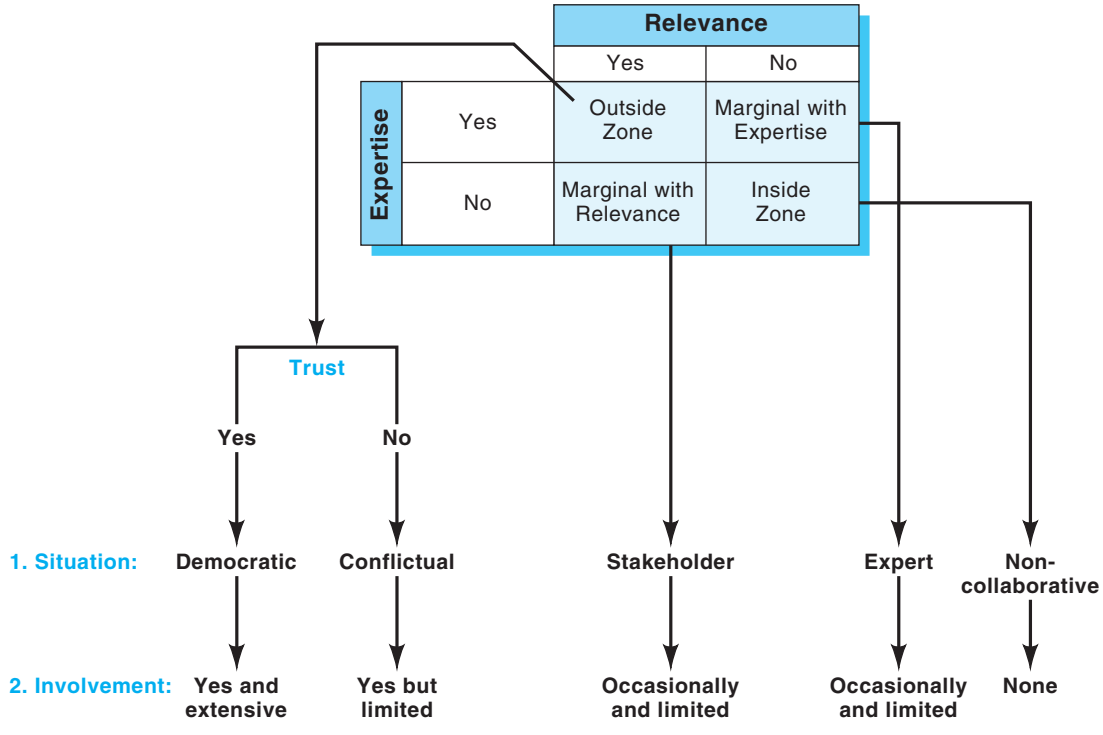


FIGURE 11.4 *Decision Situation and Subordinate Involvement*

Decision-Making Structures

Once the administrator has determined that subordinates should be involved in deciding, the next question becomes how the process should proceed. Hoy and Tarter (2003) suggest **five decision-making structures**:

1. *Group consensus*: The administrator involves participants in the decision making, and then the group decides. All group members share equally as they generate and evaluate a decision, but total consensus is required before a decision can be made.
2. *Group majority*: The administrator involves participants in the decision making, and then the group decides by majority rule.
3. *Group advisory*: The administrator solicits the opinions of the entire group, discusses the implications of group suggestions, and then makes a decision that may or may not reflect subordinates' desires.
4. *Individual advisory*: The administrator consults with subordinates individually who have expertise to inform the decision, and then makes a decision that may or may not reflect their opinions.
5. *Unilateral decision*: The administrator makes the decision without consulting or involving subordinates in the decision.

Leader Roles

Thus far we have focused on subordinates in shared decision making. Now we turn to the administrator and define **five leadership roles**: integrator, parliamentarian, educator, solicitor, and director. The integrator brings subordinates together for consensus decision making. Here the task is to reconcile divergent opinions and positions. The parliamentarian facilitates open communication by protecting the opinions of the minority and leads participants through a democratic process to a group decision. The educator reduces resistance to change by explaining and discussing with group members the opportunities and constraints of the decisional issues. The solicitor seeks advice from subordinate-experts. The quality of decisions is improved as the administrator guides the generation of relevant information. The director makes unilateral decisions in those instances where the subordinates have no expertise or personal stake. Here the goal is efficiency. The function and aim of each role is summarized in Table 11.1.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Analyze your decision-making styles using Hoy and Tarter's five leader roles. Do you or can you use all five roles? What is your dominant style? What is your strongest role? What leader role are you likely to use least often? Why? How easy will it be for you to shift roles as the situation changes? What are the basic strengths and weaknesses of your leadership? Can you be flexible in your use of different leader roles and yet be reasonably consistent? Why and how?

TABLE 11.1

Administrative Roles for Shared Decision Making

Role	Function	Aim
Integrator	Integrates divergent positions	To gain consensus
Parliamentarian	Promotes open discussion	To support reflective group deliberation
Educator	Explains and discusses issues	To seek acceptance of decision
Solicitor	Solicits advice	To improve quality of decision
Director	Makes unilateral decisions	To achieve efficiency

Putting It Together: A Model for Shared Decision Making

Administrators are too often exhorted to involve teachers in all decisions. The more appropriate stance is to reflect upon the question: When should others be involved in decision making and how? We have proposed a model that answers this question.

The key concept in the model, drawn from Barnard (1938) and Simon (1947), is the zone of acceptance. There are some decisions that subordinates simply accept and, therefore, in which they need not be involved. The administrator identifies those situations by asking two questions:

1. *Relevance question:* Do the subordinates have a personal stake in the outcome?
2. *Expertise question:* Can subordinates contribute expertise to the solution?

If the answer to both these questions is yes, the subordinates have both a personal stake in the outcome and the expertise to contribute, then the situation is outside the zone of acceptance. Subordinates will want to be involved, and their involvement should improve the decision. However, one must next evaluate their commitment to the organization by asking the following question:

3. *Trust question*: Can subordinates be trusted to make a decision in the best interests of the organization?

If subordinates can be trusted, their involvement should be extensive as the group tries to develop the "best" decision. The administrator should consider restarting the process from the beginning and have teachers reframe the problem before a strategy of action is shaped. In the process, the role of the administrator is to act either as an integrator (if consensus is essential) or

as a parliamentarian (if a group majority is sufficient). If subordinates cannot be trusted (conflictual situation), their involvement should be limited. In this situation the administrator acts as an educator, and the group serves to advise and identify pockets of resistance.

If, however, subordinates have only a personal stake in the decision but no expertise (stakeholder situation), their involvement should be occasional and limited. Subordinates are interested in the outcome, but they have little knowledge to bring to bear on the decision. The reason for occasional involvement in this situation is to lower resistance and educate participants. If the involvement is more than occasional, the danger is alienation as teachers feel manipulated because their wishes are not met. At the outset, all parties should know that the group is clearly advisory to the leader. The administrator's role is to decide and educate.

If subordinates have expertise but no personal stake (expert situation), their involvement should also be occasional and limited as the administrator attempts to improve the decision by tapping the expertise of significant individuals who are not normally involved in this kind of action. At first blush, one might think that expertise should always be consulted in a decision, but if workers have no personal stake in the outcomes, their enthusiasm will quickly wane. They may well grumble, "This isn't my job."

In noncollaborative situations the teachers have neither the interest nor the expertise to contribute to the decision. Yet there is such a strong norm about involving teachers in all sorts of decisions that school administrators often feel constrained to involve teachers regardless of their knowledge or interest. Such ritual is dysfunctional and illogical. Why would you involve someone in a decision when that person doesn't care and can't help? The model suggests that administrators make direct unilateral decisions when the issue is within the zone of acceptance of subordinates. The entire model is summarized in Figure 11.5.

This model for shared decision making is not a panacea. It is not a substitute for sensitive and reflective administrative thought and action; it simply provides some guidelines for determining when and how teachers and principals should be involved in joint decision making. The effectiveness of decisions is determined by both the quality of the decision and the acceptance and commitment of subordinates to implement the decision.

Developing Teachers for Decision Making

Not all teachers want to be involved in decisions; in fact, some teachers are quite comfortable leaving all the major decisions to the administrators. Others want to be involved in every decision. Most teachers are somewhere between these extremes. A healthy perspective is one in which teachers want to be involved in decisions when they can make a contribution.

There is a lot of talent on most teacher faculties, and a challenge for all administrators is to find ways to release and use that talent. To be effective in

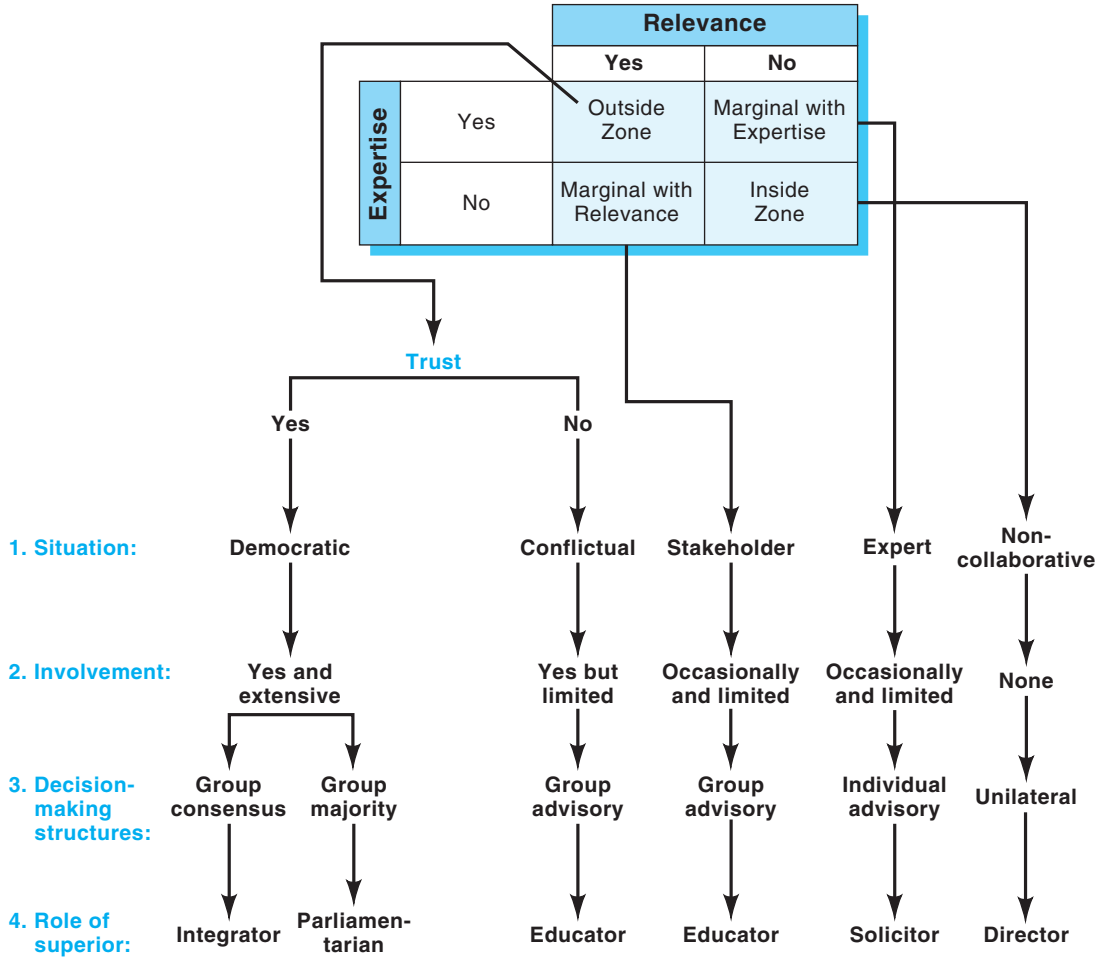


FIGURE 11.5 *A Normative Model for Participative Decision Making*

the empowerment of teachers, principals have an education role as well as a sharing role. First, teachers have to learn and then show that the well-being of their students and school take precedence over personal agendas. Principals must also demonstrate authenticity with teachers—straight talk, openness, consistency, and no game playing. Next, when teachers don't have the knowledge to participate effectively, principals must cultivate expertise before involving teachers. There are, however, a few decisions that teachers just don't care about—don't burden them, just make the decisions. Also, at times principals don't have the authority to make certain decisions; they should not pretend to give what they don't have. Finally, lack of time sometimes makes participation virtually impossible; principals must decide.

Here are a few guidelines for preparing teachers for shared decision making:

- Develop a culture that focuses on the goals of the school: students come first.
- Be authentic with teachers; tell it like it is.
- Develop a culture of trust; principals and teachers need to trust each other.
- Develop teacher knowledge and expertise in decision areas.
- Involve teachers in significant decisions: don't burden them with unimportant decisions.
- Involve teachers only in decisions for which you are responsible; don't pretend to have more authority than you do.
- Engage teachers in shared decision making only when they are ready; they need to break old traditions and learn new ways of deciding.
- Ultimately, to be successful, teachers must have *useful knowledge,* be *motivated to participate,* and be *willing to subordinate their personal agendas* for the good of the school.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

In the final analysis, the principal determines whether the decision situation is relevant for the teachers, whether the teachers have the expertise to make a knowledgeable contribution, and whether the teachers can subordinate their own wishes for what is best for the school. Some principals have neither the security nor the disposition to make accurate assessments on these three issues. Assess the ability and perceptiveness of your principal to use these three criteria. Is the principal secure enough to share power with teachers? Is your principal knowledgeable, but open? To what extent does your principal trust the faculty? Do you believe that your principal can effectively use this model to empower teachers? Why? What is your personal assessment of the model? Can you use the model effectively? Why?

A Caution on Group Decision Making: Groupthink

There is little question that group decision making can be an effective process, but there are some dangers even when the conditions call for a group decision. Time is always a potential constraint on participation in decision making, and group decisions typically require more time than individual ones. Participation involves discussion, debate, and often conflict; in fact, as the number of actors increases in the process, coordination becomes more important and difficult. Speed and efficiency are not basic advantages of group decision making.

Although participation in decision making can produce rampant conflict in the group, success in group problem solving often produces a strong cohesiveness, especially among members of smaller "in" groups. Too much cohesiveness can be as dangerous as conflict. Conflict prevents action; strong cohesiveness promotes uniformity within the group. The problem with uniformity is that it can produce a like-mindedness that is uncritical. Janis (1985) highlights this concurrence-seeking tendency among highly cohesive groups. When the tendency is dominant, the members use their collective cognitive resources to develop rationalizations consistent with the shared illusion about the invulnerability of their organization; that is, they display the **groupthink** syndrome.

Janis (1985) provides a comprehensive analysis of the conditions that encourage groupthink. One of the most potent conditions for groupthink is insulation from contact with others in the same organization who are not members of the "in group" of policy makers. Lack of impartial leadership also encourages concurrence seeking, especially when the leader is charismatic and followers seek to please. Knowing a leader's initial preferences colors and channels their thinking. Moreover, lack of norms requiring systematic analysis as well as homogeneity of members' social background and ideology contribute to like-mindedness.

Similarly, the situational context may nurture groupthink. High stress from external threats combined with little hope that the leader will advance a better solution pushes the group toward uncritical consensus. Furthermore, low self-esteem of the group, temporarily induced by recent failures, excessive difficulties, and moral dilemmas, fosters groupthink. All these antecedent conditions promote a tendency toward groupthink, which in turn produces the consequences of groupthink—overestimation, closed-mindedness, and pressure for unanimity. Such behavior undermines vigilance and ultimately produces defective decision making and likely failure. See Figure 11.6 for a summary of the groupthink process.

Put plainly, when smart people think in unison, poor decisions are likely to follow. Groupthink remains a contemporary problem that has been around a long time; just consider the decisions of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the escalation of the Vietnam War, the NASA Challenger tragedy, and the Iraq invasion. It is easy for cohesive groups under pressure to choose unanimity over their motivation to assess realistic alternative courses of action. For example, when a particular faculty member rises to speak, you can almost hear a general groan because the faculty and principal know there is going to be a complaint. Such faculty members are valuable to the school because they serve as a foil and potential check on administrative mistakes. Nurturing the complaining faculty member may seem odd, but it is one antidote to groupthink. Giving dissenting voices greater influence in decision making is tricky when time pressures are great and stakes are high, but guarding against groupthink by preventing a premature rush to consensus is needed to avoid defective decisions.

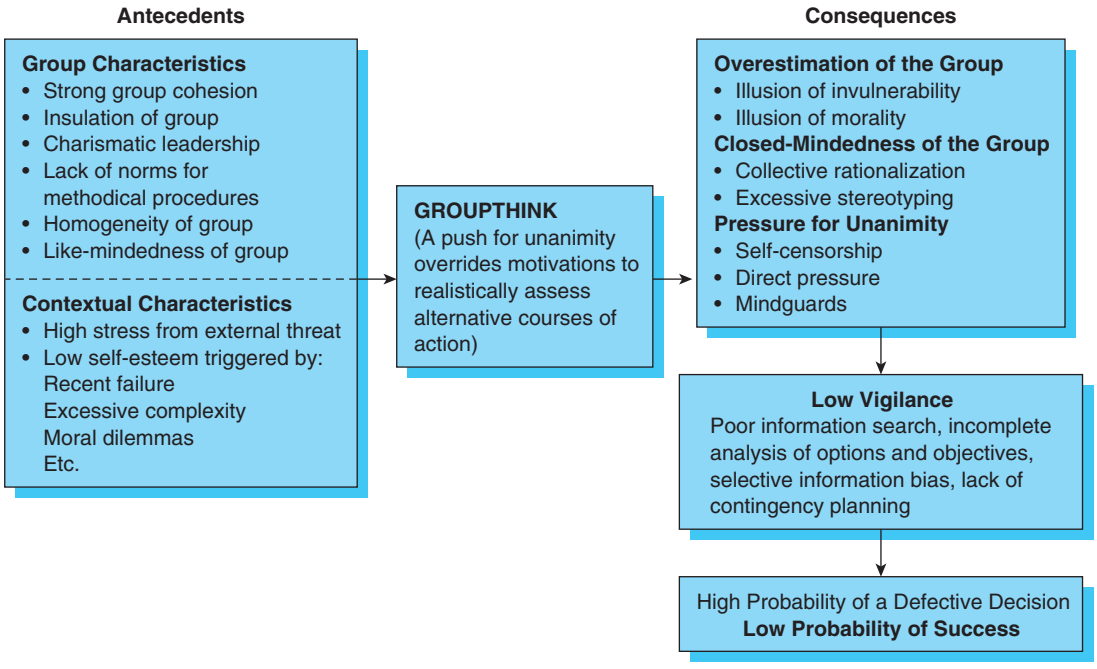


FIGURE 11.6 *Janis Groupthink Model*



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Special Treatment?

You are the principal of a high school, and your school has just won the state football championship. Although the basketball coach also promises a successful season, he is stopping short of predicting another state title. The community and students are high with success, and your teachers are also rightly proud of the school's athletic accomplishments. But make no mistake, students and teachers generally respect academic pursuits as well as athletic ones. Your school has more than its fair share of graduates accepting admissions to outstanding colleges and universities. There is a nice balance between curricular and extracurricular activities, but academic accomplishment is clearly valued by the school and community. You have been disturbed by the complaints of several science teachers that they are tired of excusing athletes from class early. Apparently, what had been an occasional request from the coaching staff to excuse athletes from their last period class five minutes early on game days has precipitated some conflict among the faculty. Most teachers have no problem with an occasional early dismissal, but some of the science teachers and a few of the math teachers have been making a point to say no to such requests, and tension and conflict among teachers and between teachers and coaches are on the rise. Two science teachers have demanded that you stop the policy of early dismissals of players on game day; they are tired of being the "bad guys."

(Continued)



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

Clearly you have the authority to establish a policy that would end the practice of student-athletes leaving classes early. But you have also earned the reputation of involving your teachers in important decisions and they have responded well. Use one or both of the models of shared decision making to analyze this case and to develop a strategy of action. Is this a matter for shared decision making or is quick unilateral action most appropriate? Why?

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Empower teachers: Involve them in key decisions when appropriate.
2. Simplify complexity: Identify the core ideas of complex events.
3. Strike a balance between decisive action and reflective analysis: Lean toward action.
4. Impose structure and deadlines for groups engaged in deciding: Deadlines enhance the process.
5. Maximize teacher involvement when teachers have expertise, interest, and can be trusted: Empower and delegate authority to teachers.
6. Limit involvement of others, however, to those domains over which you have the authority: You can't give what you don't have—so don't fake shared decision making.
7. Foster group ownership of problems and ideas: Ownership enhances both value and motivation.
8. Be prepared to make unilateral decision: Sometimes they are necessary.
9. Develop teacher expertise, interest, and trust: Nurture shared decision making.
10. Vary your (principal) role in decision making from director to solicitor to educator to parliamentarian to integrator as the situation warrants: There is no best role for principals in decision making—it depends on the situation.
11. Vary the group decision-making process from consensus to majority rule to group advisory to individual advisory to unilateral action as the situation warrants: There is no best way to make decisions—it depends on the situation.
12. Avoid groupthink: Support divergent points of view in shared decision making.
13. Remember, successful participation in decisions requires useful *knowledge*, *interest*, and a *willingness to subordinate* personal agendas to the good of the group: Make sure all three are in place.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Involving subordinates in all decisions is ineffective and shortsighted.
2. The effectiveness of involving teachers in decision making depends upon the appropriate matching of leadership style with the decision situation.
3. Effective participative decision making is a function of both the acceptance and quality of the decision.
4. Time, talent, and motivation are three constraints on shared decision making.
5. An autocratic administrative decision is appropriate if the quality requirement for the decision is low *and* the matter is unimportant to subordinates.
6. Involve subordinates in the decision if the acceptance of the decision is critical for effective implementation *and* there is uncertainty as to whether an autocratic decision will be accepted.
7. There are multiple paths to effective group decision making, but some paths are superior to others.
8. If teachers have no expertise in the decision problem and no personal stake in the outcome, do not involve them in the decision.
9. If teachers have a personal stake in the decision outcome, expertise to make a knowledgeable contribution, and can be trusted to make a decision in the best interests of the school, then their participation in the process of deciding should be maximized.
10. Groupthink is detrimental to group decision making because the rush to consensus short-circuits systematic assessment of options.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS?

soft vigilance, *p. 363*
autocratic style, *p. 367*
informed-autocratic style, *p. 367*
individual-consultative style, *p. 367*
group-consultative style, *p. 367*
group-agreement style, *p. 367*
decision tree, *p. 368*
zone of indifference, *p. 373*
zone of acceptance, *p. 373*
test of relevance, *p. 374*
test of expertise, *p. 374*
test of trust, *p. 375*
five decision-making situations, *p. 376*
five decision-making structures, *p. 377*
five leadership roles, *p. 377*
groupthink, *p. 382*

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A set of basic decision-making principles drawn from the research literature to guide everyday practice.

Miner, J. B. *Organizational Behavior 1: Essential Theories of Motivation and Leadership.* Amonke, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2005, especially chapter 12.

A critical analysis of the Vroom-Yetton-Jago model of shared decision making.

Vroom, V. H., and Jago, A. G. *The New Leadership: Managing Participation in Organizations.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1988.

A refinement of Vroom's normative model and another look at the research using the Vroom model of shared decision making.

Vroom, V. H., and Yetton, P. W. *Leadership and Decision Making.* Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.

The initial development of the Vroom and Yetton normative model of decision making.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Imagine that you have just been appointed principal of new school similar to one in which you are now working. Develop a PowerPoint presentation that outlines a 20–30 minute speech on *how you plan to involve your teachers* in making important decisions. Don't overpromise; don't use clichés; just outline your position on teacher empowerment and shared decision making. In your Power Point presentation be sure to speak to the following issues:

- Your vision of shared decision making and teamwork.

- The areas in which you will involve teachers and those in which you will not.
- How you will prepare teachers for their decision-making responsibilities, including a time line.
- The importance of teacher commitment to students and the school.
- Your basic style of leading and what you expect of yourself and your teachers.
- How you will develop a climate of openness and trust.
- How you will cultivate authenticity.
- How you will release the knowledge and power of the faculty.
- Consider outlining your model of shared decision making.

Don't be bound by these issues; include anything that you think will set the stage for a productive partnership with teachers.

Leadership Standards 1, 2, and 3 (see inside front cover)

NOTES

1. For studies that support the desirability of participation in decision making, see Sharma (1955); Guest (1960); Vroom (1960, 1976); Belasco and Allutto (1972); Allutto and Belasco (1973); Conway (1976); Hoy, Newland, and Blazovsky (1977); Driscoll (1978); Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978); Moon (1983). For a comprehensive and somewhat critical review of participation in decision making, see Locke and Schweiger (1979). Likewise, for a review of participative decision making in education, see Conway (1984). The effects of subordinate participation in decision making, however, are neither simple nor unambiguous; for example, see Imber (1983); Conway (1984); Imber and Duke (1984); Vroom and Jago (1988); Conley, Bower, and Bacharach (1989); Bacharach, Bamberger, Conley, and Bauer (1990); Conley (1990).
2. In earlier versions of this model, this third test was called commitment; we believe "trust" is a better word to capture the meaning of the test.
3. For a useful distinction between shared decision making and delegation of decision making, see Hoy and Sousa (1984), and for a critical analysis on participation in schools, see Keith (1996).

CHAPTER 12



COMMUNICATION IN SCHOOLS

Humans live by communication, and many of the practices that we think define us as human are a direct outgrowth of the ways in which we communicate: our language, our reasoning, our morality, and our social organization.

Nicholas C. Burbules
Dialogue in Teaching

PREVIEW

1. Communication pervades virtually all aspects of school life. It does not, however, provide all the answers to the problems confronting educational administrators.
2. As a relational process, communication involves initiating messages using symbols, signs, and contextual cues to express meaning, create similar understandings, and influence actions.
3. One-way communication is unilateral, initiated by a speaker, and terminated at a listener.
4. Two-way communication is a reciprocal, interactive process with all participants in the process initiating and receiving messages; it has no necessary beginning or ending.
5. Conversation, inquiry, debate, and instruction are four types of two-way communication.
6. Communication competence can be enhanced by improving individual sending, listening, and feedback skills.
7. Humans use two major symbol systems in their efforts to communicate—verbal and nonverbal.
8. Each new communication technology imposes its own special requirements on how messages are composed. Technology also governs the speed and convenience of sending messages and influences the ways receivers reconstruct meaning.
9. Formal channels are communication networks sanctioned by the organization and directed toward organizational goals.
10. Individuals bypass formal channels of communication by using informal networks or "grapevines."

Communication is complex, subtle, ubiquitous, and important; it permeates every aspect of school life. Teachers instruct using oral, written, and other media such as DVDs, computers, e-mail, and art forms. Students demonstrate their learning through similar media. And superintendents and principals spend the majority of their time communicating. For example, Kyung Ae Chung and Cecil Miskel (1989) concluded that the primary activity of school administrators is talking to others. Peter C. Gronn (1983) went further, asserting that administrators use talk to tighten and loosen their control in organizing and allocating school resources. Indeed, communication in schools has multiple purposes, such as accomplishing organizational goals and maintaining positive relationships (Te'eni, 2001). With competition from charter schools and vouchers increasing, with policy makers insisting on fundamental changes in schools, and with demands for new leadership styles intensifying, the importance of interpersonal communication skills of administrators will only rise (Payne, 2005). Consequently, the increasingly critical roles it plays in schools and the amount of effort devoted to communicating mean that effective communication is not only a fundamental process, but it is also very expensive, consuming huge quantities of a school's personnel and technical resources.

This importance suggests that educational administrators simply must understand communication because it underlies or permeates the instructional, interpersonal, organizational, and administrative processes and structures of schools. Yet, communicating with others carries risk because one must make tentative guesses about what information should be shared and how it will resonate with others. To reduce the risk, communication requires subtle forms of imagination with an ability to listen, interpret, and imagine while being attentive to the different perspectives of others (Rothstein, 2006). Communication skills, therefore, are essential tools for an effective administrator. However, before concluding that communication provides all the answers to the problems confronting educational administrators, four caveats must be observed:

- Communication is difficult to isolate from such other administrative processes as deciding, motivating, and leading.
- Not all school problems involve unsuccessful communication. Problems commonly attributed to poor interactions may reflect breakdowns in other fundamental components of school life.
- Communication reveals and hides as well as eliminates problems (Katz and Kahn, 1978). It can surface conflicts in values among teachers, students, and administrators that may otherwise go unnoticed, and it also may obscure existing problems by glossing over issues with empty rhetoric, or "spinning" the truth.
- Communication is a process that evokes action, but it is far from being the substance of good administration. It is no substitute for faulty ideas and misguided educational programs.

Even though these cautions are limitations, communication does serve several pervasive and integrative functions in schools. At a minimum, for instance, communication should provide accurate information with a fitting affective tone to all participants needing the content (Hall, 2002). To claim that communication is either the universal problem or problem solver oversimplifies and limits both the analysis and the solution of educational problems. In this chapter, we will discuss a variety of conceptual approaches while attempting to keep both the important functions and the cautionary guides in proper perspective.

A DEFINITION AND GENERAL MODEL OF COMMUNICATION

As a ubiquitous phenomenon, communication is the process that people use to exchange significant messages and share meaning about their ideas and feelings with one another (Porter and Roberts, 1976; Manning, 1992). Communication, in other words, is sharing information, ideas, and attitudes in ways that produce a degree of understanding between two or more people (Lewis, 1975). Using face-to-face or technological media, individuals interact and influence each other through communication (Craig, 1999). These and practically all other conceptions of human communication contain explicit or implicit notions that involve meaningful interactions between at least two people. For example, educators do not communicate in a vacuum but with other educators, citizens, and students; and successful exchange does not occur unless both parties develop shared interpretations of the information. **Communication,** in sum, is a relational process during which sources transmit messages using symbols, signs, and contextual cues to express meaning, to have receivers construct similar understandings, and to influence behavior.

Conceptual models attempting to describe and explain communication processes generally employ similar concepts. Although the formulations vary somewhat, we have relied primarily on the concepts and ideas summarized by Dov Te'eni (2001) and Kathleen J. Krone, Fredric M. Jablin, and Linda L. Putnam (1987) to construct the general model shown in Figure 12.1. Definitions and brief discussions of the model's components follow.

Senders are often referred to as sources, speakers, and signalers. More concretely, they are individuals, groups, and organizational units (e.g., office of the superintendent, teachers' union, student council) distributing messages to other individuals, groups, and organizations. **Messages** are typically verbal or nonverbal cues or symbols representing ideas and information that senders hope to communicate or transfer to others.

Senders explicitly and implicitly formulate **goals** and **strategies** for their messages before converting them to symbolic forms. Common communication goals include instructing the receiver to act in a particular way, managing both interactions and relationships among receivers, and influencing

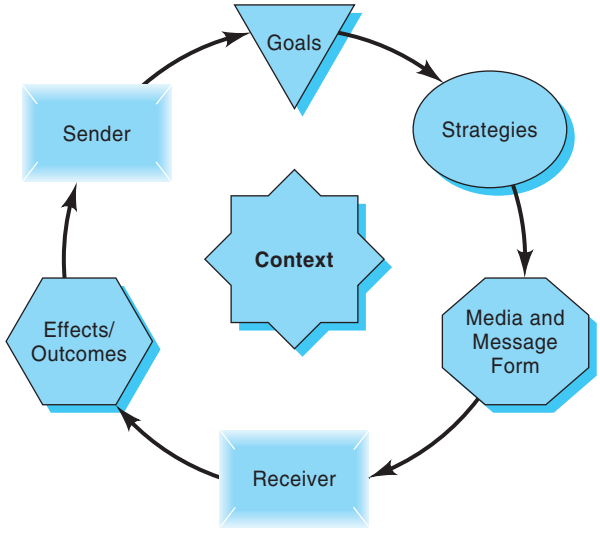


FIGURE 12.1 *A General Model of Communication Processes*

their behaviors and attitudes. To achieve these goals, senders employ a variety of communication strategies. These include providing context and specificity in their messages, setting a proper affective tone, adjusting messages using prior feedback from the receivers, controlling the message by coordinating the communication process, accounting for the perspectives of the receivers, and directing or manipulating the receivers' information processing (Te'eni, 2001).

Converting messages into symbols involves deciding on appropriate media and form. **Media** or channels simply are the vehicles carrying the messages. They range from light waves of nonverbal cues and signals; to sound waves of talking face-to-face; to electronic signals in telephones, e-mail, and video conferencing; to written letters and memos. Criteria for selecting a particular medium consist of its interactivity, capacity, and adaptability. **Form** refers to the configuration and style of a message. Message form includes its size, how widely it is to be distributed, how well the ideas are organized, and the degree of formality (Te'eni, 2001). Transmission is the actual sending and receiving of messages through the designated media or channels.

Receivers mark the destination of the message of the individuals who decipher it. By reading, listening, and watching, individuals construct meanings by interpreting or making sense of the messages they accept. An important caution to note is that words and nonverbal behaviors and symbols do not have inherent meaning. Rather, meaning occurs when the receiver gives words and nonverbal signals meaning. Stereotyping, poor message construction, past experiences, attentiveness, and selective perceptions, for instance,

influence how a receiver constructs meaning for verbal and nonverbal messages. Consequently, a sender needs to use words and other symbols that are likely to have the same meaning for the receiver as the sender (Catt, Miller, and Hindi, 2005).

Communication effects are the outcomes or general results of the message. Example outcomes might include new knowledge, mutual understandings, different attitudes, a change in school culture, modified job satisfaction levels, new or enhanced relationships between the sender and receiver, and a variety of other actions. The understandings and relationships resulting from the communication serve as **feedback,** providing the original sender with knowledge about the effects of the message. Using feedback enables the sender to make corrections and enhance mutual understandings.

The **context** takes a central role in the model because it influences all the other components in the model. The openness of school climate, level of bureaucratization, and trust levels among educators and students, for example, will dramatically impact the efficiency and effectiveness of communication efforts. If these and other contextual factors are positive, they facilitate effective communications (e.g., mutual understanding and interpersonal relationships). Conversely, negative climates, high bureaucratization, low trust, and other adverse contextual factors increase the cost of communicating and distort, impede, or even block communication in schools.

To illustrate the application of the communication model shown in Figure 12.1 in a school setting, let us assume that the state office of education recently released regulations that will significantly enlarge the annual assessment program and that as an elementary principal, you are expected to implement the changes in your school to meet the new rules. The regulations expand testing from just grade 4 to grades 2, 3, 4, and 5, and from reading and mathematics to include new tests in science and social studies. As the principal you (sender) must inform or communicate these recent developments to the school's teachers (receivers). As part of developing a message, you need to consider what desired effects or goals you want and need to achieve. Your goal could be limited to providing factual information about the regulations, but you are likely to have other, more expansive goals. For instance, you will likely want to influence the teachers' attitudes about the new testing program, to initiate a shared planning process to handle the more demanding mandates, and to motivate the teachers to develop new curricula aligned with the tests. The attainment of these goals will require formulating an extensive array of communication strategies. At a minimum, you will need to convey extensive contextual information about the new regulations, explain how they relate to what is now being done in the school and what changes might be required, set a positive affective tone for the work to be done, and get the teachers' attention by emphasizing the importance of testing in the accountability system. Given the nature of the information and the teachers' likely negative reactions to the new requirements, you recognize that the media for transmitting the information will need high

capacity, interactivity, and adaptability. In other words, your message to the teachers will have to be large, widely distributed, well organized, and have both formal and informal aspects. To communicate this form of message requires more than one type of media. As the principal, you decide to use multiple types of media, such as a logically structured and detailed memo distributed to the teachers shortly before a faculty meeting, face-to-face discussions during two or more formal faculty meetings and in informal individual or small group meetings, and electronically through e-mail. As the teachers decode the message, the communication effects or outcomes include new understandings and relationships among the teachers and with you. They then provide feedback to you. Both you and teachers are now communicators and the process has become interactive and transactional (Adler and Rodman, 1991) with messages about the regulations flowing back and forth, often going both ways simultaneously as both talk or as one talks and the other listens and gives feedback through nonverbal cues. Even designating participants as senders and receivers is a subjective but sometimes useful decision. Thus from the relatively simple model shown in Figure 12.1 and this illustration, we see that the communication process is highly complex, dynamic, and with no necessary beginning or end.

Components, Variations, and Elaborations of the General Model of Communication

Michele Tolela Myers and Gail E. Myers (1982) posit that communication can be viewed as a transactional process where people construct meaning and develop expectations about what is happening around them through the exchange of symbols. In constructing meanings, people use **symbols** (i.e., objects or words that stand for ideas, feelings, intentions, and other objects) to describe their experiences and develop a common symbol system or language for sharing their experiences with others. Learning symbols or a language and associating learning symbols with experiences come about by interacting with people and observing what they do when they use symbols. As a result of these interactions and observations, individuals not only learn to construct meanings that are reasonably similar to those of people around them, but also develop expectations or make predictions about what people will do and think. Every day individuals in schools exchange symbols using several different verbal and nonverbal media (e.g., lecturing, exhorting, explaining, visiting, arguing, negotiating, discussing, dressing, making visual displays). These transactions to gain shared meanings can be conceptualized as a continuum from one-way to two-way communication.

One-Way Communication

As shown in Figure 12.2, **one-way communication** occurs when one person tells another person something. This type of communication is unilateral; it

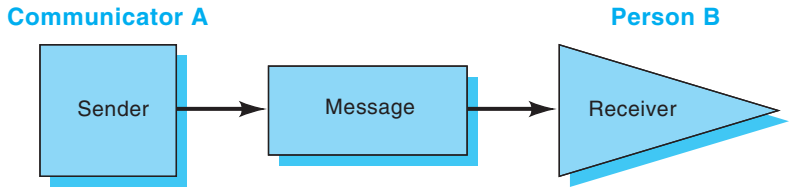


FIGURE 12.2 *Model of One-Way Communication*

is initiated by a speaker and terminated at a listener (Schmuck and Runkel, 1985). Lectures in classrooms about subject matter or exhortations in the principal's office about appropriate demeanor represent widespread applications of one-way communication in schools. Other examples include announcements over the public address system in a school or during meetings. A metaphor for one-way communication as shown in Figure 12.2 is the hypodermic needle approach of injecting information into another person (Broms and Gahmberg, 1983). Like a nurse, the speaker is trying to inject a message into the receiver (Clampitt, 2001).

The advantages of one-way communication are twofold (Clampitt, 2001). First, it emphasizes the skills of the message sender and encourages administrators and teachers to think through their ideas, accurately articulate them, and provide specificity in their instructions, explanations, and descriptions. Second, one-way strategies typically imply strong linkages between communication behavior and action. Teachers and administrators who use one-way communication discourage idle chatter, discussions of personal problems, and unnecessary information sharing. In other words, it conveys a strong emphasis on efficiency and goal achievement.

Given the need for shared understandings in schools, one-way communication many times is inadequate. For instance, Philip G. Clampitt (2001) asserts that the basic flaw in one-way communication lies in the belief that effective expression equals effective communication. Even if the message sender effectively articulates an idea, it does not necessarily guarantee that it will be understood as intended. Clampitt believes that two faulty assumptions explain the continued reliance on one-way communication. First, receivers are seen as passive information processors. Instead of being passive processing machines, however, people actively reconstruct messages and create their own meanings. Second, words are seen as containers of meaning. Language works against this assumption. For example, meaning depends on how the words are used, the context in which the statement is made, and the people involved. Words do not serve so much as containers of meaning as stimulators of meaning. Therefore, the need for high levels of understanding in schools suggests that additional or other forms of communication are required for goal achievement, change, and social purposes.

Two-Way Communication

By **two-way communication** we mean a reciprocal, interactive process; all participants in the process initiate and receive messages. In contrast to the one-way approach, two-way communication requires continuous exchanges and transactions. As shown in Figure 12.3, this means that each participant initiates messages and that each message affects the next one. Such interactive exchanges can improve the communication process by reducing the chance of major disparities between the information or idea received and the one intended.

Two-way communication takes a number of forms. For example, Nicholas C. Burbules (1993) describes four types of individual dialogue—conversation, inquiry, debate, and instruction. With relatively modest changes, these forms of dialogue can be viewed as methods of two-way communication in school organizations. Communication should be two-way with equal access to information offered from multiple perspectives.

Conversation is distinguished by two qualities: a generally cooperative, tolerant spirit and direction toward mutual understanding. This form is used when individuals are interested in understanding each other's perspectives and experiences. Stephen Miller (2006) adds that conversation typically is not purposeful. An example would be two students talking about how they spent their summer vacations and what they learned as a result.

Inquiry involves two or more people cooperating to answer a question, resolve a disagreement, or formulate a compromise that is agreeable to all. Dialogue of this nature typically investigates alternatives and examines possible answers within a structure that encourages a range of perspectives and approaches to the problem. An example would be a group of science teachers

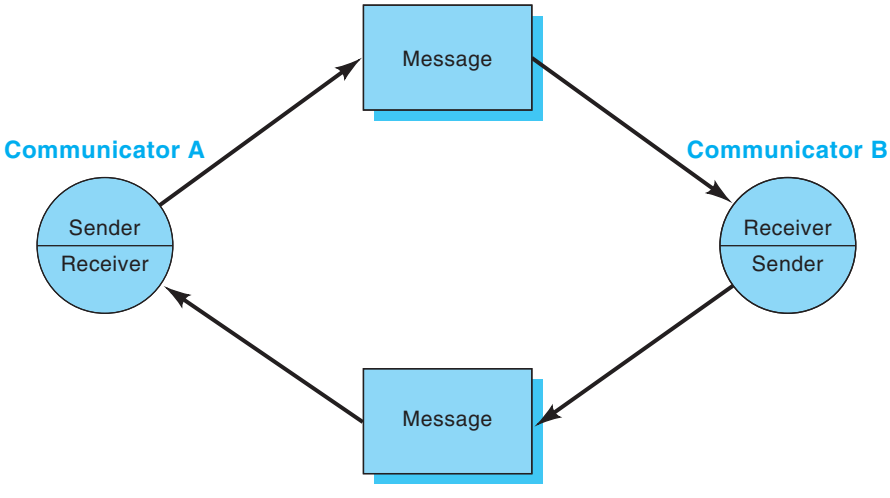


FIGURE 12.3 *Model of Two-Way Communication*

exploring why some students are thriving in classes using a new project-based curriculum whereas others are failing.

Debate exhibits sharp questioning, a skeptical spirit, and no necessary need for agreement among the participants. The potential benefit of debate is that the participants see that their alternative ideas and opinions receive the most intense challenge possible. The aim is to clarify and strengthen alternative perspectives. Examples would be conservative and liberal school board members arguing the relative merits of providing vouchers to support private schools, supplementing Darwin's theory of evolution with creationism, and permitting prayer in the public schools.

Instruction, as two-way communication, involves an intentional process in which a teacher leads students to certain answers or understandings. It generally uses critical questions and other statements to move a discussion to a definite conclusion. The exemplar of this type of two-way communication is the *Socratic method*. A good example of instruction as dialogue is reciprocal teaching. In reciprocal teaching, teachers and students engage in a highly interactive process in which participants take turns assuming the role of teacher (Palincsar, 1986).

Feedback

In all types of communication environments, there is a significant probability that what we say will be ambiguous and misinterpreted. For example, "I'll be there in a minute" and "Call me later and we'll talk about it" make vague references to time. How long a "minute" or "later" is varies greatly across individuals and cultures. Through the use of feedback (see Figure 12.1), however, even unclear statements can become part of specific effective communications (Alessandra and Hunsaker, 1993).

Feedback is a response from a person who has received a message. It provides knowledge about the meaning and impact of the message for the receiver and an opportunity for the sender to correct any problems. Hence, if a dialogue is to continue for any length of time and still have meaning, feedback is important. This process provides at least two benefits. First, it supplies clues about the success of the communication and improves the accuracy and clarity of a message. Second, the knowledge of results forms a basis for correcting or modifying future communications (Ashford, 1986). The point is clear—feedback increases the accuracy and clarity of communication.

In work settings, we usually think of feedback as involving information about task performance or how others perceive and evaluate an individual's behavior (Ashford, 1986; Cusella, 1987). Two types of feedback are possible. When feedback reinforces, accentuates, or adds to the direction the person or school is taking, it is positive. Feedback is negative when it corrects a deviation (Harris, 1993). It can be communicated either verbally or nonverbally, consciously or unconsciously. For example, a student who falls asleep during a class lecture may provide as much feedback to the teacher as the student who responds to examination questions.

By employing a variety of communication strategies, school administrators should be able to advance mutual understandings, shared meanings, and new learning among their colleagues, students, and other constituents. While individuals vary in their abilities to use the different types of one-and two-way communication effectively, everyone can enhance his or her communication competence.

Improving Communication Competence

Communication competence is a set of abilities or resources that a communicator has available for use. Individual resources include both strategic knowledge about such things as communication rules and norms and communication capacities or skills (Jablin and Sias, 2001). More specifically, Holly J. Payne (2005) presents a set of overlapping skills that are integral to being a competent communicator. These include listening, empathy, showing an interest in others, attentiveness, word usage and articulation, fluency, verbal ability, and correct grammar. Hence, individuals can build their communication resources by gaining knowledge from communication theory and research and by developing and enhancing their skills. We will focus on three—sending, listening, and feedback skills.

Sending skills are the abilities to make oneself understood. As a key to effective communication, educators' sending skills can be enhanced through the following five methods. First, educators should use appropriate, direct language, avoiding educational jargon and complex concepts when simpler words will do. However, to establish credibility, the language must demonstrate that the sender is knowledgeable about educational issues. Second, they should provide clear, complete information to the listener, which is needed to build or reorganize the listener's cognitive schemas. Third, educators should minimize noise from the physical and psychological environments. During parent conferences, for example, they must take steps to eliminate telephone interruptions and to reduce stereotypes that either they or the parent may hold. Fourth, they should employ multiple and appropriate media. For instance, a one-way speech can be augmented by audiovisual presentations and systematic opportunities for two-way exchanges. Being skillful in matching richness of media to situational and communication needs may be a key factor in administrator performance (Alexander, Penley, and Jernigan, 1991). Fifth, educators should use face-to-face communication and redundancy when communicating complex or equivocal messages. Richness, repetition, and feedback enhance the likelihood that the intended effect of gaining a shared meaning for the message will occur.

Listening skills are the abilities of individuals to understand others. As a key factor in communicating competently, listening is a form of behavior in which individuals attempt to comprehend what others are communicating to them through the use of words, actions, and things (DeFleur, Kearney, and

Plax, 1993). In active listening, a listener reflects back to the speaker what he or she has heard—content, feeling, and meaning—from the speaker's perspective (Elmes and Costello, 1992). Listening skills are required for relatively accurate, two-way exchanges. Listening to a person shows respect, interest, and concern for one's fellow communicator. When it is an active effort, listening can encourage others to develop and express their own points of view (Burbules, 1993).

Developing important listening skills, however, is frequently neglected. How many times have you been asked a question by someone only to get disturbing nonverbal cues that the questioner is not really interested or, worse, not listening to your response? How often are your responses not truly heard or misinterpreted? Allen Ivey and Mary Ivey (1999) describe a number of critical elements in effective listening skills: attending, questioning, encouraging, paraphrasing, reflecting feeling, and summarizing.

Attending is the process of being attentive to the conversation. It involves appropriate eye contact, receptive body language, and staying focused and on task. Making eye contact and looking at the person doing the talking communicates interest and attentiveness just as looking away communicates disinterest. Leaning forward, maintaining an open posture, smiling, nodding one's head, and looking pleasant are the kinds of nonverbal cues that communicate interest. Finally the effective listener stays with the other person; that is, the listener pays attention and does not zone out. Effective listening demands attention.

Questioning is often essential to understanding the message. The message may not be as clear as the communicator thinks; some messages are vague. They require questions for clarification. Some factual questions are direct, clear, and simple and are answered by a yes or no. Other questions are more open and call for speculation and development, for example, "Why do you think the conflict occurred?" Skillful questions clarify and elaborate and are a natural part of careful listening.

Encouraging is also part of skillful listening. A few minimal "encouragers" can facilitate communication (Morse and Ivey, 1996). Silence is a powerful, nonverbal message. Saying nothing but remaining interested suggests to the communicator that you want to hear more. Empathic acknowledgement also adds communication. Verbal cues such as "yes," "um-hum," and "I see" encourage, especially when they are linked to such nonverbal cues of nodding and smiling. A number of short sentence encouragers can also stimulate communication, such as "Tell me more," "Give me an example," and "Say a little more about that."

Paraphrasing is another way to show that you are paying attention and understanding what is being said. It helps the listener respond effectively to people, and it provides feedback to the speaker that you understand the essence of the message. Paraphrasing also provides feedback and serves as a correction mechanism. Skillful listeners paraphrase and make sure they have the correct message.

Reflecting feeling is a positive way to embrace the speaker. The listener should be attentive to the feelings and emotions of the communicator. Acknowledging feelings is a good place to begin the reflecting process because it paces the other individual's emotional state but does not get the listener overly involved (Morse and Ivey, 1996). Acknowledging feelings focuses on labeling the feeling and communicating it back to the speaker, and often tempers the emotion and controls it. Statements such as "You feel that way because. . ." and "I sense you are disappointed," reflect emotion and create empathy. Also, using the person's name from time to time is helpful. Skillful listeners sort out facts from emotions and acknowledge and reflect feelings.

Summarizing is quite similar to paraphrasing except that the summary covers a longer period of time, and it typically comes near the end of the conversation. The goal of summary is to organize the facts and feelings into a coherent, accurate, and brief synopsis.

Feedback skills are sending and receiving skills that convey knowledge of results or the effects of previous communications and behaviors. Asking questions, describing behavior, and paraphrasing what the speaker has said are forms of verbal feedback. Providing feedback consists of both verbal and nonverbal messages, which are sometimes sent inadvertently. For example, people sometimes speak loudest with their feet (i.e., they walk away to avoid contact). In planning to give feedback, the information should be helpful to the recipient, specific rather than general, recent rather than old, directed toward behavior that the person could change, and timely—the more immediate, the better (Anderson, 1976; Harris, 1993).

Even with these guidelines, neutral or positive feedback is easier to give than negative assessments; people are reluctant both to give and receive negative feedback. Most of us are fairly adept at sending back messages that do not really represent our true reactions. Some people rationalize such behavior as tact, human relations, or survival. Consequently, both personal skill and preparation are critical to give and receive helpful feedback (Rockey, 1984). Acceptance of both positive and negative feedback can be increased by expressing a goal of being helpful, using descriptive rather than evaluative information, timing the session appropriately (Anderson, 1976), and building trust within the group through frequent communication (Becerra and Gupta, 2003).

Similarly, feedback-seeking behavior involves consciously striving to determine the correctness and adequacy of communication and behavior. Individuals should develop feedback-seeking skills because such actions will help them adapt and be successful (Ashford, 1986). Two strategies for seeking feedback can be suggested. The first is monitoring the environment by observing naturally occurring informational cues, other individuals, and how others respond. In other words, monitoring involves receiving feedback vicariously through watching how people respond to and reinforce others. The second strategy is to inquire directly about how others perceive and evaluate your behavior. Feedback must be pursued vigorously because people

do not always give it voluntarily. As a caution, however, feedback-seeking actions can be hard on an individual's self-esteem because it potentially increases the chances of hearing information that one would rather not know or confront. In fact, individuals who suspect that they are performing poorly tend to use feedback-seeking strategies that minimize the amount of negative information they receive (Larson, 1989). In many situations, individuals would rather risk doing the task incorrectly than ask for clarification.

When considering communication from an individual perspective (see Figures 12.1, 12.2, and 12.3), then, one-way and two-way communication can take many forms and employ an array of skills and media. As an interactive process, effective communication involves listening as well as speaking. Blocking out external distractions, attending to verbal and nonverbal cues, probing and encouraging, differentiating between the intellectual and emotional content of a message, and summarizing and making inferences about the speaker's meaning and feelings are critical to effective communication (Woolfolk, 2000). An administrator who is a competent communicator will have a repertoire of communication strategies and skills from which to draw and can be creative and flexible in moving from one approach to another as people, situations, and content change (Burbules and Bruce, 2000).

Public Speaking: Some Basic Principles

Individuals in positions of authority can use their speaking style to their benefit and the benefit of others. Susan Fiske (2010) and Thomas Holtgraves (2010) have reviewed the research literature and identified a set of practical principles for speakers. Consider the following basic rules:

1. **Be confident**: Avoid hesitant and uncertain speech; it communicates doubt (Fiske, 2010).
2. **Be direct**: Get to the point without excuses. Excessive prefacing distracts and undermines the message (Blankenship and Holtgraves, 2005).
3. **Speak quickly**: A rapid pace of speech is functional. Of course, one can overdue it on the speed, but generally a quick, articulate pace suggests credibility and persuasiveness (Smith and Schaffer, 1995).
4. **Pronounce your consonants**: Pronunciation is important in conveying status, respect, and confidence (Holtgraves, 2010). For example, don't drop your "g's" in gerunds ending with "ing."
5. **Use sophisticated speech:** Refined vocabulary communicates status (Bradic and Wisegraver, 1984), and varied word choice conveys assurance and competence (Howeler, 1972).
6. **Use Standard English**: Slang and street language undermine respect, status, as well as the message. (Holtgraves, 2010; Ryan and Sebastian, 1980; Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick, 2007).

7. **Speak up**: Talking is expected of authority figures; in fact, it is a necessary condition for status (Jones and Kelly, 2007). Don't be concerned about talking too much; your talk is expected.
8. **Dominate**: Be aggressive in your speech; your goal should be to communicate. Don't be overly concerned about decorum and courtesy (Holtgraves, 2010; Ng and Bradac, 1993).

In brief, speakers should be confident, direct, quick, articulate, sophisticated, dominating, and use Standard English. Taken together with nonverbal cues of status and expertise, these speaker attributes convey competence and influence (Fiske, 2010).



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Find a colleague and engage in the following communication activities. Both should prepare a two- to three-minute presentation on an issue currently confronting school administrators, such as curriculum standards, testing, privatization, educator job satisfaction, student behavior, teaching innovation, creationism, racism, sexism, the drop-out rate, teaching reading or math, and the like. One individual makes the initial presentation, relying primarily on one-way communication using at least two types of media. The other person should be attentive and encouraging during the presentation. When the presentation ends, the listener should summarize what has been presented.

The original listener now becomes the sender and should now make a presentation relying primarily on two-way communication methods. The new listener should not only be attentive and encouraging but also should paraphrase portions, ask questions, and finally offer a summary of what has been presented.

After the presentations, both should share their feelings about the content, efficiency, and effectiveness of the presentations. Then each participant should provide feedback to the other participant that describes the other's behavior during the sessions. Both positive and negative information should be provided about how to improve the presentations.

What personal communication skills do you need to develop further?

Communication Media: Methods of Exchanging Symbols

In their efforts to communicate, humans use two major symbol systems—verbal and nonverbal (Dahnke and Clatterbuck, 1990). Verbal symbols include

- Human speech—direct, face-to-face conversation as individuals or in groups.
- Human speech via electronic media—telephone, radio, television, and videoconferencing.
- Written media—memos, letters, faxes, newsletters, bulletin boards, and newspapers.

- Written media via electronic media—e-mail, electronic bulletin boards, blogs, websites, and databases (Yazici, 2002; Flanagin and Waldeck, 2004).

Nonverbal symbols include

- Body language or gestures—facial expressions, posture, and arm and hand movements.
- Physical items or artifacts with symbolic value—office furnishings, art works, clothing, and jewelry.
- Space—territoriality and personal space or proximity.
- Touch—hugging, patting on the shoulder or butt.
- Time—promptness, tardiness, and amount.
- Other nonverbal symbols—intonation, accents, pitch, intensity of the voice, and rate of speech.

Hence, messages can be transmitted through a variety of channels or media.

Verbal Media Richard L. Daft and Robert H. Lengel (1984, 1986) hypothesize that media determine the richness of communication, where **richness** is the medium's potential to carry information and resolve ambiguity. Four criteria define media richness: speed of feedback, variety of communication channels, personalness of source, and richness of language. Rich media combine multiple cues, rapid or timely feedback, tailoring the messages to personal circumstances, and a variety of language (Huber and Daft, 1987). Rich media are characterized by high touch and qualitative data; they are best for lessening ambiguity. Lean media are suitable for technology-based, high-volume data exchanges and are best for conveying quantitative data with precision and accuracy to large audiences (Daft, Bettenhausen, and Tyler, 1993). Using these four criteria, Daft and his colleagues place communication media and richness on the parallel continua as shown in Figure 12.4.

Face-to-face communication has the highest carrying capacity and the best potential for transmitting rich information (Barry and Crant, 2000). It is the richest form because the face-to-face medium provides immediate feedback through verbal and visual cues. Although verbal feedback is rapid, the telephone medium is less rich than face-to-face because the visual cues are absent. Written communication is described as being moderate or low in richness because feedback is slow and only written information is conveyed. Addressed correspondence is personal in character and somewhat richer than general memos and bulletins, which are anonymous and impersonal. Formal numeric documents—for example, computer printouts containing quantitative data such as achievement test scores—convey the least-rich information because numbers do not have the information-carrying capacity of natural language. Electronic messaging can be placed between telephone and written personal media on the richness continuum (Steinfield and Fulk, 1986).

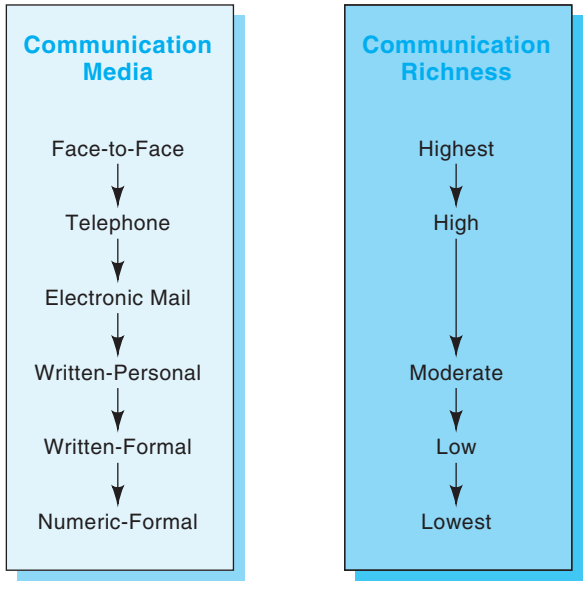


FIGURE 12.4 *Continua for Communication Media and Richness*

The basic hypothesis is that as the content of communication becomes more ambiguous or uncertain, richer media will be selected to improve communication performance. A number of studies have tested the hypothesis with the number supporting and not supporting being about equal (Schmitz and Fulk, 1991; Kock, 2005). Studies by Daft and his colleagues (Trevino, Lengel, and Daft, 1987; Russ, Daft, and Lengel, 1990) are generally supportive of the basic richness hypothesis. Other studies (Steinfield and Fulk, 1986; Rice, 1992; Dennis, Kinney, and Hung, 1999) have found weak or mixed support. Overall, the results are more supportive of the media richness hypothesis when applied to traditional (e.g., face-to-face) rather than newer media (e.g., e-mail) (Fulk and Boyd, 1991).

As might be expected from the discussion of richness, when the effects of written and oral media are compared, the communicator faces a problem (Porter and Roberts, 1976). Comprehension is higher when information is presented in written form. However, opinion change or persuasiveness is greater in face-to-face interactions. The appropriate medium thus depends on the purpose—that is, understanding or persuading.

Redundancy in media increases both the richness of the information and the accuracy of message transmission (Redding, 1972). Generally, the most effective and accurate communication efforts use a combination of written and oral media; the next most effective is oral alone; and the least powerful is written (Level, 1972). The combination of written and oral media is seldom inappropriate. Written communication alone can be effective in

two situations—where information requires future action or where it is general. The oral medium by itself also can be effective in two situations demanding immediate feedback: for administering reprimands and settling disputes.

Nonverbal Media Although redundancy in media usually leads to better understanding, vocal and written media carry only a portion of the information that administrators convey when they interact with others. At least as important as verbal signals are the less fully understood nonverbal symbols. **Nonverbal communication** is all behavior of communicative value done in the presence of another that does not use words. As much as two-thirds of total communication is nonverbal (Beall, 2004). The raised eyebrow, the firm handshake, and the impatient tapping of the fingers are well-known actions of nonverbal media that convey meaning. Even silence and rigid inactivity may signal anger, annoyance, depression, or fear. Although this definition of nonverbal communication suggests a rather all-inclusive domain, a gray area still exists between verbal and nonverbal forms. Paralanguage is vocal but not strictly oral. It includes stress, inflection, and speed of speech, as well as nonword vocalizations such as grunts, laughter, sighs, and coughs (Knapp, 1972; Wietz, 1974). Voice often reveals information about gender, age, area of origin, and social class (Beall, 2004).

Research on nonverbal communication often explores the meanings of paralanguage, body motion, and spatial cues. For example, a combination of five types of nonverbal behaviors consistently exerts the strongest positive influence on one individual's attempts to build rapport with another person: smiling, touching, affirmative head nods, immediacy behavior (e.g., leaning forward), and eye behavior. These behaviors are essential in communicating a sense of warmth, enthusiasm, and interest (Heintzman, Leathers, Parrot, and Cairns, 1993).

The face is the most obvious nonverbal conveyor of feelings (McCaskey, 1979). Most feeling is communicated through facial expression. Without formal training, observers of facial expression can distinguish a variety of human emotions such as excitement, humiliation, and fear (Harris, 1993). Six expressions appear universally across cultures—happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust (Beall, 2004). Eye-to-eye contact is one of the most direct and powerful ways people communicate nonverbally. In mainstream American culture, the social rules indicate that in most situations eye contact for a short period is appropriate. Direct eye contact is also seen as an indication of honesty and credibility. Prolonged eye contact is usually taken to be either threatening or, in another context, a sign of romantic interest. Speakers know that a way to enhance the impact of their presentations is to look directly at individual members of the audience and establish eye contact.

In regard to workspace, Michael B. McCaskey (1979) notes that an office represents personal territory, which separates what belongs to one person

from what belongs to others. Where a meeting is held may intimate the purpose of the meeting. To conduct an adversarial discussion, to emphasize hierarchy and authority, or to give directions, McCaskey advises the supervisor to hold the meeting in his or her own office. The office arrangement itself might communicate the intended nature of the interactions. For example, many administrators arrange their offices with two different areas. In one, the administrator talks across the desk to a person seated at the other side. This layout emphasizes the administrator's authority and position. In the second area, chairs are in a circle at a round table. Because the arrangement signals a willingness to downplay hierarchical differences, freer exchanges are encouraged. Hence, an office arrangement with a center for informal conversations, a display of personal memorabilia and decorations, and a relatively close distance between the chairs and desk represents nonverbal symbols that transmit powerful messages of welcome to visitors. James M. Lipham and Donald C. Francke (1966) confirmed these propositions in schools.

Congruence of Verbal and Nonverbal Messages Verbal and nonverbal messages must be consistent for effective understanding. An illustration of this generalization usually occurs when a new administrator meets with the staff. A typical verbal statement is, "If you have any questions or problems, please come by my office, and we'll discuss the situation. My door is always open." When a staff member interprets the words literally and does visit the principal, the nonverbal messages probably will determine the meaning of the verbal message. If the person is met at the door, ushered to a chair, and a productive conference results, the verbal message is reinforced and the meaning is understood. If, however, the administrator remains in the chair behind the desk, leaves the staff member standing or seats him or her across the room, and continues to write, the verbal message is contradicted. When verbal and nonverbal messages conflict, a problem of meaning results.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Observe a meeting conducted by a school principal or department chair. Take notes or tape and transcribe what the leader said during the session. What do you think the meanings of the leader's main messages were? Do the verbal and nonverbal messages complement each other? Meet with the leader and check whether you accurately interpreted the intended meanings. Then meet with at least two of the other meeting participants and ask them what the primary messages from the leader were. Finally, evaluate how clearly you believe the leader communicated with the attendees. How might the leader's communication attempts be improved?

Sources in the Communication Process: Senders and Receivers

As noted earlier, a variety of sources generate messages, including groups, organizations, supervisors, co-workers, and the task itself (Northcraft and Earley, 1989; Bantz, 1993). In considering the source, credibility and cognitive capacities are important factors.

Credibility The credibility or believability (Adler and Rodman, 1991) of the sender influences the effectiveness of a message. Two characteristics that influence credibility are expertness and trustworthiness (Shelby, 1986; Becker and Klimoski, 1989). Credibility consists of the trust and confidence that the receiver has in the words and actions of the sender. The level of credibility, in turn, influences the reactions of the receiver to the words and actions of the communicator (Gibson, Ivancevich, and Donnelly, 1976). In some cases the identity and reputation of the sender, far from authenticating the message, lead instead to the receiver distorting the information or ignoring the message completely (Bowers, 1976). For example, faculty members who view the principal as less than competent, dishonest, or both probably will distort all communications from him or her.

Being prepared to speak can show expertise. It starts by organizing the idea into a series of symbols such as words or pictures that will communicate the intended meaning. These symbols are arranged for rationality, coherence, and compatibility with the methods of delivery, or media. An e-mail message, for instance, usually is worded differently from a formal letter of reprimand, and both are different from face-to-face conversation. In other words, a message that is well researched, organized, written, or presented will greatly increase the receiver's assessment of the sender's competence and hence credibility.

Cognitive Capacities Psychological characteristics limit an individual's ability to communicate. Information-processing capacity (e.g., communication skills and knowledge of the subject) and personality and motivation factors (e.g., attitudes, values, interests, and expectations) combine to limit and filter the content and the quality of the message (Berlo, 1970). For example, the assistant superintendent for instruction, when communicating with principals, screens out information that he or she thinks is not pertinent to building administrators; principals filter information to the assistant superintendent that might reflect negatively on their performance.

Cognitive structures and processes also influence the recipient's ability to understand or decode the message. If the listener is cooperative and knowledgeable, he or she attempts to interpret the message as intended by the sender. However, as is the case with the sender, the receiver has communication capacities, knowledge of the subject, interests, values, and motivational characteristics that combine to limit qualitatively what is decoded. Consequently, the meaning the receiver applies is not exactly what the sender intended. Meanings may, of course, be relatively comparable, but they are

never identical. Based on experience as represented by cognitive structures and processes, the receiver selects how to act or respond to the message. The actions serve as feedback to the sender (see Figures 12.1 and 12.3).

Communicating in Context

Communication among people also depends on a combination of contextual, cultural, or environmental factors. The process is clouded by contextual factors that are typically called *noise* or *barriers*. **Noise** is any distraction that interferes with the communication process. Noise can be so intense that it becomes more important than the content of the message itself (Reilly and DiAngelo, 1990).

In schools, noise resulting from social and personal factors can produce more troublesome problems than physical interference. For example, closed organizational climates, punishment-centered bureaucratic structures, cultural and gender differences, and authoritarian leaders create distortions in the communication processes. In such cases, group membership becomes important. Militant teachers cannot hear arbitrary administrators and vice versa; bureaucratic educators do not pay attention to demanding parents.

Prejudices toward age, gender, race, social class, sexual orientation, and ethnic group differences constitute barriers in the communication process that distort messages. In a multicultural society, demographic attributes such as race, occupation, and gender provide surrogate indicators for the common experiences and background attributes that shape language development and communication abilities (Zenger and Lawrence, 1989). For example, a man who believes that his particular work can be done effectively only by a man is predisposed to deny facts, information, and messages that suggest that a woman can do the work equally well or better. Every message is filtered through barriers, predispositions, or cognitive schemas (Reilly and DiAngelo, 1990).

Hence, context noise of all types—for example, physical, social, and personal—may produce language disparities that constrain communication within schools even further. Given the growing diversity and other changes of school contexts (e.g., in economic wealth, ethnicity, gender in administrative positions, and with at-risk children), the challenge of communicating accurately and clearly will surely increase. As shown in Figure 12.1, creating shared meaning through the communication process depends on individual skills and motivation (MacGeorge and colleagues, 2003), content of the message, strategies and media used, and context. Succinctly stated, the relationship is shown with the following formula:

$$\text{Meaning} = \text{Information} + \text{Communicators} + \text{Media} + \text{Context}$$

The essence of the formula and approach can be understood by considering the following questions:

- Who is speaking to whom and what roles do they occupy? Administrators? Administrator and teacher? Teachers? Men and women? Teacher and student? Administrator and parent?

- Is the language or set of symbols able to convey the information so both the sender and receiver can understand it?
- What is the content and effect of the communication? Positive or negative? Relevant or irrelevant?
- What media are being used?
- What is the context in which the communication is taking place?
- What contextual factors are creating noise that might block or distort the message? Conversely, what contextual factors are facilitating effective communication?

As a general conclusion, the lack of two-way communication, the use of conflicting media and messages, and the existence of situational noise constitute serious problems for understanding in educational organizations.

ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF COMMUNICATION

Organizations are information-processing systems (Hall, 2002). Information flows through organizations and influences virtually all structures and processes. Moreover, organizations are processing an increasing volume of data, and the preferred media are becoming face-to-face discussion and group participation (Daft, Bettenhausen, and Tyler, 1993). Consequently, the escalating volume and change to richer media make understanding organizational communication in schools even more important than previously thought. In sum, communication offers an additional way to conceptualize, describe, and explain organizations such as schools (Deetz, 2001).

Organizational Communication

The earlier general definition can be adapted to define **organizational communication** as the sending of messages through both formal and informal networks that results in the construction of meaning and influences both individuals and groups (DeFleur, Kearney, and Plax, 1993). In other words, organizational communication is a collective and interactive process that creates and interprets messages. Coordinated activities and relationships among participants within and outside the organization produce networks of understanding (Stohl, 1995). For example, school districts hold staff development workshops for teachers and administrators to communicate knowledge about new curriculum standards and testing procedures.

Purposes of Communication in School Organizations

Communication in organizations such as schools serves a number of key purposes—for example, production and regulation, innovation, and individual socialization and maintenance (Myers and Myers, 1982). Production

and regulation purposes include activities aimed at doing the primary work of the organization, such as teaching and learning in schools. They include setting goals and standards, transmitting facts and information, making decisions, leading and influencing others, and assessing outcomes. Innovation purposes include messages about generating new ideas and changing programs, structures, and procedures in the school. Finally, socialization and maintenance purposes of communication affect the participants' self-esteem, interpersonal relationships, and motivation to integrate their individual goals with the school's objectives. The capacity of a school to maintain such complex, highly interdependent patterns of activity is limited by its ability to handle communication for these purposes.

To serve the multiple purposes of production, regulation, innovation, socialization, and maintenance in schools, communication must promote high levels of shared understandings. Human action is needed to accomplish goals in schools. Goal-directed behavior is elicited through communication; hence, the greater the clarity and understanding of the message, the more likely the administrator, teacher, and student actions will proceed in fruitful, goal-oriented directions. Within an effectively operating school, for example, administrators, teachers, and students want to understand and accept each other's ideas and to act on them. School goals and guidelines for their accomplishment are developed through extensive dialogue. One innovative goal might be to implement a project-based approach to instruction. The accompanying guidelines to accomplish the goal would include the development of new curricula, new interactive instructional strategies, socialization and training for teachers, portfolio-assessment procedures, and plans for maintaining the programs. As group leaders, the principal, teachers, parents, and students emphasize the validity of the goal, stress the usefulness of the new procedures, promote shared understandings, encourage collective actions to implement the program, and assist in implementation and continuation. The extent and success of the actions depend in large measure on how effectively communication about the goal and accompanying procedures is initiated and maintained by networks in the school organization.

Communication Networks

Communication networks are patterns of formal and informal contacts established between communicators that are created by sending and exchanging messages through time and space (Monge and Contractor, 2001). **Formal channels** are methods sanctioned by the organization and are related to such organizational goals as regulation and innovation. When individuals communicate through **informal channels** and networks, they are using **grapevines** (Harris, 1993). These forms of communication are part of the organizational structure of schools, even though they are not shown on the hierarchical chart (Lewis, 1975). The direction of formal and informal channels can be vertical (up and down) and horizontal as well as one- or two-way. Hence, networks and channels are

simply methods, vehicles, or forms a message travels in organizations such as schools; they are lines of communication.

The general notions of networks and channels are familiar because we all have had extensive experience with physical networks and channels, such as rivers, streets and highways, telephone lines, and sewer pipes (Monge, 1987). In contrast, communication networks in organizations are more difficult to identify because they comprise abstract human behaviors over time rather than physical materials such as pavement, streams, and pipes. Nevertheless, communication networks are regular patterns of person-to-person contacts that can be identified as people exchange information in schools. By observing the communication behavior over time, inferences can be made about which individuals are connected to other individuals through the exchange of information.

As shown in Figure 12.5, the members within communication networks assume a variety of roles. The communication role that a person serves

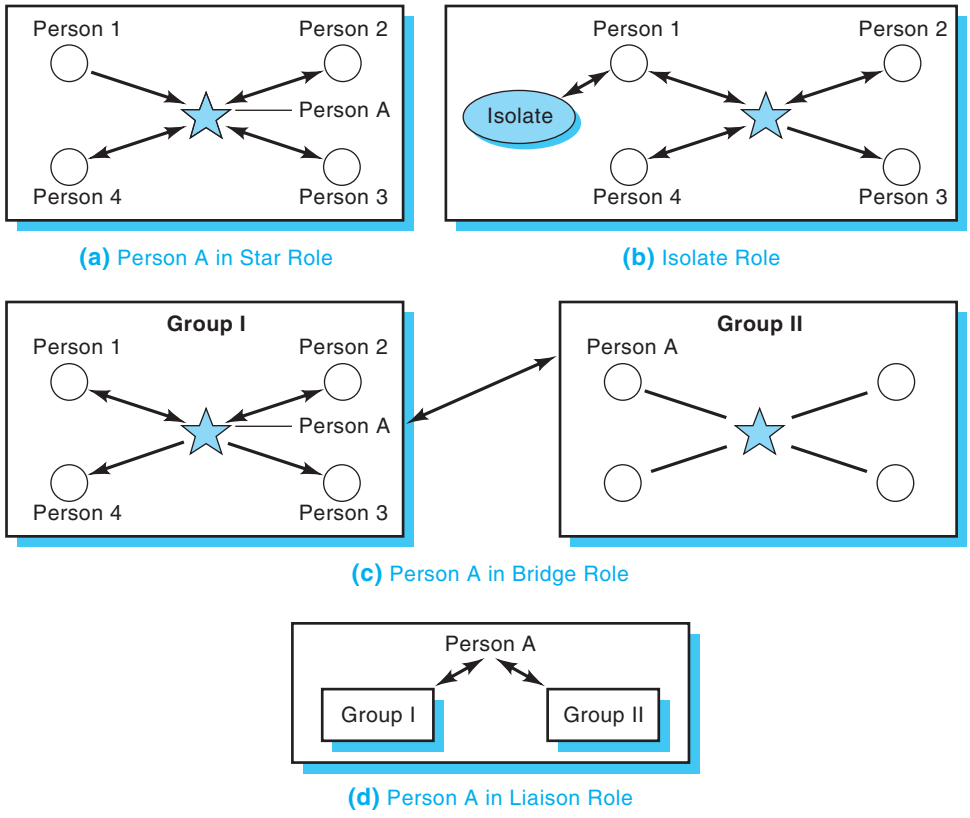


FIGURE 12.5 *Examples of Star, Isolate, Bridge, and Liaison Roles in Communication Networks*

within a communication network is important because it can influence the person's attitudes and behaviors. A **star role** occurs when a large number of people communicate with an individual [see Figure 12.5(a)]. The star is a nexus within the network. Having a central role, the star is potentially powerful because he or she has greater access to and possible control over group resources (McElroy and Shrader, 1986; Yamagishi, Gillmore, and Cook, 1988). Hence, a star can be thought of as a leader in the network.

In contrast, an **isolate role** is one where individuals are involved in communication with others only infrequently [see Figure 12.5(b)]. Isolates are loosely coupled or even decoupled from the network—that is, removed from the regular flow of communication and out of touch with the rest of the network. Isolates are a concern because their lack of communication activity is often accompanied by feelings of alienation, low job satisfaction, little commitment to the work organization, and low performance. Active participation in communication networks seems to produce positive outcomes, whereas isolation is associated with disaffection (Harris, 1993). However, programs designed to lessen educator isolation in schools may produce a situation in which the individuals who should benefit the most will resist and benefit little (Bakkenes, de Brabander, and Imants, 1999).

Patrick Forsyth and Wayne Hoy (1978) found that, without exception, being isolated in one instance carries over to other instances. The results of a subsequent study were similar, except that isolation from friends was not related to isolation from formal authority (Zielinski and Hoy, 1983). In other words, communication isolates in schools tend to be separated from perceived control, respected co-workers, the school's control structure, and sometimes friends. The potentially destructive aspect of this isolation is alienation. To counteract this negative effect, administrators must devise alternative communication processes because the isolates are not reachable by existing channels.

Exchanges occur across networks through individuals who fill special roles as bridges and liaisons. For example, people who belong to more than one group are called **bridges.** By belonging to a district curriculum committee and the department within a school, an English teacher serves in a bridging role for the two groups and will likely pass information between them [see Figure 12.5(c)]. **Liaisons** are individuals who link groups to which they do not belong [see Figure 12.5(d)]. Liaisons serve as intermediaries among various groups within schools. In other words, they perform the vital function of keeping groups informed about each other's activities. Interactions among liaisons and group members do not occur with great frequency or formality, but when communication occurs regularly, the members usually know what the others are doing. As described in Chapter 3, these important linkages are weak ties or loose couplings. Liaisons many times are formally assigned by the organization to link different departments or committees and ensure accurate communication among them. By supervising the English curriculum committees in two schools,

for example, the assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction is a liaison for the two groups. There are formal as well as informal liaisons. Cynthia Stohl (1995) concludes that highly effective groups have more links with other groups in the organization or the external environment than less effective groups. However, the most cohesive and highly satisfied groups interact infrequently with outside constituents.

Formal Communication Networks in Schools

According to Scott (2003) one explanation of why organizations develop is their superior capacity to manage flows of information. The hierarchal structure of schools (see Chapter 3) incorporates several features, such as status and power differences among positions, but among the most important is a centralized communication system. Communication is embedded in all school structures. Richard H. Hall (2002) emphatically declares that, "The very establishment of an organizational structure is a sign that communications are supposed to follow a particular path" (p. 164).

Formal communication channels, or networks, traverse the organization through the hierarchy of authority. Barnard (1938) calls these formal networks "the communication system." According to Barnard, several factors must be considered when developing and using the formal communication system:

- The channels of communication must be known.
- The channels must link every member of the organization.
- Lines of communication must be as direct and as short as possible.
- The complete network of communication should typically be used.
- Every communication must be authenticated as being from the correct person occupying the position and within his or her authority to issue the message.

Figure 12.6 illustrates a school district's formal communication network using Barnard's descriptive statements. Note that the chart delineates the formal communication channels and that every member reports to someone. The directors report to the assistant superintendent for instruction, who, with the assistant superintendent for finance, reports to the superintendent. The line of communication from the superintendent to the teachers goes through five hierarchical levels. This is reasonably short and direct for a large school district. Adding specific names and the bureaucratic rules and regulations that define the jobs places this system in compliance with Barnard's suggestions.

Within all organizations, formal restrictions on the communication process are apparent. Most organizations maintain hierarchical communication patterns. That is, communication is commonly restricted to direct interaction between superior and subordinates, and even without formal rules, most communication is expected to follow the structure of the hierarchy

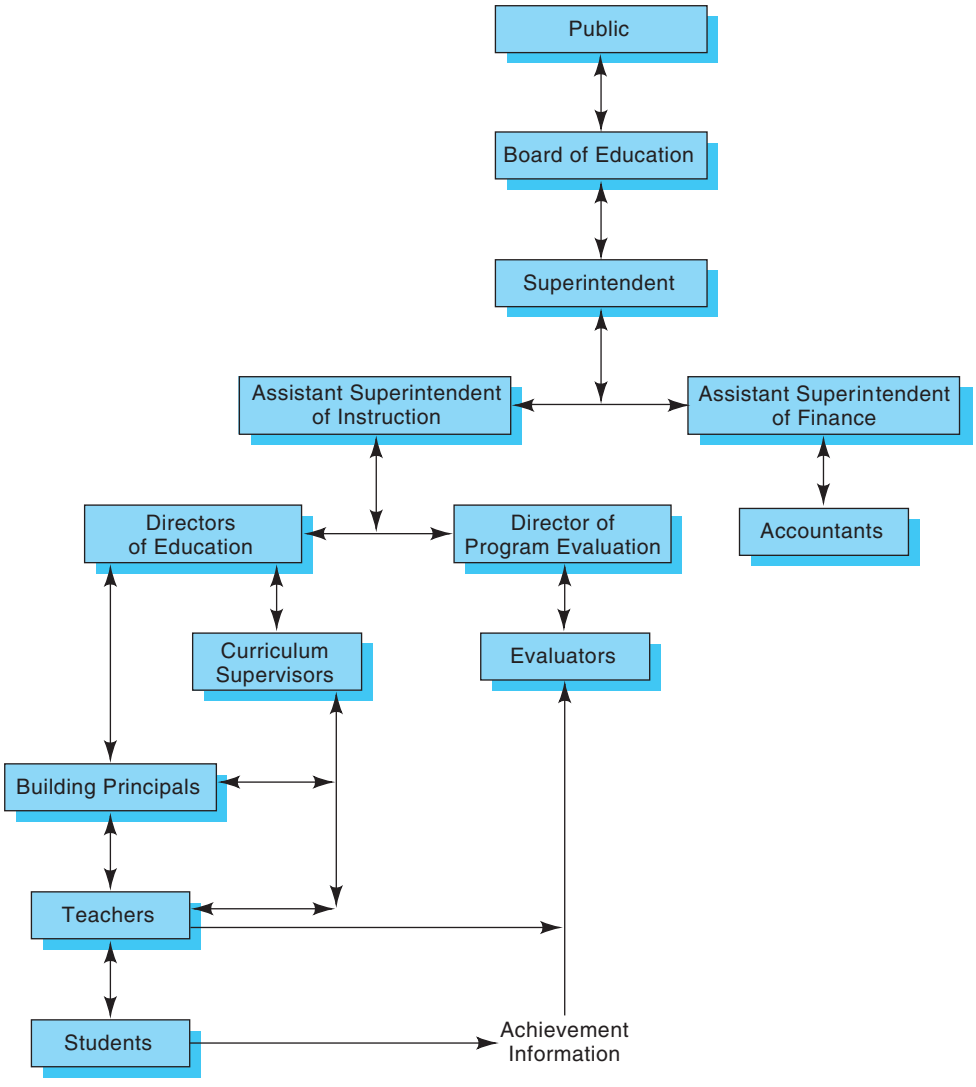


FIGURE 12.6 *Formal Communication Channels for Program Implementation in a School District*

(Friebel and Raith, 2004). "Making certain to go through proper channels" and "following the chain of command" are two common expressions that reflect a demand for control and structure of communication in organizations (Harris, 1993). Three characteristics of school bureaucracies are particularly critical to the formal system of communication. They are centralization in the hierarchy, the organization's shape or configuration, and the level of information technology.

Centralization—the degree to which authority is not delegated but concentrated in a single source in the organization—is important to the effectiveness of communication systems (Porter and Roberts, 1976; Johnson and Chrispeels, 2010). In centralized schools, a few positions in the structure have most of the information-obtaining ability. For example, the superintendent and two assistant superintendents mentioned in Figure 12.6 would gather most of the information for the formal system of communication. If the district is decentralized or loosely coupled (see Chapter 3), however, the information-obtaining potential is more or less spread across all of the positions. Research examining the different information-obtaining abilities supports the finding that centralized structures are more efficient communicators when the problems and tasks are relatively simple and straightforward. When the problems and tasks become more complex, however, decentralized hierarchies appear to be more efficient (Argote, Turner, and Fichman, 1989). Similarly, centralized schools tend to rely on less-rich media, such as memos and employee manuals, than decentralized schools (Jablin and Sias, 2001).

Shape—the number of hierarchical levels or tallness versus flatness of the school organization—also affects the communication processes. Hierarchical levels and size are structural characteristics that are commonly associated with shape. A school district with five levels, such as the one depicted in Figure 12.6, differs from systems with more or fewer levels in its ability to communicate across levels and from top to bottom. The number of levels can be seen as the distance a message must travel. As the distance increases, the chance for message distortion increases and the satisfaction with the quality and quantity of communication decreases (Clampitt, 2001; Zahn, 1991). Teachers will generally express less satisfaction with messages from superintendents than from principals. In addition, organizational size is negatively related to communication quality; as the district becomes larger, communication becomes more impersonal or formal and quality declines (Jablin, 1987).

Technology also appears to have significant effects on organizational communication, though the *exact* effects remain somewhat speculative. As we noted in Chapter 3, writers subscribing to the position that schools are loosely coupled systems argue that educational organizations have a relatively low level of technology. However, as communication technology becomes more sophisticated in schools, its use will dramatically alter the communication that takes place in both the formal and informal networks (Jablin and Sias, 2001).

We are living in a creative and dynamic era that is producing fundamental changes, as is apparent in such advances as computer networks, the Internet, the World Wide Web, electronic mail, computer conferences, communication satellites, and data-handling devices. As a relatively recent phenomenon, electronic information exchange has largely been adapted to convey voice, vision, text, and graphics as distinct and separate

types of communication. Now, simultaneous and instantaneous transmission of voice, vision, text, and graphics to many locations is becoming common. Even while imagining the tremendous changes yet to come, the usual descriptions of the forthcoming power of electronic technologies together with the geographic distribution of participants do not adequately capture the differences between these and traditional media. Consequently, the potential influence of such technologies on all aspects of communication in schools—administrative, instructional, and social—is probably underestimated.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Assessing and Improving Communication in the Formal Organization

Improving school communication requires a planned program that assesses existing conditions and planning new mechanisms. Consider a school district, division, or building and complete the following tasks:

- Assess the organizational design of the communication system against the criteria suggested earlier in this chapter by Barnard.
- If implemented, what mechanisms would likely facilitate the process for improving the formal system? Possibilities include modifying the organizational structure, creating convenient sites for formal and informal interaction, using new technologies, forming a committee system to accomplish tasks and make decisions, establishing information storage and retrieval systems, selecting personnel with good communication skills, and developing professional development programs to improve communication skills.

Informal Communication Networks in Schools

Informal networks or grapevines exist in all organizations regardless of how elaborate the formal communication system happens to be. One generalization that researchers and participants in organizations have observed repeatedly is that people who are in groups, cliques, or gangs tend to reach an understanding on things or issues very quickly. They communicate easily and well among themselves. Facts, opinions, attitudes, suspicions, gossip, rumors, and even directives flow freely and

rapidly through the grapevine. Built around social relationships among the school members, informal channels develop for such simple reasons as common office areas, similar duties, shared coffee breaks, carpools, and friendships. Social relationships and communication channels arise at all organizational levels of the school. Returning to Figure 12.6, informal communication patterns exist at the central office. One central office group might include some of the directors, an assistant superintendent, some supervisors, an evaluator, and an accountant. Certainly, informal communication channels thrive among school principals and within teacher groups and the student body.

The communication patterns among principals in elementary and secondary schools are quite different (Licata and Hack, 1980). Secondary school principals form informal groups with communication patterns based on common professional interests and the need for mutual aid and protection. In contrast, elementary principals cluster into groups in which their communications revolve around social ties with mentors, friends, neighbors, and relatives. In brief, secondary principals structure the grapevine around professional survival and development, whereas elementary principals communicate informally about social matters.

Although a major disadvantage of grapevines is the spread of rumors, informal networks serve a number of purposes in formal school organization. First, they reflect the quality of activities in a school. Communication through informal sources provides vital feedback to administrators and other school leaders. Moreover, active informal networks are indicative of a school's culture and leaders can learn a great deal by listening to them. Second, informal channels may satisfy social or affiliation needs not met by formal channels. For example, people can engage in nonpurposeful conversations where they exchange personal ideas, opinions, and advice in a reciprocal fashion and often gain significant pleasure and emotional rewards from the interactions (Miller, 2006). Third, grapevines fill an information void by carrying a great deal of information. No matter how elaborate, formal communication networks simply cannot carry all of the information required in contemporary schools. Informal networks provide outlets when formal channels are clogged. Informal channels are particularly helpful during periods of change, when the information is new, and when face-to-face or electronic communication is relatively easy. Fourth, informal networks provide meaning for activities within the school. As messages travel through informal networks, the messages are translated with surprising accuracy into terms that make sense to the participants. The accuracy is 75 to 90 percent for noncontroversial information. When distortions occur, they generally reflect an incorrect emphasis that is based on incomplete information. A problem is that even a small distortion or error can have dramatic consequences (Clampitt, 1991; Harris, 1993).



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Informal Communication Groups

Think of a school that you have attended or in which you have worked. Focus on students and teachers and respond to the following statements:

- Quickly identify informal groups or networks of students and teachers that you have observed. Do they have particular names?
- For the informal groups you identified, what are some typical values and norms that guide their behavior?
- What formal school aspects might contribute to the groups' development?
- Do status structures exist within the groups? Do they exist between the groups? If yes, describe.
- Are there isolated individuals who do not belong to any group?
- Does the principal belong to any of these groups? If not what is the principal's relationship to the groups?
- Provide any other observations.

Complementary Networks: Formal and Informal Communication

As we have noted, formal and informal communication networks exist in all educational organizations. The results from research studying networks across a variety of settings indicate that communication patterns in organizations are extraordinarily complex. Within schools, there is not a single unitary network, but rather a series of overlapping and interrelated networks (Jablin, 1980). A large majority of all participants interact consistently with many other individuals and in far greater numbers than formal organizational charts suggest. Although the task network is larger and better developed than the social network, both are closely related to each other and critical to the organization (O'Reilly and Pondy, 1979). Generally, communication groups form along task-focused lines. Task structures of work groups act to improve or detract from the accuracy and openness of the transmitted message. Groups with specialized skills and high status are more open in information exchanges than other groups (O'Reilly and Roberts, 1977). Further, accuracy and openness have a positive impact on performance, but the frequency of communication among educators is not high (Miskel, McDonald, and Bloom, 1983). In sum, both the substance and the direction of communication can make the two systems complementary.

Substance

In terms of content, communication can be thought of as instrumental or expressive (Etzioni, 1960). Instrumental communication distributes information and knowledge that affect cognitive structures and processes. Administrative directives, policies, curricular objectives and materials, and attendance data are typical examples. The purpose of instrumental communication is to develop consensus about methods and procedures. Expressive communication, on the other hand, attempts to change or reinforce attitudes, norms, and values. Appropriate affective orientations toward students, militancy, discipline, and organizational rewards are typical examples of the substance of expressive communication.

Formal communication channels carry both instrumental and expressive content. The informal network can enhance both. For example, the grapevine serves as a barometer of opinion and sentiment. School administrators can often tap the informal flow for information about the morale of students, teachers, and other administrators. They also can float trial balloons to test receptivity to a new procedure or program. For instance, an administrator may want to introduce a new professional development program for teacher preparation. Before making a final decision, the hypothetical possibilities are discussed informally with some staff members. As the information flows through the grapevine, the sentiment can be monitored. Depending on the reaction, the administrator uses the formal communication system to announce plans for the new program, allows the program to remain hypothetical, or formally quashes the rumor. Barnard (1938) suggests that this type of communication flows without interruption in the informal networks, but would be either inconvenient or raise issues calling for premature decisions in the formal channels. Hence, informal can complement formal instrumental communication by serving as a testing ground for possible courses of action. In terms of expressive communication, the informal network can be a positive vehicle for personal expression by allowing participants to communicate and interact socially. Informal networks then provide gratification of the social needs of many school members at little financial cost to the district.

Direction

Messages do not sit around waiting to be discovered, nor do they float around randomly to be picked up by some lucky accident (Myers and Myers, 1982). Communication in organizations flows directionally through the formal and informal networks. The direction of information flow also demonstrates the possible complementary nature of formal and informal communication networks. Information flows vertically and horizontally in both networks.

Vertical flow refers to the upward and downward direction of communication through the different levels of the school's hierarchy. Information is passed down or up the line of authority through memos, directions, policies,

and programs of action. An important point about the vertical flow of organizational communication is that messages moving in the formal network are extremely important to the people who send them and those who receive them. The jobs of individuals can depend on the messages they receive about such matters as directives, assessments, requests, and instructions (DeFleur, Kearney, and Plax, 1993).

In formal downward communication, information passes through the chain of command—that is, through the hierarchical status structure. These messages typically reaffirm the chain of command and reinforce control (Harris, 1993). There are five types of communications from superior to subordinate (Katz and Kahn, 1978):

- Instructions about specific tasks.
- Rationale about why the task needs to be done and how it relates to other tasks.
- Information about organizational procedures and practices.
- Feedback about the performance levels of individuals.
- Information regarding the organization's goals.

Downward communication is relatively easy to send, but subordinates often misunderstand the message. To ensure that the intended meanings are understood, administrators must develop two-way communication channels and use extensive feedback processes up and down the hierarchy.

Communication from the lower levels of the hierarchy to the upper levels is upward communication. Upward communication provides four types of messages (Katz and Kahn, 1978; DeFleur, Kearney, and Plax, 1993):

- Routine operational messages.
- Reports on problems.
- Suggestions for improvement.
- Information on how subordinates feel about each other and the job.

Upward communication is one means by which subordinates are made accountable to superiors. Such communication is often viewed as an instrument of administrative control. Consequently, subordinates have a tendency to emphasize positive information, withhold negative data, communicate what they think the "boss wants to hear," or simply remain silent (Milliken and Morrison, 2003). Because many decisions are made at the top of the hierarchy, the quality of the decisions will depend on the accuracy and timeliness of the communication that moves through the formal system. In general, the more tangible and the more objective the information, the more likely that subordinates will communicate accurately with their superiors. Frequent two-way exchanges also improve accuracy (Porter and Roberts, 1976).

A well-developed informal network can help administrators gain timely information and assess the accuracy of formal upward communication. In exchange for the information, however, teachers influence administrator behavior. Some teachers gain influence and power because they have

information about how to get things accomplished or who can resolve specific problems. Similarly, department chairs, committee members, and teachers with specialized skills possess valued information. As a result of their knowledge and positions in the communication network, they can exert considerable influence on administrator decisions (Barnett, 1984).

Horizontal flow indicates that communication moves across organizational members at the same hierarchical level. A principal, for instance, may provide information to another principal, who in turn, passes it to still other principals. Such communication is the strongest and most easily understood (Lewis, 1975). Horizontal communication can be either formal or informal. In Figure 12.6, the lateral communication link between the two assistant superintendents would be formal when they are working on ways to finance the introduction of a new curriculum. Another common example is teachers talking with each other in a lounge or planning room during class periods when they are not teaching. The major purposes of horizontal communication are coordinating tasks, solving problems, sharing information with colleagues, resolving conflicts, and building rapport (Harris, 1993). For example, principals communicate so that their activities or curriculum emphases will be similar in different schools, and to share information about content, avoid potential conflicts, and build friendly relationships with peers. The direction affects the ease, content, and accuracy of organizational communication.

In studying horizontal communication, W. W. Charters, Jr. (1967), found substantial differences between elementary and high schools. Elementary schools exhibited a much larger volume, with most teachers in direct contact with one another. In contrast, only 15 percent of the high school staff interacted regularly. This difference in communication volume is partially explained by staff size. The average number of contacts per staff member declined with increasing faculty size. Larger facilities and physical dispersion, along with specialized personnel (guidance counselors or special teachers) who are not in the main flow of classroom instruction, help explain the impact of size on communication volume. Charters did note, however, that size alone does not account for the entire difference. Elementary school staffs communicate more than high school staffs. Finally, Charters found that stability in the communication patterns is related to the division of labor and physical proximity. Teachers in the same subject specialty and, to a lesser extent, those in closer physical proximity form enduring communication networks. Thus, three factors—level and size of school, specialization, and proximity—affect the horizontal communication patterns in schools.

In sum, communication plays such a central role in schools that the key issue is not whether administrators, teachers, and students engage in communication but whether they communicate effectively. People must exchange information in schools, but to develop shared meanings requires communication competence at both the individual and organizational levels.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

The Letter

Jack Landis is principal of Lincoln Elementary School. Lincoln is one of five elementary schools in Pleasantville, a community of 30,000 in a midwestern state. Pleasantville is an interesting cross section of America. It is a working-class community in transition to a different kind of workforce. The old work of farms, mills, and mines has given way to newer occupations in a small aircraft plant and in the emergence of the state college (recently renamed the State University at Pleasantville). The paper mill, a carpet factory, a chemical plant, and a coal mine were formerly the major employers of the townspeople. But recently, much to the dismay of the working people in Pleasantville, most of the factories and mills were in decline. Unemployment was up to 13 percent and not getting better. The people blamed the government. In the old days, there had been no EPA and no environmentalists and no interference from the state and federal bureaucrats. In those days, people worked hard and made a decent living.

With the advent of environmental-protection regulations and changes in the marketplace, the carpet factory employed only half of the number it had employed fifteen years ago. So too with the paper mill and the coal mine. The chemical plant was on the verge of bankruptcy as newer dyes were imported from abroad, and expensive chemical cleanup projects had plagued the plant for the past three years. In fact, there seemed to be only one major industry that was thriving in Pleasantville—the state university. It was growing, from an enrollment of 2,000 ten years ago to nearly 10,000 students today. Although construction of the expanding campus had produced many jobs during the past five years, it did not offset the decline of the old industries. Moreover, many of the jobs that were produced by the state university were professional positions that required employment of outsiders rather than townspeople.

Some people resented the intrusion from the outside and harkened back to the halcyon days of the past. Others in the community, especially businesspeople, welcomed the expansion of the school and were proud of the fact that Pleasantville was becoming sophisticated.

Jack Landis was no stranger to Pleasantville. At thirty-five, his entire life had been spent in and around Pleasantville. He had gone to elementary school, junior high, and high school in town. Upon graduation, he went to the local state college and majored in education. His first job was as science teacher at Pleasantville High. During his first year of teaching, Jack Landis decided that he wanted an expanded role in education down the road. He began taking curriculum classes in the summers at the main campus of the state university, sixty-five miles from Pleasantville.

Taking courses at the main campus was Landis's first real exposure to life outside of Pleasantville. A chronic bad knee had kept him out of the service, and perhaps just as well. Thinking back, Landis judged the experience at the main campus to be an eye-opener for a country boy, as he sometimes referred to himself. Ten years later, he had completed his doctorate in educational curriculum, served as district-wide elementary science curriculum coordinator, and as a result of his success in working with people and his genuine good sense, he was promoted to principal of the new Lincoln Elementary School. Lincoln Elementary School was not a place hospitable to change. Students had grown up in the system and sent their children to Lincoln. They wanted the same good education they had received—no frills, no life adjustment, no multiculturalism, no debates on right to life or the nature of families, just basic learning in reading, math, science, writing, and history.

There was no question that the surrounding neighborhood of Lincoln was conservative, but it was slowly changing as more and more college professors bought houses in Lincoln Heights. In fact, the Lincoln neighborhood was becoming a choice residential area for young professionals in the community.

As a curriculum person and skillful administrator, Landis had been able to initiate a strong

(Continued)



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

elementary school curriculum. He had combined many of the elements of cooperative learning and mastery education to engage students individually and collectively in the pursuit of math, science, and reading. His whole-language approach to the teaching of English and composition was a model that was frequently observed by students from the local college. (Landis had a hard time thinking of his undergraduate school as a state university; he still thought of it as his college.) Five years as curriculum coordinator and five years as principal had produced a school of which he was proud. The elementary school students continued to do well and parents were generally supportive of his initiatives, even though some complained that he was getting away from the basics.

It was Monday morning. As Jack reviewed his mail, he was shocked at the third letter that he opened and read.

February 7

Dear Dr. Landis:

You should know that your science curriculum supervisor is a homo. He lives with another man and I have seen them fondling each other in the tavern in Greenville. I don't care what people do in their private lives, but teachers are different. I don't want my son endangered by this guy. Of course, there is always the question of AIDS, and I don't want him abusing my child. There is a rumor that Jenkins has not been well. Frankly, we're worried for the safety of our children.

We know that you are with us on this issue. After all, you are one of us. Why don't you do something about this? Everyone is talking about it. And if you don't do something, I can't be responsible for what some hotheads might do. Jenkins is in some danger.

I am not going to sign this letter because I don't want to be involved in this, but I think you ought to know about the situation. Someone is going to get hurt. Do something before it becomes a police matter.

Sincerely,
A Concerned Parent

Matt Jenkins had been Landis's new elementary science supervisor for the past three years. Although Landis had not hired Jenkins directly, the former superintendent, who had thought highly of Jenkins, consulted him. Landis had called one of his former professors in curriculum at the state university, and the professor had said, "He is a little peculiar, but without question he is one of the brightest and most creative students I have known. He will be an asset to your program." Without much further ado, Jenkins was hired, even though he was an outsider and a segment of the community was opposed to hiring from outside.

In Landis's mind, Jenkins had shown strong leadership in improving the science curriculum at Lincoln. Other teachers liked him because he was low-key, supportive, sensitive, and nurturing. He had a few odd mannerisms, but they didn't seem to bother anyone. He stayed to himself and lived ten miles outside of the city in a small suburb of Pleasantville called Greenville. No one seemed to know much about Jenkins or his personal life. Rumor had it that Jenkins spent a lot of his time at University Station, the main campus of the state university. Many of the townspeople took a dim view of the liberal goings-on in University Station, but it was a world away. Only one time could Landis remember any negative comments about Jenkins. One of the parents had complained that he was always touching her son. Landis had discreetly looked into this matter and found nothing substantial. Rather, he found that Jenkins had grabbed the student in question a number of times to correct his aggressive behavior with the other children. The student in question was a little on the wild side.

Landis was a bit surprised to discover that Jenkins lived with a new high school English teacher, Brad Korbus. Landis had been instrumental in the recruitment and selection of Korbus, who was now Jenkins's roommate in Greenville. Landis was inclined to feel that whatever people did privately was their own business. His policy for dealing with anonymous letters was to file them in the circular file. Yet the implied threat of this letter troubled him.



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

He felt constrained to do something, but what? Where to start? That was the question. Landis decided to make an appointment with the superintendent and brief him about the situation. His secretary was successful in setting up a 30-minute appointment with the superintendent the next day to discuss the problem. Assume the role of principal. Plan to make a 15-minute presentation to the superintendent about the case and then engage the superintendent insome collaborative problem solving.

- How would you summarize the key facts of the case? Sketch them out?
- Is a PowerPoint presentation useful or too formal?
- How would you frame the problem?
- To what extent do you and the superintendent share this problem?
- Who should take the leadership role in this case?
- How will you elicit constructive feedback from the superintendent?
- What is your goal in talking to the superintendent?
- How will you assess the success of your meeting?

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Use multiple communication strategies to enhance understanding: Not everyone learns the same way.
2. Ensure that verbal and nonverbal communications are consistent: Limit communication confusion.
3. Develop ways to verify understanding of communications: Communicating is not the same as understanding.
4. Use the grapevine to assess potential reactions to communications: Informal communication is usually more authentic than formal communication.
5. Encourage questions and restatements of messages to reduce ambiguity: Clarity comes from persistence and redundancy.
6. Check for understanding: Use feedback techniques to ensure that all parties have the same understanding.
7. Follow oral communications with written summaries of understanding: Clarity and redundancy avoid misunderstanding.
8. Complement the formal communication network with the informal: Informal networks are more authentic.
9. Use richer media (e.g., one-to-one interactions) as content becomes more complex and ambiguous: Complexity requires clarity.
10. Clarify your communication so as to reduce noise (e.g., extraneous information): Clarity is crucial to understanding.
11. Enhance your repertoire of communication skills and strategies: Different people and situations require a variety of communication strategies.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Using multiple communication strategies increases the probability of shared understandings and new learning.
2. Administrators who are competent communicators will have larger repertoires of communication strategies than less-competent communicators.
3. When communicating ambiguous information, using richer media and redundancy improves communication performance.
4. For effective understanding, verbal and nonverbal messages must convey the same meaning.
5. The meaning of a message depends on the information to be conveyed, skills and traits of the communicators, type of media employed, and the level of noise in the communication context.
6. The communication systems of highly centralized, tall (with many hierarchical layers) school organizations are characterized by using less-rich media, while less-centralized, flatter school organizations are typified by employing richer media.
7. Formal communication networks are usually larger and better developed than informal networks, but they are closely related, can be complementary, and are critical to the school organization.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS

communication, *p. 390*
senders, *p. 390*
messages, *p. 390*
goals, *p. 390*
strategies, *p. 390*
media, *p. 391*
form, *p. 391*
receivers, *p. 391*
communication effects, *p. 392*
feedback, *p. 392*
context, *p. 392*
symbols, *p. 393*
one-way communication, *p. 393*
two-way communication, *p. 395*
conversation, *p. 395*
inquiry, *p. 395*
debate, *p. 396*
instruction, *p. 396*
sending skills, *p. 397*
listening skills, *p. 397*
feedback skills, *p. 399*
richness, *p. 402*
nonverbal communication, *p. 404*
noise, *p. 407*
organizational communication, *p. 408*
formal channels, *p. 409*
informal channels, *p. 409*
grapevines, *p. 409*
star role, *p. 411*
isolate role, *p. 411*
bridges, *p. 411*
liaisons, *p. 411*

SUGGESTED READINGS

Barnard, C. I. *Functions of an Executive*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938.

Presents an early and still important set of ideas about individual and organizational communication. This is an excellent source to consult on communication and other concepts.

Catt, S. E., Miller, D. S., and Hindi, N. M. "Don't Misconstrue Communication Cues: Understanding MISCUES Can Help Reduce Widespread and Expensive Communication." *Strategic Finance* 86 (12)(2005), pp. 51–55.

Offers helpful hints about interpreting communication behaviors.

Clampitt, P. G. *Communicating for Managerial Effectiveness*, 2nd ed. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 2001.

Useful presentation of the communication models in a context of administrative applications, myths, and tactics.

Jablin, F. M., and Putnam, L. L. (Eds.). *The New Handbook of Organizational Communication.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001.

Contains extensive reviews of the literature and suggestions for further research on communication.

McKay, M., Martha, D., and Fanning, P. *Messages: The Communication Skills Book*, 3rd ed. Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Publications, 2009.

Summary of useful practical tips for improving your communication.

Te'eni, D. "A Cognitive-Affective Model of Organizational Communication for Designing IT." *MIS Quarterly* 25(2)(2001), pp. 251–312.

Proposes a relatively recent and elaborate version of a model of organizational communication.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

As an elementary principal, you have been directed by officials in the central office to implement a new science program in your school. To prepare for the program implemention you should complete the following activities:

- Create a plan to communicate this initiative to the teachers and parents. Consider such factors as the information to be communicated, your and other senders' credibility, how to enhance the senders' credibility, the channels and media to send the messages, and your school's context.
- Prepare samples of memoranda and presentations that you might use to communicate the changes to the teachers, parents, and central office administrators.
- Develop methods to assess the effects of the communication by soliciting feedback (two-way communication) on the new program and its development using both verbal and nonverbal channels and formal and informal networks.

Standards 1, 2, 3 and 4 (see inside front cover)

CHAPTER 13



LEADERSHIP IN SCHOOLS

During the Revolution, a man in civilian clothes rode past a redoubt being repaired. The commander was shouting orders but not helping. When the rider asked why, the supervisor of the work detail retorted, "Sir, I am a corporal." The stranger apologized, dismounted, and helped repair the redoubt. When he was done, he turned toward the supervisor and said, "Mr. Corporal, next time you have a job like this, and not enough men to do it, go to your commander-in-chief, and I will come and help you again." Too late, the corporal recognized George Washington.

Robert M. Gates
West Point Commencement Address

PREVIEW

1. Leaders and leadership are important because they serve as anchors, provide guidance in times of change, and enhance the effectiveness of organizations.
2. Leadership is a social influence process, which has rational, social, and emotional elements.
3. The work of leaders exhibits similar patterns across different countries and organizational settings.
4. Personality, motivation, and skills appear to be systematically related to leadership effectiveness in schools.
5. Situational factors constraining educational leadership include characteristics of subordinates and organizations as well as internal and external environments.
6. Task-oriented, relations-oriented, and change-oriented behaviors are fundamental features of leader behavior.
7. Contingency leadership models specify the conditions that moderate the relation between leadership and effective performance.
8. Visionary and change-oriented leadership theories emerged in the 1990s, and they continue to drive much of the contemporary leadership research.
9. Transformational leaders use idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration (the four I's) to change their schools.
10. Servant leadership is closely akin to transformational leadership, but the former focuses on leading by serving.
11. Evolutionary leadership theory is the newest framework for understanding and explaining the connection between leaders and followers.

Leadership evokes highly romanticized, emotional, and courageous images for many of us. When we think of specific leaders, names such as Gandhi, Churchill, Kennedy, King, Mandela, Meir, Napoleon, Reagan, Roosevelt, and Thatcher come to mind. According to Gary Yukl (2002), the term itself projects images of powerful, dynamic individuals who command victorious armies, build wealthy and influential empires, or alter the course of nations. Stated succinctly, people commonly believe that leaders make a difference and want to understand why. Indeed, leadership is often regarded as the single most important factor in the success or failure of institutions (Bass, 2008).

The foregoing views also hold for educational organizations. In fact, a wide, diverse, and growing set of stakeholders assume that leaders make a difference and are largely responsible for school performance (Ogawa and Scribner, 2002). Although some allege that school leaders are to blame for inadequate academic achievement, the main concern is that current leaders are not up to the task of bringing about needed changes. The critics contend that school leaders, for example, are not responding adequately to standards-based accountability, guiding and directing instructional improvement, incorporating revolutionary new information technologies in their schools, modernizing outmoded administrative structures, and providing needed services to all children (see, for example, Elmore, 2000; Finn, 2003; Hess, 2003). We will build on the premise that leaders are essential to educational organizations and present useful theoretical perspectives from a growing knowledge base for leadership.

DEFINING LEADERSHIP

As a word from our everyday language, leadership has been incorporated into the technical vocabulary of organizational studies without being precisely defined (Yukl, 2010). Therefore, it is not surprising that definitions of the concept are almost as numerous as the scholars engaged in its study. Bennis (1989), for example, opined that leadership is like beauty—it is hard to define, but you know it when you see it. Martin M. Chemers (1997, p. 1) offers the following typical definition: "Leadership is a process of social influence in which one person is able to enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task." The assumption shared by this and most definitions is that leadership involves a social influence process in which one individual exerts intentional influence over others to structure activities and relationships in a group or organization. Disputes about definitions remain, however, over the kind, basis, and purpose of influence attempts; and over leadership versus management (Yukl, 2002). Although there are many definitions of leadership, it is well accepted that leadership is a process of influence, occurs in groups, and involves common goals (Northouse, 2010). Irrespective of theoretical debates, we define **leadership** broadly as *a social process in which an individual or a group influences behavior toward a shared goal*; leadership is distributed widely in organizations both formally and informally and has rational, social, and emotional bases.

THE NATURE OF ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

Given the intense and long-standing interest in leaders and leadership, what is it that leaders do that is so intriguing? Can describing the nature of leaders' work advance our understanding of leadership? Certainly, partial responses to these questions can be gained by observing leaders as they administer and lead their organizations. A number of studies have used a structured observation approach to describe what managers, administrators, and leaders do in their everyday jobs.[1] These studies provide detailed and vivid pictures of what business managers and school administrators do in their jobs, and with whom and where they spend their time. Given the regularities in the research, Kyung Ae Chung and Cecil Miskel (1989) summarize the major findings.

- Administering schools is feverish and consuming; school administrators work long hours at an unrelenting, physically exhausting pace.
- School leaders rely on verbal media; they spend a great deal of time walking around the building and talking to individuals and groups.
- Administrator activities vary widely; hence, administrators constantly change gears and tasks.
- Managerial work is fragmented; for school administrators, the pace is rapid and frenzied, discontinuity prevalent, and the span of concentration short.

Overall, the descriptions of administrative work are similar across different countries and organizational settings. School administrators work primarily in their office. Their jobs are characterized by long hours and brief verbal encounters across a wide range of issues with diverse individuals and groups. Moreover, technological advances, demands for increased achievement, standards-based accountability, and environmental competition are changing the nature of work for school administrators. The question remains, "How do we come to understand the nature of leadership in schools?" The dominant theoretical approaches in the research literature provide a good starting point.

Trait Approach to Leadership

Many individuals still believe, as Aristotle did centuries ago, that from the hour of birth, some are marked for subjection, others for rule. Aristotle thought that individuals are born with characteristics that would make them leaders. The conception that the key factors in determining leadership are inherited produced the so-called **trait approach of leadership.** Bass (2008) observes that early in the 20th century, leaders were generally regarded as superior individuals who, because of fortunate inheritance or social circumstance, possessed qualities and abilities that differentiated them from people in general. Until the 1950s investigations to find the traits that determine who will be leaders dominated the study of leadership. Researchers attempted to isolate unique traits or characteristics of leaders that differentiated them

from their followers. Frequently studied traits included physical characteristics (height, weight), a host of personality factors, needs, values, energy and activity levels, task and interpersonal competence, intelligence, and charisma. Over time, recognition grew that traits can generally be affected by inheritance, learning, and environmental factors.

Early Trait Research

Pure trait approaches—that is, the view that only traits determine leadership capacity—were all but put to rest with the publication of literature reviews during the 1940s and 1950s. In particular, Ralph M. Stogdill (1948) reviewed 124 trait studies of leadership that were completed between 1904 and 1947. He classified the personal factors associated with leadership into the following five general categories:

- *Capacity*—intelligence, alertness, verbal facility, originality, judgment.
- *Achievement*—scholarship, knowledge, athletic accomplishments.
- *Responsibility*—dependability, initiative, persistence, aggressiveness, self-confidence, desire to excel.
- *Participation*—activity, sociability, cooperation, adaptability, humor.
- *Status*—socioeconomic position, popularity.

Although Stogdill found a number of traits (e.g., above-average intelligence, dependability, participation, and status) that consistently differentiated leaders from nonleaders, he concluded that the trait approach *by itself* had yielded negligible and confusing results. He asserted that a person does not become a leader by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits because the impact of traits varies widely from situation to situation. As a consequence, Stogdill added a sixth factor associated with leadership—situational components (e.g., characteristics of followers and goals to be achieved). R. D. Mann's (1959) later review produced similar conclusions.

Recent Perspectives on Leadership Traits and Skills

Notwithstanding the lack of success in identifying general leadership traits, research persisted. More recent trait studies, however, use a wider variety of improved measurement procedures, including projective tests and assessment centers, and they focus on managers and administrators rather than other kinds of leaders. Yukl (1981, 2002, 2010) explains that although Stogdill's 1948 literature review greatly discouraged many researchers from studying leader traits, industrial psychologists interested in improving managerial selection continued to conduct trait research. Their emphasis on selection focused trait research on the relationship between leader traits and leader effectiveness, rather than on the comparison of leaders and nonleaders. This distinction is a significant one. Predicting who will become leaders and predicting who will be more effective are quite different tasks. Hence, the

so-called trait studies continue, but they now tend to explore the relationship between traits and leadership effectiveness of administrators in particular types of organizations and settings.

This second generation of studies has produced a more consistent set of findings; in fact, in 1970, after reviewing another 163 new trait studies, Stogdill (1981) concluded that a leader is characterized by the following traits: drive for responsibility and task completion, vigor and persistence in pursuit of goals, venturousness and originality in problem solving, drive to exercise initiative in social situations, self-confidence and sense of personal identity, willingness to accept consequences of decision and action, readiness to absorb interpersonal stress, willingness to tolerate frustration and delay, ability to influence other persons' behavior, and capacity to structure interaction systems to the purpose at hand. Similarly, Glenn L. Immegart (1988) concluded that the traits of intelligence, dominance, self-confidence, and high energy or activity level are commonly associated with leaders.

In sum, the evidence supports the conclusion that the possession of certain traits increases the likelihood that a leader will be effective (Yukl, 2002), but it does not represent a return to the original trait assumption that "leaders are born, not made." Rather, it is a more sensible and balanced view, one that acknowledges the influence of both traits and situations.

Given the plethora of concepts and for ease of discussion, we will classify the trait and skill variables that currently are associated with effective leadership into one of three groups (Judge, Piccolo, and Kosalaka, 2009; Zaccaro, 2007). The categories are personality, motivation, and skills (see Table 13.1). We will discuss selected traits within each group.[2]

Personality Traits According to Yukl (2002), **personality traits** are relatively stable dispositions to behave in a particular way. The list of personality factors associated with effective leadership is quite long. Five seem particularly important.

- Self-confident leaders are more likely to set high goals for themselves and their followers, to attempt difficult tasks, and to persist in the face of problems and defeats.

TABLE 13.1

Traits and Skills Associated with Effective Leadership

Personality	Motivation	Skills
Self-confidence	Task and interpersonal needs	Technical
Stress tolerance	Achievement orientation	Interpersonal
Emotional maturity	Power needs	Conceptual
Integrity	Expectations	
Extroversion	Self-efficacy	

- Stress-tolerant leaders are likely to make good decisions, to stay calm, and to provide decisive direction to subordinates in difficult situations.
- Emotionally mature leaders tend to have an accurate awareness of their strengths and weaknesses and to be oriented toward self-improvement; they do not deny their shortcomings or fantasize about success.
- Integrity means that the behaviors of leaders are consistent with their stated values and that they are honest, ethical, responsible, and trustworthy.
- Extroversion or being outgoing, sociable, uninhibited, and comfortable in groups is related to the likelihood that an individual will emerge as group leader (Bass and Riggio, 2006).

Hence, self-confidence, stress tolerance, emotional maturity, integrity, and extroversion are personality traits associated with leader effectiveness.

Motivational Traits Motivation is a set of energetic forces that originate both within as well as beyond an individual to initiate work-related behavior and to determine its form, direction, intensity, and duration (see Chapter 4). A basic postulate is that motivational factors play key roles in explaining both the choice of action and its degree of success. Generally, highly motivated leaders are likely to be more effective than individuals with low expectations, modest goals, and limited self-efficacy. Drawing from the works of several scholars (e.g., Fiedler, 1967; McClelland, 1985; Yukl, 2010), five **motivational traits** are especially critical for leaders:

- Task and interpersonal needs are two underlying dispositions that motivate effective leaders. Effective leaders are characterized by their drive for the task and their concern for people.
- Power needs refer to motives of individuals to seek positions of authority and to exercise influence over others.
- Achievement orientation includes a need to achieve, desire to excel, drive to succeed, willingness to assume responsibility, and a concern for task objectives.
- High expectations for success of school administrators refers to their belief that they can do the job and will receive valued outcomes for their efforts.
- Self-efficacy, the belief in one's ability to organize and carry out a course of action, is related to leader performance and transformational leadership (Bass and Riggio, 2006).

In addition to these motivation traits, the physical traits of energy and activity levels allow individuals to exhibit competence through active engagement with others.

In sum, approaching leadership from a trait perspective has a long and productive track record. A number of traits have shown clear and consistent

relationships with leader effectiveness. The basic rationale for trait studies is that some personality and motivational traits increase the likelihood that individuals will engage in efforts to influence others in defining appropriate school outcomes, organizing teaching and learning activities, and building a cooperative culture. From a practical standpoint, Northouse (2004, 2010) shows how both individuals and organizations can use the trait perspective. Individuals assess their strengths and weaknesses and then take actions to develop their leadership abilities. School organizations seek to identify individuals with particular traits and skills who will fit within and help lead their organizations.

Skills An important but often neglected component of educational leadership is the skill set to complete a job. If one compiled a list of the skills leaders need to solve problems and advance their organizations, it would be a long one. However, a variety of schemes classify the plethora of skills into a small number of groups. A recent model posits that problem-solving skills, social judgment skills, and knowledge make effective leadership possible (Mumford et al., 2000). Similarly, both Yukl (2002) and Northouse (2004) discuss three particularly important categories of skills associated with leader effectiveness: technical, interpersonal, and conceptual.

- Technical skills mean bringing specialized knowledge to bear on administrative tasks. For educational leaders, examples of technical skills include managing budgets, implementing standards-based accountability, interpreting test results, and supervising and coordinating improvements in teaching and learning.
- Interpersonal skills encompass an understanding of feelings and attitudes of others and knowing how to work with people in individual and cooperative work relationships. Evidence of interpersonal skills includes clear communication, collaborative relationships, sociability, and tact.
- Conceptual or cognitive skills involve the abilities to form and work with concepts, to think logically, and to reason analytically, deductively, and inductively. In other words, conceptual skills help leaders develop and use ideas to analyze, organize, and solve complex problems.

The underlying principle of a skills approach is that leadership requires the mastery of task-relevant knowledge and abilities to solve complex social and technical problems and to accomplish goals in an effective fashion (Mumford et al., 2000). In other words, the effectiveness of leader behaviors depends on the leader having the skills needed to select and execute the needed behaviors in ways that are consistent with the organizational situation (Marta, Leritz, and Mumford, 2005).

All three skills are required of effective leaders, but the relative priority of each likely depends on the level of administration (Yukl, 2002). Interpersonal skill is critical regardless of the level, but technical skill is especially

important for administrators at the lower hierarchical levels, such as assistant principals for instruction or curriculum coordinators, because they work with highly skilled teachers. When leaders move into midlevel positions such as the principalship, they need high degrees of expertise in all three skills. For top-level administrators in the superintendent's office, conceptual skills are particularly important in framing and solving problems.

As summarized in Table 13.1, we have identified three sets of characteristics that are related to leadership effectiveness. Although traits are relatively more stable or fixed than skills, both can be assessed, learned, and enhanced through a variety of methods. If you are a prospective or practicing administrator, it is important to know your strengths and weaknesses, to learn new skills and continue developing old ones, to enhance deficiencies, and to compensate for weaknesses (Yukl, 2002).



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Project a career path in educational administration for yourself—for example, assistant principal to principal to superintendent. What traits and skills are needed for each position? Do the traits and skills for the positions complement or conflict with each other? How would you propose to exploit the complementary aspects? How would you propose to resolve the conflicts?

Situations and Leadership

Reaction, or perhaps more appropriately overreaction, to the trait approach was so intense during the late 1940s and 1950s that for a time it seemed scholars had substituted a strictly situational analysis for the then-questionable trait approach. The view that leaders are born was rejected (Bass, 1990, 2008). Researchers sought to identify distinctive characteristics of the setting to which the leader's success could be attributed; they attempted to isolate specific properties of the leadership situation that had relevance for leader behavior and performance (Campbell et al., 1970; Lawler, 1985; Vecchio, 1993). As shown throughout this book and summarized in Table 13.2, a number of variables have been postulated to influence behavior in schools and, hence, can be viewed as situational determinants of leadership. A few general examples follow (see Table 13.2):

- Organizational properties of the organization—size, hierarchical structure, formalization, technology.
- Role characteristics—type and difficulty of task, procedural rules, content and performance expectations, power.
- Subordinate characteristics—education, age, knowledge and experience, tolerance for ambiguity, responsibility, power.

TABLE 13.2

Situational Factors of Educational Leadership

Subordinate	Organizational	Internal Environment	External Environment
Personality	Size	Climate	Social
Motivation	Hierarchy	Culture	Economic
Abilities	Formalization		
	Leader role		

- Internal environment—climate, culture, openness, participation levels, group atmosphere, values, and norms.
- External environment—complexity, stability, uncertainty, resource dependency, institutionalization.

John P. Campbell and his colleagues (1970) came to an interesting conclusion about the situational phase of leadership study. Everyone believed that the need for research was great, but actual empirical activity was scarce. Consequently, the jump from "leaders are born, not made" to "leaders are made by the situation, not born," was short-lived. Bass (2008) maintains that the situational view overemphasized the situational and underemphasized the personal nature of leadership. Personal and situational factors have strong reciprocal associations. Leaders exert influence through the situation; the situation supports and limits leader influence. To restrict the study of leadership to either traits or situations, therefore, is unduly narrow and counterproductive.

Behaviors and Leadership

Early conceptualizations of leadership typically relied on two distinct categories of **leader behavior**—one concerned with people, interpersonal relations, and group maintenance, and the other with production, task completion, and goal achievement (Cartwright and Zander, 1953). Similar findings were reflected in other early studies of leadership. We now turn to a description of an early program of research and a more recent perspective on leader behavior.

The Ohio State and Related Leadership Studies

To students of educational administration, probably the most well-known leader research inquiries are the leader behavior description questionnaire (LBDQ) studies started at Ohio State University in the 1940s. Originally developed there by John K. Hemphill and Alvin Coons (1950), the

LBDQ was later refined by Andrew Halpin and B. J. Winer (1952). It measures two basic dimensions of leader behavior—initiating structure and consideration.

Initiating structure includes any leader behavior that delineates the relationship between the leader and subordinates and, at the same time, establishes defined patterns of organization, channels of communication, and methods of procedure. **Consideration** includes leader behavior that indicates friendship, trust, warmth, interest, and respect in the relationship between the leader and members of the work group (Halpin, 1966). Using the LBDQ, subordinates, superiors, or the individuals themselves can describe the leader behavior of themselves and each other.

Four major findings emerged from the Ohio State University LBDQ studies (Halpin, 1966).

- Initiating structure and consideration are fundamental dimensions of leader behavior.
- The most effective leaders are described as those integrating both high initiating structure and high consideration.
- Superiors and subordinates tend to evaluate the contributions of the leader behavior dimensions oppositely in assessing effectiveness. Superiors tend to emphasize initiating structure; subordinates are more concerned with consideration.
- Only a slight relationship exists between how leaders say they should behave and how subordinates describe that they do behave.

The findings of Kunz and Hoy (1976) and Leverette (1984) support the conclusions made by other scholars (Vroom, 1976; House and Baetz, 1979; Mitchell, 1979). Consideration is typically related to subordinate satisfaction with work and with the leader. While the evidence is somewhat mixed, initiating structure has been identified as a source of subordinate performance. However, situational variables apparently affect the relationship between consideration and initiating structure and affect the criteria of organizational effectiveness as well. Consideration has its most positive effect on the satisfaction of subordinates who work in structured situations or whose tasks are stressful, frustrating, or dissatisfying. In contrast, initiating structure has the greatest impact on group performance when subordinates' tasks are ill defined (Keller, 2006).

The conclusions of these studies are fairly clear to us. There are two basic dimensions of leadership: initiating structure and consideration. To neglect initiation of structure limits the leader's impact on the school. To ignore consideration reduces the satisfaction and teamwork of subordinates. Certainly, leader behavior that integrates initiating structure and consideration into a consistent pattern is often desirable. But there are times when leadership that is starkly task-oriented is most appropriate and other situations when consideration is most important. Occasionally situations even call for delegating leadership to the group. Matching leader behavior style with the appropriate

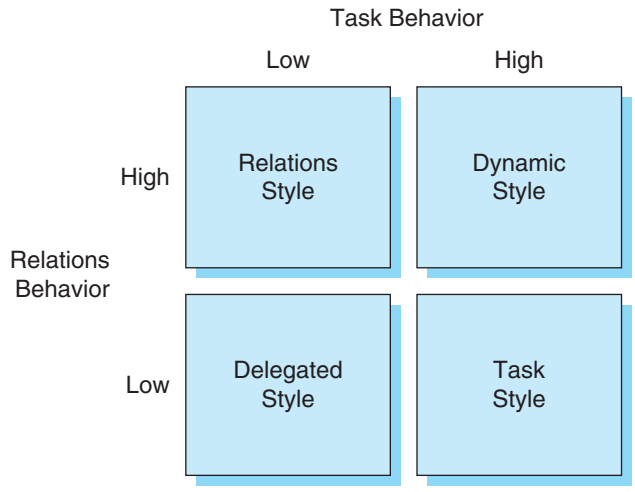


FIGURE 13.1 *A Typology of Leader Behavior Styles*

situation to maximize effectiveness is a knotty problem to which we will return throughout this chapter.

Initiating structure and consideration have been given different names by various scholars. For example, Etzioni (1975) refers to them as instrumental and expressive activities. We prefer the terms "task behavior" (initiating structure) and "relations behavior" (consideration) to specify the basic dimensions of leadership behavior. A simple dichotomy of the two dimensions leads to four leadership styles—a relations style (high only in relations behavior), a task style (high only in task behavior), a dynamic style (high on both relations and task behavior), and a delegated style (low on both relations and task). Figure 13.1 illustrates the four styles. What is your dominant leadership style? How easy is it for you to change style? What style do you have the most difficult time using?



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Figure 13.1 defines four leader behavior styles. What is your dominant leadership style? What are your secondary styles? How flexible is your leadership? Can you shift your leader behavior as the situation changes? You can answer these questions by going to www.waynekhoy.com. Under Student Resources, download the Leader Style Diagnosis (LSD) form; complete and score the scale. Assess your dominant and supportive leadership styles. Are you surprised? Are you appropriately flexible in your style? What have you learned about your style of leading?

A Recent Perspective on Leader Behavior

Yukl (2002, 2010) also cautions not to interpret the results of the early studies as universal theories of effective leader behavior. In other words, concluding that the same style of leader behavior is optimal across all situations is not warranted. Blake and Mouton's (1985) managerial grid is a well-known universal theory. Its basic hypothesis is that the most effective leaders are high on both production and people concerns. Production and people concerns are similar to terms in the earlier models such as "task" or "initiating structure" and "relationship" or "consideration." Yukl notes that Blake and Mouton suggest a situational aspect with the idea that the behaviors must be relevant to the situation to be effective. However, they never actually state specific generalizations linking appropriate behaviors to different situations. As we have shown in our discussion of the earlier studies, situational factors do affect the effectiveness of leader behavior, even when an individual is high on both people and task dimensions.

Although we have limited our discussion to structured observations and the Ohio State studies, many listings of leader behavior are found in the literature. To integrate the many typologies and taxonomies, Yukl (2002, 2010) developed a three-category framework of leader behavior. His categories and brief descriptions follow.

- Task-oriented behaviors encompass clarifying roles, planning and organizing operations, and monitoring organizational functions. These actions emphasize accomplishing tasks, using personnel and resources efficiently, maintaining stable and reliable processes, and making incremental improvements.
- Relations-oriented behaviors include supporting, developing, recognizing, consulting, and managing conflict. These activities focus on improving relationships and helping people, increasing cooperation and teamwork, and building commitment to the organization.
- Change-oriented behaviors consist of scanning and interpreting external events, articulating an attractive vision, proposing innovative programs, appealing for change, and creating a coalition to support and implement changes. These acts concentrate on adapting to change in the environment, making major changes in goals, policies, procedures and programs, and gaining commitment to the changes.

Task-oriented and relations-oriented behaviors are similar to initiating structure and consideration, respectively, but are defined more broadly.

Leaders typically engage in all three types of behaviors. Yukl (2010) believes, however, that the external environment plays a particularly important role in determining the appropriate mix for leader effectiveness. In stable environments, task-oriented behavior should be used more frequently

than change-oriented behavior. For example, when a school's programs are appropriate to its stable community, the emphasis needs to be on such task-oriented behaviors as increasing efficiency and maintaining stable operations. Some change-oriented behaviors are needed in monitoring the environment and diffusing new knowledge. Similarly, relations-oriented behaviors are more feasible in simple stable environments than in complex unstable environments. In uncertain environments, change-oriented behavior is likely to be the most effective. In sum, appropriately applying or balancing different types of behaviors for varying situations is fundamental to enhancing leader performance.

Leadership Effectiveness

The final set of concepts in a contingency model is the criteria used to judge leadership effectiveness. To both practicing administrators and scholars, effectiveness is a complicated, multifaceted, and subtle topic. Three types of effectiveness outcomes are suggested in Table 13.3:

- Personal—other perceptions of reputation and self-assessments.
- Individual member satisfaction.
- Organizational goal attainment.

Perceived evaluations of performance are important: subjective judgments of the leader by himself or herself, subordinates, peers, and superiors within the school and by members of the public outside the school yield measures of effectiveness. In schools, the opinions—for example, respect, admiration, and commitment—held by students, teachers, administrators, and patrons are highly significant. However, these groups may view the performance levels quite differently. A second indicator of leadership effectiveness is the satisfaction of organizational participants. Finally, the relative levels of school goal achievement also define the effectiveness of educational leaders (see Chapter 9). **Leadership effectiveness,** then, can be defined as having a more objective dimension—accomplishment of organizational goals—and two subjective dimensions—perceptual evaluations of significant reference groups and overall job satisfaction of subordinates.

TABLE 13.3

Effectiveness Indicators for Educational Leaders

Personal	Organizational	Individual
Perceived reputation	Goal attainment	Satisfaction
Self-assessment		Performance

Contingency Models of Leadership

Hitting their zenith in the 1970s, contingency approaches such as the general model shown in Figure 13.2 were the most influential models of leadership into the 1980s. At their best, contingency approaches include the four sets of concepts that we have just considered—traits of leaders, characteristics of the situation, behaviors of the leader, and effectiveness of the leader. Two basic hypotheses are shown in Figure 13.2. First, traits and skills of the leaders and characteristics of the situation combine to produce leader behavior and effectiveness. Second, situational factors directly impact effectiveness. For example, the motivation and ability levels of teachers and students are related to the goal attainment of schools. Moreover, the socioeconomic status of individuals attending a school is strongly related to student achievement on standardized tests. From a short-range perspective, at least, the situational characteristics of the school may have a greater influence on leader effectiveness than a leader's own behavior. **Contingency approaches** seek to specify the conditions or situational variables that moderate the relationship of leader traits and behaviors to performance (Bryman, 1996). The evidence indicates that in one set of circumstances, one type of leader is effective; under another set of circumstances, a different type of leader is effective.

We will review several contigency models of leadership—Instructional Leadership, Fiedler's Contingency Model, Substitutes for Leadership, and Distributed Leadership.

Instructional Leadership

Instructional leadership emphasizes the improvement of teaching and learning in the school's technical core (see Chapter 2). Instructional leaders attempt to change such school factors as curricular content, teaching methods,

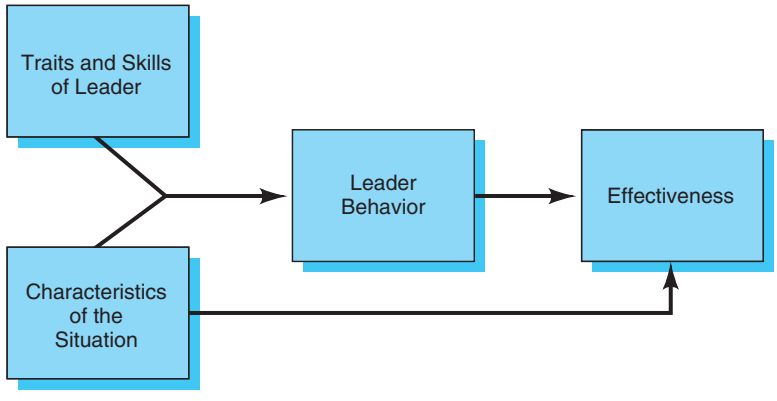


FIGURE 13.2 *A Contingency Schema for Understanding Leadership*

assessment strategies, and cultural norms for academic achievement. Such leadership can come from a variety of sources, including principals and other administrators, teachers, parents, and students themselves. Since the early 1980s, however, the primary focus has been on the principal as instructional leader (Hallinger, 2003, 2005, 2011; Hofman and Hofman, 2011). Based in the effective schools research of the 1970s, early descriptions of principals whose schools had shown marked improvement often emphasized a heroic view of their abilities and attributed the changes to the principals. Instructional leaders were commonly seen as strong and directive, culture builders, goal-oriented, both leaders and managers, and people who combine expertise with charisma. Policy makers became enamored with the idea that the path to school improvement was through principal instructional leadership. They called for universities to prepare instructional leaders and for school districts to hire them. However, the demands largely went unanswered because, as Hallinger makes clear, the field of educational administration lacked theoretical models grounded in research and practice that described and explained how principals influenced student learning. Starting in the early 1980s, scholars have developed several useful contingency approaches for understanding instructional leadership.

The contingency model proposed by Steven Bossert, David Dwyer, Brian Rowan, and Ginny Lee (1982) hypothesizes that personal, district, and external environmental characteristics influence the management behaviors of principals. The principal affects school climate and instructional organization, which together affects student performance. Ronald Heck, Terry J. Larsen, and George A. Marcoulides (1990) empirically tested the model and found substantial support for its basic hypothesis: *Principals influence student achievement indirectly by creating instructional organizations in their schools through participative actions and by building school climates and cultures characterized by clear goals and high expectations for academic achievement and social behavior.*

Hallinger and Murphy (1985) advanced a model of instructional leadership using three dimensions.

- *Defining the school's mission* spotlights the principal's role in working with others to ensure that the school uses clear, measurable, time-based goals for the academic progress of students. Principals must communicate the goals so that they are widely known, supported throughout the school community, and incorporated into daily practice.
- *Managing the instructional program* means coordinating and controlling the school's curriculum and instruction by stimulating, supervising, and monitoring teaching and learning.
- *Promoting a positive school-learning climate* builds on the idea that effective schools create an academic press through high standards and expectations for students and teachers (Hallinger, 2005).

In its early formulation, Hallinger and Murphy's model was not a contingency approach to leadership. The model dealt with specific principal behaviors and their relationships to achievement and school effectiveness. Somewhat implicitly and over time, the model has assumed the characteristics of a contingency perspective. Hallinger (2005) asserts, for instance, that a contingent approach be explicitly incorporated into theoretical models of instructional leadership. He maintains that leadership is a mutual influence process with many situational factors pressuring principals to enact their instructional leadership in a variety of ways. Specific factors include student background, community type, school climate and organization, and teacher experience and competence. Principals must have some flexibility in their personalities to adapt their behaviors to the changing needs of the situation.

Jana M. Alig-Mielcarek and Hoy (2005) extended and specified Hallinger and Murphy's work by synthesizing the literature on instructional leadership. After examining the models of Hallinger and Murphy (1985), Murphy (1990), and Weber (1996), they provided a simplified model of instructional leadership, which encompassed three leadership functions:

- Defining and communicating goals.
- Monitoring and providing constructive feedback on teaching.
- Promoting and emphasizing professional development.

These three highly interrelated elements form a single second-order construct called instructional leadership, which produced a reliable and valid measure called the *Instructional Leadership Scale*. Samples of items include: the principal "encourages teachers to attend professional development activities," "encourages teachers to use data analysis of student academic progress," and "visits the classroom to ensure instruction aligns with school goals."

Analogous to Hallinger's (2005) results, Alig-Mielcarek and Hoy (2004) found that the *effectiveness of instructional leadership was contingent upon the academic press of the school climate*. Using structural equation modeling and controlling for SES, instructional leadership was *only* significantly related to academic achievement when there was a robust climate of academic press; effective instructional leadership was contingent upon the school's academic press for achievement. In sum, the focus of instructional leadership has evolved from a simple heroic conception to a contingency model of instructional leadership. See Figure 13.3.

Fiedler's Contingency Model of Leadership

Fiedler (1967) constructed the first major theory to propose specific contingency relationships in the study of leadership. Lacking a behavior component, the **least preferred co-worker** model uses leader style as a trait, three indicators of situational control, and effectiveness.

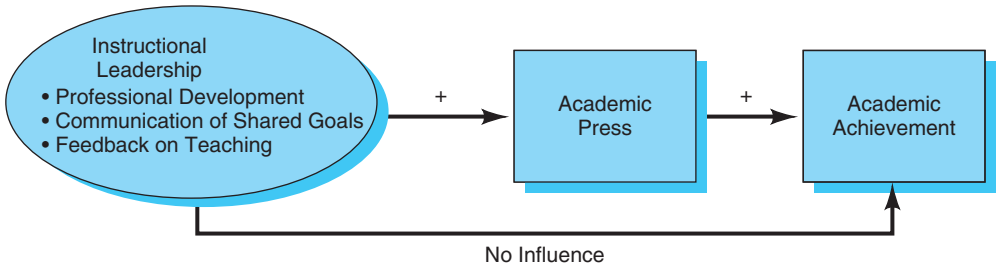


FIGURE 13.3 ***Contingency Model of Instructional Leadership***

SOURCE: Adapted from Alig-Mielcarek and Hoy, 2004.

Leadership style is determined by the motivational system of the leader, that is, the underlying needs structure that motivates behavior in various interpersonal situations. The least preferred co-worker (LPC) scale is used to measure this trait. Using the LPC, a respondent selects the person with whom he or she works least well (least preferred co-worker) and then describes that individual on the scale. A person scoring high on the LPC describes the least preferred co-worker positively as being pleasant, loyal, warm, kind, efficient, and so forth. In contrast, the individual scoring low on the LPC describes the least preferred co-worker negatively as being unpleasant, backbiting, cold, unkind, inefficient, and so forth. The LPC score indicates the extent to which the individual sets a higher priority or value on task accomplishment (task-motivated) or on maintaining good interpersonal relations (relationship-motivated) (Fiedler and Garcia, 1987).

Situational control is the degree of power and influence that leaders have to implement plans, decisions, and action strategies (Fiedler and Garcia, 1987). Situational control is determined by three factors. First, *position power* is the power that the organization confers on the leader for the purpose of getting the job done. Examples include the extent to which a leader can reward and punish members and whether the group can depose the leader. Second, *task structure* is the extent to which the task has clearly specified goals, methods, and standards of performance. The more structured the task, the more control the leader has in directing the group. Third, *leader-member relations* is the extent to which the leader is accepted and respected by group members. Two factors are important with respect to leader-member relations: the quality of interpersonal relations between the leader and subordinates, and the level of informal authority granted to the leader. The quality of leader-member relations is the most important factor in determining the leader's influence over group members, followed by task structure and position power. Fiedler formed eight situations by dichotomizing the three factors—that is, good or bad leader-member relations, structured or unstructured tasks, and high or low position power. The eight combinations or

octants map the range of situations from high control to low control. The basic contention is that the leader has more control and influence when the group is supportive, the leader knows exactly what to do and how to do it, and the organization gives the leader means to reward and punish the group members.

Fiedler, Chemers, and Mahar (1976) proposed that administrators such as principals can be trained to modify aspects of their situation. They developed a program to teach leaders how to analyze their situations in terms of leader-member relations, task structure, and position power, and based on the analysis, to change the conditions that will improve group performance.

Effectiveness in the least preferred co-worker theory is straightforward—namely, the extent to which the group accomplishes its primary task. In many of Fiedler's studies, objective measures of group effectiveness are used—net profit, cost per unit, percentage of wins, number of problems solved. If a reliable objective measure of group performance is not available, then performance ratings by the supervisor of the leader or group are used. But in all cases, leader effectiveness is determined by the degree to which the task is judged to be achieved.

From data collected before 1962, Fiedler developed three propositions for his contingency theory:

- In high-control situations, task-oriented leaders are more effective than relationship-oriented leaders.
- In moderate-control situations, relationship-oriented leaders are more effective than task-oriented leaders.
- In low-control situations, task-oriented leaders are more effective than relationship-oriented leaders.

Thus, *leadership effectiveness is contingent upon matching the appropriate leadership style with the situation*.

Two studies provide rigorous and complete tests of the model—that is, investigations that meet Fiedler's criteria and include leaders from all eight situations. One study was supportive (Chemers and Skrzypek, 1972); one was not (Vecchio, 1977). Moreover, three meta-analyses (Strube and Garcia, 1981; Peters, Hartke, and Pohlman, 1985; Crehan, 1985) of research testing the contingency model provide some support, but not for all octants and not as strongly for field studies as for laboratory studies. In school settings, findings from a number of studies also partially test and support Fiedler's theory (McNamara and Enns, 1966; Williams and Hoy, 1973; Martin, Isherwood, and Lavery, 1976).

The LPC theory has been subjected to several criticisms. Probably the most persistent objection is that the definition has changed over the years concerning what the LPC measures. At first, it was seen simply as a measure of an emotional reaction to individuals with whom the leader found it difficult to work; then it was thought to differentiate between individuals who had a task orientation as opposed to an interpersonal one; later the LPC score

was interpreted as an indicator of a leader's motivational hierarchy. Overall, Fiedler's theory represents an ambitious and laudable effort to build a powerful contingency theory of leadership. Although interest has waned, the model demonstrates that a combination of situational and individual characteristics partly explains the leadership phenomenon. Like most pioneering efforts, it undoubtedly is incorrect in detail if not in substance. Yet Fiedler's contingency model was the first and, to date, the longest-lasting attempt to answer the question, What particular style in what special situation?

Substitutes for Leadership Model

Contingency and other models of leadership assume that some kind of formal hierarchical leadership is needed in organizations such as schools. Steven Kerr and John M. Jermier (1978) questioned this assumption and found that leadership made a difference in less than 50 percent of the cases they studied. They believed that a number of substitute factors lessened the effective exercise of leadership. As Peter Gronn (2003) notes, Kerr and Jermier claimed that in many situations, an individual's leadership acts are canceled, replaced with surrogates, or become pointless. To explain their findings and ideas, Kerr and Jermier created the *substitutes for leadership model*.

Substitutes are things that make person-oriented and task-oriented behavior unnecessary and redundant. In other words, substitutes are situational aspects that replace or reduce a leader's ability to influence the attitudes, perceptions, or behaviors of followers. Three factors have the potential to act as leader substitutes (Kerr and Jermier, 1978; Keller, 2006):

- *Characteristics of subordinates*—their abilities, training, experience and knowledge, professional orientation, and indifference toward rewards.
- *Characteristics of the task*—structured routine work, intrinsically satisfying tasks, and feedback provided by the task.
- *Characteristics of the organization*—formalization of roles and procedures, flexibility of rules and policies, work group cohesiveness and autonomy, and spatial distance between the administrator and followers.

A second major concept is *neutralizers.* These do not replace leader behaviors but are situational factors that prevent a leader from acting in a particular way or that nullify the effects of the leader's actions. For example, a principal's lack of authority to reward a teacher's effective performance is a situational constraint on the leader behavior, whereas the teacher's lack of interest in an incentive offered by the principal is a condition that makes the behavior pointless (Yukl, 2010).

Two additional concepts are *enhancers* and *supplements*. Enhancers boost the leader-outcome relationship and include, for example, supportive cohesive work-group norms. Supplements contribute to subordinate performance

without changing the direct effects of the leader. An example might be a new Web-based instructional program (Gronn, 1999).

Basically, this model hypothesizes that the link between *leader behavior and effective performance is moderated by subordinate, task, and organizational characteristics.* For example, when the subordinates have high ability and are experienced and knowledgeable, or the task is unambiguous and routine, task-oriented leadership is lessened significantly or may not be needed at all. Similarly, when the task is intrinsically satisfying or the work group is closely knit and cohesive, supportive leadership is of limited usefulness. A significant implication is that "in many instances the scope for the effective exercise of leadership is very likely to be minimized by countervailing forces" (Gronn, 1999, p. 42). In other words, substitutes may cause some leader behaviors to be partially ineffective, but they do not necessarily make any specific behavior totally ineffective (Dionne, Yammarino, Howell, and Villa, 2005).

The theory has generated substantial interest because it helps explain why leader behaviors have significant effects in some situations and may have no effects in others. However, research studies testing the model have produced little empirical support for the substitutes for leadership model (Podsakoff and MacKensie, 1997). Yet, significant interest in further development continues (Dionne, Yammarino, Howell, and Villa, 2005), and the model probably warrants additional attention.

Distributed Leadership

Another contigency model emerges at the organizational level, that is, leadership is an organizational quality. In contrast, but sharing similar assumptions with the substitutes theory, **distributed leadership** embraces leadership by teams and groups. Practically, distributed approaches challenge the common assumption that one person has to be in charge to make change happen (Heller and Firestone, 1995). Instead, multiple individuals and groups substitute or share the leadership responsibilities that have traditionally been attributed to a single individual. Leadership, then, is distributed across the organization at need.

The basic idea of distributed leadership is straightforward (Elmore, 2000)—it means relying on multiple sources of leadership across the organization to guide and complete numerous tasks that vary in size, complexity, and scope. These include recurring and routine tasks, such as budget hearings, staff meetings, and annual evaluations, and unanticipated tasks such as emergencies and highly salient problems (Gronn, 2002), as well as change functions such as sustaining a vision for change, encouraging others, modifying existing procedures, monitoring progress, and handling disturbances (Heller and Firestone, 1995). Proponents claim that distributed leadership is necessary because school organizations are so complex and the tasks so wide ranging that no single person has the energy and skill to handle all of the leadership functions. As a consequence, the responsibility for leading these

tasks is distributed across multiple individuals and roles, for example, central office administrators, principals, assistant principals, teachers, other staff members, external consultants, parents, and students. In essence, distributing leadership means distributing power (Gronn and Hamilton, 2004).

It seems pretty obvious that distributed or organizational leadership is not a new phenomenon. Schools and other organizations have always practiced a division of labor for leadership responsibilities (Gronn, 2002), but conceptions of individual, heroic, or solo leadership have dominated both the popular and scholarly literatures. Educational reformers and policy makers, according to Camburn, Rowan, and Taylor (2003), expanded their focus during the 1980s to recognize the importance of both individual and distributed leadership. For example, site-based management and career ladders for teachers represent policy initiatives that attempted to incorporate additional leadership roles into schools. Educational scholars intensified their efforts to develop frameworks and conduct research on distributed leadership during the 1990s, although Gronn (2002, p. 424) concludes that "there is a dearth of extended, analytical discussions of the concept." Keeping Gronn's caution in mind, three early formulations will be considered.

Ogawa and Bossert (1995) conceive leadership as an organizational quality. They argue that all members of the organization can lead and that leadership goes beyond distributing the functions across individuals in the organization. Leadership also flows through the network of roles that comprise school organizations and influences individuals, structures, cultures, and how work is produced and coordinated. Furthermore, the amount of leadership varies over time and across schools. Extending these ideas, Pounder, Ogawa, and Adams (1995) hypothesize that several groups contribute to school leadership and the total amount of leadership is positively related to school performance. They found general support for the hypothesis and speculated that efforts to implement shared decision making (see Chapter 11) and other forms of distributed leadership have the potential to improve school effectiveness.

March (2005) also downplays heroic leadership models. Such models, he contends, overstate the control a leader exercises when an organization makes a dramatic turnaround or implements a major innovation. Presenting what essentially is an organizational conception of leadership, March maintains that efficiency in organizations occurs when difficulties are handled quickly and routinely by the people close to the problem. From his perspective, four key leadership factors advance organizational efficiency in schools.

- *Competence*—educators know what they are doing and are expert at it.
- *Initiative*—individuals (e.g., teachers, counselors, administrators) or groups of educators close to the problem act locally, swiftly, voluntarily, and autonomously to resolve the issue.
- *Identification*—educators take pride in their work and school and share a culture of trust and collective identity.

- *Unobtrusive coordination*—individual actions are coordinated effectively, quickly, and inexpensively through standardized routines and operating procedures, and open communication systems.

Hence, the effectiveness and efficiency levels of schools are likely to be the highest when leadership roles are performed by people who are competent, enterprising, committed to the organization, and free to do their jobs. As March (2005) states, "[C]ompetence, initiative, identification, and unobtrusive coordination, and decisions about them, are at the heart of effective leadership. They are not grand; they are not heroic; they are not—for the most part—even interesting" (p. 116).

James Spillane (2006) proposes a model of distributed leadership that focuses on practices intended to improve teaching and learning, especially in reading, mathematics, and science. According to Spillane, leadership refers to activities linked to the core work of the school and are designed by organizational members to influence the motivation, knowledge affect, or practices of other educators. In this model, multiple leaders such as teachers, administrators, and parents identify, acquire, allocate, coordinate, and use social, material, and cultural resources to advance teaching and learning (Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond, 2001). Reasoning that principals and superintendents cannot succeed alone, Spillane observes that multiple formal and informal leaders and their followers mobilize to guide and do the tasks necessary to transform or make major changes in their schools. In other words, leadership activities are distributed in an interactive web of leaders, followers, and situations (Spillane, Sherer, and Coldren, 2005). For Spillane (2006) the situation is a defining element because as tasks are carried out, leadership practice emerges in and through the interaction of leaders, followers, and situation. Moreover, the distribution and quantity of leadership vary across a number of situational factors—by subject area (mathematics instruction has fewer leaders than language arts, and science even fewer), by size (larger more than smaller), and by type (public school less than private or entrepreneurial).



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Analysis of Distributed Leadership

According to the models of distributed leadership, schools rely on a variety of individuals and roles to accomplish leadership tasks. Consider a school in which you have worked or of which you have knowledge and list the individual leaders by name and organizational role. What leadership functions did they fulfill? Did other leaders act as substitutes for the formal school leaders? How harmonious and effective was the leadership team? Why? How applicable are distributed leadership models to practice?

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

James MacGregor Burns (1978) is commonly credited with formulating the ideas of transactional and transformational leadership and applying them in the political arena. Building on Burns's ideas, Bass (1985a) constructed a wide-ranging and highly influential model for leaders in social organizations. The basic framework of transformational leadership can be conceptualized using a continuum, which Bass (1998) calls a "full range leadership model." As shown in Table 13.4, Bass identifies three major types of leadership: laissez-faire, transactional, and transformational. While the three types of leadership have remained constant, the number of factors or components comprising the three types has varied (Avolio, Bass, and Jung, 1999). The formulation shown in Table 13.4 uses nine factors—one for laissez-faire or passive, three for transactional, and five for transformational (Bass and Riggio, 2006).

Three Types of Leadership

Laissez-Faire Leadership

Bass (1998) characterizes this type of leadership as the absence of transactions with followers. For instance, laissez-faire leaders avoid expressing their views or taking action on important issues, fail to make or at least delay decisions, ignore responsibilities, provide no feedback, and allow authority to remain dormant. It essentially is the avoidance or absence of leadership, and consequently is the most passive and least effective. An example would be a

TABLE 13.4

A Full-Range Leadership Continuum

Full-Range Leadership Continuum		
Laissez-Faire Leadership	**Transactional Leadership**	**Transformational Leadership**
1. Nontransactional or passive	2. Contingent reward leadership	5. Idealized influence-attributed or charisma
	3. Active management-by-exception	6. Idealized influence-behavior or charismatic actions
	4. Passive management-by-exception	7. Inspirational motivation
		8. Intellectual stimulation
		9. Individualized consideration

principal who stays in the office, engages faculty and students as little as possible, shows minimal concern for the learning and development of students or needs of the teachers, and allows school structures and processes to continue in the same way.

Transactional Leadership

Transactional leaders motivate followers by exchanging rewards for services rendered—for example, a principal provides new instructional materials or increased planning time to teachers so they can institute a new curricular program. When subordinates are doing their work in organizations such as schools, transactional leaders recognize what followers want from work and try to provide them with what they want. They exchange rewards and promises of reward for effort and respond to followers' immediate self-interests. Transactional leaders pursue a cost-benefit, economic exchange to meet followers' current material and psychological needs in return for contracted services rendered by the subordinate (Bass, 1985a).

As shown in Table 13.4, transactional leadership is posited to have three components (Antonakis, Avolio, and Sivasubramaniam, 2003). **Contingent reward leadership** refers to leader behaviors that focus on clarifying role and task requirements and provide followers with rewards contingent on the follower's performance. In other words, this subtype of leadership behavior gives followers things they want in exchange for things leaders want (Kuhnert and Lewis, 1987). **Active management-by-exception** means that leaders maintain high levels of vigilance to ensure that standards are met. That is, leaders actively monitor performance and take corrective action as problems become apparent. **Passive management-by-exception** means that leaders fail to intervene until problems become serious. These leaders wait to take action until after mistakes or other performance problems have happened and are called to their attention.

Bass and Riggio (2006) maintain that in most situations, transactional leadership can be very effective. Contingent reward behaviors in particular provide a solid foundation for effective leadership. However, enhanced effort, effectiveness, and job satisfaction result when transactional leadership is augmented with transformational leadership.

Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership is an expansion of transactional leadership that goes beyond simple exchanges and agreements. Transformational leaders are proactive, raise the awareness levels of followers about inspirational collective interests, and help followers achieve unusually high performance outcomes. The theory posits that four I's comprise transformational leadership: *i*dealized influence, *i*nspirational motivation, *i*ntellectual stimulation, and *i*ndividualized consideration (Bass and Riggio, 2006).

Idealized influence builds trust and respect in followers and provides the basis for accepting radical and fundamental changes in the ways individuals and organizations do their work. These leaders display conviction about important issues; exhibit high standards of ethical and moral conduct, sharing risks with followers in setting and attaining goals; consider the needs of others over their own; and use power to move individuals or groups toward accomplishing their mission, vision, and cause, but never for personal gain. As a result, transformational leaders are admired, respected, and trusted. Followers identify with their leaders and want to emulate them. Without such trust and commitment to the leaders, attempts to change and redirect the organization's mission are likely to be met with extreme resistance (Avolio, 1994). Idealized influence results from transformational leaders behaving as role models for their followers.

In recent formulations, idealized influence or charisma has been divided into two subtypes. **Attributed idealized influence** is the extent to which followers *perceive* leaders as being charismatic, confident, powerful, and focused on higher-order ideals and ethics. In contrast, **idealized influence as behavior** is charismatic actions of leaders that focus on values, beliefs, and a sense of mission (Antonakis, Avolio, and Sivasubramaniam, 2003).

Inspirational motivation changes the expectations of group members to believe that the organization's problems can be solved (Atwater and Bass, 1994). It also plays a central role in developing an appealing vision that guides the development of organizational goals and operating procedures (Avolio, 1994). Inspirational motivation comes primarily from leader behaviors that provide meaning and challenge for followers. Transformational leaders energize people by projecting an attractive and optimistic future, emphasizing ambitious goals, creating idealized visions for the organization, and clearly communicating to followers that the vision is attainable. Hence, team spirit, enthusiasm, optimism, goal commitment, and a shared vision arise and coalesce within the work group or organization (Bass and Avolio, 1994).

Intellectual stimulation addresses the problem of creativity (Atwater and Bass, 1994). Transformational leaders stimulate followers to be innovative and creative by questioning old assumptions, traditions, and beliefs; reframing problems; and approaching old situations in new ways. Transformational leaders challenge followers to think creatively, design new procedures and programs, and solve difficult problems; foster unlearning and eliminate the fixation on old ways of doing things; and refrain from publicly criticizing individual members for mistakes (Bass and Avolio, 1994). Leaders insist on constant open examination of everything and total receptivity to change (Avolio, 1994). In turn, followers stimulate their leaders to reconsider their own perspectives and assumptions. Nothing is too good, too fixed, too political, or too bureaucratic that it cannot be contested, changed, or cleared out (Avolio, 1999).

Individualized consideration means that transformational leaders pay particular attention to each individual's needs for achievement and growth. The purpose of individualized consideration is to determine the needs and strengths of others (Atwater and Bass, 1994). Using this knowledge and acting as mentors, transformational leaders help followers and colleagues develop to successively higher levels of potential and take responsibility for their own development (Avolio, 1994). Creating new learning opportunities in a supportive climate, recognizing and accepting individual differences in needs and values, using two-way communication, and interacting with others in a personalized fashion are necessary behaviors to accomplish individualized consideration. The individually considerate leader listens actively and effectively.

Leaders display all aspects of the leadership continuum shown in Table 13.4. A high-performing leader infrequently displays laissez-faire behaviors, but shows successively higher levels of active management by exception, passive management by exception, and contingent reward, and most frequently demonstrates transformational behaviors. In contrast, low-performing leaders tend to exhibit laissez-faire behaviors most often and transformational behaviors least often (Bass and Riggio, 2006).

Most research studies measuring the primary factors and testing transformational leadership theory have used the multifactor leadership questionnaire (MLQ). Early versions of MLQ were severely criticized (Sashkin and Burke, 1990). Since its introduction, the content of the MLQ has changed and been refined to increase the items describing observable leader behaviors. A recent evaluation of the MLQ found support for the nine-factor model shown in Table 13.4 (Antonakis, Avolio, and Sivasubramaniam, 2003).

Theory and Research about Transformational Leadership

Bass (1998) and Avolio (1999) contend that transactional leadership forms the basis of a sustainable leadership system. For instance, if leaders stand by their many transactions with followers, over time the people come to trust their leaders. It is this higher level of trust and identification that transformational leaders use as a foundation for achieving exemplary performance. Transformational leadership does not replace transactional leadership but does augment or expand its effects on follower motivation, satisfaction, and performance. Hence, these types of leadership can be represented as points on the same leadership continuum as shown in Table 13.4.

However, transformational leadership goes well beyond exchanging inducements for desired performance (Bennis and Nanus, 1985; Howell and Frost, 1989; Howell and Avolio, 1993). Transformational leaders build commitment to the organization's objectives and empower followers to achieve these objectives (Yukl, 2010; Geijsel, Sleegers, Leithwood, and Jantzi, 2003). As illustrated above in the descriptions of the four I's, transformational

leaders are expected to define the need for change, create new visions and muster commitment to the visions, concentrate on long-term goals, inspire followers to transcend their own interests to pursue higher-order goals, change the organization to accommodate their vision rather than work within the existing one, and mentor followers to take greater responsibility for their own development and that of others. Followers become leaders and leaders become change agents and ultimately transform the organization.

The source of transformational leadership is in the personal values and beliefs of leaders. By expressing their personal standards, transformational leaders are able to both unite followers and change their goals and beliefs in ways that produce higher levels of performance than previously thought possible (Kuhnert and Lewis, 1987). Indeed, Thomas J. Sergiovanni (1994) argues that the heart of leadership talk is conceptions, values, and ideas. House (1988) further maintains that transformational leadership depends on leaders effectively expressing their need for power by using metaphors and other imagery to represent socially desirable examples of change and outcomes.

Similarly, Bass (1985a, 1998) observes that transformational leadership is seen when leaders stimulate others to view their work from new perspectives, generate an awareness of the mission or vision of the organization, develop colleagues and followers to higher levels of ability and potential, and motivate them to look beyond their own interests toward those that will benefit the group. Transformational leaders set more challenging goals and typically achieve higher performances than transactional leaders.

In an overall assessment of the theory, Yukl (1999) concludes that transformational leadership seems to be making important contributions to the explanation of leadership processes and outcomes. In particular, it relies on important symbolic aspects and is more than just the technical and interpersonal aspects of efficient management. It rests upon meanings as well as actions, and leaders make meanings. However, Yukl contends that additional emphasis on situational variables that both limit and facilitate transformational leadership is needed, even though the model has wide applicability.

Situational Factors

Bass (1997) downplayed the importance of situational effects when he claimed that the transformational leadership model is valid across situations and cultures. More recently, Bass and Riggio (2006) explicitly acknowledge that there is no one best way to lead and that situational factors can influence the effectiveness of leaders. In particular, crisis situations are highly important. For leaders to be effective in crisis conditions, they must be transformational and rise above what their followers see as their immediate needs and appropriate responses. Only transformational leaders can arouse their followers to see the threats and their lack of preparedness and

provide goals to transcend self-interests and to provide confident direction. Situational conditions that likely influence the emergence and success of both transactional and transformational leadership include stability of the external environment, organization structure and culture, public or private sector, task and goals, and distribution of power between the leaders and followers. In the final analysis, however, Bass and Riggio (2006) strongly maintain that transformational leadership makes an impact regardless of situational circumstances.

Research

Since the introduction of transformational leadership in the mid-1980s, a vast research literature about it has developed. According to Avolio (1999), research findings support a number of generalizations dealing with the factors forming transactional leadership. For example, idealized influence and inspirational leadership are the most effective and satisfying; intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration have somewhat less effect. All are more effective than transactional leadership. Overall, then, transformational leadership is close to what people have in mind when they describe their ideal leader. Practically, it means that leaders develop in their followers an expectation of high performance rather than merely spending time in transactional activities. In other words, the leader must be a developer of people and a builder of teams (Bass, 2008).

In regard to the overall theory, findings from studies using the MLQ indicate that transformational leaders receive higher ratings, are perceived as leading more effective organizations, and have subordinates who exert greater effort than transactional leaders (Yukl, 1999). Likewise, Bass (1998) concludes that research evidence clearly demonstrates that transformational leadership can move followers to exceed expected performance. In comparison to transactional leadership, he believes that transformational leadership generates greater subordinate effort, commitment, and satisfaction. Other scholars tend to be positive about the model as well.

Educational Settings

The most extensive work on transformational leadership in educational organizations has been done by Leithwood and his associates (1994; Leithwood, Jantzi, and Steinbach, 1998). Building on the ideas of Burns and Bass, Leithwood (1994) uses the transformational and transactional leadership concepts to formulate an eight-dimension model for educational settings—building school vision, establishing school goals, providing intellectual stimulation, offering individualized support, modeling best practices and important organizational values, demonstrating high performance expectations, creating a productive school culture, and developing structures to foster participation in school decisions. His framework is based on

two generalizations. First, transformational leadership in schools directly affects such school outcomes as teacher perceptions of student goal achievement and student grades. Second, transformational leadership indirectly affects these outcomes by influencing three critical psychological characteristics of staff—perceptions of school characteristics, teacher commitment to change, and organizational learning—which in turn affect the outcomes. Based on the findings from a four-year study of schools making a variety of structural changes, Leithwood (1994) concluded that transformational leadership depends on attending to all aspects of the model, requires unique formulations in schools with its base being individualized consideration, and represents a contingency approach.

Recently, Leithwood and his colleagues (Leithwood, Aitken, and Jantzi, 2006; Leithwood, Day, Sammons, Hopkins, and Harris, 2006; Leithwood, Louis, Anderson, and Wahlstrom, 2004, 2011) expanded their model and refer to it as the *core practices of successful leadership*. Essentially, they have created an open social systems model that includes input, throughput, and outcome variables with transformational leadership being a key process.

A number of other educational researchers have conducted notable studies of transformational leadership. For example, H. C. Silins (1992) and Kyung Ae Son and Miskel (2006) found that transformational leaders have greater positive effects on their educational organizations than transactional leaders. Helen M. Marks and Susan M. Printy (2003) found that coupling transformation and instruction leadership throughout schools is positively related to high-quality pedagogy, and high levels of student performance are also evident. Moolenaar, Daly, and Sleegars (2010) found that the centrality of the principal in the school's social network enabled transformational leadership to positively develop an innovated climate. More generally, Leithwood and Doris Jantzi (2005) reviewed the research in educational settings and drew four conclusions about the effects of transformational leadership:

- Its effects on perceived organizational effectiveness are significant and large.
- Its effects on objective, independent indicators of organizational effectiveness are positive and significant, but modest in size.
- Its effects on independently measured student outcomes are promising but limited in amount.
- Its effects on student engagement in school are modest but uniformly positive.

In a more recent study of transformational leadership effects on schools, Leithwood and Jing-Ping Sun (2009) concluded that new studies should expand the range of mediating and moderating variables studied and urged qualitative researchers to refine the forms of transactional leadership that are most productive in schools.

Overall, transformational leadership theory is being used widely and is generally supported by numerous research studies. Consequently, a model of transformational leadership can provide intellectual capital for educational leaders as they confront the challenges of modernizing their school organizations. As has been made clear throughout this book, making fundamental changes in any of the major components of schools is typically fraught with ambiguity and resistance. Transformational leadership offers some promise in overcoming these difficulties. To lead transformational initiatives, however, requires a range of abilities, skills, and behaviors that, according to Bass (1998), can be developed, taught, and learned. Some evidence does uphold the hypothesis that transformational leadership can be enhanced through formal training (Dvir, Eden, Avolio, and Shamir, 2002). Hence, current and prospective leaders ought to consider whether a training program would elevate their capacity to transform schools.



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Analysis of Transformational Leadership

Study the nine factors of transformational leadership shown in Table 13.4, the narrative in this chapter, and if possible, the MLQ's measurement of leadership. Sources for obtaining the MLQ include Northouse (2004, pp. 194–197) and Mind Garden, Inc. (www.mindgarden.com).

- As an individual or in a small group, think of a principal or other leader with whom you have worked. Describe the individual using the nine factors in Table 13.4. The description should be as explicit as possible, including examples of behavior the individual displayed and how the followers reacted.
- Think of yourself in an actual or imagined leadership situation and repeat the foregoing analysis.

Servant Leadership

As you can see, there are numerous ways to conceptualize leadership; transformational leadership is one of the more recent frameworks. Closely akin to transformational leadership is the notion of **servant leadership**—behavior that nurtures individual development in the organization through listening, empathy, stewardship, and an awareness to develop followers who think ethically and foster sound interpersonal relations with their colleagues (Walumba et al., 2010). The servant leader attends to individual growth, to realizing the organization's goals, and to the ethical and moral effects on the

broader community (Sendjaya, Sarros, and Santora, 2008; Taylor, Martin, Hutchinson, and Jinks, 2007).

The concept of servant leadership was first formulated by Greenleaf (1977). According to Greenleaf, ego prompts achievement, but leaders need to regulate their own egos, to transform their followers into leaders, and to become first among equals (Bass, 2008). The emphasis of servant leadership is on empowering followers (see Chapter 11). Leaders need to think of themselves as servants building relationships and forging an ethical community. Servant leadership has much in common with transformational leadership: vision, influence, credibility, and trust (Bass, 2008; Farling, Gregory, and Winston, 1999). Although traditional views of organizations use a pyramid to show the relative placement of leaders at the top and followers on the bottom, servant leadership inverts the pyramid so that the leader supports the organization and the responsibility for action is dispersed across the organization. In brief, servant leadership stands on "seven pillars": personal character, people first, skilled communication, compassionate collaboration, foresight, systems thinking, and moral authority (Sipe and Frick, 2009).

The research on servant leadership is thin, but increasingly researchers are turning their attention to it. In one of the few studies of school administrators, Tim Taylor and his colleagues (2007) found that high-scoring servant-leader principals outperformed their low-scoring colleagues on such leadership practices (Kouzes and Posner, 2001) as inspiring, enabling, and encouraging teachers as well as modeling supportive behavior and challenging the status quo. In a business setting, Fred Walumbwa and his colleagues (2010) demonstrated positive connections of servant leadership to employee self-efficacy, procedural justice, and organizational citizenship behavior.

Finally, Mitchell Neubert and his colleagues (2008) found that initiating structure directly defines expectations and indirectly communicates the value of compliance. That is, organizational members are sensitive to behaviors that are rewarded and punished, and in this sense, initiating structure is similar to transactional leadership in that structuring behavior clarifies what to do to get the task accomplished and its consequences (Kark and Van Dijk, 2007). In contrast, servant leadership focuses direct energy on growing and achieving worker aspirations. This mindset is likely to show itself in cooperative and creative behavior that exceeds minimum expectations (Neubert et al., 2008).

In sum, servant leadership represents a new and untapped framework for studying leadership behavior in schools. Combined with transformational leadership, it offers a potentially useful aspect of leader behavior because schools are service organizations that have an effect beyond the organization itself. There are reliable and valid measures for servant leadership, which provide the tools necessary to extend this stream of research (Sendjaya et al., 2008).

EVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP THEORY (ELT)

A recent development in the leadership literature is an intriguing analysis of the roots of leadership, **evolutionary leadership theory** (van Vugt and Ahuja, 2011). The basic premise of this descriptive theory is that *leadership and followership emerged during the course of human evolution*. The foundations of the theory developed 2 million years ago on the African savannah. Accordingly, our psychology has been fashioned to thrive in the small, flat communities of the savannah, and we make the kind of instinctive judgments that our ancestors made. We follow people with charisma because we use it as a proxy for competence, in spite of the fact that often it is not. We all know plenty of leaders who are charismatic incompetents. We vote for tall, fit, and strong men because our ancestors sought out such types for protection. We tend to exclude women because they were confined to traditional roles in tribal life. There is no compelling reason to select leaders on the basis of height, age, color, or gender, yet these criteria are powerful latent ones that implicitly guide our judgments and perhaps explain the substantial failure rate of managers in corporate America.

A Few Definitions

A *leader* is someone who is able to exert social influence on others to achieve a mutual goal; leaders get others to cooperate in the pursuit of a common objective. A *follower* is one who coordinates his or her actions with another or who relinquishes individual autonomy for someone or something (e.g., a cause or idea). The **dark triad** is a set of personality traits—narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy—undesirable traits that are nonetheless often found at the top of the power pyramid. Leaders endowed with these traits are cunning, deceitful, and able to mask their sinister motives as they control others; they are nasty and yet successful. *Natural leaders* are those who pilot their organizations in a way that is consistent with the biases of ancestral psychology. Such leaders cultivate social informal relations with followers; they have proven expertise; they recognize that expertise is widely distributed; they avoid the dark triad of leadership; and they avoid the impulse to dominate and instead turn to persuasion. *Adaptation* is a trait or behavior that has evolved over millions of years because of its immense reproductive benefit (van Vugt and Ahuja, 2011).

Assumptions

The theory assumes that the psychology of leadership and followership emerged in our species as a response to the challenges of survival and reproduction. In the process of evolution our species adapted to survival by organizing into groups composed of leaders and followers as opposed to uncoordinated crowds or

leaderless groups. Groups need cooperation and coordinated action to survive; leaderless groups simply died out.

Leadership and followership are psychological adaptations that have been sculpted into our brain; they are instinctive and universal and have become the natural order of things. We are programmed to live in groups, to be led, and to be obedient most of the time. We yearn for a sense of belongingness; we want to be seen as team players and an integral part of the group. We are programmed to follow as well as lead because both were necessary for survival and the need to solve such problems as collective migration and group defense, which group living required. Thus, humans have a natural capacity to follow as well as lead.

Behaviors that produce good outcomes gradually spread and become fixed in populations over evolutionary time. Those who lead are successful at getting leadership roles, but leading guarantees neither effectiveness nor morality. Evolutional leadership theory (ELT) also postulates that the particular traits associated with initiative taking and intelligence are largely inherited and propel people to power positions. Even though some individuals have stronger propensities to lead than others, however, most people can assume leadership when the situation demands it; hence, the theory acknowledges a situational side to leadership. ELP also postulates that leaders are motivated by high social status, particularly the three S's—salary, status, and sex.

Leadership has three important functions: it binds groups; it helps the group learn new things; and it teaches others how to lead. So the benefits of followership are clear: group cohesion, knowledge in times of uncertainty, and opportunities to be groomed for leadership. We have evolved to follow authority, and we have developed an innate "follow the majority" rule; in fact, the desire to conform overwhelms the desire to be correct. Finally, the instincts of reciprocity, fairness, and hierarchy are hard-wired into our psyches.

Hypotheses

Our relatively primitive brains, which prime us for membership in small egalitarian tribes, find it difficult to cope with the large, complex organizations of the 21st century; thus, mismatches are created between our hard wiring and current demands. Consider how our evolved leadership psychology is at odds with the modern world as exemplified by the following:

- Top-down recruitment of management clashes with bottom-up, specialized styles of leadership.
- Forcing multiple responsibilities on people who have proved competent in one area overwhelms many as they attempt to lead in diverse situations.
- Trusting and selecting people who look like us and avoiding those who do not is unsuited to contemporary leadership demands.

- Gender bias is in part a function of the time our species spent on the savannah: Men lead, not women. But in contemporary society, women are well suited to leadership roles.
- Military men often become political and corporate leaders: The need for warriors on the savannah was indisputable, but 21st-century organizations need fewer warriors, another mismatch.
- Savannah traits influence perception of leadership potential: Leaders selected on the basis of the desirable savannah traits of overall health, height, age, masculinity, gender, reputation, and charisma are dysfunctional in contemporary America.

In sum, over time individuals have been hard-wired with cognitive ancestral leader profiles (CALPs) for various leadership tasks; unfortunately, we use those CALPs to evaluate contemporary leaders, which provides practices that are mismatches with the demands of modern organizations.

A few other hypotheses should suffice. Evolutionary leadership theory also predicts that individuals are more likely to follow leaders (1) when group unity is under threat, (2) when subordinates don't know what to do or think, and (3) when subordinates aspire to leadership. Further, the theory suggests that followers want to be led, not dominated, but it is easier for most leaders to dominate rather than persuade.

Analysis

Evolutionary leadership theory (ELT) is a recent addition to the landscape of theories of leadership. It has some research support, but it is new and merits critical appraisal and careful scrutiny. Nonetheless, it provides another lens through which to view leadership and followership, and it has appeal in that it combines many of the elements of contemporary leadership theories, including trait, behavioral, transactional and transformational (charismatic), contingency (situational), servant, and distributed leadership theories. ELT suggests that traits related to leadership are likely universal and include extroversion, openness, intelligence, ambition, integrity, competence, generosity, and vision. ELT emphasizes followers as a vital component of leadership. Increasingly, leaders need to learn how to shift their pattern of leadership as they interact with followers up the ladder of commitment from *subordinates* to *supporters* to *loyalists* to *apprentices* to *disciples*. Different types of followers require different kinds of leaders; for example, leaders need to be a source of inspiration for disciples, a teacher for apprentices, a defender for loyalists, a figurehead for supporters, and a provider for subordinates.

In contemporary America, followers are uncomfortable with huge power differences between leaders and themselves and form coalitions to keep things in balance. Moreover, followers are much more inclined to accord greater status to those who place the welfare of their group above

self-interest. In fact, followers have developed a number of potent strategies to overcome the powerful: they gossip and spread negative rumors; they insist on public discussions of critical problems and sometimes demand secret ballots; they lobby for transparency in decision making, they use criticism leavened with humor (satire); and occasionally, they purposely disobey leaders and even leave the organization when things get too unbalanced. The general inclination to favor the welfare of the group over self-interest together with these other strategies works reasonably well to curtail the power of leaders.

ELT places contemporary leadership theories in the context of our human history and provides plausible explanations for the evolution of contemporary leadership. The theory provides an intriguing perspective that highlights followership, a concept that has had much less attention than leadership, as we try to understand the dynamics of organizational life. Evolutionary leadership theory is provocative and merits further consideration and research.

Leadership Recommendations from Evolutionary Leadership Theory

If we tweak our mindset to accommodate to contemporary society, ELT has the potential to improve leadership and followership. Consider the following recommendations from Mark van Vugt and Anjana Ahuja (2011):

1. **Avoid over-romanticizing leadership.** In ancestral environments, there were no formal leadership roles; leadership had to be earned and shown. Today a romantic view of leadership is widespread; it is epitomized by ubiquitous business biographies of great leaders. The naked truth is that modern leaders merit less credit and blame than their earlier predecessors.
2. **Anchor yourself in roles for which you have expertise.** Find a slot in the organization that will be good for you and good for the group: Develop your specialized skills and earn the respect of your colleagues.
3. **Make informality a virtue.** Natural leaders display the qualities of informal leaders: trustworthiness, persistence, humility, competence, decisiveness, and vision.
4. **Favor and honor followers.** Leaders should derive their influence from the legitimacy conferred by subordinates, who are the holders of authentic authority. The threat of criticism, disobedience, and even aggression when followers coalesce against the leader is the basis for healthy group dynamics.
5. **Exercise distributed leadership.** Few leaders have the ability to be good at all the roles necessary in today's organizations; hence, leadership should be delegated and shared.

6. **Beware of the salary gap**. Disproportionate executive salaries unnerve us because they are at odds with our evolved psychology. Huge salaries are beacons to dark triad leaders.
7. **Select leaders with demonstrated competence.** Leadership should be earned, not bestowed. Shun those who "kiss up and spit down."
8. **Avoid nepotism.** Nepotism has its roots in evolutionary theory; many early decisions were based on kinship. Keeping leadership in the family is a double-edged sword; on the one hand, close relatives and friends may be more loyal and trustworthy, but on the other, complex organizations demand people with a wide array of talents.
9. **Beware of the dark side.** Dominance is part of our primate heritage; it is the quickest way to get compliance. Yet subordinates dislike dominance; in fact, leadership built on consensus is likely to get compliance as well as commitment. There are leaders, however, with high narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy, who mask their true character and are skilled at manipulation and domination. Beware of the dark triad!
10. **Don't judge leaders by their looks.** Our cognitive ancestral leader profiles are part of our evolutionary heritage. Some aspects of the prototypes are functional today and others are not. For example, the leadership traits of trustworthiness, humility, integrity, and competence are still relevant, but color, gender, and physique are not. The point is that we must be able to separate functional aspects of the cognitive ancestral leader traits from the dysfunctional ones. Contemporary research on leadership is important in this regard.

Evolutionary theory is useful in understanding the evolution of human leadership as well as in analyzing and improving current leadership practices. Screen your own leadership inclinations through these filters of ancestral leadership profiles. What does your profile look like?



TIP: THEORY INTO PRACTICE

According to evolutionary leadership theory (ELT), positive universal traits include integrity, generosity, fairness, diplomacy, decisiveness, intelligence, competence, and vision. Do a trait analysis of your principal or superintendent using these traits. As you characterize your leader on each trait, give an example to demonstrate your basis for making the judgment. Do you think your colleagues would agree with your profile? Why not ask a few and see?



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP

Facebook Dilemma

Abbey Schaeffer is a popular Latin teacher at Hamilton High School in northern California. Hamilton High School is the only high school in Sherman, a suburban community not far from the state capital. Many of the residents work around the capital and sought out Sherman for its good schools. Abbey is in her third year of teaching. She has found the students in her Latin class a delight to be around. She almost feels as if she is one of them, and the students accept her as one of them, albeit in the classroom she has their attention and respect.

Michael Ingraham, Mike as his friends call him, is in his second year as principal of Hamilton. Ingraham was hired from a nearby urban district to bring a fresh look at how things were done at Hamilton. Ingraham is finishing his doctorate in educational leadership at a large state university, where he is writing his dissertation on school cultures. Abbey and Mike have become good professional colleagues, who respect each other's talent and enthusiasm. Both have extraordinarily good relationships with the students at Hamilton.

The second decade of the 21st century has brought swift change to the school in the form of instant connectivity. Most students don't wear watches, preferring their smart phones to antique timepieces. In fact, every electronic device they have keeps the time for them. Mike and Abbey fit easily into this new milieu. They are comfortable with the wireless world.

Hamilton High School has an organizational Facebook site. The school sends videos, pictures, and announcements to students and parents on its Facebook pages. It is not surprising that most students at Hamilton not only interact with the school site but also have individual Facebook accounts where the talk is more informal and less guarded. Typical of most high school students, Hamilton students don't care about the almost eternal life of Facebook entries, seeming not to understand that in the long term they might be mortified by entries from their youth.

Abbey has become especially close to her star Latin student, Stella McGuire; in fact, Stella and Abbey are friends on Facebook and read each other's posts. Abbey often talks about the recent exploits of her cats, pictures and all. Stella in turn sees Abbey as a close friend and withholds nothing. For the first two months of their Facebook friendship, the posts and comments were intriguing and fun. Abbey, however, was startled to read Stella's latest posting, which showed an underage drinking session involving many of her other Latin students. There were, to make things worse, vivid pictures of the partying and apparent recreational drug use.

Abbey was in a quandary. What should she do? On the one hand, she felt the need to intervene and stop students from getting into trouble. On the other hand, she enjoyed the close, indeed special, relations with many of her Latin students, which she valued. To intervene was likely to change that relationship. Not to intervene might put many of her students at risk. After struggling with the dilemma, she decided to talk to the principal. But even here she felt divided about her roles of friend and teacher.

Abbey decided that it would be best to speak to Principal Ingraham informally and off the record. Accordingly, she suggested that the two of them get together after school for a cup of coffee at Forest Perk, a local coffee house. She was anxious as she met Ingraham Friday afternoon. After a few minutes of chit-chat, she shifted to the topic of the students at Hamilton. Finally she said, "I have a hypothetical case for you, Mike. If you were a teacher at Hamilton and were friended by a student on your Facebook account and in the process learned about compromising behavior, what would you do? Would you feel compelled to report the matter to the school, or the parents, or other authorities? The reason I am asking is that we have no policy for dealing with these contemporary problems. And, maybe we shouldn't. What do you think?"

"Well, if we are talking about hypotheticals, I might remind you that if a teacher were to learn of a crime, he—or she," he said pointedly, "would be



A CASE FOR LEADERSHIP ***(Continued)***

obliged to let somebody know about that in the interests of the students and of the larger community."

Abbey interjected, "Oh, I agree completely. But what I am talking about is the youthful indiscretion that doesn't really hurt anyone or violate the law."

"So you are not talking about people breaking the law, just people breaking school rules or some sort of rules of proper decorum. As principal, I am not inflexible about the school rules, but when they aren't enforced, students don't pay the consequences. If students cheat, for example, it should affect their grades. Part of education is learning right from wrong. If you know about cheating in the school, I would like to know about it."

"I hear what you are saying," rejoined Abbey, "but a teacher's relationship with the students is a bit different from the principal's. Students take teachers into their confidence, and to violate that confidence is to destroy the relationship."

"You know, Abbey, that one of the worst things a teacher can do is to abandon the teacher role and become a friend to the students. We are not really their buddies, but we should be friends who are role models. We are guides, and we stand up for how people ought to act. If you are aware of student misbehavior, I think you have an obligation to let the school know so the school can take appropriate action."

"I don't completely agree," responded Abbey. "I see the teacher role as an educator and not a cop. I would hope the teacher could seize the moment and use such information as a teaching and learning opportunity. The principal's role is probably different. In fact, that's why I like being a teacher instead of an administrator. I don't enjoy punishing kids, particularly when it is just a little mischief."

"I hear what you are saying," the principal replied, "but if you or any of your colleagues have any information about cheating or other student infractions, I should know. I believe the teacher has an obligation to report such matters to the principal. I am responsible for the school."

"Thanks, Mike, for your thoughts on this matter. It will be useful to me as I write a paper for my Ed Admin class next week."

That evening Abbey reflected on her conversation with Ingraham. She wanted to remain friends with her students as well as her principal. She had decided to take advantage of this opportunity and convey something of lasting importance to her student, Stella, rather than squander the chance and betray her trust. After all, her basic role was that of a teacher; she was not the police. Strictly speaking, when students give access to their Facebook pages, they waive their right of privacy. That's probably not how most students see it, but that's the fact of the matter. A photo of drunken antics and lewd behavior might thwart a chance for a job or a scholarship in the future, and that's what kids should weigh as they post private matters on their pages. This was a teaching opportunity that she should use.

The principal, too, reflected on his conversation over coffee with one of his better teachers. What was she hiding? Was something ready to blow? Should he press her for more information? Even though the issue was discussed in the abstract, he had the uneasy feeling she was talking about herself. Well, maybe not. Maybe it was just an academic conversation. Perhaps he should get more information and see what's happening in the school.

- How should Principal Ingraham proceed?
- What is the appropriate leadership response?
- Initiate action? What action?
- Should he leave well enough alone? Do nothing, just wait and see?
- How can the principal support his teacher and keep her confidence?
- To what extent should the principal initiate action and support his teacher? How can he do both?
- Do principals and teachers actually have different roles in such cases?
- Does the school need a policy about Internet communication? If so, what is the principal's role? Is school policy the long-term problem?
- What is the immediate problem for the principal?

GUIDES TO PRACTICE

1. Know your leadership style and be flexible: There is no one best style.
2. Match your leadership style to the situation: Effectiveness depends on the appropriate matching.
3. "Mission first, people always": Task achievement and supportive social relations are essential for success.
4. Strive to be broadly effective: Your reputation, subordinate satisfaction, and goal achievement are all important aspects of effectiveness.
5. Be both an instructional and organizational leader: Effective instructional leadership depends on a school climate of academic emphasis.
6. Delegate and distribute leadership widely: Expertise drives success.
7. Be inspirational, intellectual, idealistic, and tailor your leadership to your subordinates: Transformative change requires it.
8. Lead by serving: Servant leadership creates moral authority.
9. Make informality a virtue: Formal structures often interfere with authentic action.
10. Be just: Favoritism and nepotism erode fairness.
11. Avoid the dark triad: Narcissism, Machiavellianism, and a lack of compassion undermine compliance and commitment.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Personality and motivational traits influence the practice of leadership.
2. Leadership skills can be learned and used to solve complex problems.
3. There is no one best way to lead: Behavior and situations influence each other.
4. Neglecting task behaviors limits influence on goal achievement, whereas discounting interpersonal relations inhibits group harmony and cohesion.
5. A contingency approach to leadership assumes that leadership effectiveness depends upon the appropriate matching of leader behavior (or traits) with the situation.
6. Transformational leaders extend transactional behaviors by using the four I's of leadership: inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, idealized influence, and individualized consideration.
7. Distributive leadership theory postulates that expertise and skills are distributed widely across the organization and that leadership requires accessing these domains of competence.
8. Servant leadership emphasizes empowering followers to build useful relationships as an ethical community is forged; the power pyramid is turned upside down.

9. Evolutionary leadership theory postulates that leadership and followership emerged during the course of human evolution.
10. Evolutionary leadership theory predicts the emergence of a leader (1) when the group is threatened, (2) when subordinates are uncertain, and (3) when subordinates aspire to a position of power.

TEST YOURSELF: DO YOU KNOW THESE TERMS

leadership, *p. 427*
trait approach of leadership, *p. 428*
personality traits, *p. 430*
motivational traits, *p. 431*
leader behavior, *p. 434*
initiating structure, *p. 435*
consideration, *p. 435*
leadership effectiveness, *p. 438*
contingency approaches, *p. 439*
least preferred co-worker, *p. 441*
leadership style, *p. 442*
situational control, *p. 442*
effectiveness, *p. 443*
distributed leadership, *p. 445*
transactional leaders, *p. 449*
contingent reward leadership, *p. 449*
active management-by-exception, *p. 449*
passive management-by-exception, *p. 449*
idealized influence, *p. 450*
attributed idealized influence, *p. 450*
idealized influence as behavior, *p. 450*
inspirational motivation, *p. 450*
intellectual stimulation, *p. 450*
individualized consideration, *p. 451*
servant leadership, *p. 455*
evolutionary leadership theory, *p. 457*
dark triad, *p. 457*

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bass, B. M. *The Bass Handbook of Leadership*, 4th ed. New York: Free Press, 2008.

Provides a comprehensive review of the leadership literature.

Bass, B. M., and Riggio, R. E. *Transformational Leadership,* 2nd ed. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2006.

Updates and summarizes the theory, research, and measurement for transformational leadership.

Leithwood, K., and Jantzi, D. "A Review of Transformational School Leadership Research 1996–2005." *Leadership and Policy in Schools* 4(3) (2005), pp. 177–99.

Reviews 32 studies and addresses questions about the nature of transformational leadership, its precursors, and variables moderating and mediating its effects.

Louis, K. S., Leithwood, K., Wahlstrom, K., and Anderson, S. E. *Investigating Links to Improved Student Learning*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Summarizes the *Wallace Foundation Final Report* on how to improve learning in schools through active leadership.

March, J. G., and Weil, T. *On Leadership*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005.

Challenges traditional beliefs about heroic and effective leadership by exploring a variety of divergent ideas.

Northouse, P. G. *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2010.

Supplies excellent summaries and analyses as well as many assessment instruments and other applications.

Yukl, G. A. *Leadership in Organizations*, 7th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010.

Summarizes and critiques leadership theory and research and provides practical applications.

PORTFOLIO EXERCISE

Assessing Your Leadership Potential

Organizations such as schools attempt to select people with traits and skills associated with effective leadership and subsequently try to provide needed professional development activities for further personal growth. Individuals also should be active agents in consciously assessing their strengths and weaknesses for assuming leadership positions. To start the process, we recommend using the traits and skills listed in Table 13.1 and engaging in the following activities:

- As objectively as possible, think about how strongly you like to influence other people and events, especially when doing so calls for exhibiting the traits and skills shown in Table 13.1.
- Find and complete a number of assessment instruments. Northouse (2004), for example, provides relatively simple self-assessment guides for both traits and skills. Northouse's book also is a source for other measures, including a variety of personality, skill, and behavior instruments such as the Least Preferred Co-worker (LPC) scale and the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ). Many other leadership assessment devices can be found through Internet searches.
- Talk to about five people who know you. Ask them specific questions about how they rate you on variables such as self-confidence, stress tolerance, interpersonal skills, and achievement

orientation. You should also request that they describe you using one or more of the leadership assessment instruments.
- Using the information you have gained in the previous steps, develop a list of your strengths and weaknesses.
- Outline a plan for gaining a leadership position that takes advantage of your strengths, changes or compensates for deficient traits, improves existing skills, and develops new ones.

Standards 3, 5 and 6 (see inside front cover)

NOTES

1. Structured observation techniques typically observe and question leaders intensively as they perform their work. Mintzberg (1973) and Kotter (1982) conducted two of the best-known investigations in business organizations. A number of investigations using structured observation procedures also have been conducted in school settings across a number of countries on superintendents (O'Dempsey, 1976; Friesen and Duignan, 1980; Duignan, 1980; Pitner and Ogawa, 1981); on principals (Peterson, 1977–78; Willis, 1980; Martin and Willower, 1981; Morris and his associates, 1981; Kmetz and Willower, 1982; Phillips and Thomas, 1982; Chung, 1987; Chung and Miskel, 1989); and on educational innovators (Sproull, 1981). In addition to providing a fascinating glimpse of their work, the findings are important because the behaviors of school administrators have been described systematically and found to be consistent across organizational types—businesses and schools—across organizational roles—superintendents, supervisors, and principals—and across countries—Australia, Canada, and the United States.
2. For readers interested in a detailed consideration of the traits associated with effective leadership, a comprehensive treatment can be found in Bass (2008). Although less extensive, Yukl (2010) provides an insightful discussion of traits and leader effectiveness.

CHAPTER 14



ONE LAST TIME: A REVIEW OF THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Systems thinking is the fifth discipline. It is the discipline that integrates the disciplines, fusing them into a coherent body of theory and practice. . . . It continually reminds us that the whole can exceed the sum of its parts.

Peter M. Senge
The Fifth Discipline

The preceding chapters presented a substantial body of knowledge that constitutes a strong argument for the value of an open social-systems approach to educational administration. In this chapter, we review the social-systems model that serves as a theoretical guide to the ideas developed in our work. Intrinsic dilemmas of the model will then be considered.

A MODEL OF SYNTHESIS

Open-systems theory is organic rather than mechanical. As a conceptual language, systems theory is useful in describing the recurring structures and dynamic processes in educational organizations. According to the social- systems model for schools, organizational performance is determined by at least four sets of key internal elements—structure, the individual, culture and climate, and power and politics—as they interact with the teaching-learning process. These elements take inputs from the environment and transform them. The elements and their interactions form the transformation system, which is constrained by the opportunities and demands from the environment. In addition, internal and external feedback mechanisms enable the system to evaluate the quality of all its systems and inputs. As discrepancies between actual and expected performance are detected, feedback enables the system to adjust.

In brief, the model in Figure 14.1 (first developed in Chapter 1) summarizes the major external and internal features of organizations conceived as open social systems. Of course, the figure cannot capture the dynamic movement of a system as it responds to its environment through internal

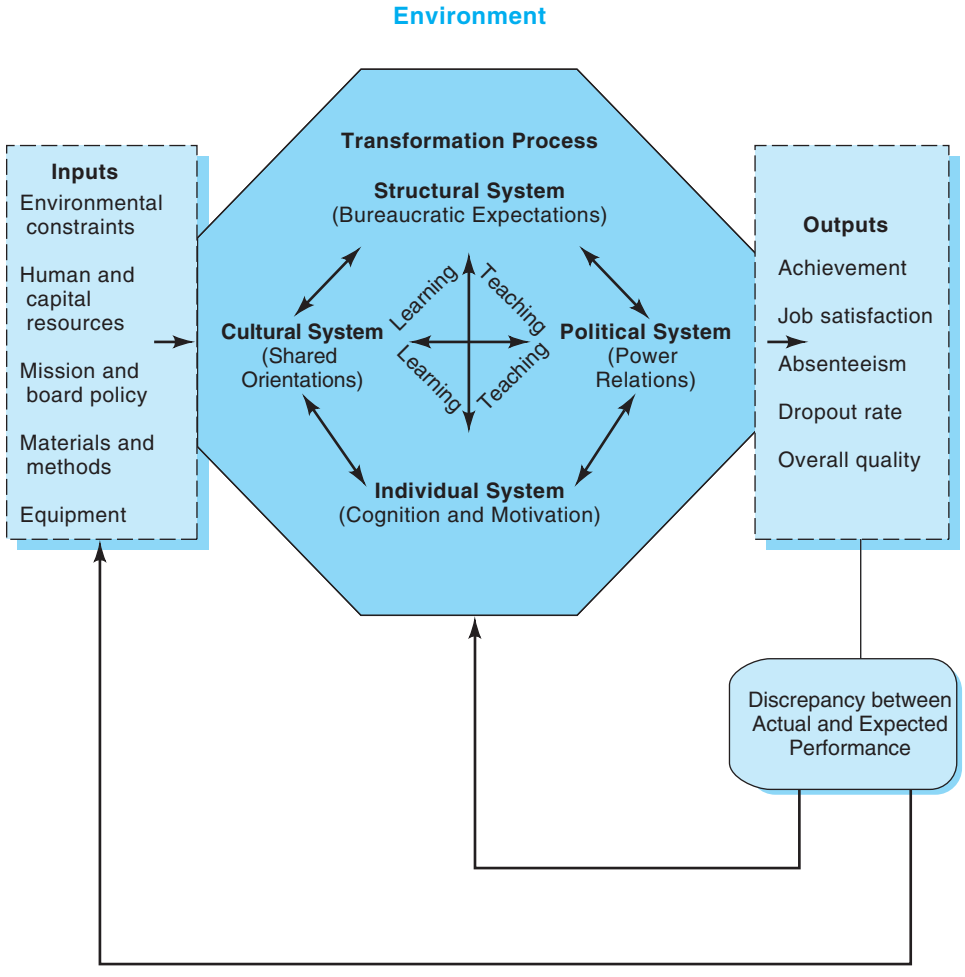


FIGURE 14.1 *Social-System Model for Schools*

processes and as it produces such products as student learning or employee satisfaction. Although we examine the parts of the system, do not lose sight of the fact that the system is a working whole.

Structure in Schools

Bureaucratic structure (see Chapter 3) is the formal organization specifically established to achieve explicit goals and carry out administrative tasks. Whatever the organizational goals, such structural properties as rules, regulations, hierarchy, and division of labor are consciously designed to attain those goals. In Weber's analysis of ideal types, bureaucracy employs

authority through these means to achieve rational decision making and maximize efficiency. Division of labor and specialization produce impersonal experts who make technically correct, rational decisions based on fact. Once these decisions have been made, the hierarchy of authority implements a disciplined, coordinated compliance to directives through rules and regulations. Career-oriented employees have an incentive to be loyal and productive.

Although probably the best known, Weber's is not the only theory of organizational structure. Henry Mintzberg provides another framework for examining bureaucratic structure. He describes structure simply as the ways in which an organization divides its labor into tasks and then achieves coordination among them. Mutual adjustment, direct supervision, and standardization are basic coordinating mechanisms—the glue that holds the organization together. His analysis yields five ideal types. Mintzberg describes organizations as structures that are influenced by their environments—that is, open systems.

Contemporary research on school structures suggests that it is not so much the amount of structure but the *kind* of structure (enabling or hindering) that determines whether it will have positive or negative consequences for the effectiveness and efficiency of the school.

Individuals in Schools

The fact that an organization has been formally established does not mean that all its activities and interactions conform to structural requirements. The individual is also a key element of all social systems. Students, teachers, and administrators bring with them individual (Chapter 4) needs, goals, and beliefs and develop their own personal orientations and intellectual understanding of their roles. Just as structure helps shape behavior in schools, so too do the needs, goals, and beliefs of individuals.

Maslow describes a hierarchy of basic needs that motivate behavior ranging from biological to self-actualization needs, and Herzberg distinguishes between needs that produce worker satisfaction and those that cause dissatisfaction. The need for achievement and the need for autonomy are two other powerful motivating forces within individuals, which moderate teacher and administrator behavior in schools.

Work motivation is a set of energetic forces that originate both within as well as beyond an individual's being. Individual goals and goal setting are key ingredients of personal motivation, especially when the goals are embraced by the individual and are specific, challenging, and attainable. These forces initiate work-related behavior and determine the form, direction, intensity, and duration of motivation. Similarly, beliefs are important motivational forces. Administrators, teachers, and students are likely to work hard if they believe that success is primarily due to their ability and effort, that causes of outcomes are under their control, that extra effort will

improve performance, that good performance will be noticed and rewarded, that the rewards are valued, and that they have been treated fairly and with respect by their superiors. Moreover, effective performance is closely related to self-efficacy, the belief that one has the capability to organize and execute a course of action that is required to attain the desired level of performance. Finally, motivation that comes from the interest and challenge of the activity itself is intrinsic, whereas extrinsic motivation is based on rewards and punishment. Although both can motivate, intrinsic motivation is typically more effective.

Culture and Climate in Schools

Our analysis of the internal atmosphere of schools focused on two related concepts—culture (Chapter 5) and climate (Chapter 6). Each of these notions goes beyond the formal and individual aspects of organizational life. Each suggests a natural, spontaneous, and human side to organization; each suggests that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts; and each deals with shared meanings and unwritten rules that guide organizational behavior.

Organizational culture is the set of shared orientations that holds a unit together and gives it a distinctive identity. Although climate tends to focus on shared perceptions, culture is defined in terms of shared assumptions, values, and norms. These three levels of culture—assumptions, values, and norms—are explored as alternative ways of describing and analyzing schools. Research on business organizations suggests that effective systems have strong corporate cultures: cultures characterized by intimacy, trust, cooperation, egalitarianism, a bias for action, and orientations that stress quality, innovation, and people. Yet, in many respects, culture is like structure; both can improve or impede the effective functioning of the school depending on the mission and environmental conditions. Current research, however, suggests that a culture of academic optimism with its emphasis of trust, efficacy, and academics provides a setting that facilitates the academic achievement of students, and a culture of humanistic pupil control promotes positive social-emotional development of students.

Organizational climate is a relatively enduring quality of the school environment that is experienced by teachers, affects their behavior, and is based on their collective perceptions of behavior in schools. A climate emerges through the interaction of members and exchange of sentiments among them. The climate of a school is its "personality." Two different conceptualizations of climate were described and analyzed.

When schools have an open climate, we find that principals and faculty are acting authentically, but when the climate is closed, everyone simply goes through the motions of education without dedication and commitment. As might be expected, research has shown that such affective characteristics as positive student and faculty attitudes are related to openness of climate.

The climate of schools can also be examined in terms of organizational health. A healthy school is one that is meeting both its instrumental and its expressive needs, while successfully coping with disruptive outside forces as it directs its energies toward its mission. The healthier the organizational dynamics of a school, the greater are the trust and openness in member relations and the greater the student achievement. Changing the climate or culture of a school is a long-term objective; there are no simple, quick fixes.

Power and Politics in Schools

Even before joining an organization, individuals grant the use of formal authority to the system when they voluntarily agree to comply with legitimate commands. Once in the organization, however, power relations expand; in fact, power becomes a central aspect of relations within the system.

Power is a broad construct that includes both legitimate and illegitimate and formal and informal methods of ensuring compliance (see Chapter 7). Hence, four basic kinds of organizational power exist: two forms are legitimate—formal and informal authority—and two kinds are illegitimate—coercive and political power.

The legitimate system of authority promotes coordination and compliance and contributes to attainment of the formal goals. Legitimate power comes from the formal organization by virtue of position, from informal norms and values of the culture, and from the expertise of individuals in the system. These three systems of control typically contribute to the needs of the organization; that is, they are legitimate. But those with power also have personal needs. In the process of striving to accomplish the broader organizational needs, individuals find they have discretion, and discretion opens the way to political power. Thus a system of political power emerges that is not sanctioned by the formal authority, culture, or certified expertise; in fact, it is typically divisive, parochial, and illegitimate. Politics is illegitimate because it is a means to serve personal ends at the expense of the overall organization. That does not mean that politics never produces positive results. To the contrary, politics can promote change blocked by the formal organization, can ensure that strong members acquire leadership roles, can encourage debate among diverse positions, and can help in the execution of decisions.

Politics is a fact of organizational life. Although there are powerful individuals, the political arenas of organizations are composed of coalitions of individuals and groups, which bargain among themselves to determine the distribution of resources. External as well as internal coalitions influence organizational politics. Political tactics are the bases of a system of political games played to resist authority, to counter resistance, to build power bases, to defeat opponents, and to change the organization. The system of politics typically coexists with the more legitimate systems of influence without dominating them, but power and politics generate conflict. Thus, conflict management is a useful administrative tool.

Teaching and Learning in Schools

The teaching-learning process is the technical core of the school (Chapter 2). Other activities are secondary to the basic mission of teaching and learning; in fact, the process shapes many of the administrative decisions that must be made in schools. Indeed, teaching and learning provide a crucial set of internal opportunities and constraints.

Both teaching and learning are elaborate processes that need careful attention. Learning occurs when there is a stable change in an individual's knowledge or behavior. Although most experts on learning would agree with this general definition of learning, some would emphasize behavior and others, knowledge. Learning is a complex cognitive process and there is no one best explanation of learning. Different theories of learning offer more or less useful explanations depending on what is to be explained. We examined three general theories of learning—behavioral, cognitive, and constructivist—each with a different focus.

Behavioral theories of learning stress observable changes in behaviors, skills, and habits. The focus of this perspective is clearly on behavior. Learning is defined as a change in behavior brought about by experience with virtually no concern for the mental or internal processes of thinking. Behavior is simply what a person does in a given situation. The intellectual underpinnings of this perspective rest with Skinner's (1950) operant conditioning. Learning objectives, mastery learning, direct instruction, and basic skills are teaching strategies that evolve from this perspective. When specific skills and behaviors need to be learned, teaching approaches consistent with behavioral learning theory are quite effective.

Cognitive theories of learning focus on thinking, remembering, creating, and problem solving. How information is remembered and processed as well as how individuals use their own knowledge to monitor and regulate their cognitive processes are critical in this perspective. Some of the most important teaching applications of cognitive theories are teaching students how to learn and remember by using learning tactics such as note taking, mnemonics, and use of visuals. Teaching strategies based on cognitive views of learning, particularly information processing, highlight the importance of attention, organization, practice, and elaboration in learning and provide ways to give students more control over their own learning by developing and improving their own self-regulated learning strategies. The emphasis of the cognitive approach is on what is happening "inside the head" of the learner.

Constructivist theories of learning are concerned with how individuals make meaning of events and activities; hence, learning is seen as the construction of knowledge. In general, constructivism assumes that people create and construct knowledge rather than internalize it from the external environment, but there are a variety of different approaches to constructivism. Some constructivist views emphasize the shared and social

construction of knowledge, whereas others see social forces as less important. Constructivist perspectives on learning and teaching, which are increasingly influential today, are grounded in the research of Piaget, Bruner, Dewey, and Vygotsky. Inquiry and problem-based learning, cooperative learning, and cognitive apprenticeships are typical teaching strategies that are grounded in the constructivist approach. The essence of the constructivist approach is that it places the students' own efforts at the center of the educational process.

External Environments and Accountability of Schools

Schools are open systems, which must adapt to changing environmental conditions to be effective and, in the long term, to survive. The environments of schools (see Chapter 8) affect their internal structures and processes. Social, economic, political, and technological trends influence the internal operations of schools, as do more specific aspects such as unions, taxpayer associations, and state legislatures.

Environments are complex and difficult to analyze, but two general perspectives are useful—resource-dependence and institutional models. The resource-dependency approach assumes that organizations cannot generate internally the needed resources; resources must come from the environment. Thus, schools must enter into exchanges and competition with environmental units to obtain the requisite products and services. Scarcity produces competition with other organizations for resources.

Because environmental uncertainty and scarcity of resources threaten organizational autonomy and effectiveness, administrators often attempt to develop strategies to gain more control over the environment. Internal coping strategies include buffering the technical core, planning or forecasting, adjusting internal operations on the basis of contingency theory, and spanning organizational boundaries. Interorganizational coping strategies include establishing favorable linkages with important external constituencies and shaping environmental elements through political actions. The critical question is, "How can environmental uncertainty be reduced without increasing dependency?"

In contrast to the resource-dependency approach, institutional theory assumes that the environment encourages schools to conform to powerful sets of rules and requirements that the legal, social, professional, and political institutions impose. The theory asserts that school structures and processes mirror the norms, values, and ideologies institutionalized in society. The essence of the theory is that the environment of schools presses more for form than for substance. There is little question that both resources and institutional constraints of the environment influence the operation of schools.

Accountability in education is the acknowledgment of the school's responsibility for a thorough and efficient education for their students. Traditionally in the United States, responsibility has been rooted in community

and parental control through local school boards; however, virtually all states have now developed standards-based accountability systems as the locus of control has shifted from local school boards to state and federal agencies. Contemporary accountability systems include three basic components: core content standards, testing for those standards, and consequences for failing to meet the standards. The federal reform initiatives of No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top are increasingly holding public schools responsible for attaining high educational standards, that is, graduating students from schools ready for college or a career. In brief, the accountability movement in education is a potent environmental force changing schools.

School Effectiveness

Outputs of schools are a function of the interaction of teaching and learning, structure, individuals, culture, and politics as constrained by environmental forces. Issues of organizational effectiveness represent fundamental challenges to school administration (Chapter 9). In our open-systems model, school outputs are the performances of students, teachers, and administrators. All can be used as indicators of organizational effectiveness and can be assessed for their quality. As an overall generalization of open-systems theory, outputs of schools are a function of the interaction of five internal transformation elements as shaped and constrained by environmental forces. We further specified this generalization with a congruence hypothesis that other things being equal, the greater the harmony among the transformation elements, the more effective the system.

We have proposed a social-systems model of school performance. The perspective underscores the importance of all the aspects of a social system, especially the quality of inputs, transformation processes, and outcomes. Each of these system phases needs to be assessed over the short term as well as the long term, using a variety of such constituencies as students, teachers, and administrators. Teacher quality, internal harmony, effort, student achievement, job satisfaction, and overall performance are examples of indicators of organizational effectiveness.

Feedback Loops

The knowledge of the outcomes enters two different types of feedback loops. Internally, the relative level of goal achievement serves as an indicator of the need to adjust one or more of the elements of the transformation process. Externally, different constituencies in the community evaluate the school's products. This assessment provides information that also influences the structural, cultural, individual, and political subsystems.

Put bluntly, administrators are responsible for school effectiveness and quality of student learning and teaching. On the one hand, they must respond to the expectations and information carried in the feedback loops;

on the other hand, they must maintain or increase goal-directed behavior of teachers, students, and other employees. One of the major administrative problems—control of performance—requires not only the allocation of resources, but also the integration of the basic organizational dimensions (structure, culture, individuals, and politics). Fulfillment of administrative functions requires deciding, motivating, communicating, and leading.

Decision Making in Schools

Deciding means selecting and implementing a course of action from among alternatives (see Chapters 10 and 11). This behavior affects the total organization, including the system phases of inputs, throughputs, and outputs.

Although completely rational decision making is impossible, administrators need systematic ways to enhance the selection of satisfactory solutions; hence, a strategy of satisficing is central to administrative decision making. The process is conceptualized as being cyclical with distinct phases: recognition and definition of a problem, analysis of difficulties, establishment of criteria of success, development of an action plan, and initiation and appraisal of the plan. Owing to its cyclical nature, administrators go through the stages repeatedly.

This administrative strategy is well suited to dealing with most problems. Occasionally, however, the set of alternatives is undefinable or the consequences of each alternative are unpredictable with respect to a given aspiration level; here an incremental strategy is more appropriate. This process is a method of successive limited comparisons; only a limited set of alternatives, similar to the existing situation, is considered by successively comparing their consequences until agreement is reached on a course of action. Incrementalism, however, can be too conservative and self-defeating. Incremental decisions made without fundamental guidelines can lead to action without direction. Thus, the mixed-scanning model of decision making is proposed for complex decisions. Mixed scanning unites the best of both the administrative and the incremental models. It uses a strategy of satisficing in combination with incremental decision making guided by broad policy. The appropriate decision strategy depends on the situation. The situation can be defined by the information and time available as well as the importance of the decision, and in Chapter 10 we propose a contingency model of decision making by matching various decision-making strategies with different situations.

Research suggests that the quality of administrative action can be judged by the amount of preparation for implementing a course of action and by the amount of work done in making the decision. Effective decision makers engage in substantial preliminary work; they seek more information, differentiate between fact and opinion, and frequently encourage subordinate participation in the process.

Sometimes participation improves the quality of the decision and sometimes it does not. Although empowering teachers in the decision making can improve some decisions, the key to effective involvement of teachers in decisions is to know when, how, and to what extent to involve them in authentic participation. In Chapter 11, we propose two models for shared decision making. The first is Vroom's well-known model of participation, which is comprehensive but difficult to use. The second is the Hoy-Tarter model of shared decision making, which is less complex and more user friendly. Both models provide guides for involving subordinates in decision making in ways that improve efficiency and effectiveness.

Communication in Schools

Communication is a relational process during which sources transmit messages using symbols, signs, and contextual cues to express meaning, to have receivers construct similar understandings, and to influence behavior. Conceptual models attempting to describe and explain communication processes generally employ similar concepts. Senders are referred to as sources, speakers, and signalers. They are individuals, groups, and organizational units (e.g., office of the superintendent, teachers' union, student council) that distribute messages to other individuals, groups, and organizations.

Messages are typically verbal or nonverbal cues or symbols representing ideas and information that senders hope to communicate or transfer to others. Verbal and nonverbal interactions permeate virtually all aspects of school life. Good communication does not, however, provide all the answers to the problems confronting educational administrators. Conceptions of information exchange typically rely on the notion that communication involves meaningful exchanges of symbols between at least two people (see Chapter 12). The process is dynamic and continually influences the transformation and environmental elements of the social system.

One-way communication is unilateral, initiated by a speaker and terminated at a listener. In contrast, two-way communication is reciprocal and interactive with all participants initiating and receiving messages. It has no necessary beginning or ending. Messages flow through formal and informal channels of the school. Although the formal network is usually larger and better developed than the informal, both are closely related, can be complementary, and are critical to the organization.

Communication competence is a set of abilities or resources that a communicator has available for use. Individual resources for communication competence include a set of overlapping skills, such as listening, empathy, showing an interest in others, attentiveness, word usage and articulation, fluency, verbal ability, and correct grammar. Consequently, individuals can improve their competence by gaining knowledge from communication theory and research and by developing and enhancing their skills.

Leadership in Schools

Leaders are important because they serve as anchors, provide guidance in times of change, and are responsible for the effectiveness of organizations (see Chapter 13). General agreement exists that leadership involves a social influence process. The leader exerts intentional influence over others to structure activities and relationships in a group or organization. A number of personality, motivation, and skill characteristics increase the likelihood that individuals can and will engage in effective leadership efforts to influence others.

During the 1980s contingency models of leadership became highly influential. These theories attempted to explain the interrelationships among traits, situations, behaviors, and effectiveness. In Chapter 13 we developed a schema to categorize and link together these four sets of concepts. Contingency theory poses two basic hypotheses. First, traits of the leaders and characteristics of the situation combine to produce leader behavior and effectiveness. Second, situational factors have direct impacts on effectiveness. We briefly reviewed several contingency models for leadership: instructional, distributed, least preferred co-worker, and substitutes.

A relatively new approach, transformational leadership, is currently receiving extensive attention from scholars and practitioners. It has four critical elements: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration. Transformational leaders expand on transactional relationships to manage meaning, emphasize the importance of the followers' emotional responses, and achieve unusually high performance outcomes. We also explored servant leadership as well as the influence of evolution in the development and implementation of leadership.

Leadership in schools is a complex process. It involves more than mastering a set of leadership skills or matching the appropriate leader behavior with a specific situation. Useful methods to improve school leadership are selecting and educating leaders, assuming new leadership positions, engineering the situation, and transforming schools. Leadership is not only an instrumental and behavioral activity, but also a symbolic and cultural one.

Administrative Behavior

We have been arguing that administrative behavior in the context of teaching and learning should be analyzed in relation to the primary elements of the school social system. Structure, individuals, culture, and politics represent "leverage points" that can be used to influence the performance of organizational members. A number of observations are important and bear repeating. First, deciding, communicating, and leading are key processes that modify school performance. If a leader consciously manipulates one dimension of the system, a "ripple effect" is created; the other dimensions are affected, and a new combination of expectations and behaviors results. Second, a variety of means are available to reach desired goals: there is no one best way to

organize, lead, decide, motivate, or teach. Rather, the means to achieve goals depend on many factors including the community, complexity, and culture as well as opportunities and constraints in the situation. Administration is a complex process that requires careful reflection and continuous vigilance to changing conditions. Finally, complexity and connectedness in schools require "systems thinking"—recognition of the importance of the whole rather than a focus on parts; the school is a social system in which the whole is always greater than the sum of its parts. We conclude our examination of schools as social systems by looking at some of the continuing dilemmas that teachers and administrators must face.

ORGANIZATIONAL DILEMMAS

Both change and dilemmas will always be with us, but dilemmas, unlike change, need not accelerate. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott (2003) maintain that the concept of dilemma contributes to our understanding of internal pressures for change. A dilemma arises when one is confronted by decision alternatives in which any choice sacrifices some valued objectives in the interest of other objectives. Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn (1978) have elaborated on this definition by distinguishing between problems and dilemmas. Problems are difficulties that can be solved by past precedents or by the application of existing theory or policy. Dilemmas are unsolvable within the existing framework. Solutions and perfect adjustments are impossible. Because dilemmas are endemic to organizations, they serve as perpetual sources of change.

The fundamental dilemma facing formal organizations is order versus freedom. Both order and freedom are desirable and necessary conditions for high levels of effectiveness, but increasing one decreases the other. The tension between order and freedom is manifested in at least four operational dilemmas in schools: coordination and communication, bureaucratic discipline and professional expertise, administrative planning and individual initiative, and learning as behavior and cognition.

Coordination and Communication

Based on the work of Blau and Scott (2003), two-way communication with unrestricted exchange of ideas, criticism, and advice contributes to effective problem solving in at least three ways: it furnishes social support to individual participants; it provides an error-correcting mechanism; and it fosters a healthy competition for respect.

Problem-solving situations often produce stress and anxiety for individual participants and lead to mental blocks that interfere with effective development of their thinking. However, when individuals communicate openly, good ideas are likely to receive the approval of others (thus reducing anxiety) and to promote further participation, development, and refinement

of ideas; hence, the social support derived from an unrestricted exchange of ideas aids in problem solving.

It is not easy for a person to detect mistakes in his or her own thinking. An individual takes a set framework to the problem-solving situation that makes it difficult to see the problem from a different perspective. Open and free-flowing communication brings a variety of perspectives, experiences, and information to bear on the common task; hence, it increases the chances of identifying an error in thinking. Other members of the group are more prone to spot inconsistencies and blind spots than the individual; therefore, two-way communication facilitates error correction. Finally, open, two-way communication motivates members of a group to make expert suggestions in order to win the respect and esteem of fellow participants.

Whereas the free flow of information improves problem solving, it also impedes coordination. Unrestricted communication may drown effective action in a sea of conflicting ideas. True, information helps in the selection of good ideas, but too many ideas hinder agreement, and coordination requires agreement on a single master plan.

Coordination in organizations is accomplished primarily through hierarchical differentiation, but such structure impedes decision making because it interferes with the free flow of information (see Chapter 3). In fact, differentiation, centralized direction, and restricted communication appear essential for effective coordination. In brief, those very things that enhance the coordination process also hinder the free flow of communication. Organizations require both effective coordination and effective problem solving. But the hierarchical structure in organizations that facilitates efficient coordination also impedes communication and problem solving. The dilemma seems inherent in the conflicting requirements of coordination and problem solving because they have simultaneous needs for restricted and unrestricted communication. The conflict, which causes adaptation and change, cannot be readily resolved and needs continuing attention.

Bureaucratic Discipline and Professional Expertise

The similarities and differences in the characteristics of professional and bureaucratic orientations (see Chapter 3) lead to a second dilemma. Although both orientations stress technical competence, objectivity, impersonality, and service, the unique structure of the professions is a basic source of conflict. Professionals attempt to control themselves through self-imposed standards and group surveillance. In contrast, bureaucratic employees are expected to adhere to rules and regulations and to subordinate themselves to the hierarchy. The ultimate basis for a professional act is the professional's knowledge; the ultimate justification of a bureaucratic act is its consistency with organizational rules and regulations and approval by a superior. The conflict is between professional expertise and autonomy, and bureaucratic discipline and control. The significance of the discord is brought into sharp focus when we

examine employees who are subject to both forms of social control: professionals working in bureaucracies.

The strain created by the merger of these two institutional means of control can be resolved in different ways. In some organizations, major structural changes have been instituted through the development of two separate authority lines—one professional and one administrative. Nonetheless, when professional considerations conflict with bureaucratic ones, dividing authority seems to be a partial solution at best. Without organizational change some individuals attempt to accommodate themselves to the conflict by developing role orientations that are compatible with the bureaucracy or the profession, and some adopt orientations that are compatible with both. Although accommodation is made, the conflict remains a continuing dilemma and thus a fundamental issue.

Professional expertise and bureaucratic discipline are alternative modes of coping with uncertainty. Discipline restricts its scope, whereas expertise provides knowledge and social support to cope with uncertainty. Blau and Scott held that the struggle will remain as long as professionals are employed in bureaucratic organizations. It seems likely that the professional-bureaucratic dilemma will become an even more significant internal one in schools as teachers and administrators become more professionalized and continue to function in school organizations that are essentially bureaucratic in nature.

Administrative Planning and Individual Initiative

A third manifestation of the tension between order and freedom is the need for both administrative planning and individual initiative. The disharmony between them poses a major difficulty in the administrative process, which includes not only the development of plans to solve problems but their subsequent implementation and appraisal. Organizational decision making takes place within the setting of the organization as a collectivity. The exercise of any independent judgment must be compatible with the thrust of the formal organization. The formal organization exerts continuous pressure through its elaborate bureaucratic machinery to subordinate individual initiative to organizational directives. The organization is, of course, interested in creative, individual efforts, but only when they do not conflict with formal plans.

How can the organization encourage individual initiative without confounding administrative planning? We have suggested a number of organizational responses. A model for shared decision making has been introduced that delineates under what conditions the individual should be involved in the decision-making process (see Chapter 11). The arrangement calls for empowering teachers and harnessing the creative initiative of individuals in a constructive way that is beneficial to both the organization and the person. We have sketched the characteristics of a professional organizational structure that emphasizes shared decision making rather than autocratic bureaucracy (see Chapter 3). Further, we described organizational climates—open

and healthy—that would tend to lessen the conflict between compliance and initiative (see Chapter 6).

In brief, organizations can be structured and organizational climates and cultures can be developed to minimize the conflict between administrative planning and individual initiative. This is not to suggest that the dilemma can be resolved. The best that we can probably hope for is a healthy balance between compliance and initiative, a balance continually disrupted by the conflicting needs for order and freedom.

Learning as Behavior and Cognition

Finally, the tension between behaviorism and cognitive approaches to teaching and learning ripple through virtually all administrative decisions in schools. On the one hand, there is strong research to support using principles of reinforcement in teaching and classroom management. Learning objectives, mastery learning, and direct instruction are examples of teaching applications that are effective in certain situations. On the other hand, cognitive theories, especially constructivism, put the student at the center of the teaching-learning and the teacher in the indirect role of assistant and coach. Inquiry and problem-based learning are critical aspects of teaching in this approach. Constructivists and most cognitive approaches eschew the research and practice of the behaviorists. Indeed, many of the contemporary conflicts about teaching are manifestations of the behavior-cognitive dilemma; for example, "phonics" versus "whole reading," "basic skills" versus "critical thinking," "direct instruction" versus "discovery," and "core knowledge" versus "authentic knowledge."

How can school administrators encourage the use of cognitive and constructivist approaches without denigrating or eliminating behaviorist approaches? We argue that first, administrators and teachers must understand the basic theory and research that undergird each approach (see Chapter 2). Understanding is essential if we are to avoid the negative consequences of choosing sides in the most current educational controversy. For example, when the goal is to learn new behaviors or explicit information or when learning is sequential or factual, a behavioral approach to teaching and learning is usually quite effective. If, however, the goal is problem solving or critical thinking, then a cognitive approach is a more effective teaching-learning strategy, one, for example, that uses scaffolding and coaching and stresses meaning rather than memory. The point is that the kind of outcome is related to the kind of teaching that is most effective. There is no one best way to teach because teaching and learning depend on the goal of instruction. Effective teachers and administrators need to incorporate sound behavioral as well as cognitive principles in their practice.

Balance and knowledge are the keys to coping successfully with this dilemma. We do not suggest that the behavioral and cognitive learning dilemma can ever be finally resolved, but rather that success rests with

knowing when and how to use each approach. An "either-or" approach to teaching and learning is bound to be counterproductive. A learning environment that encourages freedom while tempering it with order is likely to be most successful in schools.

Dilemmas of Leadership

Leadership is a dilemma-bound process (March and Weil, 2005). It is virtually impossible to lead without confronting the inherent dilemma of order and freedom. As we have suggested earlier, there are no permanent solutions to dilemmas but rather an accommodating of desired opposites. To be more precise, we conceive of leadership as a struggle to balance seven basic dilemmas of structure and function.

Leaders are expected to guide the actions of a group but simultaneously nurture autonomy by delegating authority to others. Leaders seek consistency and coherence to eliminate conflicts that impede effectiveness while simultaneously welcoming enough ambiguity to promote innovation. Leaders seek harmony and purpose to minimize problems, and yet they are responsible for cultivating diversity because diversity is a fruitful source of innovation. Planning avoids problems while spontaneity brings a creative dynamic to resolution.

Leaders are responsible for the coordination of the internal operations of the school, yet they need open communication to aid innovation as well as to monitor efficiency. Leaders promote integration for efficient functioning yet seek specialization to develop expertise to solve problems. Finally, leaders seek stability to move the organization toward achievement while they pursue change to foster innovation. In brief, a leader must integrate the faces of order—control, consistency, unity, planning, coordination, integration, and stability—while encouraging the faces of freedom—ambiguity, autonomy, diversity, spontaneity, communication, specialization, and change. Order creates a world of rules, plans, purpose, and coordinated action; freedom fashions a world of imagination, innovation, creativity, vision, dreams, and hope. Effective leaders find a way to preserve the benefits of each and avoid the pitfalls of both.

CONCLUSION

The position that we have held throughout this book embodies two related perspectives: what Peter F. Drucker (1968) calls "reality" and what Peter M. Senge (1990) calls "systems thinking." Knowledge has become a central resource. The systematic acquisition of knowledge—that is, organized formal education—must supplement experience as the foundation for increasing productive capacity and improving performance. But knowledge and experience themselves are not enough. Events must be seen as a whole pattern of

change, not isolated snapshots. Increasingly, successful performance will depend on the ability to use concepts and theories as well as skills acquired through experience to make the full patterns clearer and help us to cope with them.

The dilemmas we have explored demand basic changes in administrators. They require new training, knowledge, policies, and a readiness to shed deeply entrenched practices. The practice of administration can become one of deepened dilemmas or of heightened achievements. We hold that a path to the latter is through reflective leadership anchored in sound theory and research in educational organizations. We recommend that students continue to apply the administrative principles developed in this text by analyzing actual cases found in "A Collection of Cases for Educational Leadership."

GUIDES TO PRACTICE: ONE MORE TIME

1. Use multiple perspectives to frame school challenges: Framing a problem is often the key to its solution.
2. Harness administration to teaching and learning: Teaching and learning is what schools are about.
3. Apply behavioral, cognitive, and constructivist perspectives appropriately to match learning objectives, activities, and outcomes: There is no one best way to either learn or teach.
4. Develop enabling school structures and processes: They facilitate rather than hinder teaching and learning.
5. Move from bureaucratic to professional control: Teacher judgment should eventually substitute for administrative control.
6. The informal organization is the source of ingenious solutions: Exhaust informal options in solving problems before resorting to formal procedures.
7. Build trust and foster authenticity and openness in behavior: Trust is pivotal to success in schools.
8. Support teacher motivation by developing teacher self-efficacy, realistic goals, persistence, resilience, and constructive feedback: Together they provide potent motivation.
9. Become politically savvy to the reality of organizational politics: Politics is a fact of organizational life—be a skillful player.
10. Build a culture of academic optimism anchored in trust, efficacy, and academic emphasis: Such optimism improves achievement for all students.
11. Use environmental resources to the benefit of the school: There is a mother lode of talent in the environment.

12. Monitor the effectiveness of the school in terms of standardized test scores, value-added achievement, and social-emotional development of students: All are important indicators of effectiveness.
13. Use satisficing models to make decisions: Optimizing is impossible.
14. Strike a balance between decisive action and reflective analysis: Lean toward action.
15. Bring rationality, consistency, and flexibility to your decisions: Situations change and so should decisions.
16. Empower teachers to make decisions when they have expertise, interest, and can be trusted to make a decision in the best interests of the school: Teachers provide a creative source for problem solving.
17. Follow oral communications with written summaries of understanding: Clarity and redundancy avoid misunderstanding.
18. Know your leadership style and be flexible: There is no one best way to lead.
19. Be inspirational, intellectual, idealistic, and tailor your leadership to your subordinates: Transformative change requires it.
20. Find the appropriate balance for the basic administrative dilemmas of coordination and communication, bureaucratic discipline and professional expertise, administrative planning and individual initiative, and learning as behavior and cognition: Dilemmas have no final solutions, only balanced actions.

A COLLECTION OF CASES FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Case 1: Rash Decision? *p. 486*
Case 2: Snubbing Creationists? *p. 487*
Case 3: Crossing the Line or Only a Crush? *p. 489*
Case 4: Leading to Change, Changing to Lead *p. 492*
Case 5: Parental Demand *p. 493*
Case 6: Dilemma at Urban High *p. 495*

CASE 1

Rash Decision?

Imagine that you are the superintendent of the Indianola School District. The town of Indianola is a suburban community 10 miles south of a large midwestern city. The town of 30,000 people has become increasingly more professional and diverse as young professionals have moved into the community to complement the old-time community residents who are mostly blue- and white-collar workers. As you pick up the morning paper, you are startled to find the following account:

An Indianola eighth grader is spending seven days at home on suspension after being accused of assaulting a teacher with a weapon: poison ivy. After classmates reported her, Angela Kim, 14, admitted to her parents and school officials that she had rubbed the plant on the chair of her science teacher, Tom Jones, at Oak Street Middle School. Angela was upset at Jones; she accuses Jones of treating her differently from other students because she is Asian, said her mother, Angie Kim. The family is Korean.

Jones did not develop a rash, but middle school Principal Chris Smith said the district's policy defines a weapon as a gun, knife, dangerous object, or chemical. Principals can suspend students for up to seven days without consulting the central office, and that is precisely what he did last Thursday. "If you do something to hurt someone else and do it on purpose, it's wrong," the principal exclaimed.

Angela's father, Hop Kim, is meeting today with the principal to ask that the suspension be reconsidered. Mr. Kim said his daughter complained to him about Jones earlier in the school year. "She said he called her names and treated her differently than he did other kids," Mr. Kim said. "I told her she might have misunderstood him. I tried to blame it on her. I told her to respect her teachers and pay more attention in class and not pay so much attention to personal conflict." But, "Now I am not sure. Maybe the atmosphere of the school is poor. How could the principal suspend my daughter, who is an honor student and who has never been in trouble, without talking to her parents before taking such drastic action?"

Mr. Kim emphasized that he did not seek news media attention, noting that Fred Reiss, a friend of his, called the News. Reiss, an Indianola resident and attorney, said the school's punishment is excessive and he urged the Kims to fight the decision. He believes that the punishment is a reaction to incidents around the country, including the shooting deaths at Columbine High School in Colorado.

"This is not going to give any serious credibility to the issue of weapons possession in the schools," Reiss said. "Is someone going to be punished because they're carrying peanuts? Leaves? We need to have any punishment fit the offense."

Family members say Angela gathered the leaves, which were near the school, because the teacher and her classmates were harassing her; in fact, "the teacher was doing nothing to prevent other students from making fun of her. She is a very good kid," Mrs. Kim said. "She is a spelling bee champion in schools. She never made any trouble." She simply lashed out because she thought the teacher insulted her. The parents admit that what she did was wrong, but they say they are worried about her safety and emotional health because this issue has been blown out of proportion. "We moved to Indianola because we believed it would be a good place to raise our children and now we find that the school does not support people who are of a different race or color." Principal Smith admitted that Angela Kim was not a troublesome student, but he is adamant that the offense was serious and warrants a seven-day suspension. "We have zero tolerance for violence in this school," he exclaimed.

When pressed on the charges of teacher and student racism, the principal simply rejected the charges as "groundless fabrications." Angela will get her homework assignments and, according to district policy, will be allowed to make up 60 percent of her work for credit. For his part, Mr. Kim says things are out of control, and he blames the principal and teacher for not setting a good example. "This is America," he says, "everyone should be treated fairly and with respect."

- Should you, as superintendent, get involved?
- Do you need to touch base with the principal before the meeting or "keep your hands off"?
- What implications does this case have for the structure and procedures of the school? For district policy? For the culture of the school? For student-teacher relations?
- Consider the relationship between the news media and the school. Does the press treatment seem fair?
- Could racism be a problem?
- Can the school function as a learning organization, that is, learn from this incident? How?

CASE 2

Snubbing Creationists?

You are the principal of Canterbury High School, a suburban high school in the southeast. The school has the reputation of being one of the best in the state; its motto, emblazoned on the wall of the foyer, is "An Odyssey of Excellence." People move into the community for the schools, and for the most part they are not disappointed. The district has only one high school with 1,500 students evenly divided into the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades. Each year approximately 75 percent of the students go on to higher education and a significant number apply to the best colleges and universities in the country. Admission to the Ivy League is a goal of a substantial number of students because their parents are successful professionals, many of whom have graduated from prestigious schools themselves.

The teachers in your school are consummate professionals. They are well educated, hard working, and they care about their students. Four teachers have Ph.D's in their disciplines and every teacher has at least a master's degree. You are proud of your school and the students, teachers, and community. In many ways, the job of being principal is delightful, but it is also challenging. Parents are demanding; they expect their children to get the very

best education possible. They pay a hefty tax bill to be part of this district, which often means that they speak out and question any school policy or event that might be an impediment to the success of their children.

At this very moment you are in the midst of a problem involving one of your biology teachers and a group of parents. Dr. Henry Washington is a veteran biology teacher of 15 years, who teaches the AP biology class at Canterbury High. Hank is a popular teacher and students compete to get into AP class; only the brightest and the best succeed. Two days ago you received a phone call from a lawyer representing the Legal Institute for Freedom, a group of Christian lawyers. The lawyer was concerned in general about Dr. Washington's Web page where he posted the following statement:

The central unifying principle of biology is the theory of evolution. Students in this class are expected to show mastery of the theory and be able to defend it against rival explanations of the origin of species.

But the particular issue that was troubling to the lawyer was Dr. Washington's adamant stand that he would not write a college letter of recommendation for Michael Hayes, a student in the AP class, because Hayes, who described himself as a devout Christian, did not subscribe to the theory of evolution; in fact, the student was an avid believer in creationism and the role of God in science.

This was the first time Washington had encountered such a student, and although he was tolerant of other ideas and explanations, he did not believe that he could in good conscience write letters of recommendation for students who did not accept the theory of evolution as a convincing explanation of the origin of the species. After all, exclaimed Washington, "I am a biologist teaching biology. Evolution is the tool that brought us about. To deny the theory of evolution is like denying the law of gravity. In science, a theory is about as close to a fact as you can get." He added, "My stance is not discriminatory toward anyone else's beliefs, but rather to ensure that anyone that I write a letter of recommendation for is on the road to becoming a first-rate scientist. Science and religion address different questions, and they don't overlap."

You have kept your superintendent abreast of the evolving situation, and she is supportive and has expressed confidence in your leadership and problem-solving ability. The district has no policy on letters of recommendation because the board prefers to leave such matters to the teachers themselves. You would like to nip this problem in the bud. You don't want to see the school involved in a protracted legal suit, but the legal institute is pushing hard as they represent the student. The student, Michael Hayes, wants his teacher, Dr. Washington, to write him two letters, one to Stanford and the other to Princeton, where he hopes to major in biology in preparation for his eventual admission to medical school. Dr. Washington insists that he cannot and will not write any letter for this student or any other with similar beliefs. He maintains that this is a matter of academic freedom and personal freedom. The student, his parents, and his lawyers see it as a matter of religious freedom. They assert that the student is being punished for his religious beliefs. Moreover, they insist that a letter from the AP biology teacher is especially important because the student wants to be a medical doctor.

You have another appointment to speak with Dr. Washington after school today and an appointment to speak with the lawyer representing the student tomorrow morning. You feel caught in the middle. You need a plan. Is compromise possible? Or is legal action inevitable?

- What kind of decision-making model is appropriate? Satisficing? Mixed scanning? Other?
- Who should be involved in the decision making? The superintendent? Board? Teachers?
- Define the long-term and short-term problems.
- Can the school force a teacher to write a letter of recommendation? If so, can it specify what the teacher should say?
- Does the teacher have an obligation to write letters of recommendation for students who get an A in the course, whom they know well, and who demonstrate a knowledge of evolutionary theory?
- As principal, develop a strategy to deal with the problem in a way that seeks resolution without legal action.

CASE 3

Crossing the Line or Only a Crush?[1]

Superintendent Henry Chalmers, eyeing the flashing light on his phone, sat heavily in his seat and swiveled away from his desk to view the expanse of football and soccer fields beyond his window. Ordinarily, his job was gratifying. Superintendent of a large, prestigious public high school in an affluent suburb of a large Midwestern city, Chalmers was used to the spotlight—his school seemed to be a lightning rod for the local media. When fans of Midtown Heights behaved badly at the state basketball tournament, reporters were there. When famous alums in government and show business returned to speak at the school, reporters were there. When state test scores annually revealed that MHHS had once again dominated all subject areas, the school's achievements were duly noted in the area's two major metropolitan newspapers. Midtown Heights had even enjoyed some national press as two weekly news magazines had, in recent years, featured the school as a model of excellence in public education. Media contact, even when the press was not so good, was an area of relative expertise for Chalmers, and he secretly enjoyed it. The light on his phone, blinking ominously, suggested that this was all about to change. He was almost certain the call would be about one of his teachers; in fact, the only question was who was calling—the media, the parents, the teacher, the union, or an attorney.

In September, the parents of a junior girl, Elizabeth Sanders, had become concerned about their daughter's increasingly intense relationship with her former teacher, Hal Franklin. Like many students in Hal's honors freshman World History class, Elizabeth greatly admired her charismatic teacher, and spoke reverently of his intellectual honesty, depth, and sincerity. She and her classmates appreciated his informal style—he allowed them to call him by his first name, and sat comfortably on his desk during wide-ranging, open discussions about society, humanity, and existence. In Hal's class, students were fond of saying, they talked about meaningful issues and didn't have to worry about performance. Something of an iconoclast, Hal had done away with the constraints of regular assessments, lesson plans, and tests, declaring in notably heated department meetings that such trivia interfered with a more "organic" process of learning. Conceding, after a spirited exchange with his department chair, the necessity of quarterly and semester grades, Hal nevertheless represented intellectual freedom to his young devotees, who appreciated that they were, for once, "being treated like adults."

Indeed, treating their daughter like an adult was exactly what alarmed Elizabeth's parents about Hal. They were happy that their daughter was having a good experience and recalled that their older son had also admired this same teacher, even though they did have slight concerns about the lack of structure in his class. Throughout Elizabeth's sophomore year, she maintained a relationship with her favorite teacher, and became intensely involved in Amnesty International, which Hal sponsored. As the spring passed and Elizabeth talked of little else, the Sanderses looked forward to the summer break and the distance it would impose. They supposed Elizabeth had developed a pretty typical crush, and that her activities and friends at summer camp, where she was going to be a counselor, would soon supplant her teacher as the foremost concern in her mind. Knowing that Hal was reportedly happily married, with three kids close to their own in age, the Sanderses never imagined that their daughter's feelings for her teacher might be reciprocated, or that the two would correspond throughout the summer via e-mail.

As they became less and less confident that their daughter's fixation on her former teacher was harmless, they remained confident in his judgment and decided to make him aware of their concerns. Elizabeth's mother called the social studies office one afternoon and spoke pleasantly with Hal, somewhat nervously explaining that they were worried that Elizabeth was devoting more of her attention to Amnesty International than to anything else, and that they were hoping he might help guide her to a more balanced approach. He reassured her that Elizabeth seemed to be handling all of her responsibilities pretty well, and that he would keep an eye on her for them. He seemed to understand why they

[1]*Written for this text by Eileen McMahon.*

would want her to branch out a bit, so the subject of the crush never came up explicitly. Mrs. Sanders assumed Mr. Franklin, as an experienced teacher, must have dealt with situations like this before, and knew how to handle the matter delicately.

But Elizabeth never seemed to distribute her attention to anything but Hal Franklin; if anything, she seemed to spend even more time meeting with him, sometimes off-campus in coffee shops in a neighboring town, all under the pretext of Amnesty International activity. As parent conferences approached in November, the Sanderses thought that they might as well try again to talk with Mr. Franklin, this time together, and address their real concerns a little more directly. They made an appointment to see him during conferences, even though it had been two years since Elizabeth had actually been in his class.

The meeting did not satisfy them in the least. Although Hal recalled their earlier conversation pleasantly enough, he and Mrs. Sanders had clearly not been on the same page. So far from reassuring them that he would establish some distance from Elizabeth, he asserted his attachment to her as "a friend and very important person" in his life, and gave no indication that he would see less of her or reduce the familiarity that he and Elizabeth so obviously enjoyed. Holding his frustration in check, Mr. Sanders decided to be blunt. "Look," he enjoined. "It's pretty clear she has a crush on you, and we're worried about where it's headed. We know you're not doing anything to encourage her, and we're sorry if it's an embarrassing situation, but surely you've dealt with things like this before. It's just that we think if she continues to indulge it, it's just going to be that much harder for her to get over it."

To their dismay, Hal still refused to stop meeting with Elizabeth or to reduce their level of contact in any way. Cordially, he told them that he appreciated their concerns, but felt that their daughter was "old enough to make these kinds of decisions for herself." He hardly felt that it was appropriate for them to tell her with whom she could spend her time if she were pursuing activities that were constructive. He felt they should "give her some space," and let her make her own choices. Of course, as parents, they could be as restrictive as they chose, but he certainly wasn't going to cooperate with them if they did choose to "put her in lockdown or something." As the next family was waiting for their appointment, he led them to the door, thanked them for coming, and wished them a pleasant evening.

Somewhat shocked, they stood in the hallway and tried to think what to do next. They decided that getting angry would only make things worse, so they tried to calm down and proceed thoughtfully. Down the hall, they spotted the social studies department office, so they made their way to find the department chair and appeal to her for advice. Not exactly a Hal Franklin fan, she listened to their story with increasing anger. Clearly, she thought, here was a man who felt himself completely beyond the rules. She had tangled with him over the curriculum in his class, over the necessity of grades and attendance, and over the general direction of the department's course of study. He had fomented a certain amount of dissension in her department, she felt, and she for one believed that behind his "intellectual honesty" hid a guy who was actually pretty lazy. He accused his colleagues of "marching in lockstep" because they actually planned lessons and gave tests, but he did manage, she noticed, to leave the office every day at 3:30 and make his way down to the gym to play pick-up basketball with students, or to meet his Amnesty International "groupies" off-campus. Thanking the Sanderses for coming to her, she assured them that she would look into the matter and get back to them promptly, and then hurried off to track down the principal.

Over the next few weeks, the principal presided over meetings with the Sanderses, the department chair, the union president, and Hal Franklin himself. Superintendent Chalmers was kept informed, but saw no need to involve himself directly since the situation, while difficult, was nonetheless well in hand. Hal was instructed to immediately stop his practice of meeting off-campus with students. All Amnesty International meetings were to be held on campus, in accordance with the club's charter. In addition, he was told he must honor the parents' request that he limit his contact with their daughter to official club activities. He must also begin submitting weekly lesson plans to his department chair, accounting for planned assessments and grading policies. He reluctantly agreed to follow these directives, to the satisfaction of both the department chair and the Sanders family, who had decided, in the interests of peace at home, to allow Elizabeth to continue her work in Amnesty International, so long as the stipulated conditions were met.

One day after agreeing to these conditions, Hal walked into his morning classes and announced that he was being persecuted by an administration that felt threatened by his popularity. "They don't like that I challenge the way things are done around here," he said. "So I have to watch my ass." He handed out copies of his lesson plan for the week, and announced an upcoming test. Students protested vocally, but he quieted them. "Look, they'd love the chance to get rid of me, so I can't give them any opportunities," he said. "Much as I hate to say it, we're just going to have to compromise. I'm going to play by their rules. My hands are tied. I guess freedom and intellectualism are dangerous around here." As students denounced the principal loudly, Hal murmured, "I know, I know . . . people in power. What are you gonna do?" The students continued to grumble throughout the week. A few of Hal's friends on the faculty joined them.

But Hal didn't play by the rules; at least, not with respect to Elizabeth. He arranged for another faculty member, an English teacher with whom he had team-taught Elizabeth's class, to deliver notes to the girl. Two and a half weeks after receiving the school's assurances that the relationship was under control, the Sanderses found e-mails in the trash on their computer that Elizabeth had obviously meant to destroy. The messages, all dated after the meetings at school, contained a diatribe or two against the administration and the Sanderses themselves. Enraged at how flagrantly Franklin was ignoring the rules, they called Superintendent Chalmers, whose son had played soccer with their son, at home.

By the next morning, Hal had been placed on indefinite administrative leave, and a substitute teacher appeared in his classes. Primed by their teacher's accounts of what the administration was trying to do, students were militant in their support of Franklin and relentless in their abuse of the substitute, who had just finished student-teaching and was trying to get her bearings in a course that had no text and no plans for the semester. They put up signs in the cafeteria and sent around a petition to have their teacher reinstated. A group of seniors in Hal's sociology class requested a meeting with the principal, who met with them but refused to give any information about Franklin's specific circumstances. Meanwhile, after two more meetings with Franklin and the union president, during which he was given an ultimatum by the superintendent to cease contact entirely or lose his job, Hal returned to school, 10 days after having left. Students gave him a standing ovation, and some faculty congratulated him on having survived his persecution. None had any inkling that the suspension involved anything other than his philosophical differences with the administration.

He lasted two days before the Sanderses again called Superintendent Chalmers, this time with the news that they had hired a lawyer. They had been suspicious of two phone calls Elizabeth had received on her cell from a number within the school. When they confronted her, she admitted that they had been from Franklin, who had called twice from a coach's locker room. She also admitted to having met with him in a little-used equipment room off one of the gyms. Confused and upset, she told them that she and Franklin planned to marry one day, when she had graduated from high school and he had left his wife. She denied that they had had any physical contact, but she insisted that their romantic attachment was a lasting one, and she had faith in their long-term plans to be together. That night the Sanderses made three calls: to a lawyer, to the superintendent, and to a therapist for their daughter.

Upon finding the substitute in their room again the following morning, students went up for grabs. Some refused to do any work at all or to cooperate in any way with the new teacher. Some walked out. They restarted both the petition and the systematic abuse of the substitute, who photocopied readings and made plans for the rest of the semester. Under the threat of poor grades, the honors freshmen settled down, but the seniors continued to cause major disruptions until the dean of students positioned himself in the back of the class. The student newspaper was flooded with letters protesting the draconian treatment of Franklin, and the principal's secretary was flooded with calls from irate parents who demanded the reinstatement of their children's favorite teacher. Some of Hal's colleagues berated the union president and the department chair for allowing him to be "railroaded like that," and the English teacher who had team-taught with Hal wrote a passionate letter to the local paper defending his value as an educator. Only the principal, the department chair, the union president, and Elizabeth's advisor, to whom the Sanderses had turned for help in managing their daughter's fragile emotions, knew that issues other than teaching style were in play.

Mercifully, the winter break interrupted the simmering resentment, and Superintendent Chalmers believed that with the start of a new semester, tensions would soon dissipate. This prediction looked to be correct, until he received his most recent phone call from Mr. Sanders, who claimed that the teacher still was contacting their daughter. Mr. Sanders was on the verge of losing any semblance of control as he concluded the phone conversation with the threat, "Either you get rid of that son-of-a-bitch or I will."

- What do you think of Superintendent Chalmers's decision to let the building administrators handle the Franklin situation early on?
- What would have been the appropriate level of involvement for the superintendent in a situation like this?
- Put yourself in the role of the superintendent as this case comes to a conclusion—what do you do next?
- What obligations, if any, does the superintendent have to the parents? To the teacher?
- Is the parent's threat cause for concern?
- What does the case tell you about school culture at Midtown Heights High School?
- Does the case give you any insights into cultural norms that school leadership might want to address?

CASE 4

Leading to Change, Changing to Lead[1]

As you prepared for another meeting with your staff, you think back several months to the day that set everything in motion. The superintendent had called a meeting of administrators and teachers' union leaders to look at the district's achievement data. Because of the No Child Left Behind legislation, achievement data had been disaggregated for the first time. Seeing it had been a shock; page after page of evidence showed that students in your district and your school were falling through the academic cracks. There were large achievement gaps between Caucasian, African American, Hispanic, and non–English-speaking students; socioeconomic differences caused equivalent achievement gaps with students in the lower economic bandwidths failing to make gains on state-mandated tests; nearly a fourth of your ninth-graders failed to achieve enough credits in one year to reach sophomore status; and your school's cherished graduation rate appeared to be more illusion than reality—even though the graduation rate in the past few senior classes had gone up, more students were dropping out at earlier ages. You had always been proud of your district's high achievement rating but now it appeared that high achievement only held true for the dominant group—economically comfortable white kids. The superintendent, administrators, and teachers' union leadership all agreed that the data sounded a clarion call for educational change. After all, who could argue against change in the face of such clear evidence?

Several months of discussion followed that initial meeting. Committees formed to talk about changing class schedules, instructional delivery, and curriculum. Other groups met to discuss better ways of meeting the emotional needs of students. Teachers from all buildings were involved and, in time, recommendations were presented: your school should move to block scheduling and develop smaller learning communities. That's when things went awry.

A handful of vocal teachers in your building mounted a teacher-to-teacher campaign to scuttle the recommendations. Some based their concerns on educational grounds, as overheard in a math teacher's comments to English department colleagues. "You must consider the pedagogy of mathematics. Students in math courses need consistent, year-long courses. Block scheduling is a failure when it comes to mathematics." Others, particularly those who taught music, art, and higher-level foreign languages worried that "these recommendations will destroy our electives. Teachers will lose their jobs and high-achieving students will lose opportunities." Aghast, you saw the web of support developed through months of committee work begin to unravel.

[1]*Written for this text by Nancy Nestor-Baker.*

It wasn't long before some parents were up in arms, complaining that the proposed changes would harm their children's education. The parent group, while small, was made up of white, well-connected, higher-income residents. They did not want any changes to be made to the traditional education program—and they knew how to apply pressure and generate support for their views. As one father said, "The school worked for me and it's working just fine for my son. Why tinker around with a school that works well?" Others proclaimed loudly that any changes were a "taxpayer boondoggle" without any "proof of need or chance of success." Most of the parents of children who stood to gain the most from change were silent. The few who spoke up were ridiculed and accused of "less than effective parenting." While no overt racial comments were made, you sensed racial undertones in some of the parent group's comments.

The data had not changed; the evidence of underperformance was still clear. But the data flew in the face of dearly held assumptions and values. You were frustrated by the e-mails and phone messages you received from parents and the conversations you held with faculty members. You thumbed through a list of the most recent negative comments:

- "Why all this push to get those kind of kids to do well? Maybe you should be more realistic about their chances. Somebody has to flip burgers and clean bathrooms."
- "Some students are going to fail. Simple knowledge of the bell curve tells you that."
- "We pay high taxes to go to this school. The parents have spoken but you are not listening to what the people want."
- "I see no reason to change what I have done for 20 years."
- "Student achievement is not my responsibility. It is the student's responsibility. If they choose to fail, it's their problem and they need to learn from that."
- "What's so wrong with our traditional school, anyway?"

You now understand that people have very different ideas about education and about who should be educated. You also understand that tradition can be more important than success. In your more cynical moments, you have begun to feel that the class system can matter more than the individual students. Picking up your sheaf of data, you head for the media center to meet with your teachers. As your footsteps echo in the hall, you wonder where to go from this point. How can educational practice be moved forward in your building? What more can be done to help faculty and parents see the need for change? What agendas are at work among those who oppose change? Is it possible that you are wrong to try to restructure? How much say should various groups have in deciding how education should be delivered? As you face your teachers, your thoughts begin to gel and you begin to speak. . . .

Assume you are the principal of this school.

- What is your diagnosis of the problem(s)?
- What is your plan of action for the short term? Longer term?
- Outline what you are going to say to the teachers as you now face them in a faculty meeting.
- Try to anticipate the negative as well as the positive consequences of your speech to the teachers and your action plan.
- Do you think the principal here can lead effectively? Why?

CASE 5

Parental Demand[1]

Judy Claxton was hired as building principal at Oak Street Elementary, one of three primary schools serving an affluent bedroom community 20 miles north of a booming metropolitan area. Housing nearly 400 K–3 students, 22 certified staff, and 12 support staff, Oak Street Elementary was by far the oldest building in the district. In fact, not more than a decade ago it was the only elementary school in the district serving all children in grades K–6 for the previous quarter of a century. While students living in the luxurious

[1]*Written for this text by Thomas Reed.*

homes at the town's perimeter attended the two new state-of-the-art primary buildings, Oak Street was the most diverse of the three schools. Its enrollment was mostly comprised of students whose families had lived in the community for generations, and many in the community were growing increasingly uncomfortable with the influx of "new money." While many "Oak Streeters" too were from wealthy, professional households, the school did have a small number of displaced students from lower and middle socioeconomic conditions.

This was Judy's first principalship. Beginning her career as a sixth-grade science teacher, she most recently served as elementary curriculum director in a rural county district on the opposite side of the state. Desperately missing daily interaction with students, she knew she wanted to be a building principal and embarked on a statewide search to find a position. Following the Board of Education's official action to employ her the second Monday in August, she had scarcely two weeks to move her belongings, get into her school, introduce herself to her teaching and support staff, and prepare for the 400 primary children who would be arriving at the end of the month.

To say she was surprised to get the job was an understatement. After all, she knew from a long-time friend who happened to teach at the high school that Daniel Baines also applied for the position. Baines was a third-grade teacher who had served in that building in the same classroom for 24 years. He was well respected and liked by the rest of the staff, and numerous letters of support from colleagues seemed to make him the clear favorite from the start. Why the search committee didn't select him was a mystery, but his feelings for being passed over weren't. He was bitter, and he would never forgive those responsible.

Early one morning, as teachers readied their classrooms in the oppressive August heat, Judy Claxton found Mr. Baines inventorying textbooks. "Good morning, Dan," she said. He raised his head only a moment until he realized who had spoken to him. "Is there anything I can do to assist? Are you finding everything you need?" she asked politely.

Baines worked on, counting textbooks, carefully checking the condition of each one. Judy struggled to find something else to say. "Please don't hesitate to call on me if there is anything I can do for you. I want you to know my door is open."

"Look," snapped Baines. "That was MY job! I don't know who you had pulling strings for you, and I don't know how you got it, but I am quite certain there is nothing you can do for me except leave me alone."

Stunned, Judy Claxton turned and retreated to her office. This was not the way she hoped her first meeting with Mr. Baines would go. She knew of no one in the central office who had pulled any strings. She didn't KNOW anyone in the central office. No one owed her any favors. She was certain that her selection was based on her performance as a classroom teacher and administrator, her vision for school leadership, and her dedication to the profession. For the time being, she would give Dan Baines the distance he asked for although she knew sooner or later, she would need to confront him again.

Though hectic and sometimes overwhelming, the opening of school went well for Ms. Claxton, that is until one evening a couple of weeks into the first grading period. She received a call at home from a parent, Dr. Marcy Davis, expressing concern about an incident at school involving her son, Hunter, and his teacher. Dr. Davis advised the principal that she and her husband, John, a lawyer from a prominent family in town, would be at the principal's office promptly at 8:00 AM to air a formal complaint. Before Principal Claxton had a chance to respond, the phone line went dead. She sat disoriented.

Certain to get to school early the next morning, Principal Claxton arrived at 7:15 and headed straight for the student files. Leafing through them, she found a thin one tabbed "Hunter Scott Davis." She opened it and found little evidence of any trouble. In fact, the only hint of difficulty was Hunter's classroom assignment for this year—Third Grade, Mr. Baines. The principal had not spoken to Baines since his terse rebuke of her a few weeks prior, but she instinctively knew that this parent conference would likely lead to a confrontation with him.

At 7:30, Mr. Baines unlocked his classroom door just as he had done every morning for 26 years. This time, standing behind him was his principal.

"Dan, I received a call at home last night from Hunter Davis's mother." Baines looked irritated. "She was upset over an incident that happened at school yesterday, but didn't give me any details. She and her husband are coming in at 8:00 to meet with me. Is there anything I should know?"

"I don't have any idea what she is talking about," Mr. Baines said coldly. "Nothing happened. But I'm sure whatever the Davises want, they will

get. They always do." His voiced trailed off as he walked into his classroom leaving Principal Claxton standing alone in the hallway.

Just before 8:00, the principal's secretary, Nancy Drummond, arrived. Principal Claxton immediately called her into her office. "I have an 8:00 meeting with Marcy and John Davis about their son Hunter. Do you know anything about these people?"

Nancy's eyes lit up. "Oh," she gasped, "they are wonderful! They always support the school and the teachers. Volunteers . . . big donors . . . alumni . . . they graduated from here about 15 years ago. You won't have any trouble."

"What about their son, Hunter?" Judy probed.

"Well, you know how boys can be sometimes," Nancy replied in a dismissive tone. "Trouble just seems to find him. But nothing serious; he's just a little ornery—a lot like his father was." She chuckled a reflective laugh, sighed, and exited.

A short time later, the principal heard her secretary enthusiastically welcoming the Davises in the outer office. Principal Claxton emerged and greeted the parents with a confident smile and a handshake. Then she invited them into her office, closed the door, and began, "Tell me about your concerns."

Pointedly, Dr. Davis explained that Mr. Baines wrongfully accused Hunter of bullying some other third graders and ordered him to stand on the wall. Innocent, Hunter tried to explain his side of the story. That was when the teacher grabbed him, knocked him down, and then dragged Hunter by one arm to the farthest point on the wall where he stood in blazing sun without water or shade for 20 minutes. "Hunter was extremely upset when I picked him up from latchkey. So I contacted his friends' parents who confirmed his version of the story. His friends saw the whole thing."

Judy respectfully interjected, "Have you spoken with Mr. Baines about this?"

"No!" the parents replied in unison. "We're afraid if we say something, he'll take it out on Hunter. That is the way he is. We've had other parents warn us about him."

"I think it would be best if I called Mr. Baines down here and we could hear his explanation," Judy offered. The parents refused, going on to demand that Hunter be moved to a different third-grade classroom.

"You should know, Ms. Claxton," the mother stood, "the board president and superintendent are close friends and neighbors of ours. They have already assured me that Mr. Baines will be punished swiftly and severely. We are keeping Hunter home today and expect you will have a new classroom assignment for him by tomorrow morning." She turned away and exited defiantly. Her husband followed, stopping only to add, "I really don't think we can afford to have teachers like Baines in the classroom."

Judy Claxton removed her glasses, eased back in her chair, rubbed her eyes, and drew a deep breath. She had a strong feeling that things could quickly escalate and get out of control.

- What are Judy Claxton's immediate problems?
- What is her long-term problem?
- Should she move swiftly to protect the child or cautiously to protect the rights of the teacher?
- Should she involve the students who claim to have witnessed the incident?
- How can she buy more time without jeopardizing the safety of the child or neglecting the request of the parents?
- What are the positive and negative consequences of honoring the parents' request to move the child to a new classroom?
- Should the superintendent be consulted?
- Put yourself in the principal's role and develop a strategy to deal with the difficulty.

CASE 6

Dilemma at Urban High[1]

Urban High is one of more than 100 high schools in a major metropolitan center. From the outside Urban High looks forbidding. It is a five-story brick building built in part by the grandparents and great-grandparents of its current students. The equally old and imposing Catholic church a few blocks away was built almost entirely by the labor of then recent immigrants. The neighborhood is a model of stability, and local shops carry a flavor of Italy. Indeed, the common language is Italian and some bakeries and

[1]*Written for this text by John Tarter.*

restaurants have a reputation throughout the region for their excellence.

The other side of the stability is an insularity that keeps residents, both young and old, focused inwardly and narrowly. The people in this community do not engage the greater city of which their neighborhood is a part. In many respects the community is a throwback to earlier times of ethnic segregation, and this context plays out in the schools surprisingly.

A substantial number of the high school students are unprepared to speak formal English. They come from Italian-speaking homes in which Italian is the first language. They have learned enough English to get by local grade school programs, but faced by the challenges of secondary education they find reading difficult and the consequence is often failure. Make no mistake about it, these students have the talent but, unfortunately, that ability has not translated into a fundamental grasp and use of Standard English.

Principal Dante Lavelli has roots in the neighborhood. By stint of hard work and an enlightened mother, he made a success of the public secondary and city university system. After he graduated from the city university with a doctorate in educational leadership, he was able to fulfill his desire to return to a school where he had been a student and a teacher some years ago. In the intervening years, while continuing his studies, he worked as an assistant principal and, finally, principal of another large urban high school. But there was something special about returning to Sorrento Heights, the old neighborhood.

Dr. Lavelli understands the predicament of many of these young people who have difficulty with English through no fault of their own. Determined to do something about the problem, he was successful in developing a grant to help students who didn't have the language skills to keep pace in the regular English program. Although the program was not exclusively for Italian-speaking students from Sorrento Heights, they comprised a little over half of the enrollment. The remainder of these Limited English Proficiency enrollees were students transferring to Urban High from other parts of the city or recent immigrants.

Lavelli's program was successful. Guided by relevant research, the reading program has no classes larger that 20 students; in fact, 15 was the average. Teachers provided independent tutorials for students and each student progressed at his or her own pace. The program was individualized and intensive. Typically in a year students were able to join their classmates in the regular program and do well. It seemed too good to be true.

Alas, after only two years, hard times came to the city and to Urban High. There were no funds available to continue the successful program. The granting agencies had no resources and the city resources were needed for programs of higher priority. Everyone was genuinely sorry to see the resources dry up and the program end, but such is life in the big city.

Lavelli was committed to the children and the program, but he was blocked at every turn in his quest for funding. His superiors told him that "we understand your dilemma, and we sympathize, but our hands are tied." Lavelli was determined to move forward and address the needs of his students. What could he do?

- To whom could Lavelli turn?
- What is the immediate problem? The long-term problem?
- Is this issue worth the time and effort that it will likely take to make a difference?
- Is this a political problem? With a political solution?
- Can he mobilize the community?
- Develop short-and long-term strategies of action.

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NAME INDEX

Abbott, A., 3
Abbott, M., 32, 109, 112
ABC Research Group, 338, 349
Abell, P., 281
Abelson, R. P., 338
Acar, M., 277
Acar, W., 183
Achilles, C. M., 308
Adams, C., 196, 198, 199, 200, 220, 270, 315
Adams, E. A., 446
Adams, J. E., 302
Adams, V. H., III, 196
Adler, P.S., 114
Adler, R. B, 393, 406
Ahuja, A., 457
Aitken, R., 454
Albanese, M. A., 82
Alberto, P. A., 48
Aldrich, H. E., 127, 272, 275, 277
Aldrich H. E., 270
Alessandra, T., 396
Alexander, E. R., 397
Alexander, P., 71
Alig-Mielcarek, J. M., 218, 441
Alinsky, S., 229
Allen, R. J., 61
Allensworth, E., 270, 271, 309–310
Allinder, R. M., 164
Allison, G. T., 30, 249, 255
Almasi, J. F., 71
Ambrose, M. L., 154
Amburgey, T. L., 274
Anastasiow, N. J., 86
Anderman, E. M., 153, 162, 172
Anderman, L. H., 162, 172
Anderson, B., 111
Anderson, C. S., 210
Anderson, D. P., 213
Anderson, J., 399
Anderson, J. R., 55, 60, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 80
Anderson, L. M., 55, 362
Anderson, S., 322–323, 454
Anderson, S. E., 271
Anderson, T. H., 73
Andrews, J. H. M., 213
Antonakis, J., 449, 450, 451
Antonenko, P., 63
Appleberry, J. B., 201
Arends, R. I., 83
Argote, L., 414
Ariely, D., 362
Aristotle, 428
Armbruster, B. B., 73
Armor, D., 161
Ashcraft, M. H., 56, 58, 61–62, 63, 64, 68
Ashford, S. J., 396, 399
Ashton, P. T., 162, 164
Astuto, T. A., 16, 108, 185
At-Twaijri, M. I. A., 275
Atwater, D. C., 450, 451
Audia, G., 168
Aupperle, K. E., 183
Austin, G. A., 56
Ausubel, D. P., 56
Avolio, B. J., 448, 449, 450, 451, 453, 455

Babbie, E., 2
Bacharach, S. B., 240, 284
Bacon, F., 246
Baddeley, A., 60–61, 62, 68
Baetz, M. L., 435
Baier, A., 193
Bakkenes, I., 411
Baldes, J., 166
Ball, D. L., 305, 307
Bandura, A., 138, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 190, 192–193, 199, 253, 347
Bantz, C. R., 187, 406
Barnard, C. I., 20, 29, 105, 179, 232–233, 335, 373, 378, 412, 418
Barnes, K. M., 213
Barnes, R. M., 10
Barnett, B. G., 420
Barnhill, G. P., 50, 51
Baron, R. A., 143, 154–155, 156, 166, 168, 338
Barry, B., 402
Bartlett, F. C., 69
Barton, P. E., 289
Bass, B. M., 335, 427, 428, 431, 433, 434, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 455, 456
Bass, G., 161
Bateman, T. S., 221
Bates, R., 188
Baumgartner, F. R., 279, 280
Bazerman, M., 168, 338
Beady, C. H., 185
Beall, A. E., 404
Beard, K. S., 200
Becerra, M., 399
Becker, T. E., 406
Becker, W. S., 143, 158
Beishuizen, J., 81
Beitzel, B., 74, 82
Bennion, J. W., 11
Bennis, W. G., 18, 195, 427, 451
Ben-Peretz, M., 35
Benson, J. K., 270
Benveniste, L., 271
Berg, C. A., 55
Berger, M. A., 259
Berieter, C., 80
Berliner, D. C., 293
Berlo, D. K., 406
Berman, P., 161
Berthold, K., 64
Bettenhausen, K. R., 402, 408
Betz, E. L., 143
Beyer, J., 187
Bidwell, C. E., 24, 126, 127
Bigley, G.A., 193
Bimber, B., 113
Bjorklund, D. F., 56
Blake, R. R., 437
Blankenship, K., 400
Blau, P. M., 98, 103, 106, 107, 128, 129, 231, 232, 233, 234, 243*t*, 479
Blazovsky, R., 112, 127
Bliss, J., 193, 213, 234
Bloom, S., 159, 319, 417
Blumberg, A., 8–9
Bobbit, F., 11–12

Boehne, D., 159
Boje, D. M., 278
Bolman, L. G., 95, 188, 189, 230, 247, 249
Bonan, J., 113
Booth, D. E., 183
Borman, K. M., 109, 112, 127
Borys, B., 114
Bose, C., 108
Bosker, R. J., 322
Bossert, S. T., 308, 322, 323, 440, 446
Bowers, D. G., 406
Bowers, J., 78–79
Boyan, N. J., 106
Boyd, B., 403
Boyd, W. L., 127, 240
Bradic, J. J., 400, 401
Bradshaw, C. P., 49–50
Bransford, J. D., 56
Braybrook, D., 340
Bredekamp, S., 76
Brekke, N., 338
Bridges, E. M., 364, 373–374
Brobst, K., 72
Brogdon, R., 161
Broms, H., 394
Brookover, W. B., 185
Brooks, D., 299
Brophy, J. E., 53, 321–322
Brown, A. F., 222–223
Brown, A. L., 56, 70
Brown, D., 81, 113
Brown, J. S., 83, 84
Brown, K. C., 168
Brown, M. E., 112
Bruce, B. C., 400
Bruner, J. S., 56, 474
Bruning, R. H., 58, 59, 67, 70, 71, 75, 78
Brunner (2002), 395
Bryk, A. S., 193, 196, 197–198, 199, 218, 270, 271, 309–310, 315, 316
Bryman, A., 439
Burbules, N. C., 388, 395, 398, 400
Burke, W. W., 451
Burns, J. M., 448
Burns, T., 275–276
Burt, R., 193
Byrnes, J. P., 76

Cairns, I., 404
Caldwell, D., 185
Callahan, R. E., 12
Camburn, E., 446
Camerer, C., 193
Cameron, K. S., 185, 302
Campbell, D. T., 293
Campbell, E. Q., 307
Campbell, J. P., 140, 141, 159, 433, 434
Campbell, R., 11, 16–17, 24
Cantrell, S. C., 71
Capon, N., 83
Caracheo, F., 109, 112
Carey, S., 4
Carlson, D. S., 456
Carnoy, M., 271, 288
Carter, J. S., 71
Cartwright, D., 434
Casciaro, T., 272, 278
Castrogiovanni, G. J., 271
Catt, S. E., 392
Chandler, M., 78
Charan, R., 338
Charters, W. W., Jr., 111, 420
Chase, F. S., 373
Chatman, J. A., 185
Cheavens, J., 196
Chemers, M. M., 427, 443
Chen, M., 113
Chen, Z., 71, 83
Cheong, Y., 163
Chernobilsky, E., 82
Cherrington, D. J., 141, 142, 143, 146
Chinn, C. A., 82, 83
Chonko, L. B., 456
Chrispeels, J. H., 414
Christensen, C., 349
Chugh, D., 338
Chung, K. A., 389, 428, 454
Cialdini, R. B., 251, 252, 253
Cioffi, D., 253
Clampitt, P. G., 394, 414, 416
Clark, D. L., 16, 108, 185
Clark, R. A., 407
Clark, R. E., 55
Clatterbuck, G. W., 401
Clough, M., 55
Clover, S. I. R., 201
Clune, W. H., 113
Cobb, P., 78–79
Coburn, C., 291
Cocking, R. R., 56
Coggshall, J. G., 279
Cognition and Technology Group at Vanderbilt (CTGV), 82
Cohen, D. K., 290, 305, 307, 340
Cohen, M. D., 190
Coldren, A. F., 447
Coleman, J. S., 193, 200, 270, 271, 307
Coleman, M. R., 86
Collins, A., 83, 84
Collins, A. M., 56, 80
Colliver, J. A., 83
Colquitt, J. A., 154, 156
Colvin, G., 52
Commons, J. R., 232
Conant, J. B., 3
Conley, S. C., 240
Conry-Oseguera, P., 161
Constas, H., 107
Contractor, N. S., 409
Cook, K. S., 411
Cook, S. D., 190
Coons, A., 434–435
Copple, C., 76
Corbett, H. D., 188
Corcoran, T., 271
Correnti, R., 307, 324
Cortinak, J. M., 166
Corwin, R. G., 109, 112, 127
Cosner, S., 193
Costello, M., 398
Cousins, J. B., 163
Cox, A., 252
Cox, M., 161
Craig, R. T., 390
Craig, T., 114
Craik, F. I. M., 64, 68
Crant, J. M., 402
Crehan, E. P., 443
Crocker, L., 162
Croft, D. B., 209, 210
Cron, W. L., 114
Crone, D. A., 52
Crowson, R. L., 127
Cuban, L., 301
Cuddy, A. J., 400
Cummings, L. L., 156
Cunningham, A. E., 56, 57
Cunningham, E., 51
Cunningham, W. G., 189
Cusella, L. P., 396
Cusick, P. A., 185, 236
Cybulski, T., 193
Cyert, R. M., 247, 335

Daft, R. L., 29, 274, 275, 402, 403, 408
Dahl, J. G., 159
Dahnke, G. L., 401
Daly, A. J., 454
Damanpour, F., 114
Dansereau, D. F., 85
Darling-Hammond, L., 126
Datnow, A., 291
D'Aunno, T., 282
David, J. L., 113
Davis, H., 162
Davis, J. H., 193
Day, C., 454
Deal, T. E., 95, 180, 183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 203, 230, 247, 249, 284, 285
De Brabander, C., 411
DeCharms, R., 147–148
Deci, E. L., 147, 170, 172, 270, 272, 362
DeCorte, E., 76
DeDreu, C., 259
Dee, J. R., 240
Deetz, S., 408
DeFleur, M. L., 397–398, 408, 419
DeFrain, J., 159

Dembo, M., 162, 164
Denison, D. R., 209
Dennis, A. R., 403
Derry, S. J., 80, 82
Dewey, J., 7, 8, 75, 474
DeYoung, D. A., 279
Diamond, J. B., 447
DiAngelo, J. A., 407
Dickson, W. J., 15
Diebert, J. P., 201
Dillon, S., 303
DiMaggio, P. J., 282, 283, 286
Dionne, F. D., 445
DiPaola, M. F., 130, 198, 199, 221, 222, 259, 274, 315
Donnelly, J. H., 406
Drucker, P. F., 10, 333, 483
Dubinsky, A. J., 114
Duchastel, P., 52
Duemer, L., 240
Duffy, M. C., 289
Duke, D., 375
Dunnette, M. D., 433, 434
Durkheim, E., 1
Dvir, T., 455
Dweck, C. S., 152
Dwyer, D., 440
Dyer, W. G., 184

Earley, P. C., 406
Easton, J. Q., 270, 271, 309–310
Ebbinghaus, H., 69
Ebmeier, H., 54
Eccles, J. S., 161
Eckley, M., 240
Eden, D., 455
Eidell, T. L., 200, 201
Einstein, A., 4
Elliot, A. J., 152
Elmes, M. B., 398
Elmore, R. F., 126, 289, 304, 427, 445
Elsbach, K. D., 286
Embry, D. D., 49
Emmer, E. T., 362
Enns, F., 443
Enoch, Y., 131
Erdelyi, M. H., 69
Erez, M., 166, 168
Etling, K. M., 338
Etzioni, A., 16, 17, 238, 273, 342–343, 345, 418, 436
Evensen, D. H., 83
Evertson, C. M., 362

Fahy, P. F., 200
Falk, K., 50
Farling, M. L., 456
Farnaham-Diggory, S., 56
Fauske, J. R., 274
Fayol, H., 10
Fein, L. C., 281
Feldberg, R., 108
Feldlaufer, H., 161
Feldman, J., 214
Ferguson, J., 319
Ferguson, K. E., 108
Ferguson, K. J., 220
Ferry, D. L., 272
Fevurly, R., 319
Feynman, R. P., 66
Fichman, M., 414
Fiedler, F. E., 431, 441–444
Finkelstein, R., 201
Finn, C. E., Jr., 289, 427
Finn, J. D., 308
Firestone, W. A., 109, 112, 186, 188, 445
Fiske, S., 400, 401
Fleishman, E. A., 432
Fleming, T., 11
Flood, P. K., 185
Flyvbjerg, B., 245, 246
Folger, R., 154
Follett, M. P., 14–15
Ford, M. E., 165
Forster, K. I., 60
Forsyth, P. B., 105, 106, 196, 198, 199, 200, 214, 220, 270, 315, 411
Foster, W. P., 16, 108
Fox, E., 70
Francke, D. C., 405
Frederick, D., 338
French, J. R. P., 236, 239, 243*t*, 244
Frick, D. M., 456
Friebel, G., 412–413
Fried, Y., 168
Friedman, R. A., 275
Fromm, E., 201, 362
Froosman, J., 272
Frost, P. J., 451
Fry, W. R., 156
Fuhrman, S. H., 288, 289, 304
Fulk, J., 402, 403

Gadalla, T., 163
Gage, C. Q., 117, 118
Gagné, E. D., 66
Gagné, R. M., 68
Gahmberg, H., 394
Galanter, E., 56
Galbraith, J., 156
Galinsky, A., 168
Gallagher, J. J., 86
Garcia, J. E., 442, 443
Garcia, T., 161
Garner, R., 253
Garrison, J., 77, 80
Gates, R. M., 426
Gaynor, A. K., 16, 108
Gaziel, H., 240
Geary, D. C., 78
Geijsel, F., 451
Geist, J. R., 195
Gergen, K. J., 77
Gerth, H. H., 95, 107
Getzels, J. W., 9, 24
Gibson, J. L., 406
Gibson, S., 162, 164
Gigerenzer, G., 331, 338, 347–350
Gilligan, C., 108
Gillihan, S. J., 407
Gillmore, M. R., 411
Gilmer, B. H., 209
Gilovich, T., 9
Gist, M. E., 160, 161
Gladwell, M., 153–154, 336
Glass, G. V., 293
Glenn, J., 83
Glick, P., 400
Goddard, R. D., 192, 193, 196, 199, 217
Godden, D. R., 68
Goertz, M., 271
Goertz, M. E., 289
Goes, J. B., 277
Goldberg, M. A., 342
Goldman, S., 250, 251
Goldring, E. B., 113
Gonzales, I., 220
Good, T. L., 53–54, 321–322
Goodnow, J. J., 56
Gordon, C. W., 200
Gouldner, A., 17, 97, 99, 100, 107, 111, 114
Grabner, R., 63
Graen, G., 156
Graham, L. L., 159
Graham, M., 72
Graham, S., 71, 149, 150, 170
Grandori, A., 340, 345
Gray, P., 62, 63
Greenberg, J., 154, 155, 156, 338
Greene, C. N., 238
Greene, D., 147
Greenleaf, R. K., 456
Greeno, J. G., 56, 80
Greenwald, R., 308
Greer, B., 76
Gregory, B. E., 456
Gresso, D. W., 189
Griffiths, D. E., 4, 250, 251
Grolnick, W. S., 148
Gronn, P., 446
Gronn, P. C., 389, 444, 445, 446
Gross, E., 273
Grouws, D., 54
Grubb, W. N., 270, 271
Grush, J. E., 157
Guba, E. G., 9, 24

Gulick, L., 10, 11
Guo, C., 277
Gupta, A. K., 399
Guskey, T. R., 162

Hack, W. G., 416
Hackman, M. Z., 195
Hage, J., 112
Hall, R. H., 95, 109–114, 306, 390, 408, 412
Hallinger, P., 322, 323, 440–441
Halpin, A. W., 208, 209, 210, 435
Halverson, R., 447
Hamilton, A., 446
Hamilton, L., 291
Hammond, J. S., 338
Hannum, J., 217, 218
Hanson, E. M., 183
Hanson, M., 283
Hanushek, E. A., 289, 307–308, 324
Harder, J. W., 155
Harding, F. D., 432
Hardy, C., 240
Harris, A., 454
Harris, K. R., 71
Harris, T. E., 396, 399, 409, 411, 413, 416, 419, 420
Hart, A. W., 16, 108
Hartke, D. D., 443
Hartley, M., 213
Hartnell, C. A., 455, 456
Harvey, C., 61
Hatch, T. C., 271, 274, 285
Hattie, J., 316–318, 324
Haynes, P. A., 342
Haywood, H. C., 77
Heck, R. H., 299, 306, 309, 322, 323, 324, 440
Heclo, H., 280
Hedges, L. V., 308
Heide, J. B., 277
Heintzman, M., 404
Heller, M. F., 445
Hellriegel, D., 29
Helmke, A., 54, 55
Hemphill, J. K., 434–435
Henderson, J. E., 235, 349
Heneman, H. G. I., 159
Henkin, A. B., 240
Herker, D., 275
Hernshaw, L. S., 55
Herriott, R. E., 109, 112
Herzberg, F., 143, 470
Hess, F. M., 427
Hickey, D. T., 75, 81
Higgins, E. T., 3, 4
Hill, P. T., 113
Hill, W. F., 44, 46
Hindi, N. M., 392
Hirschman, A. O., 248
Hitch, G. J., 61
Hitt, M. A., 183
Hmelo, C. E., 83
Hmelo-Silver, C. E., 82, 83
Hobson, C. J., 307
Hoffman, A. N., 277
Hoffman, J., 213
Hoffman, J. D., 193, 234, 235
Hofman, R. H., 440
Hofman, W. H. A., 440
Hollenbeck, J. R., 166
Holtgraves, T., 400, 401
Holum, A., 83
Homans, G. C., 9
Honig, M., 271, 274, 285, 291
Hopkins, D., 454
Horn, M. B., 349
Horner, R. H., 52
House, R. J., 435, 452
Houston, C. E., 338
Howeler, M., 400
Howell, J. M., 451
Howell, J. P., 445
Hoy, W. K., 5, 95, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112, 114–120, 116, 118, 127, 130, 131, 156, 162, 164, 188, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 209, 211–212, 213, 214, 217, 218–219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 233, 234, 235, 240, 245, 247, 252, 253, 259, 270, 291, 309–310, 315, 316, 318, 319, 342, 343, 347, 349, 360, 364, 372–382, 411, 435, 441, 443, 477
Huber, G. P., 190, 238, 402
Hung, Y. C., 403
Hunsaker, P., 396
Hunt, J. G., 240
Hunter, J. E., 143
Hunter, M., 54
Hutchinson, S., 456

Ialongo, N. S., 49–50
Iannacone, L., 105
Imants, J., 411
Imber, M., 375
Immegart, G. L., 430
Infeld, L., 4
Ingersoll, R. M., 127, 130, 270, 285
Ireland, R. D., 183
Irwin, J. W., 72
Isaacson, G., 234, 235
Isaacson, W., 252
Isherwood, G., 109, 111, 112, 443
Ivancevich, J. M., 406
Ivey, A. E., 398, 399
Ivey, M. B., 398

Jablin, F. M., 390, 397, 414, 417
Jackson, P. R., 240
Jackson, S., 114
Jacobs, T. O., 432
Jago, A. G., 349, 364, 365, 367, 368
James, W., 7, 348
Janis, I. L., 350–351, 382
Jantzi, D., 35, 322, 323, 451, 453, 454
Jarrold, C., 61
Jehn, K. A., 185
Jepperson, R. L., 281
Jermier, J. M., 444
Jernigan, I. E., 397
Jinks, M., 456
Joachimsthaler, E. A., 114
Johnson, B. L., Jr., 8, 274
Johnson, C. W., 349
Johnson, D. W., 84–85
Johnson, P., 414
Johnson, P. E., 240
Johnson, R. T., 84–85
Jones, E. E., 401
Jones, M. S., 74
Jones, R. G., 200
Judge, T. A., 430
Jung, D. I., 448

Kackmark, K. M., 456
Kagan, S., 85
Kahn, R. L., 277, 389, 419, 479
Kahneman, D., 338, 347, 351, 362
Kain, J. F., 324
Kalyuga, S., 64
Kanfer, R., 140, 149, 150, 156
Kanigel, R., 12
Kanner, L., 213
Kant, I., 245
Kanter, R. M., 256, 257, 259
Kark, R., 456
Karpov, Y. V., 77
Karuza, J., 156
Katz, D., 277, 389, 419, 479
Katzell, R. A., 146
Katzenbach, J. R., 106
Kauffman, J. M., 45
Kearney, W. S., 220
Keeney, R. L., 338
Kellam, S. G., 49–50
Keller, R. T., 435, 444
Kellerman, B., 359
Kelly, J. R., 401
Kemp, S. E., 50
Kennedy, A. A., 180, 183, 185, 187
Kennedy, M. M., 291
Kerlinger, F. N., 3, 5
Kerr, S., 444
Keynes, J. M., 5
Khan, Z., 106
Kida, T., 338
Kiewra, K. A., 72, 73
Kilmann, R. H., 202–203
King, M. B., 271
King, N., 161

Kingdon, J. W., 278
Kinney, S. T., 403
Kirby, M. M., 199, 315
Kirk, S. A., 86
Kirschner, P. A., 55
Kirst, M. W., 302
Kissinger, H., 251–252
Klahr, D., 83
Klein, G., 336
Klein, H. J., 166
Klimoski, R. J., 406
Knapp, M., 81
Knapp, M. L., 404
Knetsch, J., 362
Knopoff, K., 108
Kock, N., 403
Koestner, R., 170
Kofman, F., 14
Kolesar, H., 109, 111
Kollman, K., 279
Konstantopoulos, S., 308
Kosalaka, T., 430
Kotter, J. P., 233, 238
Kottkamp, R., 159, 195, 211, 213, 214, 218–219
Kouzes, J. M., 456
Kozulin, A., 77
Kraatz, M. S., 277
Kranz, J., 113
Kristof-Brown, A., 168
Krone, K. J., 390
Krueger, A. B., 308
Kruger, M. L., 322
Kruse, S. D., 35
Kuhlman, E., 130
Kuhn, D., 83
Kuhnert, K. W., 449, 452
Kulik, C. T., 154
Kunz, D., 435
Kurtz, N. M., 200

Lachter, J., 60
Laine, R., 308
Lally, V., 240
Landrum, T. J., 45
Landy, F. J., 143, 158
Lane, K., 50
Langer, E. J., 363
Larsen, T. J., 440
Larson, C. L., 263
Larson, J. R. J., 400
Latham, G. P., 53, 165, 166, 167, 168, 362
Lauver, K., 71
Lave, J., 75, 80
Lavery, R. G., 443
Lawler, E. E., III, 141, 156, 433, 434
Lawler, M. L., 158
Lawrence, B. S., 407
Lawrence, P. R., 21
Le, L., 71
Leach, D. J., 240
Leathers, D. G., 404
Lee, G., 440
Lee, J., 309–312
Leech, B. L., 279
Lefkowitz, J., 143
Leiba-O'Sullivan, S., 240
Leithwood, K., 35, 270, 271, 322–323, 451, 453, 454
Lengel, R. H., 402, 403
Lens, W., 172
Lepper, M. R., 147
Leritz, L. E., 432
Levanthal, G. S., 156
Level, D. A., Jr., 403
Leverette, B. B., 435
Levi, A., 338
Levin, B., 323
Levin, J. R., 73, 74
Levin, M. E., 74
Levitt, B. L., 190
Lewin, K., 1
Lewis, P., 449, 452
Lewis, P. V., 390, 409, 420
Lewis, T. J., 52
Liao, Y. M., 217
Libby, R., 338
Licata, J. W., 416
Likert, R., 195
Lind, E. A., 156
Lindblom, C. E., 340, 341
Lipham, J., 24, 405
Lipson, M. Y., 56
Litchfield, E. H., 332, 340
Litwin, G., 209
Lloyd, C. A., 323
Locke, E. A., 53, 139, 165, 166, 167, 168, 362
Lockhart, R. S., 64, 68
Loeb, S., 288
LoGerfo, L., 193, 199
Lorsch, J. W., 21
Lotto, L. S., 185
Louis, K. L., 188
Louis, K. S., 35, 240, 271, 454
Lugg, C. A., 240
Lunenburg, F. C., 201
Luppescu, S., 270, 271, 309–310
Lynn, M. L., 274, 275, 285

Maag, J. W., 50
MacGeorge, E. L., 407
Machiavelli, N., 229, 245, 246
MacKay, D. A., 109, 111
Mackely, T., 125, 163
MacKensie, S. B., 445
MacKinnon, J. D., 112
Madden, A., 71
Maehr, M. L., 153
Mager, R., 52
Mahar, L., 443
Malen, B., 113, 284
Mann, L., 350–351
Mann, R. D., 429
Manna, P., 291
Manning, P. K., 390
March, J. G., 13–14, 190, 247, 277, 335, 446, 447, 483
Marcoulides, G. A., 440
Marion, R., 185
Marjoribanks, K., 130
Marks, H. M., 125, 240, 454
Marsh, J., 291
Marsick, V. J., 34
Marta, S., 432
Martin, B. N., 456
Martin, J., 75, 108
Martin, Y. M., 443
Maslow, A., 139–143, 470
Maslowski, R., 185, 189
Massell, D., 304
Maugham, B., 185
Mausner, B., 143
Mayer, R. C., 193
Mayer, R. E., 44, 64
Mayo, E., 15, 179
McAuliffe, M., 162
McCarthy, M. R., 51
McCaskey, M. B., 404–405
McCaslin, M., 75, 81
McClelland, D. C., 145–147, 431
McCormick, C. B., 73
McDaniel, J., 279–280
McDonald, D., 159, 319, 417
McDonnell, L., 161, 290
McElroy, J. C., 411
McFarland, W. J., 250, 251
McGuigan, L., 196, 199, 315
McIntyre, J. R., 162
McKinley, W., 4
McLaughlin, M., 161
McMahon, E., 130
McNamara, V., 443
McNeil, L. M., 126, 293
McPartland, J., 307
Mechanic, D., 255
Meese, L. J., 161
Meier, K. J., 286
Mento, A. J., 166
Merton, R., 13, 98, 232
Metz, M. H., 188
Meyer, H. D., 127
Meyer, J. W., 127, 269, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287
Meyer, M., 9, 127
Michaels, R. E., 114
Midgley, C., 161
Miles, M. B., 109
Militello, L., 336

Miller, A., 152
Miller, D., 276
Miller, D. M., 222
Miller, D. S., 392
Miller, G. A., 56, 62
Miller, L. E., 157
Miller, P. H., 76
Miller, R. J., 307, 324
Miller, S., 395, 416
Milliken, F. J., 419
Mills, C. W., 95, 107
Mind Garden, Inc., 455
Mindlin, S., 272, 275
Miner, A. S., 274
Miner, J. B., 3, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 156, 166, 203, 364
Mintzberg, H., 4, 5, 30, 94, 109, 120–126, 178, 180, 240–243, 243*t*, 244, 247, 249, 255, 256, 258, 259, 276, 470
Mishra, A. K., 193
Miskel, C., 159, 210, 279–280, 280, 281, 283, 284, 319, 364, 389, 417, 428, 454
Mitchell, S. A., 82
Mitchell, T. R., 159, 160, 161, 435
Mizruchi, M. S., 281
Mo, L., 71
Moe, T. M., 289
Moeller, G. H., 111
Mohan, M. L., 187
Monge, P. R., 409, 410
Monk, D. H., 307, 308
Montanari, J. R., 275
Mood, A. M., 307
Moolenaar, N. M., 454
Morreale, S., 195
Morrison, E. W., 419
Morse, P. S., 398, 399
Mortimore, P., 185, 306
Moshman, D., 70, 76, 77, 78
Mott, P. E., 222, 319–320
Mouton, J. S., 437
Mowday, R. T., 159, 185
Mulhern, J. A., 159
Mullins, T., 234, 235
Mumford, M. D., 432
Mundell, B. L., 284
Murdock, S. G., 51
Murphy, J., 440–441
Murphy, P. K., 77
Myers, G. E., 393, 408, 418
Myers, M. T., 393, 408, 418

Nadler, D. A., 158
Nagarajan, A., 82
Nanus, B., 451
National Commission on Excellence in Education, 302
Neale, M. A., 338
Needels, M., 81
Nelson, T. O., 70
Nespor, J., 148
Neubert, M. J., 456
Newell, L. J., 11
Newland, W., 112, 127
Newman, F. M., 271
Newman, S. E., 84
Ng, S. H., 401
Nicholls, J. G., 152
Nichols, S. L., 293
Nietzsche, F., 245
Nisbett, R. E., 351
Norby, M. M., 58, 59, 67, 70, 75
Northcraft, G. B., 338, 406
Northouse, P. G., 427, 432, 455, 466
Novak, J., 73
Nye, B., 308

O'Day, J. A., 288, 304
O'Donnell, A. M., 85
Ogawa, R. T., 113, 210, 283, 284, 427, 446
Oke, A., 455, 456
O'Kelly, J., 85
O'Leary-Kelly, A. M., 166
Olejnik, S., 162
O'Neill, R. E., 51
Ordonez, L., 168
O'Reilly, C. A. I., 185, 417
Organ, D. W., 221
Orton, J. D., 127
Osborn, R. N., 240
Osguthorpe, R. D., 279
O'Toole, L. J., Jr., 286
Ouchi, W., 126, 180, 182–183, 185, 195
Ousten, J., 185

Paas, F., 62, 63, 64
Pace, C. R., 209
Packard, J. S., 224
Page, C. H., 106
Pajares, F., 162
Palincsar, A. S., 75, 84, 86, 396
Pane, J., 291
Paris, A. H., 76
Paris, S. G., 56, 57, 76
Park, S. O., 277
Park, V., 291
Parrot, R. L., 404
Parsons, T., 20, 26, 43, 107
Pascal, A., 161
Passaro, S. L., 162
Patten, S., 323
Pauly, E., 161
Payne, H. J., 389, 397
Peabody, R., 232, 234, 243*t*
Pelletier, L. G., 147
Penley, L. E., 397
Pennings, J. M., 274, 275
Perez, L., 259
Perrow, C., 17, 95
Peters, L. H., 443
Peters, T. J., 105, 106, 179, 180, 183, 185
Peterson, C., 196
Peterson, K. D., 188, 203
Petrilli, M., 291
Peverly, S., 72
Pfeffer, J., 30, 238, 251, 273, 277, 278, 285, 338
Phillips, D. C., 75, 78
Piaget, J., 42, 75–76, 474
Piccolo, R. G., 430
Pinder, C. C., 142, 144, 145, 147, 159–160, 167, 168, 170
Pink, D. H., 172
Pinker, S., 147, 348
Pintrich, P. R., 161
Piskorski, M., 272, 278
Plax, T. G., 397–398, 408, 419
Plecki, M. L., 307, 308
Podolny, J., 275
Podsakoff, P. M., 238, 445
Pohlman, J. T., 443
Pondy, L. R., 417
Poole, M. S., 209–210
Popham, W. J., 52
Porter, L. W., 139, 140, 143, 144, 147, 156, 185, 390, 403, 414, 419
Posner, B. Z., 456
Pounder, D. G., 446
Powell, W. W., 282, 283, 286
Presseisen, B. Z., 77
Pressley, M., 72
Prestine, N. A., 126
Pribram, K. H., 56
Price, R. H., 282
Printy, S. M., 125, 454
Pritchard, R. D., 140, 141, 159
Pugh, K., 240
Pulvers, K. M., 196
Purkey, S., 113
Putnam, L., 259, 390

Quinn, R. E., 185, 319, 320–321
Quinn, R. W., 319, 320–321

Rachlin, H., 45
Radvansky, G. A., 58, 61–62, 63, 64, 68
Raffini, J. P., 170
Raiffa, H., 338
Raisinghani, D., 258
Raith, M., 412–413
Raudenbush, S. W., 163, 305, 307
Rauschenberger, J., 143
Raven, B. H., 236, 239, 243*t*, 244
Ravit, G. D., 82, 83
Raymond, M. E., 289
Redding, W. C., 403

Reder, L. M., 55, 80
Rees, R., 131, 233, 234
Reeve, J., 170
Reeves, J. B., 118
Reilly, B. J., 407
Reiss, F., 213, 234
REL-Southeast, 291
Renkl, A., 64
Resnick, L. B., 56, 80
Rice, J. K., 306, 324, 403
Rice, M. E., 240
Riconscente, M., 70
Rigdon, M., 271
Riggio, R. E., 431, 448, 449, 451, 452, 453
Rinehart, J. S., 240
Rintamaa, M., 71
Rivkin, S. G., 324
Robbins, S. B., 71
Robbins, S. P., 105, 106, 185
Roberts, J. A., 456
Roberts, K. H., 390, 403, 414, 417, 419
Robinson, D. H., 73
Robinson, V. M. J., 323
Rockey, E. H., 399
Rodman, G., 393, 406
Roethlisberger, F., 15
Rogoff, B., 80
Ronning, R. R., 71, 78
Rosenshine, B., 53, 54
Rosoff, B., 164
Ross, J. A., 163
Ross, L., 351
Rossman, G. B., 188
Rothstein, E., 389
Rothstein, R., 271
Rotter, J. B., 162
Rousseau, D. M., 193
Rowan, B., 127, 163, 268, 272, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 307, 324, 440, 446
Rowe, K. J., 323
Runkel, P. J., 394
Russ, G. S., 403
Ruthruff, K. I., 60
Rutter, M., 185
Ryan, E. B., 400
Ryan, K., 221
Ryan, R. M., 147, 148, 170, 270, 272, 362

Sabo, D., 193, 195, 213, 214, 217, 218–219, 234, 319
Salas, E., 336
Salisbury-Glennon, J. D., 83
Sammons, P., 454
Samter, W., 407
Sanders, W. L., 323
Santora, J. C., 456
Sarros, J. C., 456
Sashkin, M., 451
Saxton, M. J., 202–203
Scaife, J., 240
Schaffer, D. R., 400
Schein, E. H., 180, 184–185, 188, 203
Schermerhorn, J. R., 240
Schmidt, H. G., 83
Schmidt, J. L., 201
Schmitt, N., 143
Schmitz, J., 403
Schmuck, R. A., 394
Schneider, B., 193, 196, 197–198, 199, 218, 271, 315, 316
Schneider, G. T., 240
Schneider, J. M., 185
Schneider, W., 56
Schonmann, S., 35
Schoorman, F. D., 193
Schrader, C. B., 411
Schraw, G. J., 57, 58, 59, 67, 70, 71, 75, 78
Schuler, R. S., 114
Schunk, D. H., 78, 146, 150, 161, 162
Schwab, D. P., 159
Schweitzer, J. H., 185
Schwelzer, M., 168
Scott, K. S., 155
Scott, W. R., 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 22, 24, 95, 98, 102, 103, 107, 108, 128, 129, 231, 232, 233, 234, 243*t*, 269, 272, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286–287, 305, 412, 479
Scribner, S. P., 427
Seashore, S. E., 309
Seashore Louis, K., 322–323
Sebastian, R., 400
Sebring, P. B., 270, 271, 309–310
Seligman, M. E. P., 199, 253
Selznick, P., 5, 179, 253, 281
Senatra, P. T., 114
Sendjaya, S., 456
Senge, P. M., 14, 34, 35, 468, 483
Sergiovanni, T. J., 195, 452
Serpa, R., 202–203
Shamir, B., 455
Shaw, R., 72
Shelby, A. N., 406
Sherer, J. Z., 447
Shin, J., 362
Shockley-Zalabak, P. S., 195
Shorey, H. S., 196
Short, P. M., 240
Short, R. J., 240
Showers, B. K., 375
Shuell, T., 53, 56
Shute, V., 309–312
Sias, P. M., 397, 414
Silins, H. C., 454
Silvern, S., 161
Simon, H. A., 12–14, 20, 55, 80, 231, 329, 330, 331, 347, 348, 373, 378
Sims, C., 279–280
Sinden, J. E., 118
Sipe, J. W., 456
Sitkin, S. B., 193
Skinner, B. F., 44, 46, 473
Skrzypek, G. J., 443
Slavin, R. E., 85
Sleegers, P., 451, 454
Slocum, J. W., 29
Slowik, L. H., 168
Smith, A., 185
Smith, C., 4
Smith, J. F., 338
Smith, M. S., 86, 288, 304
Smith, P. A., 193, 195, 196, 199, 217, 220, 252, 315
Smith, S. M., 400
Smylie, M. A., 161
Snowman, J., 72
Snyder, C. R., 196
Snyderman, B., 143
Sokoloff, N., 108
Somers, M. J., 143
Song, M., 279
Soodak, L. C., 51
Spector, P. E., 306
Spillane, J. P., 447
Sproull, L. S., 190
Stage, S. A., 50
Stalker, G. M., 275–276
Starkie, D., 345
Staw, B. M., 4
Stearns, T. M., 274, 277
Steers, R. M., 139, 140, 143, 144, 185
Steinbach, R., 35, 453
Steinfield, C. W., 402, 403
Sterling-Turner, H. E., 49
Stern, G. C., 209
Sternberg, K., 58, 59, 65, 66
Sternberg, R. J., 58, 59, 65, 66
Stevens, R., 53, 54
Stewart, J., 319
Stinchcombe, A. L., 107
Stipek, D. J., 146, 149, 152
Stogdill, R. M., 429, 430
Stohl, C., 408, 412
Stone, A. G., 456
Strauss, G., 30, 249
Stringer, R., 209
Stringfield, S., 301
Strube, M. J., 443
Suchman, M. C., 231
Sugai, G., 52
Sun, J., 454
Sutcliffe, K. M., 116, 272
Sutton, R. I., 4, 282, 286, 338

Sweetland, S. R., 95, 109, 112, 114–120, 118, 193, 195, 213, 217, 220, 240, 245
Sweller, J., 55, 62, 64

Taguiri, R., 209
Tam, H., 61
Tarter, C. J., 118, 156, 195, 196, 199, 200, 211–212, 213, 214, 217, 218–219, 221, 222, 240, 247, 291, 309, 315, 318, 319, 342, 343, 347, 360, 364, 372–382, 477
Taylor, F., 10–12
Taylor, J., 446
Taylor, T., 456
Teddlie, C., 301
Te'eni, D., 389, 390, 391
te Winkel, W. W. R., 83
Thaler, R., 362
Theoret, A., 258
Thierry, H., 159
Thomas, H., 342
Thomas, K., 260–262
Thompson, D. E., 146
Thompson, J. D., 11, 335
Thoreau, H. D., 361
Tingstrom, D. H., 49
Tjosvold, D., 259
Todd, P. M., 338, 349
Tolbert, P. S., 95
Tosi, H. L., 3
Toth, E., 83
Toure, J., 291
Trentham, L., 161
Trevino, L. K., 403
Trice, H., 187
Troutman, A. C., 48
Tschannen-Moran, M., 125, 162, 163, 164, 193, 194, 195, 196, 217, 221, 222, 253, 259, 274
Tubbs, M. E., 159
Turner, M. E., 414
Tversky, A., 338, 347, 351
Tyler, B. B., 402, 408
Tyler, T. R., 154

Udy, S. H., 107
Uline, C., 125, 163, 222, 259
Umbreit, J., 51
Urwick, L. F., 10
U.S. Department of Education, 290, 303

Valenzuela, A., 293
Vallerand, R. J., 147
van de Pol, J., 81
van der Molen, H. T., 83
Van de Ven, A. H., 272
Van Dijk, D., 456
Van Eerde, W., 159
van Gog, T., 64
van Merrienboer, J. J. G., 62
van Merriënboer, J. J. G., 64
Van Meter, P., 72, 73
Vansteenkiste, M., 172
van Vugt, M., 457
Vecchio, R. P., 250, 252, 433, 443
Verschaffel, L., 76
Villa, J., 445
Vinovskis, M. A., 302–303, 304
Volman, M., 81
von Gog, T., 63
Vroom, V. H., 156, 157, 349, 364–372, 365, 366, 367, 368, 373, 435
Vygotsky, L. S., 75, 76–77, 474

Wagner, C., 198, 199, 315
Wahlstrom, K., 271, 322–323, 454
Walker, J. L., 280
Wall, T. D., 240
Waller, W., 23, 200
Walumbwa, F. O., 455, 456
Waterman, R. H., Jr., 105, 106, 179, 180, 183, 185
Watkins, K. E., 34
Watts, D. M., 117
Webb, N., 84
Webb, R. B., 162, 164
Weber, J., 441
Weber, M., 20, 95–97, 107, 230, 231, 232, 469–470
Wehby, J., 50
Weick, K. E., 35, 116, 127, 363, 433, 434
Weil, T., 483
Weinberg, K., 143
Weiner, B., 149, 150, 170
Weinert, F. E., 54, 55
Weinfeld, F. D., 307
Wenger, E., 80
Westley, F., 35
Whetten, D. A., 278
White, J. F., 113
White, P., 113
Whitehead, A. N., 9, 82
Wietz, S., 404
Wijnen, W. H. F. W., 83
Wiklund, C., 196
Wilcox, K., 159
Wilczynski, S. M., 49
Wildavsky, A., 117
Wilensky, H., 130
Williams, B. W., 118
Williams, L. B., 233, 234, 443
Willower, D. J., 3, 6, 200, 201, 224
Wilson, B., 186, 188
Wilson, M., 65
Wilson, T. D., 338
Wilson, W. J., 271
Wimpelberg, R. K., 301
Windschitl, M., 75, 80–81, 270
Winer, B. J., 435
Winters, D. C., 166
Wise, A., 126
Wisegraver, R., 400
Wiseman, C., 342
Wisenbaker, J. M., 185
Wiskowskie, L., 217, 319
Witziers, B., 322
Wixson, K. K., 56
Wohlstetter, P., 291
Wolf, S., 336
Wolin, S., 13
Wood, E. G., 147
Wood, R., 160, 161
Wood, S. E., 147
Woodman, R. W., 29
Woods, B. S., 77
Woolfolk, A. E., 49, 71, 147–148, 153, 164, 170, 172, 217, 223, 360, 400
Woolfolk Hoy, A., 125, 162, 163, 164, 192, 193, 196, 199, 200, 315, 316, 318
Worthy, J. C., 11
Wright, P. M., 166
Wu, H. C., 200

Xin Ma, 54

Yamagishi, T., 411
Yamashita, M., 291
Yammarino, S. J., 445
Yanon, D., 190
Yekovich, C. W., 66
Yekovich, F. R., 66
Yetton, P. W., 364, 366, 368
Yokoi, L., 72
York, R. L., 307
Young, T. V., 279, 280
Yuchtman, E., 309
Yukl, G. A., 167, 238, 239, 240, 427, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 437, 444, 451, 452, 453

Zaccaro, S. J., 430, 432
Zahn, C. L., 414
Zald, M. M., 259
Zand, D., 193, 195
Zander, A., 434
Zellerman, G., 161
Zellman, G., 161
Zenger, T. R., 407
Zhau, Y., 240
Zidon, I, 168
Zielinski, A. E., 411
Zmuda, J. H., 49–50
Zsambok, C., 336
Zucker, L., 3

SUBJECT INDEX

Note: Page numbers followed by *f* or *t* indicate figures or tables, respectively.

Ability, beliefs about, 152–154
Abstract inputs, 305
Abstract resources, 270, 272
Academic achievement
  administrator effects on, 321–323
  Bryk and colleagues model of, 309–310, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
  collective efficacy and, 192–193
  essential supports for, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
  faculty trust and, 195–196
  Hattie's analysis of, 316–318
  Hoy and Woolfolk Hoy model of, 309–310, 314–316, 317*f*
  learning strategies and, 310, 311*t*, 312
  Lee and Shute model of, 309–312, 311*t*
  need for, 145–147
  organizational model for, 314–316, 317*f*
  school climate and, 213, 217–218, 220, 222, 310–314
  school conditions promoting, 197–198, 198*f*, 318*t*
  school culture and, 314–316, 317*f*
  school effectiveness and, 306, 309–318
  school structure and, 111–112
  self-efficacy and, 161–162
  social-contextual factors in, 310–312, 311*t*
  standards and, 288–292
  student engagement and, 310, 311*t*, 312
  teacher effects on, 310–318, 323–324
Academic emphasis
  in school climate, 215, 215*t*, 218–220, 219*t*
  in school culture, 196–200, 197*f*
  in school effectiveness, 310, 311*t*, 314–316, 317*f*
Academic optimism
  culture of, 196–200, 314–316, 317*f*
  definition of, 196, 314
  dimensions of, 196–197, 197*f*
  measurement of, 202
  utility of, 198–200
Academic Optimism Scale, 202
Academy metaphor, 187
Acceptance, of decisions, 365, 373–374, 374*f*, 378
Acceptance rule, for decisions, 365
Access to power holders, 241
Accommodating style, of conflict management, 261–262, 261*f*
Accommodation, 76
Accountability, 288–293, 304, 318–319, 474–475
  components of plans for, 288–289
  definition of, 288
  effective adaptation to policies, 293
  federal reform initiatives and, 269, 290–292, 475
  increasing demands for, 269
  individual, in cooperative learning, 84–85
  key assumptions and principles on, 296
  principles underlying, 288
  standards in, 288–290
Achievement; *see* Academic achievement
Achievement motivation theory, 145–147
Achievement orientation, of leaders, 431
Achievement Press, 219, 219*t*
Acronyms, as memory tool, 73
Active listening, 398
Active management-by-exception, 449, 451
Active teaching, 53–54; *see also* Direct instruction
Adaptation, 457
Adaptive satisficing, 342, 344*t*
Adaptive strategy, in decision making, 342–344
Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), 290, 306
Adhocracy, 122
Administration; *see also* specific roles, tasks, and issues
  challenges of, 301–302
  definition of, 8–9
  functions of, 10
  nature of work in, 428
  resource-dependent perspective and, 273–280
Administrative behavior, 478–479
Administrative model, of decision making, 330–340, 344*t*
Administrators; *see also* Leadership
  authority of, 232–235
  communication as primary activity of, 389
  and school effectiveness, 310–312, 311*t*, 321–323
Affective conflict, 259–260
Affective states, and efficacy, 161, 191
Alliance-building game, 256
Altruism, 221*t*
American Association for the Advancement of Science's Benchmarks for Science Literacy, 80
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), 291
Analysis, theorizing as mode of, 7–8
Anchoring-and-adjustment heuristic, 338
Anchoring trap, 339*f*
Antecedents, in behavioral approach, 44, 47–48
Apprenticeships, cognitive, 83–84
Arousal, and self-efficacy, 161, 163
ARRA; *see* American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
ASASA; *see* Association of School Administrators
Assimilation, 75–76
Association of School Administrators (ASASA), 73
Attending, as listening skill, 398
Attention, 59–60
Attractiveness, 253, 254*t*
Attributed idealized influence, 450

Attribution theory, 149–151, 151*f*, 152*f*, 171*t*
Authenticity, of authority, 235
Authentic tasks, 81
Authoritarian structure, 111
  change from, 112–114, 113*f*
Authority
  authenticity of, 235
  bureaucratic, dilemma of, 234
  characteristics in schools, 231
  definition of, 230–231
  formal, 232, 472
  informal, 232, 472
  legitimate, 230
  in school administration, 232–235
  sources of, 230–235
  system of, 241–242
  types of positions, 233, 233*f*
  vs. authoritarianism, 230–231
Authority hierarchy
  dysfunction of, 98, 99*t*
  enabling *vs.* hindering, 114–116
  in Hall's organizational inventory, 109–110
  in Weberian bureaucracy, 96, 98, 470
Autocratic organization, 123
Autocratic style, of decision making, 366–367
Autonomy, need for, 147–148
Availability, of resources, 270–271
Availability heuristic, 338
Avoiding style, of conflict management, 261–262, 261*f*
AYP; *see* Adequate Yearly Progress

Bargaining, as function of rules, 100, 101*t*
Basic skills, 53–55
Behavioral approach, to learning, 44–55, 87*t*, 473, 482–483
Behavioral supports, positive, 49–52
Behaviors, in leadership, 434–438
Beliefs
  about ability, 152–154
  about causality, 149–151
  about fairness, 154–156
  about outcomes, 156–160
  definition of, 148
  individual, 148–165, 171*t*, 470
  shared, culture as, 182–183
Belonging needs, 140*f*, 141, 142
Blueprint for Reform: The Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 303
Bonding social capital, 313*t*, 314, 315*f*
Boundaries, of system, 22
Boundary conditions, 334
Boundary spanning, 274–275, 286–287
Bounded rationality, 331
Bridges, in communication network, 410*f*, 411
Bridging; *see* Boundary spanning
Bridging social capital, 313*t*, 314, 315*f*
Buffering, 99, 101*t*, 274, 285–286
Bullying, school climate and, 220
Bureaucracy
  criticism of, 97–108
  dual structure of, 107–108
  expectations and roles in, 26–27
  feminist critique of, 108
  functions *vs.* dysfunctions in, 97–101, 99*t*, 101*t*
  Hall on, 109–114, 110*t*
  highly developed, school organization as, 109
  Hoy and Sweetland on, 114–120
  ideal type of, 97, 107, 110, 469–470
  interaction with individuals, 27–28, 28*f*
  loose coupling perspective on, 126–128
  machine, 122, 123–124, 125
  Mintzberg on, 120–126, 470
  professional, 122, 124–126
  professional conflict with, 109, 128–133, 129*t*, 479–480
  simple, 124
  Weberian model of, 20, 95–97, 469–470
Bureaucratic authority, dilemma of, 234
Bureaucratic control, 241–242
Bureaucratic orientation, in schools, 129–131, 129*t*
Bureaucratic pattern, 110–111, 110*f*
Bureaucratic socialization, 130–131
Bush, George H., 303

CALPs; *see* Cognitive ancestral leadership profiles
Campbell's Law, 293
Career orientation
  dysfunction of, 98, 99*t*
  in Weberian bureaucracy, 96, 98
Categorical conformity, 286–287
Causality, 149–151
Central executive, in working memory, 60–62, 61*f*
Centralization, 114–115
  and communication networks, 413–414
  enabling, 115, 119*t*
  hindering, 115, 119*t*
Ceremonies, in school culture, 186–187, 187*t*
Change games, 258–259
Change-oriented behaviors, of leaders, 437–438
Chaotic structure, 111
  change from, 112–114, 113*f*
Charismatic authority, 231
Charismatic organization, 123
Charlottesville Education Summit (1989), 303
Chicago Public Schools study, 312–314, 315
Chunking, 64
Citizenship, climate of, 221–222, 221*t*
Civic virtue, 221*t*
Classical model, of decision making, 330, 344*t*
Climate; *see* Organizational climate; School climate
Clinical strategy, on school climate, 222–224
Closed climate, 212, 212*f*
Closed systems
  natural (organic), 14–17
  open systems *vs.*, 9, 18, 18*f*
  rational (machine), 10–12
Club metaphor, 188
Cmaps, 73
Coalition building, 250–251, 252*t*
Coalitions
  interorganizational, 278
  in organizational politics, 247–248, 472
Coercive conformity, 283
Coercive formalization, 114
Coercive power, 236, 237, 238–240, 238*t*
Cognition, 27
Cognitive ancestral leadership profiles (CALPs), 459
Cognitive apprenticeships, 83–84
Cognitive approach, to learning, 44, 55–74, 87*t*, 473, 482–483
  guiding principles of, 70–71
  information-processing model in, 57–58, 59*f*
  knowledge and learning in, 56–58
  memory in, 57–70
  metacognition in, 70
  teaching applications of, 70–74, 87*t*
Cognitive capacities, and communication, 406–407
Cognitive conflict, 259–260
Cognitive development
  Piaget's theory of, 75–76
  Vygotsky's theory of, 76–77, 81
Cognitive load, 63–64
Cognitive science information processing model, 58, 59*f*
Cognitive skills, of leaders, 432–433
Cognitive strategies, 310, 311*t*
Cohesion, informal organizations and, 105, 106
Coleman Report, 307
Collaborating style, of conflict management, 261–262, 261*f*

Collaboration, among organizations, 277–278
Collaboratives, 278
Collaborative skills, in cooperative learning, 84–85
Collaborative view, of organizational effectiveness, 321, 322*f*
Colleagueship, 253, 254*t*
Collective efficacy, 190–193
  in academic achievement, 314–316, 317*f*
  in academic optimism, 196–200, 197*f*, 314
  definition of, 190
  formation of, 191–192
  measurement of, 192
  model of, 192*f*
  research findings on, 192–193
  sources of, 190–191
Collective Efficacy Scale (CE Scale), 192
Collegial Leadership, 219, 219*t*
Comfort trap, 339*f*
Commanding, as function of administration, 10
Communication, 388–425, 477
  case example on, 421–423
  caveats about, 389
  cognitive capacities in, 406–407
  context for, 392, 407–408
  coordination *vs.*, 479–480
  credibility in, 406
  definition of, 390
  direction of, 409–410, 417–420
  in enabling school structure, 115
  general model of, 390–393, 391*f*
  guides to practice, 423
  in hindering school structure, 115
  informal, 105–106
  key assumptions and principles on, 424
  media for, 391, 391*f*, 401–405
  nonverbal, 402, 404–405
  one-way, 393–394, 394*f*, 477
  oral *vs.* written, 403–404
  organizational, 408
  organizational perspectives on, 408–420
  portfolio exercise on, 425
  as primary activity of administrators, 389
  public speaking skills for, 400–401
  purposes of, 389
  school, 187, 392–393, 408–420
  sources in, 406–407
  substance of, 417–418
  two-way, 395–396, 395*f*, 477
  verbal, 402–404
Communication competence, 397–400, 477
Communication effects, 392
Communication networks, 409–420
  complementary, 417–420
  direction of, 409–410, 417–420
  formal, 409, 412–415, 413*f*
  horizontal, 409
  informal, 409, 415–417
  roles in, 410–412, 410*f*
  substance in, 417–418
  vertical, 409
Community metaphor, 188
Competence, of leaders, 446–447
Competing values, and organizational effectiveness, 320–321, 322*f*
Competitive style, of conflict management, 261–262, 261*f*
Competitive view, of organizational effectiveness, 321, 322*f*
Complex resources, 270, 272
Compound resources, 270
Compromising style, of conflict management, 261–262, 261*f*
Concept(s), 3
Concept mapping, 71, 73
Conceptual skills, of leaders, 432–433
Conditional knowledge, 57
Conflict
  affective, 259–260
  cognitive, 259–260
  dimensions of behavior producing, 260–261
  Janis-Mann theory of, 350–351
Conflict management, 259–264
Conflict-management styles, 260–263, 261*f*
Conflictual situation, 375, 376*f*, 379
Conformity, institutional, 282–284, 286–287
Congruence, of messages, 405
Congruence postulate, 31–32, 32*t*, 309
Conscientiousness, 221*t*
Consideration
  individualized, 449, 451
  in leadership, 435–436, 449, 451
  in organizational health, 214, 215*t*
Constructivism, 87*t*, 473–474, 482–483
  approach to learning, 44, 75–88
  central ideas of, 75
  construction of knowledge in, 78, 79*t*, 80–81
  first wave, 76
  general *vs.* situated knowledge in, 78–80
  Piaget's theory of, 75–76, 87*t*
  psychological/individual, 75–76, 87*t*
  radical, 77–78
  second wave, 76
  social, 76–77, 87*t*
  teaching applications of, 80–88, 87*t*
  types of, 75–78
  Vygotsky's theory of, 76–77, 81, 87*t*
Context
  for communication, 392, 407–408
  for long-term memory, 67–68
  for situated learning, 79–80
  for teacher efficacy, 163
Contingency models
  of decision making, 345–347, 346*f*
  of leadership, 439–447, 439*f*, 478
Contingency rule, 349
Contingency support, 81
Contingent reward leadership, 449, 451
Control
  culture of, 200–201
  span of, 11, 13
Controllability, in attribution theory, 149–151
Controlling, as function of administration, 10
Control view, of organizational effectiveness, 321, 322*f*
Conversation, 395, 395*f*
Cooperative learning, 84–89
Cooptation, 278
Coordinating, as function of administration, 10
Coordinating mechanisms, 120–121
Coordination, unobtrusive, 447
Coordination, *vs.* communication, 479–480
Coping strategies
  internal, 273, 274–277, 474
  interorganizational, 273, 277–280, 474
Core Content Standards, 292
Core operations, sensitivity to, 116, 117
Core values, 183, 186
Courtesy, 221*t*
Creativity
  in decision making, 336
  in leadership, 450
  in organizational effectiveness, 321, 322*f*
Credibility, 406
Cueing, 48
Cult of efficiency, 12
Cultural tools, in constructivism, 77
Culture
  in organization, 29; *see also* Organizational culture
  in school system, 25–26, 25*f*, 29, 33*f*; *see also* School culture
  in social systems, 24
Custodial culture, 200–201

Dark triad, 457
Deadlines, power of, 362, 364

Debate, 395*f*, 396
Decision(s)
  criteria for satisfactory solution in, 334
  enhancing quality and acceptance of, 365
  generic, 333–334
  unilateral, 377
  unique, 333–334
Decision making, 329–358, 476–477
  action cycle of, 331–332, 331*f*, 360
  administrative model of, 330–340, 344*t*
  analyzing difficulties in existent situation in, 333–334
  case example on, 352–355
  classical model of, 330, 344*t*
  constraints on, 366
  contingency model of, 345–347, 346*f*
  creativity in, 336
  decisiveness and, 361–362, 364
  deliberation and selection in, 337–338
  developing plan or strategy of action in, 335–338
  emotional self-regulation and, 363–364
  general propositions for, 364
  guides to practice, 355
  incremental model of, 340–341, 344*t*, 476
  individual *vs.* group, 366
  initiating plan of action in, 339–340
  key assumptions and principles on, 356
  mixed-scanning model of, 342–344, 344*t*, 476
  ownership and, 362–363, 364
  perception and, 360–361, 364
  portfolio exercise on, 356–357
  predicting consequences in, 337
  recognizing and defining problem or issue in, 332–333
  rules (heuristics) in, 337–338, 339*f*
  shared, 359–360, 364–387, 477; *see also* Shared decision making
  simplification and, 361–362, 364
  specifying alternatives in, 335–337
  stress and irrationality in, 350–351
  styles of, 366–367
  swift and smart, principles of, 347–350
  theory as guide for, 7, 8–9
  time as factor in, 336–337, 346, 362, 364, 366
  traps in, 338, 339*f*
  vigilance in, 350–351, 352*f*, 363, 364
Decision-making trees, 367–371, 369*f*, 370*f*
Decisiveness, power of, 361–362, 364
Declarative knowledge, 56–57, 58*t*
Decoupling, 285–286
Default rule, 347–348
Delegated style, of leadership, 436, 436*f*
Democratic administration, 15–16
Democratic situation, 375, 376*f*
Dependence, on resources, 271–273
Diagrams, as learning strategy, 73
Dilemma(s)
  of bureaucratic authority, 234
  definition of, 479
  organizational, 479–483
Directing, as function of administration, 10
Direct instruction, 53–55
Director, in shared decision making, 377, 378*t*
Direct reinforcement, 47, 47*f*
Direct supervision, 120
Distributed leadership, 445–447
Distributive justice, 156
Divided external coalitions, 247–248
Divisionalized form, 122
Division of labor, 10–11, 13, 14, 470
  dysfunction of, 98, 99*t*
  in Weberian bureaucracy, 95, 98
Domain-specific knowledge, 56, 57, 58*t*
Dominated external coalitions, 247
Domination, 234
Downward communication, 418–419
Dual structure, of bureaucracy, 107–108
Dynamic style, of leadership, 436, 436*f*
Dysfunctions, in bureaucracy, 97–101, 99*t*, 101*t*

EBP; *see* Evidence-based practice
Echoic memory, 58–59
Educator, in shared decision making, 377, 378*t*
Effectiveness; *see* Leadership effectiveness; Organizational effectiveness; School effectiveness
Effective-schools research, 309
Effective teachers, characteristics of, 316–317
Efficacy
  in academic optimism, 196–200, 197*f*, 314–316, 317*f*
  collective, 190–193, 196–200, 314–316, 317*f*
  culture of, 190–193
  in school effectiveness, 314–316, 317*f*
  teacher, 162–164, 164*f*, 190–193
Efficiency
  cult of, 12
  in informal organizations, 106
  in Weberian bureaucracy, 96–97
Elaboration, 67
Elaborative rehearsal, 64
Elementary and Secondary School Act, 290, 303; *see also* No Child Left Behind
ELL; *see* English language learners
ELT; *see* Evolutionary leadership theory
Emotional detachment, 234
Emotional maturity, 431
Emotional self-regulation, 363–364
Empire-building game, 256–257
Empowerment, 240, 242–243, 359–360; *see also* Shared decision making
Enabling centralization, 115, 119*t*
Enabling formalization, 114
Enabling school structure, 115–119, 119*t*, 136
  and mindful schools, 117–118, 118*f*
Enabling Structure Scale (ESS), 136
Encouraging, as listening skill, 398
Enculturation, 79
Engagement, student, 310, 311*t*, 312
English language learners (ELL), 86
Enhancers, in leadership situations, 444–445
Entity view, of ability, 152–153
Entropy, 23
Environment, 268–298, 474–475
  and academic achievement, 310–312, 311*t*
  accountability and, 288–293
  adaptation to, 284–288
  boundary spanning and, 274–275
  buffering and, 274, 285–286
  case example on, 294–295
  definition of, 30
  guides to practice, 295–296
  institutional perspective on, 269, 280–288, 474
  internal coping strategies for, 273, 274–277, 474
  interorganizational coping strategies for, 273, 277–280, 474
  key assumptions and principles on, 296
  and leadership, 433–434, 434*t*, 437–438
  of open system, 19*f*, 21–23, 269
  resource-dependence perspective on, 269, 270–280, 474
  response of school to, 31, 284–288
  of school as social system, 25*f*, 26, 30–31, 33*f*
  structural adjustments to, 275–277, 276*f*
  workplace, 179; *see also* Organizational climate; Organizational culture

Environmental-fit model, 276, 276*f*
Episodic buffer, 60–61, 61*f*, 63
Episodic memory, 65
Equality of Educational Opportunity (Coleman Report), 307
Equifinality, 23
Equilibrium, organizational, 20
Equity theory, 154–156, 155*f*, 171*t*
ESS; *see* Enabling Structure Scale
Essential supports, for academic achievement, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
Esteem needs, 140*f*, 141, 142
Evaluation, as cognitive skill, 70
Evidence-based practice (EBP), 290–291
Evolutionary leadership theory (ELT), 457–461
  analysis of, 459–460
  assumptions in, 457–458
  basic premise of, 457
  definitions in, 457
  hypotheses in, 458–459
  leadership recommendations from, 460–461
Exception principle, 13
Expectancy, 157
Expectancy theory, 156–160, 159*f*, 171*t*
Expectations, 26–27, 431
Expertise
  in bureaucracy, 109–110
  in mindful schools, deference to, 117
  in organizational politics, 254, 254*t*
  in professional-bureaucratic conflict, 128–131, 479–480
  system of, 241–242
  test of, 374, 374*f*, 376*f*, 378
Expertise game, 257
Expert power, 237
  administrative use of, 238–239
  subordinate responses to, 238, 238*t*
Expert situation, 376, 376*f*, 379
Explication, by rules, 99, 101*t*
Expressive communication, 418
External coalitions, 247–248, 472
External environment, 268–298; *see also* Environment
External feedback loops, 33–34
External locus of control, 149–151
Extrinsic cognitive load, 64
Extrinsic motivation, 170, 471
Extroversion, of leaders, 431
Eye contact, 404

Facial expression, 404
Factory metaphor, 188
Faculty trust, 193–196
  and academic achievement, 314–316, 317*f*
  in culture of academic optimism, 196–200, 197*f*, 314–316, 317*f*
  definition of, 194
  measurement of, 194–195, 202
  portfolio exercise on, 207
  research evidence on, 195–196
  school climate and, 220
Fading, 81
Failure
  attribution and, 150, 151*f*
  focus on, in mindful schools, 116
Fairness
  beliefs about, 154–156
  in equity theory, 154–156, 155*f*
  in organizational justice, 156, 157*f*
  in organizational politics, 253–254, 254*t*
  portfolio exercise on, 176–177
FBA; *see* Functional behavioral assessment
Federal reform initiatives; *see also* No Child Left Behind; Race to the Top
  and accountability, 269, 290–292, 298, 475
  history of, 302–304
Feedback, 392, 396–397
  in achievement motivation, 146
  definition of, 22
  in goal setting, 167, 168
  loops of, 32–34, 475–476
  negative, 396, 399
  in open system, 22
  positive, 396, 399
  in school as social system, 32–34
  strategies for seeking, 399–400
Feedback skills, 399–400
Feminist critique, of bureaucracy, 108
Fiedler's leadership model, 441–444
First wave constructivism, 76
Fiscal resources, 270, 305
Flattering, 251, 252*t*
Followers, in evolutionary leadership theory, 457
Forecasting, of environmental change, 274
Forgetting, 69
Form, of communication, 391, 391*f*
Formal authority, 232, 472
Formal communication networks, 409, 412–415, 413*f*
  centralization and, 413–414
  organizational shape and, 413–414
  relationship with informal networks, 417–420
  technology and, 413–414
Formalization
  coercive, 114
  definition of, 12, 114
  enabling, 114
  in natural and open system, 17
  in rational and open system, 12–13
  in school structure, 114
Formal organization, 95, 109; *see also* School structure
  and informal organization, 103–105, 105*f*
  in open system, 20–21
  in school as social system, 26–27
Frame of reference, theory as, 7–8
Framing rule, 347
Framing trap, 339*f*
Freedom *vs.* order, 479–483
Full-range leadership continuum, 448, 448*t*
Functional authority, 232
Functional behavioral assessment (FBA), 51

Games
  political, 255–259, 260*t*
  power, 248–264
GASing, 251–252, 252*t*
Generalizations, theoretical, 3–4
General knowledge, 56, 57, 58*t*
Generic decisions, 333–334
Germane cognitive load, 64
Gestalt theory, 75
Getting attention of superiors (GASing), 251–252, 252*t*
Gifted students, 86
Goal(s), 165–169, 171*t*, 470
  attainability of, 166
  attainment of, as effectiveness indicator, 305–306
  challenge of, 166, 168
  commitment to, 166
  in communication, 390–391, 391*f*
  competing, 306
  definition of, 12, 165
  in incremental decision making, 340–341
  in natural and open system, 17
  organizational, 305
  performance outcomes of, 32
  quantitative *vs.* qualitative, 168
  in rational and open system, 12
  in social systems, 24
  source of, 168
  specificity of, 166, 167, 168
Goal content, 165
Goal displacement, 100
Goal intensity, 165–166
Goal setting, 53, 146, 166–168
Goal-setting theory, 166–169, 169*f*, 171*t*
Good Behavior Game, 49–50
Grammar, of theory, 3–4
Grapevines, communication via, 105–106, 409, 415–417

Group advisory, 377
Group-agreement style, of decision making, 366–367
Group consensus, 377
Group-consultative style, of decision making, 366–367
Group majority, 377
Group processes, in cooperative learning, 84–85
Groupthink, 381–382, 383*f*
Growth-centered approach, to school climate, 222–223, 224–225
Growth view, of ability, 152–153

Hall's organizational system, 109–114, 110*t*
Hattie's effectiveness analysis, 316–318
Hawthorne studies, 14–17, 105
Hazing, 294–295
Health, climate of, 214–218, 472
  case example on, 225
  healthy *vs.* unhealthy, 216
  institutional level of, 214, 215*t*
  managerial level of, 214, 215*t*
  measurement of, 215*t*, 216–218, 217*f*, 222
  research findings on, 216–218, 217*f*
  synthesis with openness, 218–220
  technical level of, 214–215, 215*t*
Healthy organization, 216
Healthy school, 216, 472
Heroic leadership models, 446
Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory, 143–144, 145*t*, 171*t*
Heuristics, in decision making, 337–338, 339*f*
Hierarchical independence, 234
Hierarchy of authority; *see* Authority hierarchy
Hierarchy of needs, 139–143, 140*f*, 470
Highlighting, as learning strategy, 71–72
High-stakes testing, 289–293
Hindering centralization, 115, 119*t*
Hindering school structure, 115–116, 118–119, 119*t*, 136
Homeostasis, 23
Homogeneity, principle of, 11
Horizontal communication, 409, 418, 420
Hoy-Tarter model, of shared decision making, 372–382, 477
Human engineers, 10–12
Humanistic culture, 201
Human Machine Cognition (IHMC), 73
Human relations, 14–17, 38*t*
Human resources, 17–18
Hygienes, 144, 145*t*
Hypotheses, 6–7

Iconic memory, 58–59
Icons, in school culture, 186
IDEA; *see* Individuals with Disabilities Act
Idealized influence, 449–450
  attributed, 450
  as behavior, 450
Ideal type, of bureaucracy, 97, 107, 110, 469–470
Identification, by leaders, 446–447
Ideology, system of, 241–242; *see also* Organizational climate; Organizational culture
IHMC; *see* Human Machine Cognition
Illumination experiments, 15
Image management, 286
Images, in semantic memory, 66
Imitative conformity, 283–284
Impersonal orientation
  dysfunction of, 98, 99*t*
  in Hall's organizational inventory, 109–110
  in Weberian bureaucracy, 95–96, 98
Impression management, 250, 252*t*, 286
Inclusive classrooms, cooperative learning and, 86
Incremental model, of decision making, 340–341, 344*t*, 476
Incremental view, of ability, 152–153
Incumbents, rules for, 109–110
Index of Perceived Organizational Effectiveness, 319–320, 320*t*
Indifference, zone of, 232–233, 237, 373
Indispensability, increasing, 251, 252*t*
Individual(s), 33*f*, 138–177
  beliefs of, 148–165, 470
  goals of, 165–169, 470
  integrity of, informal organizations in, 105, 106
  needs of, 139–148, 470
  in school as social system, 25, 25*f*, 27–28, 28*f*, 470–471
Individual accountability, in cooperative learning, 84–85
Individual advisory, 377
Individual constructivism, 75–76, 87*t*
Individual-consultative style, of decision making, 366–367
Individual initiative, *vs.* planning, 481–482
Individualized consideration, 449, 451
Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA), 51
Inequity, 154
Influence tactics, in policy-making, 279–280, 279*f*
Influencing, in politics, 252–254, 254*t*
Informal authority, 232, 472
Informal communication networks, 105–106, 409, 415–417
  accuracy in, 416
  purposes of, 416
  relationship with formal networks, 417–420
  in secondary *vs.* elementary schools, 416
Informal organization
  benefits of, 106
  cohesion promoted in, 105, 106
  communication in, 105–106
  definition of, 15, 101–102
  development of, 102–103
  efficiency in, 106
  formal organization and, 103–105, 105*f*
  functions of, 105–106
  individual integrity in, 105, 106
  in natural and closed system, 15–17
  in natural and open system, 17–18
  neglect of, 97, 101–107
  norms in, 103
  in open system, 20–21
  politics in, 29–30
  in schools, illustration of, 103–106
Informal power, 19
Information communication, 105–106
Information management, 250, 252*t*
Information-processing model, 57–58, 59*f*
Information resources, 270
Information retention, in working memory, 64
Information technology, and communication, 413–414
Informed-autocratic style, of decision making, 366–367
Ingratiating, 250, 252*t*
Initiating structure, 214, 215*t*, 435–436
Initiative
  of leaders, 446–447
  vs. planning, 481–482
Input(s)
  as effectiveness indicator, 305
  in open system, 19, 19*f*, 22, 269, 300*f*, 305
  in school as social system, 25*f*, 33*f*
Input-output research, 306–308
Inquiry, 395–396, 395*f*
Inspirational motivation, 449–450
Institution(s)
  definition of, 281
  organizations as, 179
Institutional environment, 282
Institutional integrity, 214, 215*t*, 218
Institutional level, of organization, 43

Institutional perspective, 269, 280–288, 474
adaptation to environment in, 284–288
conformity in, 282–284, 286–287
Institutional Vulnerability, 219, 219*t*
Instruction, in two-way communication, 395*f*, 396
Instructional guidance, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
Instructional leadership, 439–441, 442*f*
Instructional Leadership Scale, 441
Instructional objectives, 52–53
Instructional program, managing, 440
Instrumental communication, 418
Instrumentality, 158
Insurgency games, 255
Integrator, 377, 378*t*
Integrity
individual, in informal organization, 105, 106
institutional, 214, 215*t*, 218
leadership, 431
Intellectual stimulation, 449–450
Interest groups, 278–280, 279*f*
Internal coalitions, 247, 472
Internal coping strategies, 273, 274–277, 474
Internal feedback loops, 32–33
Internal locus of control, 149–151
Interorganizational coping strategies, 273, 277–280, 474
Interpersonal needs, of leaders, 431
Interpersonal skills, of leaders, 432–433
Intrinsic cognitive load, 63–64
Intrinsic motivation, 170, 471
Investing in Innovation Fund, 303
Irrationality, in decision making, 350–351
Isolate role, in communication network, 410*f*, 411

Janis-Mann conflict theory, 350–351
Japanese corporate culture, 182–183
Jigsaw, 85, 86
Job analyses, 11–12
Joint ventures, 278
Justice, 154, 156, 157*f*, 253–254

Keyword method, 74
"Kissinger rule," 252
Knowledge, 56–58, 58*t*, 483
construction of, 78, 79*t*, 80–81
control over, 240–241
general *vs.* situated, 78–80
power *vs.*, 246

Labor, division of, 10–11, 13, 14, 470
dysfunction of, 98, 99*t*
in Weberian bureaucracy, 95, 98
Laissez-faire leadership, 448–449, 448*t*, 451
LBDQ; *see* Leader behavior description questionnaire
Leader behavior description questionnaire (LBDQ), 434–436
Leader information rule, for decisions, 365
Leader-member relations, 442–443
Leadership, 426–467, 478
behaviors in, 434–438
case example on, 462–463
contingency models of, 439–447, 439*f*, 478
contingent reward, 449, 451
definition of, 427
dilemmas of, 483
distributed, 445–447
evolutionary theory of, 457–461
Fiedler's model of, 441–444
full-range continuum of, 448, 448*t*
guides to practice, 464
heroic models of, 446
instructional, 439–441, 442*f*
key assumptions and principles on, 464–465
laissez-faire, 448–449, 448*t*, 451
least preferred co-worker model of, 441–444, 466
motivational traits in, 431–432, 431*t*
as organizational quality, 445
personality traits in, 430–432, 430*t*
portfolio exercise on, 466–467
potential for, assessing, 466–467
in school effectiveness, 312, 321–323
servant, 455–456
shared, 312, 313*t*, 315*f*
in shared decision making, 377, 378*t*
situational control in, 442–443
situational factors in, 429, 433–434, 434*t*, 452–453
skills in, 431*t*, 432–433
styles of, 436, 436*f*, 442
substitutes for, model of, 444–445
successful, core practices of, 454
systems analysis of, 40–41
trait approach to, 428–433
transactional, 448, 448*t*, 449
transformational, 448–457, 448*t*, 478
Leadership effectiveness, 438
definition of, 438
indicators for, 438, 438*t*
in least preferred co-worker model, 443
Learning
behavioral approach to, 44–55, 87*t*, 473, 482–483
cognitive approach to, 44, 55–74, 87*t*, 473, 482–483
constructivist approach to, 44, 75–88, 87*t*, 473–474, 482–483
cooperative, 84–89
definition of, 43–44
dilemma in approaches to, 482–483
guides to practice, 89–90
key assumptions and principles in, 90
knowledge and, 56–58
leadership and, 439–441
and organizational health, 214–215, 215*t*
portfolio exercise on, 92–93
problem-based, 82–83
situated, 79–80
as technical core of school, 26, 30, 473–474
Learning disabilities, 86
Learning objectives, 52–53
Learning organizations, 34–35
Learning strategies, 71–74, 310, 311*t*, 312
Least preferred co-worker model, 441–444, 466
Leeway function, of rules, 100, 101*t*
Legal authority, 232
Legal prerogatives, 241
Legends, in school culture, 186
Legitimate power, 230–235, 236–237, 472
administrative use of, 238–239
subordinate responses to, 238, 238*t*
Lesson plans, learning objectives in, 52–53
Liaisons, in communication network, 410*f*, 411–412
Line and staff game, 257–258
Linkages, establishing favorable, 277–278
Listening skills, 397–399
Lobbying, 279–280
Location, organization by, 11
Locus, as dimension of causality, 149–151
Locus of control theory, 162
Long-term memory, 57–58, 65–70
Looking good but failing, 293
Loose coupling perspective, 126–128
Lording, 257
Love needs, 140*f*, 141
Loyalty, 232–235, 248

Machine bureaucracy, 122, 123–124, 125
Machine model, 10–12
Maintenance rehearsal, 64
Management by objectives (MBO), 13, 53

Management resources, 270
Managerial level, of organization, 43
Maslow's hierarchy of needs, 139–143, 140*f,* 470
Mastery experience, 160–161, 163, 190
Mastery Teaching, 54
MBO; *see* Management by objectives
Mechanistic structure, 276, 276*f*
Media, 391, 391*f,* 401–405
  definition of, 391
  form of, 391, 391*f*
  nonverbal, 404–405
  oral *vs.* written, 403–404
  richness of, 397, 403*f*
  verbal, 402–404
Megacognitive strategies, 310, 311*t*
Memory, 57–70
  episodic, 65
  forgetting and, 69
  information-processing concept of, 57–58, 59*f*
  long-term, 57–58, 65–70
  mnemonics and, 73–74
  procedural, 65–66
  semantic, 65–67
  sensory, 57–60
  working (short-term), 57–58, 60–64
Memory trap, 339*f*
Messages, 390, 391*f*
  congruence of verbal and nonverbal, 405
  converting symbols to, 391
  form of, 391, 391*f*
Metacognition, 70
Metacognitive skills, 69
Metaphors, for school culture, 187–188
Middle line, 121–122, 121*f*
Mindfulness, in decision making, 363–364
Mindful schools, 116–118, 118*f,* 220
Mintzberg's perspective on power, 240–243
Mintzberg's structure, 120–126, 121*f,* 470
Mission, defining school's, 440
Missouri Math, 54
Mixed-scanning model, of decision making, 342–344, 344*t,* 476
MLQ; *see* Multifactor leadership questionnaire
Mnemonics, 73–74
Modeling, 161, 163, 190
Monitoring, as cognitive skill, 70
Morale, 215, 215*t*
Motivation
  achievement and, 145–147
  attribution theory and, 149–151, 171*t*
  beliefs and, 148–165, 171*t,* 470–471
  case example on, 172–174
  in constraints on decision making, 366
  definition of, 170
  equity theory and, 154–156, 155*f,* 171*t*
  expectancy theory and, 156–160, 159*f,* 171*t*
  extrinsic, 170, 471
  goals and, 165–169, 171*t*
  guides to practice, 174
  inspirational, 449–450
  intrinsic, 170, 471
  key assumptions and principles of, 174–175
  needs and, 139–148, 171*t*
  portfolio exercise on, 176–177
  self-efficacy and, 160–165, 171*t*
  simplified model of, 169*f*
Motivational traits, of leaders, 431–432, 431*t*
Motivation-hygiene theory, 143–144, 145*t,* 171*t*
Motivators, 144, 145*t*
Muddling through, 340–341, 344*t*
Multifactor leadership questionnaire (MLQ), 451, 453, 455
Munificence, of resources, 270–271
Mutual adjustment, 120
Myths
  in institutions, 282, 283
  in school culture, 186–187

n-achievement theory, 145–147
National Association for the Education of Young Children, 76
National Commission on Excellence in Education, 302
National Council of Teachers of Mathematics' Curriculum and Evaluation Standards for School Mathematics, 80
National Governors' Association, 303
Nation at Risk, A, 302
Natural leaders, 457
Natural systems, 14–19, 18*f,* 38*t*
  closed, 14–17
  human relations, 14–17, 38*t*
  informal organization in, 15–17
  open, 17–18
Need(s), 139–148, 171*t,* 470
  achievement, 145–147, 470
  autonomy, 147–148, 470
  belonging, love, and social, 140*f,* 141, 142
  definition of, 139
  esteem, 140*f,* 141, 142
  hierarchy of, 139–143, 140*f,* 470
  motivators as, 144, 145*t*
  physiological, 140, 140*f,* 142
  prepotency of, 141
  research and evidence on, 143
  safety and security, 140*f,* 141, 142
  and worker satisfaction, 143–144
Negative reinforcement, 46, 47*f*
Networking, 250, 252*t*
Neutralizers, in leadership situations, 444
New American Schools initiative, 278
No Child Left Behind, 269, 290–291, 303–304, 475
  criticism of, 289
  portfolio exercise on, 298
  and school effectiveness, 318–319
  and school structure, 113, 122, 126, 128
  yearly progress under, 209, 306
Noise, in communication, 407–408
Noncollaborative situation, 375, 376*f,* 379
Nonverbal media, 404–405
Nonverbal symbols, 401, 402
Norm(s)
  definition of, 182
  in informal organization, 103
  shared, culture as, 180–182, 181*f*
  in social systems, 24
  values *vs.,* 103
Normative conformity, 284
Norm-changing strategy, 202–203
Note taking, 72

Obama, Barack, 291, 303
Objectives, learning, 52–53
OCB; *see* Organizational Citizenship Behavior
OCDQ; *see* Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire
OCI; *see* Organizational Climate Index
OHI; *see* Organizational Health Index
Ohio State University, 434–436
Omnibus T-Scale, 194–195, 202
One-way communication, 393–394, 394*f,* 477
Open climate, 212, 212*f*
Openness, climate of, 210–214, 471
  measurement of, 210–214, 222
  open *vs.* closed climate, 212, 212*f*
  research findings on, 213–214
  synthesis with health, 218–220
Open systems, 19–23, 38*t,* 300–301, 300*f,* 468–469, 469*f*
  boundaries of, 22
  closed systems *vs.,* 9, 18, 18*f*
  development of, 18, 18*f,* 19–23
  entropy in, 23
  environment of, 19*f,* 21–23, 269
  equifinality in, 23
  feedback in, 19*f,* 22

homeostasis in, 23
inputs in, 19, 19*f*, 22, 269, 300*f*, 305
key properties of, 21–23
natural, 17–18
outputs of, 19, 19*f*, 22, 269, 300*f*
rational, 12–14
school effectiveness in, 304–309
school systems as, 24
transformation process in, 19, 19*f*, 22, 300*f*, 308–309
Operating core
in mindful school, sensitivity to, 116, 117
in Mintzberg's elements of structure, 121, 121*f*
Opportunistic surveillance, 335
Optimism
academic; *see* academic optimism
in organizational politics, 253, 254*t*
Optimizing, in decision making, 330, 344*t*, 347
Order *vs.* freedom, 479–483
Organic model, 14–17
Organic structure, 276, 276*f*
Organization(s)
as institutions, 179
mindful, 117
in substitutes for leadership model, 444–445
Organization, in long-term memory, 67–68
Organizational citizenship, 221–222, 221*t*
Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB), 221–222, 221*t*
Organizational climate, 208–228, 471
case example on, 225
definition of, 209–210
dominant patterns of behavior in, 209
guides to practice, 226
health, 214–218
healthy *vs.* unhealthy, 216
key assumptions and principles on, 226–227
openness, 210–214
open *vs.* closed, 212, 212*f*
organizational culture *vs.*, 209
portfolio exercise on, 228
synthesis of measures of, 218–220
Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ), 210–214, 211*t*, 218–220, 222, 228
Organizational Climate Index (OCI), 218–220, 219*t*, 222
Organizational communication, 408
Organizational culture, 29, 178–207, 471; *see also* School culture
core values of, 183
definition of, 180
functions of, 185
levels of, 180–185, 181*f*
organizational climate *vs.*, 209
popularity of term, 180
as shared beliefs and values, 182–183
as shared norms, 180–182, 181*f*
strong, 183
as tacit assumptions, 183–184
Theory Z, 182–183, 182*t*
Organizational dilemmas, 479–483
Organizational effectiveness
competing values framework for, 320–321, 322*f*
criteria for, 319
index of, 319–320, 320*t*
Mott's general model of, 319–320
Organizational equilibrium, 20
Organizational goals, 305
Organizational health, 214–218
Organizational Health Index (OHI), 215*t*, 216–220, 222, 225, 228
Organizational inventory, 109–110, 110*t*
Organizational justice, 156, 157*f*
Organizational model, for achievement, 314–316, 317*f*
Organizational openness, 210–214
Organizational politics, 247–264, 472
coalitions in, 247–248, 472
common blunders in, 252
conflict management in, 259–263
definition of, 247
games in, 255–259
persuading and influencing in, 252–254, 254*t*
Organizational power, 235–236, 237
Organizational science, 2–3
Organizing, as function of administration, 10
Origins, self-determination of, 147
Outcomes
beliefs about, 156–160
as effectiveness indicator, 305–306
of schools, 31–32, 32*t*
value-added, 306
Output(s)
as effectiveness indicator, 305–306
input-output research on, 306–308
of open system, 19, 19*f*, 22, 269, 300*f*, 305–306
in school as social system, 25*f*, 33*f*
standardization of, 120
Overconfidence trap, 339*f*
Ownership, power of, 362–363, 364

Paralanguage, 404
Paraphrasing, 398
Parent(s)
faculty trust of, 194–196
influence on effectiveness, 310–314, 311*t*
Parent-school-community ties, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
Parliamentarian, 377, 378*t*
Participation rule, 349
Partnerships, 278
Passive external coalitions, 248
Passive management-by-exception, 449, 451
Pawns, 147
PBL; *see* Problem-based learning
PBS; *see* Positive behavioral supports
PCI; *see* Pupil Control Ideology
Peer influence, 310–312, 311*t*
Peer tutoring, 86
Perceived Organizational Effectiveness Index, 319–320, 320*t*
Perception
definition of, 59
power of, 360–361, 364
Performance evaluation and review techniques (PERT), 13
Performance outcomes, 32, 305–306
Personal control, 241–242
Personality traits, of leaders, 430–432, 430*t*
Personal power, 236, 237
Personnel resources, 270
Persuasion
in politics, 252–254, 254*t*
verbal, and efficacy, 161, 163, 190–191
PERT; *see* Performance evaluation and review techniques
Pessimism, effects of, 199–200
Phonological loop, 60–61, 61*f*, 62
Physiological needs, 140, 140*f*, 142
Physiological state, and self-efficacy, 161, 163
Planning
as cognitive skill, 70
for environmental change, 274
as function of administration, 10
strategic, 13
vs. initiative, 481–482
Planning, programming, and budgeting systems (PPBS), 13
Policy-making environment, shaping elements in, 278–280, 279*f*
Political games, 255–259, 260*t*
Political tactics, 249–252, 252*t*, 472
Politics; *see also* Power
benefits of, 249
coalitions in, 247–248, 472
common blunders in, 252
conflict management in, 259–263
guides to practice, 264
inevitability of, 245–246
influencing process of, 278–280, 279*f*
key assumptions and principles on, 265

Politics; *see also* Power *(contd.)*
organizational, definition of, 247
organizational power and, 247–248
in organizations, 247–264, 472; *see also* Organizational politics
persuading and influencing in, 252–254, 254*t*
portfolio exercise on, 267
in school as social system, 25*f*, 26, 29–30, 33*f*
in social systems, 24
system of, 242
POSDCoRB functions, 10, 71, 73
Position power, 442
Positive behavioral supports (PBS), 49–52
Positive interdependence, 84–85
Positive reinforcement, 45, 47*f*
Poverty, resources lacking in, 271
Power, 229–267, 472
administrative uses of, 238–240
comparison and synthesis of perspectives on, 243–244, 243*t*, 244*f*
definition of, 230
guides to practice, 264
inevitability of, 245–246
informal, 19
internal systems of, 241–243
key assumptions and principles on, 265
legitimate, 230–235, 236–237, 472
Mintzberg's perspective on, 240–243
organizational, and politics, 247–248
organizational *vs.* personal, 236, 237
politics of, 29–30
portfolio exercise on, 267
position, 442
and rationality/rationalization, 244–246
sharing of, 240, 242–243
sources of, 235–237
subordinate responses to, 238, 238*t*
Power-building games, 256
Power game, 248–264
options for participants in, 248
political tactics in, 249–252, 252*t*, 472
Power needs, of leaders, 431
Power-oriented behavior, 238
PPBS; *see* Planning, programming, and budgeting systems
Practice; *see also* specific practices
theory and, 7–9
Prepotency, of needs, 141
Principal(s); *see also* Leadership
authority of, 232–235
faculty trust of, 194–196
influence on organizational health, 214, 215*t*
influence on school effectiveness, 310–312, 321–323
as intellectual leader, 199
Principle of homogeneity, 11
Prison metaphor, 187
Problem-based learning (PBL), 82–83
Problemistic search, 335
Problem-solving, 479–480
Problem structure rule, for decisions, 365
Procedural conformity, 287
Procedural justice, 154, 156
Procedural knowledge, 56–57, 58*t*
Procedural memory, 65–66
Procedural specification, 109–110
Process-product research, 309
Production-function studies, 306–308
Products and services, as resources, 270
Professional bureaucracy, 122, 124–126
Professional-bureaucratic conflict, 109, 128–133, 129*t*, 479–480
Professional capacity, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
Professionalism
and conformity, 284
in organizational climate, 218–220, 219*t*
Professional orientation, in schools, 129–131, 129*t*
Professional pattern, 110–111, 110*f*
Professional structure, 111
change to, 112–114, 113*f*
Professional Teacher Behavior, 219, 219*t*
Project STAR (Tennessee), 308
Promotive interaction, 84–85
Prompting, 48
Prudence trap, 339*f*
Psychological constructivism, 75–76, 87*t*
Public commitment, 253, 254*t*
Public speaking, 400–401
Punishment, 46–47
coercive power and, 236
direct, 47, 47*f*
legitimization by rules, 99–100, 101*t*
negative reinforcement *vs.*, 46
removal, 47, 47*f*
Punishment-centered rules, 101, 111
Pupil control, 200–201
Pupil Control Ideology (PCI), 201

Quality rule, for decisions, 365
Quality school, characteristics of, 219
Questioning, 398

Race to the Top, 269, 291–292, 303–304, 475
blueprint priorities of, 303
portfolio exercise on, 298
and school effectiveness, 318–319
and school structure, 113, 122, 126
Radical constructivism, 77–78
Rand Corporation, 162
Rationality
bounded, 331
definition of, 9–10, 244
power and, 244–246
Rationalization
definition of, 244
power and, 244–246
Rationalized myths, 282, 283
Rational organizations, Hall on, 109–114, 110*t*
Rational systems, 9–14, 18, 18*f*, 38*t*
closed, 10–12
open structural, 12–14
scientific management, 10–12
shortcomings of, 13–14
Reading, teacher efficacy and, 162
Reality
power and, 245–246
theory and, 4–5
Receivers, 391–392, 391*f*, 406–407
Reciprocity, 253, 254*t*
Recognition heuristic, 338
Recognition trap, 339*f*
Referent power, 237
administrative use of, 238–239
subordinate responses to, 238, 238*t*
Reflecting feeling, 399
Reform initiatives; *see also* No Child Left Behind; Race to the Top
and accountability, 269, 288–293, 298, 475
first wave of, 302
fourth wave of, 304
history of, 302–304
and school effectiveness, 302–304, 318–319
second wave of, 302–303
third wave of, 304
Rehearsal, and memory, 64
Reinforcement, 45–46
definition of, 45
negative, 46, 47*f*
positive, 45, 47*f*
schema for, 66, 66*f*
Relational trust, 313*t*, 314, 315*f*
Relations-oriented behaviors, of leaders, 436, 437–438
Relations style, of leadership, 436, 436*f*
Relevance, test of, 374, 374*f*, 376*f*, 378
Removal punishment, 47, 47*f*
Reporting, as function of administration, 10
Representative heuristic, 338
Representative rules, 101

Representative trap, 339*f*
Research
scientific, definition of, 5
theory and, 5–7, 7*f*
Resilience, commitment to, 116, 117
Resource(s)
availability of, 270–271
control over, 240–241
dependence on, 271–273
and school effectiveness, 305
types of, 270
Resource-dependence perspective, 269, 270–280, 474
administration in, 273–280
application to schools, 273
internal coping strategies in, 273, 274–277, 474
interorganizational coping strategies in, 273, 277–280, 474
Resource support, 214, 215*t*
Responsibility
achievement needs and, 145–146
as dimension of causality, 149–151
transfer to students, 81
Reward power, 236, 237
administrative use of, 238–239
subordinate responses to, 238, 238*t*
Rewards, in behavioral approach, 49–50
Rhymes, as mnemonics, 73–74
Richness, of media, 397, 402–404, 403*f*
Rites and rituals, in school culture, 186–187, 187*t*
Rival-camps game, 258
Rival games, 257–258
Rosenshine's teaching functions, 54–55
Rules and regulations
in authoritarian structure, 111
bargaining or leeway function of, 100, 101*t*
bureaucratic, 26–27
in coercive formalization, 114
in decision making (heuristics), 337–338, 339*f*
developing and using, guides for, 102*t*
dysfunction of, 98, 99–101, 101*t*
in enabling formalization, 114
explication by, 99, 101*t*
functions of, 99–100, 101*t*
goal displacement by, 100
for incumbents, 109–110
in institutional perspective, 282
in political games, 255
punishment-centered, 101, 111
punishment legitimized by, 99–100, 101*t*
representative, 101
screening or buffering by, 99, 101*t*
in Weberian bureaucracy, 96, 98, 99–101
Rumors, 416

Safety and security needs, 140*f*, 141, 142
Sanctions, in social systems, 24
Satisficing, 330–340, 342–343, 344*t*, 347
adaptive, 342, 344*t*
definition of, 330
truncated, 336–337
truncated adaptive, 343
Satisficing rule, 347
Scaffolding, 81
Scapegoating, 251, 252*t*
Scarcity, of resources, 270–271
Schemas, in semantic memory, 66–67, 66*f*
Schemes, in constructivism, 75
School as social system, 23–34, 468–485
basic assumptions of, 23–24
case example on, 35–37
congruence between key elements in, 31–32, 32*t*, 309
culture of, 25–26, 25*f*, 29, 33*f*; *see also* School culture
environment of, 25*f*, 26, 30–31, 33*f*
feedback loops in, 32–34, 475–476
individuals in, 25, 25*f*, 27–28, 28*f*, 33*f*, 470–471
key elements of, 25–34, 25*f*, 33*f*
outcomes of, 31–32, 32*t*
politics of, 25*f*, 26, 29–30, 33*f*, 472
portfolio exercise on, 40–41
structure of, 25, 25*f*, 26–27, 33*f*, 469–470; *see also* School structure
technical core of, 26, 30, 43, 472–473; *see also* Learning; Teaching
School climate, 471–472
and academic achievement, 213, 217–218, 220, 222, 310–314
case example on, 225
changing, 222–225
citizenship, 221–222
clinical strategy on, 222–224
definition of, 210
growth-centered approach to, 222–223, 224–225
guides to practice, 226
health, 214–218, 472
healthy *vs.* unhealthy, 216
importance of analyzing, 210
key assumptions and principles on, 226–227
open and healthy, example of, 220
openness, 210–214, 471
open *vs.* closed, 212, 212*f*
portfolio exercise on, 228
promoting positive, in leadership, 440
synthesis of measures of, 218–220
School communication, 187, 392–393, 408–420, 477
case example on, 421–423
complementary networks of, 417–420
formal networks of, 409, 412–415, 413*f*
guides to practice, 423
informal networks of, 409, 415–417
key assumptions and principles on, 424
portfolio exercise on, 425
as primary activity of administrators, 389
purposes of, 408–409
in secondary *vs.* elementary schools, 416, 420
School culture, 25–26, 25*f*, 29, 33*f*, 185–204, 471–472
academic achievement in, 314–316, 317*f*
case example on, 204
changing or managing, 188, 202–203
communication in, 187
culture of academic optimism, 196–200, 314–316, 317*f*
culture of control, 200–201
culture of efficacy, 190–193
culture of trust, 193–196
custodial, 200–201
effective, strong, 185–186
guides to practice, 204–205
humanistic, 201
key assumptions and principles on, 205–206
metaphors for, 187–188
portfolio exercise on, 207
research on, 188–189
rites and rituals in, 186–187, 187*t*
as symbolic frame, 189
symbols in, 186–188
School effectiveness, 299–328, 475–476
and academic achievement, 306, 309–318
administrator effects on, 310–312, 311*t*, 321–323
Bryk and colleagues model of, 309–310, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
case example on, 325
challenges in, 301–302
definition of, 301
guides to practice, 325–326
Hoy and Woolfolk Hoy model of, 309–310, 314–316, 317*f*

School effectiveness *(contd.)*
input criteria for, 305
input-output research on, 306–308
key assumptions and principles on, 326
Lee and Shute model of, 309–312, 311*t*
models of, 309–324
in open systems, 304–309
organizational model of, 314–316, 317*f*
performance outcomes of, 305–306
portfolio exercise on, 328
reform initiatives and, 302–304, 318–319
teacher effects on, 310–318, 323–324
transformational criteria for, 308–309
School effects research, 309
School-learning climate, 312–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
School organization inventory (SOI), 109–110
School structure, 25, 25*f*, 26–27, 33*f*, 94–134, 469–470
adhocracy, 122
age of school and, 126
bureaucratic *vs.* professional pattern of, 110–111, 110*f*
change or evolution of, 112–114, 113*f*
chaotic, 111
divisionalized, 122
enabling, 115–119, 119*t*, 136
external environment and, 275–277, 276*f*
formalization in, 114
guides to practice, 133–134
Hall on, 109–114
hindering, 115–116, 118–119, 119*t*, 136
Hoy and Sweetland on, 114–120
key assumptions and principles on, 134
loose coupling perspective on, 126–128
machine bureaucracy, 122, 123–124, 125
mindful, 116–118, 118*f*
Mintzberg on, 120–126, 470
portfolio exercise on, 136
professional, 111
professional bureaucracy, 122, 124–126
professional-bureaucratic conflict in, 109, 128–133, 129*t*
simple, 122, 123, 125
size of school and, 126
and student achievement, 111–112
and teacher power, 111, 113, 126–131
types of, 110–114
Weberian, 111
Science
definition of, 3
theory and, 2–3
Scientific management, 10–12, 38*t*
Scientific Management (Taylor), 10
Screening, by rules, 99, 101*t*
Scripted cooperation, 85–86
Scripted questioning, 86
Second wave constructivism, 76
SE-Index, 319–320, 320*t*
Self-actualization, 141, 143, 148, 470
Self-confidence, of leaders, 430
Self-efficacy
definition of, 160
development of, 160–162
of leaders, 431
portfolio exercise on, 176–177
and student achievement, 161–162
of teachers, 162–164, 164*f*, 190–193
Self-efficacy theory, 160–165, 171*t*
Self-regulation, emotional, 363–364
Self-regulatory knowledge, 56–57, 58*t*
Semantic memory, 65–67
Senders, 390, 406–407
Sending skills, 397
Sensory buffer, 58–59
Sensory memory, 57–60
Servant leadership, 455–456
Shape of organization, and communication, 413–414
Shared decision making, 359–360, 364–387, 477
case example on, 383–384
developing teachers for, 379–381
groupthink as caution in, 381–382, 383*f*
guides to practice, 384
Hoy-Tarter (simplified) model of, 372–382, 477
key assumptions and principles on, 385
leadership roles in, 377, 378*t*
normative model of, 378–379, 380*f*
portfolio exercise on, 386–387
structures of, 377
trust and situational factors in, 374–376, 376*f*, 378–379
Vroom model of, 364–372, 477
Shared leadership, 312, 313*t*, 315*f*; *see also* Empowerment
Shared norms, culture as, 180–182, 181*f*
Short-term memory; *see* Working memory
Simple bureaucracy, 124
Simple resources, 270, 271–272
Simple structure, 122, 123, 125
Simplicity rule, 348
Simplification
power of, 361, 364
reluctance to accept, 116–117
Situated knowledge, 78–80
Situated learning, 79–80
Situational control, in leadership, 442–443
Situational factors
in leadership, 429, 433–434, 434*t*, 452–453
in shared decision making, 374–376, 376*f*, 378–379
Skills
basic, 53–55
of leaders, 431*t*, 432–433
standardization of, 120
technical, control over, 240–241
Social capital, 313*t*, 314, 315*f*
Social cognitive theory, 163
Social comparisons, 154
Social constructivism, 76–77
Socialization, bureaucratic, 130–131
Social needs, 140*f*, 141
Social systems
basic assumptions of, 23–24
school as, 23–34, 468–485; *see also* School as social system
Socratic method, 396
Soft vigilance, 363, 364
SOI; *see* School organization inventory
Solicitor, in shared decision making, 377, 378*t*
Sources, in communication process, 406–407
Span of control, 11, 13
Speaking skills, 400–401
Specialization, 470
in bureaucracy (schools), 26–27
dysfunction of, 98
in Hall's organizational inventory, 109–110
in rational systems, 13, 14
in Weberian bureaucracy, 95, 98
Sponsorship game, 256
Sportsmanship, 221*t*
Stability
as dimension of causality, 149–151
of environment, 275–277, 276*f*
in organizational effectiveness framework, 320–321, 322*f*
Stable view, of ability, 152–153
Staffing, as function of administration, 10
Stakeholder situation, 375–376, 376*f*, 379

Standard(s), 288–293
effective adaptation to, 293
failure to attain, 289
No Child Left Behind and, 290–291
Race to the Top and, 292
tests aligned with, 289
Standardization
of output, 120
in scientific management, 11
of skills, 120
of work, 120
STAR Project (Tennessee), 308
Star role, in communication network, 410*f*, 411
Stories, in school culture, 186–187
Strategic apex, 121, 121*f*
Strategic-candidates game, 258
Strategic planning, 13
Strategies, in communication, 390–391, 391*f*
Stress
in decision making, 350–351
tolerance, by leaders, 431
Strong cultures, 183, 185–186
Structural conformity, 287
Structure
external environment and, 275–277, 276*f*
of organizations, levels of, 43
of rational and open model, 12–14
of school, 25, 25*f*, 26–27, 33*f*, 469–470; *see also* School structure
of social systems, 24
Student(s)
control of and by, 200–201
faculty trust of, 194–196
Student achievement; *see* Academic achievement
Student-centered learning climate, 313–314, 313*t*, 315*f*
Student engagement, 310, 311*t*, 312
Subordinate characteristics, in substitutes for leadership model, 444–445
Subordinate commitment rule, 365
Subordinate conflict rule, 365
Subordinate information rule, 365
Subordinate responses, to power, 238, 238*t*
Substitutes for leadership model, 444–445
Successive limited comparisons, 340–341
Summarizing, 399
Sunk-cost trap, 339*f*
Supervision, direct, 120
Supplements, in leadership situations, 444–445
Support staff, 121*f*, 122
Survival, as goal of organization, 17–18
Symbol(s)
in communication process, 390, 393, 401–405
definition of, 393
nonverbal, 401, 402
in school culture, 186–188
in social interactions, 188–189
verbal, 401–402
Symbolic frame, school culture as, 189
Symbolic tools, in constructivism, 77
Systemic reform, 304
System of authority, 241–242
System of expertise, 241–242
System of ideology, 241–242
System of politics, 242
Systems perspective, 9–19, 38*t*, 483–484
growth and development of, 18, 18*f*
history of, 9
natural-systems, 9, 14–19, 18*f*, 38*t*
open-systems (integrated), 9, 18, 18*f*, 19–23, 38*t*, 300–301, 300*f*, 468–469, 469*f*
open *vs.* closed systems, 9, 18, 18*f*
rational-systems, 9–14, 18, 18*f*, 38*t*
school effectiveness in, 304–324
"Systems thinking," 34, 483

Tacit assumptions, culture as, 183–184
Take-the-best rule, 348–349
Task(s), authentic, 81
Task characteristics, in substitutes for leadership model, 444–445
Task needs, of leaders, 431
Task-oriented behaviors, of leaders, 436, 437–438
Task strategies, goals and, 167, 168
Task structure, in leadership, 442
Task style, of leadership, 436, 436*f*
Taylorism (scientific management), 10–12
Teacher(s)
authority and, 232–235
effective, characteristics of, 316–317
empowerment of, 240, 242–243, 359–360; *see also* Shared decision making
influence on school effectiveness, 310–318, 323–324
self-efficacy of, 162–164, 164*f*, 190–193
trust by, 193–196
Teacher and Leader Improvement Fund, 303
Teacher efficacy, 162–164
and academic achievement, 314–316, 317*f*
collective, 190–193, 314–316, 317*f*
context-specificity of, 163
cyclical nature of, 163, 164*f*
definition of, 163
key questions in, 164
model of, 163–164, 164*f*
Teaching
behavioral approach in, 48–55, 87*t*
cognitive approach in, 70–74, 87*t*
constructivist approach in, 80–88, 87*t*
guides to practice, 89–90
key assumptions and principles in, 90
leadership and, 439–441
learning objectives in, 52–53
and organizational health, 214–215, 215*t*
portfolio exercise on, 92–93
as profession, 129–131
as technical core of school, 26, 30, 43, 473–474
to the test, 293
Technical competence, 109–110
Technical core, 26, 30, 43, 439, 473–474; *see also* Learning; Teaching
Technical skills
control over, 240–241
of leaders, 432–433
Technology, and communication, 413–414
Technostructure, 121*f*, 122
Tennessee, Project STAR in, 308
Tests
No Child Left Behind and, 290–291
standards and, 289–293
teaching to, 293
Theoretical generalizations, 3–4
Theory, 2–9; *see also specific theories*
definition of, 3
elements of, 3–4
hypotheses deduced from, 6–7
and practice, 7–9
and reality, 4–5
and research, 5–7, 7*f*
and science, 2–3
in social sciences, skepticism about, 2
Theory Z cultures, 182–183, 182*t*
Time, as factor in decision making, 336–337, 346, 362, 364, 366
Time and motion studies, 10
Traditional authority, 231
Trait approach, to leadership, 429–433

Transactional leadership, 448, 448*t*, 449
Transformational leadership, 448–457, 448*t*, 478
  in educational settings, 453–455
  idealized influence in, 449–450
  individualized consideration in, 449, 451
  inspirational motivation in, 449–450
  intellectual stimulation in, 449–450
  source of, 452
  theory and research about, 451–456
Transformation process
  as effectiveness indicator, 308–309
  in open system, 19, 19*f*, 22, 25*f*, 33*f*, 300*f*
Transparency rule, 349
Traps, on decision making, 338, 339*f*
Truncated adaptive satisficing, 343
Truncated satisficing, 336–337
Trust
  and academic achievement, 313*t*, 314–316, 315*f*, 317*f*
  in academic optimism, 196–200, 197*f*, 314–316, 317*f*
  culture of, 193–196
  faculty, definition of, 194
  measurement of, 194–195, 202
  portfolio exercise on, 207
  relational, 313*t*, 314, 315*f*
  research evidence on, 195–196
  school climate and, 220
  in shared decision making, 374–376, 378
  test of, 375
Trust rule, for decisions, 365
Truth, power *vs.*, 246
Tutoring, peer, 86
Two-way communication, 395–396, 395*f*, 477

Uncertainty rule, 348
Underlining, as learning strategy, 71–72
Unhealthy school, 216
Unilateral decision, 377
Unique decisions, 333–334
Unobtrusive coordination, 447
Upward communication, 418–420

Valence, 158
Value(s)
  competing, and organizational effectiveness, 320–321, 322*f*
  core, 183, 186
  in decision making, 331–332
  definition of, 182
  norms *vs.*, 103
  shared, culture as, 182–183
  in transformational leadership, 452
Value-added outcome, 306
Verbal media, 402–404
Verbal persuasion, and efficacy, 161, 163, 190–191
Verbal symbols, 401–402
Vertical communication, 409, 418–420
Vicarious experience, 161, 163, 190
Vigilance, in decision making, 350–351, 352*f*, 363, 364
Visual mapping, 72–73
Visual tools, for learning, 72–73
Visuospatial sketchpad, 60–61, 61*f*, 63
Vocabulary, of theory, 3
Vroom model, of shared decision making, 364–372
Vulnerability, in culture of trust, 193–194

Weberian bureaucracy, 20, 95–97, 469–470
  criticism of, 97–108
  dual nature of, 107–108
  feminist critique of, 108
  functions *vs.* dysfunctions in, 97–101, 99*t*, 101*t*
  as ideal type, 97, 107, 110, 469–470
  neglect of informal organization in, 97, 101–107
Weberian structure, 111
  change to, 112–114, 113*f*
Whistle-blowing game, 258
Women, in bureaucracy, 108
Work, standardization of, 120
Worker satisfaction, needs and, 143–144
Working memory, 57–58, 60–64
  elements of, 60–61, 61*f*
  as part of long-term memory, 65
  retaining information in, 64
Work motivation, 27, 170, 470–471; *see also* Motivation
Workplace environment, 179; *see also* Organizational climate; Organizational culture
Workspace, and communication, 404–405
Written communication, 403–404

Young Turks game, 259

Zero-sum game, 271
Zone of acceptance, 373–374, 374*f*, 378
Zone of indifference, 232–233, 237, 373

Leadership Standards

Below are the Leadership Standards developed by the Council of Chief School Officers—commonly called the **ISLLC Standards**—as well as those developed by the Educational Leadership Constituents Council—the **ELCC Standards.** The two sets of standards are almost identical. Where there are slight differences, the ELCC Standard is after the ISLLC Standard. On the facing page is a grid that shows which standards are relevant for each case found in this text.

Standards developed by ISLLC and ELCC

A school leader is one who promotes success for all students by:

Standard 1: *Facilitating development, articulation, implementation, and stewardship of a vision of learning that is shared and supported by the school community.*

Standard 2: *Advocating, nurturing, and sustaining a school culture and instructional program conducive to student learning and professional growth (ISLLC); and promoting a positive school culture, providing an effective instructional program, applying best practices to student learning, and designing comprehensive growth models (ELCC).*

Standard 3: *Ensuring management of the organization, operations, and resources for a safe, efficient and effective learning community.*

Standard 4: *Collaborating with families and community members, responding to diverse community interests and needs, and mobilizing community resources.*

Standard 5: *Acting with integrity, fairness, and in an ethical manner.*

Standard 6: *Understanding, responding to, and influencing the larger political, social, economical, legal, and cultural context.*

The details of these standards can be found online at the Council of Chief School Officers and at the Educational Leadership Constituents Council websites. Practical exercises for understanding and demonstrating the standards are found in the ***Cases for Leadership*** located at the end of each chapter. On the facing page, we show a matrix to identify the standards considered critical for each case. The cases deal with multiple standards and illustrate the skills required of today's educational leaders. We believe that success requires knowledge of the school social system, teaching and learning, multiple conceptual perspectives, and the processes of communicating, deciding, empowering, and leading. The cases are capstone exercises to apply relevant theory and research to the problems of practice.