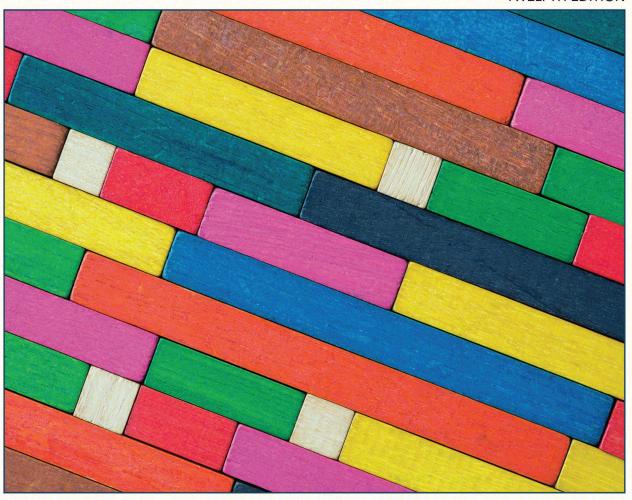
ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR IN EDUCATION

Leadership and School Reform

TWELFTH EDITION





Robert G. Owens Thomas C. Valesky

Organizational Behavior in Education

Leadership and School Reform

Robert G. Owens

Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus, Hofstra University

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This book is lovingly dedicated to the memory of Barbara and Shellie Owens Winter.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Robert G. Owens is professor emeritus at Hofstra University and the City University of New York. He began his professional career as the teaching principal of a three-room school. While acting as principal for 18 years in a variety of school environments, he served as assistant professor of educational administration at the University of Connecticut. Dr. Owens left K–12 school administration to join the faculty at several universities, including the State University of New York at Buffalo, Brooklyn College of City University of New York, Indiana University, and Hofstra University. His research, publications, and service have always focused on, and been centered in, the practice of improving the organizational effectiveness of schools.

Thomas C. Valesky is professor emeritus at Florida Gulf Coast University in Fort Myers, Florida. He was professor and program leader for the Department of Educational Leadership. Previously, he served as professor and program leader for Educational Leadership at the University of South Florida—Ft. Myers and professor and chair of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision at the University of Memphis. At the University of Memphis, he was also a senior researcher and team leader for the Tennessee state-sponsored Center for Research in Educational Policy (CREP), studying school-based decision making and school finance. His work with CREP resulted in co-authorship of two books: *Training for School-Based Decision Making* (Scarecrow Press, 2003) and Challenge to Change: The Memphis Experience with School-Based Decision Making (Technomics Publishing, 1994). In addition, he has written 31 refereed journal articles (published in such journals as Journal of Education Finance, Exceptional Children, and the National Forum of Educational Administration and Supervision Journal), 30 program evaluations and policy reports, 63 scholarly papers presented at national and regional conferences, and three interactive online simulations. The simulations are available for free from the Connexions project at Rice University.

Dr. Valesky began his career in education serving in a variety of positions, including teacher, high school counselor, elementary principal, and superintendent. These positions were both in the United States and overseas, including two positions in International-American schools as superintendent of the American School of San Salvador, El Salvador, and the Anglo-American School in Sophia, Bulgaria, for the U.S. and British embassies.

Dr. Valesky was president of the Southern Regional Council on Educational Administration (SRCEA) in 2001–2002 and served on the executive board from 1998 to 2003. In addition, he has been active with the National Council of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA), where he served as a member of the executive board from 1995 to 1998. Other service to the profession includes membership on editorial boards of eight national peer-reviewed journals and as editor for school finance and business for the NCPEA Connexions project, an open-source peer-reviewed online database hosted at Rice University.

Two awards of significance were as follows:

- Florida Gulf Coast University Senior Faculty Scholarship Award, 2012
- Jack Greer Lifetime Contribution Award, Southern Regional Council on Educational Administration, Atlanta, Georgia, October 2009.

PREFACE

ABOUT THE BOOK

This textbook presents an authoritative, well-established, timely look at organizational behavior and how leaders can create more effective school cultures. It offers future and current practitioners the most up-to-date thinking and the most in-depth exploration of organizational leadership as it relates to decision making, organizational change, managing conflict and communications, and motivating staff and others to achieve organizational goals. The authors challenge readers to analyze the successful implementation of school reform, while helping them gain a professional understanding of organizational theory and research that forms the bedrock of modern practice. The readers are encouraged to use this knowledge to develop their own theory of practice that will guide them into becoming exceptional educational leaders.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

Four major goals of this new edition are the following:

- 1. Based on readers' and reviewers' positive comments, we have kept or updated the practical applications that we call Voices from the Field in appropriate chapters.
- **2.** We update the treatment of the subject of organizational behavior in schools so that it includes new research and current trends.
- **3.** We incorporate a better connection between organizational behavior, critical theory (CT), and critical race theory (CRT).
- **4.** We integrate theory and practice throughout the text by discussion and expansion on initial concepts in succeeding chapters to provide additional depth of analysis and synthesis.

The following are the specific major changes to this 12th edition of *Organizational Behavior* in *Education*:

- We integrated the new National Educational Leadership Preparation (NELP) Program Recognition Standards into this preface to help readers identify which chapters focus on the various standards and components of the new standards.
- We have maintained the Voices from the Field in appropriate chapters and updated several. We solicited examples from practicing administrators to show how concepts are being applied in the schools today. These "Voices" provide the reader with a connection between theory and practice as well as help the reader critically apply "book knowledge" to organizational behavior.
- We believe critical theory (CT) and critical race theory (CRT) in education have been elevated to major theories since their initial introduction in the mid-1990s. We also believe it is important to focus on eliminating racism in schools and schooling through a focus on CRT at all levels in the organization. To this end, we have additional content on CT and CRT theory and the newest research on CRT added to Chapter 1.
- The book has been updated throughout to include the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), which is the revision to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).
- New updated research and recent developments in the field have been added in most of the book's 12 chapters to replace older material. For example, we have updated information on

Smarter Balanced Assessment Consortium and Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC). In addition, we maintained the classical research and theories that have been the foundation of progress in educational leadership.

- The Suggested Reading sections at the end of each chapter have been updated to include the best new books available.
- Our reviewers provided us with many ideas for additions and changes to this edition. Here
 are a few of the changes in addition to those listed above:
 - We eliminated or revised some of the sections throughout the text that were judged to be superfluous to the main topics of the chapters.
 - In Chapter 1, in addition to a more in-depth discussion of CRT, we expanded the discussion of social justice and included LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) students.
 - In Chapter 2 we expanded the discussion on Gardner's multiple intelligences.
 - We added the timely topic of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), also termed extra-role behavior (ERB), to Chapter 4.
 - In Chapter 5 we revised the section on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) to clarify the four types and updated the section on teacher efficacy.
 - In Chapter 6 we added a discussion on irresponsible leadership (IRL) to expand the section
 on the "dark side of educational leadership," and we added a discussion on coaching to
 the section on professional development.
 - In Chapter 12 there are many revisions, including the addition of education savings accounts (ESAs), updates to statistics on market-based reforms, updates to the *Condition of Education*, the addition of a section on private schools versus public schools, and updates to the section on comprehensive school reform (CSR).

Instructor Resources

This edition of Organizational Behavior in Education: Leadership and School Reform provides a comprehensive and integrated collection of supplements to assist students and professors in maximizing learning and instruction. The following resources are available for instructors to download from www.pearsonhighered.com/educator. Enter the author, title of the text, or the ISBN number, then select this text, and click on the "Resources" tab to download the supplement you need. If you require assistance in downloading any resources, contact your Pearson representative.

PowerPoint Slides®

The PowerPoint[®] slides highlight key concepts and summarize text content to help instructors structure the content of each chapter to make it meaningful for students.

Test Bank

The Test Bank provides a comprehensive and flexible assessment package that includes multiple choice and essay items. Feedback is provided for all essay items, providing clear explanations for correct answers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful to those individuals who assisted us with information and reviews of the 12th edition: Deborah Lynch, Chicago State University; Mel D. Coleman, Nova Southeastern University; Reginald Leon Green, University of Memphis; and Rosemarye Taylor, University of Central Florida. This group of reviewers was particularly thorough and provided excellent guidance for revising this edition and future editions.

In addition, we want to acknowledge the following practicing administrators who add great meaning to many of the chapters through their Voices from the Field, connecting the research, theory, and concepts in this book to the "real world" of schooling:

- Peggy Aune, former Principal, Manatee Middle School, Naples, Florida; currently Associate Superintendent for Curriculum and Instruction, Collier County Public Schools, Naples, Florida
- Scot Croner, former K–12 Instructional Coordinator, Marion Community Schools, Marion, Indiana; currently Superintendent, Wa-Nee Community Schools, Nappanee, Indiana
- James Gasparino, former Principal, Pelican Marsh Elementary School, Naples, Florida; currently retired
- Kevin Gordon, former Principal, Gibbs High School, St. Petersburg, Florida; currently Provost, St. Petersburg College, St. Petersburg, Florida
- Kendall Hendricks, former Director of Finance, Brownsburg Community Schools Corporation, Brownsburg, Indiana
- Rocky Killion, Superintendent, West Lafayette Community School Corporation, West Lafayette, Indiana
- Brain Mangan, former Principal, Mariner High School, Cape Coral, Florida; currently Principal on Assignment, Academic Services, Lee County District Schools, Fort Myers, FloridaJorge Nelson, former Head of School in Vienna, Austria; currently Principal, Mt. Vista Elementary School, Shelton, Washington
- LaSonya Moore, Assistant Principal, Pinellas County Schools, Florida
- Steve Ritter, former Principal, Lakeland High School, Deepwater, Missouri; currently Superintendent, Sherwood Cass R-VIII School District, Missouri

R.G.O. T.C.V.

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NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP PREPARATION (NELP) PROGRAM RECOGNITION STANDARDS

(Formerly Known as the ISLLC and ELCC Standards)

The Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) Standards have been at the center of Educational Leadership program reform for over a decade. In 2008, with support from the Wallace Foundation, the standards were revised and called the Educational Leadership Policy Standards. Originally, each of the six ISLLC standards included a list of knowledge, skills, and dispositions (KSDs), totaling nearly 200 KSD indicators.

The authors of the ISLLC standards assumed that an entire university preparation program, not any single course, should engender all knowledge, dispositions, and performances of the ISLLC standards, but even then, programs were not to be evaluated based on these indicators alone. In practice, however, the KSD indicators were used as standards themselves, which was not the intent of the original ISLLC developers. In the revised standards document, the authors state that "the very nature of listing examples of leadership indicators was unintentionally limiting and negated other areas that could have been included in an exhaustive listing" (Council of Chief State School Officers, 2008, p. 5). Therefore, the KSD indicators were abandoned in the revised standards, and "functions" were added to define each standard and to assist administrators in understanding the behaviors expected for each. The revised standards are purposely called "policy standards" to help guide policy-level discussions related to educational leadership, rather than direct practical applications.

The ISLLC standards provided the basis for evaluating university programs by the National Policy Board for Educational Administration (NPBEA) and the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), which was superseded in the fall of 2016 by the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP). A brief history of the development of the ISLLC standards might help the reader understand the importance of these standards.

The NPBEA was formed in 1988 with membership from the following 10 national associations:

- American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE)
- American Association of School Administrators (AASA)
- Association of School Business Officials (ASBO)
- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD)
- Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO)
- National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP)
- National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP)
- National Council of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA)
- National School Boards Association (NSBA)
- University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA)

Later, ASBO dropped its membership in NPBEA and the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) joined.

In 1994, the NPBEA formed the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) to develop standards for our profession. ISLLC was funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable

Trusts, and the process of developing the standards was managed by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) under the direction of Joseph Murphy and Neil Shipman. The NPBEA adopted the ISLLC standards in 1996. The NPBEA then formed a working group from among its membership to form the Educational Leadership Constituent Council (ELCC), which worked to develop a set of standards for evaluating programs in educational leadership to be used by NPBEA and NCATE.

Considerable controversy surrounded the original ISLLC standards, which included the following issues: (a) The standards did not provide a supporting research base; (b) no weighting was given to the standards in terms of which standards (and the knowledge, dispositions, and performances) were more likely to lead to higher student achievement; and (c) the standards did not include or emphasize the importance of some critical areas, such as technology. The NPBEA acknowledged some of these criticisms and in the summer of 2005 formed a working group to begin a revision of the ISLLC standards. A 10-member steering committee was formed from nine of the member organizations (all except the National School Boards Association). The NPBEA agreed that the standards would be revised under important assumptions, including the following:

- Revamping the ISLLC and the ELCC standards would be done at the same time.
- The ISLLC Standards for School Leaders needed to be updated, not rewritten from scratch.
- The context in which both sets of standards were being revised had changed dramatically since their inception.
- NPBEA will own the copyright to the revised standards.

The plan was to present the final revision of the standards to the NPBEA for approval in the spring of 2008, a goal that was achieved early because the new Educational Leadership Policy Standards were approved in December 2007 by the NPBEA. The first of the criticisms listed above was resolved in this revision. A research base was developed, and each of the new functions is directly connected to supporting research publications. The resulting document was titled *Educational Leadership Policy Standards: ISLLC 2008* (Council of Chief State School Officers, 2008).

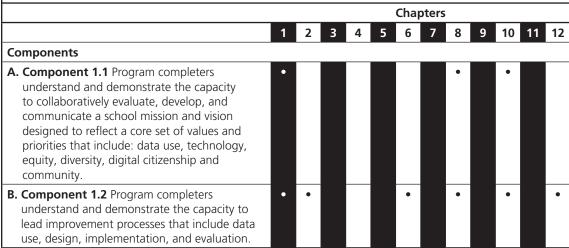
In 2015, the NPBEA issued a revised set of standards titled the Professional Standards for Educational Leaders (PSEL). One goal of the new revision to the standards was to use a thorough review of the empirical literature about effective school leadership. Another goal was to capture the day-to-day experiences of school leadership to close the gaps that existed between practice and the previous standards. To accomplish this goal, focus groups and surveys captured the ideas from over 1000 practitioners. Since the PSEL standards are broad based and apply to all educational leaders, the National Educational Leadership Preparation (NELP) Program Recognition Standards, which are aligned to the PSEL, were developed for university preparation programs. The NELP standards replaced the ELCC standards and are now used by CAEP in the accreditation process (National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 2018). There is one set of NELP standards for beginning building-level administrators (mainly principals and assistant principals) and another set of standards for district-level administrators. These two sets of standards and components are comparable with a few exceptions. The exceptions are noted below.

In view of the NELP standards' importance to university preparation programs, we want to identify for you the NELP standards for beginning school-level administrators that are significant aspects of this book. Each NELP standard has several *components*, as opposed to *functions* in the previous standards. The following tables are matrices of each standard covered in each chapter.

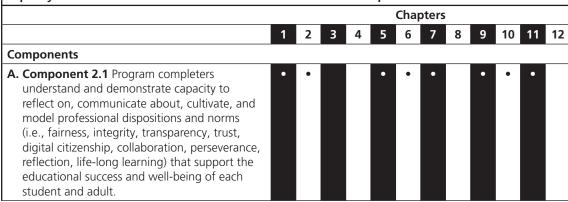
By looking at each standard table, you can see which chapters in our book contain related content. It is clear that some standards are covered more thoroughly than others. By scanning across the rows for the components, you can determine which chapter contains related material. We hope that this information is of value to students and professors alike, and we welcome any feedback that might guide us in making this information more useful in future editions.

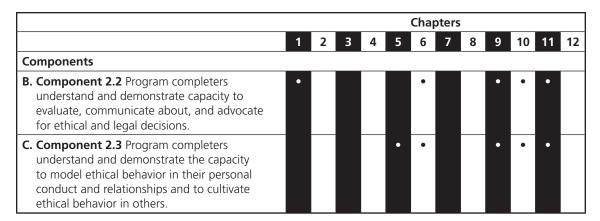
NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP PREPARATION (NELP) PROGRAM RECOGNITION STANDARDS: BUILDING LEVEL

STANDARD 1: MISSION, VISION, AND IMPROVEMENT Candidates who successfully complete a building-level educational leadership preparation program understand and demonstrate the capacity to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult by applying the knowledge, skills, and commitments necessary to collaboratively lead, design, and implement a school mission, vision, and process for continuous improvement that reflects a core set of values and priorities that include data use, technology, equity, diversity, digital citizenship, and community.



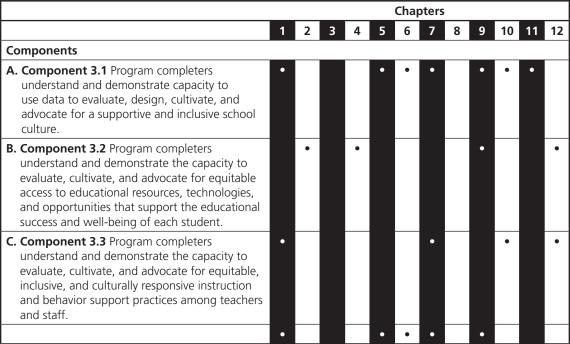
STANDARD 2: ETHICS AND PROFESSIONAL NORMS Candidates who successfully complete a building-level educational leadership preparation program understand and demonstrate the capacity to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult by applying the knowledge, skills, and commitments necessary to understand and demonstrate the capacity to advocate for ethical decisions and cultivate and enact professional norms.





STANDARD 3: EQUITY, INCLUSIVENESS AND CULTURAL RESPONSIVENESS Candidates who successfully complete a building-level educational leadership preparation program understand and demonstrate the capacity to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult by applying the knowledge, skills, and commitments necessary to develop and maintain a supportive, equitable, culturally responsive, and inclusive school culture.

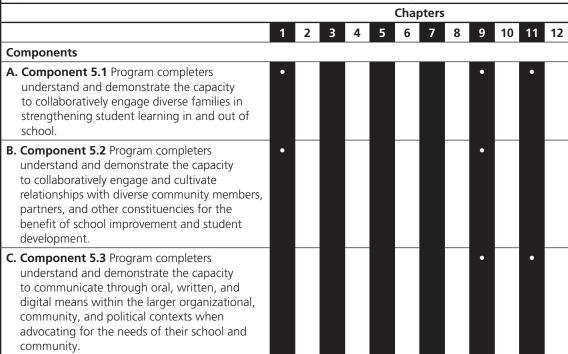
Chapters



STANDARD 4: LEARNING AND INSTRUCTION Candidates who successfully complete a buildinglevel educational leadership preparation program understand and demonstrate the capacity to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult by applying the knowledge, skills, and commitments necessary to evaluate, develop, and implement coherent systems of curriculum, instruction, data systems, supports, and assessment.

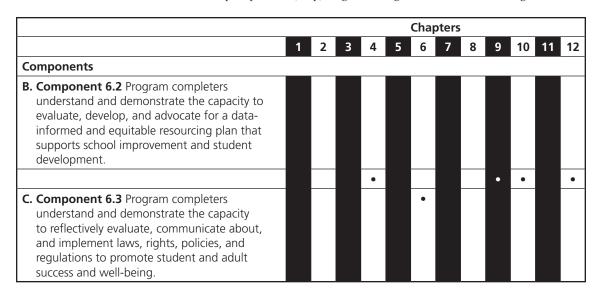
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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Components												
A. Component 4.1 Program completers understand and can demonstrate the capacity to evaluate, develop, and implement high-quality, technology-rich curricula programs and other supports for academic and non-academic student programs.	•	•		•						•		•
B. Component 4.2 Program completers understand and can demonstrate the capacity to evaluate, develop, and implement high-quality and equitable academic and non-academic instructional practices, resources, technologies, and services that support equity, digital literacy, and the school's academic and non-academic systems.	•	•		•					•	•		
C. Component 4.3 Program completers understand and can demonstrate the capacity to evaluate, develop, and implement formal and informal culturally responsive and accessible assessments that support data-informed instructional improvement and student learning and well-being.	•			•						•		•
D. Component 4.4 Program completers understand and demonstrate capacity to collaboratively evaluate, develop, and implement the school's curriculum, instruction, technology, data systems, and assessment practices in a coherent, equitable, and systematic manner.									•	•		

STANDARD 5: COMMUNITY AND EXTERNAL LEADERSHIP Candidates who successfully complete a building-level educational leadership preparation program understand and demonstrate the capacity to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult by applying the knowledge, skills, and commitments necessary to engage families, community, and school personnel in order to strengthen student learning, support school improvement and advocate for the needs of their school and community.

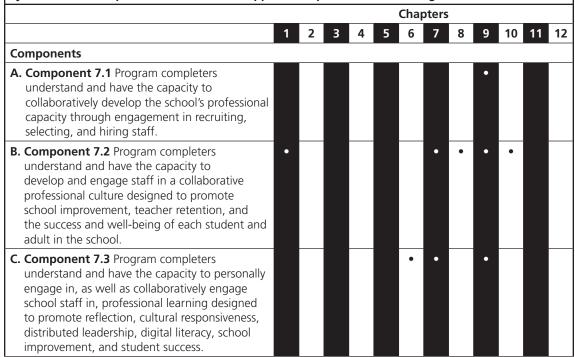


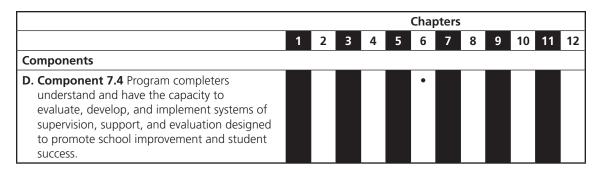
STANDARD 6: OPERATIONS AND MANAGEMENT Candidates who successfully complete a building-level educational leadership preparation program understand and demonstrate the capacity to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult by applying the knowledge, skills, and commitments necessary to improve management, communication, technology, school-level governance, and operation systems to develop and improve data-informed and equitable school resource plans and to apply laws, policies, and regulations.

serious resource plans and to apply laws, policies, and regulations.												
	Chapters											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Components												
A. Component 6.1 Program completers understand and demonstrate the capacity to evaluate, develop, and implement management, communication, technology, school-level governance, and operation systems that support each student's learning needs and promote the mission and vision of the school.				•					•	•		



STANDARD 7: BUILDING PROFESSIONAL CAPACITY Candidates who successfully complete a building-level educational leadership preparation program understand and demonstrate the capacity to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult by applying the knowledge, skills, and commitments necessary to build the school's professional capacity, engage staff in the development of a collaborative professional culture, and improve systems of staff supervision, evaluation, support, and professional learning.





The final NELP standard is related to clinical practice that is evaluated by CAEP. This standard is, of course, not content for this text, but is repeated below for your information.

STANDARD EIGHT: INTERNSHIP

Candidates successfully complete an internship under the supervision of knowledgeable, expert practitioners that engages candidates in multiple and diverse school settings and provides candidates with coherent, authentic, and sustained opportunities to synthesize and apply the knowledge and skills identified in NELP standards 1–7 in ways that approximate the full range of responsibilities required of building-level leaders and enable them to promote the current and future success and well-being of each student and adult in their school.

Component 8.1

Candidates are provided a variety of coherent, authentic, field and or clinical internship experiences within multiple school environments that afford opportunities to interact with stakeholders and synthesize and apply the content knowledge and develop and refine the professional skills articulated in each of the components included in NELP Building-Level Program Standards 1–7.

Component 8.2

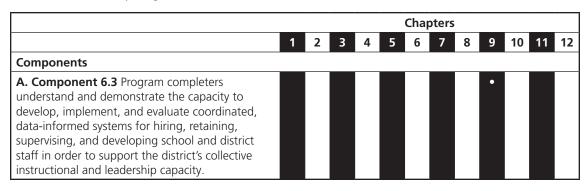
Candidates are provided a minimum of 6 months of concentrated (10–15 hours per week) internship or clinical experiences that include authentic leadership activities within a school setting.

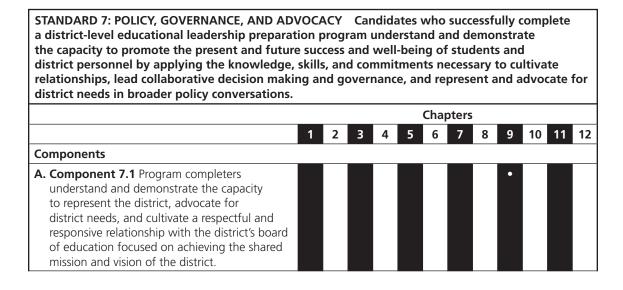
Component 8.3

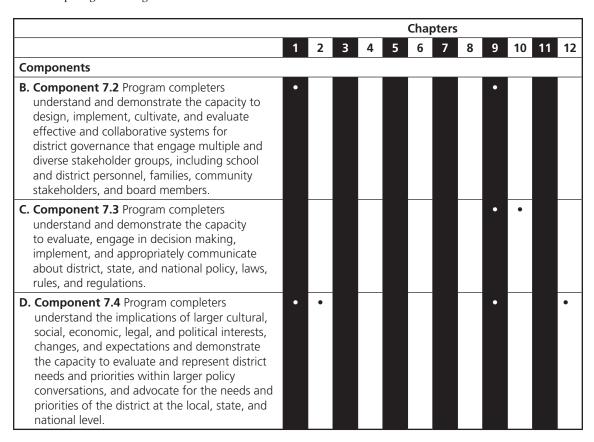
Candidates are provided a mentor who has demonstrated effectiveness as an educational leader within a building setting; is present for a significant portion of the internship; is selected collaboratively by the intern, a representative of the school and/or district, and program faculty; and has received training from the supervising institution.

NELP PROGRAM RECOGNITION STANDARDS—DISTRICT LEVEL

The district-level standards are comparable to the building-level standards, except that each standard and component is directed toward the preparation of district-level administrators, rather than building-level administrators. Therefore, the crosswalk of the building-level standards and components by chapter above can also be applied to the district-level standards and components for Standards 1 through 5 and Standard 6, Components 6.1 and 6.2. District-level Standard 6, Component 6.3, is not comparable to the building-level Component 6.3. In addition, the district-level Standard 7 is not comparable to the building-level Standard 7. These different components are described below by chapter.







REFERENCES

Council of Chief State School Officers. (2008, June). Educational leadership policy standards: ISLLC 2008. As adopted by the National Policy Board for Educational Administration. Council of Chief State School Officers. https://www.danforth.uw.edu/getattachment/about/core-competencies/isllc-2008.pdf/National Policy Board for Educational Administration. (2018). National Educational Leadership Preparation (NELP) Program Recognition Standards: Building Level. http://npbea.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/NELP-Building-Standards.pdf/

Organizational and Critical Theory

school is a world in which people live and work. Like any other social organization, the world of the school has power, structure, logic, and values, which combine to exert strong influence on the ways in which individuals perceive the world, interpret it, and respond to it. In short, the behavior of people at work in an educational organization—individually as well as in a group—is not merely a reflection of their individual unique personalities but is powerfully shaped and molded by the social norms and expectations of the culture that prevail in the organization. This interplay between individuals and the social environment of their world at work is a powerful agent in the creation of organizational behavior, the behavior of people in the school organization. Those who want to be effective educational leaders must have a clear grasp of the essentials of organizational behavior in deciding how to engage in the practice of leadership. As you read this text, you should think about what you read, question it, challenge it, and ask yourself—and discuss with other people—how it all fits into the practical realities of your work, your experience, and your personal view of the world. By being a reflective practitioner, this text will be much more useful to you both now and in the future.

SCHOOLS AS EDUCATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Although U.S. schools have tended throughout their history to reflect the values and views of industry, commerce, and the military, it is becoming increasingly clear that schools are in fact distinct, if not unique, kinds of organizations that differ in important ways from industrial, commercial, governmental, or military organizations. Because schools are unique among organizations, they require ways of thinking, styles of leadership, and approaches to administrative practice that are especially suited to them.

The uniqueness of educational organizations resides in their educative mission. Many organizations are created for the basic purpose of making money by manufacturing products, selling them, or providing for-profit ancillary services that support those activities. Governments create a vast array of organizations that, collectively, are intended to provide public order and security. The distinctive mission of the schools to educate requires organizations that, by their very nature, enhance the continuing growth and development of people to become more fully functioning individuals. Such organizations must foster the learning, personal growth, and development of all participants, including students as well as adults at work in the school.

Educative organizations seek to increase the personal and interpersonal competencies of their participants, to develop the skills of the group in collaborating, to make hidden assumptions explicit and to examine them for what they mean in terms of individual and group behavior, to enact cooperative group behavior that is caring and supportive of others, to manage conflict productively and without fear, and to share information and ideas fully. They place high value on and support openness, trust, caring, and sharing; they always strive for consensus but support and value those who think differently; and they prize human growth and development above all. Effective educational leaders, then, strive for a vision of the school as one that seeks to be engaged in a never-ending process of change and development, a "race without a finish line" (or *kaizen*, as the Japanese call constant growth achieved through small incremental steps), rather than one that seeks the big dramatic breakthrough, the mythical silver bullet, that will, supposedly, finally make everything right.

The processes of becoming (McGregor, 1960)—of people growing and developing as individuals and as group members, and of the organization doing so, too—combine to create the essence of enduring vitality in organizational life, whereas academic outcomes are transient, ephemeral evidence that the processes are working. The conundrum of power is a major concern in the environment of the educational organization: Hierarchy prevails. We have never found a substitute for hierarchy in organizational life, but we can ethically and honestly do much to share power and distribute it more equitably in efforts to minimize its deleterious effects on the behavior of people in the organization. In the process, we can make the school a more growthenhancing environment, which is a very different concept of organization from what we generally find in industrial and business organizations, and it should be because the essential, unique mission of schools is educative.

ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

Discussion of different perspectives that may be used in thinking about organizations, bureaucratic and nonbureaucratic, is really discussion of organizational theory. Practicing educational administrators are commonly skeptical of theory, often regarding it as some ideal state or idle notion—commonly associated with the pejorative term *ivory tower*. This attitude is often rationalized by those who work in schools, who state they must deal with the tough practicalities of daily life in the "real world." Far from being removed from daily life, however, theory is crucial in shaping everyday perception and understanding of commonplace events. School leaders need to know about organizational theory so that they can think more clearly about making better informed choices in a world where things are characteristically ambiguous, uncertain, unclear, or unknown.

Theory Defined and Described

Theory is not a guess or a hunch. Theory is systematically organized knowledge thought to explain observed phenomena. Good theory is based on good research (we discuss research practices later in this chapter). Just as we have theories about the causes of disease, the forces that make it possible for airplanes to fly, and the nature of the solar system, we also have theories about organizations and how they work. Just as theoretical reasons underlie the fact that we know we should wash our hands frequently, exercise regularly, and maintain a nutritionally sound diet, so also should theoretical underpinnings bolster our understanding of schools as organizations and how to make them more effective.

Theory is useful insofar as it provides a basis for thinking systematically about complex problems, such as understanding the nature of educational organizations. It is useful because it enables us to *describe* what is going on, *explain* it, *predict* future events under given circumstances, and—essential to the professional practitioner—think about ways to exercise *control* over events.

Two Major Perspectives on Educational Organizations

Since the dawn of organizational studies in the 20th century, people have generally elected to conceptualize organizations in one of two ways. One way is traditional theory, usually called bureaucratic, though it is often sardonically referred to by staunch critics of public schooling as the factory model of organization. Whatever name is used, bureaucratic organization conjures in one's mind some well-worn stereotypes:

- The 18th-century army of Frederick the Great, with its characteristically robot-like regimentation, top-down authority, all controlled by extensive written detailed rules and directives—the "book" by which the organization is run
- Franz Kafka's famously vivid, indelible images that depict bureaucracy as a nightmarish, maddeningly indecipherable, obtuse organization that creates bizarre unpredictable outcomes in the name of sweet reason.

Nevertheless, bureaucratic organization remains by far the most common theory of organization worldwide. Indeed, to many people in the world, bureaucracy is the defining concept, the very essence, of what an organization is. However, as time passed and the world changed, a second way of understanding organizations arose.

The second way is the contemporary nonbureaucratic theory that developed in large part from the constant growth and accelerating tempo of change in today's world. The present-day acceleration in the development of technology and changes in politics, economics, and society have generally left rigid bureaucracies floundering and unresponsive. To thrive in today's rapidly changing world, schools must be nimble, adaptive to change, and constantly evolving. These are the kinds of organizations that Peter Senge (1990) called learning organizations. They are not only adaptable to new challenges emerging in the world but also adaptable to the worldwide rise in expectations for increased democracy, personal freedom, individual respect and dignity, and opportunities for self-fulfillment.

BUREAUCRATIC THEORY The bureaucratic approach tends to emphasize the following five mechanisms in dealing with issues of controlling and coordinating the behavior of people in the organization:

- 1. Maintain firm hierarchical control of authority and close supervision of those in the lower ranks. The role of the administrator as inspector and evaluator is stressed in this concept.
- 2. Establish and maintain adequate vertical communication. This practice helps to ensure that good information will be transmitted up the hierarchy to the decision makers, and orders will be clearly and quickly transmitted down the line for implementation. Because the decision makers must have accurate information concerning the operating level in order to make high-quality decisions, the processing and communicating of information up the line are particularly important but often not especially effective. The use of computers to facilitate this communication is highly attractive to adherents of bureaucratic concepts.

- **3. Develop clear written rules and procedures to set standards and guide actions.** These include curriculum guides, policy handbooks, instructions, standard forms, duty rosters, rules and regulations, and standard operating procedures.
- **4. Promulgate clear plans and schedules for participants to follow.** These include teachers' lesson plans, bell schedules, pull-out schedules, meeting schedules, budgets, lunch schedules, special teacher schedules, bus schedules, and many others.
- 5. Add supervisory and administrative positions to the hierarchy of the organization as necessary to meet problems that arise from changing conditions confronted by the organization. For example, as school districts and schools grew in size, positions such as assistant principal, chairperson, director, and coordinator appeared. As programs became more complex, positions for specialists (director of special education, coordinator of substance abuse programs, school psychologist, compliance officer, and school social worker, to name a few) appeared.

The widespread acceptance of these bureaucratic mechanisms as the preferred way for exercising control and coordination in schools is illustrated by the reform movement that emerged in 1983, when A Nation at Risk was published during the Reagan presidency. The effectiveness of schools became a major theme in the political agenda on education and joined the linked duo that had been inherited from the 1970s—equality and access. Although a body of research literature on effective schools and what they were like had been steadily growing, a nearly unrelated reform movement suddenly erupted in 1983 that—in the popular press and electronic media, at least—seized center stage and strongly influenced numerous efforts to improve the functioning of schools. This point is of interest to us here because it illustrates the very strong conviction of many political leaders that bureaucratic methods are appropriate in thinking about schools and how to improve them.

Clearly, there is a strong tendency for some educational reformers to keep in mind bureaucratic methods or some other set of assumptions about the nature of schools on which the logic of their efforts pivots. Often those assumptions are the same as those underlying the traditional factory, in which management decides what is to be done, directs the workers to do it, then supervises them closely to be sure that the directives are followed in full. But as Doyle and Hartle (1985) observed:

It simply doesn't work that way. The impulse to reform the schools from the top down is understandable: it is consistent with the history of management science. The explicit model for such reform was the factory; Frederick Taylor's scientific management revolution did for the schools the same thing that it did for business and industry—created an environment whose principal characteristics were pyramidal organization. . . . The teacher was the worker on the assembly line of education; the student, the product; the superintendent, the chief executive officer; the school trustees, the board of directors; and the taxpayer, the shareholder. (p. 24)

These beliefs seem to undergird the current reform strategy, as the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 demonstrates. NCLB was a reauthorization of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). It seemed clear that the trend toward federal influence in education would continue. It also seemed clear, based on the 2009 Race to the Top (RTTT) foci, that the scope and power of the federal role in education policy would be expanded on an unprecedented scale. Then in December 2015, Congress passed changes to NCLB and named it the Every Student Succeeds

Act (ESSA), allowing more state control in judging school quality. NCLB, RTTT, and ESSA made extraordinary amounts of funding available to the states from Washington, DC.

Although the 2001 version of ESEA, which had been named the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, was recognized as a major breakthrough in the history of U.S. public education, it had also given rise to significant problems. The outcome of the entire enterprise would unquestionably hinge on the extent to which the conviction of those with political power in Washington and the state capitals would remain unshakable about the following:

- 1. That they have the best ideas about how to bring about improvement in school outcomes in the classrooms of the 95,000 or so schools in the United States
- 2. That they have sufficient knowledge about the circumstances in the classrooms in those school districts to make the judgments necessary to draw up action plans and legal mandates to implement the top-down organizational strategy in the belief that it is incontestably the most promising option available to bring about the desired changes that are sought in the schools.

The NCLB Act was—in the history of the Republic until that time—the boldest venture on the part of the federal government to redirect the schooling of children throughout the land. By 2018, federal participation continued to escalate on an unprecedented scale. It will take more time to see how well founded the beliefs so confidently held by politicians in Washington, DC and in the state capitals actually were. We will discuss NCLB later in this chapter and refer to it throughout this book, as it touches on many topics in the study of organizational behavior.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT THEORY As we have suggested, a very different set of assumptions exists with regard to the organizational characteristics of schools and the behavior of teachers in their classrooms. It is a view that places teachers foremost in creating instructional change and therefore questions the wisdom of any change strategy that seeks to force change upon teachers arbitrarily and without their participation in the processes of deciding what should be done. As we have seen, this is far from a new view of organization. But recent failures of bureaucratic methods to rectify severe organizational difficulties—especially in the corporate world—coupled with the emergence of newer organizational perspectives (such as the power of organizational cultures to influence behavior) have brought newer, nonbureaucratic concepts to the fore as a major way to think about organizational issues.

Bureaucratic organizations strive to create organizational cultures that strongly emphasize the primacy of the organization's officially prescribed rules, and their enforcement, as the central means of influencing individual participants to perform dependably in predictable ways. Non-bureaucratic approaches, in contrast, emphasize developing a culture in the organization that harnesses the conscious thinking of individual persons about what they are doing as a means of involving their commitment, abilities, and energies in achieving the goals of the organization. The central mechanism through which the nonbureaucratic organization exercises coordination and control is the socialization of participants concerning the values and goals of the organization, rather than through written rules and close supervision. Through this intense socialization, participants identify personally with the values and purposes of the organization and are motivated to see the organization's goals and needs as being closely congruent with their own. Thus, the culture of the organization epitomizes not only what the organization stands for and expects but also the core beliefs and aspirations of the individual participants themselves. The culture of an

organization makes clear what the organization represents—its values, its beliefs, its true (often as distinguished from its publicly stated) goals—and provides tangible ways by which individuals in the organization may personally identify with that culture. The culture of an organization is communicated through symbols: typically in the form of stories, myths, legends, and rituals that establish, nourish, and keep alive the enduring values and beliefs that give meaning to the organization and make clear how individuals become and continue to be part of the saga of the organization as it develops through time.

In this view, close inspection and supervision are far from the only means of ensuring the predictable performance of participants. Personal identification with and commitment to the values of the organization's culture can provide powerful motivation for dependable performance even under conditions of great uncertainty and stress. Consider, for example, what causes an individual to join an organization, stay in it, and work toward that organization's goals. For principles of human resources development theory to work, leaders need to believe in a particular philosophy of human behavior in the organization. Douglas McGregor helps us understand leader philosophy about people and the organization. His depiction of leader philosophy is called Theory X and Theory Y (McGregor, 1960).

THEORY X AND THEORY Y Theory X rests on four assumptions that the administrator may hold:

- 1. The average person inherently dislikes work and will avoid it whenever possible.
- Because people dislike work, they must be supervised closely; they must be directed, coerced, or threatened with punishment in order for them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives.
- 3. The average worker will shirk responsibility and seek formal direction from those in charge.
- **4.** Most workers value job security above other job-related factors and have little ambition.

Administrators who—tacitly or explicitly—think that these are basic facts of organizational life will, of course, use them as a guide when dealing with employees in the organization.

Theory Y embraces very different assumptions about the nature of people at work:

- 1. If it is satisfying to them, employees will view work as natural and as acceptable as play.
- **2.** People at work will exercise initiative, self-direction, and self-control on the job if they are committed to the objectives of the organization.
- **3.** The average person, under proper conditions, learns not only to accept responsibility on the job but also to seek it.
- **4.** The average employee values creativity—that is, the ability to make good decisions—and seeks opportunities to be creative at work.

Administrators who—tacitly or explicitly—accept this explanation of the nature of human beings at work could reasonably be expected to deal with subordinates in ways quite different from the ways of those who hold Theory X views.

These theories are not something for you to accept or reject; they are merely a simple illustration of how theoretical views of the organization are actually used by practitioners of educational administration in their work—a guide to rational decisions and actions on the firing line. Those with administrative, management, or leadership responsibilities tend to believe that one of these theoretical statements more accurately represents the nature of reality in the organization

than the other does. Leaders will generally act in ways that are harmonious with the theoretical statement they think is true. Those who tend to hold a Theory X view of people, for example, are inclined to believe that motivation is basically a matter of the carrot and the stick; they tend to readily accept the necessity for close, detailed supervision of subordinates, and they tend to accept the inevitability of the need to exercise down-the-line decision making. Collegial approaches to organizational life are likely to be viewed as perhaps a nice ideal in the abstract but not very practical in the real world of schools.

As Chris Argyris (1971) put it, Theory X views give rise to Behavior Pattern A on the part of leaders. This pattern of behavior may take one of two principal forms:

- **1.** Behavior Pattern *A*, *hard*, is characterized by no-nonsense, strongly directive leadership, tight controls, and close supervision.
- **2.** Behavior Pattern *A*, *soft*, involves a good deal of persuading, "buying" compliance from subordinates, benevolent paternalism, or so-called "good" (that is, manipulative) human relations.

In either case, Behavior Pattern A, whether acted out in its hard or its soft form, has the clear intention of motivating, controlling, and managing in the classical sense. It is based on Theory X assumptions about the nature of human beings at work.

Theory Y assumptions that leaders hold about people at work are very different. Theory Y assumptions give rise to Behavior Pattern B on the part of the leader. This style is characterized by commitment to mutually shared objectives, high levels of trust, mutual respect, and helping people in the organization to gain satisfaction from the work itself. Pattern B leadership may well be demanding, explicit, and thoroughly realistic, but it is essentially collaborative. It is a pattern of leader behavior intended to be more effective and productive than Pattern A because it is thought to reflect a more accurate understanding of what people at work are really like.

In this discussion of the relationship between theory and understanding organizational behavior in schools, it should be emphasized—as Argyris cautioned—that Behavior Pattern A, soft, is often superficially mistaken for Behavior Pattern B. This ambiguity has caused considerable confusion among those trying to apply these theoretical ideas to schools. But the Behavior Pattern A, soft, approach often used by supervisors to manipulate teachers into compliance with what is basically highly directive management—in the guise of "good human relations"—has done much in U.S. education to discredit the plausibility of Theory Y as applicable to the real world of schools and school systems.

the work of Rensis Likert. In more than 30 years of research in schools as well as in industrial organizations, Likert identified a range of management styles, called Systems 1, 2, 3, and 4. The definitions of each system are explained in terms of leader behavior and how others in the organization are involved in decision-making processes: These systems range on a continuum from authoritarian leader behavior and no involvement by others in the decision-making process in System 1, to collaborative leadership and broad involvement by others in decision making in System 4. Figure 1.1 defines each system and juxtaposes Likert's four systems with McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y. Likert's studies supported the hypothesis that the crucial variable that differentiates more effective from less effective organizations is human behavior in the organization. Blake and Mouton (1969) found that effective organizations involve individuals in important organizational decisions. They submitted that

THEORY X	System 1	Management is seen as having no trust in subordinates. a. Decision imposed—made at the top. b. Subordinates motivated by fear, threats, or punishment. c. Control centered on top management. d. Little superior—subordinate interaction. e. People informally opposed to goal by management.
	System 2	Management has condescending confidence and trust in subordinates. a. Subordinates seldom involved in decision making. b. Rewards and punishment used to motivate. c. Interaction used with condescension. d. Fear and caution displayed by subordinates. e. Control centered on top management but some delegation.
	System 3	 Management is seen as having substantial but not complete trust in subordinates. a. Subordinates make specific decisions at lower levels. b. Communication flows up and down the hierarchy. c. Rewards, occasional punishment, and some involvement are used to motivate. d. Moderate interaction and fair trust exist. e. Control is delegated downward.
THEORY Y	System 4	 Management is seen as having complete trust and confidence in subordinates. a. Decision making is widely dispersed. b. Communication flows up and down and laterally. c. Motivation is by participation and rewards. d. Extensive, friendly, superior–subordinate interaction exists. e. High degree of confidence and trust exists. f. Widespread responsibility for the control process exists.

FIGURE 1.1 Likert's Management Systems Theory related to McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y.

System 4 management is most effective and System 1 least effective. In examining extensive research on school organizations specifically, Gordon Lippitt (1969) agreed with Blake and Mouton's conclusions.

Both McGregor and Likert were basically concerned not with being nice to people or making work pleasant, but with understanding how to make organizations more effective, which is as pressing a need in business and industry as it is in education. This general point of view is widely and strongly supported by a vast amount of organizational research. Robert R. Blake's and Jane Srygley Mouton's (1969) organizational research, Gordon Lippitt's (1969) studies of organizational renewal, and Paul Berman's and Milbrey McLaughlin's (1978) extensive studies of change in U.S. schools are only a few of the many early studies that supported the general theoretical position held by pioneers such as McGregor and Likert.

Traditional classical organizational views (bureaucratic theory) would indicate the opposite practices: tighten up rules and procedures, exercise stronger discipline and tougher management, and demand more work from subordinates. In the parlance of neoclassical theory exemplified in NCLB, the focus is on teacher accountability, specified performance objectives, and market-based approaches to reform. Yet much of the best research in organizational behavior strongly

suggests that this latter approach would be, at best, self-defeating. Throughout this book, we present evidence to support this claim.

A word of caution is in order here. Bureaucratic and human resources perspectives have been compared and contrasted as ideal cases for the purpose of clarifying and delineating the very real, basic differences between them. In the real world of schools, of course, one rarely encounters ideal cases, which is not to suggest that organizations cannot properly be classified as being bureaucratic or nonbureaucratic. Indeed, they can be and often are. Nor does it mean that, to be described as nonbureaucratic, an organization must be totally devoid of policies, regulations, and standard operating procedures, or that to be described as bureaucratic, an organization must be totally devoid of sensitivity to or respect for people. This fact is particularly true of schools, which are bureaucratic in some ways and nonbureaucratic in some very important ways. What it does suggest is that organizations may be properly described as *relatively* bureaucratic or *relatively* nonbureaucratic. It also suggests that schools are undoubtedly far more organizationally complex than is generally understood.

CRITICAL THEORY

A group of educational academicians who subscribe to a type of social criticism known as *critical* theory (CT) have had a major impact on how we view organizations and leadership. These theorists have been especially sensitive to and vociferous about shortcomings in the school hierarchy, particularly traditional bureaucratic institutions with top-down authority and limited allowances for typically marginalized groups to add their voices to organizational governance.

Critical theory holds that institutionalized oppression of groups of people in a society—cultural, ethnic, racial, and gender groups—is often supported by the oppressed peoples themselves, who believe the system to be in their own best interests. This coercion, critical theorists contend, is achieved by the manipulation of meaning by those in power to legitimate the values and beliefs of the power elite: "In essence, the oppressed groups work to support the interest of the dominant groups. By doing so, they consent to their own oppression" (Palmer & Maramba, 2011, p. 439). In that view, some critical theorists in the Marxian tradition would say—indeed, have said—that workers in capitalist societies are oppressed by the powerful capitalist class but do not perceive it because, through control of the press, education, organized religion, and other social institutions, those in power systematically induce workers to believe that the values and beliefs of the capitalist class are legitimate and in the workers' best interests.

Paulo Freire (1970) is often credited with bringing CT to education in his famous work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in which he analyzed educational practices and their impact on the poor and other marginalized groups. He contended that education should not treat children as empty, passive vessels into which teachers implant knowledge, which he called *banking*; education in his view should be *problem posing*, in which teachers and students engage in dialogue and students are proactive learners in their own knowledge acquisition. These concepts gave rise to the term *critical pedagogy*. In this way, he believed that education could mobilize social transformation. Freire was from Brazil, and although his work had an impact in the United States, CT was firmly planted in the United States by the works of Michael Apple (1971, 1986) and Henry Giroux (1983). Other notables in their field are Derek Bell (1992), Richard Delgado (1995), and Peter McLauren (1998), among others. Often Jonathan Kozol (1991, 1995, 2005) is considered a critical theorist for exposing the problems of poverty among children in U.S. schools, beginning with *Savage Inequalities* in 1991; his research brought the effects of poverty on schools and children to the attention of many in mainstream education circles. Kozol showed how students living in poverty were typically in schools

with insufficient funding and fewer highly qualified teachers; this condition, Kozol showed, hindered students' ability to meet educational standards set by states and school districts.

Critical Race Theory

When CT is applied to race, and specifically in education to the achievement gap and the opportunity gap, it is also termed *critical race theory* (*CRT*), which is defined by Solórzano (1997) as scholarship and discourse on race and racism in an attempt to eliminate racism and racial stereotypes from society, including laws, social policy, and organizational cultures. The opportunity gap focuses on broader policy implications that help all student reach their full potential in school and beyond, whereas a focus solely on the achievement gap leads to policies based primarily on high-stakes testing. Both the achievement gap and the opportunity gap have been caused by what Ladson-Billings (2013) calls the *education debt*—the debt created over time by systemic inequalities of resources and owed to Black Americans, Native Americans, and other minorities. CRT research focuses on correcting the opportunity gap. Darling-Hammond (2013) summed up the concept in this statement: "Equalizing access to resources creates the possibility that all students will receive what should be their birthright: a genuine opportunity to learn" (p. 97).

Box 1.1 presents the tenets of CRT as defined by DeCuir and Dixson (2004).

A major contributor in bringing CRT to education is Gloria Ladson-Billings, who credited others with its origins: "Our work owes an intellectual debt to both Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. DuBois, who, although marginalized by the mainstream academic community, used race as a theoretical lens for assessing social inequality" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 50). Ladson-Billings also credited the work of Jonathan Kozol. She wrote: "Kozol's research did give voice

BOX 1.1

Tenets of CRT (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004)

- **1.** Counter-storytelling—gives a voice to people of color as "a means of exposing and critiquing normalized dialogues that perpetuate racial stereotypes" (p. 27).
- **2.** The permanence of racism—racism exists and this fact suggests "that racist hierarchical structures govern all political, economic, and social domains" (p. 27).
- **3.** Whiteness as property—this stems from the historical view of Whites having exclusive privileges, such that Whiteness is much like having a property right. For example, "tracking, honors, and/or gifted programs and advanced placement courses are but the myriad ways that schools have essentially been re-segregated" (p. 28).
- **4.** *Interest convergence*—decisions by the majority power structure will favor people of color only when it is also in the interest of the majority.
- **5.** The critique of liberalism—"arguing that society should be colorblind ignores the fact that inequity, inopportunity, and oppression are historical artifacts that will not easily be remedied by ignoring race in the contemporary society. Moreover, adopting a colorblind ideology does not eliminate the possibility that racism and racist acts will persist" (p. 29). In addition, liberal ideology supports incremental change and "those most satisfied with incremental change are those less likely to be directly affected by oppressive and marginalizing conditions" (p. 29).

to people of color. His analysis of funding inequities provides insight into the impact of racism and White self-interest on school funding policies" (1998, p. 20). Ladson-Billings, among others (e.g., Bell, 1992; Brookfield, 2013; Closson, 2010; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado, 1995; Smith & Colin, 2001; Solórzano, 1997), proffered that if we are to use CRT in education successfully, it must begin with understanding that racism exists, and it is normal. We should not deny racism exists or shy away from discussing it; we accept its existence and try to understand it and expose it in an attempt to eliminate it. To do this is to foster antiracist practices and perspectives among everyone in the organization, and it cannot be done without using the lived experiences of Black people. Although Whites and other non-Black individuals cannot fully empathize with the Africentric view (the term Smith and Colin preferred) because they have not lived it, they need to be aware of it and understand how it affects schools in terms of curriculum, students' views on themselves and other races, as well as school and district culture in relation to how minorities are viewed and treated. Smith and Colin (2001) wrote that we should use Africentric views to "make the invisible visible" (p. 65).

The authors of this text, Owens and Valesky, do not share an Africentric experience, but this fact does not mean we cannot reflect on, discourse about, and empathize with the Africentric experience and use it analytically to examine and improve practices in schools. Giving people of color a voice through counter-storytelling regarding their lived experiences with racism helps heal their wounds, allows the oppressor to understand, and "is required for a deep understanding of the education system" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 14). Giving people of color a voice is a major tenant of CRT supported throughout the literature (e.g., Blackmore, 2010; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Wilkinson & Bristol, 2018). There have been some rather successful large-scale events in our recent history that gave voice to people of color, and some of these are listed in Box 1.2.

BOX 1.2

Large-Scale Events in the United States to Give Voice to People of Color

Some large-scale attempts nationally in the United States to uncover and stop racism, and to give a voice to people of color, began most importantly with the August 28, 1963, Great March on Washington, DC, led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., where he gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Second, an annual march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, attracts many prominent politicians and marks the anniversary of March 7, 1965—Bloody Sunday—when Alabama state troopers viciously beat the voting rights marchers attempting to go from Selma to the state capital of Montgomery. Third, the Million Man March of October 16, 1995, took place on the National Mall in Washington, DC, and was a major event to bring voice to people of color, who continued to face racial problems in the United States. Fourth, one of the more important permanent structures giving a voice to the Black population is the Martin Luther King Jr. memorial on the National Mall, which opened in 2011. Fifth, another important structure was placed in the U.S. Capitol Building in 2013—a statue of Rosa Parks, one of the female heroines of the civil rights movement, and now the first Black woman to have a statue in the Capitol's Statuary Hall. Finally, we would be remiss if we did not highlight the historical election in November 2008 and again in 2012 of the first U.S. president of African descent, Barack Obama, who became the 44th president of the United States.

What specifically can we do to implement CRT in schools? Solórzano (1997) provided four activities to combat racism:

- 1. Identify Examples—give specific examples of racism and racial stereotyping as well as the effects on both minorities and nonminorities.
- 2. Identify Media Stereotypes—"identify racial stereotypes in the popular media such as film, television, and print and show how they are used to justify attitudes and behavior toward Students of Color" (p. 14).
- **3.** Identify Professional Stereotypes—we need to find ways to challenge the standard curricula and textbooks, which do not portray many professional people of color in quality professional roles.
- **4.** Find Examples That Challenge—expose students to positive examples of people of color, challenging racial stereotypes: "There are rich sources of material in individual and family oral and pictorial histories, institutional and community studies, and artistic and cultural artifacts and ideologies that would change the racial stereotyping found in the popular and professional media" (p. 15).

Niesche (2017) agrees with these suggestions, adding that school leaders need to think more critically about leadership discourse in their organizations; read outside a narrow framework of *leadership* studies to focus on social justice, diversity, politics, and sociology, among other disciplines; understand that racism is based not only on individual behavior but also on other factors that require a system's perspective and analysis; and recognize that collaborative structures must be established to address these issues, stating, "For school leaders to work for representative forms of justice, they need to have a core commitment to equity and genuine social change and develop actions, processes, and structures that are collaboratively developed, shared, and appropriated within and beyond the school" (p. 246). These are the steps school leaders and teachers must take if critical theory and critical race theory are to have any impact in schools.

What is the legacy of CT and CRT in education? Will these theories make an impact? Will educational researchers use CT and CRT to make improvements—not incremental improvements but radical improvements—for students of color? Will educators use CRT "to expose racism in education *and* propose radical solutions for addressing it" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 22)? The practical impact on what we do in education based on CT and CRT, however, has not been as successful as most critical theorists would have hoped. In 1998, Ladson-Billings wrote the following:

What, then, might happen to CRT in the hands of educational researchers and school personnel? Well to be honest, . . . I doubt if it will go very far into the mainstream. Rather, CRT in education is likely to become the "darling" of the radical left, continue to generate scholarly papers and debate, and never penetrate the classrooms and daily experiences of students of color. (p. 22)

As of 2018, it seems that Ladson-Billing's prophecy was correct. We do not see much to challenge racism in our schools in the way proponents of CRT would imagine. Yet, liberalism has brought a focus on multicultural curriculum and the concept of diversity is clearly a topic of interest in classroom instruction, among faculty and administrators when discussing school and district mission and vision, and with school policy in hiring practices. Since the mid-1990s, when Ladson-Billings and Kozol presented their work to educators, some progress has been made, such

as improved equity in school funding across school districts in many states, yet funding equity among schools within school districts still remains a question. Maybe multicultural education, a focus on diversity, and some funding equity are steps in the right direction, but are they enough to meet the goals of CRT?

Although Blackmore argues that "school reform is still constrained within the school effectiveness and improvement frame, where racial, cultural and linguistic diversity, as with gender, are treated as discrete categories or factors" (Blackmore, 2010, p. 47), she contends that the 21st century has seen a positive "cultural turn" (p. 48) brought about by several rising movements: the voice of Indigenous populations around the world; the cultural diversity brought to Western countries by immigrants; the rising voice of women leaders; and shared cross-cultural values brought about through the importation of Western school models around the world. To further this cultural turn, Blackmore believes that more interaction is needed among traditional mainstream leadership models and critical race and feminist theories. Blackmore states, "Critical race feminist research and theory would argue that white school leaders have to be cognizant of both structural and cultural accounts of racism and multiculturalism in order to develop more inclusive schools and leadership practices" (p. 55), which would alter preparation programs and professional development of school leaders and teachers. Others agree with Blackmore. For example, the book edited by Wilkinson and Bristol (2018) contains several chapters that include the results of research on these issues. See a more detailed description of this book in the Suggested Reading section at the end of this chapter.

The Concept of Social Justice

Multiculturalism, according to Ladson-Billings and Tate, is insufficient and "a liberal ideology offering no radical change in the current order" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 56). However, perhaps the focus on *social justice* takes us a step toward the goals of CRT. The concept of social justice, which seems to be taking root in U.S. schools and in colleges of education, is part of the CRT framework in its attempt to eliminate racism (Solórzano, 1997). Social justice takes on broad categories of issues, as described by Dantley and Tillman (2010):

Discussion about social justice in the field of education generally, and in educational leadership more specifically, have typically framed the concept of social justice around several issues (e.g., race, diversity, marginalization, gender, spirituality). Although these areas are vitally important to any discussion of social justice, we add the formidable issues of age, ability, and sexual orientation to this discourse. (pp. 19–20)

Scholars define social justice in terms of providing numerous learning opportunities, with high expectations for achievement by all students, and ensuring that within program opportunities students are proportionally represented. In addition, socially just schools make certain that families and community members are welcomed into the school and that individuals do not experience discrimination or negative treatment based on race, ethnicity, disability, or other demographic grouping (Scanlan & Theoharis, 2015). Leaders who strive for social justice work with stakeholders to achieve these goals.

There are, of course, some examples of schools and school leaders that show how socially just schools can be achieved. In a qualitative research study of six such schools and school leaders, Theoharis (2010) spent a year in these schools documenting his results. The school leaders he studied built a school culture that embraced the tenets of CRT and developed

structures to implement Solórzano's activities to combat racism. These leaders attained success by including every student (e.g., students with disabilities, English language learners, all socioeconomic levels, and all cultures represented in the school) in "a rigorous and engaging general curriculum" (p. 368), ensuring that students are not isolated from the general classrooms for remedial instruction. In addition, principals provided relevant professional development for all staff, empowered and trusted them, yet had high expectations for success. Finally, the school staff reached out to families to bring them into the discussion and decision-making processes by "listening to families, and by using persistent, diverse, and native language communication" (p. 369).

Socially just schools must also focus on policies and practices to prevent bullying and other forms of discrimination against LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) students. 1 LGBT youth are at high risk for poor academic performance and negative mental health issues, and many of their difficulties can be traced directly to the stigma and discrimination they experience in schools. So, schools need to ensure that stakeholders have an understanding of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) issues to develop effective policies and practices in helping LGBT students avoid discrimination (Russell & Horn, 2017). Anti-bullying programs are helpful, but researchers have found that most general anti-bullying programs do not focus on SOGI issues (Poteat, 2017) and therefore do not provide adequate support and protection of LGBT youth. Other suggestions supported by research to help reduce homophobic bullying and provide support for LGBT students include having support groups such as a Gay-Straight Alliance, having teachers who promote mutual respect inclusive of LBGT students, and promoting an LGBT-inclusive curriculum that allows for meaningful learning about SOGI issues (Mikulec & Miller, 2017; Poteat, 2017; Snapp & Russell, 2017); yet most schools do not have an inclusive curriculum (Snapp & Russell, 2017). Obstacles to an inclusive curriculum are school district policies that oppose such curricula and public backlash when inclusive curricula are implemented. Lugg and Murphy (2017) suggest that in such an atmosphere, a possible way forward for school leaders and teachers is to simply exercise their own discretionary power at the individual school level to interpret or reinterpret policy in ways that protect LGBT youth as much as possible. The term used in the literature for "public employees who regularly deal directly with clients in delivering social services, sometimes in a hostile environment, and who operate with considerable freedom from direct supervision" (Lugg & Murphy, 2017, p. 247) is street-level bureaucrats. Principals and teachers certainly can be defined as such.

THE RELEVANCE TO SCHOOL LEADERSHIP TODAY

One may well question how relevant the ideas discussed thus far are to the practice of educational leadership in schools. Are these ideas merely the playthings of academics and philosophers, or do they have real meaning to those who seek to make a difference as leaders in education?

The key to understanding how and why these ideas are important to educational leaders lies first in understanding that the processes of developing educational leadership are highly dynamic, with constant, ongoing change and development. They have been changing and developing over the course of many years and will continue this dynamic process in the future. Knowing and accepting this evolution as an enduring characteristic of the education enterprise is basic to preparation for

¹LGBT is often stated in the literature as LGBTQ, in which the "Q" refers to questioning or queer.

being an educational leader. Of the many wellsprings from which the dynamic processes of change and development in education are shaped and molded, two are of foremost importance:

- The emergence of new knowledge about how people function in organizations Research and study are constantly modifying our understanding of the human experience in educational organizations, which is why it is necessary for the educational leader to stay abreast of current relevant studies of organizational behavior.
- The dynamic impact of changes in the larger society in which the schools exist The affairs of humankind possess an unremitting ebb and flow of overarching changes that challenge all social institutions to adapt to new conditions, and schools are no exception. War and peace, economic prosperity and recession, the evolution of social values and beliefs, and sweeping technological-industrial changes are obvious among them. Some are more subtle, such as the worldwide rise of conservative thought—economic, political, religious—that emerged in the waning years of the 20th century and swept across the globe as the 21st century unfolded. This ideology may appear to have little to do with educational leadership, but in fact, as we shall describe, it may have at least as much impact as all the discoveries or inventions of new knowledge by scholars.

The relentless, ceaseless interplay between the search for a better understanding of human nature and human behavior, on the one hand, and the evolutionary development of social and political beliefs and values in our culture, on the other, creates a dynamic environment in which the basic concepts of education and educational leadership are endlessly incomplete, always works in progress. This can be an uncomfortable environment for those who seek certitude and finality in the ideas that guide their professional work. But this versatility is hardly unique to educational leadership: The need to be nimble, adaptable, and flexible is a central characteristic of all kinds of effective organizations in every profession today.

To react to changing environments, to be nimble, and to adapt, leaders need to work with others to examine the organizational vision and mission to ensure the organization is on track for success. We examine these ideas in the next section.

VISION AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

The vision that leaders seek to share with followers is a protean thing, continually being revised and annotated by changing values, emerging developments, and events that vindicate or repudiate aspects of the worldview previously held by leaders, followers, or both. Indeed, one of the pivotal activities of leaders is to engage constantly in the dynamic process of stating a vision of things to come; then revising in light of emerging events, ideas, and beliefs; and restating the vision of "where we are and where we are going" that binds the members of the organization in mutual purpose and resolve. But in all its iterations, the vision of a leader is always uplifting, pointing to new directions, calling for progress from where followers are to where they want to be, and describing how they will get there. Dramatic examples abound in the realm of politics and social movements: Consider Churchill's magnificent rallying cry to the British facing almost certain defeat in World War II, "We shall fight on"; the stirring inspiration of Lincoln's low-key "Gettysburg Address"; and the immortal vision of King's speech, "I Have a Dream." Educational leaders rarely have opportunities to exercise such dramatic flair and personal charisma, yet they must always be prepared to articulate their personal vision for the organization as a rallying cry for the daily work to be done.

The purpose of the ongoing process of stating and discussing the vision is to buttress and foster the most critical factors in the development of organizational culture: the web of shared assumptions, beliefs, and values that unites the group in mutual solidarity. In the ordinary bureaucratic organization, these factors are rarely examined and discussed, rarely made explicit and public, rarely challenged. Indeed, in ordinary organizations, little can be found even in the way of vocabulary for talking about such things, and the time-consuming minutiae of professional meetings usually drives such conversation out so that the norm in the organization's culture is to avoid such discussion altogether.

The goal of forging agreement on the vision or mission of the organization is, ideally, to seek consensus as nearly as it can be practically achieved, but always consensus on a new and better state in the future. We define a vision for an organization as the ideal toward which the organization is directed, whereas the mission is how the organization will achieve the vision, that is, a clear statement of the methods and strategies to be used, which contain the beliefs and values of the organizational culture. Throughout the process of developing or revising a vision and mission, the leader strives always to marshal consensus in support of something better: a higher plane of functioning, an elevated sense of motivation and commitment, an organization that is constantly metamorphosing into something better than it was. The point to remember is that the ongoing discussion of the organizational vision is a crucial dialogue through which the leader and the followers mutually engage in the process of forging the destiny that unites them in common cause. Therefore, it is a powerful engine for the empowerment of teachers. By participating in the neverending process of creating, maintaining, and evolving a vision of the future of the school, teachers are themselves involved in a process of self-development and growth. Because the process is open, ongoing, and collaborative, the principal is also engaged in personal self-development and growth: The process engages the leader as much as anyone and in the end helps to forge and refine the leader's own vision.

Engaging in the give and take of the ongoing colloquy required to forge and maintain an evolving vision and mission of the organization requires rethinking assumptions, beliefs, and values that previously guided behavior at work. These must be either reaffirmed or modified in light of this reflection and of newly emerging realities. The process has a name—reflective practice—and many believe it to be essential if an individual is to continue to develop and improve professional practice over the years rather than stagnate and become increasingly irrelevant.

Whose Vision Is It Anyway?

At a time when school reform cries out for leadership rather than bureaucratic command, schools should be evolving from top-down hierarchical management toward a more collaborative, collegial, participative form of leadership. Because the new form of organization facilitates and encourages the active participation of people who are on the lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy, it is sometimes popularly referred to as bottom-up organization. In such an organization, the glue that binds the organization's participants together, that motivates them to unite in common purpose, is a vision of a different school, new and better, in the future. But whose vision is it anyway?

Bureaucrats assume that experts high in the hierarchy are especially qualified to set the goals of the organization and determine how to reach them. The experts may or may not consult those on the lower levels of the organization when they set goals. Leaders, in contrast, assume that those on the lower levels of the organization have valuable knowledge about and insights into what the organization is about and that must be an integral part of the mix we call a vision of the organization.

Leaders assume that the ability to lead is widely distributed throughout the organization and often manifests itself when participants express new ideas, challenge traditional practices, and synthesize and express the ideas of a collegial group. That is why it is important for leaders to empower others to participate fully in the unending processes of creating and refining a vision of the school's mission. But leadership is not a spectator sport: Leaders do not stand passively on the sidelines, hoping that others will lead the way and shape the future.

Leaders are not merely catalysts of the ideas of others, much as they encourage and facilitate participation; they have their own clearly thought-out vision of the future, their own sense of direction. Leaders have something important to say in the dialogue about where we are going, something that engages the aspirations of others and raises their hopes about what can and should be achieved in their work. Leaders move them forward to engage vigorously with others in building a new and better future in the organization. But leadership is not a solo performance. The role of leaders in the process of developing a vision of the school, in addition to offering ideas and participating in discussions, emphasizes facilitating the involvement of others in an ongoing dialogue about the direction for the future.

Therefore, vision building is not always a placid process but also often requires engagement with different worldviews of people in the group, different temperaments, different personal agendas, different levels of understanding, different hopes and aspirations, and different pedagogical approaches to the future. Whereas the school principal, for example, must avoid imposing a prepared vision or mission statement on the teachers for ratification by them, the principal must have developed a clearly thought-out position from which to contribute, unhesitatingly and convincingly, to the discussion.

Perhaps the leader can do nothing more important in empowering teachers to create a process for forging and reworking the vision, or mission, of the school than to signal that this process is not only important but also acceptable. Traditionally, schools have not been places where adults can easily share the collegial relationships essential to leadership (as distinct from management) and teacher empowerment. The school leader, then, must demonstrate convincingly an interest in promoting collegiality and shared leadership, an interest in shifting the norms of the school's culture from the traditional to more collaborative ways of working together. Making this shift in the cultural norms of the school, translating the intent into daily practices that reduce the sense of isolation typical of teaching, will more than likely be gradual because teachers have learned, through experience, to be cautious in talking about their work. In traditional schools, teachers rarely see one another practice their craft; rarely discuss pedagogy in a serious way; and almost never deal with such matters in staff meetings, which are ordinarily filled with minor routine matters.

The educational leader—like leaders in all fields of human endeavor—inevitably faces a career in which new, resilient responses are constantly required to meet the challenges that will inescapably and unremittingly arise in the future. These challenges are likely to occur in cycles, as they have for over a century. Rest assured: The problems that seem overwhelming now will in time recede into the background as new and apparently more demanding challenges emerge in the future. In view of this unyielding progression, the educational leader not only needs to develop responses to the urgencies of the moment but also must develop a set of values, beliefs, and principles for guidance in creating effective strategies and actions in the uncertain future. Taken together, these values, beliefs, and principles mold and shape the educational leader's vision of what the school ought to be like, the direction in which it should be going, and the end state for which it should be striving. A core element in such a vision must be the ability to see the school as a nimble, adaptive organization that is able to

proactively detect problems as they are emerging and create effective solutions to them before the problems develop into crises. It is generally agreed today that a school administrator who does not have a clear and well-developed vision will find it difficult, if not impossible, to be an effective educational leader in the days ahead.

This incessant social-political process of change has been commented upon many times as being characteristic of the American approach to educational problems: New solutions to problems are invented, rise in popularity, and are enthusiastically tried for a few years. Then, when they fail to solve the problems, Americans grow impatient and cast them aside in favor of applying a new fad to a fresh set of different problems. The chronicle of schooling in the United States since the mid-20th century clearly supports the view that this pattern has been an enduring characteristic of the American approach to educational problems. It seems certain to be repeated in the future, and the debate and contention that accompany each new proposed quick fix invariably involve clashes concerning assumptions about people, values, and beliefs about human nature. The current iteration of this peculiarly American approach was launched with the passage by Congress in 2001, and the signing by the president in 2002, of the NCLB Act.

THE NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT AND EVERY STUDENT SUCCEEDS ACT

The power of the ideas that have been briefly discussed here to forge and give direction to practical matters in the tough world of educational leadership is clearly demonstrated in the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), an omnibus bill on education that became the law of the land in 1965. ESEA was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson as part of his "War on Poverty"; he believed that educational opportunity should be a priority. The law was then reauthorized with major revisions and given the new moniker of NCLB in January 2002. All the ideas that have been discussed here were contested in the roughand-tumble world of national politics. Parties and players battled for dominance in shaping and molding new rules and new dynamics in educational policy and practice. Clearly, in the process, one set of values and beliefs won the day in that legislative process; competing values and beliefs did not prevail. And yet in the give and take of the democratic process, losers seek to become winners, and we would be naïve to assume that the pendulum might not, in due course, swing back. But that is not the situation at this moment, although it is a possibility in the future. By any measure, the passage of the historic NCLB Act demonstrates that the ideas discussed here are not merely academic fluff but are at the heart of the need to make practical decisions about education.

When signed by President George W. Bush on January 8, 2002, the act reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in ways intended to be the most far-reaching reform of the nation's public education system since the creation of the Department of Education in 1979 (Kiely & Henry, 2001).

The NCLB Act promised to increase federal expenditures in education by 20% over the previous year, and it had three major goals:

- Improving the preparation of teachers and increasing their compensation so that every classroom in the United States would be staffed by a "highly qualified" teacher by the end of the 2005–2006 school year
- Closing the achievement gap for disadvantaged students by having all children at proficient levels or better in reading and math by 2014
- Instituting closely monitored systems of accountability for students, teachers, and schools.

None of these goals were realized. It had been envisioned that these goals would be accomplished by a number of federally issued mandates. For example, a centerpiece of the effort to close the achievement gap was a provision in the act creating the Early Reading Initiative. It pledged \$900 million per year over a 6-year period to bolster reading instruction primarily in schools in poverty-stricken areas and an additional \$75 million per year for preschool instruction in reading. The funding was not to be doled out automatically to the states; it had to be applied for by the then cash-starved states with proposals that described in detail the programs they would develop with the money from Washington to fulfill the initiative's intention of raising the achievement of disadvantaged students in learning to read.

But the language of the act, some 1184 pages long, bristles with 246 references to the word research and 116 references to the terms scientific and scientifically in describing the kinds of approaches to instruction that were desired by Congress in enacting the law. It was clear that what Congress wanted to accomplish was to support instruction based on evidence from scientific research, but this quickly gave rise to a controversy over what exactly "scientifically based" research or instruction means. Since the beginning of NCLB, the U.S. Department of Education (ED) has worked to define what this means, which has resulted in an ED website containing information to assist educators in researching "scientifically based" programs. This is called the What Works Clearinghouse (ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/). We discuss this clearinghouse in more detail in Chapter 12.

In a long-awaited reauthorization of the ESEA, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) was approved in December 2015 by President Obama. It provided some relief from the firm mandates of NCLB by allowing the states significant leeway in accountability plans and goals. Some of the major goals include the following (Klein, 2016):

- States can make their own goals, both long- and short-term. Goals must address proficiency on tests, English language proficiency, and graduation rates.
- Goals must address groups that are furthest behind to close gaps in achievement and graduation rates.
- States will have to identify and intervene in the schools that are in the bottom 5% and in all high schools with graduation rates of 67% or below. These schools must provide evidence of improvement, and if there is none after 4 years, the state can take over the school, fire the principal, or turn the school into a charter school.
- At least 95% of students in each school must be tested in grades 3 through 8 and at least once in high school.
- States must adopt a "challenging" standard, which may be the Common Core State Standards.
- States no longer are required to evaluate teachers in part by student outcomes, but states may do so if they wish.
- The act sustains and expands access to high-quality preschools.

At the time of this writing, President Donald J. Trump (U.S. Department of Education, 2020), in his 2021 budget proposal to Congress, has proposed funding to prioritize efforts to improve student achievement; reduce the role of the federal government in education; and allow states, school districts, and parents more power of local control in education. Specific proposals to accomplish these goals for PK–12 education include the following:

1. Providing Education Freedom Scholarships (EFS), funded by private donations, to allow families additional options for educating their children. These donations are expected to exceed \$5 billion.

- **2.** Providing states with block grants and allowing states to use the money to support programs that best fit each state.
- 3. Increasing funding for career and technical education (CTE) by \$900 million.

Critics of President Trump's proposed budget suggest that his proposal includes an approximately 8% decrease in education spending and that by consolidating funding to block grants, states may elect to decrease Title I funding in favor of school choice or other spending options.

ESSA continues the NCLB focus, which provided support for local innovations, including evidence-based interventions. In the next section, we will discuss research in education to identify key elements in good research, skills that every school administrator must possess.

RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

Some advocates for improving educational research seemed to insist that only controlled laboratory experimentation in the tradition of double-blind studies used in medical and pharmaceutical research could be the *gold standard* for judging the scientific adequacy of the research on instructional methods. Studies may properly be called controlled laboratory experiments if researchers use two basic techniques:

- They employ a control group, whose members would unknowingly receive a placebo, and an experimental group, whose members, also unknowingly, receive the medication under study. If neither the researcher nor the subjects know who is getting which treatment, it is usually called a double-blind study.
- They include systematic efforts to control or minimize other variables that might be confusing, such as the age of the subjects, sex, race, financial status, and even variables that are unknowable.

Research in elementary and secondary education has, for over a century, been generally scorned in the academic community as being trivial, shallow, and largely lacking in what is usually called scientific or academic rigor. Indeed, many academics contend that, because they perceive the field as lacking rigorous theoretical and scientific underpinnings, education cannot properly be called an academic discipline at all. It is also a major reason why educational research does not attract the financial support that is common in many other disciplines, such as agriculture, medicine, physics, and business.

It cannot be denied that the quality of research in education has been and still is uneven. Research in education is hampered by the fact that education is not recognized as a bona fide scholarly discipline. By definition, a scholarly discipline includes the following:

- A well-defined body of knowledge that arises from recognized theory
- The use of research methods accepted as being appropriate to study the questions under investigation.

This, of course, refers to what Thomas Kuhn called a scientific paradigm, which we will address in more detail later in this text. History is a typical example of a well-recognized academic discipline: It has a well-defined body of knowledge that we call history, and that body of knowledge is constantly under development and expansion by researchers who investigate interesting questions by using systematic methods of study and recognized rules of evidence. Historians, for example,

employ theory unique to their discipline and well-recognized methods of historical research, such as historiography. Education, in contrast, must draw its knowledge, as well as its theory and research methods, from a number of related disciplines, including psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and economics.

The quality of educational research has been rapidly improving since the middle of the 20th century, as have the academic qualifications of those engaged in educational research. However, in academic circles, it takes time, sometimes a lot of time, to painstakingly bring an emerging discipline to maturity and recognition. Psychology went through this process as it began to develop from biology; sociology required a long time to become accepted as an academic discipline, and so on.

The Tennessee STAR Study—An Education Example

Education research has few well-designed, large-scale studies that meet the gold standard. One example that most educational researchers can agree does meet the gold standard for research is the longitudinal study done in Tennessee titled the Student-Teacher Achievement Ratio, popularly known as the STAR study. We present this study, as it has been one of the most widely cited studies and has affected a good deal of legislation and education policy across the United States. This was a legislated study that was conducted by the Tennessee State Department of Education and was carried out by representatives from four state universities. From 1985 to 1989, 79 elementary schools—stratified by inner city, urban, suburban, and rural settings, with approximately 7500 students in 300 kindergarten through third-grade classes—were involved in this research (Tennessee State Department of Education, 1990).

In the STAR study (Finn & Achilles, 1999), some students were randomly assigned to small classes ranging from 13 to 17 students, others to regular classes ranging from 22 to 26 students at hird group to regular classes ranging from 22 to 26 students with a full-time aide. Findings from standardized test measures of math and reading indicated that students in small classes benefited significantly among all types of schools when compared to regular classes or regular classes with aides. Regular classes with aides showed some increased achievement results when compared to regular classes, but these results were not significant. The most striking findings were that gains made in small classes in kindergarten and first grade were maintained over the 4 years of the study, that low socioeconomic status (SES) student gains outpaced high SES student gains, and that small class sizes reduced grade retention. Because significant differences can be found statistically with small gains, the researchers were also interested in knowing how large the gains were. To do this, they calculated the effect size. Effect sizes were found to range from 0.15 to 0.34 for all students across the 4 years of the study, which means that students in small classes, compared to those in larger classes, gained from 15% to 34% of one standard deviation.

What this study found to be not significant is also important. No differences were found in levels of in-service training that teachers had had, teacher grouping practices, and parent volunteer interaction with classes. In other words, small class size made the difference in achievement, not these other variables. Due to its research design, the STAR study is perhaps the best known, large-scale longitudinal study in U.S. education, and befitting this stature, STAR has been influential in many education policy decisions.

Research and NCLB

In light of the role of research in school improvement, and the many competing claims being made for research "evidence" that advocates proffer in support of the use of particular, commercially produced instructional methods and materials, the educational leader should remember to

examine the research designs and procedures on which the claims are based, as well as the statistical treatments given to the data reported, instead of taking the evidence reported by the press or, worse, book publishers at face value. The NCLB Act ushered in a new era for educational leaders, one in which school leadership was expected to be driven by data concerning educational outcomes to an unprecedented degree, an era in which one increasingly needed statistical evidence to support claims and beliefs about instructional practices.

What did "scientifically based" instructional methods mean? To some, it appeared that quantitative laboratory research methods were being emphasized as a base for professional knowledge to the exclusion of knowledge obtained through other research methods. To some, it seemed evident that the emphasis in NCLB on phonics in the provisions concerning reading instruction was an effort by a political majority to dictate the outcome of the long-running controversy over what constituted appropriate pedagogical strategies and techniques in the teaching of reading. Thus, it seemed manifest that the federal government was, for the first time in history, dictating how reading should be taught in the kindergartens and primary grades of schools throughout the land. Similarly, to others, it seemed equally manifest that the Washington bureaucracy had decided to back quantitative laboratory research in the study of teaching methods as the only acceptable form of research, despite the fact that research in the social and behavioral sciences had generally, over the years, stressed the importance of qualitative field studies, too.

Clearly, the writing of the NCLB Act, and the debate and disputation that led to its final passage by Congress, had involved a battle in which modernist (who believe in quantitative research) and postmodernist (who accept and value qualitative research in addition to quantitative) beliefs, values, and understandings had clashed, and the modernist view of the world had won the political battle. This was hardly some unfathomable academic discussion by intellectuals that had little to do with the hard realities of leadership and day-to-day life in schools. It was a struggle between people with different understandings of human nature, human behavior, values, and beliefs about the human condition.

The political struggle to control unfolding events is not over. These issues will be revisited many times in the 21st century as the application of the law unfolds and the effects are experienced with all their ramifications. The contention over the NCLB Act is a political struggle for the heart and soul of schooling in the United States, a struggle to wrest control of the direction in which schools had been going from those who had been in control and to force a change of course in a strikingly new and hopefully more successful direction. But, more important, it was and continues to be, a political struggle. It involves educational issues and problems, but, nevertheless, it remains a political struggle.

States, education associations, and parent groups successfully flexed their own political muscles, and, in 2005, the Bush administration eased up on some accountability measures. For example, some, though not all, special education children were permitted to take alternative state achievement tests if individualized educational plan (IEP) teams decided that a student was making progress, but the student's disability was preventing the achievement of grade level in the same time frame as other students. By the spring of 2005, 21 states sought some changes to NCLB, resulting in lawsuits, state legislation, resolutions, and other actions such as requests for waivers from NCLB requirements. Connecticut became the first state to sue the federal government for not providing sufficient funding to support the mandates of NCLB, and the National Education Association (NEA) sued (in *Pontiac School District v. Spellings*) on behalf of nine school districts in Vermont, Texas, and Michigan, asking for exemptions from all NCLB requirements that were not funded by the federal government. The NEA (2005) claimed that from the inception of NCLB in

2002 to early 2005, states had to pay a \$28 billion shortfall between the required costs of NCLB and federal funding. They cited the law's own words in its reasoning (No Child Left Behind, 2001):

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize an officer or employee of the Federal Government to mandate, direct, or control a State, local education agency, or school's curriculum, program of instruction, or allocation of State or local resources, or mandate a State or any subdivision thereof to spend any funds or incur any costs not paid for under this Act. (Section 9527)

In November 2005, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan granted the federal government's motion to dismiss *Pontiac v. Spellings*. It ruled that the federal government has the authority to require states to spend their own money to comply with the law. Education associations such as the NEA, American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), the National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP), the Council for Exceptional Children (CEC), and the National Parent-Teacher Association (NPTA) became strong advocates for school districts in their lobbying efforts for changes to NCLB. It was an attempt to establish a new scientific paradigm in education by political action rather than by scientific revolution. It has everything to do with the day-to-day realities of being a leader in the schools. Anyone who would be an effective leader in U.S. schools of the future must have a clear understanding of the assumptions and beliefs that underlie the arguments on both sides of this confrontation.

VOICES FROM THE FIELD

Rise Above the Mark

Public Education Reforms That Work

Rocky Killion, Superintendent of Schools, West Lafayette Community School Corporation, West Lafayette, Indiana

West Lafayette Community School Corporation (WLCSC), located in West Lafayette, Indiana, is one of the highest achieving school districts in the nation. Despite its success, Indiana legislators, driven by "corporate education reforms" are diverting the school district's tax-supported revenues to charter and private schools. In essence, these "reforms" are leading to the dismantling of public schools under the guise of providing "school choice." This dismantling then paves the way for national privatization of public schools by state legislatures whose efforts are often supported and rewarded by large corporations and foundations. Note the absence of educators in this process. Superintendent of Schools Rocky Killion, supported by the Board of School Trustees, the West Lafayette Schools Education Foundation, administration, and staff, are working together to produce an education documentary that will give public school educators a voice about what this process is doing to public schools.

Purpose

The purpose of *Rise Above the Mark*, narrated by Peter Coyote, is to educate the general public about the "corporate takeover" of Indiana public schools and what parents, community members, and educators can do to protect their local public schools. Legislators are calling the shots and putting public schools in an ever-shrinking box. WLCSC Board of School Trustees and Superintendent of Schools, Rocky Killion, wants to secure the resources and legislative relief necessary to achieve the school district's mission of creating a

world-class educational system for all children. The school district's strategic plan will introduce a model of education that puts decision making back into the hands of local communities and public school teachers, rather than leaving it in the hands of legislators and ultimately lining the pockets of corporations.

Documentary Themes

Major participants who were interviewed for this documentary address the following:

- 1. The corporate takeover of public schools and diversion of public funds to private entities
- 2. The dismantling of public schools disguised as "school choice" and "school vouchers"
- The adverse impact that standardized testing and using test scores to evaluate teachers is having on the teaching profession and public school students
- **4.** The money grab of private companies that benefit from the so-called reform, which are not required to play by the same rules as public schools
- 5. The research on the best education systems in the world and what we can learn from them
- 6. A blueprint for parent, community member, and educator involvement in the "reform"
- 7. A request for support and resources to achieve our school district's mission, which is to engage our students in a world-class educational experience that prepares them to be well-rounded, innovative, creative, productive, and adaptive citizens who will shape our global society.

National Message

This scenario is not limited to Indiana. Nationally, legislators and policymakers are trying to privatize public schools by offering "school choice." With this mechanism, they are diverting public tax dollars from public schools and giving it to corporations. If public schools are dismantled, equal educational access for all children will disappear. The end result, if unchallenged, will cripple our society, destroy our economy, and create generations of impoverished children. WLCSC School Board members, staff, and administrators are ready to take on this fight so that all children can have equal access to an educational model in which educators, not legislators, are making the decisions. To view the current trailers for *Rise Above the Mark*, go to riseabovethemark.com.

The current educational reforms being used throughout the United States are based on competition and standardized test scores, and are being mandated by U.S. legislators and policymakers. As a nation, if we are interested in reforming public education, all Americans must first consider if the aforementioned mechanism really works. The National Center on Education and Economy indicates that the problem we face in public education is caused by the political system, not by the educators: "We have built a bureaucracy in our schools in which, apart from the superintendent of schools, the people who have the responsibility do not have the power, and the people who have the power do not have the responsibility" (National Center on Education and the Economy, 2008, p. xxvi). Legislators craft and pass educational legislation. Then, they direct school boards and administrators to implement their legislation. When their legislation doesn't work, school boards, educators, and administrators are generally blamed for the failure.

If the United States is to have the best education system in the world, then the influence of political agendas must be removed from the equation, which does not mean that politics will never play a role in supporting the education system. What it does mean is politicians and policymakers must allow a public education system that empowers local school boards, administrators, and educators to make educational decisions for their respective communities and then hold them accountable for their decisions. When this type of governance is truly embedded within the U.S. public education system, then and only then will true education reform begin to work because those working closest with the students, educators, are making the educational decisions and not some political or special interest group hundreds of miles away from the classroom.

For U.S. public schools to become competitive with the world's best education systems, educational reforms that include early childhood education, equitable education opportunities for all students,

raising requirements for entrance into the teaching profession, and paying beginning teachers' salaries comparable with other professions must be considered. The countries that have implemented these kinds of reforms have risen above the mark.

Major Participants

The Creative Team of the WLCSC has garnered the support of the following experts and supporters of public education to participate in this documentary:

Dr. Diane Ravitch—former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education and Education Historian (dianeravitch.com)

Dr. Marc Tucker—President and CEO of the National Center on Education and the Economy (ncee.org)

Dr. Pasi Sahlberg—Director General of National Centre for International Mobility and Cooperation in the Ministry of Education in Helsinki, Finland (pasisahlberg.com/blog/)

Mr. Jamie Vollmer—Author, speaker, and supporter of public schools—former CEO of the Great Midwestern Ice Cream Company and former critic of public schools. (jamievollmer.com/about. html)

Dr. Linda Darling-Hammond—Charles Ducommun Professor of Education, Stanford University (ed.stanford.edu/faculty/ldh)

Mr. Peter Coyote—Award-winning actor and narrator, appearing in more than 100 films and narrating over 165 documentaries (petercoyote.com)

Source: The National Center on Education and the Economy, 2008.

ASSUMPTIONS, BELIEFS, BEHAVIORS

Everyone in every culture accepts certain implicit, basic assumptions about people, their human nature, the nature of human relationships, the nature of human activity, and the nature of the relationships between people and their physical and social environments. These assumptions are called basic assumptions because they give rise to our beliefs and values and, ultimately, the way we behave toward others (Schein, 1985). Basic assumptions are learned beginning in infancy and develop as we mature and are educated. Over time, they become so thoroughly internalized that they are taken for granted and are shared with and supported by others around us. The assumptions become an invisible part of the warp and woof of organizational life, and they are rarely thought about enough to be considered or discussed. These basic assumptions become "the way we do things around here."

These basic assumptions—invisible and so taken for granted as to be rarely thought about, much less talked about—give rise to values and beliefs that we are more readily aware of. Because we may discuss those values and beliefs from time to time, they are more public than the basic assumptions from which they arise. For example, one of the marvels of the *Declaration of Independence* is that it publicly articulated the clear linkage between basic assumptions about the nature of humankind held by the framers of the constitution and the political beliefs and human values that, in their view, ultimately arose from those assumptions. In a similar vein, but in more commonplace examples, this concept explains why we unquestioningly adopt one set of behaviors when we go to church and a remarkably different set of behaviors when we are at a ball game.

An obvious disjunction often arises between publicly *espoused* values and what we do in schools. We say, for example, that we believe in equity and equality, but many women, people of

color, and poor people find inequality and inequity to be dominant characteristics of their lives in schools. But it is difficult for members of minority groups to raise questions about that issue because those who control the schools are usually able to suppress, sidetrack, redefine, or otherwise control the colloquy. An invisible web of power in the culture controls our aspirations, how we think of ourselves, and how we deal with those issues in our lives (Foucault, 1980). Through that invisible web of power, those who control the culture decide what may be discussed, who is credible, and who is allowed to speak.

That is why most people today believe that it matters very much what kind of climate or culture prevails in a school. As teachers know well, many schools tend to evoke behavior that is conventional, conforming, submissive, and controlled—many would describe such schools as oppressive (students tend to say "jails")—by emphasizing powerful social norms and expectations that support and reward such behavior. Conversely, the norms of such schools discourage behavior that questions the established order and proposes changes that challenge the conventional ways of the past. It is essential for principals and others who want to be leaders in schools to explore ways of understanding the extraordinarily powerful relationship between the school as an organization and the behavior of people who work in it, and what implications for professional practice these understandings suggest about the behavior of leaders.

Knowledge of organizational behavior is very powerful and is arguably central to the most pressing issues in educational leadership today. This is a time of great intellectual turmoil in the field of education, a time of great *epistemological* skepticism in which all ideas rooted in the past are suspect. Indeed, some people seek to reject all theory and insist on a pragmatic approach to understanding organizational life in schools without seeming to understand that pragmatism is, in itself, a theory and an epistemological philosophy. Although we take a pragmatic approach to understanding behavior in education, it is based on understanding and accepting the fact that pragmatism is both an epistemological theory and a philosophy. Because of the epistemological skepticism that is rampant today and the antitheory bias that is sweeping through all the behavioral sciences, let us consider at least the essence of the growing intellectual heritage that underlies this book.

THE NATURE OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

Dissatisfaction with public schooling has deepened over time, but the search for simple, direct solutions has not borne fruit in the sense of an emerging broad national consensus that points the way to effective school reform. Rather, efforts to improve the performance of schools have produced not widespread agreement regarding how to bring about improvement, but a frustratingly broad array of very different concepts, proposals, and programs, some of which are in conflict. By the time the NCLB Act came before Congress for consideration, many people who wished to bring order out of seeming chaos seized the notion that what was needed was a more scientific, or evidence-based, approach to deciding what to do. They wanted, in other words, to see the emergence of a consensus on what should be done to make schools more effective. Apparently, the hope was to legislate a simpler, more transparent understanding of what the problems were and therefore of what the solutions were. The prevailing view at the time of the debate and adoption of the act by Congress was that an infusion of more rigorous scientific thought and methods would be instrumental in improving the performance of schools. However, this view embodies some critical assumptions about the nature of science and scientific progress. It requires those who would be educational leaders to think more carefully about those assumptions and about the nature of science and scientific progress.