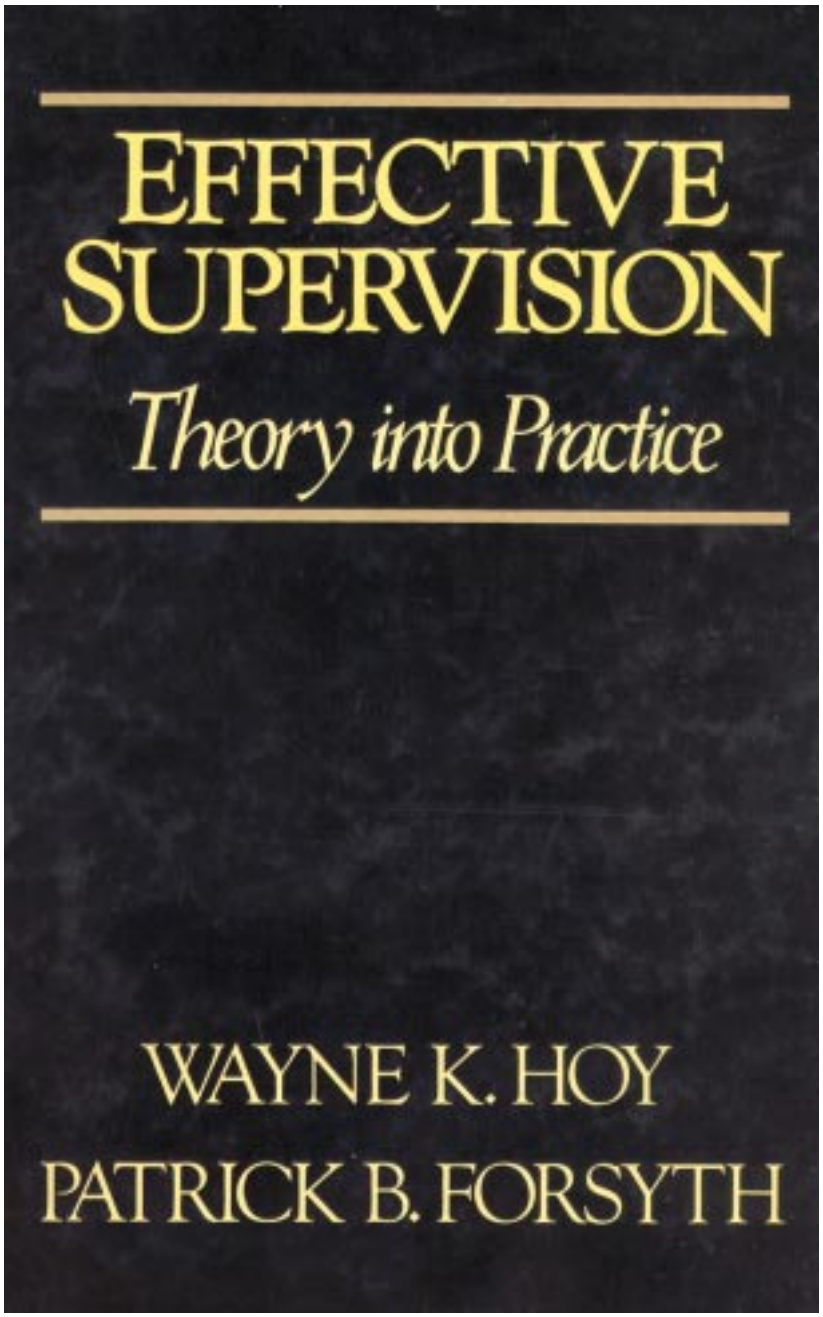
EFFECTIVE
SUPERVISION
Theory into Practice
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CONTENTS

PART ONE

Introduction and Overview

The student of educational organizations is no stranger to the topic of supervision of instruction. Unlike its conception in many other organizational settings, however, supervision in schools is concerned with the direct improvement of the work process, not with bureaucratic control of subordinates. Consequently, supervision in schools is viewed as a collaborative professional process among colleagues.

Chapter I develops this notion of supervision by differentiating it from the more traditional view held in the industrial sector. Moreover, the basic assumptions of a theory and practice of supervision whose purpose is to improve instruction are presented, and a general model for effective supervision is proposed. The perspective distinguishes between administrative and supervisory roles and draws attention to conflicting expectations between the two. We argue that the first step in overcoming the impediments to effective supervision is to understand them.

After the general perspective of supervision has been discussed, we build an open-systems model in Chapter 2, which is applied to schools. The theoretical development of the systems concepts will be difficult for many students, but a little patience and careful study of these abstract ideas will be rewarded in the long run by better understanding and clearer insights. The open-systems framework is the foundation of the entire book--one to which we will return time after time.

Although open-systems theory is a general and useful way to view behavior in all social systems, it is limited as a specific guide to action because it is so abstract. Hence a more specific framework-the *classroom performance model,* based on the concepts and assumptions of the open-systems approach-is formulated to provide the supervisor with a more pragmatic guide to improve instruction. This model is the integrating framework of the book; in fact, its description in Chapter 2 provides an overview of topics to be elaborated in later chapters.

While the classroom performance model provides the basis for the content of supervision, Chapter 3 outlines the supervision process. The process is concerned with developing a general climate conducive to self-study, change, and relations among colleagues as well as to establishing continuous cycles -of instructional study, experimentation, and improvement. A diagnostic cycle is described and applied, first in developing school context and then in improving classroom performance.

CHAPTER I

A General Model for Effective Supervision

Effective supervision in public schools is an elusive but fascinating activity, and, much confusion and misapprehension surround the word "supervision" itself. "Evaluation," "rating," " assessment," and "appraisal" are all used to describe what supervisors do, yet none accurately reflects the process of supervision of instruction. In fact, such terms are in large part a source of suspicion, fear, and misunderstanding among teachers. Unfortunately, supervision also has its roots'in the industrial literature of bureaucracy. Close supervision was a classic response to production and control problems; it was management's attempt to manipulate and control subordinates. It should not be surprising, then, that a good many teachers view supervisors as simply another layer in the bureaucratic structure designed to watch and control their actions.

SUPERVISION-A DEFINITION

In stark contrast to the industrial notion of overseeing, directing, and controlling workers, we see supervision as a collaborative effort. Supervision of instruction is the set of activities designed to improve the teaching-learning process. The purpose of supervision is neither to make judgments about the competence of teachers nor to control them but rather to work cooperatively with them. Although assessment of teacher effectiveness may be necessary, it is not supervision of instruction; indeed, it is likely to impede and undermine any attempt to improve the teaching-learning process.

A number of other assumptions need to be stated explicitly before we proceed to develop our model. The following propositions are the basis of a theory and practice of supervision whose [1] purpose is to improve instruction:

1. The only one who can improve instruction is the teacher him- or herself.
2. Teachers need the freedom to develop their own unique teaching styles.
3. Any changes in teaching behaviors require social support as well as professional and intellectual stimulation.
4. A consistent pattern of close supervision and coercion seems unlikely to succeed in improving teaching.

5. Improvement of instruction is likely to be accomplished in a nonthreatening situation-by working with colleagues, not superiors, and by fostering in teachers a sense of inquiry and experimentation.

THE CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY

Authority relationships are an integral part of life in schools. Student-teacher, teacher-administrator, and teacher-supervisor relations are all influenced by authority. Yet the concept of authority is commonly misunderstood and frequently misused. Authoritarian, arbitrary, and dictatorial behavior is not synonymous with authority. Contrary to popular beliefs, the exercise of authority in schools does not typically involve coercion-that is, forced compliance with directives.

Authority needs to be distinguished from a related concept-power. Power is the ability to get others to comply with your wishes, or as Weber defines.it, "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance."' Power, for our purposes, is a comprehensive concept; it includes force that is starkly coercive as well as control that is based on nonthreatening persuasion and suggestion. Authority, on the other hand, has a narrower scope. Unlike power, it implies legitimacy; that is, authority is a legitimate kind of power.

Herbert A. Simon suggests that authority is distinguished from other kinds of influence or power in that the subordinate "holds in abeyance his own critical faculties for choosing between alternatives and uses the formal criterion of the receipt of a command or signal as his basis of choice. [2] Therefore two criteria of authority are crucial when examining superior-subordinate relationships in schools: (1) voluntary compliance with legitimate commands and (2) suspension of one's own criteria for decision making and acceptance of the organizational command.

Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott argue that a third criterion must be added to distinguish authority from other forms of social control. They maintain that "a value orientation must arise that defines the exercise of social control as legitimate, and this orientation can arise only in a group context. [3] Authority is legitimized by a value that is held in common by the group. Blau and Scott conclude that a basic characteristic of the authority relationship is the subordinates' willingness to suspend their own criteria for making decisions and to comply with, directives from their superiors. This results largely from social constraints exerted by norms of the social collectivity (teachers and students) and not primarily from the power superiors (administrators or supervisors) bring to bear. Such social constraints are not typical of coercive power and other types of social influence. In sum, authority relationships in school organizations have three primary characteristics: (1) a willingness of subordinates to comply, (2) a suspension of the subordinates' criteria for making decisions prior to directives, and (3) a power relationship legitimized,by group norms.

Authority in a school exists when a common set of beliefs legitimates the

use of power as "right and proper." There are two major sources of authority in school organizations-formal and informal. Formal authority is legitimated by values that have become institutionalized in the positions, rules, and regulations; informal authority is legitimated by shared norms that emerge spontaneously in the work group.

Formal authority is vested in the organization and is legally established by contractual agreements. In joining the organization, all employees accept the authority relationship because they agree, within certain limits, to accept the directives of superiors; that is, the organization has the right to command and subordinates have the duty to obey. [4] In essence, members of organizations offer their willingness to comply with commands in exchange for wages or other types of benefits. Blau and Scott observe that the legal authority of management to assign tasks to subordinates is rarely questioned-there is willing compliance--but this formal authority does not command the workers' willingness to devote their own initiatives to performing tasks. [5] Hence, although formal authority does promote compliance with basic requirements, it does not guarantee additional efforts beyond the piescribed minimums.

Informal authority has a variety of sources. Expertise and personal behavior or attributes are potential sources of legitimate control of organizational members. Employees are often quite willing to comply with directives of persons who have demonstrated a technical competence in a specific and relevant area or who have such extraordinary qualities or human-relations skills as to create a strong interpersonal identification. In both cases, however, the power of the individual, if it is to become authority, must be legitimated by the norms of the informal work group. That is, a common value orientation must emerge within the group to produce normative commitment to the individual. When such informal norms of support develop, the individual has informal authority.

Clearly, within an organization it is possible for a person to have both informal and formal authority, only formal, only informal, or none. Principals may possess both kinds of authority, but only formal authority is guaranteed by position. Instructional supervisors, on the other hand, may be certain of neither formal nor informal authority; in fact, they often have none (a point to which we will return later).

Levels in the Hierarchical Structure of Organization

Formal organizations such as schools can be described in terms of qualitative breaks in the continuity of the authority structure. Talcott Parsons was the first to suggest that school systems exhibit three distinct levels of responsibility and control-the *technical*, *managerial*, and *institutional.'s*

All organizations have a technical function that must be performed-the basic work of the organization. The technical function of schools is the teaching process, and an entire subsystem revolves around the problems associated with effective teaching and learning. Skilled professionals-teachers-are directly responsible for the teaching-learning process in schools.

Above the technical level is the managerial, whose prime concern is the

integration of organizational activities. Administrators must find ways to develop the loyalities of their subordinates, to motivate their efforts, and to coordinate their work. The managerial level in schools, the administration, controls and services the technical subsystem in two important ways: first,'it mediates between the teachers and those receiving the services-students and parents-and second, it procures the necessary resources (i.e., financial, personnel, and physical facilities) for performing the technical functions of teaching. Although administrators control some aspects of the technical system, their control is by no means unilateral. Teachers in schools are the professional employees who are closest to the operating problems of the classroom and who are best equipped to know what is necessary; hence, their needs provide important specifications for the administration.

Finally, just as the technical level is controlled and serviced by the managerial level, the managerial subsystem is controlled by the institutional component of the structure. The institutional level connects the organization with the wider social system. For example, the function of the board of education and superintendent of schools is to oversee, the operations of the organization from a community perspective. By mediating between the internal activities of the schools and the external interests of the general public, they focus upon maintaining the legitimacy of public schools as institutions.

Parsons notes that because the functions of each level are qualitatively different, there are clear-cut breaks in the authority line at each of two points of

articulation among the three levels of organization. Hence, only within a level can a superior supervise the activities of subordinates. The differences in function among the levels are too great to make supervision between levels possible. Senior teachers, for example, may supervise their junior colleagues; administrators cannot usually direct teachers' work because the managerial and teaching functions are substantively different. The Parsonian model of organization suggests that teacher-professionals must assume complete responsibility for technical decisions concerning teaching. Administrators must rely on teachers' professional judgments while discharging their managerial responsibilities at their levels of special competence. Likewise, the board of education does not direct the affairs of the administration; rather it accommodates the organization to external conditions by defining general objectives and policies. just as in technical matters the managerial level must rely on teachers' decisions, in matters of internal coordination and management the board must yield to the independent judgment of its administrators.

In sum, superiors do not tell the people at the next lower level what to do because the functions at each level are so different. Expert professionals at the technical level must have the final say in planning and implementing the technical functions of teaching; administrators must have the last word in internal policy and organizational management; and the board has full responsibility for adjusting the organization to external conditions of the community. Each higher level has a veto power. Management can replace professionals and the board can hire new administrators, but the function at each level cannot be subsumed at a higher one. At each point of articulation, there must be a

two-way exchange. Each level, if it withholds its important contributions, is in a position to jeopardize the effective operations of the others and of the larger organization. There must be relative independence as well as cooperation among levels if organizational effectiveness is to be attained. The Parsonian model is summarized in Figure I. I.

Line and Staff

A useful distinction of positions within organizations can also be made by the terms "line" and "staff." In classic organizational analyses, line positions have formal authority to make decisions while staff do not; staff members simply perform research or advisory roles. Allen, for example, describes the major activities of staff as providing advice, counsel, suggestions, and guidance to line

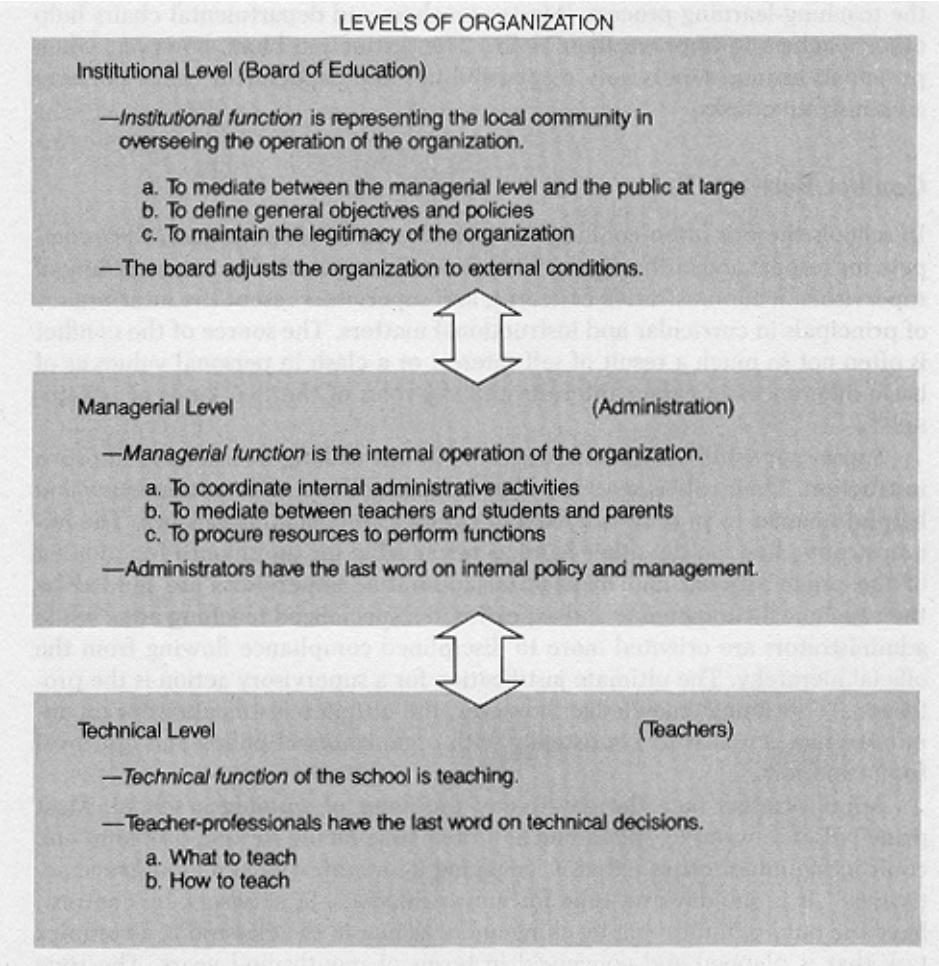

Figure 1.1 Levels of Organization

personnel and performing specific services for them, such as recruitment, initiating budgeting systems, and making decisions that the line has delegated.8 In brief, line officials have formal authority and are in charge of the major organizational decisions, whereas staff members furnish specialized and technical advice to the appropriate officials in the organizational hierarchy.9

Though the distinction between line and staff is not nearly so neat in practice as it is conceptually, it calls attention to important inherent differences in the duties and responsibilities of each. In the context of schools, some positions clearly have power and authority over subordinates while others have none except that deriving from specialized knowledge. Administrative roles are line positions whose incumbents have formal decision-making authority over subordinates. (Principals decide who does and does not get tenure.) Supervisory roles, on the other hand, are often staff positions; expert professionals are expected to give advice and counsel to colleagues concerning improvement of the teaching-learning process. (Master teachers and departmental chairs help other teachers to improve their skills.) The distinction blurs, however, when principals assume supervisory responsibilities and department heads perform administrative tasks.

Conflict Between Roles

In schools there is often conflict between line and staff personnel; they compete for respect and authority from teachers. Principals dislike the meddling of supervisors in administrative concerns, and supervisors resent the interference of principals in curricular and instructional matters. The source of the conflict is often not so much a result of self-interest or a clash in personal values as of basic differences in career interests and the roles of the two kinds of personnel.'o

Supervisory staff is typically concerned with making decisions to improve instruction. Their role is working with teacher colleagues in a supportive and helpful manner to provide advice and counsel on educational issues. The administrative line, on the other hand, is responsible for the smooth functioning of the organizational and managerial apparatus. Supervisors are guided by their technical competence and expertise in a specialized teaching area, while administrators are oriented more to disciplined compliance flowing from the official hierarchy. The ultimate justification for a supervisory action is the professional's technical knowledge; however, the ultimate justification for an administrative action is its consistency with organizational policy and approval from superiors. .

Administrators face the day-to-day problems of running a school. Most principals, for example, spend much of their time facing routine problems and confronting minor crises-thatis, engaging in organizational maintenance activities." It is one day at a time for most principals. Supervisors, by contrast, have the duty of improving teaching and learning in the classroom, a complex task that is planned and conceived in terms of months and years. The time perspective of supervisory staff is clearly long-term compared to the shortterm maintenance functions of line administrators.

The practical problems of managing a school are also often at odds with the theoretical issues of improving instruction. Assumptions about the nature of learning frequently conflict with the immediate problems of discipline in the classroom. Parents want practical, concrete action to bring order into the classroom, not speculation and more testing of educational theory. Administrators, not supervisors, are confronted with parents' angry protests and ultimatums. Hence the nature of the administrative role constrains most principals toward a pragmatic rather than a theoretical orientation.

In addition, the supervisory role is oriented toward change; innovation is the expectation. New ways to teach, to structure the classroom, to motivate students, to set the stage for learning-all are concerns of supervisors. But innovation and change are often accompanied by friction and tension, and the basic role of administrators is to maintain a smoothly functioning organization. So while the administrator strives for harmony, the supervisor is seeking change-actions that are not always in concert. Thus, it seems reasonable to expect a basic tension between the administrative line and the supervisory staff. The conflict arises not from the personalities or self-interests of the individuals but rather from differences in the orientations of their positions. The supervisory role requires a professional orientation, a long-term framework, a theoretical perspective, and a change orientation; the administrative role demands a bureaucratic orientation, a short-term reference, a pragmatic perspective, and a maintenance orientation.

A DIFFERENTIATED MODEL

Some of the elements of a model for supervision have been sketched. We now turn to the development of the relationships among those components. In specifying the relationships, remember that the proposed model is an ideal type, an analytic abstraction that may or may not exist in its pure form. Nonetheless, the conceptual scheme should highlight the key ingredients of supervision of instruction in schools and provide a framework for both analysis and research.

The discussion thus far suggests that there is an inherent tension between supervisory and administrative positions; hence, a differentiated model of supervision is proposed in which the two roles are viewed as relatively distinct but complementary. The functions and responsibilities of supervisors and administrators are qualitatively different and assume different positions, different authority relations, and different purposes.

Supervisory Role. Supervisors are staff-master teachers. They are expected to provide advice and support to colleagues, not to discipline them. The staff position has little formal authority; authority is primarily informal and earned-arising from the supervisors' expertise and personal skills. Teachers must have confidence in those to whom they turn for help, and trust can more readily be built when status distinctions among supervisors and teachers are limited. In fact, formal authority and status can be dysfunctional for supervi

sors as they seek to establish colleague relationships. Such status distinctions are likely to curtail authentic interactions and productive problem solving because, they hinder social support and restrict and distort communication of information.

Social interaction and social support are inhibited by status. [12] Individuals are more comfortable and secure interacting with people of similar status. Teachers do not need to hold back or worry about impressing their supervisors when they are colleagues with no formal control; however, the introduction of formal authority into the supervisor-teacher relationship negatively affects the interactions. Teachers are reluctant to.open ' up to superiors, especially when any negative information may be used against them. Subordinates are also more likely to try to impress their superiors, often at the expense of colleagues. [13] Seeking approval from a superior is quite different from striving to earn the respect of a colleague. It is not unusual for. subordinates to communicate only information that will make them look good and/or please the superidr, or to hide the truth if it's not positive. Furthermore, it is not easy to oppose a superior. Most subordinates think twice before disagreeing or questioning one with formal authority. Blau and Scott argue that hierarchical differentiation in status impedes group problem solving by reducing social interaction and social support, by undermining the process of competition for respect, and by distorting information transmitted by individuals in different status positions. [14] The very factors that enhance group problem solving are eroded by formal authority distinctions.

Supervisors are part of the technical level in schools. As such they are concerned primarily with teaching-and learning; they are first and foremost teachers-master teachers, not administrators. Their area of expertise is curriculum and instruction; their job is to help their colleagues improve the teachinglearning process. They need an organizational structure that allows them to do this in a nonthreatening environment unfettered by bureaucratic requirements for control. The supervisory requirement, then, of a staff position with earned, informal authority (rather than administrative, authority) is consistent with a supervisory role defined as part of the technical subsystem.

The differences between the orientations of administrators and supervisors have been outlined. Supervisors are expected to demonstrate a professional orientation characterized by technical competence and expertise, desire for autonomy in decision making based on their knowledge, and a colleagueoriented reference group. Their primary allegiance is to their teacher colleagues, not to the administration. It is only through such an orientation that supervisors can earn the kind of respect, confidence, and authority necessary to work cooperatively with teachers on difficult educational problems. Unless teachers truly accept supervisors as colleagues, they are unlikely to experience the trust, support, and intellectual stimulation essential for fostering a sense of inquiry and experimentation.

The improvement of instruction is a long-term, continuous process. The goal of the supervisor is not simply to solve an immediate problem but rather to study the processes of teaching and learning as part of an ongoing system of

evaluation and experimentation. Diagnosis, analysis, problem solving, innovation,, and change are supervisory imperatives. Although supervision can be broadly conceived as any set of activities planned to improve teaching, at its heart it involves a cycle of systematic planning, observation, and analysis of the teaching-learning process. After a climate of trust and support is developed between the supervisor and teachers, four additional steps are required: -(I) preliminary conferences for joint planning of classroom observations, (2) the classroom observations, (3) postobservation conferences for joint analysis of the teaching and learning, and (4) renewed planning and change. The final phase is also the beginning of a new cycle of analysis and improvement. [15]

The supervisor and teacher can work on a number of activities that are related to student learning. The following are examples of factors that can be adjusted to improve student achievement:

- *Time-on-task.* Research has shown that the amount of time a student spends on a learning task is directly related to achievement, and teachers can be trained in classroom management practices to increase students' time-ontask.'6
- *Grouping.* Although there is some disagreement concerning the consequences of grouping practices, recent studies show that size of instructional groupings within a class affects pupil achievement. [17]
- *Curriculum.* The pacing, sequencing, and coverage of content have also been demonstrated to influence individual student achievement. [18]
- *Teacher feedback.* The nature and use of teacher feedback have been shown to affect children's learning. [19]
- *Task characteristics.* The students' perceptions of task clarity and requirements for joint problem solving affect student learning. [20]

Administrative Role. Administrators are line personnel. They are expected to articulate the official organization goals, objectives, and values. By virtue of occupying a line position the incumbent has formal authority and power. Al though principals may be supportive and helpful to teachers, they also have the burden of making organizational decisions that may have deleterious ef fects on teachers. Tenure decisions are a case in point. Typically, the principal must gather the evidence and make tenure recommenda. ' tions to the board of education. Indeed, the principal is generally the individual who is given the responsibility of disciplining faculty and imposing formal sanctions when such action is. in order. Thus, the administrative role itself prevents many teachers from being completely candid with principals about classroom problems.

There is little doubt that the principal is part of the managerial, not the technical, level. It is the principal who coordinates the internal affairs of the school; mediates between teachers, students, and parents; handles disturbances; monitors teacher activities; disseminates information;.and allocates resources within the school, including the assignment of teachers to tasks. Principals execute the organizational policy of the school system in each building; they must make hard management decisions that some, though not many, teachers oppose.

Since schools are service organizations-that is, their basic function is to

provide service to students-both principals and teachers share a common purpose: to provide students with the best possible set of educational experiences. Administrative and professional decisions are expected to be governed not by self-interest, but by judgments of what is best for students. Nonetheless, teachers and supervisors are concerned with the technical tasks of teaching, and administrators are responsible for the managerial decisions. Their shared purpose of service to students does not alter the fact that their functions are qualitatively different and require different skills and orientations.

Principals' primary orientation is to the organization. They are responsible for bureaucratic discipline and compliance within the school, coordination of all the school activities, the solution of immediate problems, and in general, the smooth functioning of the school. The list of problems and disturbances is long and familiar-student discipline, drugs, vandalism, absenteeism, truancy, teacher strikes, parental dissatisfaction, and contract disputes are only a few. The principal is the administrator directly involved in virtually all these problems; hence, it should come as no surprise that the principal's perspective is pragmatic, maintenance-oriented, and organizational.

Given the role, position, level, authority relation, and orientation of principals, it seems unlikely that most are in as good a position as supervisors to work directly with teachers on the task of improving instruction. It is for this reason that we propose, where *possible,* to separate the administrative and supervisory roles. Nevertheless, the principal also has an important supervisory function; in fact, an effective program for the improvement of teaching and learning seems doomed to failure without the support, understanding, and leadership of the principal.

Principals must build an organizational climate in which administrators, supervisors, and teachers understand and respect each other's roles. The principal is the single most important individual in setting the tone or atmosphere of a school; hence, the leadership styles of principals are crucial for the development of climates in which teachers, supervisors, and administrators interact openly and authentically. Principals need to lead by example and by not asking teachers to do anything that they themselves would not do. They also need to accept the behavior of teachers and supervisors in professional areas of curriculum and instructional development even when it produces administrative difficulties.

The climate needed to implement the kind of differentiated model of supervision that we are proposing is characterized by the following relationships:

- *Open, authentic interaction among administrators and teachers.* Such interactions should increase accuracy of communication by limiting distortions due to status distinctions, and they should provide a climate in which individuals can agree to disagree. In students and teachers alike, authenticity tends to produce more commitment to the school.21
- *Professional autonomy.* Teachers and supervisors need considerable autonomy to make changes in instruction; in fact, more effective schools grant teachers considerable classroom autonomy. 22

Orderly teaching environment. The school must be a place conducive to learning, one free from major disciplinary problems and vandalism. An orderly atmosphere is likely to be a necessary *means* for effective teaching and learning. [23] *High performance and achievement standards.* Principals need to hold high performance and achievement expectations for teachers, and teachers need to expect that all students can achieve. More successful schools stress high achievement standards. [24]

- *Participative and supportive leadership.* Warm, supportive relationships between principals and teachers not only enhance cooperation and respect but in combination with high performance standards and a well-structured organization produce better student achievement levels. [25]
- *Shared decision making and high motivation.* Supportive leadership and highly motivated teachers and supervisors who share in the decision-making process create the atmosphere necessary to generate cooperation and harmony between the technical and managerial levels of organization.
- *Colleague control.* Although administrators are responsible to their superiors for management decisions, the development and improvement of instruction must be controlled primarily by professional colleagues-supervisors and teachers.
- *High morale.* A healthy organizational climate exists when teachers and principals feel that their social needs are being satisfied and that they are simultaneously enjoying a sense of task accomplishment in their jobs.
- *Security.* If innovation and experimentation are to characterize classroom instruction, principals, supervisors, and teachers all need to be secure in their positions. Principals should not have to assume supervisory roles that are not part of the formal hierarchy of authority; supervisors cannot yield to the ,temptation of becoming part of the formal structure; and teachers need to be secure enough to turn to their supervisor colleagues for aid.
- *Trust.* Ultimately, the proposed model of supervision can only work if principals, supervisors, and teachers develop mutual trust and understanding as they perform their different yet complementary roles. The coordination of individual efforts performed in an ethos of trust, subtlety, and intimacy is likely to result in more effective organization. [26]

The characteristics to be fostered by the principal have been only briefly sketched here; they will be elaborated in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

It is important to emphasize again that the general model we have proposed, with the separation of supervisors' and principals' roles, is an ideal one. We realize, of course, that in many small schools the principal is the only administrator and is responsible both for managing the school and improving instruction. But in reality there is always a huge gap between what should be and what actually is. The current wisdom suggests that principals should be leaders, helpers, colleagues, and champions of ideas; they should be open and democratic innovators who share their knowledge, are concerned with individual growth, and are engaged in long-term thinking. In fact, principals are more likely to be manager ' s, evaluators, autocrats, maintainers, bosses, and short-range thinkers who are required to make instantaneous decisions to prevent brush fires from becoming major conflagrations, and who often have to

s . acrifice personal visions to more general views. [27] Many of these contradic tions result from the principal's complex role-set, not from the personality flaws or intellectual weaknesses of individuals. The proposed separation of roles is an attempt to recognize and reduce some of these tensions and contra dictions. Moreover, recent research demonstrates that effective supervisory practice is most likely in school districts that have separated the roles of bu reaucratic evaluation and professional supervision. [28]

SUMMARY

The differentiated model of supervision is summarized in Table L I. The supervisory and principal's roles are viewed as separate and distinct. Supervisors are master teachers providing advice and help to colleagues. They have limited formal authority; their authority must be earned; that is, it must derive from their expertise or human-relations skills. Supervisors have a professional orientation that is concerned with long-term consequences of teacher behavior and change. Assumptions underlying various teaching and learning styles are analyzed, tested, and reformulated by teachers and supervisors as they attempt to improve instruction. The heart of the supervisor-teacher relationship is the in-class supervision that grows from direct observation of classroom teaching and its subsequent joint study and change.

Principals, on the other hand, are line officers who must make hard organizational decisions that sometimes have negative effects on teachers. They represent management; their prime function is administration, not teaching. Their office guarantees them formal authority and power, but it does not prevent them from developing informal authority. Principals have an organizational orientation--one concerned with the day-to-day consequences of teacher and student behavior. Practical, immediate problems frequently overshadow lqnger-term, more theoretical issues. Principals are responsible for a stable, smooth-functioning organization. Yet they also have a key role in the supervisory process-they must build an organizational climate conducive to the systematic study and improvement of teaching by teachers and supervisors working together in a nonthreatening environment. Such a climate depends on supportive leadership and the development of mutual trust, respect, and understanding of divergent and at times conflicting roles.

The model that we have proposed is an ideal one.. It is relatively easy to describe roles in conceptual terms, but it is quite a different matter to operationalize the ideas. For example, although the roles of supervisor and principal are defined as separate, in many-if not most-schools, the principal is the supervisor. The model predicts that under such situations effective supervision will be difficult (but not impossible) because of the conflicting expectations and demands on the same individual-conflict between line and staff functions, between technical and managerial levels, between formal and informal demands, between professional and bureaucratic decisions, between theory and practice, between long-run and short-run actions, between change and

Table 1.1 **A Differentiated Model of Supervision of Instruction**

Role	Position	Level	Authority Relationship	Orientation	Supervisory Function
Supervisor	Staff (Supplies advice)	Technical	Informal authority from expertise and personal skills (no formal authority)	—Professional —Long-term perspective —Theoretical —Change	To improve the teaching-learning process by direct and cooperative work with teachers on: —Joint planning of instruction —Classroom observation —Joint analysis of teaching and learning —Renewed planning and change
Principal	Line (Issues directives)	Managerial	Formal authority from position (informal authority can be developed)	—Bureaucratic —Short-term perspective —Pragmatic —Stability	To improve the organizational climate of the school by fostering: —Open, authentic interactions —Professional autonomy of teachers —Orderly teaching environment —High performance and achievement standards —Participative and supportive leadership —Shared decision making and high motivation —Colleague control —High morale —Security —Trust

stability, and between supervising **teachers and rating them.29 Although the** obstacles to effective supervision by principals are formidable, the first step in overcoming them is understanding.

NOTES

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3. Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, ***Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach*** (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962), pp. 28-29.
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5. Blau and Scott, op. *cit., p.* 140.
6. Talcott Parsons, "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organization," in Andrew W. Halpin (ed.), ***Administrative Theory in Education*** (New York: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 40-72.
7. ***Ibid., pp.*** 46-49.
8. L. A. Allen, "The Line-Staff Relationship," ***Management Record*** (September 1955) p. 348. See also Henry Mintzberg, ***The Structuring of Organizations*** (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), pp. 21 and 440.
9. Blau and Scott, op. *cit., p.* 172.
10. ***Ibid., p.*** 173.
11. Donald J. Willower, "School Organizations: Perspectives on juxtaposition," ***Educational Administration Quarterly*** 18 (1982), 89-110.
12. Blau and Scott, op. *cit., p.* 122.
13. Jacob I. Hurwitz *et al.,* "Some Effects of Power on the Relations Among Group Members," in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (eds.), ***Group Dynamics*** (Evanston, Ill.: Row Peterson, 1953), pp. 483-492.
14. Blau and Scott, op. *cit., pp.* 122-123.
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CHAPTER 2

A Systems Model of Classroom Performance

The notion of an organized whole, or system, occurring in an environment is fundamental in both the physical and social sciences.' In simplest terms, a system is a set of interdependent elements such that a change in one element is likely to produce a change in other elements. Systems are differentiated from their environment, but most are open;, they interact with their environment.

DEFINITION OF A SOCIAL SYSTEM

The term "social system" typically refers to large aggregates of human relationships such as neighborhoods, organizations, or society itself. But as Homans amply demonstrates, the concept is also a powerful tool for analyzing behavior in small groups. He states:

> The activities, interactions, and sentiments of group members, together with the mutual relations of these elements with one another during the time the group is active, constitute what we shall call the social system.... Everything that is not part of the social system is part of the environment in which the system exists. [2]

Parsons summarizes his view of a social system as a set of actors interacting with each other in a situation that has an environmental aspect. Individual actors are motivated by their personal need-dispositions. Their relation to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated by the unique culture of the system itself.3 Thus, a group of people is often much more than a simple aggregate of persons. As individuals interact in social settings, networks of social relations emerge that have important effects on their behavior. Groups become organized wholes, social systems, functioning in ah environment. Behavior is influenced not only by the personal needs of'individuals and the internal cultural constraints of the group but also by the environment itself.

In brief, a social system is a set of interacting personalities bound together by social relationships. It is characterized by interdependence of elements,

differentiation from its environment, complex networks of social relations, individual actors motivated by their personalities, a distinctive unity that goes beyond its component parts, and interaction with its environment (open system). Finally, the concept of a social system is a general one. It can be applied to social organizations that are large (society itself), intermediate (formal organizations), or small (primary groups).

Open Systems

An open system is one that is influenced by its environment. The elements of the system transform inputs from the environment into a product or set of outputs (see Figure 2.1). As we have suggested, virtually all social systems are open systems that consist of patterned activities of individuals. Furthermore, these structured activities are.interdependent, repetitive, relatively stable, and directed toward a common output or outcome.

Open systems have a number of important characteristics. The following ten common characteristics that define all open systems are adapted and summarized from the work of Katz and Kahn. [4]

1. *The input.* Systems import energy (e.g., information and resources) from their environment in order to function.
2. *The throughput.* Systems transform the imported energy. The systems convert the input into a new product, or they process materials, train people, or provide a service. Work is performed in the system; for example, decisions are made, materials manipulated, and services performed.
3. *The output.* Systems produce outcomes in the form of products, services, or information that are dispatched to the larger environment. Not all outcomes are intended.

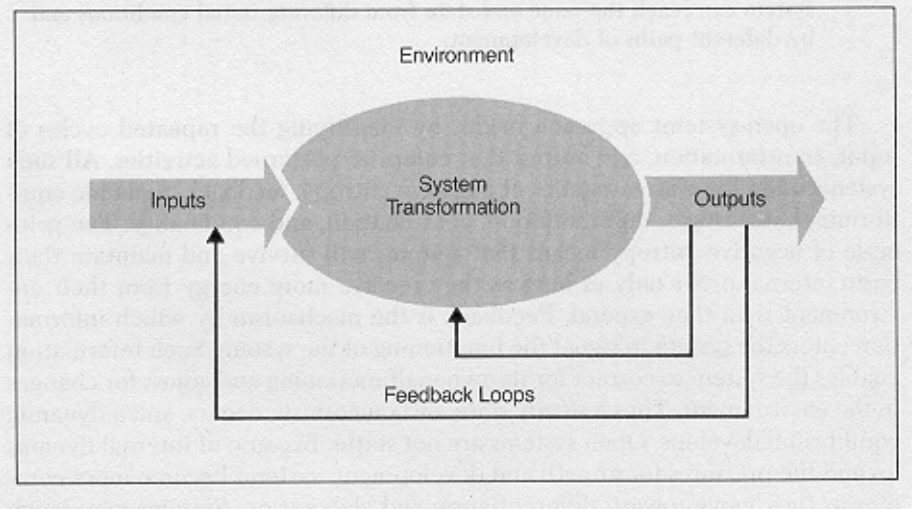

Figure 2.1 Basic Open-Systems Model

4. *Cycles of events.* The pattern of activities in open systems is repetitive and cyclic. Events take place in recurring patterns of input, throughput, and output as the exported product provides the source of energy to repeat the cycle of events.
5. *Negative entropy. To* survive, systems must overcome entropy, the tendency to run down and die. Open systems transcend the entropic process by the cycle of input, transformation, and output; it is a cycle of negative entropy in which the output supplies new energy for the system.
6. *Feedback.* Systems channel information about their output back into the system to regulate both the input and transformation processes. Negative feedback is the simplest kind of information processing, which enables the system to correct its deviations from course.
7. *Dynamic equilibrium and homeostasis.* Systems that survive tend to move toward a steady state. A steady state is not, however, a motionless equilibrium. There is a continuous import and export of energy from and to the environment, but the ratio of the energy exchanges and the relations among system parts remain relatively constant. A process of *homeostasis* acts to regulate the system: any force that threatens to disturb the system is countered by forces that restore the system and preserve its character. Nonetheless, systems exhibit a growth dynamic in which their basic character is retained; they react to change through growth by assimilating new inputs into their structure.
8. *Differentiation.* Systems move in the direction of increased elaboration. As they grow, more components are added, specialization increases, more transformation processes occur, and more feedback loops are required. As systems grow larger, they become more complex.
9. *Integration and coordination.* As differentiation occurs, other processes act to unify functioning within the system. Coordination processes develop to assure the functional articulation of tasks and roles; and integration provides for the achievement of unification through shared norms and values.'
10. *Equifinality.* The principle of equifinality is operative in open systems-a system can reach the same end state from differing initial conditions and by different paths of development.

The open-systems approach begins by identifying -the repeated cycles of input, transformation, and output that comprise patterned activities. All such systems share the characteristics of negative entropy, feedback, dynamic equilibrium, homeostasis, differentiation, coordination, and equifinality. The principle of negative entropy means that systems will survive and maintain their basic internal order only as long as they receive more energy from their environment than they expend. Feedback is the mechanism by which information enters the system to signal the functioning of the system. Such information enables the system to correct for its own malfunctioning and adjust for changes in the environment. Thus a steady state, or homeostasis, occurs, and a dynamic equilibrium develops. Open systems are not static. Because of internal dynamics and the pressures for growth and development, systems become more complex as they move toward differentiation and elaboration. Systems may reach the same end state from different initial conditions and by a variety of pathsthe principle of equifinality.

As Katz and Kahn argue, however, the emphasis on openness is qualified.

> There is a duality to the concept of open system; the concept implies openness, but it also implies system properties, stable patterns of relationships, and behavior within boundaries. Complete openness to the environment means loss of those properties; the completely open organization would Do longer be differentiated from its environment and would cease to exist as a distinct system. The organization lives only by being open to inputs, but selectively; its continuing existence requires both the property of openness and of selectivity. 5

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Because of the generality of the social-systems concept, a wide range of analyses of different social units is possible. It is most useful for supervisory purposes to focus on the classroom as a system, but classrooms exist in the context of a larger social system-the school, Hence, we begin with a conceptual analysis of the social system of the school-the immediate environment that constrains classroom activity.

Elaborating on the work of Getzels and Guba 6 and Abbott, 7 Hoy and Miskel8 have developed an open-systems model of the school. The formulation argues that behavior in school organizations is primarily a function of the interaction of three basic elements-bureaucratic expectations, informal norms, and individual needs.

The bureaucratic element of an organization refers to the official expectations of positions within the organization. From a vast array of vague and contradictory expectations, formal organizations select a few bureaucratic expectations that are reasonably consistent with the organization's goals. As Max G. Abbott notes, "These expectations, which ideally are *functionally spe*cific and *universalistic,* are generally formalized and codified and adopted as the official rules of the organization. "9 The process of selecting and codifying the *relevant* bureaucratic expectations for a given position mitigates potential conflicts and pressures arising from a role-incumbent's other affiliations, both within and outside the organization.

Bureaucratic expectations are role expectations. They include rules and regulations or policy, and they delineate such things as arrival times, building assignments, and job descriptions. Specialization-the expectation that employee behavior will be guided by expertise-is a complement to the rules and regulations. Thus, a teacher is expected to behave in appropriate ways based on both the school's rules and the expertise demanded by the instructional job. This institutional element of the school as a formal organization is conceptualized in the following manner:

Bureaucracy –4 **Hierarchy of Authority**
Rules and Regulations ---> Expectations ---> Behavior

Although people occupy bureaucratic roles and positions in the school, they are not simply actors devoid of unique needs. Individuals have different personalities and needs that affect their behavior. For a more complete under

standing of behavior in social systems, it is necessary to know about the personalities in the formal roles. What are the underlying need-structures that motivate their behavior?

Needs are the internal forces that determine the directions and goals of behavior. The needs for achievement, security, acceptance, and expression strongly influence behavior. This complex, set of needs and desires produces different behavior in similar situations. Not all students react the same way to open classrooms, because they have different needs for structure. Likewise, not all teachers and administrators react the same way to changes in their jobs, because they have different needs for achievement, domination, security, and so forth.

Needs affect not only the goals an individual will attempt to achieve but also the way an individual perceives the environment. Getzels and his colleagues cogently argue that "a person with high need for dominance tends to structure the environment in terms of its opportunities for ascendance; a person with a high need for affiliation in terms of its opportunities for sociability; and a person with a high need for cognizance in terms of its opportunities for understanding."10 For a teacher of the first type, the school is primarily a vehicle for administrative advancement; for the second, it is a social setting for friendships; and for the third, it is a place for teaching and learning.

just as not all expectations are relevant to the analysis of organizational behavior, not all the needs of an individual's personality are most instrumental in determining an individual's role performance. Work motivation constitutes the single most relevant set of needs for employee s in formal organizations. We will elaborate on work motivation and needs later, but for our present purposes, the individual element is conceptualized in the following manner:

Personality
Individual --), **and especially** --), **Needs ---> Behavior**
Work Motivation

Behavior (B) is a function of the interaction between bureaucratic role expectations (R) and the relevant personality needs (P) of the organizational members [B = f (R *X* P)]. For example, the observation of the teaching staff is affected by district policy as well as the individual's own personality. The rules and regulations state that the supervisor is expected to observe each teacher's class at regular intervals. The supervisor acts in accordance with this Policy, yet each supervisor's behavior differs, perhaps because of motivational needs. One supervisor who has a great personal desire for social acceptance from teachers treats teacher conferences as an opportunity for friendly socializing rather than for making hard judgments. But another supervisor, lacking such a need for social acceptance, goes by the book and remains. analytical and taskoriented in the teacher sessions. Both supervisors are affected by both elements, but the first is more influenced by personality and the second by the bureaucratic role expectations.

The ratio of bureaucratic expectations to individual needs, which at least partially determines behavior, varies with the specific type of organization, the specific job, and the specific person involved. Figure 2.2 presents the gen

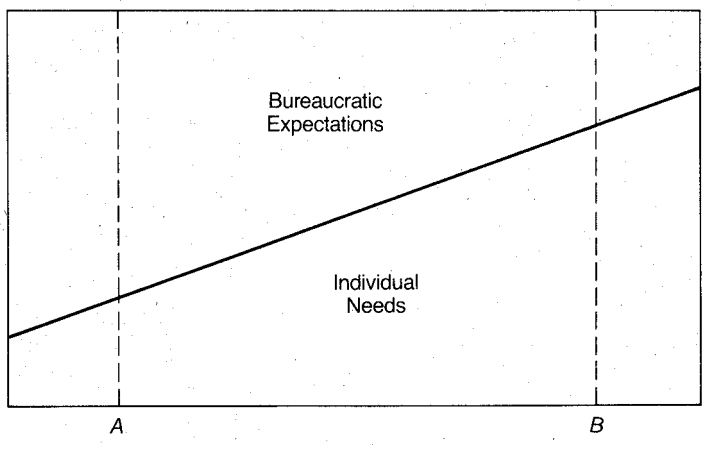

Figure *2.2* Interaction of Bureaucratic and Individual Elements Affecting Social Behavior

eral nature of this interaction pictorially. Vertical line A represents a hypothetical situation in which the proportion of behavior controlled by the bureaucratic structure is relatively large, while line *B* (at the right) represents the situation in which behavior is primarily controlled by individual needs.

Military organizations commonly are considered to be represented by line A-more bureaucratic control-whereas research and development organizations are better represented by line B. Military schools probably fall between these two extremes. Free, open-concept, or Montesso6 schools would be close to line *B.* Church-related schools are typically thought to be closer to line A.

Where do administrators, supervisors, and teachers fall in this regard? Individuals differ; some tend toward line B-free spirits-and some toward line A-bureaucrats. In our example of the two supervisors in teacher conferences, the first (with a high need for social acceptance) would be near line B and the second closer to, line A.

In formal organizations the work group is the mechanism by which bureaucratic expectations and individual needs interact and modify each other. As people are brought together in the workplace, a dynamic relationship emerges between bureaucratic role demands and individual needs. The work group develops its own informal status structure and culture-its social organization. This informal organization, with, its important group norms, becomes another powerful force that affects organizational behavior. That force can be schematically represented thus:

Work ->, Informal -> Norms -> Behavior
Group Organization

As can be observed in a school, peer pressure among teachers has a significant impact on behavior. The group, with its informal organization and norms, influences behavior for several reasons. Communication of feelings is easy

among peers, especially friends. Informal groups maintain cohesiveness and a feeling of personal integrity, self-respect, and independent choice. Since interactions in the informal organization are neither impersonal nor dominated by organizational authority, they furnish opportunities for the individual to maintain his or her personality against the attempts of the bureaucratic organization to submerge, if not to destroy, it. Members receive important rewards from the group, and group norms are significant in guiding their behavior. For example, accepted informal procedures, not formal rules, may develop among teachers for disciplining or controlling students; in fact, the informal, custodial norms for controlling students become the criteria for judging "effective" teaching in many schools. Good control is equated with good teaching.

The major elements of the model of the school as a social system are presented in Figure 2.3. Note that the model depicts an open system with incentive patterns and reference-group norms comprising an internal feedback loop. Abbott suggests that both the formal school structure and the informal group attempt to influence individual behavior." The internal feedback loop tells individuals how the bureaucratic structure and the informal group view their behaviors.

The formal school organization provides an official definition of a position, its rank in the hierarchy, and the set of expected behaviors that go with it. In fact, the bureaucratic structure has an established incentive pattern for ensuring appropriate behavior. If the school bureaucracy approves of an individual's performance, positive rewards reinforce his or her behavior. If that person's behavior is evaluated as inferior, positive incentives are reduced and negative incentives are increased.

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

School social behavior also is monitored through an external feedback loop. The culture of the community provides environmental constraints that directly influence bureaucratic expectations and group norms and indirectly influence individual needs. In spite of attempts by the school to isolate itself, it remains open to community, state, and national forces. The introduction of sex education into the school curriculum, for example, rarely goes unnoticed by the public. In fact, organized community groups provide important input about what they consider an acceptable sex education program.

Social behavior in a school is thus affected directly by at least three internal elements, or subsystems-bureaucratic expectations, group norms, and individual needs. Moreover, as Figure 2.3 illustrates, internal and external feedback procedures reinforce appropriate social behavior.

The social-systems model gives a dynamic view of the school, with the feedback mechanisms and elements providing the action components. Good, bad, and neutral events occur constantly, and the dynamic nature of the sys

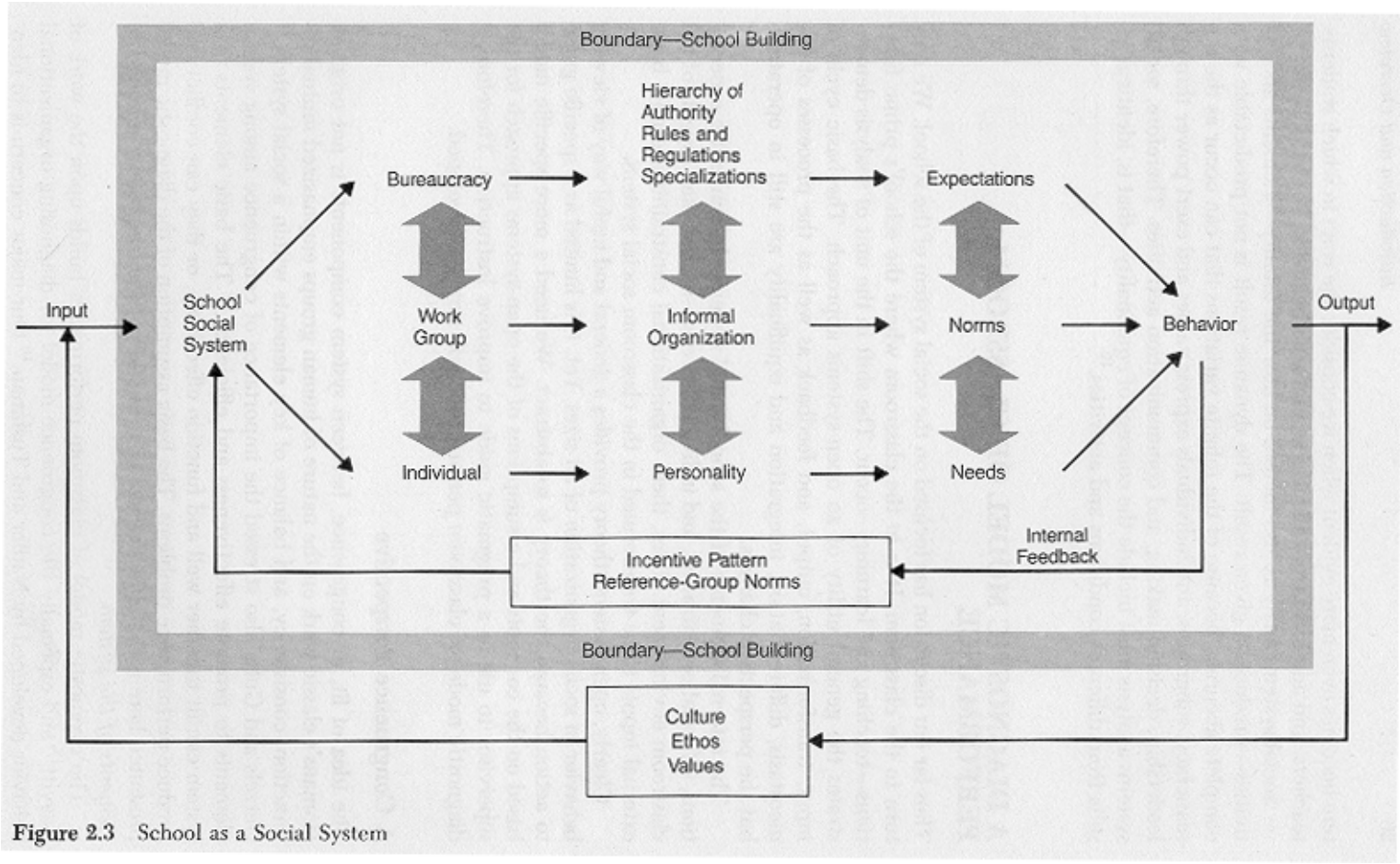

Figure 2.3 School as a Social System

tern becomes even more evident when we consider the ways in which students, teachers, and administrators affect one another's behavior.

Social-systems analysis also focuses on how the totality--elements and activities-produces a given result. The dynamic result is not predictable with complete accuracy because of the infinite variations that can occur as the bureaucracy, subgroups, and individuals express values and exert power through leadership, decision-making, and communication activities. Therefore, socialsystems analysis must include the concept of equifinality-that is, identical results from different conditions and activities. [12]

A DIAGNOSTIC MODEL OF CLASSROOM PERFORMANCE

Thus far our discussion has focused on the social system of the school. We now turn to the classroom. It is in the classroom where the school's prime functions-teaching and learning--occur. The shift in the unit of analysis demonstrates the general utility of an open-systems approach. The basic cycle of input, transformation, output, and feedback as well as the processes of homeostasis, differentiation, integration and equifinality are still in operation, but the perspective changes.

The internal elements of the school social system , bureaucratic expectations, informal organization, and individual needs-become key aspects of the classroom environment. Thus, these organizational constraints are now basic external inputs to be transformed in the classroom social system.

Clearly, open-systems theory provides a general and useful way of viewing behavior in social organization of all sizes. Yet, it is limited as a specific guide to action because the theory is so abstract. We need a more specific model based on the concepts and assumptions of the open-systems approach for the su~ervisor to use as a pragmatic guide to improve instruction. Therefore, a diagnostic model of classroom performance will now be developed.

A Congruence Perspective

The idea of fit, or congruence, between system components is not original. Homans's classic work on the nature of human groups emphasized mutual interaction, consistency, and balance of key elements within a social system . [13] Getzels and Guba also stressed the importance of congruence among system elements to promote effectiveness and efficiency. [14] The basic elements of a system can fit together well and function effectively, or they can conflict and produce performance problems. The basic assumption of the diagnostic model presented here is that *effectiveness is a function of the congruence among key elements of the system.*

The diagnostic model of classroom performance builds upon the work of Leavitt [15] and especially the congruence model for diagnosing organizational behavior developed by Nadler and Tushman. [16] Our, major concern is to iden

tify the fundamental elements that affect teacher and student performance in the classroom. In simple terms, What are the major organizational constraints (inputs) that influence classroom activities? What are the basic components within the classroom social system and the nature of their mutual interactions (transformation processes)? and What is the character of the classroom performance (output)?

The diagnostic model is based upon the open-systems and congruence assumptions discussed above. The inputs to the system are those organizational constraints that are relatively stable at a given time. Five sets of critical constraints are specified: (1) the formal organization, (2) the informal organization, (3) the leadership style of the principal, (4) the organizational climate of the school, and (5) resources (see Figure 2.4).

Five key elements in the classroom social system interact to produce the transformational processes. These components are (1) the teaching task, (2) the teacher, (3) the student, (4) classroom climate, and (5) formal classroom structure.

Finally, three sets of outputs provide the basis for diagnosing classroom performance. We are primarily concerned with teacher performance, class performance, and individual student performance. In particular, to what extent is actual performance consistent with expected performance? Information or feedback loops transmit outcome results back to the classroom and organization. Actual classroom performance can then be used to make modifications in the system inputs or in the basic internal components of the system.

In brief, we are proposing a diagnostic model based on open-systems theory to explain classroom behavior. The model should be particularly useful to supervisors as they attempt to understand and help teachers improve the teaching-learning process. To use the model, however, it is important to un-

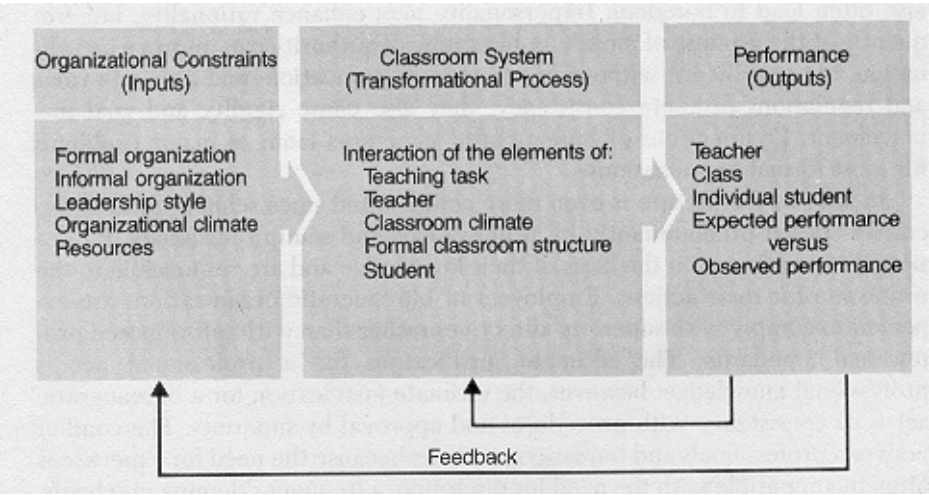

Figure 2.4 Systems Theory Applied to Classroom Behavior

understand in detail the organizational constraints, the system elements and interactions, and the outcomes.

Organizational Constraints

The classroom social system is embedded in the larger social system of the school; hence, the major internal elements of the school social system become important organizational inputs for the classroom social system. Organizational constraints regulate, set limits, and provide opportunities for the kind of behavior that can occur in the classroom. An understanding of the nature of these key constraints is vital; therefore, we will briefly describe each of the inputs below and then develop a detailed analysis in subsequent chapters.

Fonnal Organization. Virtually all complex organizations have formal structures. They have been explicitly designed for the achievement of formal organizational goals, and most organizations have many of the characteristics of bureaucracy--division of labor, specialization, impersonal orientation, rules and regulations, and career opportunities. Max Weber argues that such bureaucratic organization maximizes *both* rational decision making and administrative efficiency because division of labor and specialization produce experts; experts with an impersonal orientation make technically correct, rational decisions; the hierarchy of authority guarantees coordination and disciplined compliance to rational directives; rules and regulations result in uniformity and stability in the operation of the organization; and career opportunities produce incentives for employees to be loyal to the organization and to exert extra effort. [17]

Although Weber's conception of bureaucracy is useful for analytic purposes, in actuality the model has dysfunctional as well as functional consequences. Division and specialization of labor do produce expertise, but they also often lead to boredom. Impersonality may enhance rationality, but frequently at the expense of morale. A hierarchy of authority can improve coordination, but usually not without impeding communication; and although rules and regulations promote consistency, they also cause rigidity and goal displacement. Dysfunctions of bureaucratic structures loom as major problems for most formal organizations.

In schools the picture is even more complicated since schools are bureaucracies staffed predominantly by professionals and semiprofessionals. Professionals typically act on the basis of their knowledge and are responsible to the profession for their actions. Employees of bureaucratic organizations are expected to comply with superiors' directives rather than with self-imposed professional standards. The ultimate justification for a professional act is professional knowledge; however, the ultimate justification for a bureaucratic act is its consistency with procedures and approval by superiors. The conflict between professionals and bureaucrats occurs because the need for expertise is often incompatible with the need for discipline, a frequent dilemma in schools.

Schools vary both in their type and degree of bureaucratization. Some

schools are authoritarian and some are professional bureaucracies. Others are more aptly termed organic, integrated, or mechanistic structures; and still others are best described as loosely coupled systems or organized anarchies.

The point is, of course, that the formal structure of schools furnishes important inputs for the classroom system. It presents opportunities as well as limitations for the improvement of classroom teaching and learning. Boredom, rigidity, goal displacement, conflict, communication distortion, apathy, excessive formalism, indulgence, interpersonal tension, dissatisfaction, and chaos s well as esprit, incentive, expertise, flexibility, and effectivenessfrequently have their roots in the formal structure of the school. The significance of the school's formal structure in the supervision of instruction is a topic to which we'will return in Chapter 4, but it should be clear that without detailed knowledge of the impact of bureaucratic structure, the successful diagnosis of the underlying causes of teaching-learning problems in the classroom will be hampered.

Informal Organization. All formal organizations also have an informal organization. The dynamics of organizational life cannot be clearly understood unless, in addition to the formal structure, one also analyzes the unofficial rules, norms, informal leaders, and groups that spontaneously emerge from the interaction of individuals in the organization-its *informal organization.*

The genesis of the informal system is embedded in the formal organization itself. As people interact, networks of informal social relations'emerge that have important effects on behavior. Typically, people seek continued interactions with those they like and avoid others whom they dislike. This pattern of social exchanges produces an informal status structure. A person's status in the work group is a function not only of formal position but of the frequency, duration, and character of interactions with others in the work group and the extent to which the person is respected by other group members. Members who are admired and actively sought out frequently become informal leaders. Such leaders have strong power, they have the allegiance and support of the group, and they have the potential to hinder or facilitate official operating procedures.

The work group also develops cliques, subgroups that often compete with each other for status. Each clique typically has its own informal leader. Thus, the informal structure of the organization is built as individuals and cliques interact, compete, and develop their own status structures.

In addition to unofficial leaders and the clique structure, a set of shared beliefs and values emerges that serves as a guide -for behavior. These informal norms and values of the work group develop spontaneously, may or may not be supportive of formal expectations, are strongly influenced by the informal leaders, and prove to be an important source of power within the organization.

To have sufficient scope to cover the variety of situations that may arise, bureaucratic rules must be general. But as Blau and Scott suggest, the application of formal rules to particular cases sometimes poses problems of judgment, and informal practices often arise to provide solutions.18 Similarly, decisions

not anticipated by the bureaucratic rules,and regulations must often be made quickly, and here also unofficial practices are likely to furnish the basis for a decision long before formal procedures have been developed. Moreover, unofficial work-group norms frequently regulate performance and productivity within the organization. [19]

The existence of the informal organization is a fact of organizational life. To ignore it, to suppress it, or to attempt to eliminate it is to court disaster. It is a potent force that can complement or modify the system of behavior prescribed by the formal organization. Modification can be either constructive or destructive of official behavior. Supervisory and teacher behavior are affected by the informal organization; hence, its norms, values, cliques, and leaders are important inputs into the classroom social system. Supervisors must understand the networks of informal relations and unofficial norms that exist within a schoolif they are successfully to develop strategies to help teachers improve instruction. In fact, without the support of the informal organization, effective supervision is probably not possible. The informal organization and its salience for supervision is elaborated in Chapter 5.

Leadership. Individual leadership in school organizations is another crucial input into the classroom social system. Leaders are individuals who exert influence, sometimes by persuasion, sometimes by power and even coercion, and sometimes by example. Leaders can be elected or appointed, formal or informal. Although leadership may be considered from a variety of perspectives, our primary concern is with leadership as a personal characteristic that has influence on the behavior of teachers.

The literature is extensive, complex, and at times contradictory, but two basic dimensions of leadership are consistently identified--concern for the task and concern for individuals and relationships. Leaders typically confront two sets of problems: (1) accomplishment of goals and, (2) at the same time, satisfaction of the needs of individual followers so that they will continue to cooperate.20 Leadership behavior is characterized by some combination or focus of these two important functions.

Four leadership types are often discussed. *Task leaders* are individuals who spend most of their time stressing the mission or job and its technical aspects. *Social leaders* are primarily concerned with the human-relations aspect of the job-that is, the satisfaction of personal needs and interests of individuals. In*tegrated leaders* are those relatively rare individuals who are able to perform both,the task and social leadership roles. Finally, *passive leaders* perform neither role (see Figure 2.5).

Fred Fiedler argues that not only are task-oriented and relationshiporiented behaviors usually performed by different individuals, but that such behaviors are a function of two distinct personality types or motivational styles. 21 motivational style refers to the underlying need-structure that motivates behavior in different situations. Task-oriented leaders are motivated by successful task accomplishment, While relationship-oriented leaders are motivated by successful interpersonal relations.

Which is the most effective leadership style? That depends. The research

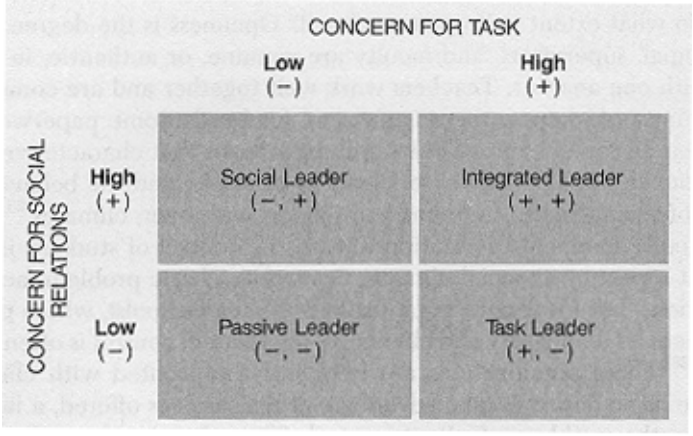

Figure 2.5 Leadership Types

evidence indicates that under one set of circumstances, one type of leader is effective; under other circumstances, a different type of leader is required. But what kind of leader for what kind of situation? Several contingency theories of leadership are useful in attempting to answer this question, and it is one to which we shall return in Chapter 6 as we analyze Fiedler's contingency mode122 and Hersey and Blanchard's situational theory. 23

Both the principal's and the supervisor's leadership styles provide important constraints for what goes on in the classroom. If the principal is both administrator and supervisor, the leadership role will be complex and conflict-filled. Theoretically, we have argued for a separation of roles based on different functions (see Chapter 1). Yet, in reality many principals are forced to be both administrators and supervisors. The research evidence increasingly demonstrates that principals' managerial behavior is crucial.in the development of effective schools; however, consistent with the contingency approach found in current leadership theories, no single management style seems appropriate for all schools. 24

In the context of the supervisory process, the cooperative goal of principals, supervisors, and teachers is the improvement of the teaching-learning process. The leadership of the principal and supervisor provides both opportunities and constraints for classroom teachers that significantly influence their classroom performance.

Organizational Climate. How teachers perform in the classroom is also determined in part by the organizational climate of the school. Climate is a broad concept that refers to individual perceptions of the school's work environment. Teachers' perceptions of the school environment are affected by the formal organization, informal organization, and the leadership practices of the principal; hence organizational climate is a synthesizing concept that is directly affected by these other organizational constraints.

A school's organizational climate can be viewed from a number of vantage

points. To what extent is it open or closed? Openness is the degree to which the principal, supervisors, and faculty are genuine, or authentic, in their behavior with one another. Teachers work well together and are committed to the teaching task; hence, there is no need for burdensome paperwork, close supervision, or for the myriad rules and regulations that characterize a closed organizational climate. Supervisors lead by example, and the behavior of the entire professional staff is authentic in schools with open climateS.25

A school's dominant orientation toward the control of students is another important aspect of its social climate. Control is a basic problem faced by all organizations, but for service organizations (such as schools), where participation of clients is mandatory and clients are unselected, control is often an acute problem. 26 These organizations are frequently confronted with clients who have little or no desire to take advantage of the services offered, a factor that aggravates the problem.of client control. The saliency of pupil control in schools, therefore, should not be surprising in fact, in one study pupil control was described as the "dominant motif" that gave meaning to patterns of

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teacher-teacher and teacher-principal relations. Moreover, in a good many

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schools good teaching is equated with good discipline .

The response to the problem of student control can vary along a custodial-humanistic continuum. 29 A custodial school is one in which students are perceived as irresponsible and undisciplined people who must be controlled through punitive sanctions. Impersonality, cynicism, and watchful mistrust pervade the atmosphere. In the humanistic school, student misbehavior is seen as a symptom in need of diagnosis. Students are taught to act on their own volition and to accept responsibility for their actions. The overall pupil-control orientation of a school is likely to influence the orientations and motivations of students, which in turn has an impact on classroom activities.

Organizations can also be arrayed along an exploitive-participative spec-

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trurn of climate types based on their management systems. In the exploitive system, control is concentrated at the top. Communication is initiated from above; decisions are made unilaterally at the top, and organizational members are motivated by threatened or applied sanctions. At the other end of this continuum, the participative system is characterized by shared participation in decisions, shared goal setting, teamwork, cooperation, and close, warm interpersonal relations among members. The managerial system of a school clearly sets an atmosphere that affects the motivation and behavior of administrators, supervisors, and teachers.

A common thread running through all three of these conceptualizations of climate is trust-trust in colleagues, trust in superiors, trust in subordinates, and trust in students. The extent to which an atmosphere of trust imbues the school climate is important for setting the stage for effective supervision. In fact, evidence is emerging that, in general, productivity is dependent upon trust, sublety, and intimacy. 31 Long-term eff6etive supervision is unlikely without a trusting relationship between the supervisor and the teacher.

The organizational climate of the school provides a set of opportunities and limits for the development of a healthy classroom climate. Thus, the analy

sis of school climate in terms of professional interactions (open-closed), pupil-control orientation (humanistic-custodial), and managerial systems (exploitive-participative) should enhance our diagnosis of classroom performance (see Chapter 7).

Resources. The final organizational input to be considered consists of resources. Three major kinds of resources are typically available to the teacher in varying amounts. First, material resources are the physical facilities and the materials used in teaching, such as classroom furniture, curriculum materials, teaching supplies, computer hardware, and audio-visual equipment. Second, people resources are the individuals who comprise the support system for the teaching-learning process. They include secretaries, teacher aides, student teachers, guidance staff, specialists, and supervisory personnel. Finally, in-service resources are teachers' opportunities to grow professionally through planning of developmental activities aimed at the improvement of instruction. Programs or workshops on the gifted, on developing writing or reading skills, or on questioning strategies are examples of possible in-service resources.

Supervisory Opportunities and Constraints

The formal organization, informal organization, and individual leadership in the school produce an organizational climate that-along with the available resources-provides the school environment for supervision (see Figure 2.6). This environment furnishes both opportunities and constraints for the supervisor. The primary task of the supervisor is to take these organizational givens, and together with the teacher, plan and develop an instructional program that leads to the accomplishment of a set of performance levels. The focus for both supervisor and teacher is the function of the classroom.

CLASSROOM SYSTEM

Organizational inputs become transformed in the classroom; hence, the interaction of five key classroom components is the basis for our analysis of the teaching-learning process. The teaching task, the teacher, the student, the formal classroom organization, and the classroom climate are the crucial elements in the classroom transformational process, and each is briefly described below.

Teaching Task. The basic job to be done in the classroom by the teacher interacting with students is teaching. Teaching has been defined in a variety of ways, but for our purposes it is a system of intentional actions aimed at inducing the learning of skills, knowledge, and values. [32] Teaching and learning are inextricably linked; the purpose of classroom teaching is student learning. Learnings are grouped into three categories: (1) skills-learning how to do something (e.g., typing, reading, running), (2) knowledge-learning to know

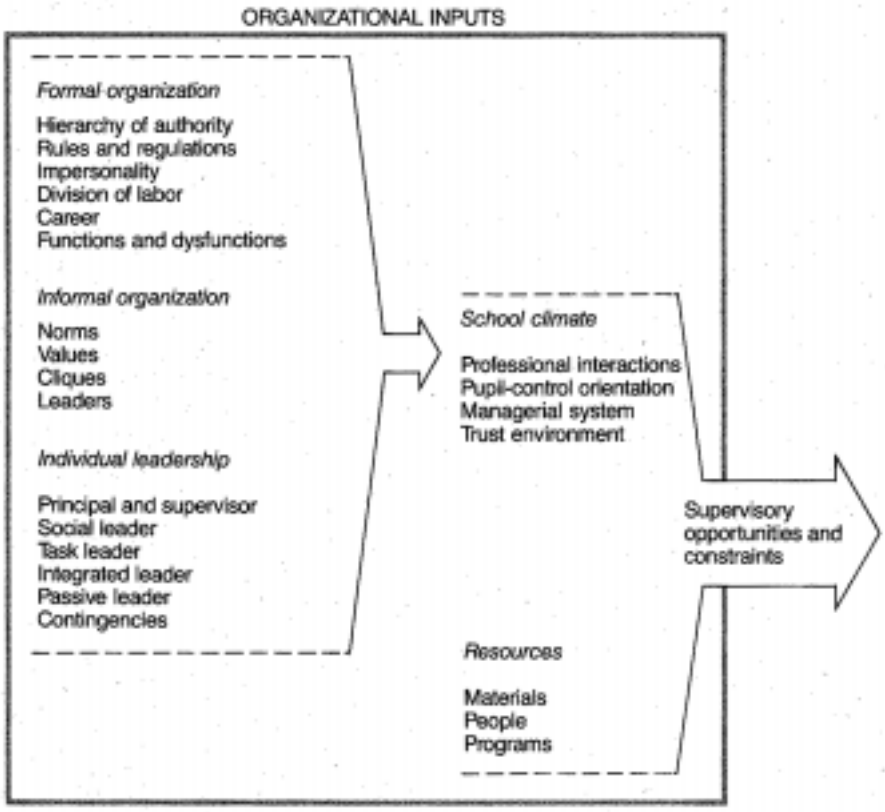

Figure 2.6 Critical Aspects of Inputs

something (e.g., facts and logic systems), and (3) values learning to make normative judgments (e.g., decisions concerning good or bad, right or wrong).

Our definition of teaching implies strategy. Teachers are trying to induce learning in students. What learnings? Is the learning task clear? Does the task require joint problem solving? What are the basic goals and objectives of the teaching task? And what is the logical set of plans to attain those ends? The teaching strategy will quite probably depend on the learning task; the teachers' skills, knowledge, and values; and the students' abilities and interests.

Regardless of the method used, the teaching task has a number of common phases. Drawing on the work of Broudy and Palmer [33] and flerbart, [34] the following five general steps in the teaching task are specified:

1. Preparation. The process of getting ready for interaction with students in the classroom., This includes preparing lesson plans, reviewing notes, anticipating possible student responses, and preparing students for what they are about to learn (motivating them).

2. *Presentation.* The teacher offers students what they are to learn. This is the very essence of the teaching act, and it is in the specifications of this step that various teaching methods often vary.
3. *Diagnosis.* The teacher and/or students observe and interpret responses to determine if the students have learned the material or task.
4. *Reinforcement or correction.* If the response is correct, the teacher tries to assure students retain what they have learned, but if the response is iDeorrect, the teacher takes the necessary action to correct the response.
5. *Formal evaluation.* Procedures and tests are used by teachers to determine how well the students have learned the presented task.

The identification of common features in the teaching task clearly does not preclude different teaching methods; in fact, the appropriate method is a function of the kind of learning task, and the objectives and strategy of the teacher (see Chapter 13).

Teacher. The second component of the classroom system is the teacher. The emphasis here is on teachers' personal characteristics. Perhaps the most crucial aspects of the teacher are his or her knowledge, values, and skills. Knowledge of the subject and the skills to present that information are indispensable to the teacher.

Other important attributes of teachers are their perceptions and expectations. The expectation of teachers that all students can achieve frequently has a positive impact on their achievement. [35] Similarly, negative expectations and perceptions of one's administrator, supervisor, or colleagues often result in a self-fulfilling prophecy. The adage that "you get what you expect" seems to have more than a grain of truth.

Teachers' motivational needs also play an important role in their classroom behavior. Strong personal needs for security, dominance, and ascendency have predictable consequences. Teachers behave in ways that they believe will lead to desired states; hence, both rewards and personal values motivate teacher ,behavior. The motivational forces of teacher behavior are a complex topic to which we will return in Chapter 9.

Student. The third element of tlie classroom system is the student. The personal characteristics of students in the class are also central to any analysis of the teaching-learning process. First, the skills, knowledge, values, and abilities that students bring to the classroom are fundamental factors related to learning. Many classroom problems are directly linked to inadequate preliminary knowledge, skills, and values on the part of students. Students who don't have an adequate base to build upon are at a real disadvantage, and remediation is necessary. Moreover, limitations in student ability commonly slow progress and produce difficulties within the classroom.

The expectations and perceptions that students have of school, teachers, peers, and themselves influence their performance in school. Students who expect to fail frequently do. just as there is a self-fulfilling prophecy when teach

ers have low expectations for students, the same forces come into play when students have a poor self-image and hold low expectations for themselves.

The interests, motivations, and perseverance of students are still other crucial aspects of classroom activities. Motivating students is just as complicated as motivating teachers. Students have needs for safety, belongingness, esteem, and growth. Background factors such as sex, race, and socioeconomic status are also individual characteristics that influence instructional and noninstructional transactions in the classroom (see Chapter 10).

Formal Classroom Organization. The fourth component of the classroom system is its formal organization--classroom arrangements that have been explfcitly created to facilitate the teaching-learning process. These arrangements include a broad range of structures, processes, and materials that are used in classroom instruction. Three significant aspects of classroom arrangements are the structure of activities, instructional methods, and curriculum materials.

The teacher structures the class through a set of formal expectations for the student. Few classes are without a body of rules that regulate student behavior; however, there is considerable variation in the degree of structure among classes. Some teachers have rules for almost everything; others have only a few implicit understandings. Teachers develop routine procedures for managing classroom behavior, such as how desks in the room are arranged, what students must do to be called on to speak, whether students must ask permission to leave the room, how the teacher should be addressed, and what format-if any-is to be used on homework papers. Some teachers involve students deeply not only in the development of classroom management procedures but also in planning instructional activities; others do not. The structure of the teaching-learning process itself is determined by the teacher. For example, a high-school mathematics class might consist of the following five activity periods: (a) settling downto work, (b) teacher-directed discussion of homework, (c) introducing new work, (d) giving the new assignment and supervising individual seatwork, and (e) evaluating test results. Thus, the structure of classroom activities can be examined in terms of the formal relations between the teacher and students, the routine management practices in the classroom, student participation in planning, and the organization of learning activities.

The instructional method used by the teacher is another main feature of formal classroom organization. Discussion, lecture, drill, recitation, inquiry, or some combination of these provide teachers and supervisors with a variety of ways to enhance teaching and learning.

Finally, the curricular materials themselves need to be considered as central to classroom activities. Textbooks, workbooks, and supplementary materials guide and direct the learning. Moreover, the pacing, sequencing, and coverage of classroom content influence both individual student achievement and class performance. [36] These aspects of formal classroom organization are elaborated in Chapter 12.

Classroom Climate. The final element in the classroom system is its climate. The informal social organization of student life in the classroom-including norms, values, attitudes, interactions, and leadership-is the classroom climate. As students interact in the formal context of the school, informal norms and unofficial leadership patterns emerge that have significant effects on classroom behavior; that is, an informal organization develops among students in the classroom.

Although the teacher is the titular leader of the class, students frequently have their own leaders. Similarly, although teachers set the formal expectations for the class, which are supported by official practices and procedures, students often have their own set of informal expectations that are enforced by informal student norms. Student leaders are sometimes as important as teachers in motivating student behavior, just as students' rules are often as influential as those of teachers (see Chapter 11).

A basic challenge facing all teachers is finding ways to tap into the informal organization of students. Teachers need unofficial norms of support and allegiance from students, not hostility and suspicion. Moreover, most social systems have two sets of leaders-those interested in interpersonal activities within the group and those directing the task activities. [37] The teacher is formally expected to guide and direct the teaching-learning process and is usually accepted as the leader for that role. But informal student leaders often control the. expressive activities of the classroom; students look to other students for direction in social activities. In some cases, the informal organization of the classroom produces a cohesive student subculture with norms and values that are quite different from the formal ones. [38] To many students it is their own informal organization that is more influential in motivating their behavior. Effective teaching and learning seern likely if there is cooperation rather than antagonism between the teacher and students.

Teachers and students confront each other with a basic conflict of desires. Teachers represent the adult world, the formal curriculum, and the established social order. [39] Students are more.interested in their own world, in their own needs, and in striving to produce their own results in their own way. Yet students are the material with which teachers are supposed to produce results. Teachers do control students, and the way they do it has a lot to do with teacher-student relationships in the classroom.

One way to view the classroom climate is in terms of the pupil-control structure. To what extent are subordination, domination, and punishment stressed in the' classroom? Pupil control in the classroom can be conceptualized along a custodial-humanistic continuum. Custodial classrooms emphasize the dominance of teachers, subordination of students, and a general mistrust of students who need to be disciplined. A humanistic orientation stresses the need for students to be given the freedom to act on their own volition and to accept responsibility for such action. The classroom control orientation is directly related to teacher-student relationships, including the student norms, interactions, and leadership patterns..

Component	Teaching Task	Teacher	Student	Formal Classroom Organization	Classroom Climate
DEFINITION	The basic job performed in the classroom by the teacher interacting with students	The personal characteristics of the teacher	The personal characteristics of students in the class	Formal arrangements that have been explicitly created to facilitate the teaching-learning process	The informal social organization of student and teacher activities in the classroom
CRITICAL ASPECT OF EACH COMPONENT	Knowledge, values, and skills needed by the teacher	Knowledge, values, and skills possessed by the teacher			
	Knowledge, values, and skills needed by students		Knowledge, values, skills, and abilities possessed by students	Structure of activities	Informal norms Informal leaders
	Goals, objectives, strategy	Expectations and perceptions	Expectations and perceptions	Instructional methods	Student-teacher relations
	Task stages Preparation Presentation Diagnosis Reinforcement or correction Formal evaluation	Motivational needs	Interests, motivations, and perseverance Background factors (e.g., sex, race, class)	Curricular materials	Control structure

Figure 2.7 Basic Classroom Components

Classrooms have been conceived as a set of basic components including the teaching task, the teacher, the student, the formal classroom organization, and the classroom climate (see Figure 2.7). In any social system, however, the vital issue is not what the components are, but rather the nature of their relationships. Hence, the critical question is, What is the dynamic interaction among the components? To answer this query we return to the concept of congruence. 40

CONGRUENCE

Congruence refers to the fit or match between any pair of components in the classroom. Moro specifically, congruence is defined as "the degree to which the needs, demands, goals, objectives and structures of one c ' omponent are consistent with the needs, demands, goals, objectives, and structures of another component."41

Classroom behavior can therefore be analyzed in terms of the degree of consistency between pairs of components. The model of classroom performance postulates that effectiveness of performance is a function of congruence among key components; the better the fit between pairs of components, the greater the effectiveness of classroom performance. Effectiveness is the degree to which actual performance is congruent with expected performance at the student, teacher, and class levels. This basic dynamic of congruence suggests that classroom performance is most effective when all the component pieces fit together. Moreover, effectiveness is enhanced when the match between the broader set of school organizational constraints and the classroom components is consistent.

The five components of the classroom system produce ten possible pairs of congruence relationships. For example, to what degree is the formal classroom structure consistent with the informal classroom climate? Are the formal teacher expectations compatible with the informal student norms? Are formal and informal leaders working toward the same goals or pulling in different directions? It is clear that incongruence in any pair of elements will produce dysfunctional consequences.

Each congruence relationship in the model needs to be defined in specific, terms; therefore, the ten pairs of mutual relationships are delineated in Figure 2.8 by identifying the crucial issues in each match. Moreover, an eleventh congruence relationship-between the set of classroom components and the set of organizational inputs-is described.

The implication of this congruence model is that teachers and supervisors need to diagnose problems in the classroom by determining the nature and location of incongruent relationships and then planning action to improve them without jeopardizing other consistent relationships. The model also implies that a variety of configurations of key elements can lead to effective behavior (the property of equifinality). Consequently, the question is not to find the

Match	Crucial Issues
Teacher ↔ Climate	To what extent are teacher needs supported by the classroom climate?
Student ↔ Climate	To what extent are student needs met by the classroom climate?
Teacher ↔ Task	To what extent are teacher needs met by the teaching task? Does the teacher have the skills and abilities to achieve the task?
Student ↔ Task	To what extent are student needs met by what is taught? Do the students have the abilities and interests to accomplish the task?
Student ↔ Teacher	To what extent are student and teacher needs consistent?
Task ↔ Climate	Does the classroom climate facilitate the teaching task? Does the classroom climate hinder or promote the demands of learning?
Task ↔ Formal Structure	Do the formal classroom arrangements facilitate the teaching-learning process? Do the formal classroom arrangements motivate behavior consistent with the task demands?
Teacher ↔ Formal Structure	To what extent are teacher needs met by the formal classroom arrangements?
Student ↔ Formal Structure	To what extent are student needs met by the formal classroom arrangements? To what extent do students have a clear perception of classroom expectations—the convergence of student and teacher goals?
Formal Structure ↔ Climate	To what extent are the goals, rewards, and norms of the informal classroom organization consistent with those of the formal organization?
Classroom ↔ School	To what extent is the internal structure of the classroom components consistent with the broader school constraints?

Figure 2.8 Definitions of Match Between System Components

one best way" of supervising but to determine effective combinations of organizational inputs that will lead to consistent fits. This process of diagnosis and developing congruent system relationships is not simply an intuitive process, but rather the goodness of fit is based on theory and research that we, will discuss throughout the remainder of this book. Clearly, any supervisor who attempts to use this congruence model for analysis of classroom behavior needs to become familiar with the relevant body of theoretical and empirical knowledge. [42]

Output: Effectiveness of Performance

The output of the classroom transformation processes is performance on three *levels: teacher performance, individual* student performance, and class performance. There is no single criterion of effectiveness in the diagnostic model of classroom performance. Rather, at each level multiple criteria of effectiveness are employed, and performance is evaluated by comparing expected with actual outcomes.

Teacher Performance. The behavior of the teacher is critical in assessing the classroom outcome. To what extent is the teacher actually behaving as he or she desires? There are. a number of important dimensions on which to examine teacher behavior. First, the degree to which instruction is direct or indirect and can be changed as the task or situation changes is significant. In particular, flexibility of teacher behavior, the ability to make one's behavior fit the situation, has been found to be predictive of teaching SUCCeSS.43 It is not easy to become more or less direct in interactions with students as desired, but it is a skill that can be developed. Another set of classroom behaviors has also been systematically related to positive student outcomes. 44 The degree to which teacher behavior is supportive, planned, and stimulating is significant; therefore, each of these classroom behaviors is a basis for studying teacher performance. Finally, teachers have affective responses to the classroom environment that influence their behavior. How satisfied are teachers with their jobs, their teaching, and their interactions with students, colleagues, and superiors?

Individual Student Performance. The analysis here is performed on an individual basis rather than on the class as a whole. Are teacher expectations for individual students being met? The cognitive growth for each student needs to be examined with respect to individual ability. Further, the socioemotional development of each student should be carefully monitored'a~s the year progresses. Social and emotional problems should be identified early and a plan of correction developed. The student's adaptability to interact successfully in a variety of diverse situations is yet another significant factor in student behav~ ior. Finally, individual student satisfaction with school, friends, teachers, and performance in school is also a serious matter. Thus, the two general aspects of individual student performance are crucial outputs of the classroom transformation--cognitive growth and affective development.

Class Performance. Since the classroom as a social system is our primary concern, the question of how well the system as a whole is functioning is critical. Four imperative function's of all social systems are goal achievement, adaptation, integration, and latent pattern maintenance. These functions are key criteria for evaluating the operating effectiveness of the system. In the model, goal achievement is the class accomplishment of academic and social performance goals that have been set by the school and teacher. Adaptation denotes the extent to which the class operation has accommodated to the basic

demands of the environment. How well has the classroom system transformed the school inputs? How well does the system meet new demands in the environment? Integration refers to a social solidarity within the class. To what extent has the class been unified into a single structure? Student esprit, interpersonal conflict, and absenteeism are prime indicators of the degree of integration. Finally, latency is the maintenance of the integrity of the class value system. Effective systems typically require a high commitment to the group and to its norms and values. The degree of student commitment to their class, their teac her, and their schoolwork is an indicator of how well the class is functioning. The key issues for examining class performance are summarized in Figure 2.9.

SUMMARY

We have developed a diagnostic model of classroom performance using an open-systems framework (see Figure 2.10). Formal organization, informal organization, leadership, organizational climate, and resources are the five major environmental forces that provide the primary supervisory opportunities and

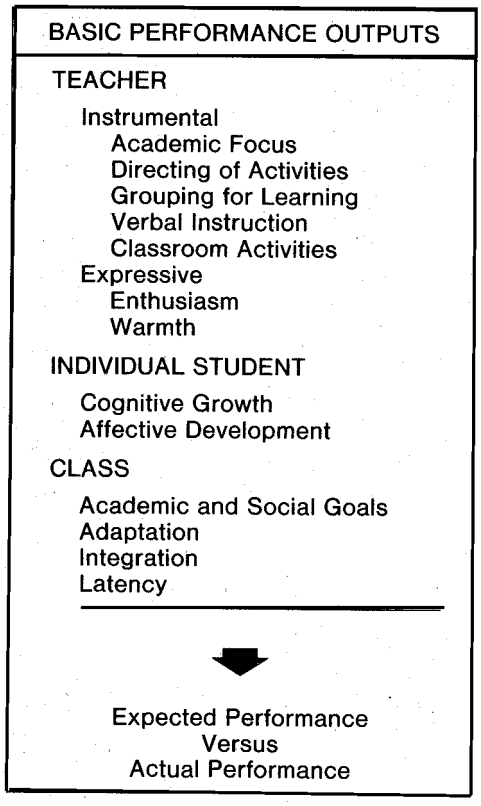

Figure 2.9 Key Performance Issues

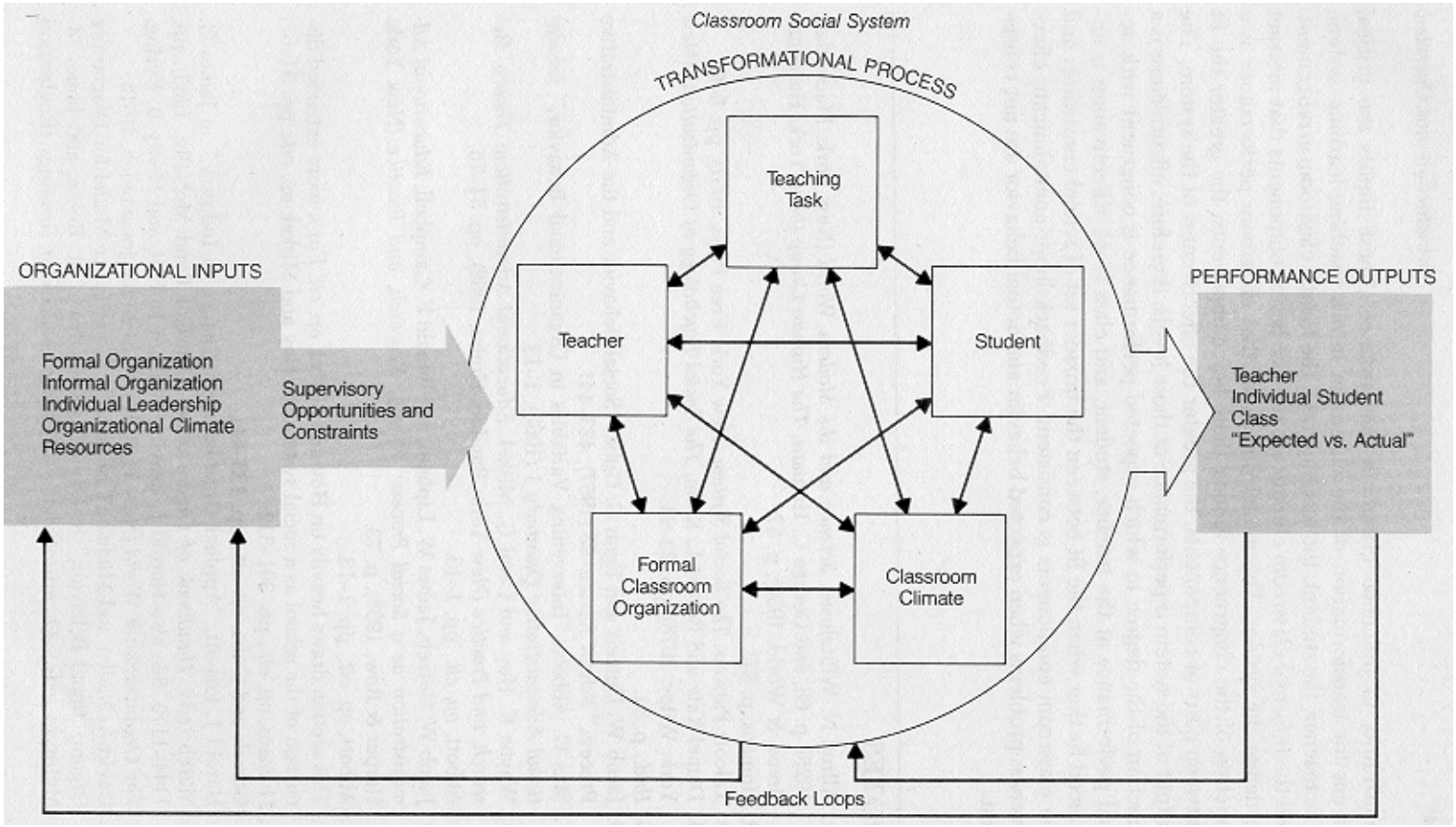

Figure 2.10 The Classroom Performance Model

constraints to influence classroom performance. These inputs are critical givens for transformation of the classroom into 'a teaching-learning system. The teacher, the student, the teaching task, the formal classroom arrangement, and the informal classroom climate are the five basic components that interact to define the system. The model postulates that classroom performance is a function of the congruence among these key components; the greater the fit between pairs of components, the greater the effectiveness of the system. The output of the system is performance at those levels; therefore, effectiveness is a function of the degree to which expected performance is congruent with actual performance at the teacher, student, and class level. Effectiveness is enhanced further when the fit between the broader set of school constraints and the classroom components is consistent. Feedback loops communicate effectiveness problems when expected behavior and actual behavior are not consistent.

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CHAPTER 3

The Supervisory Process

Before the process of supervision is described in detail, it seems useful to review our basic assumptions about the nature of supervision. The purpose of supervision is to work cooperatively with teachers to improve instruction. The goal of the supervisor is not simply to help teachers solve immediate problems but also to engage with teachers in the study of the processes of teaching and learning. Clearly, improvement of instruction is a long-term, continuous process that requires cooperation.

In the final analysis, only teachers can improve classroom instruction, and teachers need the freedom to develop their own unique teaching styles. Any attempt to change teaching behaviors, however, requires social support as well as professional and intellectual stimulation. Therefore improvement of instruction is most likely to be accomplished in a nonthreatening atmosphere, by working with colleagues, not superiors, and by creating in teachers a sense of inquiry and experimentation.

Although supervision can be broadly conceived as any set of activities planned to improve the teaching-learning process, it fundamentally involves a cycle of systematic planning, observation, diagnosis, change, and renewed planning. We turn first to a description and critical analysis of clinical supervision-a contemporary approach to the improvement of instruction that is consistent with many of our assumptions about supervision.

CLINICAL SUPERVISION

The distinction between supervision as a managerial function and supervision as a technical process to improve instruction has already been made. Most contemporary experts on supervision of instruction abhor the traditional industrial model of supervision as authoritarian control of subordinates.' In education the movement away from traditional supervision has been dramatic; in fact, the strong professional interest in practices designed to improve teachers' classroom performance has been described as the "clinical supervision movement."2 The movement had its roots in the late 1950s in the work of Robert Anderson, Morris Cogan, and Robert Goldharnmer as they tried to develop

a more effective way of supervising interns at Harvard. Their focus on studying classroom behavior in a systematic manner in an atmosphere of colleagueship and mutual respect became known as clinical supervision. The clinical cycle consists of a preobservation conference, observation, analysis and strategy, postobservation conference, and postconference analysis. [3] Cogan has elaborated on the clinical approach by identifying eight specific steps in the process. [4] Figure 3.1 is a graphic representation of the cycle of clinical supervision. The eight steps are grouped into three phases-preobservation, observation, and postobservation.

Three steps make up the *preobservation phase* of the clinical cycle.

Step 1. Establishing the teacher-supervisor relationship involves the induction of the teacher into the clinical relationship by defusing anxiety, clarifying roles and functions within the relationship, and helping the teacher to understand the purpose and meaning of clinical supervision.

Step 2. Planning with the teacher is the cooperative planning of lesson(s) by the teacher and supervisor, emphasizing objectives for students and the teacher. Such plans often include the definition of outcomes, strategies of teaching, reinforcement of learning, and evaluation.

Step 3. Planning the strategy of observation is the third and final aspect of the preobservation phase. Together the supervisor and teacher plan the specifics of the observation. What are the objectives of the visit? How are the data to be collected? What are the technical arrangements for the observation and collection of data?

The *observation phase* of the supervision cycle follows the initial preparation and planning.

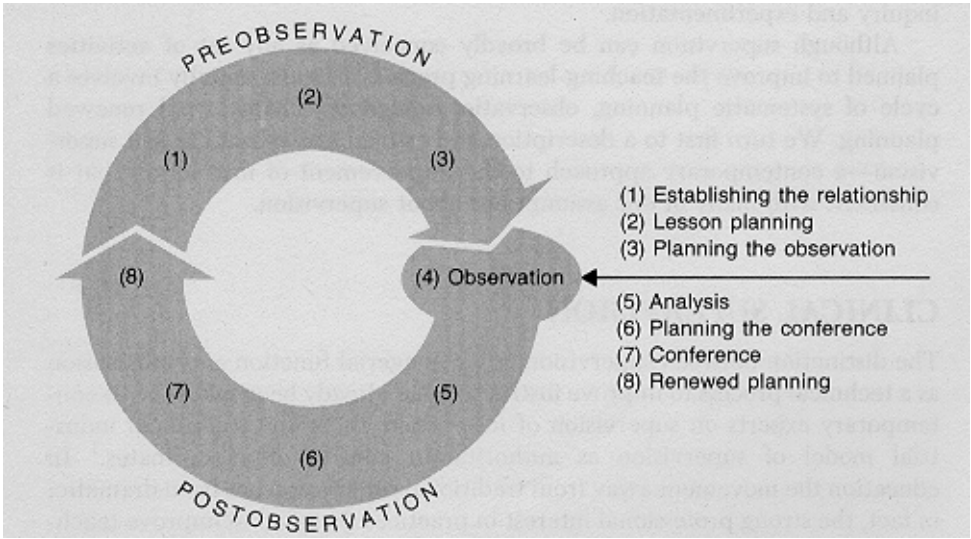

Figure 3.1 Cycle of Clinical Supervision

Step 4. The scene has been set for systematic observation of the teachinglearning process. Both the teacher and supervisor know the plans and strategies of data collection. Typically, the supervisor observes the teaching and uses mutually determined instruments and data-gathering devices to record classroom events.

The *postobservation phase* adds four more steps to the cycle and completes the clinical process with planning for a new cycle.

Step 5. Analyzing the teaching-learning processes is the examination of the information gathered from the observation. To begin with, the supervisor and teacher perform separate analyses, but later in the process they may work together or even with other participants. Different analyses, however, often provide the basis for constructive discussion of classroom events.

Step 6. Planning the strategy of the conference is usually the responsibility of the supervisor, at least early in the clinical relationship. It is an extremely important aspect, of the cycle and produces the agenda of the conference as well as the selection of a particular strategy for conducting the conference, for example, a Socratic or role-playing strategy.

Step 7. The conference itself is the next step in the cycle. Generally the teacher and supervisor are the participants in a critical but constructive analysis of the teaching-learning process. A great deal of planning and activity have led up to this conference, and that planning should guide the meeting but not stifle it.

Step 8. Finally, as teacher and supervisor determine the kinds of change to be pursued in the teacher's behavior, they engage in renewed planning and a new cycle begins. The new cycle, however, may be altered. For instance, once an atmosphere of trust has developed between tl~e supervisor and teacher and the teacher understands the objectives and procedures of clinical supervision, the first step of the cycle may be omitted; in fact, occasionally the entire planning phase may be by-passed because the plans are well known. The central objective of the clinical process is the development of a self-directed, analytic teacher who is open to help from other colleagues. [5]

It is difficult to disagree with the goals or even the procedures of clinical supervision as outlined by Cogan, Goldhammer, and their colleagues. Cheryl Sullivan sums up the hope placed in clinical supervision:

> The significant way in which clinical supervision differs from the previous supervisory approaches is in its content. It is historically and substantially unusual because of its emphasis on analysis rather than inspection and its presentation of a model rather than the smorgasbord of lists, charts, tables, and examples which so often occur in supervision literature. [6]

A Critical Analysis

Research on instructional supervision is primitive. In a review of research, Charles A. Reavis draws the following conclusions: (1) teachers are distrustful

of the supervisory process as traditionally practiced; (2) teachers prefer the clinical supervision approach over more traditional practices; and (3) the effects of supervision on teacher behavior and pupil performance are not clear. [7] Although teachers like clinical supervision, many important research questions remain unanswered. Does clinical supervision improve teaching? Is learning facilitated by clinical supervision? Do teachers have more positive attitudes about teaching when they are involved in clinical supervision? Alice Denham complains that "given the present state of instructional and research technologies-not to mention the number of doctoral degrees granted each year to persons aiming for careers in educational research and leadership"the lack of "data-based answers to these questions is inexcusable."8 Others echo that complaint. [9]

Regardless of the paucity of evidence about the effectiveness of clinical supervision, the fact remains that, despite its popularity with teachers, clinical supervision has not been widely implemented in the schools.10 In our view, no general supervisory system, clinical or traditional, has been effectively implemented in schools. Most supervisory programs are piecemeal and eventually degenerate into meaningless rituals required by law and/or by boards of education. But why this failure of supervisory approaches, especially clinical supervision? Although the organizational context of the school places strong constraints on the practice of supervision, it is a context frequently neglected in attempts to change classroom behavior.

The developers of clinical supervision saw supervision as separate from administration. Yet, in practice, and as in traditional supervision, the clinical- supervisor has most often also been the school principal. The roles of principal and supervisor, however, are conflicting. The principal's primary concern is the well-being of the school as a whole; the supervisor's primary concern must be the instructional progress of individual teachers. At any given time, the good of the school may not coincide with the developmental needs of a particular teacher. Teachers know this instinctively and consequently resist participating in appraisals of their teaching performance with principal-supervisors.

Role conflict between administrative and supervisory functions is not peculiar to education. Nina Toren writes that "the debate about the effectiveness and advisability of this combination of administrative authority and teachinghelping functions into one role has been going on in social work literature for more than a decade."" Who are the supervisors? Are they administrators or teacher-helpers? Can they be both simultaneously or sequentially? Many argue that the supervisory role cannot be structured1to include teaching-helping and administrative functions. [12] Confronted by role ambiguity, the teacher naturally responds to the more demanding role-the administrative onewhich often controls the teacher's continued employment as well as other significant rewards. Frequently the principal-supervisor accommodates this role conflict by abdicating one of the roles-usually the less-clearly-prescribed role of supervisor as teacher-helper. Although clinical supervision was intended to remove role conflict by separating the roles of principal and supervisor, in practice this has not occurred. Thus, clinical supervision perpetuates the unre

alistic hope that teachers will honestly expose their teaching behavior to an administrator. The principal-supervisor role conflict continues.

A second problem for both clinical and traditional supervision emerges from the conflicting coordinating strategies used by schools. All organizations are designed to accomplish goals; hence, there is a need to coordinate re-, sources, including the activities of members of the organization. Two control mechanisms, bureaucracy and professionalism, produce conflict in the schools.

Earlier we saw how bureaucratic organizations control member activity through a system of division of labor, impersonal orientation, heirarchy of authority, and rules and regulations. In schools this encompasses the control over teachers that comes down the hierarchical chain of command and is embedded in school policy. It involves board policies, specific rules and regulations, record keeping, and the like. There is no doubt that it is functional and beneficial for some activities within schools to be bureaucratically controlled. For example, attendance procedures and student-transcript record keeping must necessarily be routine and consistent sets of practices.

A second strategy used by service organizations such as schools to coordinate the goal-directed activity of members is professional control. Bureaucratic strategy involves precise prescription of behavior through a system of rules and regulations; professional control is a different matter. Organizations employ professionals who presumably have extensive training and certification; they have acquired the skills, values, and knowledge necessary to accomplish the organization's goals. In other words, rather than coordinating the activities of organizational members after they are employed, the professional coordination strategy involves employing individuals who havealready internalized appropriate responses.

What kind of coordinating mechanisms do we find today in the public schools? Dan Lortie states that "the formal and legal allocation of authority in school systems is monolithic, hierarchical, and concentrated; official powers are focused at the apex of the structure."13 Ronald Corwin, in his study of conflict in high schools, found: "An image begins to form of the position of teachers in the decision-making structure. They seldom make major nonprofessional policy decisions, and they participate only in a tangential way in the professional ones. . . ."14 Indeed, teachers express a lower preference for organizational autonomy than most professionals. [15] In brief, although the educational task is clearly nonroutine, coordination of the teaching function appears more likely to be,a function of bureaucratic rather than professi6nal controls.

Thus far we have noted that of the two normative systems, bureaucratic and professional, the bureaucratic system is more likely to prevail in today's schools. There has been a great deal of speculation as to why this is the case. To a certain extent, public control and pressures for accountability diminish the authority individual teachers have over their own work. Furthermore, many teachers do not desire greater decisional participation. [13] Regardless of whether teachers wish to control their own work professionally or to have it controlled bureaucratically, the point is that instruction will not be improved

until teachers take personal and professional responsibility for improving it. Toren cautions:

> The long term goals of super-vision, like those of any socialization process, are to develop the skills of the inexperienced worker, deepen his knowledge and understanding, and lead him, finally, to assume full responsibility as an independent professiorial. If, however, the supervisee is not allowed, by continuous close supervision, to grow up, the result will be that of general dissatisfaction with his Work.17

Despite the fact that more serious efforts to implement clinical supervision are characterized by less autocratic relationships, the approach remains a relationship rooted in the formal authority structure. of the school. Responsibility and initiative for instructional improvement are understood by both teacher and supervisor to reside with the supervisor. The bureaucratic norms require that the supervisor initiate and the teacher respond. Similarly, as practiced, clinical supervision does little to encourage the development ofa strong professional orientation among teachers. It clearly places the responsibility for instructional improvement with the officers of the school, creating no need for teachers to develop norms of professional responsibility. In fact, the modellike traditional models of supervision--encourages teachers to exhibit dependence and seek approval. In other words, the norms tend to freeze teachers in subadult roles.

Another problern shared by traditional and clinical supervision, to the detriment of both, is the emphasis on external rewards for teachers. R. Jean Hills has noted that accountability efforts stressing external control and close supervision undermine teacher professionalization and result in a trade-union orientation bereft of commitment and service motivation.18 For several decades, there has been a trend toward teacher unionization. Unions exist to advance the interests of their members, and those interests are almost always related to what motivation theorists call external rewards. External rewards are peripheral to the job of teaching; they include such things as salary, security, status, interpersonal relationships, and working conditions. There is evidence that extrinsic rewards subvert the individual's sense of self-determination and make behavior dependent on external causes. External rewards themselves become the reasons for behavior.19 When unions emphasize external rewards, schools typically counter with demands for accountability. Thus, the by-products of unionization and its organizational counterpart, accountability, seem antitbetic'to the purposes of supervision. The annual battlefield climate between teachers and boards of education over issues of external reward is not conducive to the improvement of instruction.

__ Although clinical supervision represents a major advance in supervisory philosophy and technology, the problems related to teacher motivation remain. Focusing exclusively on the classroom behavior of teachers, clinical supervision ignores the effects of the school organization itself and the relationship between the school and the teacher. In addition, the impetus for change and improvement of teaching remains external to the teacher. Both

traditional and clinical supervision ignore Edwin A. Locke's claim that "a supervisor can help fulfill an employee's desires but he cannot provide him with ,desires-, he can offer him new knowledge or the chance to gain new knowledge but he cannot force him to learn; he can assign goals to a worker but he cannot compel him to accept those goals."20

We reject the lure of a simple solution to the motivation question: Give teachers the external rewards they want and they will be motivated. But we have just seen that the ever-increasing emphasis on external rewards is more likely to turn the attention of teachers away from instructional improvement and toward external rewards for their own sake. In ignoring this issue, clinical supervision dooms itself to failure or only transitory success.

Although the purpose of supervision is instructional improvement, the clinical model is also flawed by the lack of a specific definition of improvement of instruction. Typically the teacher and supervisor supply such definitions without benefit of conceptual guidelines. Moreover, teacher behaviors that are appropriate and effective in one setting are not necessarily desirable in' another. In contrast to the specificity of other elements of clinical supervision, the expected outcomes are ambiguous. 21

In summary, clinical supervision appears to offer a plan for improving instruction that is attractive to scholars and supervisors alike. However, other than research showing that teachers and supervisors prefer the clinical model to traditional supervision, there is little or no hard evidence regarding how and if clinical supervision works. Three characteristics of both the traditional and clinical approaches impede them from accomplishing their purpose: the supervisor-principal role conflict, the conflict between bureaucratic and professional norms, and a motivational system stimulated by unionization trends and stressing external reward. No supervisory system that ignores organizational context is likely to succeed. An effective supervisory model must confront the organizational constraints and opportunities in each school. The classroom is not an isolated social unit; it is an integral part of the larger school context. Finally, improvement of instruction must be more than a rallying cry for administrators, supervisors, and teachers. Clear outcomes of supervision need to be specified and measured, to assess the success of supervisory strategies and actions.

Beyond Clinical Supervision

If supervision of instruction is to become more meaningful and effective, then a, model of supervision must be developed that will (1) clearly define improvement of instruction and guide action toward that end; (2) confront the organizational constraints and opportunities in each school; (3) foster supervisor-principal cooperation in the supervisory process; (4) encourage teacher professionalism by reinforcing norms of autonomy and self-direction; and (5) concentrate on the intrinsic motivation of teachers through teaching itself. The clinical approach is a step in the right direction, but the process needs a stronger theoretical focus.

The classroom performance model outlined in Chapter 2 provides such conceptual direction. The model uses an open-systems approach to consider the major school forces that influence classroom behavior. Effectiveness-improvement of instruction-is defined as the degree to which expected performance is congruent with-actual performance at the teacher, student, and class levels. The diagnostic cycle is the basis for linking the classroom performance model with clinical supervision. The result is a framework and process of supervision that promotes harmony, professionalism, and a sense of inquiry and experimentation.

The Diagnostic Cycle

The diagnostic cycle is a problem-solving process. The steps in the cycle are first described as a general systematic approach to problem solving. Then the ,cycle is illustrated as part of the supervisory process to improve the school context and to improve classroom performance. 22

The diagnostic cycle is organized into five related steps: (1) problem identification, (2) diagnosis, (3) planning, (4) implementation, and (5) evaluation. Each of these steps is described briefly.

1. *Identify problems.* Identify area or areas where there is a significant discrepancy between the actual and desired state of affairs.
2. *Diagnose causes.* Search for possible 'Causes of the problems by examining. key constraints and opportunities.
3. *Develop action plans.* Develop a strategy for action by carefu ' Ily specifying alternatives, anticipating consequences, deliberating, and selecting a set of a Iternatives for action.
4. *Implement action plans.* Translate action plans into specific procedures.
5. *Evaluate action plans.* Monitor action plans by collecting data to determine if the plans are producing the intended consequences.

Invariably, the data collection and evaluation will trigger the cycle again; hence the process is continuous (see Figure 3.2).

IMPROVING SCHOOL CONTEXT

Although supervision of instruction is centered on classroom activities, the success of the process is directly linked to the school environment. Hence, the first step in the supervisory process is the development of a context for the systernatic study of teaching and learning. Building an atmosphere for effective supervision has two phases. First, the supervisor must be actively involved with the principal in developing a healthy school climate, one that is conducive to inquiry, analysis, critical examination, and improvement. Second, the supervisor must be intimately involved with teachers in establishing teachersupervisor colleague relationships. In both cases the goal is the same-to build

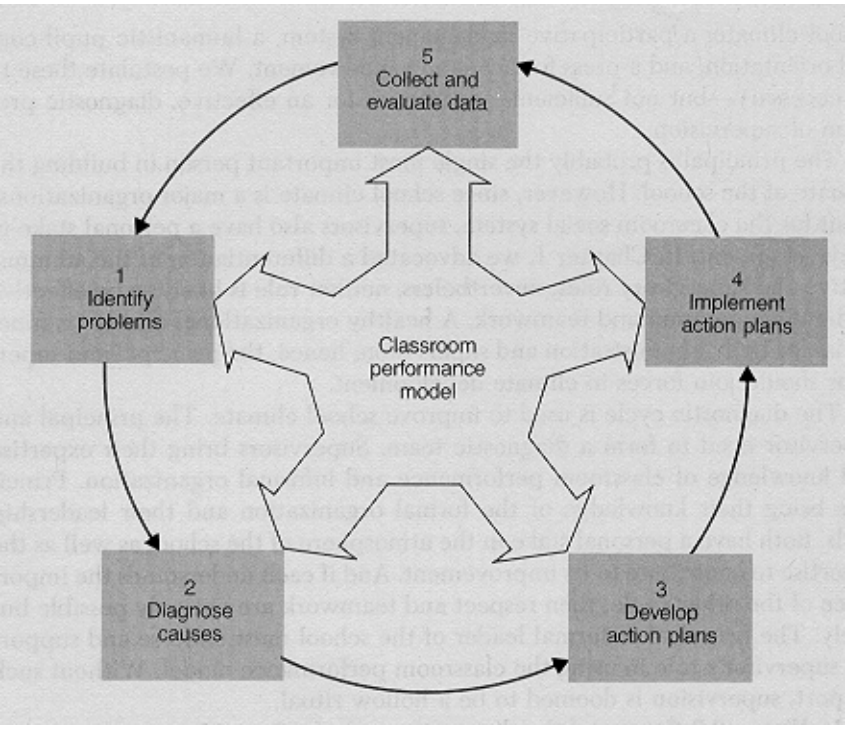

Figure 3.2 Key Phases in the Diagnostic Cycle

an atmosphere of trust and professionalism in which critical analysis leads to improvement.

School Climate

A. major task facing the supervisor is building a school climate conducive to instructional improvement. What kind of school climate is necessary? Effec tive supervision is most likely to occur in a ' nonthreatening atmosphere in which professionals can be open and authentic with each other; in which su pervisors, teachers, and adminstrators work together to enhance the teaching learning process; and in which satisfaction comes from both task accomplish ment and social need fulfillment. The management system of such a school would be participative and characterized by supportive leadership, high moti vation, close interpersonal relationships, teamwork, cooperation, sharing, group loyalty, responsibility for one's actions,, trust, confidence, and high per formance goals. Moreover, the pupil-control orientation of the school would stress student self-discipline, the understanding of deviant student behavior, warm and supportive relationships, and the creation of an atmosphere that is open to meet student'needs. Finally, effective schools are typically character ized by expectations and values that emphasize student achievement and growth.[23] Thus, the basic objectives. in climate development are an open

school climate, a participative management system, a humanistic pupil-control orientation, and a press for academic achievement. We postulate these to be necessary-but not sufficient--conditions for an effective, diagnostic program of supervision.

The principal is probably the single most important person in building the climate of the school. However, since school climate is a major organizational input for the classroom social system, supervisors also have a personal stake in its development. In Chapter 1, we advocated a differentiation of the administrative and supervisory roles; nevertheless, neither role is likely to be effective without, cooperation and teamwork. A healthy organizational climate is functional for both administration and supervision; hence, the principal and supervisor should join forces in climate development.

The diagnostic cycle is used to improve school climate. The principal and supervisor need to form a diagnostic team. Supervisors bring their expertise and knowledge of classroom performance and informal organization. Principals bring their knowledge of the formal organization and their leadership skills. Both have a personal stake in the atmosphere of the school as well as the expertise to contribute to its improvement. And if each understands the importance of the other's role, then respect and teamwork are not only possible but likely. The principal as formal leader of the school must endorse and support the supervisor's role in using the classroom performance model. Without such support, supervision is doomed to be a hollow ritual.

In Figure 3.3 the use of the diagnostic cycle for improving context is outlined. The first step for the principal and supervisor in the diagnostic cycle is to *identify problems* within the context. Problems in this case are discrepancies between the desired and actual climate characteristics. In particular, the conceptual capital presented in Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 provides the tools for analysis and diagnosis. Openness, participativeness, humanism, and a press for academic achievement are the desired organizational features. For the principal such characteristics are expected outcomes, and for supervisors they are needed inputs for effective supervision; therefore climate discrepancies are problems to be diagnosed and solved by both the principal and supervisor.

Diagnosis of the causes of poor climate is the next step in the cycle. What are the impediments to openness in professional relationships, to participative management practices, to humanistic pupil control, and to an academic press? The Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ-RE), the Profile of a School, the Pupil-Control Ideology Form, and the Academic Press Index (see Chapter 7) are all measures that are useful in diagnosing the roots of climate problems. If, for example, there is little mutual confidence and trust on 'the part,of teachers and superiors, it may well be a function of nonsupportive administrative and supervisory behavior or of overt or covert conflict between the supervisor and principal. Teachers are persuaded more by deeds than by rhetoric. If there are tensions between supervisors and the principal, teachers will sense such conflict even if the principal and supervisors claim understanding and harmony.

Using experience, systematic observation, pertinent research, and relevant

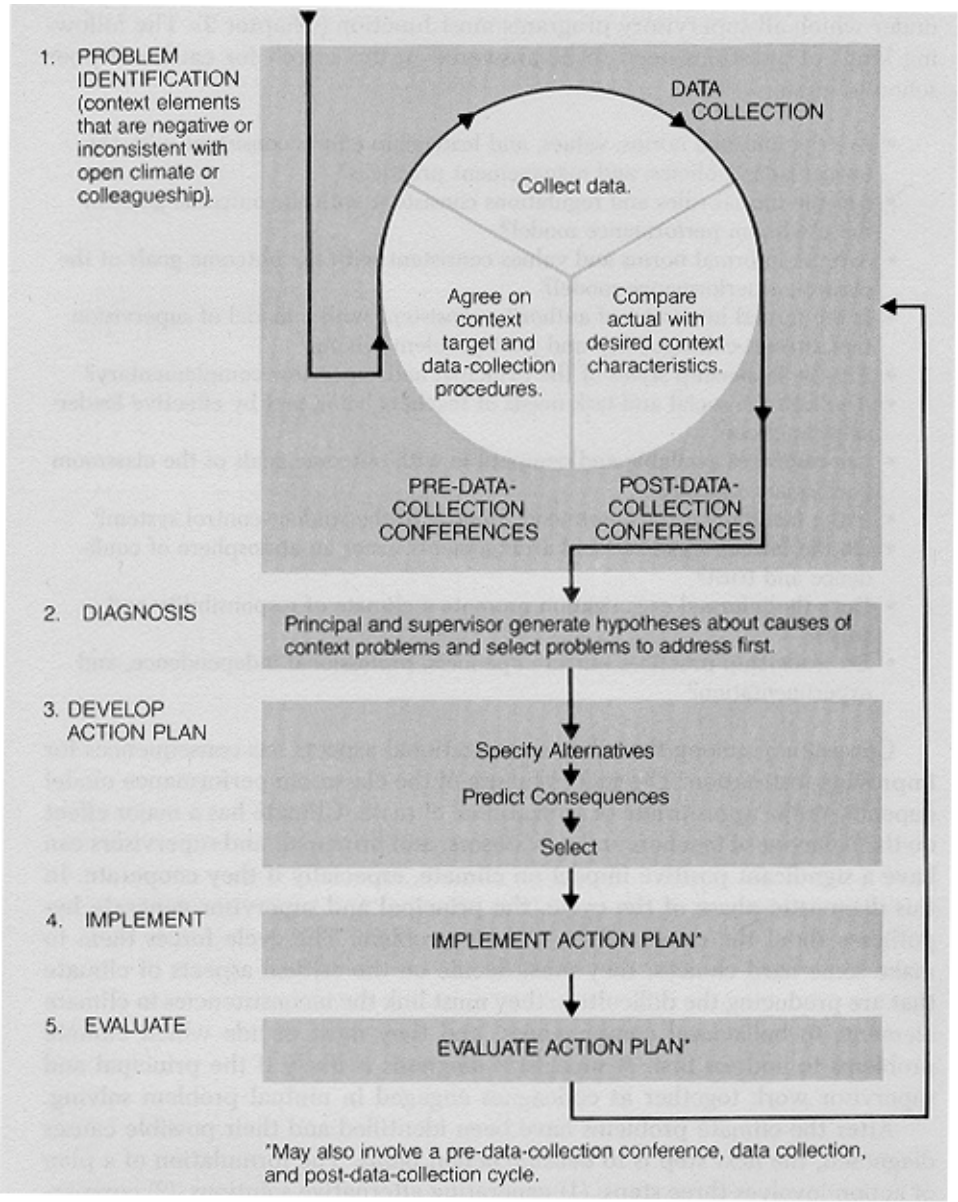

Figure 3.3 Diagnostic Cycle for Improving School Context,

conceptual knowledge, the principal-supervisor team must analyze the extent to which the key aspects of climate are consistent. Formal organization, informal organization, and leadership have been defined as critical aspects of school life. (organizational inputs) that directly influence the school climate; more'over,,school climate and resources provide the opportunities and constraints

under which all supervisory programs must function (Chapter 2). The following kinds of questions need to be answered in the search for causes of poor school climate:

> Are the informal norms, values, and leadership efforts consistent with the formal rules, policies, and management practices?
> Are the formal rules and regulations consistent with the outcome goals of the classroom performance model?
> Are the informal norms and values consistent with the outcome goals of the classroom performance model?
> Is the formal hierarchy of authority consistent with a model of supervision that stressescolleagueship and joint problem solving?
> Are the leadership styles of the principal and supervisor complementary?
> Are both the social and task needs of teachers being met by effective leadership practices?
> Are resources available and compatible with outcome goals of the classroom performance model?
> Is the faculty-control system consistent with the student-control system?
> Do the formal organizational arrangements foster an atmosphere of confidence and trust?
> Does the informal organization promote a climate of responsibility and trust?
> Do leadership practices nurture openness, professional independence, and experimentation?

Consistency among these key organizational aspects has consequences for improving instruction. The successful use of the classroom performance model depends on the appropriate organizational climate. Climate has a major effect on the behavior of teachers and supervisors; and principals and supervisors can have a significant positive impact on climate, especially if they cooperate. In this diagnostic phase of the cycle, the principal and supervisor generate hypotheses about the causes of the climate problem. The cycle forces them to make some hard choices; they must decide on the critical aspects of climate that are producing the difficulties; they must link the inconsistencies in climate elements to behavioral consequences; and they must decide which climate problems to address first. A successful diagnosis is likely if the principal and supervisor work together as colleagues engaged in mutual problem solving.

After the climate problems have been identified and their possible causes diagnosed, the next step is to develop *action plans.* The formulation of a plan of action involves three steps: (1) generating alternative solutions, (2) comparing possible solutions, and (3) selecting a strategy to be implemented. The process is the same for the supervisor-principal group working on solutions to climate problems as it is for the teacher-supervisor team solving classroom problems. Each of the proposed alternatives should be directed at overcoming the inconsistencies linked to the negative aspects of climate. Since there are typically many alternative solutions to any set of climate problems, each alternative must be evaluated in terms of its probable consequences and likelihood of success. The principal and supervisor must make predictions about the

effects of different strategies, an exercise that should help them evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of competing alternative solutions. Finally, the advantages and disadvantages of each alternative are weighed, and the principal and supervisor agree on the most favorable way to proceed. The selection of a strategy is the *initial* plan of action, which may be modified as progress toward the solution is monitored.

After the strategy for action has been designed, the next phase is to *implement the action plans.* Again cooperation between the principal and supervisor is crucial. The supervisor-a link between the teachers and the administration-is in a key role to help implement any change. Nadler suggests several general steps that seem useful in initiating change:

1. Use data on discrepancies to clarify dissatisfaction; that is, use data on discrepancies to create dissatisfaction.
2. Build participation into attempts to implement change; it reduces resistance.
3. Build in rewards for desired behavior. People tend to be motivated to behave in a manner they believe has desired outcomes; therefore both formal and informal rewards should be linked to needed behavior.
4. Give people time and opportunity to disengage from the current state. Plan enough in advance of the change to allow people, to prepare for the consequences of change.
5. Communicate a clear image of the future state of affairs. Resistance and confusion often develop because people are uncertain about the future.
6. Develop feedback mechanisms to monitor the progress of planned changes.
7. Assure the support of key power groups. Informal as well as formal leaders need to support the change. [24]

Finally, the last step in the diagnostic cycle is to *evaluate* the consequences of change. Once again, the use of climate measures such as **the OCDQ-RE, PCI,** and Profile of a School are us ' eful tools to determine if the climate of the school has changed in a positive direction. This last step often serves as the first in a renewed effort to improve other aspects of school climate.

The principal and supervisor working together can make a difference. They can have a major, positive impact on climate by determining the appropriate climate; by measuring the existing climate; by comparing the actual climate with the desired climate; by identifying priorities for climate development; and by planning and initiating actions to achieve the desired climate. An open, participative, humanistic, and academic climate is a prerequisite to an effective program of supervision.

Collegial Teacher-Supervisor Relationships

The second major task of developing the school c6ntext for effective supervision is preparing teachers for diagnostic supervision and joint problem solving using the classroom performance model. The process of establishing collegial and trusting relationships with teachers is in large part one of education and

socialization. Since in most schools supervision still means the rating of teachers' competence by administrators, teachers remain wary of the rhetoric of the new supervision. Colleagueship, partnership, teamwork, clinical supervision, professionalism, diagnostic supervision, shared decision making, and joint problem solving are greeted with skepticism if not open hostility. Thus, the supervisor's initial goal is to reduce the inevitable cynicism and anxiety when another new supervision program begins.

The first phase of establishing a healthy relationship with teachers should be devoted to the development of a spirit of professionalism and colleagueship. The philosophies, policies, practices, and expectations of the new supervisory techniques need explanation. The model of supervision described in Chapter 1 is a good beginning. The role of the supervisor as a staff person who supplies advice, shares knowledge, and is professionally committed to improve instruction and learning by direct and cooperative work with teachers should be developed and discussed. The separation of the administrative and supervisory roles is helpful. Supervisors are master teachers; they are colleagues, not administrators. Indeed, the professional confidentiality of the supervisor-teacher relationship must be nurtured if teachers and supervisors are to be open and candid with each other. The process of developing a sense of self-direction, experimentation, inquiry, and self-study in teachers is a slow and continuous one.

Teachers will not be convinced by words alone that supervisors . are col leagues and not superiors. Supervisors will have to demonstrate by their be havior that their first responsibility is helping teachers to improve instruction; that they are not extensions of the hierarchy; and that their professional diag nostic-supervisional relationship will be severely undermined if teachers fear that they are talking to others about them.

Likewise, principals have to demonstrate by their behavior that they respect the supervisor's teacher-colleague role. Principals must avoid placing supervisors in compromising positions by asking them, formally or informally, for privileged information about teachers. Principals can and must understand and protect the integrity of the supervisory role. The nature of the teacher-supervisor relationship should be clarified and illustrated by the words and actions of both principal and supervisor. Moreover, a system-wide policy should be formulated that endorses the integrity and confidentiality ofthe teachersupervisor relationship.

After the philosophy and structure of the new supervision are understood, the centrality and details of the classroom performance model (see Chapter 2) must be introduced. The model is the foundation of a systematic study of instruction. Teachers must not only understand the technical details of the framework; they must also have or develop the professional orientation necessary to implement it. The model identifies five key areas in which both the teacher and supervisor must have expertise-student needs, teacher needs, the teaching task, formal classroom arrangements, and classroom climate. Moreover, the use of the model requires that the basic performance outcomes of teaching be identified. The teacher and supervisor jointly determine the desired teacher behavior in the classroom, goals for individual student develop

ment, and achievement goals for the class as a whole. The supervisory team must also agree on appropriate measures for each performance output. Thus, improvement of instruction is jointly defined as the attainment of specific, measurable objectives in teacher behavior, student growth, and class achievement.

Building the appropriate atmosphere rests on the assumption that teachers are professionals who have a service ideal and who are most effective when given opportunities to work with colleagues, to initiate action, and to become self-directed. Thus, the school structure should encourage, not restrict, professional initiative. Despite the pressure from unions for increases in extrinsic rewards (more money, shorter hours, more benefits), the teacher subculture still extols the service ideal of giving more than one receives; the ideal teacher is thought to be "dedicated to teaching."25

Contemporary research suggests that teachers do receive their major rewards from classroom activities. 26 Lortie, for example, found that teachers "fused the idea of work gratification and the idea of work goals; they made little distinction between deriving satisfaction from their work and reaching classroom objectives."27 The core rewards for teachers are tied to making a difference with students; therefore much of a teacher's work motivation will be linked directly to the actual instruction of students.

The model of supervision that we are proposing places strong emphasis on teacher autonomy and colleagueship. Moreover, the heart of the supervisory process is the study and improvement of instruction in the classroom. Hence, success in the process should in itself provide strong motivation and gratification for most teachers. In brief, an open, participatory school climate with.a clear academic press and professional relationships that stress cooperation, experimentation, and self-study are requisite conditions for diagnostic supervision.

Preparation for the actual study of specific classroom behavior may take a year or more of hard work by the principal, teachers, and supervisor. The school climate may have to be dramatically altered; the principal-supervisor relationship may require major restructuring; and the teacher-supervisor relationship will need to undergo a transformation from bureaucratic to professional. Furthermore, the technical details and processes of the classroom performance model must be understood and mastered.

IMPROVING CLASSROOM PERFORMANCE

In the preceding section the diagnostic cycle was applied to the organizational context of the school to develop a healthy, open, and authentic environment. The same diagnostic cycle is used to improve classroom performance, but instead of concentrating on context problems, attention is now shifted to the individual classroom.

Both classroom and school are in a constant state of change; hence, supervisors and teachers must continually engage in problem-identification and problem-solving activities in order to improve the teaching-learning process.

If performance is to be improved, teachers and supervisors need systematically to collect data on performance, compare these results to desired performance levels, jointly identify problems (discrepancies between actual and desired performance), use the classroom performance model to identify possible causes of problems, develop and select action plans, implement them, and evaluate the outcomes. The process is cyclic, with the evaluation of outcomes as the beginning of a new diagnostic cycle.

The classroom performance model is the hub of the diagnostic cycle. It provides the analytic tools to identify the problems, to diagnose causes, to develop action plans, to implement them, and to guide evaluation and data collection (see Figure 3.2). The model can be easily made an integral feature of a supervisory process that stresses joint planning and shared decision.making between teacher and supervisor. Moreover, the more familiar the supervisor is with the research and theory relevant to the different matches in the mod . el, the more likely the model is to be an effective supervisory tool.

Clinical supervision, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, consists of a set of steps in a single cycle of preobservation conference, observation, and postobservation conference. It centers on teacher lesson planning and execution (see Figure,3.4). The scope of supervision advocated in this text is substantially broader. It includes a series of diagnostic cycles aimed first at the organizational context of the school and subsequently at the classroom. In both cases, the diagnostic cycles constitute a process for identifying and diagnosing problems, developing action plans, and implementing and evaluating those action plans. Each diagnostic cycle may incorporate several rounds of pre-datacollection conferences, data-collection episodes, and post-data-collection conferences of the type used in clinical supervision. Figure 3.5 is a representation

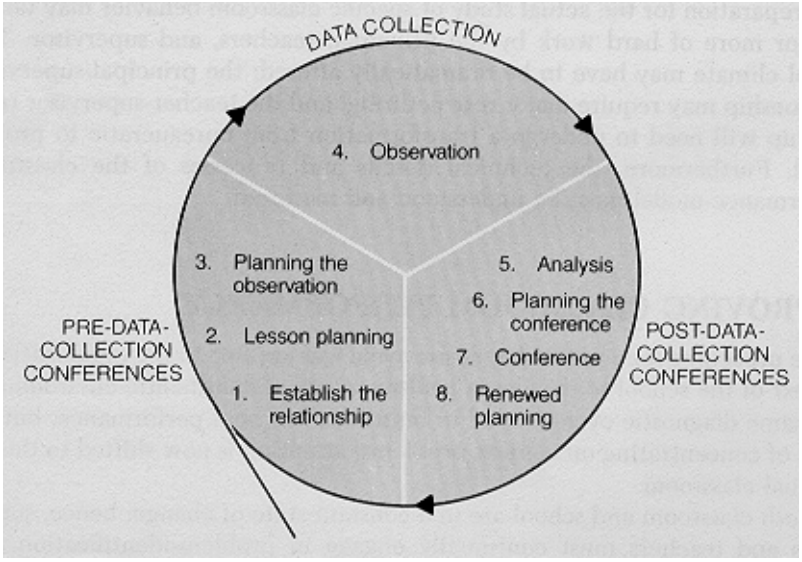

Figure 3.4 Clinical Supervision Cycle

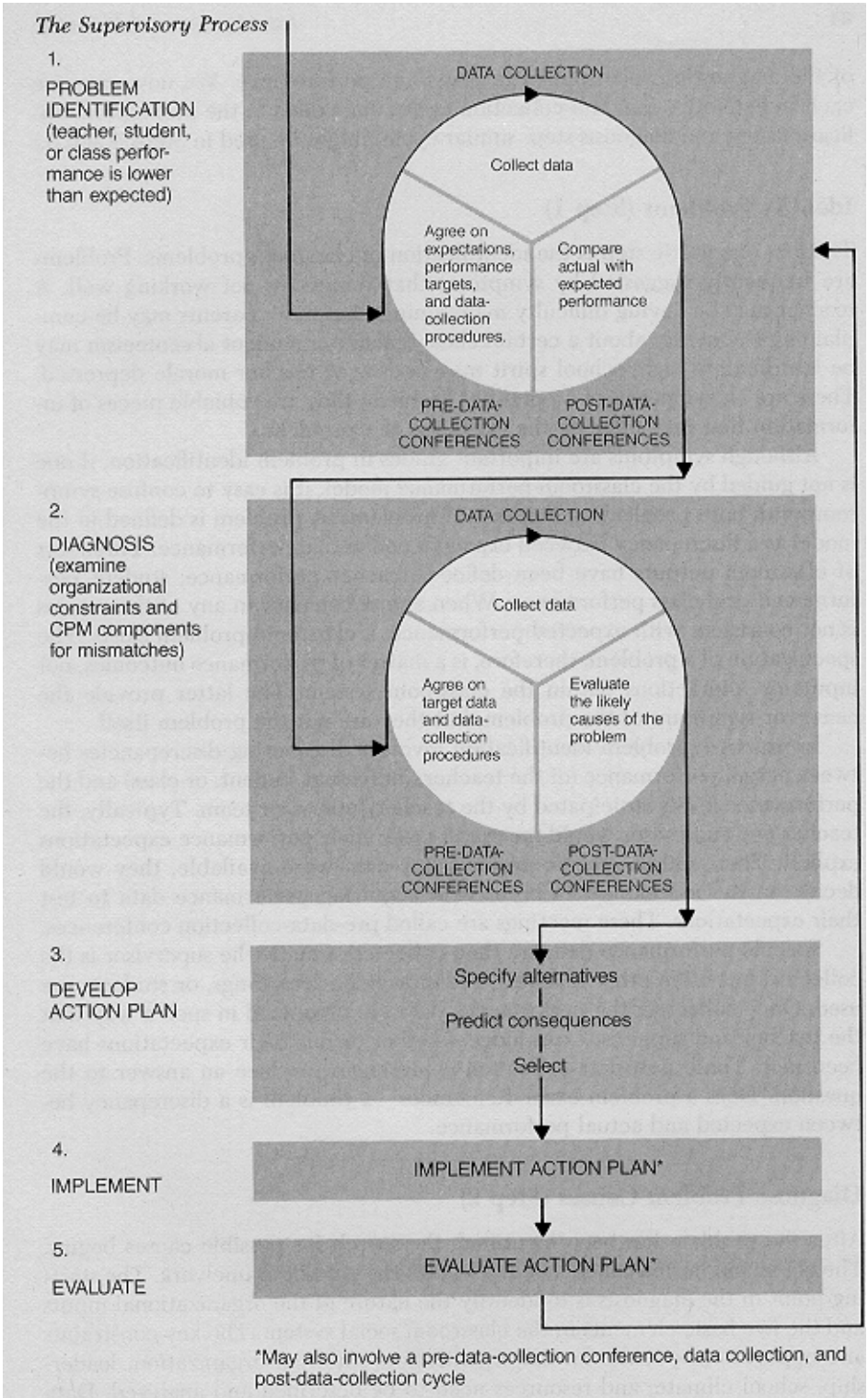

Figure 3.5 Diagnostic Cycle for Improving Classroom Performance

of the diagnostic cycle applied to classroom performance. We now examine each step. (Notice the data-collection cycles embedded in the problem identification step and diagnosis step; similar cycles might be used in Steps 4 and 5.)

Identify Problems (Step 1)

The first diagnostic step is the identification of classroom problems. Problems are frequently suggested by symptoms that things are not working well. A teacher may be having difficulty maintaining discipline; parents may be complaining frequently about a certain class; teacher or student absenteeism may be inordinately high; school spirit may be low or teacher morale depressed. These are all symptoms of a potential problem; they are valuable pieces of information that may indicate the existence of a problem.

Although symptoms are important guides in problem identification, if one is not guided by the classroom performance model, it is easy to confuse symptoms with both problems and causes of problems. A problem is defined in the model'as a discrepancy between expected and actual performance. Three sets of classroom outputs have been defined: teacher performance, student performance, and class performance. When actual behavior in any of these areas is not consistent with expected performance, a classroom problem exists. The specification of a problem, therefore, is a matter of performance outcomes, not inputs or interactions within the classroom system. The latter provide the causes or symptoms of the problem, but they are not the problem itself.

In practice, problem identification involves discovering discrepancies between actual performance (of the teacher, individual student, or class) and the performance levels anticipated by the teacher-supervisor team. Typically, the teacher and supervisor would meet and make their performance expectations explicit. Then, unless specific performance data were available, they would decide on the mechanism to be used in acquiring performance data to test their expectations. These meetings are called pre-data-collection conferences.

Specific performance data are then collected; usually the supervisor is the collector, but often other teachers, audio or video recordings, or students are used. Once collected, the performance data are organized in such a way that the teacher and supervisor can judge whether or not their expectations have been met. These post-data-collection conferences produce an answer ' to the question: Does a problem exist? Remember-a problem is a discrepancy between expected and actual performance.

Diagnose -Problem Causes (Step 2)

After the problem has been identified, the search for possible causes begins. The classroom performance model provides the guiding framework. The starting point in the diagnosis is to identify the nature of the organizational inputs and the five basic elements in the classroom social system. The key constraints and opportunities of the formal organization, informal organization, leadership, school climate, and resources need to be described and analyzed. Data

about the students, teacher, teaching task, formal classroom arrangement, and informal classroom climate are also collected. For each component the investigation should explore the underlying aspects considered most significant in the particular classroom context. The point here, of course, is to focus on key dimensions of each variable rather than attempting to analyze "everything"; such an approach makes the analysis manageable rather than overwhelming. As in problem identification, the collection of data about organizational constraints and components of the classroom performance model usually requires a series of pre-data-collection conferences, one or more data-collection episodes, and post-data-co'llection analyses.

The crucial step of assessing the matches between each pair of components is performed in post-data-collection conferences. The eleven matches defined by the model, including the extent to which the internal structure of classroom components is consistent with the broader school constraints, must be analyzed. Figure 3.6 provides a review of some of the critical issues necessary to diagnose the extent to which the key components are consistent with each other.

A lack of congruence (mismatches) between major components has nega tive consequences for classroom behavioral outcomes. The diagnosis of these mismatches in the system needs to be linked to the problems identified in the first step of the process. That is, after describing the components and assessing their congruence, the next step is to relate mismatches to problems. Which mismatches account for or explain the performance problems that have been identified? It is at this point that the supervisor and teacher generate hypoth eses about the problem causes, a critical aspect of diagnosis.

The diagnostic phase of the cycle forces the supervisory team (supervisor and teacher) to make some hard decisions. The team must decide on the most crucial aspects of each component; it must determine the mismatches in the system; it must link the mismatches to behavioral consequences related to the problem;:and it must decide which problem to attack first. None of these decisions is either obvious or easy. There are many diagnoses for any set of classroom problems. A "best diagnosis" is not possible; the supervisor and teacher will have to settle simply for one that leads to the eventual solution to the problem.

Develop Action Plans (Step 3)

After identifying the critical problems and the relationships between system mismatches and classroom performance, the next phase of the process is to develop a strategy for action. This phase involves at least three steps: specifying alternatives, anticipating consequences, and deliberating on and selecting the alternatives for action.

Specify Alternatives. The search ' for alternatives to, solve particular classroom problems is typically straightforward. The process reflects simplified notions of causality and rests on two simple rules: (1) search in the problem areas

Match	Crucial Issues
Teacher ↔ Climate	To what extent are teacher needs supported by the classroom climate?
Student ↔ Climate	To what extent are student needs met by the classroom climate?
Teacher ↔ Task	To what extent are teacher needs met by the teaching task? Does the teacher have the skills and abilities to achieve the task?
Student ↔ Task	To what extent are student needs met by what is taught? Do the students have the abilities and interests to accomplish the task?
Student ↔ Teacher	To what extent are student and teacher needs consistent?
Task ↔ Climate	Does the classroom climate facilitate the teaching task? Does the classroom climate hinder or promote the demands of learning?
Task ↔ Formal Structure	Do the formal classroom arrangements facilitate the teaching-learning process? Do the formal classroom arrangements motivate behavior consistent with the task demands?
Teacher ↔ Formal Structure	To what extent are teacher needs met by the formal classroom arrangements?
Student ↔ Formal Structure	To what extent are student needs met by the formal classroom arrangements? To what extent do students have a clear perception of classroom expectations—the convergence of student and teacher goals?
Formal Structure ↔ Climate	To what extent are the goals, rewards, and norms of the informal classroom organization consistent with those of the formal organization?
Classroom ↔ School	To what extent is the internal structure of the classroom components consistent with the broader school constraints?

Figure *3.6* Definitions of Match Between System Components

and (2) search in the area of component mismatches. Although such search is basically reactive, it will probably be the dominant pattern. But as-James G. Thompson has suggested, "opportunistic surveillance" is possible; behavior-monitoring procedures can be developed to search the environment for opportunities that are not activated by a problem. [28] Clearly, a search process that encourages opportunistic surveillance is more desirable than one that allows only for problemistic search.

A preliminary step in formulating an action plan is to generate as many al-

ternatives as possible. Each of these possible interventions should be directed at overcoming system mismatches linked to the negative behaviors associated with the problem. As we have noted, there may be many diagnoses for any set of classroom problems, and more than one action plan may lead to the solution of the problem. Thus, the development of a set of effective alternatives typically requires (1) a willingness of supervisors and teachers to work cooperatively as colleagues, (2) the use of divergent and creative thinking patterns, and (3) time to develop a set of competing alternatives. In general, the greater the number of alternative solutions generated, the greater the likelihood of finding a satisfactory solution.

Anticipate Consequences. Since there are usually many alternate solutions to a particular set of classroom problems, each alternative that is developed must be evaluated in terms of its probable consequences and relative merits. By and large, predicting the consequences of proposed alternative solutions is hazardous. On some matters-for example, those involving financial costs-accurate predictions of consequences can be made; however, when trying to anticipate the reactions of individuals or groups (especially students), the results are typically much more problematic. A number of questions about the proposed solutions must be considered. Do the alternatives come from system mismatches? Does one alternative provide a more adequate solution to the mismatches than do others? To what extent are dysfunctional behavioral consequences likely? It is quite possible to solve one problem and, at the same time, create several others in the process. For example, the formal classroom arrangement may be adjusted to better meet the teacher's needs, but such a change might produce inconsistencies in the matches between teacher and formal structure, and between formal structure and climate. Since the classroom system is a highly interdependent, open system, careful evaluation of both manifest and latent consequences of alternative actions must be considered on the basis of theory, research, and experience. The teacher and supervisor must reflectively anticipate the consequences of each alternative action. It is imperative that the supervisory team consider the extent to which the proposed intervention addresses the problem as well as the latent, dysfunctional consequences of the proposed solutions.

Deliberate and Select Alternatives. The final step in developing an action plan is the deliberate analysis of the alternative solutions and consequences. The advantages and disadvantages of the various interventions should be weighed carefully by the supervisory team. The teacher and supervisor must reach agreement about the most favorable way to solve the classroom problems. Occasionally a series.of alternate steps are linked in sequential order to provide an action strategy; the more complex the problem situation, the more likely the need for a complex solution. The selection of a plan of action in no way implies an ultimate solution; on the contrary, the choice is a first approximation that will probably be changed and refined as progress toward the problem solution is monitored.

Implement Action Plans (Step 4)

Once a plan of action has been formulated, the decision needs to be implemented. For the most part, the teacher is the key because classroom changes will typically be initiated by him or her. Thus, the teacher must be both committed to and confident in the plan; it must be the "teacher's plan." Intervention plans forced by the supervisor are doomed to failure. Consensus on plans is imperative.

Action plans should be translated into specific procedures. For example, a plan to change the formal organizational classroom arrangements should contain the mechanics and specific details of action. What steps have to be taken? When? How? By whom? The actions to be implemented must be realistic and consistent with the capabilities of those involved. It is quite possible to diagnose accurately the basic causes of a problem and still have great difficulty solving it. It should be emphasized once again that there is no single way to solve most problems, and a number of action plans can have the same outcomes; hence, it may be necessary to rethink action plans if it becomes apparent that the specific steps to implement a given intervention are impossible or unlikely.

This phase of the process deals directly with the problems of initiating change in an ongoing system. Nadler identifies three basic problems associated with implementing change.29 First, individuals are likely to resist change because it produces uncertainty and anxiety. Second, change frequently disrupts the basic control structure of the system. Finally, the uncertainty created by change produces ambiguities that increase the likelihood of political activity. If change is to be effective, the problems of resistance, control, and power must be addressed .[30]

Evaluate Action Plans (Step 5)

After the action plans have been implemented, they must be monitored and evaluated. Are theplans working in the manner in which they were intended? Specifically, are the expected outcomes being attained? What are the unanticipated consequences, if any?'In order to answer these kinds of questions, data from the classroom must be systematically collected and then carefully analyzed.

The monitoring and collecting of data are guided by the expected classroom outcomes that have been jointly agreed upon by the teacher and superVisor. Certainly, reliable and valid data-collection instruments and procedures are imperative and should be determined by the supervisory team. The evaluative phase of the diagnostic cycle is critical; it provides the information both for assessing past practices and guiding renewed effort and planning. Thus, evaluation is both an end and a beginning. Information about the classroom's and organization's responses to the implemented action plans can be used to refine the intervention to more fully fit the system's needs and to deal with any negative, unanticipated consequences and change. The evaluation step closes the loop and starts the cycle again (see Figure 3.5).

SUMMARY

We have argued that the supervisory system described here addresses the inherent weaknesses present in conventional and clinical supervision. The scheme has two basic, interrelated phases. The first phase, *improving school context,* consists of developing an open, participatory school climate and establishing colleagueship in teacher-supervisor relationships. A diagnostic cycle is used to identify ~context problems, diagnose them, develop a planned intervention, implement it, and evaluate it. The principal, or supervisor together with. the principal, uses the process until the school community is prepared for the second phase.

In the second phase, *improving classroom performance,* the diagnostic cycle is again used, first to uncover performance problems (teacher, student, or class performance), and then to find their likely causes. As before, the process results in a planned intervention, implementation, and evaluation.

In conclusion, the model and process of supervision that we have developed guide action toward the improvement of instruction. Improvement is defined by the teacher and supervisor as the elimination of discrepancies between the desired and actual performance outcomes at three levels-teacher, individual student, and class. In order for the process to be successful, an open, participatory, and professional climate must exist. To that end the principal and supervisor work as a team to confront organizational constraints and opportunities and to forge a school climate that nurtures systematic diagnosis and change. Moreover, teacher-supervisor relationships are based on professionalism, colleagueship, and trust. The classroom performance model provides the theoretical focus for a diagnostic cycle of supervision that encourages improvement of instruction through self-study and change. The remainder of the text provides an elaboration of the key elements of the classroom performance model and demonstrates the model and process with cases.

NOTES

1. For example, see Morris L. Cogan, *Clinical Supervision* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, *1973);* Robert Goldhammer, *Clinical Supervision: Special Methods for the Supervision of Teachers* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, *1969);* and Thomas J. Sergiovanni and Robert J. Starratt, *Supervision: Human Perspectives* (New York: McGraw-Hill, *1979).*
2. Charles A. Reavis, "Clinical Supervision: A Review of the Research," *Educational Leadership 35 (1978), 580-584.*
3. Goldhammer, *op. cit.*
4. Cogan, *op. cit., pp.* 10-12.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Cheryl G. Sullivan, *Clinical Supervision: A State of the Art Review* (Alexandria, Va.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *1980), p. 6.*
7. Reavis, *op. cit., pp. 580-584.*
8. Alice Denham, "Clinical Supervision: What We Need to Know About Its Votential for Improving Instruction," *Contemporary Education 49 (1977), 33-37.*

9. For example, see Robert J. Krajewski, "Clinical Supervision: To Facilitate Teacher Self-Improvement," ***Journal of Research and Development in Education*** 9 (1976), p. 6; and Sullivan, op. *cit., p.* 22.
10. Sullivan, op. *cit., p.* 30.
11. Nina Toren, "Semi-Professionalism and Social Work: A Theoretical Perspective," in Amitai Etzioni (ed.), ***The Serni-professions and Their Organization*** (New York: Free Press, 1969), p. 174.
12. For example, Yvonne M. Martin, Geoffrey B. Isherwood, and Socrates Rapagna, "Supervisory Effectiveness," ***Educational Administration Quarterly*** 14 (1978), 71-89.
13. Dan C. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in Amitai Etzioni (ed.), ***The Semi-professions and Their Organization*** (New York: Free Press, 1969), p. 4.
14. Ronald G. Corwin, ***Militant Professionalism*** (New York: Appleton-CenturyCrofts, 1970), pp. 220-221.
15, Patrick B. Forsyth and Thomas J. Danisiewicz, "Toward a Theory of Professionalization," Work ***and Occupations*** 12 (1985), 59-76.
16. Joseph A. Alutto and James A. Belasco, "A Typology for Participation. in Organizational Decision Making," ***Administrative Science Quarterly*** 17 (1972), 117-125.
17. Toren, op. *cit., p.* 179.
18, R. jean Hills, "On Accountability in Education," ***Educational Administration Quarterly 10*** (1974), 1-17.
19. Edward L. Deci, "The Hidden Costs of Rewards," ***Organizational Dynamics*** 4 (1976), 61-72.
20. Edwin A. Locke, "The Supervisor as 'Motivator': His Influence on Employee Performance and Satisfaction," in Richard M. Steers and Lyman W. Porter, Mo***tivation and Work Behavior*** (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), p. 387.
21. Sullivan, op. *cit., pp.* 26-27.
22. The diagnostic cycle and its application draw heavily on the work of David A. Nadler and Michael Tushman, "A Congruence Model for Diagnosing Organizational Behavior," in David A. Kolb, Irwin M. Rubin, and James M. McIntyre (eds.), ***Organizational Psychology: A Book of Readings*** (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), pp. 442-458.
23. Rudolf H. Moos, ***Evaluating Educational Environments*** (San Francisco: JosseyBass, 1979). See also Steven Bossert *et al.,* "The Instructional Management Role of the Principal," ***Educational Administration Quarterly*** 18 (1982), 34-64.
24. Nadler, op. cit., pp. 200-205.
25. Dan C. Lortie, ***Schoolteacher.*** *A* ***Sociological Study*** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 102.
26. ***Ibid., pp.*** 102-108.
27. ***Ibid., p.*** 102.
28. James G. Thompson, ***Organizations in Action*** (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), pp. 151-153, 158.
29. David A. Nadler, "Managing Organizational Change: An Integrative Perspective," ***The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*** 17 (1981), 191-211.
30. ***Ibid., p.*** 199.

PART TWO

Organizational Context

Although teaching in most public schools still occurs largely within the confines of the classroom, it is influenced by the larger social system of the school. Consequently, if we are to develop a comprehensive view of improv ing instruction, it is necessary first to examine and study the organizational context of teaching and supervision. What are the major elements of the school organization that influence classroom behavior? What are the opportunities and constraints produced by these organizational forces? Four critical aspects of school organization are identified and analyzed in this section of the book.

The analysis of the school organization begins by reviewing the key elements of formal structure. To what extent is the school a bureaucracy? What are the positive and negative consequences of bureaucratic structure? To what extent do rules, regulations, hierarchy, impersonality, and division of labor facilitate or impe& supervision? Chapter 4 addresses these' questions as well as the general issue of how different formal structures in schools-simple structure, machine bureaucracy, simple bureaucracy, simple professional bureaucracy, and professional bureaucracy-provide structural constraints and opportunities for joint supervision using the classroom performance model developed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5 informs us that many of the actual patterns of human interactions in schools are either inadequately represented by the formal organization or are not represented at all. Therefore, to understand organizational life, one must examine its informal as well as its formal aspects. The informal structure of a school develops from the formal as new sentiments-ones based on feelings of liking and disliking---emerge and lead to a more personal set of activities,and interactions. These new patterns of activities, sen-_ timents, and interactions are elaborated with the development of informal norms, informal leaders, cliques, myths, rituals, and informal communication and control networks. Supervisors must not only learn to understand the in-

formal social structure of the school; if they are to be effective, they. also need to earn informal authority from their teacher colleagues. Supervisory styles that promote informal authority and trust are examined as well as the critical, positive functions of the informal organization.

Leadership in a school is another crucial aspect of the organization that sets the scene for the supervisory process. The leadership styles and initiatives of both the principal and supervisor influence the behavior of teachers. When should leaders be starkly task-oriented and when should they be primarily concerned with human relations? Both the goals of the organization and the needs of the individual teachers need to be met. But how? What should be the relationships among the leadership initiatives of teachers, supervisors, and principals? Chapter 6 addresses these questions and the more general issue of contingency theories for effective leadership.

The general way in which teachers perceive the school's work environment is also related to classroom performance. In Chapter 7 we develop the notion of organizational climate as a synthesizing concept that is affected by the formal organization, informal organization, and leadership style of the principal and that in turn influences the teaching-learning process. School climate is viewed from a number of aspects --- openness, health, custodialism, and participation. A common element that runs through all the climate perspectives is trust; in fact, we argue throughout our analyses that effective long-term supervision is unlikely without a trusting relationship between the supervisor and the teachers.

Chapter 8 gives the reader an opportunity to begin to apply the process and model. The Osen Case depicts the contextual constraints on supervision. The principal and supervisor meet and diagnose the school context in terms of its suitability for effective supervision. The case illustrates how a plan is developed and implemented as the faculty and administration begin a longterm program of instructional improvement through collegial supervision. The Osen Case is limited to the development of the organizational context. We will return to and build on our application in Chapter 15.

CHAPTER 4

Formal Organization of Schools

The formal structure of an organization is its attempt to make behavior more predictable and rational by standardizing and regulating activities. Frequently the term "bureaucracy" is used as an epithet to describe an organizational structure characterized by slowness, rigidity, red tape, and inefficiency. That is not the way the term will be used in this text. On the contrary, we consider "bureaucracy" as an analytic construct to describe the basic structural features of most modern organizations. Our usage derives from and begins with the theoretical analysis of Max Weber, who saw bureaucratization as the rationalization of collective action.' He analyzes bureaucracies as formal authority structures, systems of legitimate social control, and he distinguishes among three types of authority according to the kind of legitimacy typically claimed

[2]

by each.

Charismatic authority rests on devotion to an extraordinary individual who is leader by virtue of personal thrust or exemplary qualities. [3] Charismatic authority tends to be nonrational, affective, or emotional and rests heavily on the leader's personal qualities and characteristics. The authority of the charismatic leader results primarily from his or her overwhelming personal appeal, and typically a common value orientation emerges within the group to produce an intense normative commitment to and identification with the person. Thus, students may obey classroom directives because of a teacher's personal "mystique."

Traditional authority is anchored in an established belief in the sanctity of the status of those exercising authority in the past. [4] Obedience is owed to the traditionally sanctioned position of authority, and the person who occupies the position inherits the authority established by custom. In a school, for example, students may accept the authority of the position of the teacher because their parents and grandparents did so before them.

Legal-rational authority is based on enacted laws that can be changed by formally correct procedures. Obedience is not owed to a person or position per se but to the laws that specify to whom and to what extent people owe compliance. Legal authority thus extends only within the scope of the authority Vested in the office by law. [5] Obedience is owed to the impersonal principles

that govern the operation of the organizatiom Rules governing behavior are precisely and explicitly formulated, and role relations are prescribed independently of the personal characteristics of those who occupy positions. Weber views bureaucracy, with its rational-legal authority structure, to be technically superior to all other forms of organization. What are the distinctive characteristics of formal structure and the bureaucratic principles that govern behavior?

WEBER'S BUREAUCRATIC MODEL

Virtually all organizations of any size have many of the trappings- of bureaucracy specified by Weber--division of labor and specialization, impersonality, hierarchy of authority, rules and regulations, and career opportunities.

Division of Labor and Specialization.- Weber proposed that "the regular activities required for the purposes of the bureaucratically governed structure are distributed in a fixed way as official duties. [6] Since, tasks in most organiza-, tions are too complex to be performed by a single individual, division of labor among positions is not only convenient but produces a high degree of specialization. I - n schools, for example, division of labor is frequently found as teachers specialize by level--~elementary or secondary-and by subject-math, science, English, history and so forth.

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

Impersonality. Weber argued that the working atmosphere of a bureaucracy should reflect "the dominance of a spirit of formalistic impersonality, 'sine ira et studio,' without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm."7 Employees in bureaucracies are expected to make decisions on the basis of facts, not feelings. Such affective detachment in interactions with subordinates fosters impartiality and promotes objectivity. For rationality to prevail, personal considerations must give way to relevant data. Impersonality on the part of administrators, supervisors, and teachers therefore enhances equitable treatment of individuals and promotes rational organizational thought and action.

Hierarchy of Authority. Offices are arranged hierarchically in bureaucracies; that is, "each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one."8 This bureaucratic characteristic is made apparent in the organizational chart; authority and power flow downward, with the superintendent at the top and assistants, directors, principals, vice-principals, teachers, and students at successively lower levels.

Hierarchy is probably the most pervasive attribute of modern organiza

tions. Almost without exception, large organizations develop a well-established system of superordination and the disciplined compliance to directives from superiors that is essential for implementing the various tasks and functions of an organization.

Rules and Regulations. Weber asserted that every bureaucracy has a "consistent system of abstract rules which have normally been intentionally establisbed. Furthermore, administration of law is held to consist in the application of these rules to particular cases."9 The system of rules covers the rights and duties inherent in each position and helps employees better understand their roles. Rules and regulations promote behavioral consistency as well as a Continuity of operations when there are changes in personnel. Thus rules and regulations ensure uniformity and stability of employee actions.

Career Opportunity. Weber maintained that employment in a bureaucratic prganization "constitutes a career. There is a system of 'promotions' according to seniority or to achievement, or both."10 Employment in bureaucracies rests on technical qualifications, and employees are typically concerned with advancement and achievement in their work. Individuals with specialized skills need to be protected from arbitrary dismissal or denial of promotion. They are protected in the sense that superiors are encouraged to make dispassionate decisions. Bureaucracies also institutionalize protection through such devices as civil service and tenure. In addition, workers are rewarded for their bard work, expertise, and organizational loyalty by promotion and ascendancy in the hierarcby.

'**Efficiency.** To Weber, bureaucracy maximizes rational decision making and administrative efficiency: "Experience tends to universally show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization ... is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency."" Why? Division of labor and specialization produce experts, and experts with an impersonal orientation make technically correct, rational decisions based on facts. Once rational decisions have been made, the hierarchy of authority ensures disciplined compliance with directives and, along with rules and regulations, a well-coordinated system of implementation, uniformity, and stability in the operation of the organization. Finally, career opportunities within the organization provide an incentive for employees to be loyal to the organization and to produce extra effort. These bureaucratic characteristics function to maximize administrative efficiency because committed experts make rational decisions that are executed and coordinated in a disciplined way (see Table 4.1).

Ideal Type

Weber's conception of bureaucracy is an "ideal type." The construct is a pure type formed by abstracting and emphasizing basic tendencies and key elements of actual organizations. As Blau explains, "since perfect bureaucratiza

Table 4.1 Weber's Ideal Type

Bureaucratic Characteristic	Function	Consequence
Division of labor	Expertise	Efficiency
Impersonality	Rationality	
Hierarchy of authority	Disciplined compliance	
Rules and regulations	Conformity/ stability	
Career opportunity	Incentive	

tion is never fully realized, no empirical organization corresponds exactly to this scientific construct."12 The bureaucratic model identifies important characteristics that are present to varying degrees in most organizations. However, whether or not specialization, impersonality, hierarchy, rules and regulations, and career opportunities enhance administrative efficiency is not a matter of definition but rather a set of empirical questions for systematic'study. Hence, the model itself is neither correct nor incorrect but only more or less useful in analyzing and studying organizational behavior.

As an ideal type the Weberian model is useful for analyzing schools. Some schools are more bureaucratically structured than others. A given school can be more bureaucratized on one characteristic and less on another. As a conceptual scheme, the model raises important questions about organizing different kinds of formal bureaucracies such as schools., For example, under what conditions are the dimensions of school bureaucracy related in order to maximize efficiency?'Under what conditions does such an arrangement hinder efficiency? What are the constraints and opportunities of bureaucratic structure in schools for the supervision of instruction? Before analyzing the bureaucratic structure of schools and its consequences for supervision, however, contemporary criticisms and refinements of the model will be examined.

CRITICISMS OF THE BUREAUCRATIC MODEL

Weber's analysis of the formal structure of bureaucracy highlights only the functional consequences of efficiency and ignores the possibl& negative characteristics and dysfunctions of the structure. Hence, it is enlightening to consider each of the distinctive features of bureaucracy in terms of both positive and ,negative consequences.

Functions and Dysfunctions of the Model

Although division of labor and specialization can produce expertise, they also can produce boredom. The literature is filled with instances where such bore

dom engenders lower levels of productivity or produces employee searches for ways to make their work life more interesting. [13] Narrow specialization can -cause boredom; in fact, job enlargement and enrichment are frequently used to combat monotony by making the work more challenging and providing employees with more autonomy and responsibility.

Impersonality can improve rationality in decision making, but it can also produce a machinelike environment where people interact as robots rather than as unique individuals fulfilling their needs. Such an environment often produces low morale, which in turn impedes organizational efficiency.

Hierarchy of,authority enhances coordination, but often at the expense of communication. Every level in the hierarchy produces a potential communication block and an opportunity for distortion. Subordinates are reluctant to communicate to their superiors information that will make them look bad; in fact their inclination is to communicate only good things or things they think the ~oss wants to hear. [14]

Rules and regulations provide stability, coordination, and uniformity; however, they also often produce rigidity and goal displacement. Employees become so rule-oriented that they forget that rules and regulations are *means,* not ends in themselves. Such formalism and rigidity interfere with goal achievement, a point to which we will return shortly and that will be elaborated in the next section.

A career orientation facilitates efficiency by promoting employee loyalty to the organization, motivating maximum effort, and providing incentives for lifelong opportunities to grow and advance. Advancement and promotion, however, are based on seniority and achievement, which are often incompatible. For example, rapid promotion of high achievers frequently causes dissatisfaction among the loyal, conscientious, senior employees who are less creative.

' These potential dysfunctional consequences of each bureaucratic characteristic are overlooked in Weber's ideal type. Table 4.2 depicts the possible negative as well as positive functions of the Weberian model. The question for thoughtful administrators and supervisors is: Under what conditions does each characteristic lead to functional but *not* dysfunctional consequences?

Functions and Dysfunctions of Rules

To illustrate the analytic utility of the model we focus on Alvin Gouldner's analyses of organizational rules. [15] Most large, complex organizations have a

Table 4.2. Functions and Dysfunctions of the Weberian Model

Dysfunction		Bureaucratic Characteristic		Function
Boredom	←	Division of labor	→	Expertise
Low morale	←	Impersonality	→	Rationality
Distortions	←	Hierarchy of authority	→	Disciplined compliance
Rigidity	←	Rules and regulations	→	Stability
Conflict	←	Career opportunity	→	Incentive

system of rules and regulations to guide behavior. Schools, for example, are permeated by rules and regulations; in fact, most districts have elaborate policy manuals. Rules are ubiquitous because they serve important functions.

Organizational rules explain in concise and explicit terms specifically what is expected of employees. The *explication function* of rules makes it unnecessary to repeat routine directives. Rules serve as a system of communication to direct role performance, a system that is less ambiguous and more carefully formulated than hasty verbal commands.

Rules also have a *screening function;* they act as a buffer between the ad ministrator and his or her subordinates. Interestingly, rules provide a sense of egalitarianism because they can be applied equally to everyone. An adminis trator's refusal of a request can be justified on the grounds that the rules apply to everyone, superior and subordinate alike, and cannot be broken. ' Anger is then redirected at the impersonal rules and regulations. As Gouldner explains, rules impersonally support a claim to authority without forcing the leader to legitimize personal superiority; conversely, they permit a subordinate to ac cept directives without betraying his or her sense of being "any man's equal."16

Another purpose of rules is to serve a bargaining, or *"leeway," function.* Using formal rules as a bargaining device, superiors can often secure informal cooperation from their subordinates. *Not* enforcing certain rules and regulations can lead to the development of goodwill among subordinates and eventually extend the scope of cooperation between superiors and subordinates. Rules are serviceable because they create something that can be given up as well as given use.17

Organizational rules can also *legitimize punishment.* Once subordinates are given prior warning about the kind of behavior that will produce sanctions and the nature of the sanctions, punishment is legitimate. As Gouldner clearly notes, there is a deep-rooted feeling in our culture that punishment is permissible only when the offender knows *in advance* that certain behaviors are forbidden; ex post facto judgments are not permissible.'8 Consequently, rules not only legitimize but also impersonalize the administration of punishment.

For each functional consequence of rules that we have discussed, however, there is a corresponding potential negative result. Rules explicate, but they can also reinforce and preserve apathy by identifying the minimum level of acceptable behavior. Minimums become maximums. Some employees are apathetic because they know explicitly how little is required for them to remain secure. When apathy is fused with hostility, the scene is set for "organizational sabotage," which occurs when conforming to the letter of the rule violates the expressed spirit of the rule.19

Rules often do impersonalize relations and screen superiors from subordinates, but that protection may'become dysfunctional; goal displacement emerges and the rules become ends in themselves. By using rules to make important decisions, administrators and supervisors may focus attention on a rule orientation, often at the expense of more important goals. Thus, goal displacement undermines the very purpose for which the rules were intended. Instru

system of rules and regulations to guide behavior. Schools, for example, are permeated by rules and regulations; in fact, most districts have elaborate policy manuals. Rules are ubiquitous because they serve important functions.

Organizational rules explain in concise and explicit terms specifically what is expected of employees. The *explication function* of rules makes it unnecessary to repeat routine directives. Rules serve as a system of communication to direct role performance, a system that is less ambiguous and more carefully formulated than hasty verbal commands.

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mental means become terminal ends, producing a ritualistic and compulsive adherence to the rules and regulations and resulting in abandonment of the original purposes. Disciplined compliance with the regulations becomes an end in itself. These emphases yield rigidities that, left uncorrected, can undermine the purposes of the organization. In fact, as bureaucratic behavior becomes increasingly ritualistic, the familiar red tape and "technicism" become frequent symptoms of inefficiency. [20]

Although rules can legitimize punishment, they do so at a cost. When rules and punishment are pervasive, subordinates typically adopt an extremely legalistic stance. In effect, they become "Philadelphia lawyers," willing and often able to win a case on a technicality. In its extremeform, employees use legalism as an excuse for inactivity in any area not covered by a rule. When asked why one is not performing a reasonable task, the routine answer is, "there is no rule that says I have to." Such a response reflects a hostile climate-not a cooperative one.

The leeway function of rules-not enforcing them in exchange for informal cooperation-involves the risk of being too lenient. The classic example of this kind of permissiveness is seen in the indulgency pattern described in Gouldner's study of a factory in which few ifany rules were enforced; although superior-subordinate relations were friendly, productivity suffered. [21]

Both supervisors and administrators in schools are frequently tempted to gain control over teachers and ensure the reliability of their behavior by the use of rules and regulations. Such an emphasis often produces a number of negative consequences. First, teachers are likely to react negatively to such impersonal treatment; the enforcement of bureaucratic regulations simply increases the visibility of the hierarchical nature of the relationships and creates teacher resentment. Second, as we have already suggested, rules can become ends in themselves rather than the means to an end. For example, a supervisory rule that each teacher must always have five days of lesson plans available is likely to alienate many teachers as well as transform an instrumental means into a terminal end. Checking on lesson plans focuses attention on the teacher's subordinate role; teachers don't like it. Furthermore, some teachers will test the bureaucratic system to find what is an acceptable lesson plan. Then the goal becomes one of cranking out a series of acceptable plans merely to satisfy the regulation. Hence, the lesson ' plan---originally conceived as a means to plan systematically and to guide instruction-becomes a ritualistic end in itself; goal displacement has occurred.

Rules also provide teachers with simple solutions to problems. Unfortunately, teachers may become so bureaucratically oriented that they look to rules to solve complex problems, an approach that ignores individual differences in cases, decreases the search for viable alternatives, and produces an overreliance on regulations. Since supervisors provide a system of rules for teachers, teachers often devise their own regulations for students. The result is a rigidity of behavior that is unresponsive to the unique needs of individuals,be they teachers or students-and a mentality that there must be a rule or regulation for all occasions.

Although rules and regulations do produce reliability and conformity in behavior, they also frequently generate overconformity and rigidities in behavior; hence, the very elements designed to produce efficiency in school organizations may ultimately undermine it. Teachers develop ritualistic attitudes that hinder the solution of classroom problems. Behavioral rigidities, difficulties with the complexities of the classroom, and conflict with students reinforce the need for more control and regulation. Hence, the unintended and dysfunctional consequences of bureaucratic rules and regulations tend to reinforce their need and further use.

School administrators and supervisors must learn how to anticipate and avoid the negative consequences of bureaucratic rules. Rules are an organizational reality; they are useful. Yet they produce difficulties. The crucial question is: How can the positive consequences of rules be maximized and the negative results minimized? (See Table 4.3.) Gouldner's research provides some direction. [22] Based on the predominance of different sets of rules used in organizations, he identifies three types of organizational structures:

> *Mock* bureaucracy-rules are imposed on the group by some outside agency, and neither workers nor administration support them.
> Punishment-centered bureaucracy-rules are unilaterally defined and enforced by either the administration or other organizational participants, but not jointly.
> Representative bureaucracy-rules are developed and enforced within the organization by both the administration and other organizational participants.

Although the typology can be used to classify organizations according to which class of rules predominates, the distinctions can also be applied to rules within a single organization.

Mock rules cause little tension and conflict because they are not enforced; in fact, relationships tend to be friendly and cooperative as long as enforcement is withheld. Although strategic nonenforcement of certain rules facilitates the leeway function of rules in a number of situations, the ever-present danger exists that indulgency will become the norm. When no rules are implemented, the indulgency pattern produces good social relations-but at the expense of productivity. In schools the main feature of this kind of organization is the conspicuously friendly manner of the principal, supervisors, and teachers. Yet the teachers are disengaged from teaching, primarily because

Table **4.3. Functions and Dysfunctions of Bureaucratic Rules**

Function	Rules	Dysfunction
Explication	⟷	Apathy reinforcement
Screening	⟷	Goal displacement
Leeway	⟷	Indulgency
Punishment-legitimizing	⟷	Legalism
Reliability	⟷	Rigidity

there is no leadership in the teaching and learning activities. The behavioral theme of the school is essentially "one big happy family." Principals and supervisors are reluctant to do anything to impinge on this feeling. Indeed, they want to be part of the group the same as everyone else, yet this abdication of social control is accompanied by high teacher disengagement and apathy in classroom teaching. [23]

Rules having a punishment-centered pattern are most likely to evoke negative consequences. Punishment-centered rules are initiated unilaterally by either management or labor (never jointly) to coerce the other group to comply. Such rules are typically evaded by those on whom they are imposed, and they produce great tension, conflict, and hostility. These rules are enforced by punishment and have the greatest potential to produce such negative dysfunctions as apathy, goal displacement, legalism, rigidity, and organizational sabotage.

On the other hand, representative rules are initiated and supported by both workers and administrators; they are enforced by the administration and obeyed by other organizational participants. The crucial character of such rules is that all groups see their usefulness and view them as their own; therefore, all parties can legitimate the rules in terms of their own key values, and enforcement usually violates no group's values. Moreover, deviance is attributed to ignorance or well-intentioned carelessness and is likely to lead to constructive attempts to educate. Representative rules are least likely to evoke dysfunctional consequences because they are jointly initiated and generally supported by all parties concerned.

Clearly, when teachers are involved in formulating important rules, they are more likely to be committed to those procedures, and the rules are much less likely to be displaced, circumvented, or sabotaged. For example, if a lesson-plan rule emerges from the teachers and is jointly supported by the principal and supervisors, there is a greater likelihood that the spirit of the rule will be met rather than a mindless conformity to its letter. In brief, representative rules, rather than either mock-bureaucratic or punishment-centered ones, are more likely to have the desired, positive consequences without many of the unintended, negative consequences.

Neglect of the Informal Organization

Weber's bureaucratic model also has been criticized for its omission of the informal structure. [24] Organizational life can only be understood if, in addition to the formal structure, one is also aware of the unofficial rules, norms, informal leaders, and groups that spontaneously emerge from the interaction of participants in the organization. This interaction establishes a lasting informal social structure and culture that influences members' behavior.

There is little disagreement among contemporary organizational analysts about the importance of informal organization. To omit informal structure is to ignore the nonrational aspects of social behavior and to miss much of the

dynamics of organizational life. F. J. Roethlisberger and William Dickson, in their classic analysis of informal organization, capture its significance as follows:

> Many of the actually existing patterns of human interaction have no representation in the formal organization at all, and others are inadequately represented by the formal organization.... Too often it is assumed that the organization of a company corresponds to a blueprint plan or organizational chart. Actually, it never does.[15]

'Early studies of informal organization focused on the dysfunctional consequences; they emphasized individual concerns that impeded the effective operation of the formal structure. For example, Roethlisberger and Dickson concluded that formal organization represented the "logic of cost and efficiency," whereas informal organization expressed the "logic of sentiments. ,26 As W. Richard Scott notes, however, analysts are increasingly emphasizing the positive functions of informal structures-increasing ease of communication, facilitating trust, and correcting for the inadequacies of the formal organiza27
tion.

The informal structure exists. It is just as important as the formal in understanding behavior. To ignore it is to get a distorted, incomplete, and inadequate view of organizational life. Our position is that supervision of instruction can be improved only by attention to the opportunities and constraints of both the formal (rational) and informal (nonrational) aspects of schools. The practical and theoretical significance of informal structure is explored in detail in the next chapter.

Internal Contradictions of the Bureaucratic Model

Another important criticism of the model is the internal inconsistencies among the bureaucratic principles of organizations. According to Weber, all the cha~-acteristics of his ideal type work together for maximum efficiency; however, both theoretical and empirical analyses suggest that the real world of organizational functioning is much more complicated.

Talcott Parsons 28 and Gouldner29 question whether the basic principle of bureaucracy is authority based on technical competence and knowledge or authority based on legal power and discipline. Weber argues that "bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge."30 On the other hand, he writes, "The content of discipline is consistently rationalized, methodically trained and exact execution of the received order, in which all personal criticism is unconditionally suspended and the actor is unswervingly and exclusively set for carrying out the command."31 Thus, he is noting the central importance of discipline as well as knowledge. But is. bureaucratic administration based primarily on knowledge and expertise or is it based on disciplined compliance with directives? Unless one assumes that there is no conflict between authority based on "technical competence and expertise" and authority based on "incumbency in a hierar

chical position," these two authority bases that undergird the Weberian model contain the seeds of contradiction. In fact, Gouldner suggests that Weber may implicitly have been describing not one but two conceptions of bureaucracy. [32] Do these two sources of authority go together with limited conflict, as the Weberian model suggests, or are they two alternate bases of administration as Gouldner and others suggest? A number of studies both in educational and noneducational organizations suggest that the components of Weber's ideal type do not form an inherently connected and consistent set of variables. [33] While some features of bureaucracy are relatively uncorrelated with others, some are highly correlated. There appear to be at least two types of rational administrative structures. Hierarchy of authority; rules and regulations, and impersonality form a bureaucratic cluster, while specialization and technical competence characterize a professional group. The empirical results are consistent with Blau and Scott's conclusion that Weber failed to distinguish bureaucratic from professional principles. [34] They argue that bureaucratic discipline and professional expertise are alternate methods of coping with uncertainty. Discipline reduces the scope of uncertainty, while expertise provides the knowledge to manage uncertainty. The crux of the problem seems to be that professionals are often employees of bureaucratic organizations; hence, these alternate modes of rationality are frequently mixed, producing strain and conflict. A typical example is the supervisor. Does his or her authority reside in the bureaucratic office or in professional expertise? We argue that professional expertise is the logical base for supervisory authority; but obviously there is often an overlap of bureaucratic and professional authority, which produces some degree of strife.

FORMAL STRUCTURE IN SCHOOLS

Schools are formal structures with many of the characteristics of bureaucratic organizations. Max Abbott concludes that, "The school organization as we know it today ... can accurately be described as a highly developed bureaucracy. As such, it exhibits many of the characteristics and employs many of the strategies of the military, industrial, and governmental agencies with which it might be compared. [-35] The bureaucratic model is the one that most school administrators adopt, and this may explain why it can be used to predict accurately certain kinds of behavior in schools. [36] A basic assumption of bureaucracies is, that every sdbordinate has less technical expertise than his or her superior. This assumption certainly does not apply in most schools, nor does it apply in other professional organizations. On the contrary, professionals often have more competence and technical expertise than administrators who occupy a higher level in the organization. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find strain and tension in schools among teachers, supervisors, and administrators.

Rather than thinking of schools as bureaucratic or nonbureaucratic, a more useful approach is to examine their degree of bureaucratization with respect

to the important components of the Weberian model. Such an approach differenti'ates types of, organizational structures and also provides a tool to test empirically the extent to which the theoretical components of the model are consistent. Richard H. Hall, D. A. MacKay, and Henry Mintzberg are among the researchers who have developed and tested variations of this,approach with interesting results.

Hall's Approach

One of the most systematic attempts to measure bureaucratization is Richard H. Hall's development of an organizational inventory to measure six central characteristics of bureaucratic structure:

> Hierarchy *of* authority-the extent to which the locus of decision making is prestructured by the organization.
> Presence of rules-the degree to which the behavior of organizational members is subject to organizational control.
> Procedural specifications-the extent to which organizational members must follow organizationally defined techniques in dealing with situations which they encounter.
> Impersonality-the extent to which both organizational members and outsiders are treated without regard to individual qualities.
> Division *of* labor-the extent to which work tasks are subdivided by functional specialization.
> Technical competence-the extent to which organizationally defined universalistic standards are utilized in the selection and advancement process.37

D. A. MacKay subsequently adapted and modified the organizational inventory in his study of bureaucratization of schools.38 He measured bureaucratic patterns in schools using the School Organizational Inventory (SOI), a Likerttype questionnaire that operationalizes the same six dimensions of the organizational inventory.

Studies of schools indicate that there are two relatively distinct patterns of rational organization rather than one completely integrated bureaucratic pattern.39 Hierarchy of authority, rules for incumbents, procedural specifications, and impersonality tend to vary together; and specialization and technical competence similarly vary together. However, the two groups are found to be independent of or inversely related to each other. In the school, as in other kinds of organizations, the components of Weber's ideal type do not necessarily form an inherently connected set of variables; instead, there are likely to be two distinct types of rational organization. These results are summarized in Table 4.4.

In the table we have labeled the first set of characteristics "bureaucratic" and the second set "professional." The distinction once again calls attention to the potential conflict between authority based on technical competence and expertise and that based on holding an office in a hierarchy. It also reiterates the potential incompatibility between professionalization and bureaucratiza

Table **4.4. Two Types of Rational School Organization**

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

tion. To lump these two patterns together in a single model of bureaucracy seems to obscure important differences among schools. Indeed, separating the two patterns of rational organization and administration makes it possible to explore a number of combinations of the two patterns. For example, if each pattern is dichotomized, as shown in Figure 4.1, then four types of organizations are possible.

A Type I school organization is one in which professionalization and bureaucratization are complementary; both are high. This pattern is similar to the ideal type described by Weber; hence, we label it "Weberian."

A Type 11 organization rates high on bureaucratic characteristics but low on professional ones. Therefore, authority based on position within the hierarchy is stressed. Disciplined compliance with the rules, regulations, and directives is the basic principle of operation. Type 11 is therefore labeled "authoritarian." Power is concentrated and flows frQrn top to bottom. Rules and procedures are impersonally applied. The superior always has the last word. Furthermore, promotions to administrative positions typically go to those who have been loyal to the organization and their superiors. In many respects, this authoritarian structure is similar to the one Gouldner described as a punishment-centered bureaucracy. [40]

A Type III organization (high -professional, low bureaucratic) emphasizes shared decision making between the administrators and the professional staff. Members of the staff are viewed as professionals who have the expertise and competence to make important organizational decisions. Rules and procedures

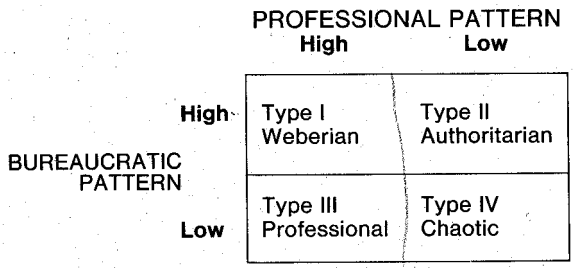

Figure 4.1 Typology of School Organizational Structures

are jointly developed (representative rules) and serve as guides rather than as strict formats to be applied uniformly. Special cases are likely to be the rule rather than the exception. Teache rs have much power in the organizational decision-making process. In brief, decisions are made by thQse who have the knowledge and expertise to make them. We refer to this type of school structure as "professional."

Finally, a Type IV organization has a low degree of bureaucratization and professionalization. Type IV schools are called "chaotic. " Confusion and conflict are typical of day-to-day operations. Inconsistency, contradiction, and ineffectiveness are likely to pervade the chaotic structure; hence, there will be pressure to move toward one or the other structural type.

This typology of school structures suggests that schools can be quite differ ent and that structure can have different consequences for teachers, students, and the process of supervision. Henry Kolesar, for example, found that a sense of student powerlessness was significantly greater in authoritarian than in pro fessional school structures. [41] Geoffrey Isherwood and Wayne K. Hoy uncov ered the same finding for teachers in the two types of schools. [42] Overall, the sense of powerlessness among teachers was much greater in authoritarian than in professional structures. But organizationally and socially oriented teachers (those who identified themselves with the values and goals of the organization and of family and friends, respectively) felt less powerlessness in the authori tarian structure than did the professionally oriented teachers. The conclusion seems to be that individual work orientation mediates the relationship be tween organizational structure and alienation. Teachers with an organiza tional orie ritation may not be alienated by authoritarian structures and procedures; indeed, they may be quite content. Gerald H. Moeller and W. W. Charters's finding that teachers in highly bureaucratic systems felt a greater sense of power than those in less bureaucratic systems lends support to the speculation. [43] Teachers' personal orientations as wel ' I as the structure of the school are important considerations for supervisors as they work with teacher colleagues in the process of joint problem solving and improvement of instruc tion.

It is also true that the type of school organizational structure'may influence student achievement. Research by both Barry Anderson [44] and MacKa [5] indicates the possibility that highly authoritarian structures may have a negative effect on student achievement.

Mintzberg's Structuring of Organizations

Henry Mintzberg describes the structure of an organization simply as how it divides its labor into tasks and then achieves coordination among them.[46] Five coordinating mechanisms are the most basic elements of structure. Mutual adjustment, direct supervision, standardization of work process, standardization of outputs, and standardization of worker skills are organizations' fundamental ways to coordinate and control their work. These mechanisms are the glue that holds organizations together.

Mutual adjustment is coordination through the process of informal communication. Workers control their activities simply by informal discussion and interaction.

Direct supervision is coordination through careful monitoring and personal command. One individual has the responsibility for directing and controlling the work of others. One brain monitors and coordinates all activities.

As work activities become more complicated, neither mutual adjustment nor direct supervision is sufficient to coordinate the work enterprise. Hence, the coordination of parts is incorporated in a planned program; that is, the work is standardized. Coordination is accomplished before the work is performed by standardizing the work process, outputs, or skills.

Standardization of work process is achieved by specifying or programming the contents of the work. The written directions to assemble a barbecue grill is an example of an attempt to standardize a process. The work process is carefully described in step-by-step directions.

Standardization of outputs is attained by specifying the results of work; the dimensions of the product or of the performance are enumerated. Taxi drivers, for instance, are not usually given a route; rather, they are merely told a destination. The outcomes of the work are described carefully and the worker produces a standard product or service.

Standardization of skills is a coordination mechanism that provides only indirect control and coordination of work. Here skills and knowledge are standardized by specifying the training required to do the work. Training supplies workers with the patterns of work to be performed as well as the bases of coordination. Mintzberg observes that when an anesthesiologist and a surgeon meet in the operating room, there is typically little communication; by virtue of their respective training, they know precisely what to expect. Their standardized skills provide most of the coordination. [47]

Although most organizations of any size use all five means of coordination, every organization tend's to rely more heavily on one mechanism than the others-a fact that has important consequences for the basic structure of the organization.

What are the basic parts of a formal organization and what function does each perform? Mintzberg identifies five key parts. The *operating core* comprises those who perform the basic work, activities directly related to the production of products and services. This core is the heart of the organization; it produces the essential output. The administrative component of the organization has three parts. First, the *strategic apex* consists of the top administrators and assistants who are charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the organization serves its mission effectively. Those managers below, who connect the apex with the operating core through the formal authority structure, comprise the *middle line.* If the organization relies on direct supervision for coordination, then many middle managers are necessary. The *technostructure is* the administrative component charged with the responsibility of planning. It is composed of analysts who standardize the work of others and apply their analytic techniques to help the organization adapt to its environment. These ana

lysts - design, plan, and train, but they do not directly manage. Finally, a fifth group-tbe support staff-is composed of specialized units that exist to provide support for the organization outside the operating work flow. For example, in a school, we may find a building and grounds department, maintenance department, bookstore, cafeteria, and payroll department. None is part of the operating core, but each exists to provide indirect support for the school.

These five key parts of the organization and the five coordination mechanisms that hold them together serve as the basis for five structural configurations. In each structural form, a different coordinating mechanism is dominant, a different part of the organization is most significant, and a different type of centralization is used; hence, simple structure, machine bureaucracy, professional bureaucracy, divisionalized form, and adhocracy are identified and described as the distinctive formal structures found in organizations. We focus our discussion on only the three forms and their variants that are most likely to be found in schools.

Simple Structure. Organizations that are coordinated by a high degree of direct supervision, that have a small strategic apex with virtually no middle line, and that are highly centralized are simple structures. In such organizations there is little elaboration: little technostructure, little support staff, little division of labor and specialization, and a small administrative hierarchy.

Since power over important decisions tends to be centralized in the hands of the top administrator, the strategic apex is the key part of the organization. Little standardization is necessary in a simple structure because things are worked out as they arise-there are loose, informal working relations among participants. Thus, communication flows informally, but most of it is between the top administrator and everyone else.

New organizations typically begin as simple structures and then elaborate their administrative structures as they grow. Many small organizations, however, retain a simple structure. Informal communications remain effective and coordination is attended to by a one-person strategic apex. There are variants of the simple structure. For example, the autocratic organization is a simple structure where the top administrator hoards power and rules by fiat; and the **charismatic organization** is a variant where the leader has the same power not because it is hoarded but because the followers lavish it upon her or him.

Mintzberg suggests that the entrepreneurial firm is the best overall example of the simple structure. Such firms are small and have informal working relations, but they are centralized, with the entrepreneur retaining tight control. The entrepreneur tends to be autocratic and occasionally charismatic. The major strength of the simple structure is its flexibility; only one person must act.

The simple structure is of interest because many schools, particularly small elementary schools, have such a structure. They are administered by autocratic and sometimes charismatic principals who rule with an iron hand. Although some teachers enjoy working in a small, intimate school, where its

charismatic principal leads the way, others perceive the simple structure as highly restrictive and autocratic. Though simple structures are usually not conducive to the professional practices of supervision that are proposed in this text, they remain an important structural configuration found in some schools. They can be relatively enduring or only a phase in the development and maturing of an organization.

Machine Bureaucracy. Organizations that are fine-tuned and standardized to run as integrated, regulated machines are called machine bureaucracies. The work processes in this kind of structure are routine and standard. Indeed, standardization of work is the prime coordinating mechanism, and the technostructure is the key part of the structure because it contains the analysts who do the standardizing. In these organizations, a high degree of centralization is supported by considerable formalization: rules and regulations permeate the structure; formal communication *predominates* at all levels; and decision making follows the hierarchical chain of authority.

This is the Weberian structure of bureaucracy-standardized responsibilities, technical qualifications, formal communication channels, rules and regulations, and hierarchy of authority. It is a structure geared for precision, speed, unambiguity, continuity, unity, subordination, and efficiency. Machine bureaucracy is obsessed with control; a control mentality develops from top to bottom. Mintzberg cogently notes: "The problem in the Machine bureaucracy is not to develop an open atmosphere where people can talk the conflicts out, but to enforce a closed, tightly controlled one where the work can get done despite them."48

Considerable power rests with the administrators of the strategic apex; in fact, the only others to share much power with the top administrators are the analysts of the technostructure, since their role is standardizing the work processes of the organization. Machine structures work best when the work is routine--- ~-that is, when people must perform an integrated set of simple, repetitive tasks precisely and consistently. 49

Machine bureaucracies have an elaborate administrative structure. They are often large, established organizations such as airlines, giant automobile companies, or custodial prisons. Most schools, however, are not machine bureaucracies in the pure sense because they typically lack an elaborate administrative structure; they do not have a large middle line or an elaborate technostructure. Indeed, the structure of a good many public schools is a hybrid between the simple structure and machine bureaucracy, what Mintzberg calls a *simple bureaucracy.* The simple bureaucracy is centralized and highly bureaucratic, but it has a relatively flat administrative structure.

Many of the dysfunctional characteristics of machine bureaucracies have already been discussed in our analysis of the Weberian model. It should be clear that neither machine bureaucracies nor simple bureaucracies that emphasize control provide appropriate conditions ' for decision making by colleagues aimed at cooperation and joint improvement. Treating teachers as

means" or "categories of status and function" rather than as colleagues is likely to destroy the meaning of work itself.50 Absenteeism, sloppy work, and hostility rather than improvement of instruction are the likely consequence s.

Professional Bureaucracy. Bureaucratic structure can be defined in terms of "the extent to which behavior is predetermined or predictable, in effect, standardized. -51 Thus, organizations can be bureaucratic without being centralized. Professional bureaucracies are structures that permit both decentralization and standardization at the same time. These are organizations where standardization of skills is the prime coordinating mechanism; the operating core is the key organizational part; and professionalization is the crucial process. All such structures rely on the skills and knowledge of their operating professionals to function effectively.

The professional bureaucracy receives its coordination indirectly by relying on the standardization of skills that professionals have acquired in their training; hence, it is not surprising to find much more loosely coupled relationships in these organizations than in machine or simple bureaucracies. Professionals are hired and given considerable control over their own work; in fact, many professionals work relatively independently of their colleagues but closely with their clients. For example, teacher autonomy seems undeniable in many schools., Teachers work alone in their classrooms, are relatively unobserved by colleagues and superiors, and possess broad discretionary authority over their students.52 This structural looseness of the school supports a professional basis of organization; however, the demand for product uniformity, the need for movement of students from grade to grade and school to school in an orderly process, and the long period of time over which students are schooled require a standardization of activities and hence a bureaucratic basis of school organization. 53

The administrative structure of the professional bureaucracy is relatively flat. It does not need an elaborate hierarchy to control and coordinate or a technostructure to design work standards. Professionals control themselves and, in a sense, develop their own work standards. The standards of the professional bureaucracy originate largely outside its structure, in self-governing associations to which the professionals belong. These associations set general standards that are taught by the universities and used by all organizations of the profession.54 Hence, as we have noted before, there are two sources of organizational authority. Machine and simple bureaucracies rely on the authority of the position or office, and professional bureaucracies are built on the authority of knowledge and expertise.

Professional bureaucracy is decentralized; a great deal of power rests with the professionals in the operating core. The work is too complex to be supervised directly by managers or standardized by analysts; hence, professionals have a great deal to say about what they do and how they do it. Professionals have close working relations with clients and loose ones with colleagues. Thus, it makes more sense to think in terms of a personal strategy for each professional rather than an integrated, organizational strategy.

Many schools have the trappings of the professional bureaucracy--~-a skilled operating core, standardized work,skills, professional norms and autonomy, professional associations, structural looseness, and a flat administrative structure. ' The classroom performance model and the joint supervisory process proposed in this text are best suited to a professional bureaucracy; in fact, the model, process, and structure are highly congruent with each other. Nevertheless, there are wide variations in the structure of schools.

As we have suggested, some small elementary schools are simple structures; they are centralized but informal structures. The principal provides strong (often autocratic) direction in an informal atmosphere unfettered by rules and regulations. A few schools are machine bureaucracies; they are usually found in large districts where an elaborate technostructure attempts to standardize the work. Behavior is formalized by an extensive sets of rules, procedures, and job descriptions. Moreover, power tends to be highly centralized in the apex of the structure; authority flows downward.

Finally, many schools are hybrid variants of the three "ideal types" that have been described. The simple bureaucracy has the basic characteristics of both a simple structure and a machine bureaucracy-it is a highly centralized, formalized, flat administrative structure that uses both direct supervision and standardization of work to coordinate the effort. Secondary schools with a strong, aggressive principal who tries to control what is happening in the classroom provide an example. The principal cannot be everywhere at once, so an elaborate system of formal rules, procedures, and regulations is developed to support the direct supervision. Another hybrid variant, the simple professional bureaucracy, seems quite common in secondary schools. This variant is a combination of the simple structure and the professional bureaucracy. Here highly trained teacher-professionals practicing standard teaching skills take the lead from a strong principal. These basic variants of school structure are summarized in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 **Variants of School Structure (Based on Mintzberg)**

Structural Form	Key Part	Prime Coordinating Mechanism	Crucial Process
Simple structure	Apex	Direct supervision	Centralization
Machine bureaucracy	Technostructure	Standardization of work	Formalization
Simple bureaucracy	Apex	Direct supervision and standardization of work	Centralization *and* formalization
Professional bureaucracy	Operating core	Standardization of training	Professionalization
Simple professional bureaucracy	Apex *and* operating core	Standardization of training *and* operating core	Centralization *and* professionalization

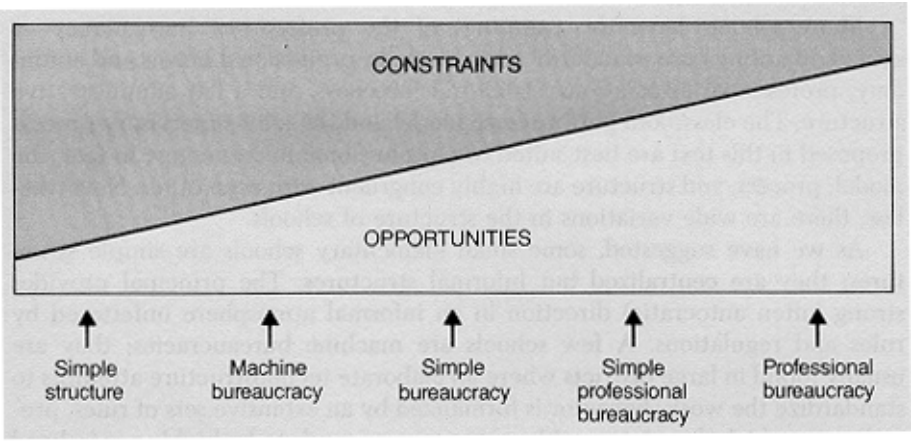

Figure *4.2* Structural Constraints and Opportunities for joint Supervision Using the Classroom Performance Model

Although there is not an abundance of empirical research that places schools in these categories, some findings are beginning to emerge that demonstrate that elementary schools are more tightly coupled than secondary ones. William Firestone and Robert Herriott found that elementary schools were high on both centralization and formalization, while secondary schools were [55]
much lower on both of these aspects of structure. Their data suggest that most elementary schools in a representative sample of schools from southeastern Pennsylvania were probably simple bureaucracies or simple structures. Secondary schools, on the other hand, seem more likely to have the characteristics of professional bureaucracies, simple professional bureaucracies, or machine bureaucracies; in fact, an analysis of the structures of fifty-five New Jersey secondary schools revealed these three basic types. [56]

In brief, the organizational structure best suited for effective implementation of the classroom performance model is the professional bureaucracy. In this model the opportunities for joint, collegial problem solving are maximized and structural constraints are minimized. As one moves from the professional bureaucracy to simple bureaucracy to simple structure the constraints increase and opportunities decrease (see Figure 4.2).

SUMMARY

Bureaucracy was used as an: analytic construct to describe the basic structural features of schools. Five distinctive characteristics of bureaucracy--division of labor and specialization, impersonality, hierarchy of authority, rules and regu lations, and career opportunity-are the central components of Weber's ideal ty pe. The Weberian model, however, neglects the dysfunctional consequences of each component, ignores the informal organization, and misses the internal conflict between professional and bureaucratic authority.

Table 4.6 **Key Elements of Formal Structure**

Weberian Model

- Division of Labor and Specialization
- Impersonality
- Hierarchy of Authority
- Rules and Regulations
- Career Opportunity

Organizational Structures of Schools

MINTZBERG	HALL	GOULDNER
Simple Structure		
Machine Bureaucracy	Weberian Structure	Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy
Simple Bureaucracy	Authoritarian Structure	
Simple Professional Bureaucracy		
Professional Bureaucracy	Professional Structure	Representative Bureaucracy
	Chaotic Structure	Mock Bureaucracy

Schools have many of the characteristics and problems of bureaucratic structures. The research of Hall and MacKay identifies four types of school organizational structures-Weberian, authoritarian, professional, and chaotic. Based on the predominance of different sets of rules used in organizations, Gouldner suggests three types of bureaucracy-mock, punishment-centered, and representative. Finally, Mintzberg describes the structure of organizations in terms of division of labor, coordination, and internal processes and develops five variants of structure that are useful in analyzing schools-simple structure, machine bureaucracy, simple bureaucracy, professional simple bureaucracy, and professional bureaucracy. All of these structural arrangements provide both opportunities and constraints for effective supervision. The key elements are summarized and compared in Table 4.6.

NOTES

1. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* Talcott Parsons (ed.), A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (trs.) ~New York: Free Press, 1947). This chapter draws heavily on Wayne K. Hoy and Cecil G. Miskel, *Educational Administration: Theory, Research, and Practice* (New York: Random House, 1982), chap. 5.
2. *Ibid, p.* 325.
3. *Ibid, p.* 328.

4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *H.* H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, *1946), p. 196.*
7. Weber, op. *cit., p. 341.*
8. *Ibid., p. 331.*
9. *Ibid., p. 330.* -
10. *Ibid., p. 334.*
11. *Ibid., p. 337.*
12. Peter Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, *1956), p. 34.*
13. For example, see F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, *1939).*
14. Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach* (San Francisco: Chandler, *1962), pp. 121-124.*
15. The specific functions of rules are systematically analyzed by Alvin Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (New York: Free Press, *1964), pp. 162-180.* The terms applied to the functions of rules discussed here are mainly from Gouldner's analysis.
16. *Ibid., p. 166.*
17. *Ibid., pp. 173-174.*
18. *Ibid., pp. 169-170.*
19. *Ibid., p. 175.*
20. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, *1965), pp. 197-209.*
21. Gouldner, op. *cit., pp. 45-56.*
22. *Ibid., pp. 215-227.*
23. This school vignette is Halpin's depiction of the "familiar climate." See Andrew W. Halpin, *Theory and Research in Administration* (New York: Macmillan, *1966), pp. 178-179.*
24. Charles H. Page, "Bureaucracy's Other Face," *Social Forces 25 (1946), 88-94.*
25. F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, *1939), 0. 559.*
26. *Ibid., pp. 562-64.*
27. *W.* Richard Scott, *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, *1981), p. 83.* See also Edward Gross, "Some Functional Consequences of Primary Controls in Formal Work Organizations," *American Sociological Review 18 (1953), 363-73.*
28. See Weber, op. *cit.,* footnote *4, pp. 58-60.*
29. Gouldner, op. *cit., pp. 21-24.*
30. Weber, op. cit, p. *339.*
31. *In* Gerth and Mills, op. *cit., p. 25.*
32. Gouldner, op. *cit., p. 24.*
33. For example, see Geoffrey Isherwood and Wayne K. Hoy, "Bureaucratic Structure Reconsidered," *Journal of Experimental Education 41 (1972), 47-50;* D. A. MacKay, "An Empirical Study of Bureaucratic Dimensions and Their Relations to Other Characteristics of School Organization" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, *1964);* Richard H. Hall, "The Concept of Bureaucracy: An, Empirical Assessment," *American Sociological Review 27 (1962), 295-308;* Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Bureaucratic and Craft Administration of Production," *Adminis*

trative Science Quarterly 4 (1959), 169-187; and Stanley H. Udy, " 'Bureaucracy , and 'Rationality' in Weber's Organization Theory," *American Sociological Review 24 (1959), 791-795.*

34. Blau and Scott, op. *cit.,,pp. 244-247.*
35. Max Abbott, "Hierarchical Impediments to Innovation in Educational Organizations," i6Max Abbott and John Lovell (eds.) - Changing *Perspectives in Educational Administration* (Auburn, Ala.: Auburn ~niversity, *1965), P. 45.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. Hall, *op. cit., pp. 295-308.*
38. MacKay, *op. cit.*
39. Keith F. Punch, "Bureaucratic Structure in Schools: Towards Redefinition and Measurement," *Educational Administration Quarterly 6 (1969), 43-57;* MacKay, *op. cit.;* Henry Kolesar, "An Empirical Study of Client Alienation in the Bureaucratic Organization" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, *1967);* and Isherwood and Hoy, op. cit.
40. Gouldner, *op. cit., p. 24.*
41. Kolesar, *op. cit.*
42. Isherwood and Hoy, *op. cit.*
43. Gerald H. Moeller and W. W. Charters, Jr., "Relation of Bureaucratization to Sense of Power Among Teachers," *Administrative Science Quarterly 10 (1966), 444-465.*
44. Barry Anderson, "Socio-Economic Status of Students and Schools' Bureaucratization," *Educational Administration Quarterly 7 (1971), 12-24.*
45. MacKay, *op. cit.*
46. Henry Mintzberg, *The Structuring of Organizations* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, *1970), pp. 3-15.*
47. *Ibid., pp. 7-8.*
48. *Ibid., p. 321.*
49. *Ibid., p. 333.*
50. *Ibid., p. 335.*
51. *Ibid., p. 86.*
52. Charles E. Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization," in James G. March (ed.), *Handbook of Organizations* (Chicago: Rand McNally, *1965), pp. 975-760.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Mintzberg, *op. cit., p. 351.*
55. William A. Firestone and Robert E. Herriott, "Rational Bureaucracy or Loosely Coupled System? An Empirical Comparison of Two Images of Organization" (unpublished paper, American Educational Research Association, Montreal, April *1982).* See also William A. Firestone and Robert E. Herriott, "Two Images of Schools as Organizations: An Explication. and Illustrative Empirical Test," *Educational Administration Quarterly, 18 (1982), 39-59.*
56. Research findings from a series of studies of bureaucratic structure of American secondary schools now being conducted at the Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University.

CHAPTER 5

Informal Organization in Schools

It is impossible to understand the nature of organizational life without knowledge of informal relations and unofficial norms. Individuals in organizations frequently interact with each other in relationships that are not controlled by the formal organization. Participants occupy formal positions such as math teacher, elementary supervisor, or principal, and their task activities are guided by official job definitions, but individuals also bring into the organization a host of unique attributes, sentiments, needs, and motives. These personal characteristics, the immediate work environment, and the behavior motivated by their interaction form the bases for the development of an informal structure within the formal organization; hence, in every formal organization there emerges an informal organization. Although individual participants bring to their jobs individually shaped ideas, expectations, and agendas as well as differing values, interests, and abilities, the social structure of an organization is not made up of the formal structure plus the idiosyncratic beliefs and behavior of individuals. Rather, it is made up of a formal structure and an informal structure; informal life is also structured and orderly!

Informal organizations develop in response to the opportunities and constraints created by the formal structures; indeed, as Blau explains, "the roots of these informal systems are embedded in the formal organization itself and nurtured by the very formality of its arrangement. -2 Official rules and regulations must be broad enough to cover a wide variety of situations; hence, the application of these general procedures often produces problems of judgment, and informal practices frequently develop as solutions to these problems. Further, official procedures cannot anticipate all decisions, and once again unofficial practices provide guidelines for decisions long before formal rules and regulations have been developed. Moreover, unofficial norms guide performance and productivity. 3

Thus, groups in organizations establish their own practices, values, norms, and social relations asmembers interact with each other. In fact, whenever individuals interact, informal social organization spontaneously emerges. Informal leaders and status structures, with their unofficial norms, arise side by side with formal leaders and structures and with official expectations as specified in

the bureaucratic rules and regulations. The informal organization constrains behavior in schools. We use the term "informal organization" as Blau and Scott do-not to refer to all types of emergent patterns of social life but only to those that evolve within the contexts of formal organizations. [4]

In brief, informal organization is a system of interpersonal relations that forms spontaneously within all organizations. It is a system that is not included in the organizational chart or official blueprint for action. On the one hand, the formal organization is consciously and carefully planned; on the other hand, informal organization is the natural ordering and structuring that evolves from the needs of participants as they interact in their workplace. Both systems contain structural, normative, and behavioral dimensions; hence, we can examine formal hierarchy, formal expectations, *and* formal patterns of behavior as well as informal structure, informal norms, *and* informal patterns of behavior. [5] Teachers within schools inevitably generate their own informal system: status and power networks, communications systems, and working arrangements and structures.

BLAU AND SCOTT ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Before continuing our discussion of informal organization, it is useful to clarify the more general concept of social organization. Blau and Scott define social organization as "the ways in which human conduct becomes socially organized, that is, to the observed regularities in the behavior of people that are due to the social conditions in which they find themselves rather than to their physiological or psychological characteristics as individuals."6 The processes that socially organize human behavior have two primary sources: (1) the *social structure,* that is, the structure of social relations in the group; and (2) the cul*ture* of the group, that is, the shared beliefs and orientations that develop to unite the members of the group. The major dimensions and components of social organization are summarized in Table 5. 1.

The concept of system implies that the elements of the system bring more to the whole than simply the sum of the individual parts. Something more is added as the elements of the system interact with each other. Take the hypothetical situation of a new school, where the superintendent hires a new principal who in turn hires an entire new staff of teachers, none of whom know each other. At the beginning of the year, we have an aggregate of individuals that will shortly be transformed into a socially organized group. The group is clearly more than the sum of the individuals composing it; behavior is not only determined by the formal expectations of the school but also by the social structure and informal culture that spontaneously emerge as the participants interact.

Social relations in a group are composed of such patterns of interaction as communicating, cooperating, and competing. When people are together, they invariably interact; they talk to each other. Some individuals are liked; others are disliked. Ordinarily, people continue to interact with individuals they like

Table 5.1 **Dimensions of Social Organization as Defined by Blau and Scott**

Social organization is comprised of two major dimensions:
I Social Structure: Networks of Social Relations
A. Social Interactions
1. Frequency and duration
2. Sentiments toward each other B. Status Structure
1. Differential distribution of social relations among individuals
2. Differential distribution of social relations among groups

11 Culture: Shared Beliefs and Orientations
A. Shared Values
1. Idealized justification for behavior
2. Ideals and ideas of what is desirable B. Social Norms
1. Common expectations of behavior
2. Socially sanctioned rules of conduct C. Roles
1. Expectations of various social positions
2. Specific rights and duties

and avoid those whom they dislike. Thus, a systematic pattern of social exchanges emerges. Since some individuals are more popular than others, different distributions of social relations develop among group members, and importantly, define the group's status structure.

A participant's status in the group is a function of the frequency, duration, and nature of his or her interactions with others, and the extent to which the individual earns respect from others in the group. Some group members are popular, others are avoided; some are respected, others are not; some are leaders, others are followers; and most become integrated members of the group, although a few are isolated.

The group also forms subgroups. These cliques become part of the group status structure. Some subgroups have more power, significance, and status than others: the, "in-group," competing groups, and marginal groups. Individual acceptance in such groups provides members with status in the larger system through the prestige of the subgroup. The different patterns of interactions among both individuals and groups define the status structure of the group and shape its social structure.

Returning to our illustration of the emergence of social organization in a new school, as school begins, faculty and staff begin to work together, attend meetings, eat together, socialize in the faculty lounge, and plan school activities. Some of the teachers and staff become well liked and respected; their colleagues frequently ask them for advice and seek them out. They emerge as official leaders in the school. Further, subgroups of teachers with informal leaders develop and a structure of status arises among the subgroups; some groups are more prestigious and powerful than others.

In addition to the social structure that develops in groups as individuals in

teract, a culture--or a set of shared beliefs, values, and expectationsemerges. This culture serves as a normative guide for behavior within the group (see Table 5.1). As members communicate and work together, they establish common definitions of desirable and acceptable group behavior. Common values arise that specify ideal forms of behavior, and social norms develop that prescribe not only appropriate behavior but the consequences of devia-' tions from these expectations. Norms have two important elements: first, a general agreement about acceptable behavior, and second, mechanisms to enforce the expectations. Although the distinction between norms and values is sometimes fuzzy, values typically define the ends of human behavior, and norms describe the legitimate and more explicit means for achieving those ends. Finally, in addition to shared values and norms, the developing culture consists of sets of expectations that are differentiated according to the role or position of the member of the group. The role of taskmaster is quite different from the role of social leader; the role of leader is quite different from the role of follower.

We can also illustrate the concept of group culture by returning to our school example. The school faculty develops a set of common values governing school behavior. Their ideal, for example, may be a school characterized by bard work, mastery of the basics, an academic orientation, and positive student-teacher relations. To this end, norms emerge to guide teacher behavior: few hall passes will be issued; substantial homework assignments will be made; quiet and industrious classrooms will be maintained; and extra help for students will be readily available. If teachers violate these norms, they lose the respect of their colleagues, and in extreme cases social sanctions will be applied. They may find themselves isolated and disparaged by their colleagues. Finally, teachers will assume specific informal roles: an unofficial teacher-spokesperson may serve as a powerful liaison with the principal; another teacher may provide a strong critical voice of school policy in faculty meetings; still another teacher may organize social activities for the faculty, and there may be the teacher who always offers comic relief, especially when events are tense.

The two basic dimensions of social organization, then, are the social struc*ture,* with its inevitable status distinctions, and the *culture* of the group, with its guiding values, norms, and expectations. The school is a formal organization that has been formally established for the education of students, but in contrast to its official blueprint, a spontaneous informal social organization also arises to influence the conduct of supervisors, administrators, and students. The informal organization is an intrinsic part of the structure of all schools, coexisting with the formal. Our systems perspective calls attention to both the planned and unplanned-formal and informal-aspects of school life.

HOMANS' PERSPECTIVE

Another particularly enlightening perspective is that of George C. Homans. it not only provides a clear perspective for analyzing the social organization of

groups but a useful theoretical system that can be readily applied by both researchers and practitioners. [7] His conceptual scheme was designed to explain behavior in all human groups, but it is also useful in the analysis of informal organization.

Basic Elements. The basic ingredients of the framework consist of persons and three elements of their behavior: **activity, interaction, and sentiment.** Although these three aspects of behavior are not new and seem to represent commonsense ideas, they merit a closer look because they provide the basis for categorizing behavior that we see and hear in social organizations.

Activity refers to the things that individuals do, for example, teaching, walking, talking, punishing, arguing, or more generally, working on the physical environment with implements and with other persons. [8] Indeed, the concept could just as easily have been called work, operation, or action rather than activity.

Although activity is an element of social behavior, it is not an indivisible one. It is simply a rough way to conceive of part of social behavior. Moreover, a number,of aspects of activity can be observed and measured, such as timeon-task, effectiveness of an activity, the relation of time-on-task to Achievement, or the degree of similarity of one activity to another.

Interaction is a process in which some unit of activity stimulates another. The emphasis is on contact or association, not on the particular activities in which individuals are jointly involved. Homans gives the example of two men sawing a log as a simple illustration of interaction. When we say the two individuals are interacting, we are not referring to the activity of sawing; rather we are concerned with their association; one individual's pull is followed by the other's pull. Unlike this simple example, however, most interaction involves verbal or symbolic communication. The focus of interaction is on the channels of communication, not on the content of the message or the activities that produce the interaction. Although communication and interaction refer to the same social processes, interaction is concerned with such features as frequency, duration, initiative, and reciprocity, while communication directs attention to the content of the message, the method of communication, and obstacles.

Sentiment is a broad term used to refer to a variety of internal states of the human body. The concept denotes a full range of inner states-from hunger', thirst, and fear to such more complex issues as liking and disliking, and approving and disapproving the behavior of others. If sentiments are internal states, how are they to be observed? We can observe directly activities and interactions but not sentiments. Sentiments must be inferred from how individuals behave and what they say about how they feel. We take note of individual demeanor-tone of voice, facial expressions, movements, body language. From such observations we infer anger, irritation, affection, sympathy, respect, disapproval, friendliness, and so forth. There is little doubt that sentiments are most difficult to determine; nevertheless, they are important aspects of group behavior.

In brief, activity, interaction, and sentiments are the three basic elements of social behavior. An examination of their mutual dependencies (e.g., mutual dependence of sentiment and activity) and the addition of several other concepts are necessary, however, before we attempt to use the scheme to explain informal social organization.

Group. Individuals who participate together in social events form a group; hence, a group can be defined by the interaction of its members.9 By simply counting interactions it is possible to identify a group quantitatively different from others. This definition, however, does not imply that an individual belongs to only one group. Teachers belong to several subgroups or cliques. During school hours a teacher may be a member of a school group, a department group, and an informal clique (the lunch group). Moreover, after school the individual is a member of many other groups, such as family, church, or club. The term "group" is relative. A given teacher belongs to a school group and subgroups within the school. In our analysis of social organization, we will be particularly concerned with groups and subgroups where each member has the potential to interact with others.

System and Environment. Groups have boundaries; outside the group is its environment. The scheme draws a line between groups as organized wholessocial systems--and their environments. The activities, interactions, and sentiments of the group, together with the mutual relations of these elements with each other during the time when the group is active, provide the group with social organization; it constitutes a social systern.10 Everything that is not part of a social system is part of its environment. Since the concept of group is relative, so is the group's environment. For example, if we are interested in the math department at Washington Middle School, then the rest of the school is the environment, but if the Washington Middle School becomes the focus of our analysis, then everything outside this new system would become the environment.

The demands of the environment place limits on group behavior. Three aspects of the environment are especially important in this regard-its physical, technical, and social characteristics. The physical environment of the school helps determine'its social organization. Is there a faculty lounge? Are there separate lounges for men and women? Is there a faculty cafeteria? Are there classrooms without walls? Similarly, technical aspects of teaching such as team teaching and departmentalization provide both opportunities for and constraints on interaction. Moreover, the social environment also sets the scene for group behavior. The leadership styles of the superintendent and curriculum coordinator have, fo ' r example, significant influences on teachers. The physical, technical, and social aspects of the school all have important consequences for the social organization of the school.

The External System. Survival of the group in its environment is a persistent problem. How are elements of social behavior arranged to facilitate survival?

The solution of the problem-the arrangement of activities, sentiments, interactions and their interrelations-is called the external system. It is external in the sense that it is conditioned by the environment; it is a system because the elements of behavior are mutually dependent. Not only is group behavior in part determined by the environment; group behavior itself changes the environment.

Homans'scheme is for the analysis of all social systems. When it is applied to formal organizations such as schools, the external system is a formal one, Expectations, division of labor, communication, control, and'leadership are explicitly planned and formally implemented to provide for the schooling of students (see Chapter 4). These formal elements of the external system, however, are notthe entire social system of the school. Indeed, the formal relations of the, external system give rise to an internal set of informal relationships.

The Internal System. As individuals come together to form a group, their patterns of behavior change as social life elaborates itself over time. People's sentiments change as a result of their group membership, and then their activities and interactions change; in fact, the social organization of the group as a whole changes. This elaboration of group behavior that is stimulated by and reacts to the external system is called the internal system.

just as the external system is conditioned by the environment, the internal system is conditioned by the external system. In both systems, the three main elements of behavior-activities, sentiments, interactions--describe the relations, but they take on a different form. In the external system sentiments are concerned with motives for getting a job, but the internal system deals with sentiments developed on the job: sentiments of liking and disliking associates and approving and disapproving their behavior. Further, instead of activities demanded by the job, emphasis is on activities that evolve to express personal attitudes of individuals toward each other. Finally, instead of interactions needed to coordinate work activities, concern is primarily on interaction elaborated for sociability. As individuals interact with each other in the workplace, then, their initial motives for getting a job, the activities demanded by the job, and the interaction needed to perform the job are elaborated. The system of activities, interactions, and sentiments that are not brought to the group but arise from their life in the group is the internal system.

Elaboration of the Internal System. Interactions among members of a group provide the spontaneous spark of elaboration. When members of a group have frequent interactions in the external system, sentiments of liking will develop, and these sentiments will lead to further interactions above and beyond those prescribed by the external system. The interactions among teachers, for example, are originally determined by the demands of the work situation; however, as favorable sentiments among teachers increase, interactions increase beyond those prescribed in the workplace. Moreover, as teachers feel sentiments of liking toward each other, they will express those sentiments in activities not prescribed by the school organization, and these activities may further

strengthen the sentiments of liking. The relation between activities and interactions is clear. A great deal of social activity is enjoyed less for the sake of the activity itself and more for the possibilities of social interaction. Thus, interaction between teachers in a school leads to sentiments of liking, which express themselves in new activities, and these in turn mean further interaction and so forth. The relationships among the elements of behavior are circular. We have emphasized the positive sentiments of friendliness, but if the sentiments of friendliness weaken, then activity and interaction also decrease. The circle of relations can be destructive as well as constructive.

So far the emphasis has been on how the system develops new sentiments, activities, and interactions. There is, however, another kind of internal development that Homans calls the *mode of standardization-"The more* frequently persons interact with one another, the more alike in some respects both the activities and sentiments become. Moreover, the more a person's activities and sentiments resemble those of others, the more likely it is that interaction between him and these otheis will increase."" A teacher who wants close relations with members of a certain subgroup often attempts to emulate the behavior and attitudes of that group. if successful, social interaction typically develops. Furthermore, the more extensive the interactions, the more confident the teacher becomes that he or she can imitate the "fight" activities and sentiments. Of course, the tendency toward standardization within subgroups is matched by differentiation among subgroups.

Differentiation Within the Group. Differentiation within social systems is difficult to explain without the addition of the term "norm" to the conceptual scheme. As we noted earlier, norms are expectations; they are not behavior themselves. Group norms are a product of the group as a whole; they emerge from the group as ideas as to what individuals should and should not do in various situations. Moreover, behavior departing from norms is inevitably met by some group sanction; in fact, if sanctions are not employed when deviations from expectations occur, the expectations were not norms. Not all expectations can be conceived of as norms. For example, ideals are also conceptions of what is desirable behavior, but they are not enforced with sanctions.

Norms emerge from the ongoing behavior of the group and then provide a guide for behavior. Individuals bring their own expectations, values, and ideals with them to the group, but they are forced to work out new norms as experience in the group confirims or conflicts with their original conceptions of what they should do. Homans describes nicely the influence and flexibility of norms as follows:

> If we think of a norm as a goal that the group wishes to reach, we can see that the goal is not set up, like the finish line of a race, before the race starts, but rather that the group decides, after it starts running, what the finish line shall be. Once the norm is established it exerts a back effect on the group.... But the norm can be a mark to shoot for only if it is not too far away from what can be achieved in everyday life. if it gets impossibly remote ... it will be abandoned in favor of some more Dearly attainable norm.

Thus far our concern has been with the group as a whole, but each subgroup has certain characteristics both because of its relations with other subgroups and because it is part of the whole. Groups often form cliques-that is, subgroups of the larger unit. Members' interactions with each other are more frequent than they are with others not in their subgroup. Moreover, these interaction patterns are also mutually dependent on sentiments and activities of group members. Indeed, the mutual dependence of the elements of social behavior in both the subgroup and group as a whole can be summed up as follows:

1. The more frequently individuals interact with each other, the stronger their sentiments for friendship with each other are apt to be (mutual dependence of interaction and sentiment).
2. Individuals who feel sentiments of liking for each other will express those sentiments in activities above and beyond those required by the formal system (mutual dependence of sentiment and activity).
3. Individuals who interact with each other frequently are more like each other in their activities than they are with other individuals with whom they interact less frequently (mutual dependence of activity and interaction).[12]

The internal system, then, differentiates itself. Cliques form and separate themselves from other subgroups, yet all are part'of the larger group. As soon as two cliques distinguish themselves from each other, at least one of them is likely to feel it is better than the other. Frequently, the set of norms and unconscious assumptions accepted by the group as a whole is used as a test to establish their ranking-the closer the behavior of the subgroup to the norms of the group as a whole, the higher the rank of the subgroup.

Similarly, individuals within cliques develop feelings of superiority. A person comes to feel that he or she is somehow better than others of the subgroup and therefore ranks higher. For an individual to rank high in a clique, however, a high self-evaluation is not sufficient. The group must concur with this evaluation, and again the group norms provide the basis for agreement. To rank high in the group, a person must live up to all of its norms. Paradoxically, it is often the case that once a member achieves high ranking in the group, the member is then granted the privilege of some deviation from the norms.

Hence, within the group as a whole, there develops a set of subgroups or cliques, each with a social ranking. Likewise, within each subgroup, a system of individual rankings occurs; that is, each subgroup develops ranking structure and the individual with the highest rank emerges as the leader of that subgroup. The leader typically has a wider range of interactions with members and more often initiates the interaction. The social ranking of an individual in the internal system is a function of both the rank of the individual in the subgroup and the rank of the clique within the group as a whole. The leader of the clique with the highest ranking is typically a strong informal leader.

Recapitulation

The dynamic character of the perspective and its application to the school are summarized in Figure 5.1. Teacher relations are in part determined by the physical features of the school, such as a faculty lounge, a faculty lunchroom, a library, and open classrooms; the technical aspects of the job, for example, departmentalization, team teaching, and extracurricular responsibilities; and social factors such as the leadership styles of the superintendent and central office staff. The initial relations of teachers in a school can be examined in terms of formal activities, sentiments, and interactions, all of which are mutually dependent. These relations comprise the external system of the schoolexternal because the system is determined by the opportunities and constraints of the school environment and the need for teachers to keep their jobs. The external system is formal because it has been explicitly pl1W ned and institutionalized to attain specific objectives; that is, formal expectations, division of labor, hierarchy and control, and formal leadership and communication struetures are developed and implemented to achieve school goals.

A number of consequences follow from the establishment of these initial,

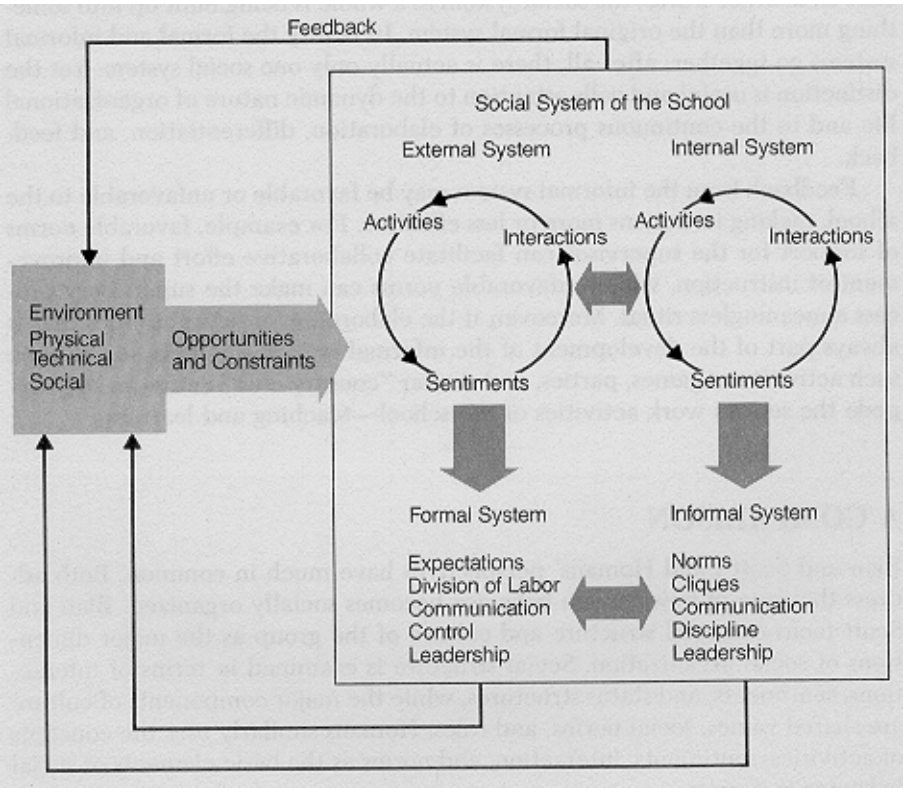

Figure.5.1 Homans' Systems Perspective on Social Organization

formal relations. New sentiments develop that are different from the workmotivated ones that brought teachers together in the first place. The new sentiments are ones of liking and disliking toward other teachers and groups within the school, and they provide for the ranking of individuals and groups based on an emerging set of informal norms. Moreover, new informal activities develop, some of which are a direct reaction to the formal organization. For example, the inability of faculty to influence policy through the formal structure may result in informal activities, conversations, and initiatives. New patterns of interaction elaborate themselves in schools: informal norms, association in cliques, informal webs of communication, and discipline networks centering on an informal leader. Homans calls this developing system of informal sentiments, activities, and interactions the internal system, but within formal organizations it is more frequently referred to as informal organization.

The informal organization, then, arises out of the formal organization and then reacts upof it. The development of group norms, the division into cliques, and the ranking of individuals and subgroups are conditioned directly by the formal structure and indirectly by the school environment. Hence, we can begin with the formal system of the school and argue that the informal system is continually emerging out of it and continually feeding back to influence it; in other words, the social system as a whole is being built up into something more than the original formal system. In reality the formal and informal systems go together; after all, there is actually only one social system. Yet the distinction is useful and calls attention to the dynamic nature of organizational life and to the continuous processes of elaboration, differentiation, and feedback.

Feedback from the informal system may be favorable or unfavorable to the school, making its actions more or less effective. For example, favorable norms of support for the supervisor can facilitate collaborative effort and improvement of instruction, while unfavorable norms can make the supervisory process a meaningless ritual. Moreover, if the elaboration of new activities that is always part of the development of the informal system is merely social, then such activities as games, parties, and similar "country club" activities may impede the serious work activities of the school-teaching and learning.

A COMPARISON

Blau and Scott's and Homans' perspectives have much in common. Both address the issue of how human behavior becomes socially organized. Blau and Scott focus on social structure and culture of the group as the major dimensions of social organization. Social structure is examined in terms of interactions, sentiments, and status structures, while the major components of culture are shared values, social norms, and roles. Homans similarly uses the concepts of activities, sentiments, interaction, and norms as the basic elements of social behavior in groups.

Homans' framework, however, is more elaborate. He describes the internal and external systems of social organization as major aspects of all social systems. He explores not only the mutual interrelationships of the basic elements of social behavior but also the mutual relation of the internal and external systems and the impact of the physical, technical, and social features of the environment on the system. Homans' scheme is a more complete framework for understanding behavior in all social systems.

Both perspectives can readily be used to analyze informal organization in schools. Blau and Scott provide the basis for an initial picture of the informal organization, and Homans' scheme can then be used to more closely examine the complex relations among elements and systems of behavior as well as relations with the environment. Homans' framework elaborates the Blau and Scott perspective by casting it in an open-systems perspective.

IMPLICATIONS OF INFORMAL ORGANIZATION IN SCHOOLS

Several implications of the influence of informal organization in schools have already been suggested. In the first chapter we argued that authority was the *willingness* of teachers to comply with suggestions and directives from superiors because they considered the exercise of such control to be legitimate. In other words, authority exists'when a common set of beliefs in a school legitimizes the use of power as right and proper. There are two major sources of authority in school organizations-formal and informal. Formal authority is legitimized by values that have become institutionalized in formal positions, rules, and regulations. Informal authority is legitimized by the shared sentiments and norms that spontaneously develop in the internal system of work relations.

Supervisors in schools must be acutely aware of and understand both the formal and informal organization of the school. Informal norms of support and allegiance within the teacher group for the supervisors seem imperative if supervisors are to be accepted by their colleagues as individuals who can help to improve instruction. Supervisors must not only understand the informal relations, they must also develop relations and leadership patterns that enable them to tap into the informal support network.

Supervisory Styles

How can supervisors achieve such support? Informal authority arises from the loyalty that supervisors are able to co ' mmand from group members. [13] Thus, supervisors must generate personal loyalty and trust from teachers. A number of patterns of supervisory behavior have been strongly related to teacher loy alty to su~ervisors.

Authoritarianism and teacher loyalty are probably incompatible, a predic

tion that rests primarily upon the theoretical analysis of Blau and Scott." One strategy for extending the scope of formal authority over subordinates is domination. The authoritarian supervisor attempts to increase control by resorting to formal sanctions or to threats of using those sanctions; however, in the long run their prolonged use probably tends to undermine authority. Subordinates, particularly professionals, resent constant reminders of their dependence on the supervisor, especially in an egalitarian cultural context. Given their strategy of domination and close supervision, authoritarian supervisors are unlikely to command loyalty and support from professionals easily. Blau neatly summarized the "dilemma of bureaucratic authority" as follows: "It rests on the power of sanction but is weakened by frequent resort to sanctions in operations."15 In fact, nonauthoritarian supervisors seem likely to engage in a contrasting strategy:--one of leadership in which services and assistance are furnished to subordinates. Using formal authority to perform special favors and services can create social obligations and build goodwill among subordinates. The result should be enhanced development of subordinate loyalty and informal authority.

This rationale for predicting a negative relationship between authoritarian supervision and teacher loyalty is particularly compelling in schools for a number of reasons. First, the nature of supervision in schools should focus on helping, not directing, teachers to improve their teaching. Second, because teachers usually work in closed rooms, they are not easily observed. Moreover, teachers frequently make strong claims for professional autonomy, and close supervision seems likely to be considered an infringement on that autonomy. Finally, teachers attach great importance to authority based on professional competence-much more than do similar professional groups such as social workers. [16] Therefore, it should not be surprising that the research consistently demonstrates that authoritarian supervisors are not successful in generating teacher loyalty. [17] Close, authoritarian supervision does not generate informal authority among teachers.

Emotional detachment and hierarchical independence are two important characteristics in supervisor-teacher relationships. Emotional detachment is the ability of supervisors to remain calm, cool, and collected in difficult situations; and hierarchical independence is the extent to which supervisors demonstrate their autonomy from superiors in their interactions with teachers. Supervisors stand in the middle-with the higher administration on one side ~and professional teaching faculty on the other. Their effectiveness depends on the support they receive from both; yet they are likely to be the objects of conflicting pressures from both groups. Consequently, emotional detachment from subordinates and independence from superiors are important in establishing social support from teachers for supervisors. Indeed, the research has demonstrated the significance of both-particularly emotional detachmentin generating teacher loyalty to supervisors. [18]

Similarly, hierarchical influence is another attribute of supervisors who are likely to tap into informal teacher groups for authority to lead. Supervisors who are willing and able to exert their influence with superiors on teachers'

behalf are respected and valued by teachers, earning their confidence, support, and loyalty.19 In fact, some research suggests that a supervisor's ability to exercise influence may be the key to effective supervision. 20

Professional leadership-the effort a supervisor makes to conform to a role definition that stresses an obligation to improve the quality of instruction-has also been linked to the ability to generate teacher loyalty. When supervisors are perceived by teachers as instructional leaders and as colleagues, they are more likely to win teachers' allegiance and support. 21 Moreover, teachers want considerate and supportive relations with supervisors, and when they have them, they typically react with strong loyalty. 22

Finally, the supervisor's authenticity in dealing with teachers is a critical factor in the supervisory process, enabling supervisors to generateteacher loyalty and informal authority. Leader authenticity is a slippery concept. People glibly talk about genuine, real, and authentic behavior, yet it is a different matter to clearly define and measure authenticity. 23 Based on the work of James Henderson and Wayne Hoy, however, three major aspects of leader authenticity-accountability, manipulation, and salience of self over role-have been identified and measured.24 Thus, supervisor authenticity is defined as the extent to which teachers describe their supervisors as accepting responsibility for their actions, as being nonmanipulative, and as demonstrating a salience of self over role. In contrast, inauthentic supervisors are viewed as those who pass the buck, blame others and circumstances for not being successful, manipulate teachers, and hide behind their formal position. As one would expect, preliminary research supports the hypothesis that perceived leader authenticity is strongly related to commanding trust and teacher loyalty from teachers.

The implications of these empirical findings are clear. If supervisors are to be successful in developing informal authority-that is, willing compliance to supervisory suggestions-then they must develop supervisory patterns that foster teacher loyalty. To this end,authoritarian behavior is doomed to failure. Instead, supervisors must stress a role that focuses on the improvement of instruction through collaborative efforts and executive professional leadership. In such efforts, supervisors must demonstrate both their independence from and influence with superiors. At the same time, their behavior must be emotionally tempered, calm, considerate, and supportive, even in extremely difficult situations. All of these behaviors must be confirmed with authentic supervisory behavior-willingness on the supervisor's part to share in blame, to be nonmanipulative of teachers, and to be unfettered by the bureaucratic role demands.

Effective supervision is anchored in the informal system of authority, and the development of informal authority is in large'part dependent both on knowledge of the informal organization and enlightened supervisory behavior that generates teacher loyalty. This knowledge of informal norms, sentiments, and interactions-enables supervisors to make crucial decisions in areas where unofficial practices are so rooted in the basic teacher work-group norms that
25 they cannot be ignored.

Functions of Informal Organization

Informal organizations in schools have at least three important functions. They serve as effective vehicles of communication, as a means of cohesion, and as mechanisms for protecting the integrity of the individual .2r,

Formal communications systems in schools are typically insufficient and are inevitably supplemented by informal ones. One finding repeatedly demonstrated by researchers is that informal communications, so-called grapevines, exist in all organizations regardless of how elaborate their systems of formal communication. Communications flow quickly and freely through the grapevine. These informal communications patterns in schools are built around social relationships among school members; informal channels arise for such simple reasons as common classroom areas, shared lunch hours, car pools, and friendships. Like other organizational members, teachers need to know what is happening and why; in fact, the need for such communication and understanding may be one of the basic reasons for the existence of small, informal groups. 27

Informal structure provides a channel for circumventing formally prescribed rules and procedures that may have positive or negative effects. Charles Page's study of informal structure demonstrates that pressing problems develop for which efficient solutions or communications are not possible within the formal framework; hence, the informal structure assumes increased importance. For example, Page observes that official communications must be routed through the chain of command, which is often a long-drawn-out process. Frequently, circumventing the official communications channels through the grapevine appears to be precisely what is necessary for solving pressing problems. 28 Similarly, Laurence lannaccone's study also confirmed that when the formal organization of a school does not respond to up-the-line communications from teachers in a satisfactory way, then the informal system is used in an attempt to obtain a satisfactory response. 29 In schools, the knowledgeable and flexible supervisor can use the informal system to avoid the bureaucratic frustrations and impediments of the formal system. As a communications vehicle, the grapevine provides efficient machinery-provided that the supervisor recognizes its importance, understands its structure and functioning, and is willing and able to use'it.

Informal organization in schools is also a means to cohesiveness. Patterns of social relationships typically emphasize friendliness, cooperation, and the preservation of the group. Such informal personal relationships provide the social cement that helps to hold the faculty as a whole together and make the school a more pleasant place to work. Norman Boyan's study of the informal organization of a school faculty demonstrates this important function. He observes that the informal system of relationships operated to reduce differentiation among faculty, to assist new and younger teachers to make an easier adjustment to the faculty social system, and to develop stronger solidarity.30 Boyan emphasizes that maintenance of friendly relations and inclusion of all personnel as members of the group were not left to chance; they evolved from

an elaborate system of social relations that operated to envelop the entire faculty, such as the faculty Christmas party, the spring picnic, poker and beer sessions to which all the men were invited, the regular teas given by the women teachers, and the regular afternoon pilgrimage to "the Dell He concluded:

> ...spite of the existence of several tightly knit small groups and personal associations and in spite-of the obvious separation of the sexes, the atmosphere of friendliness and cordiality was potent enough to cause all of the faculty members to feel that they belonged to the group. This in turn helped in the achievement and maintenance of group solidarity. [31]

Finally, the informal organization functions to maintain a sense of personal integrity, self-respect, and independent choice among teachers. [32] Unlike the formal organization, the informal system of relations is not dominated by impersonality and formal authority; therefore, individuals can more fully express their personal needs. Although this process sometimes produces conflict with the formal system, the informal system of relationships provides an important means through which teachers can maintain their individual personalities in spite of organizational demands-which invariably attempt to depersonalize individuals. In brief, informal organization in schools is important to supervisors because it serves as a means of communication, of solidarity, and of protecting the integrity of the personalities of teachers. Supervisors are intimately concerned with these functions; in fact, effective supervision is unlikely without efficient informal communication, teacher unity, and concern for individual teacher needs.

Teacher Isolation

The analysis of the informal organization of the school inevitably reveals teacher isolates, teachers who have limited interactions with other teachers. These teachers do not regularly discuss educational and social subjects with their colleagues and frequently pose a special challenge for supervisors.

In a study of five educational organizations, Patrick Forsyth and Wayne K. Hoy examined teacher isolation from friends, from perceived actual control, from respected coworkers, and from the organization. [33] Without exception, one instance of isolation was related to other instances; for 'example, teacher isolates tend to be separated from not only the school's control structure but also from informal leaders, respected colleagues, and friends. Such isolation is potentially destructive and often leads to alienation of teachers. In fact, in a related study of isolation in elementary schools, Arlene Zielinski and Wayne K. Hoy found that isolation from formal authority (typically the principal) had deleterious effects on teachers: they were alienated not only from the school organization and their teacher colleagues but also from themselves and their teaching. [34]

Supervisors can serve as an important link between teachers and the higher

administration. Such linkage is especially significant for isolated teachers. Current research supports the notion that principals and supervisors are important elements in school effectiveness. [35] One thing is quite clear: supervisors cannot positively influence either teachers or the instructional organization unless they interact frequently with teachers and administrators. Once again, the crucial role of the supervisor in both the formal and informal systems is underscored.

Formal4nformal Interplay

just as the influence of the formal on the informal organization can be positive or negative, the impact of the informal on the formal can be constructive or destructive. Research has shown that the informal system can be a potent force in restricting productivity in organizations [36] as well as a vehicle for improving efficiency and initiating constructive change. [37]

lannaccone's study of the informal system of the Whitman Elementary School reveals that informal organization can move ahead of the formal to deal with problems not yet squarely faced by the formal system .[38] In the Whitman School, for example, a kind of trial-and-error process took place. Solutions to problems were often tried and modified (occasionally abandoned) by the informal system before they were formally adopted by the school, On the one hand, the informal system led the way in developing new methods of dealing with parents and community pressures, while on the other hand, it acted as a braking mechanism by which changes instituted by the formal system were modified, postponed-even hampered-until adjustments in work behavior or personnel changes could catch up to new policy. [39] Similarly, Boyan's study demonstrated that the same personal relations and informal sentiments that were helpful in making the school a pleasant place to work also acted to slow the process of educational change, to minimize the disruptive effects of,personnel turnover, and to allay the negative consequences of modifications in the official policies and scheme of evaluations. [40]

Clearly, the supervisor needs to be cognizant of the close interplay between the formal and informal systems. Membership in small informal groups is influenced by such factors as proximity of teaching station, grade level, and teaching assignment. These variables are part of the school's formal structure and can be influenced by the administration. This is especially important, for instance, if the supervisor wants to strengthen some groups or help certain teachers to overcome their isolation. Moving a pair of teachers close to each otherJor example, might provide the first step in breaking down isolation and providing social support for teacher isolates.

Informal leadership in schools is also closely related to the range of interaction available to teachers and supervisors. [41] Thus, opportunities for leadership can be aided or hindered by schedules that encourage or discourage the mobility and interaction of teachers. and supervisors. If the supervisor is to have a chance to develop an informal position of leadership, then his or her

schedule should enable a wide range of interaction with other teachers. Furthermore, teachers whose schedules prevent much informal school-day contact with other teachers are likely to have limited influence and low status within the informal system. Manipulation of the formal organization is an avenue open to the administration to indirectly influence the leadership of the informal system.

Culture

A key aspect of the informal organization is its culture-the shared values, beliefs, and orientations that unite the members of the organization and provide purpose and commitment. A strong culture is embodied in a system of informal norms that clearly articulate how individuals are supposed to behave most of the time. Moreover, strong culture enables individuals to feel better about their, jobs; hence, they are more likely to work harder and be more productive. [42] There is growing evidence that effective organizations cultivate their identities by shaping values, making heroes, engaging in rituals and ceremonies, and developing myths. [43] Contemporary research is confirming what Philip Selznick observed nearly three decades ago:

> To create an institution we rely on many techniques for infusing day-to-day behavior with long-run meaning and purpose. One of the most important of these techniques is the elaboration of socially integrating myths. These are efforts to state, in the language of uplift and idealism, what is distinctive about the aims and methods of the enterprise. Successful institutions are usually able to fill in the formula, "What we are proud of around here is . . ."44

The notion of organizational culture accentuates a symbolic perspective--one [45] that centers on the concepts of meaning, belief, and truth.

Symbols are especially significant in organizations such as schools, where teaching is more an art than a science and where goals are not always clear. Organizational members typically create a variety of symbols to cope with the uncertainty and confusion that arise from weak technologies and unclear goals. Often what is most important about an event is not what happened but its meaning, and meaning is a function not simply of events but of how individuals interpret them. [46] Thus, it is important for supervisors to know and understand the meanings of institutional symbols-the myths, rituals, and* ceremonies of the school culture that are an integral facet of the informal orga-, nization.

Myths appeal to members by embodying the cultural ideals of the organization and by giving expression to deep, commonly felt emotions. Myths arise to protect individuals from uncertainty and to bring order and meaning to complex and unpredictable activities. They serve useful functions for the organization by creating a sense of purpose among members, strengthening their commitment and loyalty, communicating their unconscious wishes and con

flicts, mediating their contradictions, and motivating them to greater efforts in behalf of the organization. [47] Myths also have dysfunctions: they distort perceptions, impede change, and dull curiosity.

The role of the supervisor, then, is to promote the functional consequences of myths while avoiding their pitfalls. For creative supervision, it is not the communication and perpetuation of a myth that count; but rather, creativity depends on having the will and the insight to see the necessity of the myth, to discover a successful formulation, and to create the school conditions that sustain the ideals expressed in the myth[48].

SUMMARY

Informal organization exists in schools. It is not an enemy to be eliminated or suppressed; on the contrary, it can be a useful means for improving instruction. It is irrational to supervise in schools according to the purely technical criteria of rationality and formality because such practices ignore the nonrational aspects of informal organization. [49] Supervisory practice in schools is enhanced by using *both* the formal (impersonal, rational) and the informal (personal, nonrational) components of school organization; to neglect either is counterproductive.

The informal structure develops from the formal organization as new sentiments-based on feelings of liking and disliking rather than mandated by the school---emerge and lead to a-more personal set of activities and interactions. These new patterns of activities, sentiments, and interactions elaborate themselves in schools; shared values, informal norms, myths, rituals, ceremonies, and new roles including informal leaders arise. Moreover, spontaneous interactions become structured and orderly as individuals and cliques rank themselves and as informal webs of communication and discipline networks are established. This informal system of organization is conditioned directly by the formal system and indirectly by the school environment. The key elements of informal structure are summarized in Figure 5.2.

To be effective in improving instruction, supervisors must command informal authority. The key to establishing informal norms of support and allegiance is the development of trust and loyalty among teachers. Supervisory patterns that foster teacher loyalty are nonauthoritarian practices that demonstrate - to teachers that the supervisor is supportive, independent from and yet influential with superiors, emotionally temperate, and authentic in interactions with teachers., Once informal authority is established, the supervisor must take advantage of the basic functions of the informal system in order to communicate effectively, to enhance the solidarity of the faculty as a whole, to develop a strong culture, to help teacher isolates and reduce their alienation, to protect the integrity of the personalities of individual teachers, and to develop a climate to improve classroom instruction.

There is a constant interplay between the formal and informal organizations, and the influence of the two systems on each other can be constructive

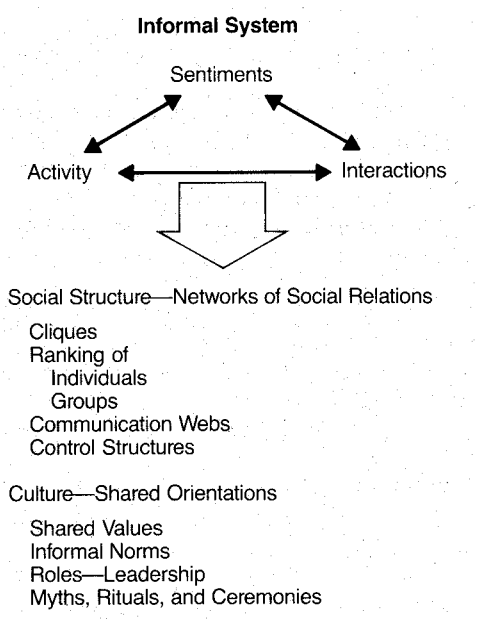

Figure 5.2 Key Elements of the Informal Structure

or destructive. The supervisor's role in ensuring that the systems complement each other is pivotal-the informal organization can be used to improve and streamline the functioning of the formal, and the formal can be restructured to enhance the operation of the informal.

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CHAPTER 6

Leadership

Leadership is another crucial aspect of the school context that sets the scene for effective supervision. The concept of leadership is both fascinating and ,elusive. It has intrigued our imaginations and speculations for centuries, and many still believe, as Aristotle did, that "from the hour of their birth, some are marked for subjection, others for rule."' Although the systematic, empirical study of leadership by behavioral scientists did not begin until the twentieth century, the last four decades have produced a voluminous amount of data, most of it attesting to the complexity of the leadership phenomenon.

Unraveling the mystery of leadership has not been a simple task. Some contemporary scholars, in fact, question the utility of the concept,2 while others argue that the leaders of an organization are major determinants of its success or failure. 3 Our view is consistent with the latter: the leadership of both principals and supervisors is imperative for an effective program of supervision. Moreover, we know more about leadership effectiveness than is typically acknowledged, and the purpose of this chapter is to review the leadership literature in order to identify the propositions and concepts that will be most useful in our analysis of supervision of instruction.

THE NATURE AND MEANING OF LEADERSHIP

What is leadership? There are almost as many definitions as there are writers on the topic. Clearly, the term means different things to different individuals; in fact, after a careful review of the literature Bennis cogently concluded, "Always, it seems, the concept of leadership eludes us or turns up in another form to taunt us again with its slipperiness and complexity. -4

In describing the general nature of leadership, Katz and Kahn identify three basic meanings of the concept: (1) an attribute of an office or position; (2) a characteristic of a person; and (3) a category of actual behavior.5 Principals occupy formal leadership positions, so do department heads and teachers. Principals have formal authority over teachers, and teachers have legitimate power over students. Obviously, however, there are individuals in school orga-

nizations, who are not in formal positions of power yet who do possess and wield considerable influence and power. On the other hand, individuals who occupy leadership positions do not always use the concomitant power and influence, and there are others who exercise leadership in one situation but not in others. Leadership also implies followers; there can be no leaders without followers. However, the situations under which different groups and individuals will follow vary considerably. Inevitably a contingency approach to leadership seems essential: the leader must read the situation and then apply the correct mix of structure and consideration in his or her leadership behavior.

Others have argued, however, that mastering a contingency approach to leadership is insufficient for long-term improvement. They maintain that what aleader stands for is more important than what a leader does; that meanings are more important than actions; and that leadership is a cultural expression that builds unity and order within an organization by focusing on purposes, historical and philosophical traditions, and ideals and norms. [6] Leaders create symbols to reduce uncertainty, to resolve confusion, and to provide direction. Hence, leaders are concerned with helping followers find meaning in their work by developing a cohesive culture of shared values and beliefs, myths, rituals, and ceremonies.

The concept of leadership remains elusive because it depends not only on position, behavior, and personality of the leader but also on the nature of the situation as well as the interaction of the situation with the personality and behavior of the leader. Moreover, leadership occurs in a cultural context in which symbols and meanings are important. Although leadership is highly complex, there is considerable conceptual capital and a wealth of empirical data that are valuable to students and practitioners of supervision and administration.

LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

Like the concept of leadership, leader effectiveness is complex and has been defined in a variety of ways. Stogdill, for example, has suggested that the effectiveness of a group be defined in terms of (1) the group's output, (2) the satisfaction of its members, and (3) its morale. [7]

Outcomes of the group may include such diverse things as attainment of group goals, group development, group survival, group adaptability, subordinate satisfaction with the leader, subordinate commitment to goals, the psychological growth and development of group members, and the leader's retention of status and position.8 But the most commonly used measure of leader effectiveness is the degree to which the group or organization performs its task successfully and accomplishes its goal.9 Fiedler, for example, evaluates leader effectiveness entirely in terms of the group's performance of its primary task, even though the group's outcome is not entirely a function of the leader's skills.10 In some cases, objective measures of group performance are available-net profit, cost per unit, percentage of wins, and number of problems

solved. In other cases, the evaluation of task accomplishment is more subjective: ratings of effectiveness from subordinates and superiors are used.

The satisfaction of followers with their leader is another common indicator of effectiveness. How well does the leader satisfy the needs and expectations of followers? How loyal are followers to the leader? To what extent are followers willing to accept without question the directives of the lettder? How content are followers with the leader? To what extent is -there role-personality conflict? How much trust do followers have in the leader? Although satisfaction is often measured with questionnaires and interviews, a number of objective measures of behavior such as absenteeism, turnover rate, grievances, slowdowns, and wildcat strikes also serve as indirect indications of dissatisfaction, [11]

Morale is typically used to refer to a sense of group belongingness and identification with group goals. [12] Group members need to feel that their needs are consistent with expectations, that the expectations are appropriate to accomplish the task, and that goals are worth accomplishing. Hence, leadership effectiveness is sometimes measured by the leader's contribution to the quality of group processes. Does the leader enhance group belongingness, cohesiveness, cooperation, problem solving, decision making, and identification with the task? Morale is a global concept that taps a general feeling that members have about the group and their confidence and commitment to the task at hand. Measures of morale, usually determined by perceptions of members or by outside observers, provide another index of the leader's effectiveness.

The choice of leader-effectiveness criteria depends on many factors, including the values of the evaluator, the leadership theory, and the time perspective. For example, Fiedler argues that turnover rate, job satisfaction, morale, and personal adjustment may contribute to group performance, but they are not themselves criteria of performance. [13] But House proposes a pathgoal theory in which leader behavior is effective to the extent that it improves subordinate job satisfaction, enhances the acceptance of the leader, and increases subordinate motivation. [14] Moreover, what is effective leadership over the short run-for instance, in terms of profits or cognitive mastery of content-may have long-term negative consequences in terms of turnover, absenteeism, or satisfaction. Since many of the criteria of leadership effectiveness are not correlated and some are even negatively related, multiple criteria of leader effectiveness seem desirable. We now turn our attention to three different perspectives that have been used to study and analyze leadership-the trait approach, the behavioral approach, and thecontingency approach.

TRAIT APPROACH

The maxim that "leaders are born, not made" was the basis for early systematic studies of leadership; hence, attention was focused on natural traits of individuals-physical attributes, personality traits, and general ability characteristics. From 1920 to 1950, psychological researchers tried to isolate the specific traits that endow leaders with unique qualities that differentiate- them from followers. Their efforts were largely unsuccessful.

Comprehensive reviews of early trait studies of leadership by Bird, Jenkins, Stogdill, and Mann [15] demonstrate the inability of researchers to find a consistent set of general leadership traits. Many of the traits isolated as crucial in one study were contradicted in others; that is, in some groups, effective leaders were assertive and aggressive, in others, mild-mannered and restrained; in some, quick and decisive, in others, reflective and diplomatic. Although Stogdill tentatively identifies above-average intelligence, scholarship, dependability, participation, and status as qualities enhancing leadership, he hastens to add, "A person does not become a leader by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits.... The pattern of personal characteristics of the leader must bear some relevant relationship to the characteristics, activities, and goals of the followers." [16] The literature clearly shows that leadership does not merely result from individual traits of leaders. Leaders with one set of traits may be successful in one situation but not in others. Moreover, leaders with different combinations of traits can be successful in the same or similar situations.

Notwithstanding the lack of success in identifying general leadership traits, such studies have persisted. More recent trait studies, however, use a greater variety of measurement procedures, including projective tests; and they focus on managers and administrators rather than other kinds of leaders. Gary YukI explains:

> One reason for this trend *is* that the 1948 literature review by Stogdill greatly discouraged many leadership researchers from studying leader traits, whereas industrial psychologists interested in improving managerial selection continued to conduct trait research. *The emphasis on selection focused trait research on the relation of leader traits to leader effectiveness, rather than on the comparison of leaders and nonleaders* [emphasis added] .[17]

YukI s distinction is a significant one. Predicting who will become a leader and predicting who will be more effective are quite different tasks. Hence, the socalled trait studies continue, but they now explore the relationship between traits and leadership effectiveness of administrators.

This second generation of studies has produced a more consistent set of findings; in fact, in 1970, after reviewing another 163 new trait studies, Stogdill concluded:

> The leader is characterized by a strong drive for responsibility and task completion, vigor and persistence in pursuit of goals, venturesomeness and originality in problem solving, drive to exercise initiative in social situations, self-confidence and sense of personal identity, willingness to accept consequences of decision and action, readiness to absorb interpersonal stress, willingness to tolerate frustration and delay, ability to influence other persons' behavior, and capacity to structure interaction systems to the purpose at hand.[18]

'Acceptance that personality is an important factor in leadership does not represent a return to the original trait assumption that "leaders are born, not made." Rather, it is a more sensible and balanced view, one that acknowledges

the influence of both traits and situations. Reaction, or perhaps more appropriately overreaction, to the trait approach was so intense during the late 1940s and 1950s that for a time it seemed that both psychologists and sociologists had substituted a strictly situational approach to leadership for the thenquestionable trait approach. Indeed, there was an overemphasis on the determinative effects of a specific situation on a given leader. The jump from "leaders are born, not made" to "leaders are made by the situation, not born" was short-lived. Both of these extreme positions are unduly restrictive and counterproductive. It now seems clear that although certain traits enhance the likelihood of leadership effectiveness, none guarantee it.

BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

Another way to study leadership is to describe the behavior of leaders. How does'the leader exert influence? Here the emphasis is not on traits but rather on performance. Behavior is described directly through observation. Once the descriptions of leader behavior are established, then comparisons of the behavior of effective and ineffective leaders, using a variety of criteria, can be made. Hence, the critical elements of leadership can be identified and their relations to important organizational outcomes can be explored.

Dimensions of Leader Behavior

The literature on leadership is surprisingly consistent in its description of the major aspects of leader behavior. Almost all of the various conceptualizations support a multidimensional view, with at least two distinct patterns of leader behavior. Moreover, when more than two dimensions are proposed, they usually collapse into two basic patterns at the next higher level of abstraction. Finally, there is consistency in the frameworks regardless of whether the analysis is a theoretical, empirical, or practical one.

Chester Barnard in his early, classic analysis of administration was one of the first to distinguish between the effectiveness and efficiency of behavior.

> The persistence of cooperation depends upon two conditions: (a) its effectiveness; and (b) its efficiency. Effectiveness relates to the accomplishment of the cooperative purpose which is social and nonpersonal in character. Efficiency relates to the satisfaction of individual motives, and is personal in character. The test of effectiveness is the accomplishment of common purpose or purposes; ... the test of efficiency is the eliciting of sufficient individual wills to cooperate.19

Similarly, in their study of the dynamics of small groups, Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin ' Zander discovered two sets of group functions that are critical to the group: (1) goal achievement-attainment of some specific group goal and (2) group maintenance-a-maintenance or strengthening of the group itself.20 These two basic elements of interpersonal relations have often been identified in diverse settings and given a variety of names: "instrumental and expressive

activities,"21 - control and cathectic dimensions,"22 "task and social activities,"23 "idiographic and nomothetic dimensions,1124 , production orientation and employee orientation, -25 , initiating structure and consideration,"26 and ,, system orientation and person orientation. "27

In one of the most comprehensive attempts to identify and measure the key elements of leader behavior, Ralph Stogdill and his colleagues at Ohio State have proposed twelve dimensions of leadership. 28 The dimensions and their meanings are presented in Table 6.1. Note that these twelve aspects of leadership can be divided into two familiar categories. System-oriented behavior is concerned with production emphasis, initiation of structure, representation, rule assumption, and persuasion, while person-oriented behavior emphasizes tolerance of freedom, tolerance of uncertainty, consideration, demand reconciliation, predictive accuracy, and integration. In fact, Alan Brown's study of 170 principals provides empirical support for these two higher-order dimensions of leadership. 29

The purpose of this brief review was not to summarize all the conceptualizations of leadership but rather to demonstrate that in spite of the diversity of settings and approaches, two general and distinct categories of leader behavior emerge--one concerned with people and interpersonal relations and the other with production and task achievement. We prefer to name the dimensions concern for organizational tasks and concern for individual relationships. 30 ~ A

Table 6.1 **Stogdill's Leadership Dimensions**

System-Oriented Dimension

Production emphasis: applies pressure for productive output.
Initiation of structure: clearly defines own role and lets followers know what is expected.
Representation: speaks and acts as the representative of the group.
Role assumption: actively exercises the leadership role rather than surrendering leadership to others.
Persuasion: uses persuasion and argument effectively; exhibits strong convictions.
Superior orientation: maintains cordial relations with superiors, has influence with them, and strives for higher status.

Person-Oriented Dimension

Tolerance of uncertainty: is able to tolerate uncertainty and postponement without anxiety or upset.
Tolerance of freedom: allows staff members scope for initiative, decision, and action.
Consideration: regards the'comfort, well-being, status, and contributions of fellows.
Demand reconciliation: reconciles conflicting demands and reduces disorder to the system.
Integration: maintains close-knit organization and resolves intermember conflict.
Predictive accuracy: exhibits foresight and ability to predict outcomes accurately.

Table 6.2 **Dimensions of Leadership: Summary and Comparison**

Theorist	Concern for Organizational Tasks	Concern for Individual Relationships
Barnard	Effectiveness	Efficiency
Etzioni and Parsons	Instrumental activities	Expressive activities
Cartwright and Zander	Goal achievement	Group maintenance
Getzels and Guba	Nomothetic	Idiographic
Halpin	Initiating structure	Consideration
Kahn	Production orientation	Employee orientation
Bales	Task leader	Social leader
Brown	System orientation	Person orientation
Stogdill	Production emphasis	Tolerance of freedom
	Initiating structure	Tolerance of uncertainty
	Representation	Consideration
	Role assumption	Demand reconciliation
	Persuasion	Predictive accuracy
	Superior orientation	Integration

summary and comparison of this discussion of leadership dimensions are found in Table 6.2.

The Ohio State Leadership Studies

Studies of leader behavior in organizations are typically done using questionnaires, and by far the most frequent instrument used in schools is the well known Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ). The LBDQ emerged from a systematic program of research on leadership organized by -Carroll Shartle in 1945 at Ohio State University. In their attempt to identify leadership behavior that was necessary for the achievement of organizational tasks, the Ohio State group compiled a list of approximately 1,800 examples of different aspects of leader behavior, which was then reduced to 150 items as the researchers forced consensus on the critical aspects of leadership behavior. The early work by John Hemphill and Alvin Coons3l and later the refinement by Andrew Halpin and B. J. Winer 32 produced a thirty-item LBDQ that measures two basic dimensions of leader beha'vior-initiating structure and consideration.

Both dimensions are broad categories of behavior that comprise a variety of specific activities. Consideration describes behavior concerned with establishing and maintaining sound personal relationships with subordinates; such leader behavior indicates friendship, trust, warmth, interest, supportiveness, and respect. Initiating structuredeals with behavior devoted primarily to the efficient use of human and material resources to accomplish the goals of the work group; such leader behavior defines patterns of organization, clarifies subordinate roles, directs activities, criticizes poor work, presses subordinates to work harder, and structures the task. Both consideration and initiating structure deal with influencing the behavior of members of a work group.

Early studies using the LBDQ provided evidence that the two dimensions were relatively independent of each other; that is, initiating structure and consideration are distinct concepts, not opposite endsof the same continuum. This two-factor conceptualization is often used to generate four leadership styles by cross-partitioning initiating structure and consideration (see Figure 6.1).

Halpin summarizes the major findings of early LBDQ studies as follows: [33]

1. Initiating structure and consideration as measured b~ the LBDQ are funda. mental dimensions of leader behavior.
2. Effective leader behavior tends most often to be associated with high performance on both dimensions.
3. Superiors and subordinates tend to evaluate the contributions of the leader behavior dimensions oppositely in assessing effectiveness. Superiors tend to emphasize initiating structure, whereas subordinates are more concerned with consideration. Hence, the leader is often involved in some degree of role conflict.
4. The leadership style characterized as high on both dimensions is associated with such group characteristics as harmony, intimacy, and proceduralclarity, and with favorable changes in group attitude.
5. Only a slight relationship exists between how leaders say they should behave and how subordinates describe how they do behave.
6. Different institutional settings tend to foster different leadership styles.

More recent LBDQ studies of schools generally support the original results and expand the knowledge about the relationship of leader behavior of principals and other school variables. For example, B. T. Keeler and John Andrews reported that both consideration and initiation of structure by principals, as described by teachers, were positively related to student scores on a provincewide examination in Canadian schools; and likewise, Brown found that effec-

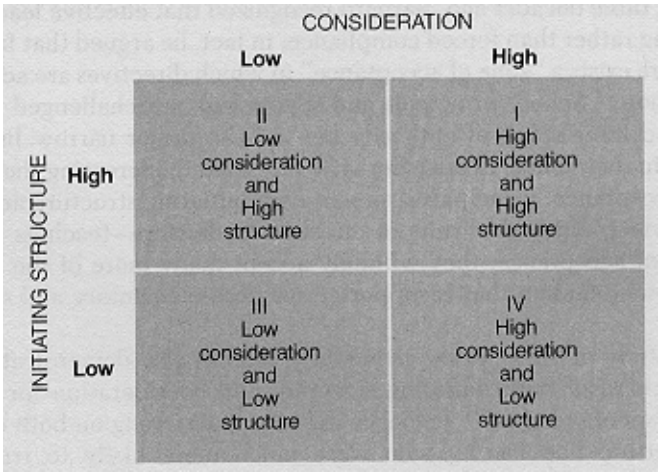

Figure 6.1 LBDQ Leadership Styles

tive principals were higher on both dimensions of leadership. 34 After an extensive LBDQ study, however, Brown suggests that although strength on both structure and consideration is desirable (Style 1) ' principals committed to developing effective organizational dynamics may compensate for limitations on one dimension by extraordinary strength in the other; but he also cautions against falling prey to what he calls the "cognitive fallacy":

> Good leadership, in and of itself, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a high cognitive payoff at the *pupil* level. The explanation lies in organizational, not educational terms. Good leadership, like other healthy organizational dynamics, has a facilitating payoff; it facilitates the process of the organization, not its prod UCt.35

The point is that cognitive outputs like school achievement results are the teachers' output; organizational outputs like morale and satisfaction are the administrators'. Principals are one step removed from the teaching-learning process; hence, their effects on cognitive development are only reflected by such organizational outcomes as morale and a healthy school climate (see Chapter 7).

Halpin suggests that effective leaders can initiate structure without sacrificing consideration. 36 Many principals may hesitate to structure the situation and press for the task lest they be accused of authoritarianism, but research in schools is increasingly demonstrating. that initiating structure does not limit either consideration or participation. In fact, initiating structure and consider-

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ation,are often highly correlated with each other. Moreover, both dimensions of leadership are related to generating high trust in and loyalty to principal.38 Almost without exception, however, principals who are weak on both dimensions (Style III) are highly ineffective; that is, low morale, teacher dissatisfaction, closed climates, and lack of trust among teachers are prevalent. In fact, general chaos typically imbues the work environment led by such leaders.

More than three decades ago, Barnard recognized that effective leadership involves willing rather than forced compliance; in fact, he argued that for each individual there exists a "zone of acceptance" in which directives are accepted without question.39 School principals and supervisors are challenged to find ways to extend their scope of authority beyond the rather narrow limits of power vested in their office. Leadership sytle is related to increasing the teachers ' zone of acceptance; principals strong in *both* initiating structure and consideration (Style 1) enjoy the fruits of effective leadership-teachers have a broader zone of acceptance; they willingly accept many more of the principal's initiatives-a finding that is supported for both elementary and second.ary schools. 40 -

A recent study of New Jersey elementary schools also demonstrated the value to principals of both initiating structure and consideration for developing an atmosphere of trust. 41 Schools with principals strong on both dimensions of leadership had faculty who were much more likely to trust the principals as well as each other. That is, faculty members had confidence that such principals would keep their word and act in the best interests of teachers.

Even in difficult situations teachers had more confidence in the, integrity of their colleagues and the school as well as the principal. In brief, the research evidence continues to support the contention that *both* initiating structure and consideration are important behaviors for supervisors and administrators.

Harvard Leadership Studies

While the Ohio State research studied the leadership patterns of administrators and supervisors in organizations, the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University under the direction of Robert F. Bales pursued a different strategy of inquiry. Bales and his colleagues set up small groups of subjects under laboratory conditions and studied their social behavior by direct observation. Perhaps the most startling finding of that research was "that the concept of 'leader,' if it is taken too literally, can cause the man who thinks he is one to disregard a most important fact-namely, that there is usually *another* leader in the group whom he can overlook only at his peril."42

The laboratory findings that emerged from the Harvard inquiries suggested a dual-leadership model. The individual who was judged by other group members to have the best ideas in contributing to a decision typically was not the best liked. There are generally two separate leadership roles in small task groups attempting to solve -problems-the *task* leader and the *social* leader. The task leader keeps the group engaged in work, but the pressure to work and the work itself tends to provoke some irritation and conflict within the group. The social leader, on the other hand, attempts to maintain unity and keeps group members aware of their importance as unique individuals whose special needs and perspectives are respected. Both roles are essential for the effective operation of the group; yet apparently only a few individuals can successfully perform both roles in the same group. 43

We note the Harvard studies briefly for several reasons. Unlike the Ohio State research, this *experimental* research examined the face-to-face interactions of individuals in small groups. Moreover, most of the experimental groups were composed of college students rather than of leaders in formal organizations. Despite the differences in the unit of analysis, situation, and method, the findings are remarkably consistent with those of the Ohio State studies: two relatively independent aspects of leadership develop in social groups and organizations.

CONTINGENCY APPROACH

Although the behavioral approaches developed at Ohio State University, the University of Michigan, and Harvard University are consistent in describing two important dimensions of leadership behavior, the relationships between leadership behavior and effectiveness have been much less conclusively estab-

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lished. As a result, the prevailing models guiding leadership research have turned to a contingency approach. According to this perspective, it is neces

sary to specify the conditions, or situational variables, that moderate the relationship between leader traits and performance criteria. The emerging evidence indicates that under one set of circumstances, one type of leader is effective; under another set of circumstances, however, a different type of leader is needed. The intriguing question of what kinds of leaders for what kinds of situations has no simple answer. There is no best leadership style; it depends. The contingency approach attempts to predict which types of leaders will be effective in different types of situations. The two most widely held contingency theories are Fiedler's contingency model and Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard's situational theory.

Fiedler's Contingency Model

Fiedler's theory of leadership maintains that the effectiveness of a group is contingent upon the appropriate matching of the leader and the group. [15] His contingency model is based upon the following two postulates:

1. Leadership style is determined by the motivational needs of the leader.
2. Group effectiveness is a function of the relationship between leadership style and favorableness of the situation; more specifically, effective group performance is contingent upon the leader's motivations and upon the leader's ability to exert influence in the situation.

Leadership Style and Behavior. It is important to differentiate Fiedler's definitions of the terms "Jeadership style" and "leadership behavior." Leadership behavior denotes the specific behavior of a leader while in the process of directing and controlling the activities of a work unit. For instance, the leader can commend, make helpful suggestions, and demonstrate consideration. In contrast, leadership style is the leader's underlying need-structure, which motivates behavior in a variety of interpersonal situations. In this model leadership style is a personality characteristic; it is not a consistent type of behavior but rather a relatively enduring set of motivational needs that the leader seeks to achieve in interactions with others. Fiedler underscores this critical distinction between leadership style and leadership behavior for understanding his theory as follows: "Important leadership behaviors of the same individual differ from situation to situation, while the need-structure which motivates these behaviors may be seen as constant."46

There are two basic sets of needs that motivate leaders-the need for good interpersonal relations and the need to accomplish the task. Although both sets 'Of needs motivate behavior, one set is usually more potent than the other; hence, leadership style is conceptualized according to the dominant set of motivational needs:

- Relationship-oriented leaders are first concerned with establishing good interpersonal relations with group members and then with accomplishing the task.
- Task-oriented leaders derive their major satisfaction first from successful accomplishment of the task and then from good interpersonal relations.

For both kinds of leaders, once the dominant set of needs has been met, then the secondary needs become important motivators. For example, under relaxed, well-controlled situations where the group is moving toward the task, task-oriented leaders may take the time to foster interpersonal relations. Moreover, it is not unusual in relaxed, well-controlled situations for relationshiporiented leaders to become more task conscious.

To identify leadership style, Fiedler developed a simple personality measure called the Least Preferred Co-worker (LPC) scale. The LPC scale is a se7 mantic differential consisting of sixteen bipolar items. The respondent is asked to select the person with whom he or she works least well (least preferred coworker) and then describe that individual on the scale (see Table 6.3). Each item is scored from I to 8; a high score reflects a favorable description.

A,bigh-scoring individual on the LPC scale describes his or her least preferred co-worker as pleasant, friendly, efficient, cheerful, and so forth; hence, even a person with whom it is difficult to work is viewed in very favorable terms. In contrast, a low-scoring person describes his or her least preferred coworker negatively-as unpleasant, unfriendly, uncooperative, inefficient, frustrating, and so forth. Thus, a person who rates a least preferred co-worker negatively rejects people with whom he or she cannot work.

Table 6.3 A **Sample of Items from the Least Preferred Co-worker Scale**

Directions. Think of the person with whom you can work least well. The person may be someone you work with now, or the person may be someone you knew in the past. The person does not have to be the per~on you like least well, but should be the person with whom you had the most difficulty in getting a job done.
Describe the person as he or she appears to you.

Pleasant	___ 8	___ 7	___ 6	___ 5	___ 4	___ 3	___ 2	___ 1	Unpleasant
Rejecting	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5	___ 6	___ 7	___ 8	Accepting
Cooperative	___ 8	___ 7	___ 6	___ 5	___ 4	___ 3	___ 2	___ 1	Uncooperative
Quarrelsome	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5	___ 6	___ 7	___ 8	Harmonious
Helpful	___ 8	___ 7	___ 6	___ 5	___ 4	___ 3	___ 2	___ 1	Frustrating
Distant	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5	___ 6	___ 7	___ 8	Close
Efficient	___ 8	___ 7	___ 6	___ 5	___ 4	___ 3	___ 2	___ 1	Inefficient
Gloomy	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5	___ 6	___ 7	___ 8	Cheerful

SOURCE: Adapted from Fred E. Fiedler, A *Theory of Leadership Effectiveness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 268. Copyright @ 1967 McGraw-Hill, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.

In general, low-scoring LPC leaders are task-oriented. They have negative reactions toward their least preferred co-worker because a co-worker with whom it is difficult to get the job done threatens the dominant motivational orientation of the leader-succeeding at the task. High-scoring LPC leaders are relationship-oriented; they have positive attitudes toward their, least preferred co-worker because an ineffective co-worker does not necessarily threaten the leader's orientation toward interpersonal SUCCeSS.47 In elaborating on this interpretation, Fiedler emphasizes that LPC scores reveal different leader *motivations,* not differences in leader *behavior.* The accomplishment of a task, for example, might well call for considerate and pleasant interpersonal behaviors, while the maintenance of close interpersonal relations might be facilitated by driving the group to success. In the latter case the relationship-motivated leader (high LPC score) might be extremely task-oriented in behavior. Typically, however, uncertain and stressful situations tend to make leaders with a low LPC scores focus on task, while those with high LPC scores concentrate on interpersonal relationships with group members. The converse is true when conditions give the leader security and control .48

Situation. A basic assumption of the contingency approach is that different kinds of situations require different kinds of leadership; therefore, a second major component of the theory is the situation. To what extent does the situation itself enable the leader to exert influence? Fiedler identifies three major aspects of the situation that determine the favorableness of the situation: leader-member relations, task-structure, and position power of the leader.

Leader-member relations make up the single most important aspect of the situation; this refers to the extent to which the leader is accepted and respected by group members. Two factors are important in generating good leader-member relations: the quality of interpersonal relations between the leader and group members and the level of informal authority granted to the leader. In contrast to position power and task-structure, which are determined in large part by the organization, the quality of leader-member relations is determined primarily by the leader's personality and performance. Not having to worry about the loyalty of group members gives the leader considerable control and influence over the situation.

Task-structure is determined by the extent to which the task can be clearly delineated, verified, and programmed in a step-by-step manner. With highly structured tasks, the leader and group know exactly what to do and how to do it. Unstructured tasks with ambiguous goals, no clear-cut solutions, and a multiplicity of approaches make specific action by the leader and group difficult. Thus, in terms of directing and controlling groups, the more structured the task, the more favorable the situation for the leader.

Position power is the degree to which the position itself enables the leader to get others to comply with directives. In organizations much power is formal; it is vested in the office. The organization provides the leader with power by assigning him or her to a position that has certain rights and duties; therefore, position power determines the extent to which a leader can reward and

punish members, whether the group can depose the leader, whether the leader enjoys special or official rank or status that sets him or her apart from group members, and the like. [49] Position power tends to make the job of leader easier; however, it does not guarantee effectiveness.

Evidence to date indicates that the quality of leader-member relations is the most important factor affecting the leader's influence over group members, followed by task-structure and position power. [50] Therefore, the leader has the most control and influence when (1) the group is highly supportive (good leader-member relations), (2) the leader and group know exactly what to do and how to do it (structured task), and (3) the organization gives the leader the power and means to reward and punish group members (high position power).

Fiedler uses these three important aspects of the situation to identify eight situations, ordered in terms of their favorableness. Each of the three factors are dichotimized into good or bad leader-member relations, structured-unstructured tasks, and high-low position power. Table 6.4 summarizes the favorableness of the eight situations. The most favorable situation is Octant 1, with good leader-member relations, structured task, and high position power; while Octant VIII is most unfavorable, with all three components negative. Octant IV is only moderately favorable; although the leader-member relations are good, the task is unstructured and ambiguous and the position power of the leader is low.

1,eader Effectiveness. Fiedler's definition of leadership effectiveness is simple and straightforward. Even though the group's performance is not completely a function of the leader's skills, a leader's effectiveness is judged on how well the group achieves its task. Many studies use objective measures of group effectiveness-net profit, cost per unit, percentage of wins, and number of problems solved. But in other cases the evaluation of task accomplishment is

Table 6.4 **Fiedler's Classification of Situational Favorableness**

	Degree of Favorableness	Leader-Member Relations	Task-Structure	Position Power of the Leader
Octant I	Very Favorable	Good	Structured	High
Octant II		Good	Structured	Low
Octant III		Good	Unstructured	High
Octant IV	Moderate	Good	Unstructured	Low
Octant V		Poor	Structured	High
Octant VI		Poor	Structured	Low
Octant VII		Poor	Unstructured	High
Octant VIII	Unfavorable	Poor	Unstructured	Low

SOURCE: Adapted from Fred E. Fiedler, A *Theory of Leadership Effectiveness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 268. Copyright @ 1967 McGraw-Hill, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.

more subjective. In all cases, however, leader effectiveness is determined by the degree to which the task is achieved.

Matching Style and Situation. The question still remains: Which leadership style is most effective in which kind of situation? Using the results he collected from a wide variety of situations (more than 100 groups) over ten years, Fiedler classified the type of situation (one of eight octants), determined the style of the leader, and analyzed which groups performed their tasks successfully and unsuccessfully. From the analysis he developed three major- propositions of his contingency theory- [51]

1. In favorable situations, task-oriented leaders are more effective than relationship-oriented leaders.
2. In moderately favorable situations, relationship-oriented leaders are more effective than task-oriented leaders.
3. In unfavorable situations, task-oriented leaders are more effective than relationship-oriented leaders.

The basic explanation for effectiveness emerging from Fiedler's research is that favorableness of the situation elicits leader behavior consistent with the leader's motivational system. The primary motivational pattern of leaders appears in situations in which the individual is threatened while pursuing secondary goals in situations in which primary goals are either satisfied or appear secure. Hence, high LPC leaders will concern themselves with relationships in unfavorable situations but with the task in favorable situations. Low LPC leaders will concern themselves with the task in unfavorable situations, but in favorable situations they will be concerned with having good interpersonal relations. [52]

According to the theory, task-oriented leaders (low LPQ are more effective in unfavorable situations because the situation triggers directing and controlling behavior that is most likely to get the job done; anxious concern with interpersonal relations does not produce effectiveness. In favorable situations, however, where teachers are secure and confident that their directives will be followed and their decisions will have the intended consequences, taskoriented leaders are also more effective, but for different reasons. In such situations leaders have the luxury of pursuing their secondary motivational goals. Consequently, task-oriented leaders display considerate behavior while relations-oriented leaders exhibit task-relevant behavior. Since task-relevant behaviors are largely redundant and unnecessary in favorable situations, the considerate behavior of task-oriented leaders is more appropriate and effective.

The intermediate situation frequently produces interpersonal friction and stress; therefore, task-oriented leaders respond with task-focused and controlling behavior and relations-oriented leaders with considerate, open, and participative behavior. Here the situation calls for good, interpersonal relations because the leader is not well-liked or the task is unstructured. Hence, the

group members must be motivated to contribute to defining and solving the problem, or the leader has low position power and to be successful he or she must control and influence the group by virtue of personal attraction.53

Support for Fiedler's Theory. Since the contingency model was inductively developed in 1962, the theory has been used to predict group performance in a large variety of social settings.54 Most of the studies do not test the entire theory-that is, the predicted effectiveness relations in all octants; and the results of the research have been mixed-many studies support the theory but others do not. 55

In applying the model to school principals, the criterion of effectiveness is the most difficult conceptual and measurement problem to solve. Because of the disagreement about what constitutes effective educational outcomes, defining and operationalizing effectiveness are difficult tasks at best. Interestingly, three tests of the contingency model in elementary schools employed different criteria of effectiveness, yet all three studies support the contingency theory. Vincent McNamara and Frederick Enns used a rating scheme in which school officials were asked to rate the schools (not the principals) on effective-

'~6 Leonard B. Williams and Wayne K. Hoy employed a more indirect ness.' index of performance based On the perceived level of effective characteristics displayed by teachers. 57 Yvonne M. Martin and her colleagues measured group effectiveness as the perceived assistance that the group supplied to new probationary teachers. 58 In all three cases, in schools whose principals are wellsupported by their teachers (a favorable situation), a task-oriented style is significantly associated with group effectiveness. In schools whose principals are less well-supported (a moderately favorable situation), there is some tendency for a relationship-oriented style to be associated with school effectiveness.

Clearly these studies do not "prove" the theory. Yet, although they were limited to elementary schools and used different criterion measures of effectiveness, the results are remarkably similar-and in large part consistent with the contingency model. Moreover, the results support a more general proposition of the contingency approach: it is likely that one type of leadership behavior is not appropriate for all elementary schools. School performance will most likely be improved by matching the leadership style and the school situation.

Some Implications. The theory provides not only a conceptual base for analyzing and understanding the motivations, behavior, and effectiveness of the principal; it also provides supervisors with a guide to structuring their own situations and behaviors to maximize their effectiveness as they interact with groups of teachers--especially groups of teachers working jointly on a common task such as curriculum development.

The contingency theory'strongly suggests that leaders with one type of motivational style tend to perform well in one situation but not in another. If we attempt to improve performance by matching the leadership style with the appropriate situation, two alternative strategies are possible. We can try to

train people to change their leadership style to match the situation, or we can attempt to change the situation to match the style.

Fiedler arguesfliat it is usually a lot easier to change the situation by engineering the job than to modify a person's leadership style, because the latter involves changing the underlying need-structure that motivates behavior. Moreover, changes in the leadership situation may not be as difficult as they seem at first blush. The favorableness of the situation can be modified by changing the leader's position power, changing the task-structure, or changing the leader-member relations. For example, structuring the task a group is to accomplish improves the favorableness of the situation. Similarly, position power can be regulated by giving a leader sole authority or requiring frequent consultation with superiors. In the same vein, the superior can communicate only with the leader of the group to increase the leader's status and prestige or directly with group members, thus weakening the leader's position power. Groups can also be developed that are relatively homogeneous and congenial or heterogeneous and hostile; thus, changing the composition of a group can substantially alter its leader-member relations. Some individuals are able to handle troublemakers while others are not. Moreover, some leaders can be assigned stressful and challenging tasks, and others routine assignments. Again, some people perform well under stress but not in routine jobs, while others perform well in situations that call for crisis reactions. [59]

The supervisor who knows Fiedler's contingency model and who can diagnose situations and leadership styles has a guide for success in his or her own leadership activities as well as those of colleagues and subordinates. Individuals can be taught to diagnose the conditions under which they will be effective and those under which they are likely to be unsuccessful. The supervisor who is able to avoid situations in which he or she is bound to fail is likely to be a success. Furthermore, the ability to recognize the situational factors that lead to good performance will also enable the supervisor to modify his or her own job or the assignments of others to provide a leadership situation compatible with the personality and motivational pattern of the leader. Common experience tells us this is done all the time. The saying "I'll show them who is boss" is typically an attempt to establish one's position power and contrasts with the feeling that the leader has to be one of the group. Likewise, getting to know one's group is one way of promoting closer leader-member relations, while not wanting to get too close to subordinates is a way of preventing close leadermember relations. Finally, the leader who meticulously prepares the task assignments in effect structures the task, while the task is left unstructured when the group is asked to define the task and contribute ideas on how to tackle it. Supervisors can use the model to modify their own or their subordinates' jobs to achieve organizational effectiveness. [60]

Hersey and Blanchard's ~ituational Theory

Another theoretical framework that is useful for analyzing leadership and supervisory behavior is situational theory.r" Unlike the contingency theories of

Fiedler and House, however, situational theory has been designed primarily as a vehicle for management training rather than as a guide for research. Consequently, there is little systematic, empirical research that tests the theory. Nevertheless, the model provides some valuable insights into leader-follower behavior; it helps leaders diagnose the situation and develop strategies to adapt their leader behavior to meet the demands of the situation. Edgar Schein capture's the intent of the theory when he ' observes that leaders must have the personal flexibility and range of skills necessary to vary their own behavior according to the needs and drives of subordinates. If teachers' needs and motives are different, they must be treated differently. [62]

Situational theory isan attempt to provide a leader with some understanding of the relationships between effective styles of leadership and the level of maturity of followers. Simply stated, the basic assumption of the theory is that *leader effectiveness depends on the appropriate matchine of leader behavior with the maturity of the group or individual.* Although Hersey and Blanchard recognize the importance of many situational variables (e.g., position power, task, time, and so forth), they emphasize maturity of the group or followers as the critical situational variable that moderates the relationship between leader behavior and effectiveness. Two other important characteristics of the theory are noteworthy. First, it applies to both individuals *and* groups. Second, the theory addresses both hierarchical relationships and relationships among colleagues; therefore, it should have application whether one is attempting to influence the behavior of a subordinate, a superior, or a colleague.

Leader Behavior. Situational theory is concerned with the behavior, not the personality, of the leader. In fact, the term "leadership style," unlike Fiedler's definition, refers to one of four patterns of leader behavior; it does not refer to the motivational needs of the individual.

Drawing from the Ohio State leadership studies and William Reddin's Tri-Dimensional Leadership Effectiveness Model [63], two dimensions of leadership behavior-task behavior and relationship behavior-are cross-partitioned to define four leadership styles. Leaders are classified as having a style high in task and low in relationship behaviors (Q1), high in task and high in relationship behaviors (Q2), high in relationship and low in task behaviors (Q3) and low in both relationship and task behaviors (Q4). The typology of styles is depicted in Figure 6.2. Each of these styles can be effective depending on the situation.

Situation. Situational theory uses only one variable to analyze the nature of the situation-maturity. Maturity is the capacity to set high but attainable goals, the willingness and ability to take responsibility, and the experience of an individual or group. [64] However, maturity is a relative concept. An individ,ual or a group is not mature or immature in any general sense. Rather, maturity is defined only in relation to a specific task. The question is not Is the individual or group mature or immature? but rather On this specific job or task, what is the level of maturity of the group or individual?

Individuals who have a high level of task-relevant maturity not only have

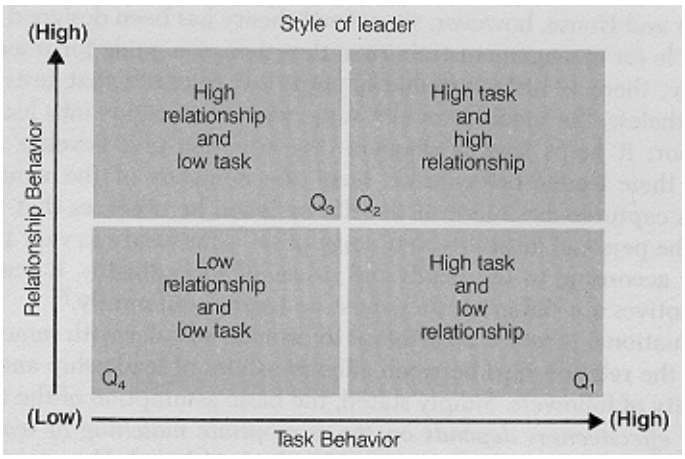


Figure 6.2 Hersey and Blanchard's Leadership Styles

Adapted from Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, *Management of Organizational Behavior. Utilizing Human Resources,* 3d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 103. Copyright @ 1977 Prentice-Hall, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.

the ability, knowledge, experience, and motivation to do the job but also feelings of self-confidence and self-respect, On the other hand, individuals who have a low level of task-relevant maturity lack the ability, motivation and knowledge to do the job as well as psychological maturity.65 As shown in Figure 6.3, the situation can be conceived along a maturity-immaturity continuum, which in turn can be used to identify four types of situations A, M3, M2, MI) based on the level of maturity.

In addition to determining the level of maturity of individuals in a group, a leader may also have to determine the maturity level of the group as a whole, especially if the group works together in the same area. Hersey and Blanchard illustrate this situation with a classroom example, explaining that "a teacher may find that a class as a group may be at one level of maturity in a particular area, but a student within that group may be at a different level. When the teacher is one-to-one with Lhat student, he or she may have to behave quite differently than when working with the class as a group. ,66 So too with other groups. The maturity of both individuals and the work group determines the appropriate supervisory or leader behavior.

Effectiveness. There is no concise definition of effectiveness in situational theory. Success in getting others to do a job in a prescribed way does not guarantee effectiveness. According to Hersey and Blanchard, effectiveness is a complex concept that involves not only objective performance but also human costs and psychological conditions. Thus, the term is defined broadly; it includes the evaluation of how well the group achieves its task in addition to the psychological state of individuals and the group. In brief, effectiveness is a function of productivity and performance, the condition of the hu

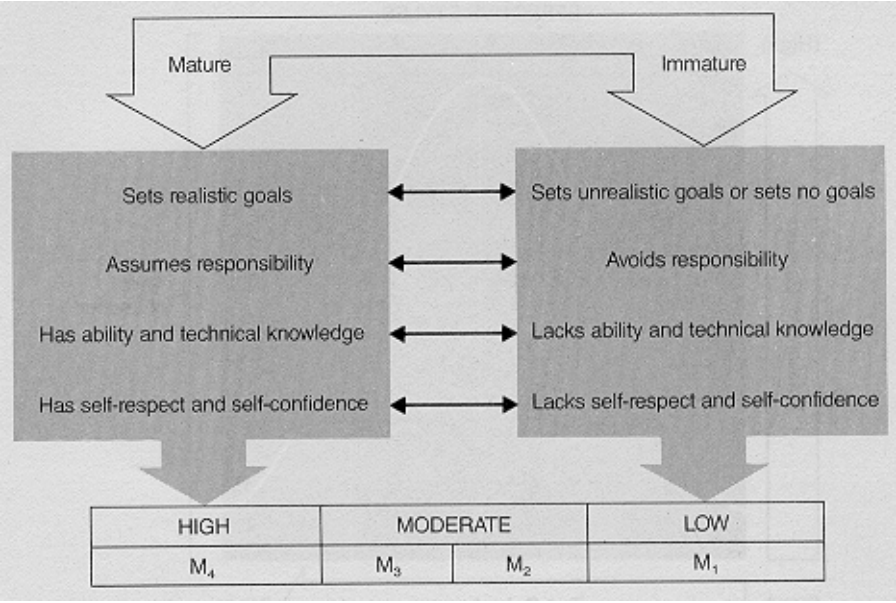


Figure *6.3* Maturity-Immaturity Continuum

man resources, and the extent to which both long- and short-term goals are attained.[67]

Matching Style and Situation. According to situational theory, effectiveness is promoted by matching leader behavior with the appropriate situation. The match of behavior depends on the level of maturity in the situation. The guiding principle of matching is succinctly stated by Hersey and Blanchard as follows:

> As the level of maturity of their followers continues to increase in terms of accomplishing a specific task, leaders should begin to *reduce* their task behavior and in*crease* relationship behavior until the individual or group reaches a moderate level of maturity. As the individual or group begins to move into an above-average level of maturity, it becomes appropriate for leaders to decrease not only task behavior but also relationship behavior.[68]

Hersey and Blanchard argue that when the group or individual reaches a high maturity level, little task and relationship behavior is necessary from the leader; leadership emerges from the group. The delegation of leader functions to a mature group is viewed as a positive demonstration of trust and confiaence.

The theory is a dynamic one. Leadership behavior changes with the maturity of the group. The leader's goal is to provide the necessary leader behavior while simultaneously helping the group to mature and assume more of the leadership itself. This cycle is illustrated by the bell-shaped curve passing through the four leadership quadrants, as shown in Figure 6.4.

The theory, as depicted graphically in Figure 6.4, is a matching of the four

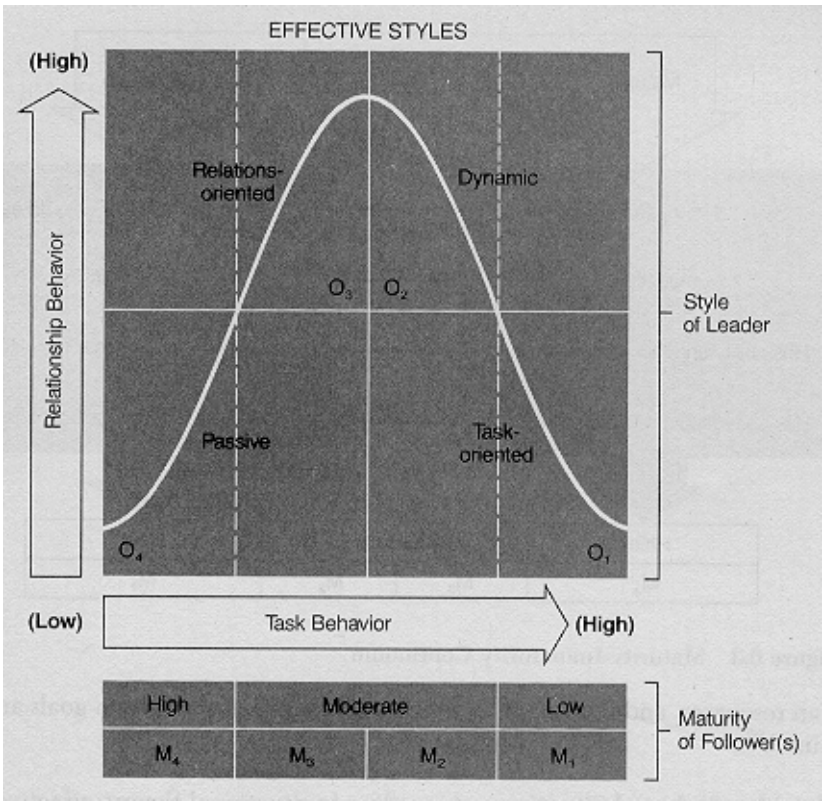


Figure 6.4 Effective Leader-Situation Match
Adapted from Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, *Management of Organizational Behavior. Utilizing Human Resources,* 3d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 194. Copyright 0 1977, Prentice-Hall, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.

leadership patterns (Qj, Q2, Q3, Q4) with the four situations of maturity (Ml, M2, M3, M4). The appropriate leadership style for each level of follower maturity is portrayed by the curvilinear relationship in each quadrant. The matu.rity level of followers is expressed below the leadership style along a continuum from immature to mature. The bell-shaped curve means that as the maturity level of one's followers increases along the continuum from immature to mature, the appropriate style of leadership moves according to the curvilinear relationship.69 Hence, four general guiding propositions can be deduced from the model.

1. When the group is very immature (Ml), a task-oriented (Qj) leadership style is most effective.
2. When the group is moderately immature (M~, a dynamic leadership style (Q2, high task and high relationship behavior) is most effective.
3. Wh6n',the group is moderately mature (M3), a relationship-oriented leadership style *M)* is most effective.
4. When the group is very mature *A),* a passive leadership style (Q4) is Most effective.

The model also denotes that within each leadership quadrant there should be more or less emphasis on task or relationship behavior depending on the level of maturity. Finally, the model suggests that the maturity level of groups or individuals can be improved over time, and task-oriented behavior decreases as the maturity of the group improves.

Some Implications. The supervisor who can accurately diagnose the maturity of followers has another situational model to guide his,or her leadership behavior. Knowing when to be task-oriented and relationship-oriented is a beginning of the improvement of performance. But knowing what to do and doing it are two different things. Some individuals, for example, have a difficult time being task-oriented in their behavior--even when they know it is appropriate. Others have difficulty being relationship-oriented; the task is too important. Finally, some leaders cannot be passive in their leadership initiatives in a group; they need to lead even if the group (M4) can lead itself. Thus, if a leader is to use the model effectively, he or she needs the flexibility in disposition and behavior to be able to change styles. Individuals who have had limited experience using a wide range of styles will probably need a lot of time, practice, and perhaps training before they develop enough behavioral flexibility to change styles comfortably as the situation demands it.

The, model also suggests that simply matching the style with the situation to improve performance is not enough. The leader has another role: to improve the maturity of the group as it engages in a specific task. Ultimately, the leader's goal is to provide the group or individual with the ability, knowledge, skills, responsibility, motivation, and confidence to perform the task without the leader's help. In a sense, the leader's direction and, eventually, social support will subside as the group or individual grows and develops. Thus, developmental activities are as important as leadership behavior.

The supervisor is often in the middle between the principal and teachers. If the principal is starkly task-oriented, then the supervisor may have problems with the developmental growth of faculty. Here the supervisor has an education problem with the principal. First, the supervisor must be able to explain the theory and convince the principal that over the long run the more flexible strategy of the model will be more effective. Then the principal and supervisor must join forces as a team to facilitate the growth and development of the faculty. Cooperation and specialization of roles might emerge, for example, with the principal being the task-oriented leader and the supervisor the relationship-oriented leader. Hence, in areas where the faculty is not mature, the principal might provide the early task direction (Ml), with the supervisor joining later to provide supportive relationships (M2). In time the principal would relinquish the task direction to the group (M3), and eventually the supervisor would withdraw relationship leadership as the group took over the function itself (see Figure 6.3). Of course, such a cooperative process is easier said than done; it requires understanding, security, and maturity on the part of both

leaders, but the point is that the model does supply guidelines for joint leadership activities.

Institutional Leadership

Thus far our analyses of leadership have been primarily descriptive and analytic. Leadership, however, occurs in a cultural context. Leaders have purposes, beliefs, and commitments, and the situations in which they perform are imbued with purposes, ideals, norms, rituals, and traditions. Leadership is an expression of culture; that is, leaders attempt to develop and nurture the organizational value patterns and norms as a response to the needs of individuals and groups for order, stability, and meaning. 70

There is little doubt that effective supervision requires interpersonal leadership; human interactions need to be healthy. The leader's task in this role is to smooth the path of human interaction, facilitate communication, evoke personal devotion, and allay anxiety. 71 There is, however, a broader notion of leadership, one that focuses on institutional values. The institutional leader "is primarily an expert in the promotion and protection of values."72 Institutional leadership is a basic function of the principal; it is an attempt to infuse the school with values beyond the technical requirements of teaching. It is the development of institutional integrity that goes beyond efficiency and beyond organizational forms and procedures. The leader is responsible for developing a structure uniquely adapted to the mission and role of the enterprise. The principal as institutional leader requires an ability to interpret the role and character of the school, to perceive and develop models for thought and behavior, and to find modes of communication that will inculcate general perspectives-that is, infuse day-to-day behavior with long-run meaning and purpose. The art of institutional leadership is the art of developing an organizational culture--one with strong and enduring values.

It is our position that building a strong school culture is the central leadership function of the principal. If collaborative supervision is to work, a consistent set of shared values must be developed and nurtured within the school. These shared orientations build commitment and teacher loyalty as well as encourage the decentralization of authority. Activities are loosely coupled to the formal structure but tightly coupled to the core values. Professional autonomy and expertise are stressed and structural constraints are minimized.

Shared values should address such issues as the scope of education; attitudes toward risk; attitudes toward students, parents, colleagues, and administrators; and attitudes toward discipline. "Schools are for students." "Both cognitive and affective development of students are vital." "Experiment with your teaching." "Make sure you generate a reasonable share of mistakes." "Supervisors are colleagues." "Stay close to your students." "Strive for acadernic excellence." "Set high but attainable academic goals." "Teachers are professionals." Are these empty slogans or core values? Openness, authenticity, participativeness, humanism, intimacy, and trust: hollow concepts or

shared values? Such values are hallmarks of effective organizations.' Ultimately, the principal is responsible for building culture and providing an atmosphere in which faculty grow and develop. Without a climate of openness, trust, and participation (see Chapter 7), the supervisor's leadership initiatives to improve instruction will be severely limited if not counterproductive.

SUMMARY

Leadership remains an elusive but important factor in the organizational life of schools. Because of its complex nature, perspectives and definitions of leadership vary widely. Early studies concentrated on traits of individuals, attempting to identify the physical, personality, and general ability characteristics that separated leaders from followers. The lack of success in finding the key traits of loaders, however, prompted a shift in the focus of study away from traits to behavior of leaders.

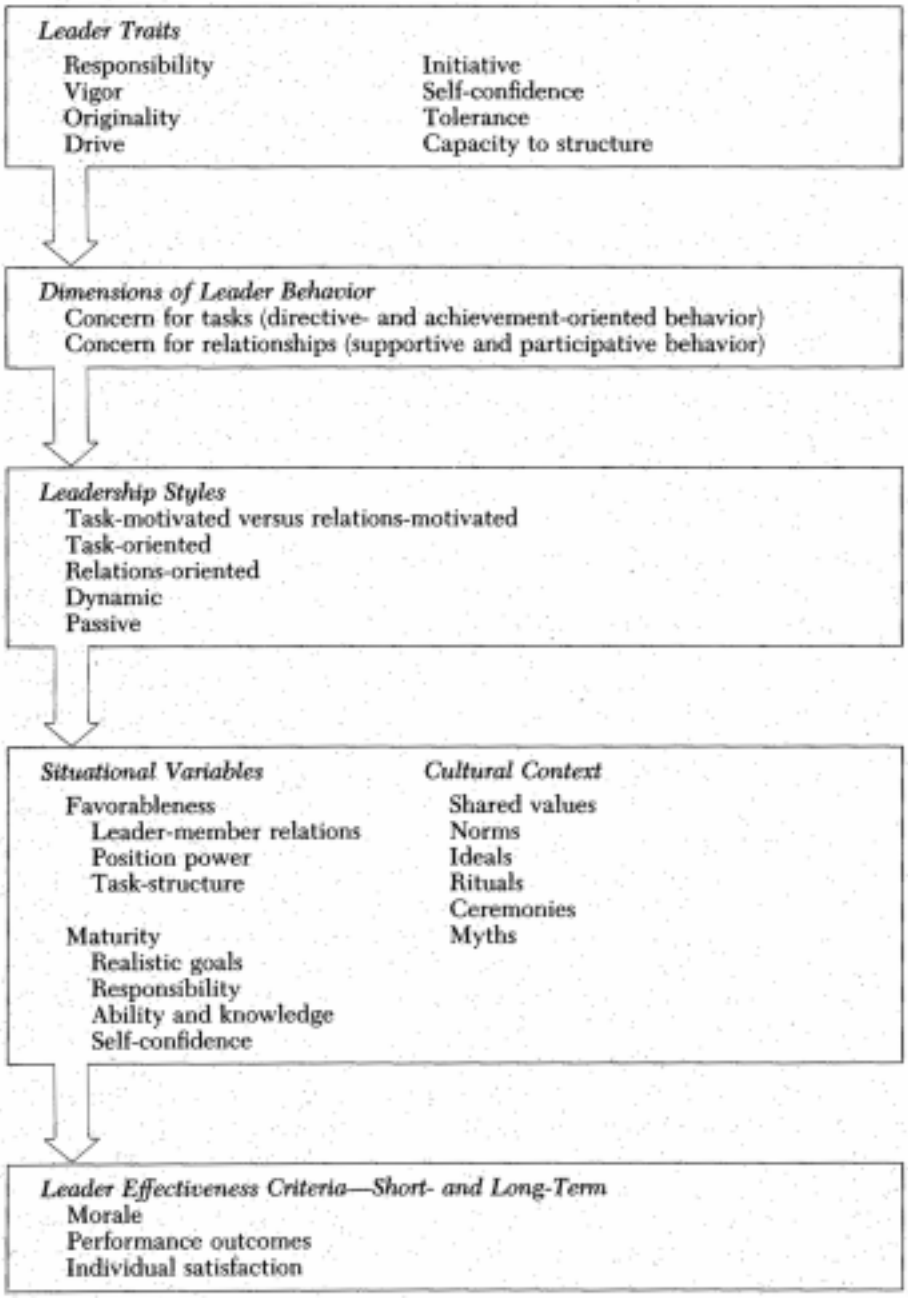
What are the behaviors that distinguish effective and ineffective leaders? This question is complicated by the fact that there is not complete consensus on what constitutes leader effectiveness. Group output, group morale, and individual satisfaction have all been proposed and used as criteria of effectiveness. Nevertheless, the behavioral approach to the study of leadership, using a variety of techniques, has produced the remarkably consistent finding that there are two general and basic dimensions of leadership---concern for tasks and concern for *individual relationships*. But in spite of the success in identifying these basic patterns of behavior, the relationships between leadership behavior and effectiveness have been much less conclusively established.

Although it is now clear that traits, situations, and behavior are all important in determining leadership effectiveness, the nagging question of what kinds of leaders for what kinds of situations remains. Contemporary research and theory have turned to a contingency approach in an attempt to answer this difficult question. Two different contingency theories and their implications for administration and supervision in schools were described and dilscussed-Fiedler's contingency model and Hersey and Blanchard's situational theory. Each of these perspectives calls attention to different but important aspects of leading.

Fiedler argues that leadership style is determined by the motivational needs of the leader and that the effectiveness of the group in accomplishing its task is a function of the relationship between leadership style and favorableness of the situation. Thus, effective group performance is contingent upon the leader's motivations and the leader's ability to exert influence in the group. Hersey and Blanchard's situational theory postulates that leader effectiveness depends on the appropriate matching of leader behavior with the maturity of the group or individual.

Each of the approaches presented in this chapter identifies important elements that aid in understanding leadership effectiveness in schools. Each of the models points to factors that facilitate or constrain attempts by the principal and supervisor to improve the teaching-learning process. Alone none of the perspectives is sufficient, but together they provide a solid basis for under

Table 6.5 **Key Elements of Leadership**



Standing and predicting behavior. The crucial elements of leadership are summarized in Table 6.5.

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61. The most comprehensive description of the theory is presented in Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, ***Management of Organizational Behavior: Utilizing Human Resources*** (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 65.
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65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-132.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
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71. Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), p. 27. This section on institutional leadership draws heavily on Selznick's sessional thinking, especially pp. 16-28 and 130-144.
72. *Ibid.*, p; 28.

CHAPTER 7

Organizational Climate

Another aspect of the school context that sets the scene for effective supervision is organizational climate. Teachers' performance in schools is in part defermined by the atmosphere or climate in which they work. Climate is a broad concept that refers to teachers' perceptions of the school's work environment; it is affected by the formal organization, informal organization, and leadership practices in the school. Thus, organizational climate is a general synthesizing concept that is directly influenced by the principal and supervisor, which in turn affects the motivations and behavior of teachers.

There are a number of common terms used to refer to the general surrounding of an individual at work in an organization-"ecology," "milieu," [11] setting," "culture," "tone," "field," "atmosphere," or "climate." They are all used to refer to the internal quality of the organization as experienced by its members, but climate seems to be the concept most frequently used.' Simply stated, the set of internal characteristics that distinguishes one school from another and influences the behavior of its members is the *organizational climate* [2] of the school . More specifically, climate is a relatively enduring quality of the, school environment that *(a) is* experienced by teachers, (b) influences their behavior, and (c) is based on their collective perceptions.

The concept of climate is important to the analysis and practice of supervision because it has a major impact on the behavior of both teachers and supervisors. Moreover, administrators and supervisors can have a significant, positive impact on the deve4opment of a productive organizational climate. Climate can be conceived and measured from a variety of perspectives. Four of these are described and discussed in this chapter. Each provides the supervisor with a valuable set of conceptual capital to analyze, understand, and improve the supervisory setting.

TEACHER-PRINCIPAL BEHAVIOR: OPEN TO CLOSED

Probably the most well-known conceptualization and measurement of the social climate of a school was developed by Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft in their pioneering study of elementary schools. [3] As they visited and observed schools they were struck by the dramatic differences they found in the "feel" of the schools. Halpin described the marked contrasts as follows:

> In one school the'teachers and the principal are zestful and exude confidence in what they are doing. They find pleasure in working with each other; this pleasure is transmitted to students.... In a second school the brooding discontentment of teachers is palpable; the principal tries to hide his incompetence and his lack of direction behind a cloak of authority.... And the psychological sickness of such a faculty spills over on the students who, in their own frustration, feed back to teacher a mood of despair. A third school is marked by neither joy nor despair, but by hollow ritual ... in a strange way the show doesn't seem to be "for real."'

Moreover, the notion of morale did not provide an adequate description of these differences. Each school seemed to have a "personality" of its own, and by analogy personality is to individual what climate is to organization. Thus, Halpin and Croft set out to map the domain of the organizational climate of schools.

They viewed the climate of the school as a combination of two dimensions of social behavior: principal-te acher interactions and teacher-teacher interactions. just as the principal's leadership can influence teacher behavior, so can group behavior affect the principal's behavior; hence, the leadership of the principal, the nature of the teacher group, and their mutual interaction became the key components for identifying the social climate of schools. The Halpin and Croft framework remains the most well-known conceptualization and measure of school climate among students of educational administration, Although Halpin and Croft themselves urged others to revise their framework, there has been little change in their formulation during the past two decades. The model of open and closed climates presented in this chapter, however, is a 5
contemporary refinement and modification of the original work.

Principal Behavior

The first component of. school climate is the principal's style of interacting with teachers. Three important dimensions of principal-teacher interactions set the stage for organizational life in schools-supportive, directive, and restrictive principal behavior.

Supportive behavior is reflected by genuine concern for teachers. Principals not only respect the professional competence of their teachers but treat them as equals. Helping teachers, complimenting teachers, giving constructive criticism, and looking out for their personal welfare are examples of supportive behavior.

Directive behavior is starkly task-oriented with little consideration for the personal needs of teachers. The principal's behavior is controlling; teachers are closely checked, corrected, and coerced. Communication is chiefly downward with little sensitivity to feedback from teachers. In brief, principal behavior is close, unilateral, aggressive, rigid, and controlling.

Restrictive behavior provides impediments for teachers to work. Principals burden teachers with unnecessary busywork-too many committee assignments, too much paperwork, and too many routine chores. The behavior of the principal hinders rather than facilitates teacher work.

Teachers' Behavior

The other key aspect of school climate is the teachers' behavior in school. Teachers do not react as isolated individuals but as members of a work group. As they teach in school, patterns of interaction develop among them that have important consequences not only for their own behavior but also for that of the principal. Thus, three critical dimensions of teacher interactions are pos tulated to have a major impact on the general atmosphere of the school --- col legial, intimate, and disengaged teacher behavior.

Collegial behavior refers to supportive professional relationship s among the teachers. Teachers are proud of their school; respect, accept, and support each other; and feel a sense of accomplishment in their work. Above all, teachers respect the professional competence and dedication of their colleagues.

Intimate behavior refers to close personal relations among teachers not only in but outside the school. Teachers' closest friends are other teachers in the school; they visit and confide in each other. Although these friendly social relations satisfy the social needs of teachers, they are not necessarily associated with task accomplishment.

Disengaged behavior pertains to a general sense of alienation and separation among teachers in the school. There is little cohesiveness in the group. Teachers bicker and ramble when they talk. They are simply putting in time and are nonproductive in group efforts or team building.

These fundamental features of faculty behavior as well as the basic charac teristics of principal behavior are summarized briefly in Table 7.1 and serve as the key elements for developing descriptions of school climates. Thus, a schoo , I Pan be described and analyzed in terms of its scores on these six dimensions; that is, the profile of scores maps the climate of the school. But how are these dimensions of climate measured? How are the profiles determined? What do the profiles mean? These are important questions.

Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire

The original measure of the openness of the organizational climate of schools was Halpin and Croft's Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ), a sixty-four item instrument that described basic aspects of teacherteacher and teacher-principal interactions. [6] The OCDQ has been subjected to a number of criticisms during the last twenty years: questions about the validity of some of the items and subtests, the vague meanings of several dimensions, the ambiguity of the middle categories of the climate continuum, and the lack of refinement of the OCDQ over time. [7] Thus, a major revision of the instrument was completed at Rutgers University and a refined version of the instrument was developed-the OCDQ-RE.8

In the tradition of the original OCDQ, all items are simple descriptive statements of interactions in schools. Teachers are asked to describe the extent to which each item characterizes his or her school. The responses to each item are made on a four-point scale: rarely occurs, sometimes occurs, often occurs,

Table 7.1 The Six Dimensions of the OCDQRE

PRINCIPAL'S BEHAVIOR

1. *Supportive* behavior reflects a basic concern for teachers. The principal listens and is open to teacher suggestions. Praise is given genuinely and frequently, and criticism is handled constructively. Supportive principals respect the professional competence of their staffs and exhibit both a personal and professional interest in each teacher.
2. *Directive* behavior is rigid, close supervision. Principals maintain close and constant control over all teacher and school activities, down to the smallest details.
3. *Restrictive* behavior hinders rather than facilitates teacher work. The principal burdens teachers with paperwork, committee requirements, routine duties, and other demands that interfere with their teaching responsibilities.

TEACHERS' BEHAVIOR

4. *Collegial* behavior supports open and professional interactions among teachers. Teachers are proud of their school, enjoy working with their colleagues, and are enthusiastic, accepting, and mutually riespectful of the professional competence of their colleagues.
5. *Intimate* -behavior reflects a cohesive and strong network of social support among the faculty. Teachers know each other well, are close personal friends, socialize together regularly, and provide strong support for each other.
6. *Disengaged* behavior refers to a lack of meaning and focus to professional activities. Teachers are simply putting in time and are nonproductive in group efforts or team building; they have no common goal orientation. Their behavior is often negative and critical of their colleagues and the organization.

and very frequently occurs. A sample of the format of the OCDQ-RE is presented in Figure 7.1, and examples for each of the dimensions of the OCDQRE are summarized in Table 7.2.

. Using factor-analytic techniques and a sample of seventy elementary schools, forty-four items were identified that measured six dimensions of school climate. The six aspects, taken together, map a profile of the climate of each school. Scores for all subtests and schools were standardized so that the mean score was 50 and the standard deviation was 10. For example, the profiles of the climates for two hypothetical schools might be plotted as indicated in Figure 7.2. The school climate profiled by the broken line in the figure reflects a supportive, nondirective, and nonrestrictive principal and a collegial, engaged, intimate faculty committed to the teaching-learning task. The climate profile of the second school, indicated by the solid line, is just the opposite of the first. Indeed, the profiles of the two schools are prototypes of open and closed organizational climates.

A second-order factor analysis of the subtest correlation matrix revealed that the conceptualization and measure of climate rested on two underlying general factors. Disengaged, intimate, and collegial teacher behavior formed the first factor, while restrictive, directive, and supportive behavior defined the second factor. Specifically, the first factor was characterized by teachers' interactions that are meaningful and tolerant (low disengagement); that are

Directions: Following are some statements about the school setting. Please indicate the extent to which each statement characterizes your school.

	Rarely Occurs	Sometimes Occurs	Often Occurs	Very Frequently Occurs
1. Routine duties interfere with the job of teaching.				
2. Teachers are proud of their school.				
3. The principal monitors everything teachers do.				
4. The principal treats teachers as equals.				

Figure 7.1 Sample Items from the OCDQ-RE

friendly, close, and supportive (high intimacy); and that are enthusiastic, accepting, and mutually respectful (high collegial relations). In general, this factor denotes an openness and functional flexibility in teacher relationships. Accordingly, it was labeled openness in faculty relations.

The second factor was defined by principal behavior that is characterized by the assignment of meaningless routines and burdensome duties to teachers (high restrictiveness); by rigid, close, and constant control over teachers (high directiveness); and by a lack of concern and openness with teachers andtheir ideas (low supportiveness). In general, the second factor depicts a functional rigidity and closedness in the principals' leadership behavior; hence the second general factor was named closedness in principal behavior.

The conceptual underpinnings of the OCDQ-RE are consistent and clear. The instrument has two general factors-one a measure of openness of teacher interactions and the other a measure of openness (or closedness) of teacherprincipal relations. Moreover, these two openness factors are independent. That is, it is quite possible to have open faculty interactions and closed principal ones or vice versa. Thus, theoretically, four contrasting types of school climate are possible. First, both factors can be open, producing a congruence between the principal's and teachers' behavior. Second, both factors can be closed, producing a congruence of closedness. Moreover, there are two incongruent patterns. The principal's behavior can be open with the faculty, but teachers may be closed with each other; or the principal may be closed with teachers, while the teachers are open with each other (see Figure 7.3).

Prototypes of each of these four climates were developed by using the scores on the six dimensions of the OCDQ-RE; hence, it is often possible to classify a school as having one of the four climates based on its profile. Organi zational climate, then, is a description of the perceptions of the faculty. Some

Table 7.2 **Selected Items for Each Subscale of the OCDQ-RE**

SUPPORTIVE PRINCIPAL BEHAVIOR
The principal uses constructive criticism. The principal compliments teachers. The principal listens to and accepts teachers' suggestions.
DIRECTIVE PRINCIPAL BEHAVIOR
The principal monitors everything teachers do. The principal rules with an iron fist. The principal checks lesson plans.
RESTRICTIVE PRINCIPAL BEHAVIOR
Teachers are burdened with busywork. Routine duties interfere with the job of teaching. Teachers have too many committee requirements.
COLLEGIAL TEACHER BEHAVIOR
Teachers help and support each other. Teachers respect the professional competence of their colleagues. Teachers accomplish their work with vim, vigor, and pleasure.
INTIMATE TEACHER BEHAVIOR
Teachers socialize with each other. Teachers' closest friends are other faculty members at this school. Teachers have parties for each other.
DISENGAGED TEACHER BEHAVIOR
Faculty meetings are useless. There is a minority group of teachers who always oppose the majority. Teachers ramble when they talk at faculty meetings.

may question whether a climate is open or closed just because the teachers perceive it to be. Whether or not it really is cannot be answered and is probably irrelevant. Teachers' perceptions of what is "out there" motivate their behavior. [9]

Table 7.3 provides a summary of the patterns of the four climate prototypes. Using this information, it is possible to sketch a behavioral picture of each climate.

Open Climate. The distinctive features of the open climate are the cooperation and respect that exist within the faculty and between the faculty and principal. This combination suggests a climate in which the principal listens and is open to teacher suggestions, gives genuine and frequent praise, and respects the professional competence of the faculty (high supportiveness). Principals also give their teachers freedom to perform without close scrutiny (low directiveness) and provide facilitating leadership behavior devoid of bureaucratic trivia (low restrictiveness). Similarly, teacher behavior supports open and professional interactions (high collegial relations) among the faculty.

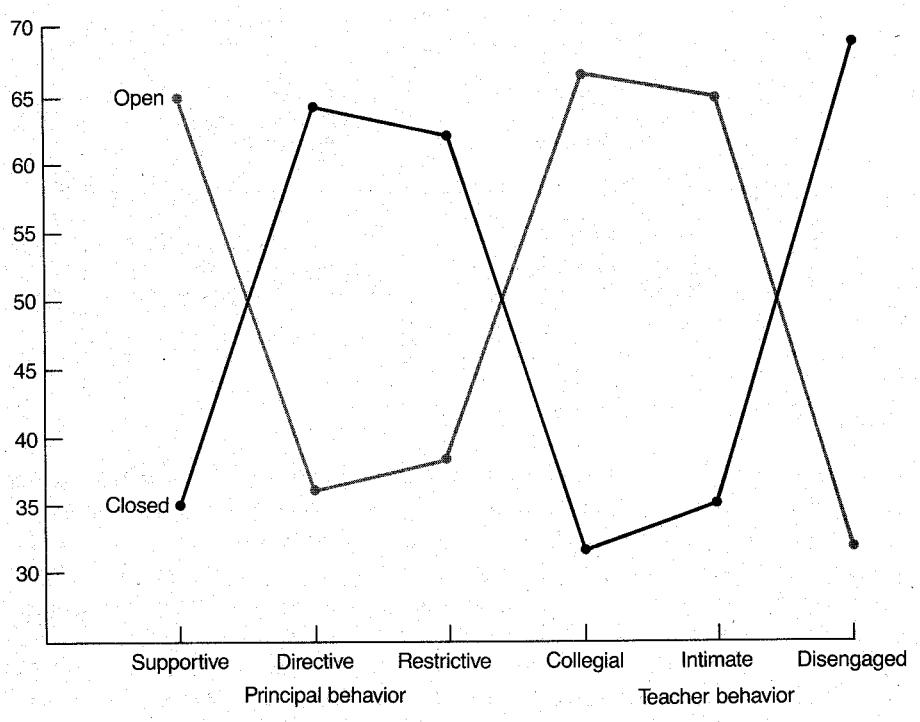

Figure 7.2 Profiles of Schools with Open and Closed Climates

Teachers know each other well and are close personal friends (high intimacy). They cooperate and are committed to their work,(low disengagement). In brief, the behavior of both the principal and the faculty is open and authentic.

Engaged Climate. The engaged climate is marked, on the one hand, by ineffective attempts of the principal to control and, on the other, by high professional performance of the teachers. The principal is rigid and autocratic (high directiveness) and respects neither the professional competence nor the personal needs of the faculty (low supportiveness). Moreover, the principal hinders the teachers with burdensome activities and busywork (high restrictiveness). The teachers, however, ignore the principal's behavior and conduct themselves as professionals. They respect and support each other, are proud of their colleagues, and enjoy their work (highly collegial). Moreover, the teachers not only respect each other's competence but they like each other as peo
ple (high intimacy), and they cooperate with each other as they engage in the task at hand (high engagement). In short, the teachers are productive professionals in spite of weak principal leadership; the faculty is cohesive, cornmit-
ted, supportive, and open.

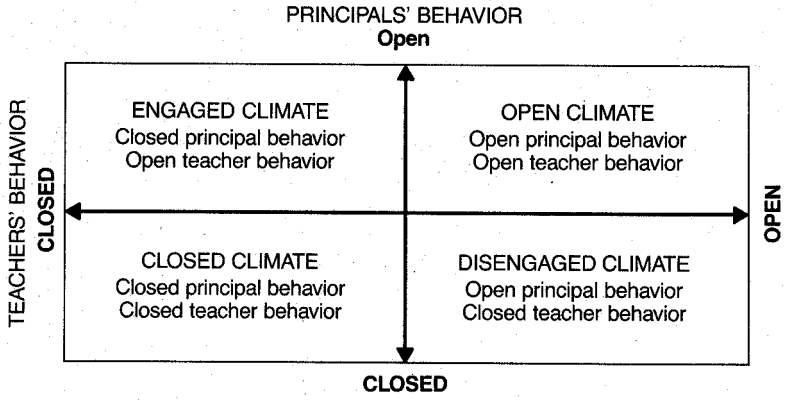

Figure 7.3 Typology of School Climates

Disengaged Climate. The disengaged climate stands in stark contrast to the engaged climate. The principal's behavior is open, concerned, and supportive. The principal listens and is open to teachers (high supportiveness), gives the faculty freedom to act on their professional knowledge (low directiven'ess), and relieves teachers of most of the burdens of paperwork and committee assignments (low restrictiveness). Nonetheless, the faculty is unwilling to accept the principal. At worst, the faculty actively -works to immobilize and sabotage the principal's leadership attempts; at best, the faculty simply ignores the principal. Teachers not only do not like the principal but they neither like nor respect each other as friends (low intimacy) or as professionals (low collegial relations). The faculty is simply disengaged from the task. In sum, although the principal is supportive, concerned, flexible, facilitating, and noncontrolling (i.e., open), the faculty is divisive, intolerant, and uncommitted (i.e., closed).

Closed Climate. The closed climate is virtually the antithesis of the open climate. The principal and teachers simply appear to go through the motions, with the principal stressing routine trivia and unnecessary busywork (high restrictiveness) and the teachers responding minimally and exhibiting little

***Table* 7.3 Prototypic Profiles of Climate Types**

Climate Dimension	Climate Type			
	Open	Engaged	Disengaged	Closed
Supportive	High	Low	High	Low
Directive	Low	High	Low	High
Restrictive	Low	High	Low	High
Collegial	High	High	Low	Low
Intimate	High	High	Low	Low
Disengaged	Low	Low	High	High

commitment (high disengagement). The principal's ineffective leadership is further seen as controlling and rigid (high directiveness) as well as unsympathetic, unconcerned, and unresponsive (low supportiveness). These misguided tactics are accompanied not only by frustration and apathy but also by a general suspicion and lack of respect of teachers for each other as either friends or professionals (low intimacy and noncollegial relations). Closed climates have principals who are nonsupportive, inflexible, hindering, and controlling and a faculty that is divisive, intolerant, apathetic, and uncommitted.

The OCDQ: Some Implications

A basic assumption of our analysis of supervision is that a school's organizational climate is closely related to its supervisory practices. The collective perceptions of teachers about their work environment influence their motivations and behaviors in the classroom. An open climate, with its authentic interpersonal relations, seems likely to produce a situation where collegial supervision can succeed. The closed climate, on the other hand, presents an environment of hostility, suspicion, and inauthenticity where the kind of cooperative supervision that we are proposing is doomed to failure. The model and process of supervision that are advanced in this text simply will not work in a closed climate; in fact, in such schools it is futile to attempt a diagnostic supervisory approach based on cooperative efforts to improve the teachinglearning process. If the climate of a school is closed, the first task of the principal and supervisor is to change it. Trust and openness are necessary conditions for effective supervision.

Although there has not been much research using the OCDQ-RE, the research on the original OCDQ provides a good view of the relationship of openness of climate with a number of other important variables. Moreover, both openness of the principal's behavior and openness of the teachers' behavior (as measured by the OCDQ-RE) are strongly related to the openness index of the original OCDQ.10

Research on school climates consistently supports the conclusion that the school's openness and its emotional tone are related in predictable ways. Openness is associated with less student alienation, a lower student dropout rate, and more student satisfaction with schools." Moreover, open schools have stronger principals who are more confident, self-secure, cheerful, sociable, and resourceful than those found in closed schools. 12 Furthermore, principals of open schools have more loyal, trusting, and satisfied teachers. Similarly, teachers in open schools express greater confidence in their own effectiveness as well as the effectiveness of the school.13

Open organizational relations also have positive consequences in schools because they facilitate the process of supervision. But openness in the school climate does not guarantee effective teaching and learning; it merely sets the stage for the effective development of such processes. Therefore, it should not be surprising that findings about the relationship between school climate and

student achievement are mixed. Some studies find that openness of climate is associated with higher student achievement, while other studies conclude that it is not related to achievement. [14] Openness in and of itself cannot make a poor program good or a weak teacher strong, but it can provide the atmosphere for an effective program of supervision that will lead to better programs and better teaching. Both the climate *and* the supervisory program are critical. Achievement is a function of openness in climate and an effective supervisory program.

In brief, the conceptualization of school climate along an open-to-closed continuum is a valuable perspective for analyzing the atmosphere of a school; the OCDQ-RE is a useful tool for diagnosing the relative openness of the school climate; and openness of school climate is a necessary prerequisite for an effective supervision program.

ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS: HEALTHY TO UNHEALTHY

Another framework for defining and measuring the social climate of a school has recently been developed at Rutgers University-the *organizational health of a school.* [15] The idea of positive health in an organization is not new, and it calls attention to factors that facilitate growth and development as well as to conditions that impede positive organizational dynamics.16 It seems likely that the state of health of an educational organization can tell us much about the probable success of supervisory programs.

Matthew Miles defines a healthy organization as one that "not only survives in its environment, but continues to cope adequately over the long haul, and continuously develops and extends its surviving and coping abilities." [17] Implicit in this definition is the notion that healthy organizations deal successfully with disruptive outside forces while effectively directing their energies toward the major goals and objectives of the organization. Operations on a given day may be effective or ineffective, but the long-term prognosis in healthy organizations is favorable.

All social systems, if they are to grow and develop, must satisfy the four basic conditions of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency.18 In other words, organizations must successfiully solve (1) the problem of acquiring sufficient resources and accommodating to their environments, (2) the problem of setting and implementing goals, (3) the problem of maintaining solidarity within the system, and (4) the problem of creating and preserving the unique values of the system. Thus, the organization must be concerned with the instrumental needs of adaptation and goal achievements as well as the expressive needs of social and normative integration; in fact, it is postulated that healthy organizations effectively meet both sets of needs. Talcott Parsons also suggests that formal organizations such as schools exhibit three distinct levels of responsibility and control over these needs-the technical, managerial, and institutional levels (see Chapter 1).19

The technical level produces the product. In schools, the technical function is the teaching-learning process. Teachers and supervisors are the professionals who are directly responsible for the technical function. Educated students are the product of schools, and the entire technical subsystem revolves around the problems associated with effective learning and teaching.

The managerial level mediates and controls the internal efforts of the organization. The administrative process is the managerial function, a process that is qualitatively different from teaching. Principals are the prime administrative officers in schools. They must find ways to develop teacher loyalty and trust, motivate teacher effort, and coordinate the work. The administration controls and services the technical subsystem in two important ways: first, it mediates between the teachers and those receiving the services, students and parents; and second, it procures the necessary resources for effective teaching. Thus, teacher needs are a basic concern of the administration.

The institutional level connects the organization with its environment. It is important for schools to have legitimacy and backing in the community. Administrators and teachers need this support to perform their respective functions in a harmonious fashion without undue pressure and interference from individuals and groups outside the school.

This broad Parsonian framework provides the integrative scheme for conceptualizing and measuring the organizational health of a school. Specifically, a healthy organization is one in which the technical, managerial, and institutional levels are in harmony. The organization is meeting both its instrumental and expressive needs and is successfully coping with disruptive outside forces as it directs its energies toward its mission. The elements of the framework are summarized in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Parsonian Framework for the Analysis of Organizational Health

If schools are to grow and develop they must satisfy two basic sets of needs:

INSTRUMENTAL NEEDS

Adaptation
(acquiring sufficient resources and accommodating to the environment)
Goal Attainment
(setting and implementing goals)

EXPRESSIVE NEEDS

Social Integration
(maintaining solidarity)
Normative Integration
(creating and preserving a unique value system)

Distinct levels of responsibility and control within schools:

Technical Level—produces the product
Managerial Level—mediates and coordinates internal efforts
Institutional Level—connects the organization with its environment

Dimensions of Organizational Health

Seven specific aspects of organizational health are viewed as crucial dimensions of the interaction patterns of life in schools-institutional integrity, principal influence, consideration, initiating structure, resource support, morale, and academic emphasis. These critical components meet both the instrumental and expressive needs of the social system, and they represent each of the three levels of responsibility and control within the school.

Institutional integrity refers to the school's ability to adapt to its environment in a way that maintains the educational integrity of its programs. Teachers are protected from unreasonable community and parental demands. The school is not vulnerable to the whims of the public. Neither a few vocal parents nor select citizens' groups can affect the operation of the school when their demands are not consistent with the educational programs. The board of education and the administration are successful in enabling the school to cope with destructive outside forces.

Principal influence refers to the principal's ability to affect the decisions of superiors. Being able to persuade superiors, get additional consideration, and not be impeded by the hierarchy are important facets of leadership. In fact, a key to effective leadership is the ability to influence superiors while at the same time not becoming overly dependent upon them. [20]

Consideration refers to the principal's leader behavior that is friendly and open. This aspect of behavior is similar to the OCDQ and LBDQ dimensions of consideration; it reflects behavior indicative of respect, mutual trust, colleagueship, and support. Consideration does not denote a superficial or calculative affability; it expresses a genuine concern for teachers as colleagues and professionals.

Initiating structure refers to the principal's behavior in specifying the work relationships with teachers. The principal, clearly defines the work expectations, the standards of performance, and the methods of procedure. The principal's behavior is task-oriented, and the work environment is structured and achievement-oriented. Like consideration, initiating structure is a major dimension of effective leadership performance, [21]

Resource support refers to providing teachers with the basic materials they need to do an outstanding teaching job. Instructional materials and supplies are readily available. If extra or supplementary materials are needed or requested, they are quickly supplied. In brief, teachers have access to the materials that they need.

Morale refers to a collective sense of friendliness, openness, and trust
w*thin the faculty. The teachers form a cohesive unit that is enthusiastic about teaching. They like each other, they like their jobs, they help each other, and they are proud of their school.

Academic emphasis refers to the extent to which the school is driven by a quest for academic excellence. High but attainable standards of academic performance are set, and an orderly, serious learning environment exists. The press for academic achievement is supported by administrators, teachers, and

students alike. Teachers believe in their students and students respond with vigor. Academic success is respected as a major accomplishment among students themselves. Good grades and scholarship earn praise and admiration from students as well as teachers.

. These seven aspects of teacher and principal patterns of interaction form the framework for defining and measuring the organizational health of schools. The dimensions are summarized by level of responsibility and by functional need in Table 7.5.

Organizational Health Inventory

A descriptive questionnaire that measures these patterns of behavior has rece ' ntly been developed and tested. From an initial pool of more than 200 items, a final set of forty-four items make up the Organizational Health Inventory (0111).

Like the OCDQ, the OHI is administered to the professional staff of the school. Teachers are asked to describe the extent to which each item characterizes their school alo ng a four-point scale: rarely occurs, sometimes occurs,

Table 7.5 **Dimensions of Organizational Health**

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

institutional integrity describes a school that has integrity in its education program. The school is not vulnerable to narrow, vested interests from community groups; indeed, teachers are protected from unreasonable community and parental demands. The school is able to cope successfully with destructive outside forces (instrumental need).

MANAGERIAL LEVEL

Principal influence refers to the principal's ability to affect the action of superiors. The influential principal is persuasive, works effectively with the superintendent, but simultaneously demonstrates independence in thought and action (instrumental need).

Consideration refers to behavior by the principal that is friendly, supportive, open, and collegial (expressive need).

Initiating structure refers to behavior by the principal that is task- and achievement-oriented. The principal makes his or her attitudes and expectations clear to the faculty and maintains definite standards of performance (instrumental need).

Resource support refers to a school where adequate classroom supplies and instructional materials are available and extra materials are easily obtained (instrumental need). TECHNICAL LEVEL

Morale refers to a sense of trust, confidence, enthusiasm, and friendliness among teachers. Teachers feel good about each other and, at the same time, feel a sense of accomplishment from their jobs (expressive need).

Academic emphasis refers to the school's press for achievement. High but achievable academic goals are set for students; the learning environment is orderly and serious; teachers believe in their students' ability to achieve; and students work hard and respect those who do well academically (instrumental need).

often occurs, and very frequently occurs. The forty-four items of the OHI, grouped by subtest, are listed in Table 7.6.

Factor-analytic techniques were used first in a pilot study to refine the OHL Then the factor structure of the instrument (OHI) and the reliability of each of the seven subtests were confirmed by factor analysis in a sample of seventy-eight secondary schools.22 The OHI, unlike the OCDQ, was designed especially to map the profile of the health of secondary schools. To facilitate the profile development, school scores were standardized so the mean score was 50 and the standard deviation was 10. Profiles for three schools are graphed in Figure 7.4. School A represents a school with a healthy climate- all dimensions of health are substantially above the mean; School B, in contrast, is below the mean in all aspects of health; and School C is a typical schoolabout average on all dimensions.

The subtests of the OHI are modestly correlated with each other; that is, if a school scores high on one subtest, there is some tendency to score higher on some of the other subtests. Furthermore, factor analysis of the subtests demonstrated that one general factor explained most of the variation among the subtests-a factor called school health. The seventy-eight secondary schools in the sample arrayed themselves along a continuum with a few schools having profiles of very healthy organizations, a few having very unhealthy profiles, and most schools having somewhat mixed profiles in between the extremes. An index of health can be developed by simply adding the standard scores of the seven subtests; the higher the sum, the healthier the school dynamics. It is possible to sketch the behavioral picture for each of the poles of the continuum-that is, the prototypes for very healthy and unhealthy school climates.

Healthy School. The healthy school is protected from unreasonable community and parental pressures. The board successfully resists all narrow efforts of vested interest groups to influence policy. The principal of a healthy school provides dynamic leadership, leadership that is both task-oriented and relations-oriented. Such behavior is supportive of teachers and yet provides direction and maintains high standards of performance. Moreover, the principal has influence with his or her superiors as well as the ability to exercise independent thought and action. Teachers in a healthy school are committed to teaching and learning. They set high but achievable goals for students; they maintain high standards of performance; and the learning environment is orderly and serious. Furthermore, students work hard on academic matters, are highly motivated, and respect other students who achieve academically. Classroom supplies and instructional materials are accessible if needed. Finally, in a healthy school, teachers like each other, trust each other, are enthusiastic about their work, and identify positively with the school. They are proud of their school.

Unhealthy School. The unhealthy school is vulnerable to destructive outside forces. Teachers and administrators are bombarded by unreasonable demands from parental and community groups. The school is buffeted by the whims of

***Table* 7.6 Items of the Organizational Health Inventory**

INSTITUTIONAL INTEGRITY

Teachers are protected from unreasonable community and parental demands.

The school is vulnerable to outside pressures.*

Community demands are accepted even when they are not consistent with the educational program.*

Teachers feel pressure from the community.'

Select citizen groups are influential with the board.*

The school is open to the whims of the public.'

A few vocal parents can change school policy.'

PRINCIPAL INFLUENCE

The principal, gets what he or she asks for from superiors. The principal's recommendations are given serious consideration by his or her superiors. The principal is able to influence the actions of his superiors. The principal is able to work well with the superintendent.

The principal is impeded by superiors.*

CONSIDERATION

The principal is friendly and approachable. The principal treats all faculty members as his or her equal. The principal puts suggestions made by the faculty into operation. The principal is willing to make changes.--

The principal looks out for the personal welfare of faculty members.

INITIATING STRUCTURE

The principal asks that faculty members follow standard rules and regulations. The principal makes his or her attitudes clear to the school. The principal lets faculty members know what is expected of them. The principal maintains definite standards of performance. -

The principal schedules the work to be done.

RESOURCE SUPPORT

Extra materials are available if requested. Teachers are provided with adequate materials for their classrooms:Teachers receive necessary classroom supplies. Supplementary m~aterials are available for classroom use. Teachers have acc~ss to needed instructional materials.

MORALE

Teachers do favors for each other. Teachers in this school like each other. Teachers are indifferent to each other.* Teachers exhibit friendliness to each other. Teachers in this school are cool and aloof to each other.The morale of the teachers is high. There is a feeling of trust and confidence among the staff. Teachers accomplish their jobs with enthusiasm. Teachers identify with the school.

ACADEMIC EMPHASIS

-The students in this school can achieve the goals that have been set for them. The school sets high standards for academic performanceStudents respect others who get good grades.

Students seek extra work so that they can get better grades. Teachers in this school believe that their students have the ability to achieve academically.

Academic achievement is recognized and acknowledged by the school. Students try hard to improve on previous work. The learning environment is orderly and serious.

Score is reversed.

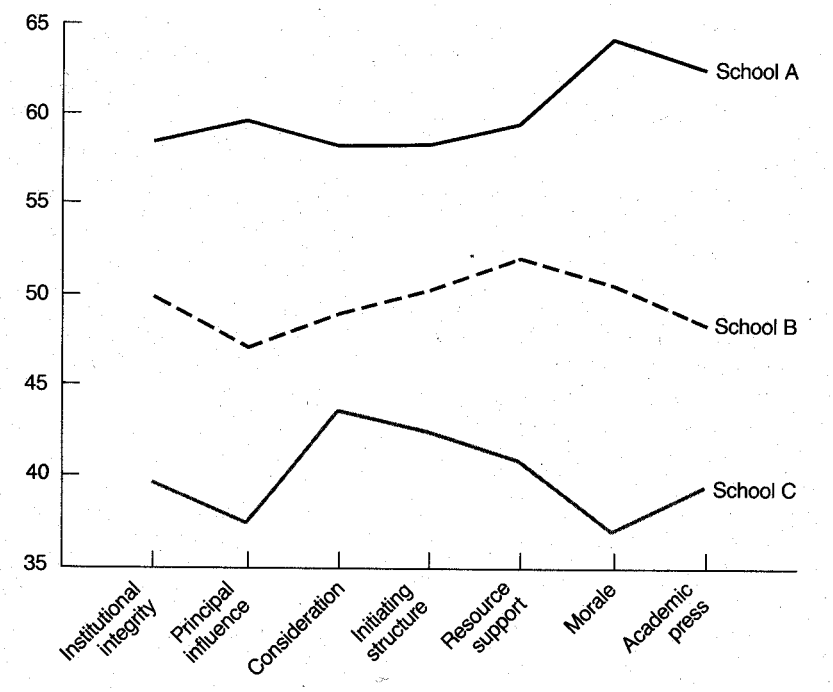

Figure 7.4 Health Profiles of Three Schools

the public. The principal does not demonstrate leadership; that is, the principal provides little direction or structure, exhibits limited consideration and' support for teachers, and has virtually no ability to influence the action of superiors. Morale of teachers is low. Teachers feel good neither about each other nor about their jobs. They act aloof, suspicious, and defensive. Finally' there is little press for academic excellence. Neither students nor teachers believe that academic matters are serious and important. Indeed, academically oriented students are ridiculed by their peers and are viewed as threats by their teachers.

The OHI: Some Implications

The **OHI** is a new instrument, and therefore, research using it is limited. Yet, the OHI is a useful too] for several reasons. First, it reliably measures seven key dimensions of the organizational health of schools. Second, it was designed, developed, and tested in secondary schools. Third, the conceptual underpinnings of the OHI are consistent with the model and process of supervision advanced in this text.

The preliminary research findings using the OHI are also encouraging. As one would expect, the healthier the organizational dynamics, the greater the degree of faculty trust in the principal, trust in colleagues, and trust in the organization itself. Not surprisingly, too, there is a strong correlation between

the openness and health of schools; healthy schools have high thrust, high esprit, and low disengagement. In brief, open schools are healthy schools and healthy schools are open ones.

We expect the research to show much the same patterns of relationships for organizational health as school climate. A school's health is likely to be positively related to less student alienation, lower dropout rate, and higher student commitment. Similarly, healthy schools should have stronger leaders who are more confident, secure, and resourceful than those found in less healthy schools. Moreover, principals of healthy schools will have more dedicated, loyal, and satisfied teachers who are confident, secure, and highly motivated.

Healthy organizational dynamics can also have positive consequences because they facilitate the process of supervision. Although such an environment cannot guarantee high achievement, it does provide an atmosphere conducive to improvement of instruction through cooperative and diagnostic supervision. Moreover, the characteristics of healthy schools have many of the attributes stressed in the effective school literature: an orderly and serious environment; high but attainable goals; visible rewards for academic achievement; principals who are dynamic leaders-that is, influential principals whoblend their behavior to fit the situation; and a cohesive unit based on mutual trust.

In sum, organizational health is another functional framework for analyzing important aspects of the character ' of life in schools. The OHI is a practical tool for assessing the health of a school. Like openness in school climate, healthy organizational dynamics are necessary conditions for an effective program of supervision. The supervisor must first have a positive climate; if it is lacking, it must be developed. While the OCDQ was originally developed for use in elementary schools, the OHI was specifically constructed for secondary schools. Both frameworks provide valuable conceptual capital for the analysis of school climates.

PUPIL-CONTROL ORIENTATION: HUMANISTIC TO CUSTODIAL

Still another way to conceptualize the social climate of the school is in terms of the dominant patterns that teachers and principals favor to control students. There is little doubt that pupil control is a significant feature of school life. Charles Silberman, for example, has argued, "The most important characteristic schools share in common is a preoccupation with order and control. [23] Similarly, in one of the first systematic studies of the school as a social system, Willard Waller stressed the centrality of pupil control with regard to both structural and normative aspects of the school culture. [24] In fact, most studies that have focused on the school as a social system have described antagonistic student subculture's and attendant conflict and pupil problems. [25] Donald J. Willower and Ronald G. Jones have described pupil control as the "dominant motif' within the school social system, the integrative theme that gives meaning to patterns of teacher-teacher and teacher-principal relations. [26]

Control is a problem faced by all organizations, but as Richard 0. Carlson's

insightful analysis of the relationships of clients in service organizations demonstrates, public schools are service organizations in which control is likely to be the most acute problem. [27] Public schools along with prisons and public mental hospitals are service organizations that have no choice in the selection of clients, and the clients must (in the legal sense) participate in the organizations. [28] These organizations are confronted with clients who may have little or no desire for the services provided, a factor that exacerbates the problem of client control.

Both empirical and conceptual considerations lead to the same conclusion: pupil control is a critical aspect of school life. Given its saliency, the concept can be used to distinguish among classroom climates (see Chapter 11) and school climates. The conceptualization of pupil control and the research initiated by Donald J. Willower, Terry 1. Eidell, and Wayne K. Hoy at Pennsylvania State University provide the basis for such a perspective. [29]

The Penn State researchers postulated a pupil-control continuum from humanistic to custodial. These polar terms refer to contrasting types of individual ideology and the corresponding types of school organizations that they seek to rationalize and justify. The concern. here is primarily with the latter-that is, the social-beliefs component of climate. Thus, pupil-control ideology is how school officials view the students. Prototypes or composite descriptions of schools with humanistic and custodial pupil-control orientations will now be briefly sketched.3"

Humanistic Schools. The model for the- humanistic orientation is the school conceived of as an educational community in which students learn through cooperative interaction and experience. Learning and behavior are viewed in psychological and sociological terms. Self-discipline is substituted for strict teacher control. A humanistic orientation leads to a democratic atmosphere with open channels of two-way communication between pupils and teachers and increased student self-determination. The term "humanistic orientation" is used in the sociopsychological. sense suggested by Erich Fromm;31 it stresses both the importance of the individual and the creation of an atmosphere that meets student needs.

Custodial Schools. The model for the custodial orientation is the traditional school, which provides a rigid and highly controlled atmosphere in which maintenance of order is primary. Students are stereotyped in terms of their appearance, behavior, and parents' social status. Teachers who have a custodial orientation conceive of the school as an autocratic organization with a rigid 'pupil-teacher status hierarchy..The flow of power and communication is unilateral and downward; students must accept the decisions of their teachers without question. Teachers do not attempt to understand student behavior but instead view misbehavior as a personal affront. They perceive students as irresponsible and undisciplined persons who must be controlled through punitive sanctions. Impersonality, cynicism, and watchful mistrust pervade the atmosphere of the custodial school.

Pupil-Control Ideology Form

In order to operationalize the concept of pupil-control orientation along the humanistic-custodial continuum, the Pupil-Cont'rol Ideology (PCI) form was developed .[32] The final version of the PCI is a twenty-item, Likert-type scale with five categories for each item, ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." A sample of specific PCI items is presented in Table 7.7.

Reliability coefficients of the, PCI instrument have been consistently high. [33] Similarly, construct validity has been supported in numerous studies. [34] A school's pupil-control orientation can be measured by pooling the individual ideologies of its professional staff members; this represents an estimate of the modal orientation of the school and provides an index of the degree of custodialism (or humanism) with respect to the pupil-control orientation of the schoo [1.35]

The PCI Form: Some Implications

The PCI instrument does not provide the complex measure of either the OCDQ or 0111. Nonetheless, the concept of pupil control and its measurement allows another view of school climate, one that focuses on the central aspect of relations in school. Control is critical not only in the classroom (see Chapter 9)

Table 7.7 **Selected Items from the Pupil-Control Ideology Form**

Following are some statements about schools, teachers, and pupils. Please indicate your personal opinion about each statement by writing the appropriate response at the right of each statement.

SA-Strongly agree; A-' Agree; U-Undecided; D-Disagree; SD-Strongly disagree

1. It is desirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.
2. Directing sarcastic remarks toward a defiant *pupil is* a good disciplinary technique.,
3. Teachers should consider revision of their teaching methods if these are criticized by their pupils.*
4. Pupils should not be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.
5. Too much pupil time is spent on guidance and activities and too little on academic preparation.
6. Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.
7. Pupils can be trusted to work together without Supervision.*
8. A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.
9. It is often necessary to remind pupils that their status in school differs from that of teachers.
10. Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad.

The score is reversed.

SOURCE: Donald J. Willower, Terry 1. Eidell, and Wayne K. Hoy, *The School and,Pupil-Control Ideology* (University Park: Penn State Studies Monograph No. 24, 1967). Copyright @ 1967 The Pennsylvania State University Press. Reprinted by permission.

but also in the school social system. Moreover, pupil-control orientation deals exclusively with teacher-student relations rather than with principal-teacher relations. Hence, the PCI perspective is complementary to both the climate (OCDQ) and health (OHI) frameworks.

For example, Wayne Hoy and James Appleberry used the OCDQ variables to compare the most humanistic schools and the most custodial schools in terms of their climate profiles. The results are not surprising. [36] Schools with a humanistic pupil-control orientation had significantly less disengagement, more esprit, less aloofness, and more thrust than those with a custodial pupilcontrol orientation. In other words, humanistic schools seem more likely than custodial schools to have (1) teachers who work well together with respect to the teaching-learning task; (2) teachers who have high morale and are satisfied because of their sense of task accomplishment and fulfillment of social needs; (3) principals who deal with teachers in an informal, faceAo-face situation rather than going "by the book"; (4).principals who do not supervise closely but instead motivate through personal example; and (5) a climate marked by openness, acceptance, and authenticity. The concepts of a humanistic pupilcontrol orientation and openness of norms-although different elements of school climate-seem to be highly compatible.

Humanistic and custodial schools also have other important attributes. The more humanistic the school, theJess alienated the students. Students.in humanistic schools are more likely to believe that they have greater control over their affairs in school and are not being manipulated by the system; that is, they feel less powerlessness than students in custodial schools. Moreover, students are much less likely to experience normlessDess in humanistic than custodial schools. Students generally support the legitimate social norms in humanistic schools. [37] Moreover, Frederick Lunenburg found that student perceptions of a humanistic school climate were positively related to their motivation, task orientation, problem solving, and seriousness about learning. [38] Finally, John Deibert and Wayne Hoy, in a comprehensive study of more than 4,000 students in forty high schools, demonstrated that the humanistic school-not the custodial-provided a healthy social climate for the developmerit of a mature self-image for students; the more humanistic the pupil-control orientation of the school, the greater the chance that high-school seniors were moving toward self-actualization .[39]

just as openness and health have important implications for the improvement of instruction through supervision, so does the dominant pupil-control orientation. In schools that depend heavily oncustodial practices, sharp divisions will develop between students and teachers. Under such conditions, teachers are concerned'about maintaining control at all costs. Discipline becomes an end in itself rather than a means to effective learning. Students express their hostility and alienation. Teachers respond with more severe control measures and a vicious cycle emerges.

A custodial environment is not one where teachers feel secure to experiment, especially with new practices that require freedom and trust of students. The humanistic school, in contrast, stresses a sense of community character

ized by respect for authority, genuine caring about people, mutual trust, and respect for the feelings of others. Humanistic schools, not custodial ones, provide environments conducive to the teacher security, trust, and openness that are necessary for effective supervision.

Although the P(11 perspective is narrow, it does focus attention on perhaps the single most important feature of school life-pupil control. Many supervisory problems are related to control problems and their attendant conflicts. Thus, the framework offers yet another significant piece of the school context that constrains supervisory practice, and the PCI instrument provides a quick measure to gauge the pupil-control orientation of a school or teacher.

MANAGERIAL SYSTEMS: EXPLOITIVE TO PARTICIPATIVE

The last perspective that we will describe to analyze the atmosphere of schools is probably the most comprehensive scheme. Rensis Likert has developed the theory, research, and specifics of this approach in two important volumes, *New Patterns of Management* and *The Human Organization.* Although he developed the theory and did most of the initial research in business organizations, Likert clearly says that the perspective is applicable to other kinds of organizations such as public schools. [40]

Likert developed a continuum along which organizations can be placed according to the character of their superordinate-subordinate relationships. The organizational types, or managerial systems, fall into four categories: System I-Exploitive-Authoritative; System 2-Benevolent-Authoritative; System 3-Consultative; and System 4-Participative.

System Dimensions

Themanagerial systems Likert identified were initially described in terms of a set of basic operating characteristics, which were expanded and refined to derive a measuring device to classify the managerial systems. [41] Likert's framework included eight major organizational characteristics: leadership processes, motivational forces, communication process, interaction-influence process, decision-making process, goal setting, control processes, and performance goals and training, These major characteristics can be used to map the profiles of organizations along a participative-exploitative continuum. A brief sketch of each dimension is presented below.

Leadership processes refer to the extent to which (1) superiors and subordinates have mutual trust and confidence in each other, (2) superiors are supportive and open to discussion with subordinates, and (3) superiors make constructive use of subordinates' ideas.

Motivational forces refer to the underlying motives that are used to stimulate behavior, and the manner in which they are used-for example, threats, punishment, rewards. Other important elements of the motivational system include the kinds of attitudes developed toward the organization and col

leagues-, the extent to which motivational forces conflict with or reinforce each other; responsibility toward the organization and its goals; and general satisfaction with the organization, administration, and oneself.

Communication process refers to the amount of relevant communication aimed at goal achievement, the direction of the communication, and the nature of vertical and horizontal communication, for example, its origin, its adequacy, and its accuracy.

Interaction-influence process refers to the amount and character of interactions. To what extent are interactions friendly, trusting, and cooperative? To what extent do subordinates influence decisions of superiors?

Decision-making process refers to where decisions are made and how. Is decision making restricted to top levels or distributed throughout the organization? To what extent is appropriate information available at the level where the decision should be made? How much subordinate involvement is there in the decision-making process?

Goal setting refers to the manner in which organizational goals are determined (unilaterally or jointly), the extent to which all levels strive for high performance goals, and the forces for accepting, resisting, or rejecting goals.

Control processes refer to the degree to which power in the organization is centralized or decentralized as well as the degree to which the informal organization supports or opposes the formal.

Performance goals and training refer to the extent to which high achievement goals are sought and the amount and adequacy of training supplied by the organization.

These eight aspects of organizational life form the framework for defining and measuring four managerial systems along the exploitive,-participative continuum. The dimensions are summarized in Figure 7.5.

Profile of Organizational Characteristics

Likert and his colleagues developed descriptions of the eight characteristics described in Figure 7.5, and then refined fifty-one items to measure them. Respondents are asked to describe the extent to which each statement characterizes the organization, treati.ig each item as a continuous variable. Sample items from the Profile of Organizational Characteristics (POC scale) for the eight variables are provided in Table 7.8.

Data from several studies support the internal consistency (reliability) of both the eight basic characteristics and the instrument as a whole. Corrected split-half correlation coefficients (reliability estimates) for the POC typically range in the 0.90S.42 High intercorrelations of the items as well as high reliabilities indicate that each element of a particular management system fits well with each of the others and functions in harmony with them. Thus, each management system has a basic integrity of its own and typically presents a consistent profile across all of the eight variables. 43 For example, if the system is clearly participative for communication and decision-making processes (see Figure 7.5), it is likely to be so for the other dimensions.

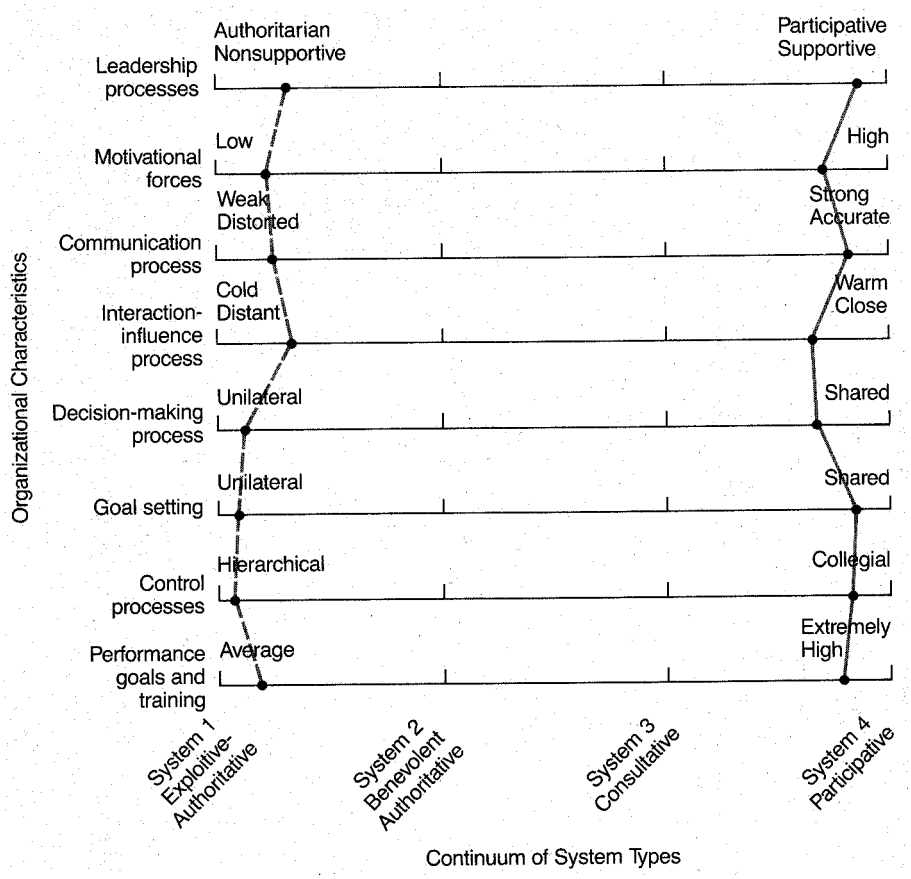

Figure 7.5 Organizational Characteristics and the Continuum of System Types

Likert and his colleagues, who originally used the POC to study business organizations, were interested in how changes in the climate of the organization were related to objective performance criteria such as productivity, earnings, and employee satisfaction. Their research supported the conclusion that, in general, the closer a profile approaches the participative (System 4), the greater the likelihood of superior performance. [44]

The POC is a relevant measure for mapping the managerial system of a school. The instrument, however, has many versions. For example, the shortened eighteen-item version found in Figure 7.6 might be a more viable instrument for helping to sketch the profile of a school. Moreover, Rensis and Jane Likert have used their system variables to develop an instrument they call [45]

Profile of a School. The Profile of a School also has several versions and can be used with teachers, administrators, and students to map perceptions of the school climate. It is thus possible to compare the perceptions among a variety of subgroups.

Table 7.8 **Sample Items for Each Subscale of Profile of Organizational Characteristics Measure**

Organizational Variable	System 1	System 2	System 3	System 4
1. Leadership process used				
Extent to which superiors display supportive behavior toward others	Display no supportive behavior or virtually none	Display supportive behavior in condescending manner	Display supportive behavior quite generally	Display supportive behavior fully and in all situations
2. Character of motivational forces				
Manner in which motives are used	Fear, threats, punishments, and occasional rewards	Rewards and some actual or potential punishment	Rewards, occasional punishment, and some involvement	Economic rewards based on compensation system developed through participation; group participation and involvement in setting goals, improving methods, appraising progress toward goals, and so forth
3. Character of communication process				
Amount of interaction and communication aimed at achieving organization's objectives	Very little	Little	Quite a bit	May be with both individuals and groups

Table 7.8 **Continued**

Organizational Variable	System 1	System 2	System 3	System 4
4. Character of interaction-influence process				
Amount of cooperative teamwork present	None	Relatively little	A moderate amount	A very substantial amount throughout the organization
5. Character of decision-making process				
Level in organization at which decisions are normally made	Bulk of decisions at top of organization	Policy at top; many decisions within prescribed framework levels but usually checked with top before action	Broad policy decisions at top; more specific decisions at lower levels	Decision making widely done throughout organization, although well integrated through linking process provided by overlapping groups
6. Character of goal setting or ordering				
Manner in which usually done	Orders issued	Orders issued, opportunity to comment may or may not exist	Goals set or orders issued after discussion with subordinates of problems and planned action	Except in emergencies goals usually established by means of group participation

***Table 7.8* Continued**

Organizational Variable	System 1	System 2	System 3	System 4
7. Character of control or ordering				
Hierarchical levels in organization at which major concern exists with regard to the performance of the control function	At the very top only	Primarily or largely at the top	Primarily at the top, but some shared feeling of responsibility felt at middle and to a lesser extent, at lower levels	Concern for performance of control function likely to be felt throughout organization
8. Performance goals and training				
Level of performance goals that superiors seek to have organization achieve	Average goals	High goals	Very high goals	Extremely high goals

SOURCE: Rensis Likert, *The Human Organization: Its Management and Value* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

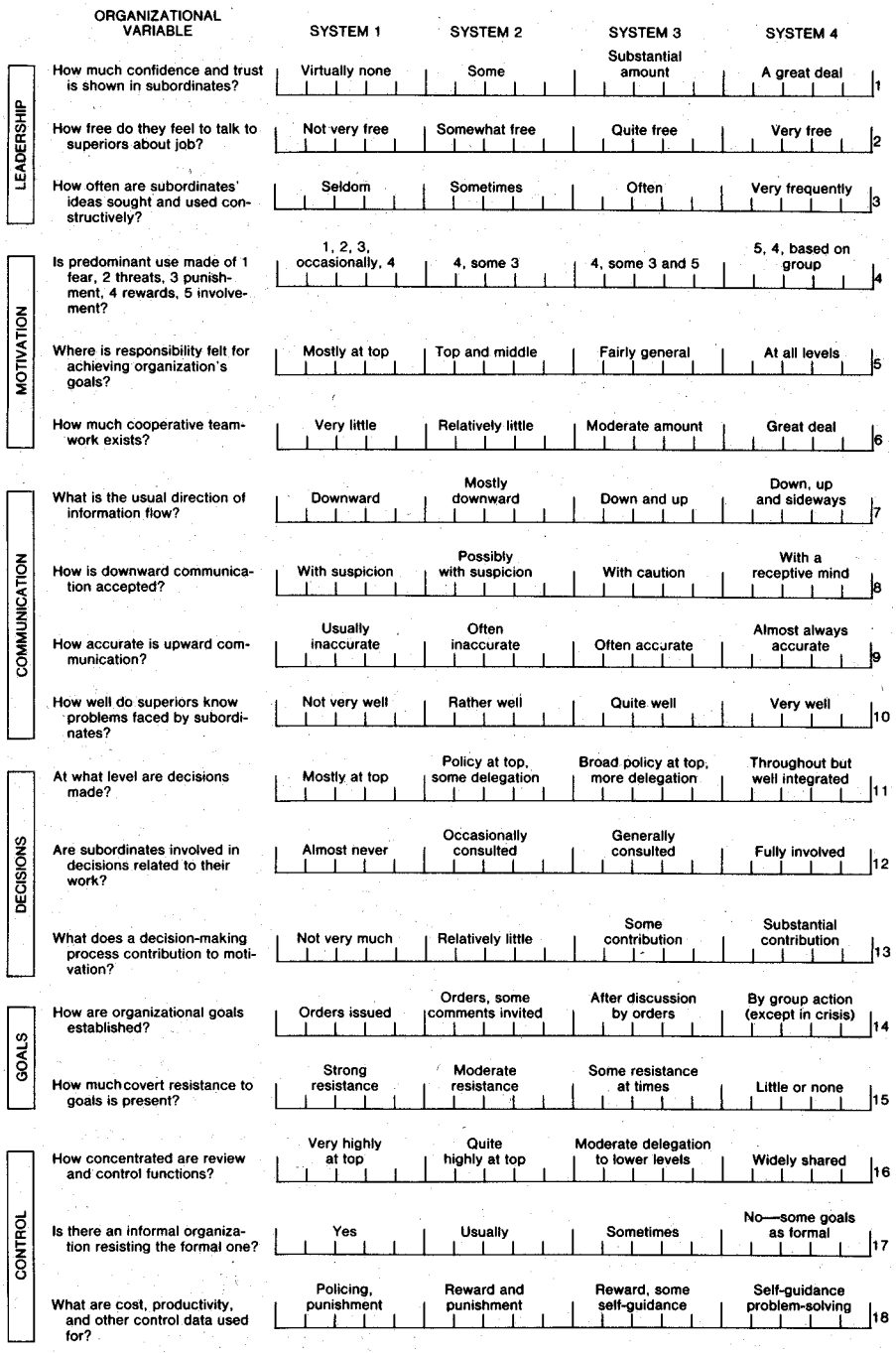

Figure 7.6 Organizational Characteristics of Likert's Four Systems

SOURCE: "Conversation: An Interview with Rensis Likert," Organizational Dynamics (Summer 1973) , P. 35. Copyright C 1973 AMACOM, a division of American Management Associations.

Exploitive-Authoritative System. System 1, the exploitive-authoritative system, is characterized by no mutual confidence and trust on the part of superiors and subordinates; there is simply little supportive behavior. Organizational members are motivated by threats, fear, and punishment. Consequently hostility, conflict, and dissatisfaction pervade the organization. Communication is initiated from above and flows downward. Upward communication is extremely limited and, when it occurs, invariably distorted and inadequate. Interaction among members, especially between hierarchical levels, is also limited and viewed with suspicion. There is no cooperative teamwork. Decisions are made unilaterally at the top, with virtually no sharing of decisionmaking responsibilities. Goals are orders received from above. Control is concentrated in top management, and the informal organization typically opposes the goals of the formal. Performance goals of members are not high. In brief, System I is a hostile and controlling environment in which organizational members are policed and exploited.

Participative System. System 4, the participative system, is at the other end of the Likert spectrum of organizational types. Mutual trust between superiors and subordinates, open discussions, and, use of subordinates' ideas imbue this kind of organizational structure. All organizational members are highly motivated and frequently share in making important decisions. Communication channels are open and accurate information flows freely upward, downward, and horizontally. Interaction and cooperation are extensive. Interpersonal relations are close, warm, and friendly. Participation in decision making and goal setting is widespread. Likewise, power and control are shared, and the formal and informal structures support each other as the organization strives to achieve high but realistic goals. In sum, teamwork, cooperation, sharing, group loyalty, responsibility, trust, and high performance goals are typical of the participative system. System 4 is a supportive environment in Which all members pull together.

Benevolent-Authoritative System and Consultative System. The intermediate systems on the continuum tend to resemble the extremes from which they depart. System 2, the benevolent-authoritative system, has most of the trappings of the exploitive-authoritative system, only to a lesser degree. The consultative system, System 3, is well along the way toward developing the characteristics of the participative system.

The POC: Some Implications

The POC provides yet another view and measure of the administrator-teacher relations in schools. Here attention is on the administrative system. Likert argues that the "principle of supportive relationships" is essential for effectiveness in organizations. He describes the principle as follows:

> The leadership and other processes of the organization must be such as to ensure a maximum probability that in all interactions and in all relationships with the orga

> nization each member will, in light of his background, values, and expectations, view the experience as supportive and one which builds and maintains his sense of personal worth and importance. [46]

Elsewhere Likert enumerates an additional set of "principles of effective management" that are particularly relevant to the supervision of instruction:

1. The highest levels of productive and cooperative motivation are obtained when the noneconomic results are made compatible with the economic motives.
2. High levels of cooperative motivation can be attained by applying the principle of supporting relationships.
3. High levels of cooperative motivation and the linking of such motivation to goals of the common enterprise are achieved mainly through informal proce9ses in face-to-face work groups.
4. The setting of goals and priorities and the assessment of accomplishments must be a continuing activity of various groups. [47]

Clearly, a participative system is most consistent with the atmosphere needed for effective implementation of a program of diagnostic supervision and improvement. Supportive relationships are necessary not only with the supervisor but also with the principal. Cooperation is the hallmark of a longterm, continuous process of instructional improvement. Likert's theory suggests that the linking of cooperative motivation with the goals of improving teaching and learning are mainly achieved in collegial, nonthreatening environments in which teachers and supervisors share power and jointly set instructional goals and make professional decisions. Moreover, the principal needs to nurture these supportive and participative relations. The formal and the informal organizations should be harmonious.

The participative system is complementary to the notions of openness, trust, organizational health, and humanism that have been developed in this chapter . In fact, in one of the few published studies of the managerial systems of schools, John Hall compared Likert's system measure with Halpin's climate inventory. [48] The results indicate that the more participative the managerial system, the more open the organizational climate; however, the relationship was not as strong as, one might expect. A safe conclusion is that both measures tap important aspects of organizational life that are similar in some respects' and different in others.

The POC and its cousin, the Profile of a School, are beginning to be used as research tools in the study of schools, especially in unpublished doctoral research. In general, the results are consistent with those found in industrial settings. Ratings of effectiveness and excellence are associated with the participative system, and students and teachers are more satisfied in participative systems. [49]

In sum, Likert's classification of management systems along an exploitive-participative continuum, his theory, and his measurement tools are well suited to the collegial and diagnostic model of supervision advocated in this text.

SUMMARY

Organizational climate is a set of internal characteristics that distinguishes one school from another and influences the behavior of its members. Pour different but related conceptions of school climate were described and analyzed as important constraints on the supervisory process. The climate of interaction among teachers and between teachers and principals can be described as open to closed, and it is measured by the Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire, the OCDQ-RE. Organizational health is another perspective of the school environment--one that calls attention to factors that facilitate growth and development as well as conditions that impede positive organizational dynamics. Organizational dynamics are conceived along a healthy-to-unhealthy continuum, and they are measured by the Organizational Health Inventory, the OHI. Still another framework views the social climate of schools along a continuum of control over students from humanistic to custodial, and it is measured by the Pupil-Control Ideology form, the PCI. Finally, school atmosphere can be portrayed as lying along a continuum of participative-to-exploitive managerial systems, operationalized by the Profile of Organizational Characteristics scale, the POC. Each of these perspectives and their respective

***Table* 7.9 Key Aspects of Organizational Climate**

Organizational Climate					
OPEN	⟷	CLOSED	OPEN	⟷	**CLOSED**
Principal Behavior			*Teacher Behavior*		
Supportive			Collegial		
Directive			Intimate		
Restrictive			Disengaged		
Organizational Health					
HEALTHY	⟷				**UNHEALTHY**
Managerial Level			*Institutional Level*		
Principal Influence			Institutional Integrity		
Consideration			*Technical Level*		
Initiating Structure			Morale		
Resource Allocation			Academic Emphasis		
Pupil-Control Orientation					
HUMANISTIC	⟷				**CUSTODIAL**
Managerial System					
PARTICIPATIVE	⟷				**EXPLOITIVE**
Leadership			Decision Making		
Motivation			Goal Setting		
Communication			Control		
Interaction			Performance Goals		

measurement instruments provide supervisors with a valuable set of conceptual capital and tools to analyze, understand, and improve the supervisory setting. The key aspects of organizational climate are summarized in Table 7.9.

NOTES

1. Organizational culture is another recent and popular term. See the special issue of the *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 28 (1983).
2. Renato Taguiri and George H., Litwin (eds.), *Organizational Climate* (Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1968), pp. 26-27.
3. Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft, *The Organizational Climate of Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, Research Project, Contract SAE 5438639, August 19621).
4. Andrew W. Halpin, *Theory and Research in Administration* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 131.
5. See Halpin and Croft, op. *cit.,* for the original conceptualization and measure of school climate. The revision and refinement of climate discussed in the next section of this chapter is the result of a comprehensive research project completed in the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University. The section draws heavily on Wayne K. Hoy and Sharon Clover, "Elementary School Climate: A Revision of the OCDQ" (in press).
6. In addition to the original U. S. Office of Education report, a complete version of the OCDQ is found in Halpin, op. *cit., pp.* 148-150.
7. For example, see Paula Silver, *Educational Administration: Theoretical Perspectives in Practice and Research* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), pp. 188-190; Andrew E. Hayes, "A Reappraisal of the Halpin-Croft Model of the Organizational Climate of Schools" (New Orleans: American Educational Research Association Paper, 1973); and Kenneth A. Sirotnek, "Psychometric Implications of the Unit-of-Analysis Problem (with examples from the Measurement of Organizational Climate)," *Journal of Educational Measurement* 17 (Winter 1980), p. 256.
8. Hoy and Clover, op. *cit.* The OCDQ-RE, like the OCDQ, was designed for use in elementary schools. A similar instrument is also being developed at Rutgers to measure the openness of secondary schools' climates. The reliabilities of the six subtests of the OCDQ-RE are .95, .89, .80, .90, .86, and .75 respectively.
9. Halpin and Croft, op. *cit.*
10. For a discussion of this index, see Wayne K. Hoy, "Some Further Notes on the OCDQ," *Journal of Educational Administration 10* (1972), 41-51.
11. Wayne K. Hoy, "Dimensions of Student Alienation and Characteristics of Public Schools," *Interchange* 3 (1972), 38-51. See also J. Mullins, "Analysis and Synthesis of Research Utilizing the Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire: Organizations Other Than Elementary Schools" (Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1976).
12. Donald P. Anderson, *Organizational Climate of Elementary Schools* (Minneapolis: Educational Research and Development Council, Research Monograph No. 11, 1964).
13. Andrews, op. *cit., pp.* 317-344.
14. For example, see Mullins, op. *cit.; P.* Cunningham, "A Survey of Selected Research on the Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire" (Ph.D. diss.,

Temple University, 1975); and D. Schwandt, "Analysis of School Organizational Climate Research 1962-1977: Toward Construct Clarification" (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1978).

15. This research and development is currently taking place in the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University. John Feldman, Wayne Hoy, Robert Kottkamp, and John Mulherne are the principal investigators.
16. See Matthew B. Miles, "Planned Change and Organizational Health: Figure and Ground," in Fred D. Carver and Thomas J. Sergiovanni (eds.), *Organizations and Human Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), pp. 375-391.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (New York: Free Press, 1953), pp. 1183-186.
19. Talcott Parsons, "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organization," in Andrew W. Halpin (ed.), *Administrative Theory in Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 40-72.
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23. Charles E. Silberman, Crisis *in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 122.
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25. James S, Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (New York: Free Press, 1961). See also Donald J. Willower and Ronald G. Jones, "Control in an Educational Organization," in J.D. Raths *et al.* (eds.), *Studying Teaching* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 424-428; and C. Wayne Gordon, *The Social System of the High School* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957).
26. Willower and Jones, *op. cit.*
27. Richard 0. Carlson, "Environmental Constraints and Organizational Consequences: The Public School and its Clients," in Daniel E. Griffiths (ed.), *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 262-276,
28. Some caution should be exercised when comparing public schools with prisons and public mental hospitals. There are important distinctions. For example, prisons and public mental hospitals are "total organizations"; schools are not. In addition, schools are much less coercive in their practices than most prisons and public mental hospitals. Our point is that although control is probably an essential ingredient of all group life, it is especially important in service organizations in which clients are unselected and participation is mandatory. For a discussion of total institutions, see Erving Goffman, "The Characteristics of Total Institutions," in *Symposium of Prevention and Social Psychiatry* (Washington, D.C.: Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, 1957), pp. 43-84.
29. Donald J. Willower, Terry L. Eidell, and Wayne K. Hoy, *The School and PupilControl Ideology* (University Park: Penn State Studies Monograph No. 24, 1967). See also Donald J. Willower, "Hypotheses on the School as a Social System," *Educational Administration Quarterly 1* (1965), 40-51; Donald Willower,

"Schools as Organizations: Some Illustrated Strategies for Educational Research and Practice," Journal *of* Educational Administration 7 (1969), 110-127; and Willower and Jones, op. cit.

30. For an extended description and discussion of this conceptualization, see Willower, Eidell, and Hoy, op. cit.
31. Erich Fromm, Man for Himself (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1948).
32. The details of the development of the PCI form and its psychometric properties are found in Willower, Eidell, and Hoy, op. cit.
33. Ibid.; and John S. Packard and Donald J. Willower, "Pluralistic Ignorance and Pupil Control Ideology," Journal *of* Educational Administration 10 (1972), 82.
34. Willower, Eidell, and Hoy, op. cit See also Wayne K. Hoy, "The Influence of Experience on the Beginning Teacher," School Review 76 (1968), 312-323; and Wayne K. Hoy and James B. Appleberry, "Teacher-Principal Relationships in 'Humanistic' and 'Custodial' Elementary Schools," Journal *of* Experimental Education 39 (1970), 27-31. Since the publication of the original monograph in 1967 by Willower, Eidell, and Hoy, more than one hundred studies have been completed using the PCI. In addition, a new measure, Pupil-Control Behavior (PCB), has been developed. See, for example, A. Ray Helsel, "Personality and Pupil Control Behavior" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, 1974).
35. Hoy and Appleberry, op. cit.
36. Ibid.
37. Wayne K. Hoy, "Dimensi ons of Student Alienation and Characteristics of Public Schools," Interchange 3 (1972), 38-51.
38. Frederick C. Lunenburg, "Pupil Control Ideology and Self-Concept as a Learner," Educational Research Quarterly 8 (1983), 33-39.
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45. Further information on the "Profile of a School" can be obtained from Rensis Likert Associates, 630 City Center Building, Ann Arbor, MI 48108. See also Rensis Likert and Jane Gibson Likert, New Ways *of* Managing Conflict (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976).
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CHAPTER 8

Organizational Context: An Application

In Chapters 4 through 7 of this book, the organizational context of the' school was conceptualized as a set of constraints and opportunities that form the larger environment in which each individual classroom operates. Before we go on to examine the classroom system itself (Part 111), we present a case study to illustrate the use of the conceptual frameworks in a specific school situation. We strongly recommend that you review Chapters 1, 2, and especially 3, "The Supervisory Process: Joint Problem Solving," so that you fully appreciate. what is happening in the case.

The supervisory process we have outlined in this book has two phases: Phase 1, building context; Phase 11, improving classroom performance. This chapter contains one, case, the Osen Case, which deals primarily with Phase 1. As we have argued earlier, the principal and supervisor are ideally two people, not one person wearing two hats. The case assumes this ideal situation; however, that in no way detracts from its usefulness in demonstrating how a principal who is also the supervisor might go about improving the organizational context and preparing school personnel for improving instruction.

What must be made very clear is that this case is merely suggestive of what might happen or what ought to happen in a real supervisory situation. The case is necessarily a simplification., because the inherent actual planning, data collection, analysis, development of alternatives, and decisional processes would have required that the case be a book in itself.

THE OSEN CASE

Bernadette Osen has been principal of Kippari Elementary School for two years. Kippari is a small suburban school with about 280 students in six grades and kindergarten. There are fifteen teachers on the staff at Kippari. Thirteen are women, and all but five of the teachers have taught at the same school for more than eight years.

Kippari is a bit of a plum as far as schools in the district go. It draws students from wealthy, highly educated families. Parents are supportive of the

school and demanding, but they are usually not interfering. Bernadette regards this environment as a mixed blessing; she thinks she often detects signs of complacency among the school's professional staff. When the district superintendent asked if she thought her school might be willing to participate in a new instructional improvement program (diagnostic and collegial supervision), Bernadette enthusiastically agreed.

There is some financial support for the new program, enough to add at least one teacher to the staff of participating elementary schools. The reasoning is that it was necessary to build some flexible time into the schedules of elementary-school teachers so they can dedicate significant blocks of time to working with the supervisor and planning team. In addition, each participating school is to be provided with a half-time supervisor. Joan Felling has been assigned as Kippari's supervisor, and she will be in the school three mornings and two afternoons a week for the duration of the program.

In the spring, just after Bernadette had tentatively agreed to explore the feasibility of the new program for Kippari (and prior to the school year in which a limited program is to be implemented), Bernadette and Joan spent some time talking informally to the teachers of Kippari. While most of the teachers were somewhat guarded in their responses, only one was clearly opposed to the prograrn--even a limited and voluntary version.

After the basics of the collegial approach had been discussed over lunch, in the faculty lounge, in the hall, and over morning coffee, Joan had come to know everyone pretty well. Bernadette and Joan agreed that the time was ripe for a general faculty session to talk out the proposal. Joan said she would not attend that meeting. She told Bernadette she thought the teachers of Kippari should consider this project on its merits and make decisions about their own school.

- Prior to the meeting, Bernadette asked three faculty members to prepare some thoughts about the prosand cons of the new program. She included as one of the panelists the faculty member who was most opposed to the program. During the meeting the faculty members shared their reflections. Bernadette also spoke, candidly addressing the pluses and minuses from her perspective. There was a lively (but not heated) discussion for forty minutes.

Sensing that everyone had been heard, Bernadette asked if she might put a proposal before them. It was a sincere but rhetorical question. She suggested that they participate in the program on a limited and voluntary basis for two years. There would be no pressure placed on individual teachers to participate in the supervisory program, and only volunteers would be included. Nonparticipants would continue under the present supervisory system; however, they might be asked to provide some information and complete questionnaires occasionally. In addition, nonparticipants could electively make use of the supervisor, materials, and information supplied by the supervisor to participating faculty. If, at the end of two years, the faculty as a whole agreed that the program was potentially beneficial and if there was no serious faculty objection, the new program would be elected for the entire school. Bernadette's proposal was discussed briefly. All who spoke were in favor of giving

the programa try, although there were varying degrees of enthusiasm. The one faculty member who was initially opposed to the program expressed a willingness to give it a conditional test.

Organizational Context Assessment

To prepare for their first working session after the faculty had agreed on limited and voluntary implementation of the new instructional improvement program, Bernadette reread Part 11 of this text, having to do with organizational context, and Chapter 3, an overview of the supervisory process. She was reminded that the contextual elements (formal organization, informal organization, leadership, organizational climate, and resources) that together and independently frame the school environment can facilitate or hinder instructional study and improvement. She and Joan would have approximately ten months to study, analyze, and improve the organizational context of Kippari Elementary before Joan began to work with individual teachers. Bernadette was looking forward to the first phase. She knew that it would involve a careful look at Kippari's characteristics as an organization and her own leadership, and a revealing examination of the teachers' perceptions of Kippari, its organization, and her role as principal. While some principals might be threatened by this kind of scrutiny, Bernadette *realized that* if she were going to ask her *teachers to* expose their teaching to study, then she ought to be willing to *expose her* administrative behavior to study. This willingness was partly stimulated by the close and nonthreatening relationship she had developed with Joan. She was looking forward to the meeting and an extended work relationship with the new supervisor. "Joan," she thought, "is going to help this school a great deal."

It was early in March when they met, nearly nine months *before Joan* was to begin diagnostic work with the *volunteer teachers* at Kippari. "How do we begin?" Bernadette asked. "I know that we are to work at creating a school climate conducive to inquiry, analysis, critical examination, and instructional improvement, but these terms sound so abstract. How do you suggest we be in?"

Joan was prepared. "You're right. Our objective at this point has to be getting the organizational context in shape for the teaching diagnostic work to begin after the middle of the next school year. As you know, a fundamental *premise of* the diagnostic approach is that we act based on specific information and analyses. If our objective is to build a nonthreatening environment in which teachers can freely examine their classrooms, expose what is weak, and work to improve, we must assess the organizational context systematically to *determine j*ust'what must be done to foster inquiry, openness, and trust. I've brought a flow chart with me [Figure 8.1] that should help organize the task. Let's look at it *together and* see what you think."

Joan traced the sequence of steps outlined in the flow chart, from determining whether there are problems with the organizational context of the school through determining whether an elected solution has been effective.

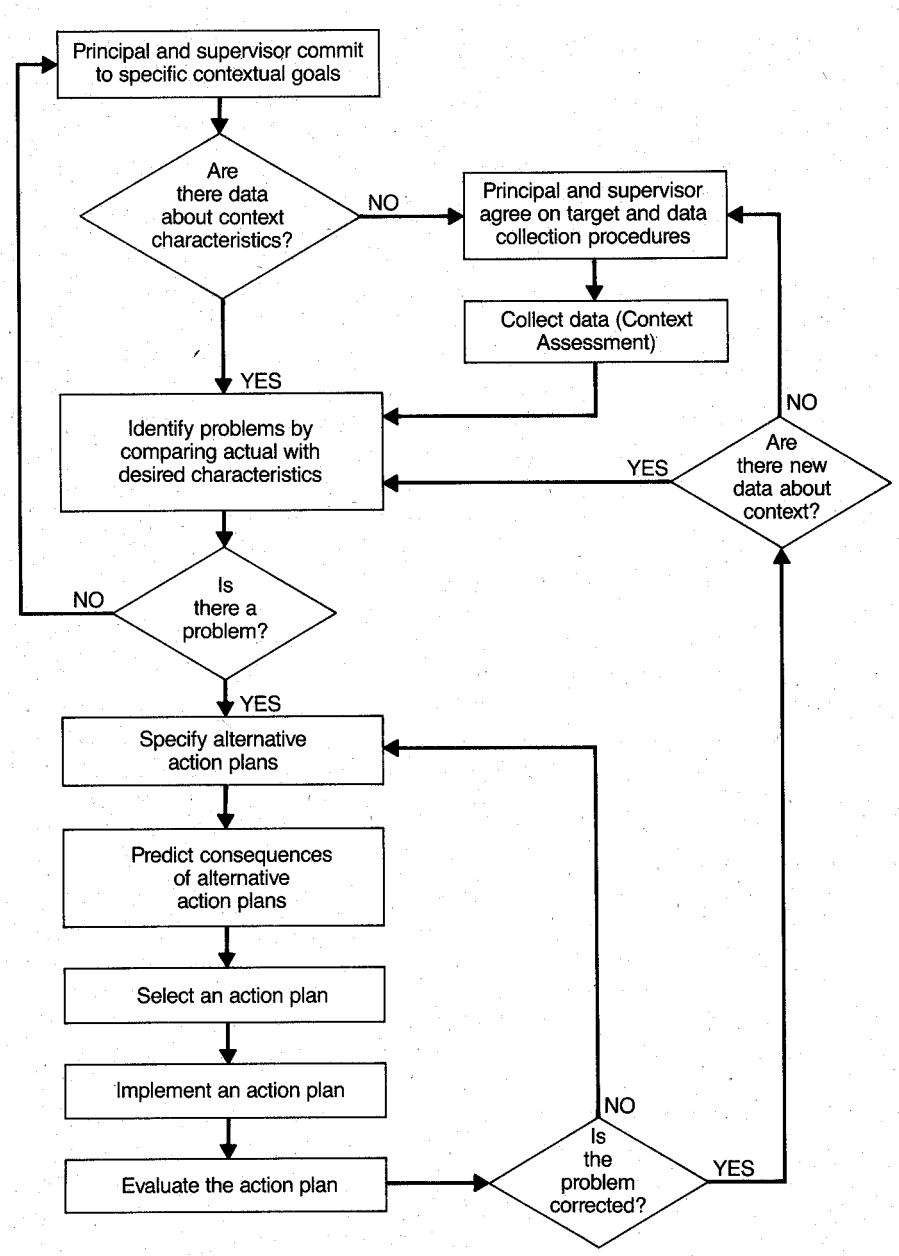

Figure 8.1 Flow Chart: Organizational Context Diagnostic Cycle

Bernadette was impressed with the procedure but struck by its complexity. "It does look a little complicated," Joan agreed. "But, as we go through the cycle once, I think you'll see it simply organizes the kind of decision making we do daily. The flow chart makes us conscious of decisional procedures we perform almost subconsciously. Also, the flow chart reminds us to base decisions on rel

evant information; that is, on information about the components and relationships among components that make up the organizational context."

Bernadette and Joan studied the flow chart together. "First of all,", Joan said, "it should be clear that adjusting the organizational context so that it is conducive to instructional improvement in Kippari Elementary is a never-ending process. It's a major task that we begin now, because any progress we make before beginning the diagnostic cycles with teachers will make those efforts so much easier. Take the very first step in the flow chart as an example: 'Principal and supervisor commit to specific contextual ,goals.' "

"Yes," Bernadette remembered, "there are at least four different sets of contextual goals that we have to be concerned with-formal structure, informal structure, leadership, and organizational climate goals."

"I think we'll find, as our efforts at improving the organizational climate progress, that the four kinds of goals overlap, at least to some extent. But," cautioned Joan, "we do need to get started somewhere. Perhaps we can look briefly at the goals that are associated with each of the components of the organizational context. We can find those in the summaries for Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven."

Bernadette thought a moment. "I'd like to reread those chapter summaries before we go on. I'll tell you what. Tonight, while I'm rereading those four chapter summaries on organizational context, I'll take notes on goal statements that seem to be associated with each chapter. When we get together tomorrow, we can review the goals associated with each of the contextual components and decide on a focus for our initial efforts at context improvement."

"Perfect!" Joan agreed. "I'll see you tomorrow morning at nine A.M."

Early the next morning, Bernadette and Joan met once again. Bernadette had indeed reviewed the kinds of goals that are associated with the components of the school context, the environment of the school. Handing Joan a copy of her efforts (see Table 8.1), Bernadette smiled and said, "Frankly, I'm perplexed. I understand the goals I've listed for each of the contextual components, but they all look extremely important. How are we going to focus on just one set of goals?"

Joan shook her head knowingly. "Remember that strange-sounding characteristic of open systems that was discussed in Chapter Two of the text, equifinality? It had to do with the notion that the same end state can be reached by a number of different paths. If that characteristic holds true of open systems, then we can expect our efforts to improve one specific component to have consequences for other contextual components as well. In other words, despite the fact that we might focus our efforts on the formal structure, specifically decentralization of decision making, those efforts are also directly related to the goal you've listed under organizational climate, participativeness. [See Table 8.1.] In fact, we simply cannot make any efforts to improve or change a particular component of the context without changing the other dimensions of context as well."

"I see," said Bernadette. "No matter which set of contextual goals we de

Table 8.1 Some Goals Associated with the Four Components of Organizational Context

1. 'Formal Structure of Schools (Chapter 4) Professional autonomy of teachers
Minimal structural constraint
Increased teacher expertise
Decentralization
2. Informal Structure in Schools (Chapter 5) Staff solidarity
Reduction of alienation
Development of an environment of trust and loyalty (i.e., informal authority of principal and supervisor)
Nonauthoritarian behavior of principal and supervisor
Principal and supervisor independent from but influential with other district administrators
Emotional temperance of principal and supervisor
Authenticity of interaction of principal and supervisor with staff
3. Leadership (Chapter 6)
Increase staff perceptions of leader behavior on both task and relationship dimensions
Match leader behavior with favorableness of situation
Match leader behavior with group maturity
4. Organizational Climate (Chapter 7)
Openness
Participativeness
Humanistic pupil-control ideology
Organizational health
Press for academic achievement

code to plug into the first step of the flow chart, we are, in effect, working to change the whole system. The goals simply provide points of focus for our thinking and activity."

" That's right," agreed Joan. "Although ultimately we'll want to study Kippari from the perspective of each of the contextual components. Each provides the opportunity for unique insight."

"Well, if it doesn't make a great deal of difference where we begin, I'm particularly interested in focusing on organizational climate," Bernadette went on. "I think a focus on climate might give an immediate impression to the staff that change is in the air, change for the better. As a result, all the teachers, not just those volunteering to participate in the supervision project, will experience some good effects of this project."

"I think you're right. I think that's a good place to start, Bernadotte. If we put the flow chart in front of us [Figure 8. 1], what you are suggesting is that, in the first step (principal and supervisor commit to specific contextual goals), we insert the goals associated with organizational climate--namely, openness, participativeness, humanistic pupil-control ideology, and organizational health. The next step on the flow chart is to answer the question, Are there data about context characteristics? Since we have selected organizational climate as the basic component of our initial examination of context, the question

is whether or not we have current data about the. organizational climate of Kippari Elementary. Do we?"

"I suppose the answer is no. We do have some data on the pupil-control orientation of faculty, but it's several years old by now. Incidentally, the teachers have already agreed to help by supplying information, completing questionnaires, or whatever we need to get the project off to a good start. So, if we need to collect data, I think the staff will be very cooperative."

"Well," said Joan, "it looks as if we will have to collect data about organizational climate. To start with, I'd like to suggest three instruments that should give us a good idea of the climate of the school: the revised Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ-RE), because it gives us information on a variety of dimensions of both principal and teacher behavior; the Organizational Health Inventory (OHI), because it checks the harmony of the various dimensions of the school; and the Pupil-Control Ideology (PCI) form, because it permits an understanding of the prevailing ideology among teachers and the degree of consensus that exists. These instruments are short, easy to score, and give an almost instantaneous picture of some vital climate characteristics. Are you familiar with these instruments, Bernadette?"

"I am familiar with the PCI, and I have used that instrument in the past. The other two are known to me only because they were discussed in Chapter Seven of the supervision text. I'll tell you what. Let's get copies of those instruments as soon as we can. I'm anxious to get started. If we can collect these data before the end of the school year, we can analyze them and use our analysis to plan changes for the fall. That way at least some context improvement will be well under way when we begin the diagnostic cycles with the teachers in January."

During the next three weeks, the teachers at Kippari responded to one questionnaire each week. Bernadette and Joan decided it might be better to space the questionnaires over several weeks so as not to take too much of the teachers' time all at once. As the questionnaires were completed, Joan scored them and prepared summaries of the results for Bernadette and herself to analyze.

Joan first prepared a summary of data using the OCDQ-RE. Table 8.2 is a reproduction of Joan's summary. Notice that in one column, the open climate (desirable pattern) is depicted; in the other, Kippari's climate is indicated. The descriptors (high, low, and average) refer to how Kippari's scores compared with a large sample of elementary schools. The low designation for Kippari under Dimension Number 5 (Teachers' Behavior: Intimate) indicates that Kippari's teachers saw their own interrelationships as less intimate than the average elementary school faculty. When Bernadette saw this display, she knew that, while overall school climate looked positive, the high *Restrictive* score and the relatively *low Collegial* and *Supportive* scores were indicative of the need for some climate improvement.

After the second week, Joan prepared a summary of PCI data (see Table 8.3). Bernadette and Joan agreed to study the data independently and not to discuss them until they bad a complete set and could respond to the question on the flow chart (Figure 8.1), Is there a problem? In summarizing the PCI

Table 8.2 Organizational Climate (OCDQ-RE) of Kippari

	Open Climate	Kipparl's Climate
PRINCIPAL'S BEHAVIOR		
1. **Supportive** behavior reflects a basic concern for teachers. The principal listens and is open to teacher suggestions. Praise is given genuinely and frequently, and criticism is handled constructively. Supportive principals respect the professional competence of their staffs and exhibit both a personal and professional interest in each teacher.	high	average
2. Directive behavior is rigid, close supervision. Principals maintain close and constant control over all teacher and school activities, down to the smallest details.	low	low
3. **Restrictive** behavior hinders rather than facilitates teacher work. The principal burdens teachers with paperwork, committee requirements, routine duties, and other demands that interfere with their teaching responsibilities.	low	high
TEACHERS'BEHAVIOR		
4. **Collegial** behavior supports open and professional interactions among teachers. Teachers are proud of their'school, enjoy working with their colleagues, and are enthusiastic, accepting, and mutually respectful of the -professional competence of their colleagues.	high	high
5. Intimate behavior reflects a cohesive and strong network of social support among the faculty. Teachers know each other well, are close personal friends, socialize together regularly, and provide strong support for each other.	high	low
6. Disengaged behavior refers to a lack of meaning and focus on professional activities. Teachers are simply putting in time and are nonproductive in group efforts or team building; they have no common goal orientation. Their behavior is often negative and critical of their colleagues and the organization.	low	low

data, loan included the individual scores of all fifteen Kippari teachers because she thought it would be important to get a notion of the extent to which the scores,were dispersed. Bernadette indicated that she was going to reread the organizational climate chapter (Chapter 7) in order to better interpret the data. Joan said, "Just remember that the lower the score, the more humanistic the teacher. The lowest possible score is twenty and the highest is one hundred. Scores below forty would be regarded as relatively humanistic."

In the third week, the teachers responded to the Organizational Health Inventory. Although this instrument has generally been used with secondary schools, Joan had collected data from about twenty elementary schools in the Kippari district and in two neighboring districts. This gave her a basis for standardizing the scores (making the average response 50 with a standard de

Table 8.3 Pupil-Control Scores for Kippari Teachers

Teacher	Score	Deviation from X
1.	32	+1.47
2.	30	-.53
3.	24	-6.53
4.	39*	+8.47
5.	32	+1.47
6.	28	-2.53
7.	38	+7.47
8.	32	+1.47
9.	25	-5.53
10.	37	+6.47
11.	32	+1.47
12.	21f	-9.53
13.	30	-.53
14.	30	-.53
15.	28	-2.5~

* = most custodial score School X = 30.53
f = most humanistic score

viation of 10) and comparing elementary schools with other elementary schools. Thus, in her summary of the Kippari responses to the OHI (Table 8.4), the average school score is 50 and the Kippari scores are relative to those averages. Scores above 50 are regarded as relatively healthy; scores below 50 are regarded as relatively unhealthy.

Identifying Problems

The purpose of collecting data, according to the approach under consideration, is twofold. First, a data base is needed to determine if the context characteristics to which the principal and supervisor committed themselves in the first step of the flow chart (openness, participativeness, humanistic pupil-control ideology, organizational health, and press for academic achievement) are present or not. A problem is said to exist if either the desired conditions of context are not present or one or more of the context dimensions is incongruent with the desired contextual conditions. The second reason for collecting specific data is to provide a focused analysis of the school that the principal and supervisor can use to direct their efforts to prepare the school for the diagnostic cycles of instructional improvement. In other words, the data not only suggest problems but they serve as specific information on which to base strategies for change. They help the principal and supervisor to build an organizational context that is congruent-a supportive environment conducive to the study and improvement of instruction. Bernadette and Joan now had a significant data base they could use to begin their efforts at contextual improvement.

Table 8.4 **Organizational Health Scores for Kippari**

Health Dimension	score Sample of Elementary Schools	score Kippari Elementary
INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL		
Institutional integrity describes a school that has integrity in its education program. The school is not vulnerable to narrow, vested interests from community groups; indeed, teachers are protected from unreasonable community and parental demands. The school is able to cope successfully with destructive outside forces (instrumental need).	50	57
MANAGERIAL LEVEL		
Principal influence refers to the principal's ability to affect the action of superiors. The influential principal is persuasive, works effectively with the superintendent, but simultaneously demonstrates independence in thought and action (expressive need).	50	58
Consideration refers to behavior by the principal that is friendly, supportive, open, and collegial (expressive need).	50	44
Initiating structure refers to behavior by the principal that is task- and achievement-oriented. The principal makes his/her attitudes and expectations clear to the faculty and maintains definite standards of performance (instrumental need).	50	58
Resource support refers to a school where adequate classroom supplies and instructional materials are available and extra materials are easily obtained (instrumental need).	50	61
TECHNICAL LEVEL		
Morale refers to a sense of trust, confidence, enthusiasm, and friendliness among teachers. Teachers feel good about each other and, at the same time, feel a sense of accomplishment from their jobs (expressive need).	50	49
Academic emphasis refers to the school's press for achievement. High but achievable academic goals are set for students; the learning environment is orderly and serious; teachers believe in their students' ability to achieve; and students work hard and respect those who do well academically (instrumental need).	50	41

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Since,they had selected organizational climate as the contextual component to begin with, Joan suggested that they take some time to discuss each of the goals associated with organizational climate (see Table 8.1) in terms of the three data summaries they now both had. In the week following the completion of data collection, Joan and Bernadette did just that. During their several conversations, Joan took copious notes on her traditional yellow legal pad. At the end of each session, Joan would read the summary of their conversation to make certain they agreed on the analysis and major observations. Joan's notes are summarized below.

Climate Analysis of Kippari Elementary

I., Openness. Using the results of the OCDQ-RE (see Table 8.2), we de scribed the climate of Kippari in terms of the teachers' perceptions of the principal's behavior and the teachers' per ' ceptions of their own behavior. Under the heading Principal's Behavior, the data reveal two concerns: the teachers perceive Bernadette as less supportive than necessary for an open cli mate, and the teachers perceive the principal as being quite restricti , ve, in the sense of creating duties and paperwork that interfere with teaching. In terms of teacher behavior, the teachers perceive less intimacy than is associated with an open school context.

2. Participativeness. We concluded we didn't really have any direct data about this goal. "However, responses to several of the dimensions of the OCDQ-RE (especially high restrictiveness and low intimacy) suggest that teachers do not see much opportunity for their authentic participation in the schooling enterprise at Kippari,

3. *Humanistic pupil-control ideology.* The control ideology of the school is consistent. In general, the faculty appears to be quite humanistic. None of the teachers would be called custodial.'In Table 8.3, it is clear the scores do not deviate much from a rather humanistic mean for the school.

4. *Organizational health.* The OHI data (see Table 8.4) underscore two specific concerns: teachers see the principal as less considerate than we would like, and the academic press score is lower than ayerage.

5. *Press for academic achievement.* Since this goal was measured by the OHI, it was again noted that the school's press for academic achievement was not high.

In general, by reviewing the data, we' identified six characteristics of Kippari that are at odds with an open school climate. Three of the characteristics are descriptive of the principal (at least as perceived by the teachers), and three are descriptive of the teacher group. Joan listed the concerns under the heading of Teacher and Principal (see Table 8.5).

We talked at great length about the feelings of the ttacher group as de.picted by the data we had collected. What stands out, as far as the teachers are concerned, is that their expressive needs appear not to be met by the current situation at Kippari. They report that, as a group, they are not close personal friends who socialize together, nor do they see themselves as having a cohesive

Table 8.5 **Characteristics of Kippari That Are Incongruent with an Open Climate**

Teacher Characteristic	Principal Characteristic
Low intimacy	Average supportiveness
Low press for academic achievement	High restrictiveness
Low participativeness	Low consideration

and strong network of social support. Moreover, for a school with Kippari's student body, the press for academic achievement is not 'very high. Teachers don't think they have created an orderly and serious learning environment for students. In addition, it seems teachers don't believe they participate in the important decisions of the school.

The teachers perceive Bernadette as not sufficiently supportive. She is not seen as giving genuine and frequent praise. On the contrary, teachers do see her as restrictive-that is, burdening them with paperwork, committee work, and routine duties that interfere with teaching. She is also not seen as particularly friendly.

While there are many characteristics of Kippari that we found to be consistent with an open climate, several areas were revealed as needing work. Thus, in response to the question on the flow chart, Is there a problem? we answer yes.

Bernadette was a little discouraged by some of the data. Joan encouraged her by noting that teacher perceptions are often very different from those of the principal. "Bernadette, these are indicators of how some of the teachers see you and themselves. If we didn't know their perspectives, we would be at a loss as to how to improve the school. Now we have a good idea how the teachers view the school and you, and we can go about the business of planning changes that will make the school context more conducive to instructional improvement." Bernadette, the natural optimist, rebounded quickly. She and Joan prepared to take up the next series of steps in the flow chart, developing a plan of action.

Developing a Plan of Action

When they next met, Joan began to talk again about improving the organizational context. She asked Bernadette, "Do you remember the components of the organizational context?"

"Yes," replied Bernadette. "Formal structure, informal structure, leadership, and organizational climate."

"That's right. Ultimately, our job is to make certain that the components of the context are such that they support instructional improvement. That means that the components must also be congruent with each other. In Chapter Three of the text, a number of questions about context were raised. If we go.

Table 8.6 **Questions to Probe Context Mismatches**

1. Are the informal norms, values, and leadership efforts consistent with the formal rules, policies, and management practices?
2. Are the formal rules and regulations consistent with the outcome goals of the classroom performance model?
Are the informal norms and values consistent with the outcome goals of the classroom performance model?
4. Is the formal hierarchy of authority consistent with a model of supervision that stresses colleagueship and joint problem solving?
5. Are leadership styles of the principal and supervisor complementary?
6. Are both the social and task needs of teachers being met by effective leadership practices?
7. Are resources available and compatible with outcome goals of the classroom performance model?
8. Is the faculty-control system consistent with student-control system?
9. Do the formal organizational arrangements foster an atmosphere of confidence and trust?
10. Does the informal organization promote a climate of responsibility and trust?
11. Do leadership practices nurture openness, professional independence, and experimentation?

over those now, after studying the organizational climate component in detail, perhaps a plan of action will emerge" (see Table 8.6). After talking briefly about each of the questions (Table 8.6), Bernadette
and Joan agreed that three in particular seemed to be answered by the data-collection-and-analysis process: questions 8, 9, and 11. The answers to all three of these questions seemed to be no. They noticed a common theme that ran through these three questions, namely a theme of control, or rather excessive control. They were convinced that they had hit on a key for climate improvement-reduction of excessive control. The presence of a multitude of rules and procedures surrounding the work of the teachers seemed at odds with the norms and values of professional autonomy and an atmosphere of confidence and trust. This regulated environment could well be the root cause for teacher perceptions of the principal as restrictive, not supportive, and low in consideration. The symptoms of the overregulated environment might be low teacher intimacy and participativeness. The next time Bernadette and Joan met, they talked about alternative
plans to reduce ' the teacher burden of rules, regulations,and paperwork. Their conversation resulted in a list (see Table 8.7) containing four possible options and predictions about the possible positive and negative outcomes of each. As they were talking, several criteria that the ideal solution should meet
evolved: (1) there would be authentic faculty involvement in the process (in order to increase participativeness); (2) the solution should visibly demonstrate that efforts are being made to simplify the formal structure of the school (in order to reduce faculty perception of the principal as restrictive); and (3) it would actually reduce the number of rules and procedures (in order to in crease teacher control over their own work). Option I came closest to satis

Table 8.7 Climate Options and Consequences

Options	Consequences
1. List existing rules and procedures; seek teacher suggestions about which to keep and which to discard.	Elimination of rules and procedures teachers feel are restrictive Limited increase in teacher participation in decision making
2. List existing rules and procedures; principal decides which to keep.	Elimination of rules and procedures teachers feel are restrictive No increase in teacher participation
3. Eliminate all rules and procedures except safety-related ones; ask teachers to suggest new rules they think would be necessary.	Elimination of rules and procedures teachers feel are restrictive Disorder? Possible increase in teacher participation in decision making?
4. Let all rules and procedures disappear through lack of enforcement. Let new procedures evolve naturally out of necessity.	Teacher perception of highly regulated environment may not change? No sense of participation in decision making

fying all three criteria. Hence, they selected option one as the initial strategy to improve the organizational climate (and context) of Kippari.

Bernadette and Joan then discussed a plan for implementing option one. They reviewed Nadler's general steps for initiating change (see Chapter 3). It was clear that their plan incorporated many of his suggestions: it responded to dissatisfaction, emphasized participation, was a reward in itself, and would not be implemented until the fall, giving everyone the opportunity to adjust to the idea of the change. They outlined the steps in the implementation plan (Table 8.8).

Looking once more at the flow chart, Joan and Bernadette realized that they could not evaluate the effect of these efforts to improve climate until the new rules and procedures were in effect. They planned to have the faculty complete some of the climate measurements again in October of the next .school year. A comparison of those data with the data just collected would tell them whether the implementation and climate assessment had been successful.

In the meantime, they moved on to other considerations. They turned to the problems their initial data collection had highlighted: the need for greater teacher intimacy and the need to develop a greater press for academic achievement. These climate improvement projects, along with planning the details and training faculty for the spring implementation of the classroom performance model, provided Bernadette and Joan with a full work agenda.

SUMMARY

in this chapter, we have demonstrated how knowledge about the organizational context of the school is used to prepare the teachers and other profes

Table &8 **Implementation Stages**

1. With the help of a small volunteer group of faculty, produce a comprehensive list of rulesand procedures that appear to affect the behavior of teachers and students at Kippari.
2. Construct a reaction form that lists all the rules and procedures by category and provides space for a simple evaluation or an open-ended comment by respondents.
3. Include instructions that spell out how these reactions will be used; that is, that we suspect life at Kippari has been overregulated and we want to reduce that type of control to a minimal set of guidelines. Indicate that we would like to have a small group of interested faculty members review the reactions and produce a proposal for the consideration of the entire faculty. The proposal will then be considered, amended, and possibly accepted for fall implementation.
4. Give teachers the option of responding to the reaction form as groups, if they like.

sional staff for instructional analysis and improvement. The supervisor and principal together studied data about the openness of the school climate, participativeness, control ideology, organizational health, and press for academic achievement. They discovered that there were some problems with Kippari's organizational context. They continued the diagnostic process, specifying'alternative action plans, predicting consequences of alternative plans, selecting a plan, and implementing a plan.

This chapter concludes Par ' t II, "Organizational Context," by illustrating the first phase of the supervisory process, contextual development. Once the school context is readied, the supervisor is expected to begin diagnostic work with teachers, focusing on classrooms. In Part III, "The Classroom Social System and Teacher Performance," the five components of the classroom social ,system are explored. Like Part 11, Part III concludes with an application of diagnostic procedures; this time, however, we focus on the classroom. The case at the end of Part III is a continuation of the case study you have just read.

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PART THREE

The Classroom Socia1 System and Teacher Performance

In the previous section we examined the significant elements of the school environment that provide the major set of opportunities and constraints influencing teacher and supervisory behavior. We now turn to a description of the internal operation of the classroom as a social system. Five critical components of the classroom system are identified and analyzed in this section.

Our analysis begins with the teacher-with the critical psychological and personal characteristics of the teacher that affect behavior in the class. What knowledge, skills, and attitudes have important consequences for, teaching behavior? How do teachers' attitudes toward students, colleagues, and self influence their behavior? The general motivational needs and forces that determine individual behavior are also carefully explored, with special attention to the motivational theories of Herzberg, Maslow, and Vroom. Finally, Chapter 9 concludes with an analysis of the impact of teacher expectations on student achievement. Rosenthal's Pygmalion study is critically evaluated, and several explanations are offered to link teacher expectations and student behavior.

Chapter 10 focuses on the student. What are the critical individual characteristics of students that are essential to understanding classroom activities? Students are dramatically affected not only by their abilities, aptitudes, and skills, but also by the attitudes and expectations that they hold about school, teachers, and themselves. just as teachers have basic motivational needs,, so do students. In addition to Maslow's Deed-hierarchy model and Vroom's expectancy theory, Alderfer's ERG theory and Locke's goal theory are applied to the problems of motivating and understanding student behavior. Finally, the background factors of sex and socioeconomic status are examined as factors moderating classroom behavior.

Classroom behavior is determined not only by the individual characteristics of students and teachers but also by the social conditions that emerge as students and teachers interact. Chapter 11 stresses the importance of the informal classroom climate, defined by the informal structure of social relations that emerges among the students and the informal culture of the student group that develops and elaborates itself. The classroom climate is viewed from several perspectives: definition of the situation, custodial and humanistic pupil control, instructional climate, and a classroom typology based on personal relationships, goal activities, and maintenance and change systems. The significance of a supportive classroom atmosphere is described, and strategies for teachers to expand the scope of their influence over students and to develop informal student norms of support are discussed and refined. The informal student organization stands out as a pivotal component of the classroom social system.

To neglect the formal classroom arrangements, however, would be to get an incomplete view of the classroom; therefore, we deal with the formal side of the classroom system in Chapter. 12. The learning process is inevitably structured, but what are the significant formal classroom arrangements? Our analysis explores the impact of four formal arrangements: learning process arrangements, physical arrangements, behavior arrangements, and learning materials arrangements. Under different conditions, each of these formal arrangements. increases or decreases the effectiveness of the learning environment. The challenge of discovering congruence among the formal classroom arrangements as well as between formal arrangements and the other. components of the classroom social system is a fundamental challenge for teachers and. supervisors.

In Chapter 13, we investigate the important role of the teaching task in the classroom system. What are the crucial aspects of planning the teaching activity? The discovery of student needs, formulation of goals and objectives to meet those needs, and planning the instructional and teaching strategies to motivate students and to achieve the goals are necessary preinstructional activities. Implementation of the teaching strategy is analyzed in terms of the processes that are used to attain the objectives. The teaching cycle is not complete, however, until the teaching performance is evaluated for effectiveness.

Before we apply the classroom performance model to a specific case, the outcomes of the teaching-learning process are examined in Chapter 14. What are the critical classroom performances of teachers and students? To what extent are these outcomes being achieved? Performance is analyzed at three levels: teacher, individual student, and the class as a group. At each level, both instrumental and expressive performances are examined. For example, cognitive as well as affective progress is evaluated for students. Finally, a set of illustrative measures is suggested to help the teacher and supervisor quantify classroom outcomes.

We conclude our analysis of the teaching-learning task with a compre

hensive illustration of the classroom performance model and the diagnostic cycle of problem solving. The student of supervision is provided with concrete examples as we go through the process and model step by step. Chapter 15 not only provides specific illustrations with an actual case, it is also a synthesis of the entire text.

CHAPTER 9

The Teacher

The single most important individual in the classroom is the teacher; hence, we begin our analysis of the classroom social system with a discussion of the psychological and personal characteristics of teachers. Since there are so many individual differences among teachers, only a few of the critical characteristics that are most likely related to behavior and problems in the classroom are treated.

KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

The knowledge of the teacher can be viewed from two perspectives-knowledge of the teaching process and knowledge of subject matter. Process knowledge, for example, includes classroom management techniques, inquiry and questioning skills, appropriate teacher behavior associated with a "discovery approach to teaching" or programmed instruction, and interpersonal skills. On the other hand, knowledge of subject matter refers directly to the mastery of the concepts and principles of the subject-for instance, the teacher's knowledge of probability, of the metric system, or of the Civil War. Lack of knowledge or skills in either area produces classic instructional problems-the erudite scholar who cannot communicate, the process teacher with nothing to communicate, or the disciplinarian who does little except maintain order. If inadequacies exist in either process or content, they can often be amended through in-service training or professional development activities, including additional college or university work.

Borich maintains that there are three forms of teacher competencies: (a) knowledge competencies, which specify the cognitive perspectives the teacher is expected to demonstrate; (b) performance competencies, which specify the teaching process the teacher is expected to demonstrate; and (c) consequence competencies, which specify pupil behaviors that are seen as evidence of teaching effectiveness.' He argues that knowledge, performance, and consequence competencies should be viewed as a sequence of interrelated behaviors that work together to build a comprehensive set of teacher and

pupil outcomes in the classroom. Although most preservice and in-service teacher training programs involve the attainment of knowledge and process competencies, few of these programs provide training that assumes the interdependence of knowledge, performance, and consequence competencies. It seems likely that knowledge competencies are needed to achieve performance competencies, and performance competencies are in turn essential to attain consequence competencies. [2]

ATTITUDES

The teacher's attitudes comprise another important set of factors to be considered in any attempt to improve classroom instruction. Attitudes may be global (attitude toward students) or specific (attitude toward a particular individual or text). Although strong relationships between teacher attitudes and teacher and student performance are not common, it is usually assumed that such attitudes are important intervening or enabling variables; that is, they are prerequisites to various affective and cognitive teacher behaviors. [3] Motivation to teach, attitudes toward pupils, attitudes toward teaching, attitudes toward colleagues, attitudes toward superiors, and attitudes toward self (self-concept) all have the potential to disrupt the teacher's behavior and may be at the root of classroom problems.

After a review of the research on the impact of teacher attitudes toward students on observable classroom behavior, Jere Brophy and Carolyn Evertson concluded that "different types of students produce attitudes of attachment, indifference, concern, or rejection in their teachers, and that these teacher attitudes are associated with different patterns of teacher-student interaction."4 When teachers like students, they treat them in ways likely to reinforce the liking, and when students like teachers, they respond similarly. Not.surprisingly, students who are most well-liked by teachers are typically conforming, cooperative, bright, high achievers, while students most likely to be rejected by teachers are those who misbehave, don't like school, and dislike their teachers. Apparently, dislike breeds dislike just as liking produces liking.

Teachers also have strong attitudes of concern toward some students and indifference toward others. Surprisingly, passive, shy, and troubled students produce indifference rather than concern among teachers. Why? Brophy and Evertson speculate that these students are relatively invisible; teachers don't notice them even though they are aware of their problem * s. [5]

Student lack of confidence is the trait most likely to trigger attitudes of concern among teachers, even if these ' insecure students perform poorly. Ap parently, if students are problems only in the academic area, the consequence is likely to be concern, not hostility or rejection. These are students with whom teachers would like to spend more time because they have difficulty making progress on their own; they need teacher help.

The findings of the Brophy and Evertson review emphasize the importance of teacher attitudes in the classroom. Attitudes influence behavior and behav

ior influences attitudes. Disliked students are rejected by teachers; rejected students are uncooperative and hostile; disruptive students generate attitudes of teacher dislike. And the vicious cycle continues. Diagnosis of the causes of problems frequently requires the careful examination of the roots and consequences of teacher attitudes.

MOTIVATIONAL NEEDS

Why do some teachers routinely spend extra time working with students? Why do others avoid intensive work efforts? Why are some teachers open and eager to try, new ideas while others resist? These are complex questions that deal directly with the fascinating and perplexing area of motivation. A basic understanding of motivation is essential for explaining much classroom behavior, for predicting the effects of supervisory and teacher behavior, and for developing strategies to improve teaching and learning in the classroom. What are the basic human needs and forces that motivate teacher behavior? Several conceptual perspectives provide some guidance.

Basic Needs

Frederick Herzberg argues that human beings have two basic needs-the need to avoid pain and the need for psychological growth.[6] Both kinds of needs are probably satisfied to various degrees in the school context. Herzberg called the psychological needs motivation factors because they generate feelings of satisfaction and motivate people to work harder. On the other hand, although the pain-avoidance needs typically do not produce greater work effort, they produce dissatisfaction and disruption in the work situation. In other words, one set of needs, psychological ones called motivation factors, is most important in producing job satisfaction and work motivation. A separate and distinct set of needs, called hygiene factors, is the primary cause of job dissatisfaction. These separate factors must be examined, depending upon whether job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction is being analyzed. job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are *not* opposites. The opposi.tc of job satisfaction is no job satisfaction; and similarly, the opposite of job dissatisfaction is no job dissatisfaction..

Motivation factors are generally intrinsic to the work itself; they make work, teaching in this case, more challenging, enjoyable, and rewarding. Six primary motivation factors are:

L, Achievement: successful completion of a job; successful solutions of problems; and observing the positive outcomes of one's work.

2. Recognition: some act or notice of praise or blame from another (supervisor, manager, colleague, subordinate, or the general public).

3. Work itself. the act of doing the job or the structure of the tasks. The work can be routine or varied, creative or stultifying, or easy or difficult.

4. Responsibility: the presence or absence of authority to perform the job.

5. Advancement: change in an individual's status or position in the organization.
6. Growth possibility: changes and opportunities in the work situation such that the individual is able to advance and improve his or her own skills and abilities.

When the job situation contains the positive aspects of these factors, feelings of satisfaction and increased work effort develop; however, the absence of positive aspects or presence of negative aspects of the motivation factors typically do not produce dissatisfaction; they merely limit job satisfaction and reduce motivation.

Hygiene factors describe the work context. They are generally extrinsic to the work itself, and they fulfill employees' pain-avoidance needs. The following ten hygiene factors are the prime causes of dissatisfaction:

1. Organizational policy and administration: adequacy or inadequacy of management practices in such areas as communication and resource allocation; the harmful or beneficial effects of management policies
2. Supervision: the competence or incompetence, fairness or unfairness, and effectiveness or ineffectiveness of superiors
3. Salary: wage or salary increases or the unfulfilled expectations of salary increases
4. Interpersonal relations with superiors: positive or negative interactions with superordinates
5. Interpersonal relations with colleagues: positive or negative interactions with co-workers and peers
6. Interpersonal relations with subordinates: positive or negative interactions with subordinates
7. Working conditions: adequacy or inadequacy of such physical conditions of work as ventilation, lighting, space, supplies,and equipment
8. Status: signs or symbols of status within the organization, such as a private secretary, special privileges, location and size of office, and so forth
9. Security: objective signs of job security such as tenure or nontenure, job stability or instability, and growth or reduction in force
10. Personal life: aspects of the job that influence personal life outside the organization-for example, travel requirements, geographic location, or work shifts. [7]

When deprived of the positive features of these hygiene factors, employees become dissatisfied with their job; however, even when hygiene factors are present in ample supply, they do not produce feelings of satisfaction. The two distinct sets of factors and their relationship are depicted graphically in Figure 9.1.

The Herzberg formulation has been supported in studies of teachers. Thomas Sergiovarmi, for example, found that the motivators of achievement, recognition, and responsibility were especially significant in producing 'teacher satisfaction, while the hygiene factors of interpersonal relations with

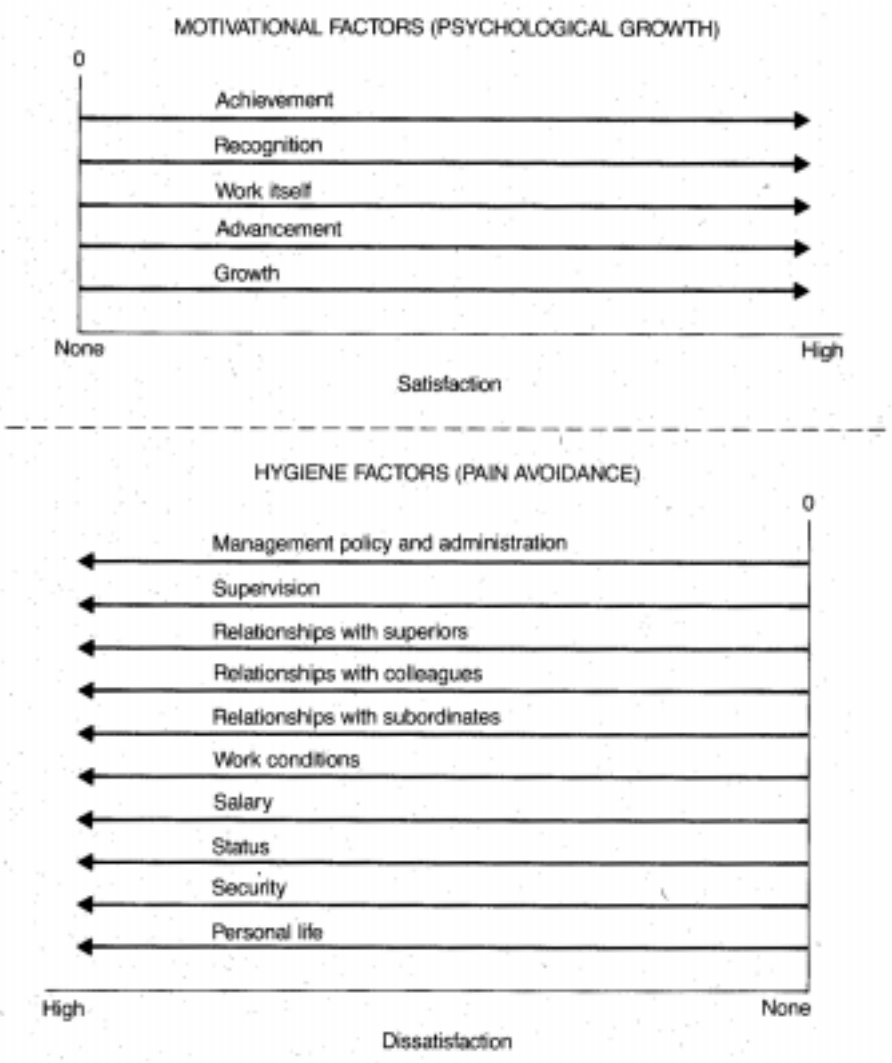


Figure 9.1 Motivation-Hygiene Framework

students and teachers, the fairness of supervision, school policy and administration, and personal life produced teacher dissatisfaction.8 Moreover, after a careful review of the research on teacher motivation, Paula Silver concluded that "aspects of work that are intrinsic to the tasks themselves are significantly related to.individual attitudes and their levels of motivation."9 Such findings underscore the importance that teachers place on a sense of achievement, recognition, responsibility, and challenging opportunities in the work itself. Clearly, supervisors must be cognizant of factors that produce both satisfaction and dissatisfaction in teachers because these needs are often related to classroom problems.

Supervisors have opportunities to influence not only the work itself but also the conditions of work. Through the joint supervisory process, supervisors can enhance teachers' motivation by giving them more authority, more freedom, and more responsibility in the improvement of instruction. Introducing new instructional strategies and experimenting with curriculum modifications can provide renewed growth and development, and the achievement of new teaching goals and solutions to learning problems are activities that can enrich the teaching task. Furthermore, the expertise, fairness, and sensitivity of the supervisor working with teacher-colleagues as well as his or her supervisory influence with the administration in such matters as resource allocation, working conditions, and extracurricular assignments can alleviate the frustrations of teachers with the conditions of the work environment. In short, the supervisor has a dual role: to provide the conditions of motivation *and* to satisfy the basic maintenance needs of teachers.

Need-Hierarchy

Another perspective on human needs and motivation has been developed by Abraham Maslow, who advances three major propositions.10 First, unsatisfied human needs create tension within individuals that force them to direct behavior toward personal goals that are perceived as rewarding-that is, goals that will reduce tension. Second, there are a few general sets of needs that motivate human behavior, Third, these human needs arrange themselves in a hierarchy of prepotency; that is, lower-level needs must be largely satisfied before higher-level needs can be felt and pursued. The appearance of one need typically rests on the prior satisfaction of a more prepotent need.

Maslow's need-hierarchy contains five basic sets of needs, which are useful in analyzing the motivation of teachers as well as students. The sets and their hierarchical structure are pictured in Figure 9.2. Specific need-dimensions that comprise each of the five levels are bound together not only by similarities in description but also by similarities in potency potential. These five levels of needs are defined as physiological, safety, social, esteem, and self-actualization.

Individuals are wanting creatures. As soon as one need is satisfied, another appears in its place. This process is continuous. At the lowest level in the need-structure are the *physiological needs*, which consist of such fundamental biological functions as hunger, thirst, taste, smell, touch, and sleep. Douglas McGregor captures the importance of these low-level needs as follows:

> Man lives for bread alone, when there is not bread. Unless circumstances are unusual, his need for love, for status, for recognition are inoperative when his stomach has been empty for a while. But when he eats regularly and adequately, hunger ceases to be an important motivation. The same is true of other physiological needs."

Safety needs are the second-level needs that begin to motivate behavior as the physiological needs are reasonably satisfied. These needs derive from the

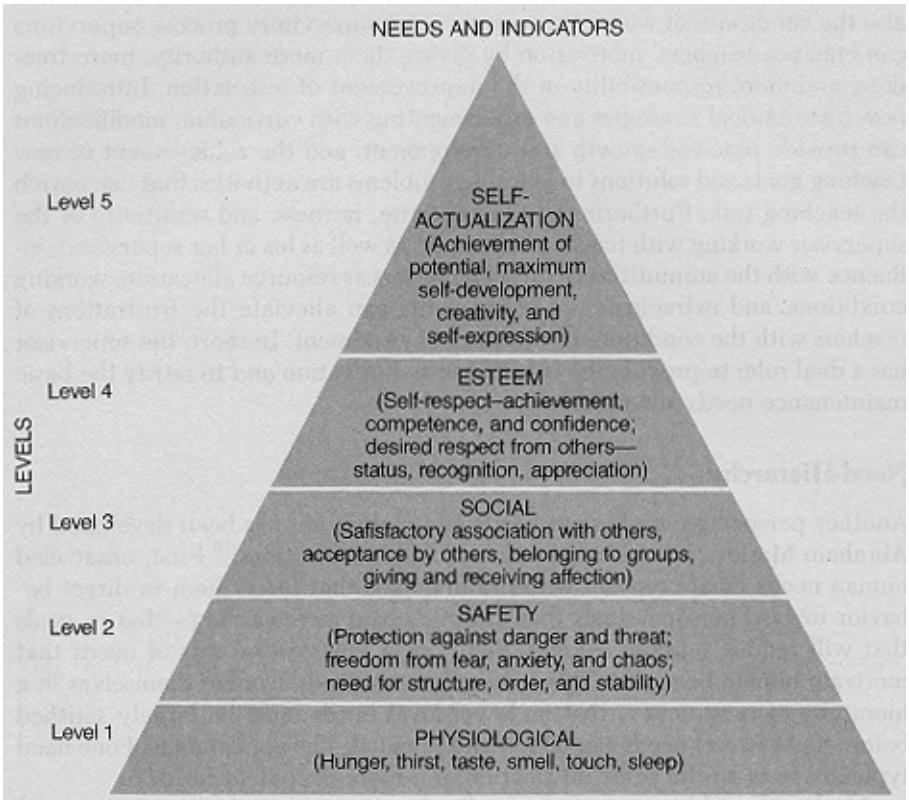


Figure *9.2* Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

desire for a peaceful, smoothly running, stable environment. Since students are in part dependent upon teachers and administrators for the environment of the school, safety needs may assume considerable importance.

Social needs are the next-level motivations. Once physiological and safety needs have been adequately satisfied,,the needs for belonging, for association, for group acceptance, and for love become important motivators. This natural " groupiness" of human beings plays a significant role in the development of the informal organization as the teacher work group develops its own informal status structure and group norms.

Esteem needs, at the fourth level, reflect the desire of individuals to be regarded highly by others. These needs for achievement, for self-confidence, for competence, for status, for recognition, and for appreciation and respect from significant others, unlike the lower-level needs, are rarely satisfied. Although esteem needs do not become strong motivators of behavior until physiological, safety, and social needs have been reasonably met, individuals seem to have an insatiable appetite for ego needs once they become motivators.

Finally, Maslow argues that discontent and restlessness inevitably develop unless individuals do what they are best sui - ted to do-that is, unless they meet their *need for self-actualization*, the'highest need level. Self-actualization refers to the need for self-fulfillment-the need to be what an individual wants to be, to realize one's potential for development, to express oneself, and to be creative in the broadest sense. Too often the need for self-fulfillment remains dormant in many teachers, because they are expending their energies on lower-level needs.

Maslow clearly explains that individual differences can affect the progression, yet his model is frequently interpreted rigidly. Although he main tains that most people have this hierarchy of basic needs, he notes a number 6 f general exceptions, including, for example, people who desire self-esteem more than belonging to a group, or those whose level of aspiration is perma nently lowered.

Another common misconception about Maslow's theory is that one must be entirely satisfied at one level before the next need emerges. Not so. Maslow asserts that normal individuals are typically only partly satisfied in all their basic needs. A more realistic description of the need-structure is that the percentage of satisfaction decreases as one goes up the hierarchy of prepotency. In most schools, the needs of teachers at the social, esteem, and self-actualization levels are more problematic than at the physiological and safety levels. Needs related to belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization are probably most directly related to the motives for the professional and personal goals teachers seek to reach in school. In fact, Herzberg's analysis of needs is consistent with Maslow's formulation: the motivational needs of achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility, and advancement basically affect the higher-level needs of esteem, autonomy, and self-actualization. Maslow focuses on the general human needs of the psychological person, while Herzberg concentrates on the psychological person in terms of how the job affects his or her basic needs.

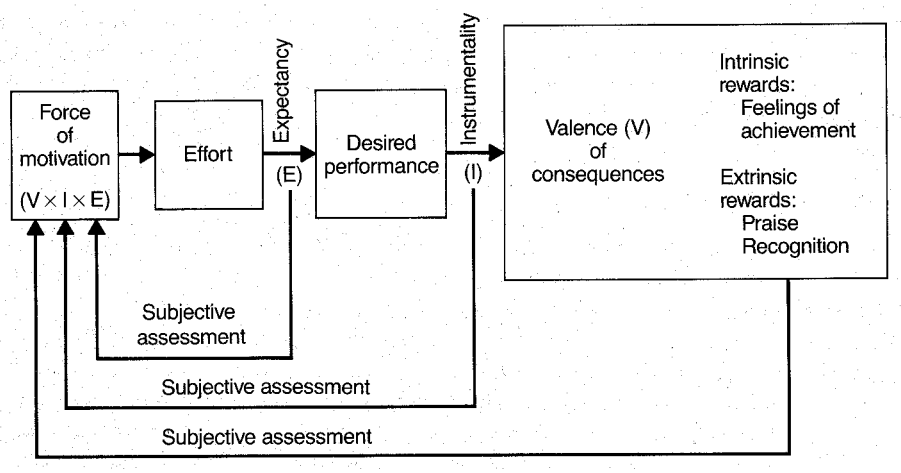
Expectancy

Another way to analyze the motivation of teachers is to examine the internal forces that explain individual choice, effort, and the persistence of behavior. Teachers' perceptions and expectancies seem to have a great deal to do with their behavior;, in fact, Victor Vroom argues that individuals typically assess the expected value of outcomes resulting from their action and then choose how to behave. [12] Such an approach assumes that individuals make decisions about their own behavior in a rational, conscious way. Thus, motivation is influenced by the rewards of the outcomes of individual behavior, the expectation that effort will result in successful performance, and the likelihood that successful performance will yield the anticipated rewards. Therefore, the more a reward is desired and the greater the expectation that effort will lead to desired behavior, the greater will be the effort.

Vroom elaborates his explanation of motivation by introducing three key

concepts---expectancy, instrumentality, and valence. [13] Expectancy is the subjective assessment of the likelihood that a given effort will yield a specific performance goal. Instrumentality is the perceived probability that the performance of the goal will lead to consequences that will be rewarded, and valence is the perceived attractiveness of the reward. Hence, effort is seen as resulting from the interaction of expectancy, instrumentality, and valence (see Figure 9.3). Faced with choices about behavior, an individual considers such questions as: Can I perform at that level if I work hard (expectancy)? If I perform at that level, what will be the consequences (instrumentality)? How do I feel about the consequences (valence)? Such subjective judgments lead to decisions to behave in the way that appears to have the greatest chance of producing positive, desired rewards.

The teacher, for example, who is encouraged to use more inquiry and questioning skills will probably consider first the expectancy question. If I try, can I integrate the use of questioning and inquiry skills into my teaching? Next, the instrumentalities are examined. What are the probable consequences of my behavior? Will it create chaos? Will students learn more? Will my supervisors and colleagues approve? Finally, the attractiveness and rewards (valences) of the consequences are assessed. If the teacher decides that he or she has the ability to perform the inquiry and questioning at the desired level (high expectancy), that such a change in teaching behavior will lead to the desirable consequence of improving pupil achievements without substantial negative side effects (high instrumentality), and that improving achievement will be highly rewarded whether by the accomplishment itself, recognition, or praise



Expectancy: Probability that effort will produce desired performance
Instrumentality: Probability that desired performance will yield specific consequences
Valence: Attractiveness of consequences

Figure 9.3 Expectancy Model of Motivation

(high valence), then it is likely that the teacher will be highly motivated to use inquiry and questioning skills.

The more frequently teachers receive praise, recognition, challenging opportunities, and feelings of achievement as a result of their teaching performance, the more likely they will be to perceive such teaching behavior as instrumental in attaining desirable rewards. That is, the perceived correlation between specific teaching performance and desirable outcomes is increased to the degree that the consequences of performance are rewarded. Supervisors who are able to link teaching effectiveness with teachers' sense of achievement, positive recognition, and learning opportunities will have professionally motivated teachers. [14]

Silver argues that the instrumentality concept suggests strategies that supervisors can use to motivate teachers who are not performing up to par. [15] For example, a first stop is to find something that can be praised either informally or formally in writing. With effort, supervisors can refrain from critical comments for a period of time and emphasize only praiseworthy behaviors of unmotivated teachers. If careful observation reveals a positive teaching skill not previously noted, perhaps the teacher could be asked to demonstrate that skill at a staff development meeting. Sometimes, it will be necessary to make the instrumentality of effective teaching explicit by specifying the rewards of particular teaching behaviors. What is crucial is that teachers become keenly aware that certain teaching behaviors are effective and those behaviors are noted and rewarded.

The more often teachers' efforts produce successful teaching performance, the more likely they will be to perceive their efforts as linked with the quality of their teaching. Thus, supervisors can influence teachers' subjective expectancies and motivation by such strategies as (1) observing teaching and explicitly noting strong , teaching behaviors at frequent intervals; (2) clearly specifying the achievable teaching behaviors that are desired; (3) providing teachers with opportunities necessary to obtain the requisite skills; and (4) jointly analyzing with teachers the learning gains of their students. [16] When supervisors and teachers can see that their actions favorably affect student achievement, then the supervisory process is working and is reinforced.

Expectations

Teacher expectations also often play an important role in student behavior, especially achievement. [17] Two decades ago Rosenthal and Fode demonstrated the significance of interpersonal expectations in a social setting; experimenters who expected success obtained more successful ratings than those who ex pected failure.18 The most dramatic and well-known study of the' influence of teacher expectations on students is Rosenthal and Jacobson's 1968 Pygmalion in *the* Classroom. [19] The basic conclusion of the study was that teacher expec tations could become a self-fulfilli ' ng prophecy. When teachers in the study expected academic growth from a group of students, eight months later the results revealed these students had made significant gains in IQ scores when

compared to other students in the school. Although the *Pygmalion* study has been subjected to a number of strong methodological criticisms, more than 100 subsequent studies have reported significant results in the direction of con-

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firming an expectancy influence on student behavior.

Jere Brophy and Thomas Good provide one explanation of how teacher expectation cues may be transmitted from teacher to student:

1. The teacher forms specific performance expectations for different students.
2. These expectations then lead the teacher to behave differently toward different students.
3. Students respond differently to the teacher because they are being treated differently.
4. As students respond to the teacher, each student exhibits behavior that complements and reinforces the teacher's specific expectations for him or her.
5. Hence, the academic performance of some students will be depressed, with changes being in the direction of teacher expectations. High-expectation students will tend to achieve at higher levels; and achievement of low-expectation students will decline.
6. Over time, these effects will be demonstrated in achievement tests, providing support for the self-fulfilling prophecy notion."

This is not to say that the "expectation effect" always occurs. It does not. Nevertheless, the existence of expectation effects is well-established. Such effects, however, seem to depend on a number of factors, such as style differences among teachers and resistance by students. 22 Moreover, it seems likely that teacher expectations serve to sustain rather than bias student performance. That is, teacher expectations most likely influence behavior by sustaining it at a preexisting level or by allowing latent differences in student perfor-

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mance to emerge rather than dramatically altering its course . As Cooper cogently observes, "The acceptance of a sustaining, as opposed to altering, performance role for expectations hardly diminishes the significance of the phenomenon."24 Maintenance of below-average performance related to teacher-expectation effects ought to be a focus for supervisory action just as increases in student performance, which may be created by expectations of teachers for high-potential students, should be the subject of attention.

How do teachers communicate low, self-defeating expectations to student , s? Good and Brophy have reviewed the research and identified the more common ways in which low expectations are expressed by teachers.

1. *Waiting less time for lows to answer questions:* Teachers often give highachieving students (highs) more time to respond than low-achieving students (lows).
2. *Not persevering with lows:* Teacherg more frequently respond to incorrect responses of lows by giving them the answer or calling on another student than they do with highs.
3. *Rewarding inappropriate behavior:* Teachers at times praise inappropriate responses of lows, which serves to dramatize the weaknesses of such students.

4. *Criticizing lows more often than highs and praising lows less often than highs:* Some teachers do criticize low-achieving students more than high-achieving ones, a practice that is likely to reduce initiative and risk-taking behavior. Moreover, lows seem less likely to be praised than highs, even when they get the correct answer.
5. *Not confirming responses of lows:* Teachers sometimes respond to answers from low achievers with indifference. Even if the answers are correct, they call on other students to respond without confirming answers-a practice that is likely to sow seeds of doubt concerning the adequacy of the response.
6. *Paying less attention to lows:* Teachers simply pay less attention to low achievers. For example, they smile more frequently and maintain more eye contact with highs than lows. They give briefer and less informative feedback to questions of lows, and they spend less time with lows using effective but time-consuming instructional methods.
7. *Calling on lows less often:* Teachers seem inclined to call on high-achieving students more often than low-achieving students.
8. *Differing interaction patterns:* Contact patterns between teachers and students are different for high and low achievers. Highs dominate public response patterns; however, lows receive more private contacts with secondary teachers. For low achievers, private conferences may be a sign of inadequacy.
9. *Seating lows farther from the teacher:* Teachers often place low achievers in locations that are more physically distant from the teacher.
10. *Demanding less from lows:* Teachers are more likely to give up on low students by giving easier tests and letting them know it, or by not demanding that low achievers do the work.[25]

Teachers, then, can and do express their expectations of and attitudes toward students by behavior. Moreover, expectations are often self-sustaining. They influence both perception and interpretation. Teachers are alert to what they expect, causing them to see and interpret (sometimes distort) in a way that is consistent with their expectations. To the extent that teacher perceptions are accurate, they are helpful in working with students. But if perceptions are inaccurate and negative, they can produce a vicious cycle of failure and futility.

SUMMARY

Much of what occurs in the classroom is a direct function of the teacher. We argue that the crucial characteristics that are useful in understanding teacher behavior and in identifying classroom problems are the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of teachers; the internal needs and motivational forces of teachers; and the expectations of teachers. Those key teacher elements, their compo,nents, and the basic motivational processes that influence teachers' classroom behavior have been discussed and are summarized in Figure 9.4.

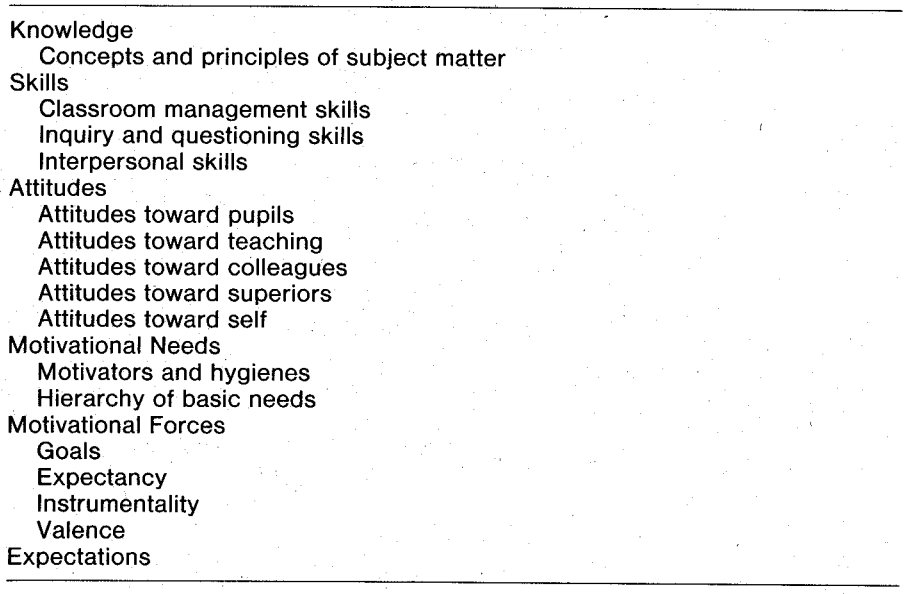

Figure 9.4 Key Teacher Characteristics

NOTES

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12. Victor H. Vroom, *Work and Motivation* (New York: Wiley, 1964). See also Edward E. Lawler 111, *Motivation in Work Organizations* (Belmont, Calif.: Brooks/Cole, 1973); Edward E. Lawler 111, "Satisfaction and Behavior," in J. Richard Hackman, Edward E. Lawler III, and Lyman Porter (eds.), *Perspective on Behavior in Organizations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), pp. 78-87; and John B. Miner, *Theories of Organizational Behavior* (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1980), pp. 133-168.
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14. David A. Nadler and Edward E. Lawler 111, "Motivation: A Diagnostic Approach," in J. Richard Hackman, Edward E. Lawler 111, and Lyman W. Porter (eds.), *Perspectives on Behavior in Organizations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), pp. 67-73.
15. Silver, op. *cit., p.* 553.
16. The examples for applying Vroom's expectancy theory are drawn primarily from Silver's synthesis. *Ibid.*
17. For an excellent review and synthesis of the research, see Harris M. Cooper, "Pygmalion Grows Up: A Model for Teacher Expectation Communication and Performance Influence," *Review of Educational Research* 49 (Summer 1979), 389-410; and Harris Cooper and Thomas Good, *Pygmalion Grows Up* (New York: Longman, 1983). Our analysis here draws heavily on the first review. See also E. Babad, J. Inbar, and R. Rosenthal, "Teachers' judgment of Students' Potential as a Function of Teachers' Susceptibility to Biasing Information," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 42 (1980), 541-547.
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22. *Ibid.*
23. Cooper, op. *cit., p.* 392.
24. *Ibid., p.* 393.
25. From *Educational Psychology: A Realistic Approach* by Thomas L. Good and Jere E. Brophy. Copyright @ 1977 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Reprinted by permission of CBS College Publishing.

CHAFTER IO

The Student

Behavior in the classroom is not only a function of the teacher. Students play a vital role in the daily life of classroom activities; indeed, the activities of teacher and student are dependent on each other. just as teachers are different, so are students. Each student brings to the classroom a unique personality. Thus, if we are to begin to understand supervision problems, we must examine the individual characteristics of students that have consequences for their behavior. There is no way to analyze all such characteristics; therefore, we once again focus our discussion on only a few of the most salient.

KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND ABILITIES

just as the knowledge and skills of teachers are often important in identifying the roots of classroom problems, so too are these same characteristics of students instrumental in understanding classroom behavior. Little can be as frustrating to a student as not being able to succeed because the requisite knowledge, skills, or abilities are not present. One of the serious problems of grouping students is the misplacement of pupils into situations where they are doomed to failure.

Student ability and aptitude make a difference. Brighter students can comprehend and analyze information more quickly than less capable students, who typically need more time to digest and process the information. Fast students observe a demonstration, read the text, or listen to a lecture and then perform; however, slow students need to manipulate objects themselves, have several concrete examples, and often receive individual tutorials before they are ready to perform adequately. Likewise, bright students frequently enjoy demanding tasks while slow students are more inclined toward less rigorous assignments. Moreover, aptitude has long-term influences on students and their achievement. As they become older, students build a body of specific knowledge and skills; brighter students not only learn more quickly but they develop a much broader base of knowledge and skills than less able students.'

Bernard Weiner and others have argued that teachers' reactions to student 212

difficulties depend in large part to their attributions concerning the nature and cause of those difficulties. [2] Poor performance attributed to low ability is likely to lead to lowered expectations, but poor achievement attributed to lack of effort is likely to lead to criticism of the student.

Brophy and Evertson in.their research found that higher-achieving and more creative students had more public interactions with their teachers and were more likely to be called on if they raised their hands. [3] Less able students were much more passive in their public response activities; in fact, participation was usually forced by teachers. Furthermore, students low in creativity were generally low in maturity and ability. Large and consistent differences in achievement and creativity lead to differential patterns of interactions between the teacher and the student, but these differences seem to be concentrated on the more formal teacher-learner roles. They do not typically extend to the less formal and more personalized interactions between students and teacher because teachers apparently attribute differences in achievement and creativity to differences in ability and not to more controllable causes such as intentions, motives, or attitudes.

Although aptitude is related to reading skills, bright students as well as less talented students are often handicapped by either poor reading or study skills. Even when teachers attempt to individualize instruction, care must be taken not to assign reading materials that are too difficult or too easy. Furthermore, the root of many academic difficulties for all students is poor study habits. Many students simply do not know how to study, and teachers don't take the time to teach study skills.

ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS

The attitudes and expectations of students have a great bearing on what occurs in the classroom. Students' attitudes toward school, toward teachers, toward other students, toward subjects, and toward themselves are important aspects in determining behavior. Bidwell suggests that student attitude toward school probably directly affects teacher behavior. [4] Since students are compelled to go to school, teacher demands for compliance from students not oriented to school are likely to be met with a good deal of resistance; hence, teachers are challenged to motivate students with little or no inclination to learn, a task that often produces conflict and frustration.

Tomany students, school is a place where they have to be rather than want to be. Student resistance' to school is frequently met with authoritarian teacher practices that force conformity, enforce discipline, and reinforce negative student attitudes to school in general and create hostile attitudes to the teacher. A vicious cycle of alienation and hostility occurs. The fact remains that a goodly number of students do not like school, do not like their teachers, do not like to study, and that such attitudes produce not only a challenge for teachers but a myriad of classroom problems.

Attitudes towards other students are'also important facets of classroom be

havior. It is often more important to students to receive praise and admiration from their peers than from teachers; however, the values and attitudes of peers are frequently at odds with the academic orientations of the teacher and school. Nonetheless, students do apply themselves to hard work because they identify with their teacher or because they want to surpass a rival. Waller notes that attitudes emerging from the social situation in which the student is involved are also crucial in determining an orientation toward subject matter-an attitude that is much less impersonal .[5] When students turn to the subject matter of courses in school, their orientation toward the theoretical situation confronting them is usually one that can be described as a "memorizing attitude," "problem-solving attitude," or "recalling attitude." More rarely, there is an attitude of trying to understand the inner working of things. These impersonal attitudes are extremely important in determining a student's success in the assimilation of subject matter. Too many educators "err by considering attitudes toward subjects changeless functions rather than attitudes

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dynamically evolved in connection with concrete subject matter.

The attitude that students have about themselves is a powerful force in determining classroom behavior. If a student thinks of him- or herself as inferior, his or her actions often will be those of an inferior student and will confirm to the teacher and peers the appropriateness of treating that student as inferior. In other words, the student's self-concept sets the stage for behavior. One of the expectancies of the self is consistency. Students act in ways that they believe are consistent with their view of Self; hence, to achieve a state of harmony and to avoid dissonance, ' students' behaviors reflect their self-concepts. [7]

Felker reports a fascinating case study of a student who modified his behavior to be consistent with his self-concept. The boy scored in the 115-125 IQ range on a number of IQ tests. Since his scores indicated ability to master most tasks requiring verbal and mathematical skills, his teachers and other school personnel were perplexed by his failure in English and mathematics. During a counseling session, the boy blamed his failure on the "fact that he was not smart enough." He was then provided with the test evidence to prove that he did indeed have the abilities to succeed. When a new battery of IQ tests was administered next semester, his IQ score dropped dramatically to the 85-100 range. Felker concluded that his behavior was a function of the need to reestablish some harmony between his self-view and his behavior.[8] Although successful achievement appears to produce a strong self-concept, it is also likely that self-concept determines behavior. The Felker case is clearly an example of the impact of self-concept on achievement.

Self-concept is a general term that can be divided into a number of components. Shavelson and his colleagues, for example, conceptualize general selfconcept in a hierarchical fashion.[9] General self-concept is composed of two parts-an academic and a nonacademic self-concept~and at a lower level, each of these is further divided into subareas of self-concept. For example, on the academic side, self-concepts in such subjects as history, math, science, and English are components that lead to an academic self-concept. On the nonacademic side, self-concept is divided into social and physical self-concepts and

then separated into even more specific facets. Shavelson and his colleagues make the important point that self-concept is influenced by specific experiences; hence, the more closely self-concept is linked with specific situations, the closer is the relationship between self-concept and behavior in those situations.10 The implication seems clear: the teacher should focus on building a strong self-concept in specific areas to influence student behavior in those areas. Through a combination of communicating positive expectations for success in a specific area, minimizing destructive competition and invidious comparisons among students, and maximizing individual students' attention to their successes, teachers can slowly but surely convince students that they,can master a given academic subject and help them to develop a positive academic self-concept in that area.

Student expectations are strongly related to self-concept. Strong, positive self-concept produces expectations of success; negative self-concept breeds expectations of failure. Aronson and Mills demonstrated that individuals are generally not willing to accept evidence that they are better or worse than they expect to be." When students found themselves doing substantially better than they expected, they experienced uneasiness and tended to modify their performance to match it with their expectations. Students who performed poorly but expected poor performance were more satisfied than even those who had unexpectedly performed well. Student self-expectations are inextricably bound to self-concept. Braun provides a fascinating example of selfexpectation and its results:

> If the learner expects positive experiences, he will act in ways to bring positive experiences about; if he expects negative experiences, he will act in ways to bring negative experiences about. *To* illustrate the point, David finally gets the opportunity to read. He has nervously fidgeted through the reading of his peers. In his anxiety (and boredom) he has lost his place. When his turn comes, the teacher raps at him for nonattention thus adding to his anxiety. His halting, disjointed, word-by-word performance meets fully his expectations of disastrous failure.12

Braun also notes the idea that a complementary factor in the relationship between self-concept and student behavior may be the degree to which the students risk responding and the degree to which they persist in trying.'3Such factors seem clearly linked to learner performance. Kagan and Moss report strong correlations (.70 range) between the student's expectation of failure in problem situations and withdrawal from such situations.14

MOTIVATIONAL NEEDS

Motivating people is a difficult and complex process; in fact, as John W. Atkinson observes, there is no fixed meaning of motivation in contemporary psychology. 15 At a very general level, however, motivation is the process governing individual choices amongdifferent forms of voluntary activities. 16 What are the.basic underlying needs and drives of students that trigger and

maintain voluntary activity directed toward the attainment of goals? There is no simple answer to the question, but several conceptual models provide us with a good start.

Need-Hierarchy

Maslow's need-hierarchy model provides a set of conceptual tools for analyzing the motivation of students as well as teachers and supervisors. Students have physiological, safety, social, esteem, and self-actualization needs (see Figure 9.2). Unsatisfied needs create tensions within students that stimulate them to direct their behavior toward goals that are perceived as rewarding. Recall that five sets of basic needs arrange themselves in a hierarchy of prepotency. Lower-level needs must be largely satisfied before higher-level needs are felt and pursued. The development of one need usually rests on the prior satisfaction of a lower-level need.

The utility of Maslow's framework for teachers and supervisors in conceptualizing and analyzing the motivational needs of students is clear. For example, the student who comes to class habitually tired and hungry is likely to withdraw from classroom activities; the lack of satisfaction of these lowerlevel needs will in all probability interfere with learning. Likewise, a chaotic home or school environment can sap the motivational drives of many students. Unstructured, independent assignments and admonitions to make independent decisions are not realistic expectations until the school and home environments have met the students' safety and security needs. Students who have had bad experiences in school or at home will not become independent learners until they are convinced that they can make mistakes without negative sanctions.

Students are social creatures. Once their physiological, safety, and security needs are satisfied, their needs for love and acceptance from parents, teachers, and peers become powerful sources of motivation. In fact, Maslow believes that some maladjustment in students stems from the frustration of social needs: "My strong impression is also that some proportion of youth rebellion groups-I don't know how much-is motivated by the profound hunger for groupiness, for contact." [17]

Above the social needs in motivational prepotency are esteem and ego needs-the need for self-confidence, independence, achievement, status, and recognition. Unlike the lower-level needs, esteem needs are rarely completely satisfied, but they do not become motivators in any substantial way until physiological, safety, and social needs are all adequately satisfied. Good and Brophy observe that many teachers err in their motivational attempts not because they are basically insensitive but because they address higher needs too soon. [18] It is better that students feel secure in the classroom, achieve real mastery, gain confidence, and learn to get along and work with other students before teachers address their self-actualization needs. Most students do not have a natural capacity for independent direction, and to force them to strive prematurely for such responsibility is to ask for poor progress. [19]

ERG Theory

Another needs theory of motivation is Clayton Alderfer's existence, relatedness, and growth (ERG) theory. 20 In some respects the theory is a refinement and reformulation of Maslow's need-hierarchy model. Three basic sets of needs are formulated--existence, relatedness, and growth needs. Each need is defined in two parts: (1) a target that directs the need and (2) a process to achieve the need.

Existence needs have material objects such as food, water, money, or physical safety as targets, and if these needs are in scarce supply, the process of achieving them is competition. Existence needs, however, are typically not even noticed when there is no scarcity of targets. For instance, unless the physical safety of students is threatened or conditions of deprivation exist in the home, most student behavior in school is probably not driven by existence needs.

Relatedness needs have relationships with significant others (either individuals or groups) as targets. More specifically, acceptance by peers, parents, and teachers; respect from others; satisfactory association with others; and belonging to groups are the desired targets. The process of mutuality is the means to satisfy relatedness needs. In contrast to the satisfaction of existence needs, the satisfaction of relatedness needs is a cooperative process. Individuals need to share their thoughts and feelings; it is important for people to give and receive both positive and negative affect and ideas. The open and accurate nature of the communication is the key ingredient, not its relative pleasantness. As Alderfer states, "The exchange or expression of anger and hostility is a very important part.of meaningful interpersonal relationships, just as is the expression of warmth and closeness."21

Growth needs drive people to make creative or productive contributions. Individuals interact with their environment as they try to develop their creative abilities and capacities. Satisfying growth needs requires a fairly basic change in individual capacities. Individual growth proceeds in cycles of differentiation and integration, during which individuals develop a more complex understanding of themselves and then consolidate the many components of their personalities. Satisfaction of growth needs occurs when people engage in problem solving that uses existing capacities and develops additional capabilities. Individuals who fulfill their growth needs have a greater sense of wholeness or fullness as human beings.

The basic needs posited by Alderfer are summarized in Figure 10.1. Each of the three needs has two components-a target and a process. Material objects are the targets of existence needs, and competition is the process of meeting them. Significant others are the targets of relatedness needs, and cooperation is the means to satisfy those needs. Finally, environmental settings are the targets of growth needs, and, the process of individual development (differentiation and integration) is the means to achieve those targets.

Figure 10.1 also depicts and contrasts the need categories of Maslow and Alderfer. Existence needs include some safety needs; however, Alderfer distin

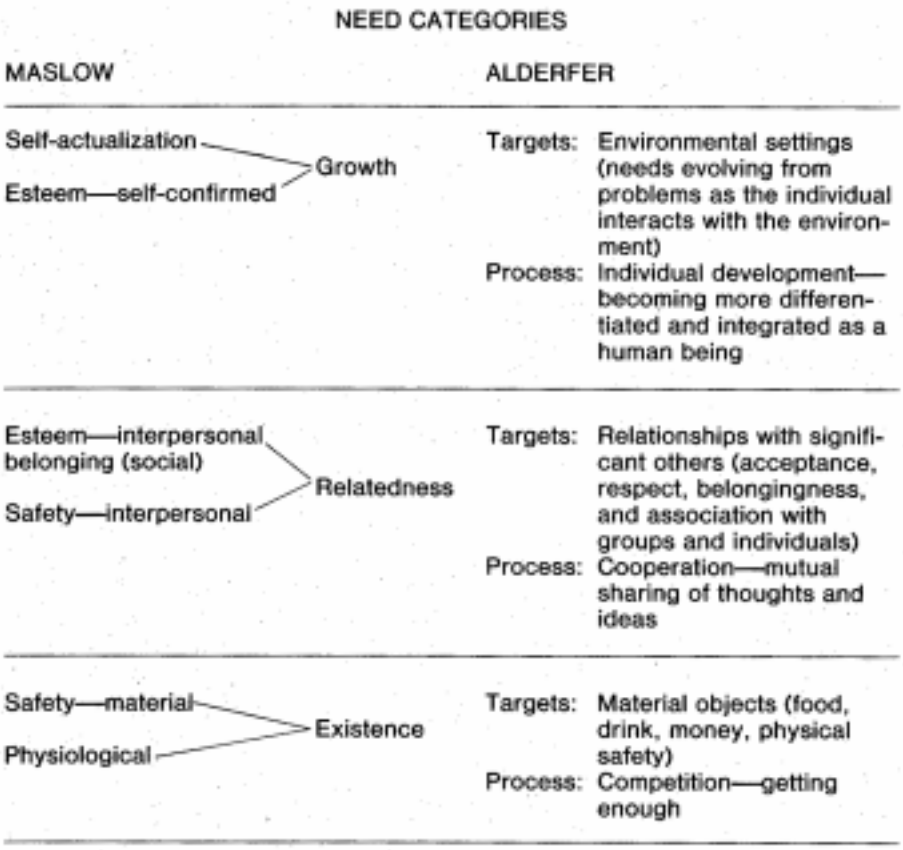

Figure 10.1 Maslow's and Alderfer's Categories of Needs

guishes between safety needs that are physical and those that are social-for example, safety from physical harm and security from teacher or parental outbursts of rage and name-calling. The latter safety needs are interpersonal; hence, they are relatedness needs because they are concerned with establishing basic social relationships, just as the needs for belongingness and social esteem are. Note also the distinction in esteem needs. Need for esteem from others is a social need, but self-esteem is self-recognition of one's ability and achievement; indeed, those who see themselves as competent performers derive a sense of self-fulfillment and self-actualization. ERG theory proposes that aspects of esteem that depend upon reactions from others are relatedness needs, while those that represent autonomous, self-fulfilling activities are growth needs.

In addition to these differences in categories, the two models differ in the assumption of prepotency. Although ERG theory also suggests that individuals move from existence needs to growth needs to relatedness needs, the needs are not arranged in a rigid hierarchy of prepotency. Alderfer argues that all levels

of needs are always present and consciously recognized. For example, students recognize the desire for, growth needs even when their needs for social relatioDs are not met. Furthermore, Alderfer rejects the notion "that a satisfied need is no longer a need," introducing instead a frustration-regression process. Frustration of needs at one level produces regression to a lower level. If growth needs, for instance, are not satisfied, students are likely to turn to lower-level social needs for gratification. In general, if a higher-order need is frustrated, the next-lower need is activated.

In brief, ERG theory proposes not only that satisfaction of lower-level needs produces the desire for higher-level needs but also that frustration of needs on one level stimulates the desire for satisfaction of lower-level needs. Moreover, the less existence needs are satisfied, the more they will be desired; and similarly, the less relatedness needs are satisfied, the more they will be desired. Finally, the more growth needs are satisfied, the more they will be desired .[22]

The Alderfer perspective builds upon the Maslow formulation. It strengthens the need-hierarchy model by defining the need categories with more conceptual clarity while simultaneously providing a more flexible basis for explaining the interrelationships among basic needs. The refinement suggests that student behavior must be analyzed not only in terms of three basic needs but also in terms of regression, progression, frustration, and satisfaction. Stu,dent demands for better cafeteria food or better textbooks seem just as likely to be functions of frustration of acceptance needs as signs that basic existence needs are not being met. Hence, the problem may be one of frustration of relatedness needs and regression to the more concrete needs of existence. However, the ERG model retains the idea of a progressive need-hierarchy without requiring it to be strictly ordered. A chronically hungry or tired student still recognizes whether he or she feels connected to important student groups and whether he or she is able to engage in activities that require or enable the use of individual skills and talents.

The satisfaction of growth needs depends on a student's being able to discover ways to use his or her capabilities and to develop new talents. Classroom environments vary in the extent to which they allow or encourage the use of a student's full capabilities. Some classrooms offer little opportunity for discretion and provide little stimulation or challenge; hence, students are frustrated, and the consequences can range from student indifference to open hostility and aggression. Growth satisfaction depends on students taking a proactive stance toward their learning environment, but if the classroom environment is unresponsive, it makes little difference if students want to produce effects because they cannot. Alderfer's theory also suggests that the more student growth needs are gratified, the more they will be desired. If students' capacity for independent thought and action is a teacher goal, then it seems imperative that the classroom climate offer challenge and choice for students to initiate action.

Although our discussion of the ERG model has been limited to student needs, the theory holds that existence, relatedness, and growth needs are in

nate,~ primary needs for *all* individuals; they can be increased in strength by learning processes, but they do not come ' into existence as a result of learning. Consequently, the ERG model can be as readily applied to teacher as to student needs. We did not include the model in our discussion of teacher needs to avoid repetition; it is nonetheless relevant.

Goals

Need-hierarchies, such as Alderfer's and Maslow's, are content theories *not* intended to explain how people learn or perform. Rather, the focus of such perspectives is to define basic needs within individuals or their environments that stimulate and sustain their behavior. Other theories of motivation define concepts that are critical in explaining motivation; such theories are called process theories.

Goal theory is concerned with the process of motivation-it attempts to define the major variables that are necessary to explain choice, effort, and the persistence of certain behaviors. Edwin A. Locke and his colleagues were pioneers in the development of the significance of goals in determining and explaining behavior. [23] Although not fully developed, goal theory appears to be a valuable conceptual tool for analyzing both student and teacher behavior.

A goal is a state of affairs that an individual is consciously trying to attain. A basic assumption of the theory is that intentions to achieve a goal constitute the primary motivating forces behind purposive behavior. Furthermore, it is postulated that (a) specific goals are more potent motivators than general goals, and (b) difficult goals, when accepted, lead to greater effort than easy goals. All of these assumptions have been empirically supported in a series of well-controlled laboratory experiments with college students and in a number of field studies. [24]

Locke and his associates propose a series of steps that describe and explain the motivation of goal-oriented behavior.25 First, since behavior is necessary to fulfill personal needs, judgments about elements in the environment (existents) must be made to determine which actions will enhance the individual's wellbeing. Second, these value judgments and cognitions are the bases for evaluating alternative courses of action. Third, emotions and desires are the forms in which the individuaf experiences value judgments. Once an alternative is selected, the individual anticipates new conditions in the environment as they relate to his or her well-being. The person then projects instrumentalities for the anticipated behavior: What is the probability that the outcome will occur, and what is its likely effect? At this point the goal is set and the person is ready to act. Locke argues that most human behavior is regulated and maintained by goals and intentions, which direct thought and behavior to one end rather than another. The goal-setting process is summarized in Figure 10.2.

The basic generalizations from goal theory have substantial empirical support, and they seem relevant and applicable in the classroom. First, specific performance goals for students seem likely to stimulate a higher level of performance than general goals such as simply telling students to do their best.

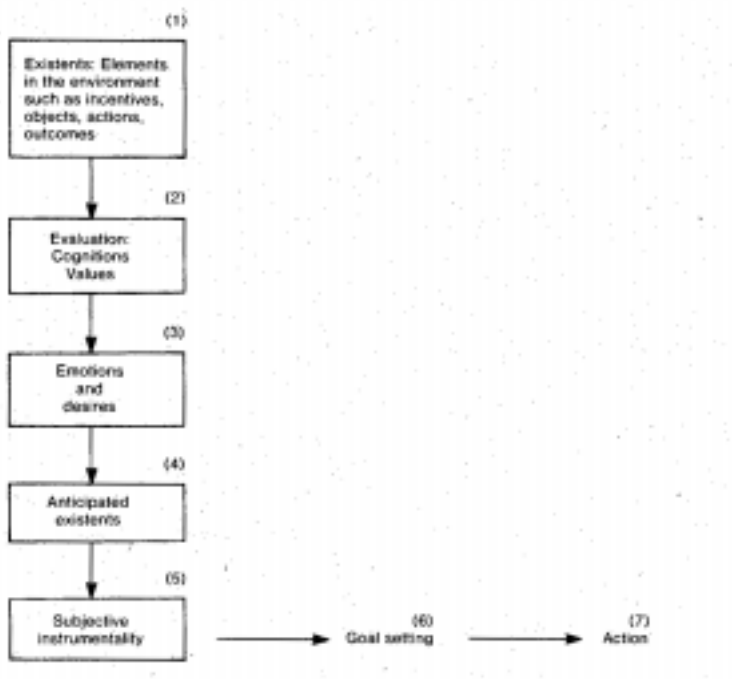

Figure 10.2 Goal-Setting Process

SOURCF: Adapted from Edwin A. Locke, Norman Cartledge, and Claramae S. Knerr, "Studies of the Relationship Between Satisfaction, Goal-Setting, and Performance," *Organizational Behavior'and Human Performance 5 (1970), 135-139.* Used by permission.

Second, once students accept a performance goal, the more difficult it is, the greater the effort directed toward achieving it. Third, it seems likely that student participation in goal setting, as opposed to unilateral teacher goal setting, leads to greater student satisfaction.

The expectancy theory described earlier in Chapter 9 also has direct implications for setting goals and motivating student behavior. Figure 9.2 suggests that when students are faced with choices about behavior, they consider the following questions: Can I perform at that level if I work hard (expectancy)? If I perform at that level, what will be the consequences (instrumentality)? How do I feel about the consequences (valence)? Students subjectively assess the expected value of outcomes resulting from their behavior and then choose how to act. Student behavior is a function of individual and environmental forces; therefore, teachers must develop both classroom and individual situations in which students have a high expectancy of success, in which there is a high likelihood that strong performance will lead to consequences that will be rewarded, and in which the rewards, both intrinsic and extrinsic, are attractive.

The student, for example, who is encouraged by the teacher to spend thirty minutes a night performing arithmetic drill (specific goal) will probably first

consider the expectancy question. If I try hard, can I do the drill each night? Next, the instrumentalities are examined. If I do the drill each night, what are the probable consequences? Will I master the work? What social activities will I have to give up? What will my friends and parents say? Finally, the attractiveness and rewards of the consequences are assessed. Are the intrinsic rewards (e.g., feelings of achievement and pride) and extrinsic rewards (e.g., praise of teachers and higher grades) stronger than the possible negative consequences (e.g., limited TV and less time with friends)? If the student decides that he or she can do the drill at the desired level, that such behavior will lead to the desirable consequence of improving arithmetic mastery without substantial neg-, ative side effects, and that improved achievement will be strongly rewarded,
then the student will be highly motivated to do the drill.

In brief, in order to motivate students, teachers have to be successful in both manipulating the classroom environment and working with students in ways that prompt them to initiate activity to achieve goals. It helps when performance goals are specific rather than general and, if accepted, difficult rather than easy. Moreover, participation in goal setting increases satisfaction with the process, but it does not guarantee increased performance. Our analysis has stressed that students, like all individuals, have basic, primary needsfor example, existence, relatedness, and growth-needs that motivate behavior. As some of these needs are satisfied or frustrated, other needs become more powerful determinants of behavior. Moreover, all students have the need to grow and develop as unique individuals. Such needs and desires are often the basis of intentions for purposive action. judgments about the classroom environment are made by students to determine what behaviors are worth pursuing. Students examine their range of choices in terms of expectancies, instrumentalities, and valences. High expectancies of success, high probabilities that the expected consequences will have predictable rewards, and strong attractiveness of the rewards produce highly motivated students.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

A final set of student characteristics that is useful in examining classroom behavior is the background of the students. The sex of the student often makes a difference. Teachers frequently perceive girls more favorably than boys and hold higher achievement expectations for girls than boys, especially at the elementary level; however, there is some evidence that these differences disap-
[26]
pear by high school. Usually girls are socialized to enjoy activities involving verbal skills and, consequently, they become better at verbal skills than boys, who are typically more interested in activities involving mechanical or spatial skills. Girls are also socialized to be relatively quiet and to conform to autbority, while boys are taught to be more independent, more physical, and less quiet. [27] It is not surprising that young girls find it much easier to conform to school rules and expectations; consequently, they often outperform boys.

Brophy and Evertson explain changes over time that gradually make schooling more compatible with traditional male sex roles. [28] As' students move into and through adolescence, girls start to feel peer pressures that they should not be either too aggressive or even too bright. Frequently such pressures lead many girlsto achieve below their capabilities and to develop the idea that they cannot handle difficult subjects. Boys, on the other hand, find the situation improving. The curriculum is changing. By high school there is less emphasis on language arts and more emphasis on science and mathematics. Moreover, as males mature, many are confronted with the importance of education in their future occupation; therefore, schooling becomes a serious concern, something they need rather than something imposed.

Research is also beginning to show that effective teaching (measured by student achievement) is contextual; that is, what is effective in classrooms with high-SES students does not work nearly as well in classrooms composed of students from low-SES homes. The Brophy-Evertson study mapped some of these differences. [29] Effective teachers in high-SES classes tried hard to prevent lessons from becoming too competitive in class; they tended to conduct fast~ paced lessons, quickly moving from student to student. Introduction of new materials was also done rapidly, and the rate at which it was introduced was high. On the other hand, teachers in low-SES classrooms encouraged students to respond and would stay with a student until some response was made; hence, classroom discussion proceeded at a slower pace, with teachers spending time working with students who made mistakes. Furthermore, the rate of introducing new materials was slower, with teachers providing much time to practice skills after the teacher demonstrations. Finally, in effective low-SES classes, the goal, was to teach less but more thoroughly. These findings strongly suggest that the SES of students may be an important factor in the classroom learning environment. Different patterns of teaching behavior are important for different types of learners.

SUMMARY

Many individual characteristics of students influence their behavior. Our task has been to highlight some of the more important personal factors that dictate classroom activities. To that end we examined the possible effects of knowledge, aptitudes, skills, attitudes, expectations, and background, as well as the motivational needs and forces of students. These key student characteristics and their major components are summarized in Figure 10.3.

Although each major component of the classroom social system is being analyzed in separate chapters in this section, we must remember that the teacher and student components are only two elements of a system, and that all of the elements of the system interact with each other. Thus, teacher needs interact with student needs. If the teacher needs for security conflict with student needs for autonomy and growth, or if teacher needs for self-expression conflict,

Knowledge, Aptitudes, and Abilities
Skills
- **Reading skills**
- **Study skills**

Attitudes and Expectations
- **Attitudes toward school**
- **Attitudes toward teachers**
- **Attitudes toward peers**
- **Attitudes toward subject**
- **Attitudes toward self**
  - **Academic self-concept**
  - **Nonacademic self-concept**
- **Expectations**

Motivational Needs
- **Hierarchy of basic needs**
- **Existence, relatedness, and growth needs**

Motivational Forces
- **Goals**
- **Expectancy**
- **'Instrumentality**
- **Valence**

Background Factors
- **Class**
- **Sex**

Figure 10.3 Key Student Characteristics

with student needs for security, potential problems exist. In fact, it is these kinds of mismatches that the classroom performance model predicts will be at the root of supervisory problems.

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CHAPTER11

The Classroom Climate

Behavior in a classroom is determined not only by the personal characteristics of the individuals.but also by the social conditions of the group. In Chapters 9 and 10 we have considered important individual characteristics of the teacher and students; now we turn to the network of social relations that transforms an aggregate of individuals into a group-more particularly, an aggregate of students into a class.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

As students and teachers interact in the classroom, informal networks of social relations emerge that have important effects on classroom behavior. Eventually students find themselves behaving in accord with the prevalent social conditions in the class. Informal roles, student norms and values, and student leaders all shape classroom behaviors. The processes that socially organize human behavior in any group have two sources': (1) the *structure of the social relations* in the group; and (2) the *culture* of the group-that is, the shared beliefs and orientations that emerge to unite the members of the group.' These two major aspects of social organization have already been discussed in some detail in Chapter 5; hence, we will simply review and apply the framework to the classroom. (For a quick review of the major aspects of social organization see Table 5.1.).

Social relations in classrooms are comprised of patterns of social interactions (e.g., communicating, cooperating, and competing). Students in a class inevitably interact. They talk to each other. Some students are liked, others disliked. Typically, students seek continued interactions with those they like and avoid interactions with those to whom they are not attracted. This pattern of social exchanges produces a differential distribution of social relations among class members and, importantly, defines the informal status structure of the student group.

A student's status in the group depends on the frequency, duration, and character of interaction patterns with other students, and the extent to which

the student is respected by others in the class. Some students are actively sought, while others are avoided; some are admired, others are not; some are leaders, others are followers; and most are integrated into the group, although a few are isolated.

The class also forms subgroups. Cliques develop within the group structure, some of which have more status, power, and significance than others: the "in-group," competing groups, and marginal groups. Membership in such groups provides students with status in the class through the prestige of the subgroup. The differential patterns of interaction among the teacher, students, and subgroups and the status structure defined by them-shape the informal social structure of the class.

A good illustration of this process can be drawn by examining the development of the informal classroom activities of a class at the beginning of a new year. Students arrive in their new class typically confronted by a new teacher and a new set of students. At first students interact with a few old friends, but with time they expand interactions to others and make new friends. Some.of the students and teachers are well-liked and admired; they are frequently asked to give advice, and they emerge as the classroom leaders. A few students are disliked and avoided; they become isolates. But most students become part of a clique structure that develops spontaneously in the class over the course of the year. Sometimes the cliques are competitive, sometimes cooperative. Likewise, the social structure of the classroom can be supportive of the teacher or antagonistic and hostile.

In addition to the informal social structure that develops in the class, a culture--or a set of shared beliefs, attitudes, and orientations--emerges. The classroom culture serves as an informal normative guide for student behavior. As students engage in social interactions, they develop common conceptions of desirable and acceptable behavior. Common values arise to define ideal states of affairs, and social norms develop that prescribe what students should do in different situations and establish the consequences of deviations from these expectations. These unofficial norms have two important components: first, a general agreement about appropriate behavior as defined by the students themselves, and second, mechanisms to enforce these student expectations. The distinction between norms and values is sometimes a fuzzy one, but generally values define the ideal goals of behavior, and social norms describe the legitimate and more explicit means for pursuing those ends. In addition to these general values and norms, which are shared by students and integrate the group, the developing student culture consists of sets of unofficial expectations that are differentiated according to the role or position of the student in the class. The role of group spokesperson is quite different from the role of class clown; the role of leader is quite different from the role of follower.

We can also illustrate the concept of student culture using the example we introduced before. The new class develops a shared ideal of what the class's collective goals should be: a good time in class, little academic work, and opportunities to plan for out-of-class social,activities; or alternatively, mastery of the subject, a relevant intellectual experience, and high grades. Concurrently,

student norms emerge to guide behavior in the class: expectations about studying, participating in class, challenging the teacher, cutting class, and tattling. If individuals violate these student norms, social sanctions will be applied. Students may be ridiculed, ostracized, or physically punished for violation of important student norms: the teacher's pet often has a difficult time. Lastly, students will assume various roles: the class clown is quick to mimic a robot when the teacher tells him to stand up straight,2 and the class enforcer is ready to make sure that no student strays too far from acceptable behavior.

Classroom climate is the informal social organization of student and teacher classroom activities that spontaneously emerges to influence behavior. Two main components of classroom climate are the informal social structure of the class, with inevitable status distinctions among students, and the infor mal culture of the class, with its unofficial patterns of shared student orienta tions. The formal organization of the classroom-with its specific structure of activities, instructional methods, and curricular materials-is consciously de signed to guide the activities of students. Nonetheless, whenever individuals interact, an informal social organization spontaneously develops as well. The student group in the classroom develops its own structure and culture. Infor mal student leaders and status structures, with their unofficial norms, arise side by side with teachers' official expectations and the formal structure of t ' he classroom. The informal social organization of students is an intrinsic part of Classroom organization.

THE TEACHER AND CLASSROOM CLIMATE

The teacher is probably the single most important person in influencing the tone or climate of the classroom. The teacher has formal power over the class. It is the teacher who sets the formal expectations and goals for the students, and rules of classroom conduct are prescribed and enforced by the teacher. Although it is true that the classroom climate is in part a reflection of the broader school climate, each classroom has a unique and distinct climate.

The process of demarcating the limits imposed upon behavior by a situa-' tion and the attitude toward that situation has been called the definition of the situation .3 The teacher's role in shaping the situation begins almost immediately through speech and other subtle pressures: "Be quiet," "Sit up straight," "Raise your hand," "Be respectful," "No more questions," and so on. The wishes and activities of the teacher begin to inhibit student behavior, and students quickly learn the teacher's definition of the classroom situation.

Some social order is needed in a classroom; most educators agree that some order is a necessary prerequisite for effective teaching and learning. Waller has identified a number of techniques for defining the situation; in fact, he argues that the same techniques, with different emphases, are used by virtually all teachers. 4 Routinization, punishment, explicit statement, ritual, and personal influence are typical devices for defining and maintaining the situation.

If the teacher is to retain control of the classroom, it is never enough to

simply define the situation on the first day. Routinization is one way that teachers use to renew their definition of the situation. A regular classroom routineis established and adhered to throughout the school year. Classroom rules are prescribed, and the situation is completely prearranged and structured. Such a situation can be so thoroughly defined that it presents students with little opportunity for spontaneous organization and eventually produces conflict.

Some teachers attempt to maintain strict control of the classroom through the use of punishment. Punishment defines certain kinds of behavior as reprehensible and imposes penalties on students guilty of such behavior. As Waller suggests, however, the difficulty with the use of punishment to define the situation is that behavior often springs from attitudes that are'not affected by punishment; hence, the correction does not address the cause of the aberrant behavior. Moreover, the penalty often produces countervailing attitudes that more than offset the punishment itself as a determinant of behavior. [5] Nevertheless, experienced teachers use punishment, and it does clearly define certain behaviors as taboo.

Explicit statement is another technique that teachers use to define the classroom situation. The teacher expressly says, "We do this in our class," or, "We don't do that in our class." Verbal imposition is used to define a taboo or to identify a change in the situation. For example, students say, "But Mister Jones always let us chew gum in class," and the teacher replies, "You are dealing with Mister Smith this year, not Mister Jones, and that's another story."

Ritual also helps define and maintain the situation. Certain formalities between student and teacher are ritualized to communicate appropriate behavior to students, to reinforce the attitudes involved in the formalities, and to expand such attitudes and behaviors to other aspects of the relationships. For instance, the use of Mr. or Ms. to address a teacher signals and reinforces the status distinction between teacher and students.

Finally, personal influence is yet another technique that teachers use to define the classroom situation. Teachers try to set the tone of the class by personal example. The teacher's enthusiasm, sincerity, character, and personal force are used to define and reinforce the definition of the situation. If successful, students come to identify with the teacher and his or her values and attitudes. In spite of all the attempts by the teacher to define the situation, however, there is a conflict between students and teachers to develop their own definitions of the situations in both the school and classroom.

Custodial and Humanistic Classrooms

Given the importance of pupil control in the school context, the attitudes and behavior that teachers demonstrate toward students have a major impact on classroom atmosphere. In fact, the fundamental problem of classroom discipline may be viewed as the struggle between the teacher and students to establish their own definitions of the situations in the classroom.6 The teacher's orientation toward controlling students can be conceptualized'along a custo-

dial-humanistic continuum. [7] The custodial orientation emphasizes a rigid and highly controlled setting in which the domination of the teacher ensures order. Teachers with a custodial perspective conceive of the school as an autocratic organization with rigid pupil-teacher status distinctions. The flow of power and communication is unilateral and downward; students must accept the decisions of their teachers without question. Students are generally viewed as irresponsible and undisciplined persons who must be controlled by force. Impersonality, cynicism, and watchful mistrust pervade the atmosphere of the custodial classroom.

At the other end of the spectrum, a humanistic orientation stresses the importance of student initiative and responsibility. Here the classroom is seen as an educational community in which students learn through cooperative interaction and experience. Self-discipline is substituted for strict teacher control. A humanistic orientation fosters open, two-way channels of communication between pupils and teachers, as well as increased student self-determination. Students are given the freedom to act on their own volition and are held accountable for their actions.

Classrooms can be ordered in terms of the teachers' relative emphasis on humanistic and custodial control of students. There is evidence that the more custodial the pupil-control orientations of teachers, the more alienated are students. [8] Moreover, the more custodial the class and alienated the students, the greater the likelihood that the informal social organization of the classroom will be antagonistic to the teacher. As students become alienated from teachers, student norms of opposition develop. Student goals become dramatically different from teacher goals, and students' significant leadership comes from other students-not from teachers. Academic values are subverted by a strong student subculture, and teachers lose much of their ability to influence many students. Finally, alienated students pose major control problems for teachers, hindering the teaching-learning process. Too often these disciplinary problems produce a push toward more custodial control, and the vicious cycle begins anew. Discipline or control becomes an end in itself rather than a means to improved teaching and learning.

The informal social organization of students is dramatically influenced by the relationship between the teacher and the class, particularly the control orientation of the teacher. If there is an overwhelming amount of routinization, ritual, punishment, and custodialism, then it seems likely that the teacher's personal influence will be minimal and the student subculture will be hostile to the teacher.

Instructional Climate

The classroom climate can also be analyzed from the perspective of environmental press, as perceived by students and defined by classroom demands in terms of cognitive activities and affective conditions. Joe M. Steele and his colleagues have conceptualized and assessed the instructional climates of classrooms by identifying the levels of thinking called for in class activities and the social and emotional conditions that exist in the classroom. [9]

The cognitive domain of instructional climate is based on Benjamin Bloom's classification of cognitive operations.10 Thus, cognitive processes are divided into two groups, lower and higher thought processes. Activities that include memory, translation, and interpretationare lower cognitive processes; application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation are higher thought processes.

The affective domain of instructional climate emphasizes the social and emotional conditions that exist in the classroom. Here the concern is with how students and teachers interact and with class norms and roles. To what extent is the teacher an information giver with students in passive roles? To what extent is there pressure for teachers to demand predetermined answers for high grades? Other factors more concerned with individual and group attitudes and feelings are also examined-trust and cooperation, warmth and enthusiasm, acceptance and involvement. To what extent is there excitement and laughter in the classroom? How relaxed and open is the class? How much student involvement is there? How much tolerance and encouragement for student initiative and divergent thinking exist? The basic aspects of instructional climate are further elaborated and summarized in Table 11.1.

These dimensions of instructional climate provide a reasonably compre-

***Table* 11.1 Basic Aspects of Instructional Climate**

COGNITIVE DIMENSION	
A. Lower Cognitive Processes	Activities emphasizing recall, recognition, and memory; paraphrasing and translation; and interpretation of information in terms of basic relationships
B. Higher Cognitive Processes	Activities emphasizing application of appropriate methods to problems; analysis of the structure; generation of new ideas and solutions-synthesis; and evaluation
SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL DIMENSION	
C. Classroom Focus	
Discussion	Opportunities for students to become involved in discussion
Test-Grade Stress	Pressure to produce teacher-determined answers for a grade
Lecture	Emphasis on the teacher as an information disseminator and the student as a passive listener
D. Classroom Climate	
Enthusiasm	The excitement of students in classroom activities
Independence	The extent to which student autonomy and initiative are tolerated and encouraged
Divergence	Opportunities for and tolerance of divergent thinking
Humor	The extent to which joking and laughter are characteristic of the class
Teacher Talk	Proportion of teacher talk
Homework	Amount of weekly homework

hensive view of classroom activities including classroom climate. The framework provides a conceptual basis for studying climate that enables the teacher and supervisor to collect information about perceptions of the class; in fact, Steele and his colleagues have developed the Classroom Activities Questionnaire (CAQ), which can be used by students and teachers to describe these important aspects of instructional climate." Although the instrument is a diagnostic tool for teachers and supervisors to study classrooms, its use should be suggested by the teacher-not the supervisor-and only after an atmosphere of trust and colleagueship has been developed. Even when systematic data are not collected from students, however, the framework points to some important elements of classroom' climate.

A Classroom Typology

Another perspective for analyzing the dimensions of classroom social climate has been developed by Rudolf Moos and his colleagues. [12] Nine aspects of classroom social climate were identified and a Classroom Environment Scale (CES) was developed to measure each dimension.13 The personal and affective aspects of teacher-teacher and teacher-student relationships are measured in terms of involvement, affiliation, and teacher support. Goal activity is mapped by task orientation and academic competition. Finally, authority relations in the classroom are determined by examining order and organization, rule clarity, teacher control, and innovation. The first three aspects are related to the maintenance of classroom structure, and innovation describes the processes and potential for changes in classroom functioning.

Before we sketch the actual classroom combinations of these nine aspects of behavior, each element is elaborated below:

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

1. Involvement: The extent to which students are interested, attentive, and participate in classroom activities
2. Affiliation: The level of friendship that exists among students
3. Teacher Support: The extent to which teachers are concerned, helpful, and 'friendly with students

GOAL ACTIVITIES

4. Task Orientation: The degree to which it is important to complete planned class activities
5. Competition: The extent to which students compete for grades and recognition

SYSTEM MAINTENANCE

6. Order and Organization: The degree to which order and politeness are stressed, and the extent to which assignments and class activities are organized
7. Rule Clarity: The extent to which rules are established and followed

'8. Teacher Control: The degree to which teachers enforce the rules and the severity of punishment for violations

SYSTEM CHANGE

9. Innovation: The degree to which students contribute to planning classroom activities and the extent to which teachers experiment with new techniques and encourage divergent thinking in pupils.

A comprehensive study of 200 junior and senior high-school classrooms using these nine aspects of classroom behavior produced nine contrasting types of classrooms. A brief vignette of each is now presented. [14]

Control-oriented classrooms demonstrate a high emphasis on teacher control and the absence of emphasis on all the other dimensions of classroom environment. Moreover, students in control-oriented classrooms complain of a lack of interaction between students and teachers and among students; they also describe little focus on academic tasks and classroom organization.

Innovation-oriented classrooms are perceived by students as having significant student involvement, affiliation, and teacher support. There are substantial teacher-student and teacher-teacher relationships, but there is little task orientation and limited competition. Moreover, teacher control is limited, and students complain of a lack of clarity in classroom goals and procedures. High innovation is the distinctive characteristic.

Affiliation-oriented classrooms all focus on student-student interaction and participation, but two distinct subtypes emerge-structured and unstructured. Structured, affiliation-oriented classrooms are characterized by students who pay attention and show interest in class activities. More distinctively, however, these classrooms emphasize organization, rule clarity, and moderate teacher control. On the other hand, unstructured, affiliation-oriented classrooms lack organization, rule clarity, and teacher control, but students see themselves as highly involved in teacher-student and student-student interactions.

Task-oriented classrooms stress the accomplishment of specific academic objectives. Once again, there are two types of classrooms-structured and unstructured. Although both types are starkly task-oriented, they differ dramatically with respect to teacher support, rule clarity, and teacher control. Surprisingly, task orientation may often occur in a supportive but relatively unstructured classroom setting. Both structured and unstructured classrooms, however, have little student participation, interaction, and innovation.

Competition-oriented classrooms emphasize students competing strongly with each other for grades and teacher recognition. There are, however, three distinct types of competition-oriented classrooms-structured, unstructured, and supportive. Structured and unstructured differ dramatically on the three system-maintenance dimensions; that is, structured, competition-oriented classrooms are significantly higher on organization, rule clarity, and control than unstructured, competition-oriented classrooms. The supportive competition-oriented classrooms also stress competition, but they do so in an environ

ment in which pupils are friendly, helpful, and enjoy working together. Here there is order and clarity without strong teacher control. The teachers and students are cooperative as well as competitive. Importantly, the supportive, competition-oriented classroom demonstrates that healthy competition and task orientation are possible in a supportive and friendly environment. The nine types of classrooms and their distinctive features are summarized and contrasted in Figure 11.1.

These basic classroom-climate types provide yet another view of activities in the classroom. Students are generally most satisfied with their class, their teacher, how much they are learning, and other students in supportive, competition-oriented and in structured, affiliation-oriented classrooms. On the other hand, students most dislike starkly control-oriented and task-structured classrooms. Similarly, teachers react most favorably to supportive classrooms and are less satisfied with rigid task-structured and control-oriented classes. [15] Moreover, student absenteeism is positively related to limited student involvement, task orientation, competition, and strict teacher control in classes.16 In general, students and teachers seem to be satisfied and dissatisfied with the same types of classrooms.

Although constructive competition in a supportive and friendly classroom environment is possible and is indeed preferred by both students and teachers, it does not seem to be a common pattern; in fact, in Moos's study of 200 classrooms, only 11 (5.5 percent) were both competitive and supportive. Furthermore, his results suggest that structure is basically related to student and teacher satisfaction unless the structure is rigidly imposed on students in a

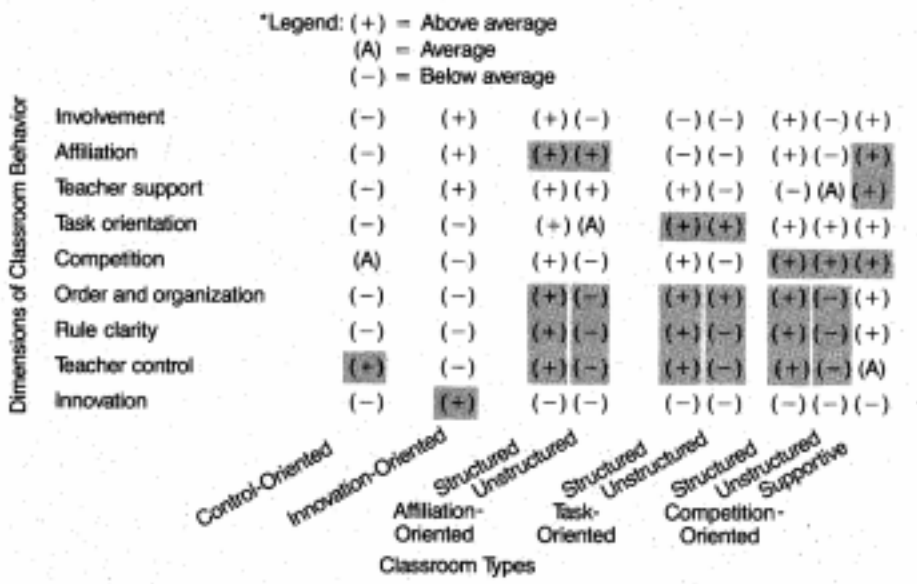


Figure 11.1 Typology of Classrooms

non-supportive classroom.17 Clearly, a chaotic classroom is desired neither by teachers nor students; in fact, the research suggests that classrooms should be, intellectually challenging to encourage growth in achievement as well as cohesive and satisfying to promote student interest and motivation. [18]

We are not suggesting that there is a single best type of social climate for all classrooms; in fact, it is likely that different subject areas produce different learning environments. For example, investigative classes such as mathematics and science may tend to be more structured, task-oriented, and controlled than artistic or social classes such as drama, modern foreign languages, or civics--classes in which involvement, affiliation, and innovation are more likely. [19] Regardless of the subject area, however, teachers need to earn the respect, loyalty, and support of their students. Structure, task orientation, competition, and teacher control can be positive aspects of the classroom if the basic environment is supportive.

DEVELOPING A SUPPORTIVE CLASSROOM

A basic challenge facing all teachers is finding ways to develop student norms of allegiance. The key to developing such support rests with the informal organization of the student subculture. Teachers have formal power over students that guarantees compliance with certain directives. But as important as formal power is in meeting minimum classroom maintenance requirements, it does not necessarily encourage students to exert more effort toward educational goals, to accept responsibility for their actions, to exercise initiative, or to be supportive of the teacher. If teachers are to tap into the informal student subculture and gain support, they must rely more on personal influence and less on routinization, ritual, punishment, and position. A teacher's leadership style is significant because it determines the amount of influence he or she has over students in addition to the power directly derived from the formal position. [20]

How can teachers extend the scope of their influence over students? An autocratic style of domination is not sufficient. Quite a different strategy is that of personal leadership, in which teachers furnish assistance to students that obligates them. The teacher,is responsible for teaching and advising students, and students will appreciate it if the teacher regularly exerts special effort to help. Teachers who provide extra help, do special favors, bend the rules occasionally, help work out conflicts with other teachers and the principal, and in general are willing to provide extra services to students beyond those required by the job are likely to have better relations with students. Rendering these kinds of services creates social obligations; students feel obligated to such teachers. If there is a universal norm in American culture, it is the norm of reciprocity: If I do you a favor, you feel obligated to return it.

One function of formal rules and status is that they provide teachers with the power to obligate students and win their goodwill simply by not always ,using them. We are not suggesting that teachers be indulgent and not enforce

any rules. On the contrary, we are considering a policy of strategic leniency. Teachers should know better than anyone else in the class the formal requirements, the informal norms, and the actual practices. Thus, they should be best able to decide which formal rules can be ignored without sacrificing efficiency and which unofficial norms and practices are so strongly rooted in the student subculture that challenging them will be foolhardy.

Influence achieved by obligating students does constitute authority over them, but it may lead to enhanced authority. As Blau and Scott note, "While authority can be exercised in pair relations, it can originate only in a group because only a group can provide the legitimation of control exercised. [21] The teacher's ability to help students solve their problems produces respect; and the teacher's willingness to provide extra help and do favors nurtures allegiance. As students in the class come to share respect and loyalty for the teacher, a consensus frequently develops that they should comply with the teacher's wishes. That is, informal student norms of support develop. Once these norms of student allegiance to the teacher develop, they are enforced by the students and compliance within certain bounds becomes a class norm. That is, norms of respect and support for the teacher are internalized by the class members and are enforced by student sanctions. The teacher has become a major force in the classroom because informal student values legitimize the extension of the teacher's authority beyond the formally defined limits set by the school's authority structure.

SUMMARY

Classroom climate was defined as the informal social organization of classroom activities that emerges spontaneously to affect student and teacher behavior. Student leaders and informal status structures, with their unofficial norms, arise side by side with teachers, official expectations, and the formal classroom structure to influence behavior. These -teacher-student relationships were viewed from several vantage points: a pupil-control perspective that focused on humanistic and custodial control; an instructional-climate framework that examined the classroom environmental press in terms of cognitive activities and affective conditions; and a classroom typology built on aspects of personal relationships, goal activities, and system maintenance and change.

Teachers who want to do more than maintain order in the classroom must develop the support of the informal student organization in the classroom. The key to a healthy classroom climate is the relationship between the teacher and the student group; student norms of allegiance and support to teacher, leadership of students, cooperation with informal student leaders, motivation of students to go beyond minimum standards, and student respect are all instrumental facets of effective classroom teaching. A supportive classroom climate is a giant step toward successful student-teacher relationships. The significant elements of classroom climate are summarized, in Figure 11.2.

Informal Student Structure
Leaders
Cliques
Isolates
Informal Student Culture Group values Class norms Role expectations
Teacher-Pupil Relationships Custodial Humanistic
Instructional Climate Cognitive Affective
Classroom Typology
'Control-oriented
Innovation-oriented
Affiliation-oriented
Structured
Unstructured
Task-oriented
Structured,
Unstructured
Competition-oriented
Structured
Unstructured
Supportive -
Teacher Leadership Ritualistic Domination Personal

Figure *11.2* Key Elements in Classroom Climate

NOTES

1. Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962), pp. 2-8.
2. This example is taken from Licata and Willower's analysis of student brinkmanship. See Joseph W. Licata and Donald J. Willower, "Student Brinkmanship and the School as a Social System," *Educational Administration Quarterly* (Spring 1975), 1-14.
3. The following discussion of defining the situation is drawn from Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: Wiley, 1932, pp. 292-317).
4. *Ibid.,* p_312.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Donald J. Willower, Terry L. Eidell, and Wayne K. Hoy, *The School and Pupil Control Ideology* (University Park: Penn State University Monograph No. 24, 1967).

8. Wayne K. Hoy, "Dimensions of Student Alienation and Characteristics of Public High Schools," *Interchange 3 (1972), 38-51.*
9. Joe M. Steele, Ernest R. House, and Thomas Kerins, "An Instrument for Assessing Instructional Climate Through Low-Influence Student judgments," *American Educational Research Journal 8 (1971), 447-466.*
10. Benjamin S. Bloom (ed.), *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals* (New York: David McKay, *1976).*
11. Steele *et al., op. cit., pp. 447-466.*
12. Rudolf Moos, "A Typology of junior High and High School Classrooms," *American Educational Research Journal 15 (1978), 53-66.* See also Rudolf Moos and Bernice S. Moos, "Classroom Social Climate and Student Absences and Grades," *Journal of Educational Psychology 70 (1978), 263-269;* E. Trickett and Rudolf Moos, "Social Environment of junior High and High School Classrooms," *Journal of Educational Psychology 65 (1973), 93-102;* and Rudolf Moos and E. Trickett, *Classroom Environment Scale Manual* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Consulting Psychologist Press, *1974).*
13. Rudolf Moos, "A Typology," op. *cit. pp. 53-66.*
14. *Ibid., pp. 56-60.*
15. *Ibid., pp. 61-62.*
16. Rudolf Moos and Bernice Moos, op. *cit., pp. 267-268.*
17. Rudolf Moos, "A Typology," op. *cit. p. 60.*
18. Rudolf Moos and Bernice Moos, op. *cit., pp. 263-269.* See also Herbert Walberg, *Evaluating Educational Performance* (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing, *1974).*
19. James Hearn and Rudolf Moos, "Subject Matter and Classroom Climate: A Test of Holland's Environmental Propositions," *American Educational Research Journal 15 (1978), 111-124.*
20. The following discussion of expanding one's influence is similar to that found in Chapter *4* on increasing the influence of supervisors. It also draws heavily on Blau and Scott's classic analysis, op. *cit., pp. 141-148.*
21. *Ibid., p. 143.*

CHAPTER12

Formal Classroom Arrangements

The fourth component of the classroom system is made up of the formal classroom arrangements, defined in Chapter 2 as the arrangements explicitly created to facilitate the teaching-learning process. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these arrangements to effective teaching and learning. As Dreeben argues, what children learn is the result of their experiences, and these experiences grow out of environments having different organizational arrangements.' The purpose of this chapter is to explore the differences in organizational arrangements that are important to classrooms.

Although essentially interdependent, four categories of arrangements will be considered: learning process arrangements, physical arrangements, behavior arrangements, and learning materials arrangements. The sequential discussion of formal classroom arrangements provides the outline for this chapter and allows us to focus briefly on the unique perspective that emerges from each of the categories of arrangements.

LEARNING PROCESS ARRANGEMENTS

Of the arrangements that make up what we call the formal classroom organization, learning process arrangements are the most important. This is so because of their far-reaching consequences for the other aspects of classroom organization as well as for the other dimensions of the classroom performance model.. By learning process arrangements we simply mean the teacherdirected structuring of learning activity. Lecture, assigned seatwork, or group work are examples of learning process arrangements.

In order to understand, think and talk about, and plan learning process arrangements, teachers and supervisors must have a set of concepts useful for describing the variety of learning process arrangements thatcan be found among and within classrooms. Although several descriptive systems are possible, one that might be particularly useful is based on group structuring in the classroom. 0. A. Oeser has suggested several group structure types that can be

used to describe classroom organization. Each type will be discussed individually.

Oeser calls Type A "The Lecture." By interpreting Figure 12.1, it can clearly be seen what Type A group structures involve. In this situation the teacher speaks and learners listen without speaking to other learners. The solid horizontal line separating teacher and learners suggests the emphasis on status differences between them. Oeser characterizes this type as teacher-centered, task-directed, autocratic, with passive learning. [2] At this point we should issue a caution by emphasizing that these types represent descriptive categories to be used in analyzing learning process arrangements. During any given class period, several types are likely to surface and be required by the particular conditions present.

Type B, illustrated in Figure 12.2, is called "Emergence of Leadership.-3 The teacher's role continues to be focal, although there is frequent exchange between teacher and learners. Notice, however, that learners do not speak with each other. The horizontal line separating teacher and learners has become permeable, suggesting less status differentiation between them than in Type A. Type B "may be characterized as teacher and task centered, autocratic, moving in the direction of co-operation and active learning."4

"Active Learning," or Type C, is illustrated in Figure 12.3. From the illustration it can be seen that the group structure becomes substantially more complex when it is no longer teacher-centered. Learners interact with each other as well as the teacher. The teacher is cast in a slightly different role as teacher-expert, although status differentiation between teacher and learners continues. Oeser notes that "the emphasis in the teaching process now fluctuates between the needs established by the task and the needs of the individual pupils."5 He characterizes this type of group structure "as being task and pupil centered," and as containing the beginnings of a cooperative structure. [6]

Figure 12.4 illustrates Type D, "Active Learning: Independent Planning." The structure of the group is now very different from that in the first three types. The horizontal line indicating teacher-learner status differentiation has disappeared. The teacher's'role is now limited to that of expert. Learners are clustered in highly interactive groups. It can be seen that the groups are rather self-directed, although the wavy lines indicate instances in which the teacher is turned to as expert or arbitrator. Oeser characterizes these groups as pupil-

and task-centered [7].

Type E, "The Discussion Group," is depicted in Figure 12.5. In this type of group structure, all participate as rather equal discussants. The focus is a particular topic, and the teacher's role is ideally one of learned participant. Hierarchical status differentiation is absent. This type might be characterized as group-task-centered.8

The learning process arrangement types suggested by Oeser are realistic descriptions of learning arrangements based on various combinations of the variables: teacher-centeredness, learner-learner interaction, status differentiation, task-centeredness, grouping, learner-centeredness, and active versus passive learning. These types are defined not to argue that one is preferable to another, but rather to establish a set of concepts that teachers and supervisors

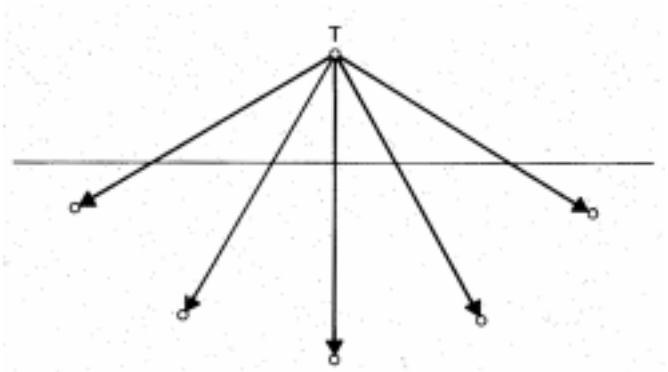


Figure 12.1 Type A: The Lecture

SOURCE: 0. A. Oeser, *Teacher, Pupil, and Task: Elements of Social Psychology Applied to Education* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 56-57. Reprinted by permission.

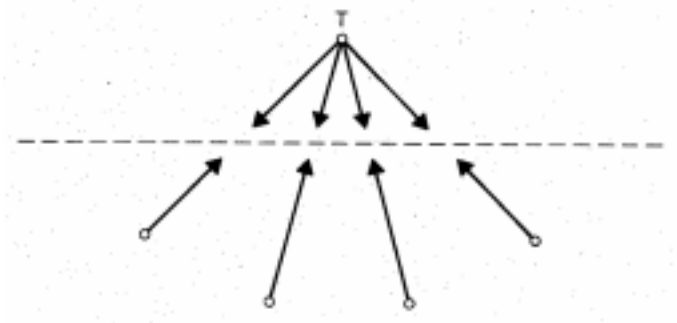
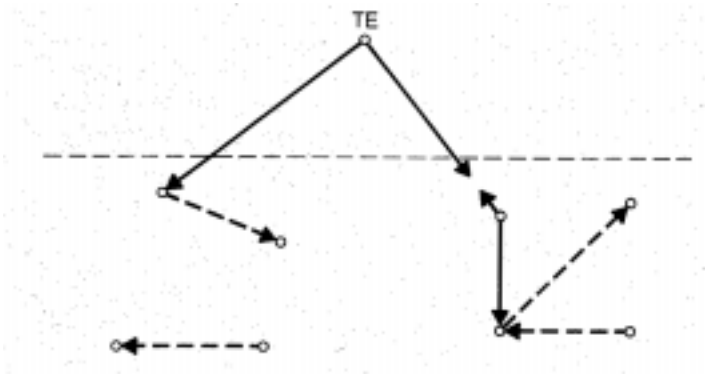


Figure 12.2 Type B: Emergence of Leadership

SOURCE: 0. A. Oeser, *Teacher, Pupil, and Task: Elements of Social Psychology Applied to Education* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 56-57.

Figure 12.3 Type C: Active Learning

SOURCE: 0. A. Oeser, *Teacher, Pupil, and Task: Elements of Social Psychology Applied to Education* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 56-57.



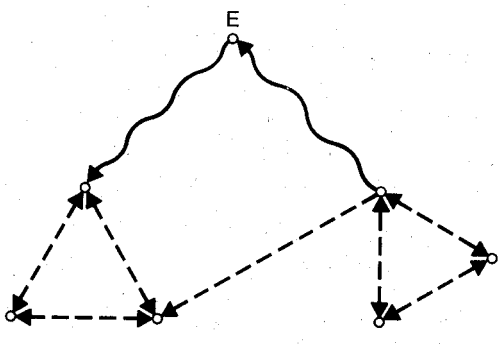


Figure *12.4* Type D: Active Learning: Independent Planning

SOURCE: *0. A. Oeser, Teacher, Pupil, and Task: Elements of Social Psychology Applied to Education* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 56-57.

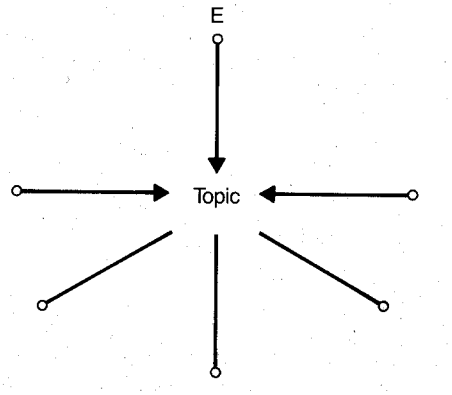


Figure *12.5* Type E: The Discussion Group
SOURCE: *0. A. Oeser, Teacher, Pupil, and Task: Elements of Social Psychology Applied to Education* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 56-57.

can use to characterize the sequence of learning process arrangements as they occur in a particular classroom.

It should be kept in mind that these are ideal types, and they may exist only rarely in reality. Possibly most of a given class period consists of time in transition from one type to another. Yet the five types do provide some descriptive scenarios that can help teachers and supervisors analyze the classroom system in terms of learning process arrangements.

Effects of Learning Process Arrangernents

Because of the importance of learning process arrangements, some information about their effects, however tenuous, should be noted. Steven T. Bossert

Table 12.1 Work Organization Characteristics of Classroom Task Organizations

Type	Group Size	Division of Labor	Pupil Choice	Evaluation
Recitation	Large group	Single task	Teacher control	Public; comparable
Class task	Individuals or small groups	Single task	Teacher control but some pupil choice	Less public; comparable
Multitask	Individuals	Many tasks	Extensive pupil choice	Less public; noncomparable

SOURCE: Steven T. Bossert, *Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 45.

provides an interesting framework for such a discussion in his analysis of task and social relationships in the classroom.9 Bossert indicates that the classroom's task organization will "affect the patterns of teacher-pupil and peer interaction,"10 as well as learning." Accordingly, these three areas will be discussed.

Bossert's system for classifying learning process arrangements is somewhat different from Oeser's. Table 12.1 contains Bossert's three types of task organization (learning process arrangements) along with their characteristics. [12]

Some comments and explanation are required concerning Table 12.1 and Bossert's three types. First, it should be remembered that he is describing elementary classrooms (fourth grade). [13] Recitation generally includes the whole class in a single task. The teacher controls the flow of questions and learner performance is public; that is, learners are aware of their own performance and that of other class members. Class task may involve individuals or small groups; however, everyone works on a single task. The teacher usually controls the choice of task, but because learners are working alone or in small groups, their performance is less visible. However, since the task is a common one, performance is still comparable. Although somewhat similar to class task, multitask structure is distinctive because many different tasks are being worked on at the same time. Consequently learners have greater choice in organizing and completing work. Because of multiple tasks, learner performance is not comparable and is also less subject to observation by other class members. [14]

Learning Process Arrangements and Teacher-Pupil Relationships

Bossert noted two important consequences of learning process arrangements for teacher-pupil interaction. [15] The first consequence describes the effects of learning process arrangements on the way teachers control the classroom. Rec itation was found to inv i olve high desist rates. (Bossert defines a desist as "a teacher's request for a child, group of children, or the entire class to stop an activity that violates classroom rules.") [16] In Table 12.2, two of Bossert's learn

Table 12.2 **Learning Process Arrangements and Teacher Style of Control**

Learning Process Arrangement	Focus	Visibility of Learner Behavior	Teacher's Style of Control
Recitation	Teacher-centered	High	High desist rates Demands for equity Commands
Multitask	Learner- or task-centered	Low	Personalistic and individualized means of control

ing process arrangements are compared as to their consequences for the teacher's style of classroom control. Regardless of the particular teacher, con-, trol style is more authoritarian when recitation is the primary learning process arrangement. Recitation makes the teacher the focus of a large group or the entire class. As a result, pupil - behavior, especially misbehavior, is highly visi ble. The structural needs for successful recitation require order and,attention on the part of learners. Hence, the teacher must respond to misbehavior with desist commands. One further point: the public nature of recitation requires that sanctions be impersonal and equitable. [17] Hence, the teacher-pupil rela tionship is built on a relatively hierarchical and authoritarian arrangement.

In contrast, the multitask arrangement is multitask-centered and involves individuals or small groups working simultaneously on a variety of tasks. Visibility of learner behavior is greatly reduced for both teacher and other learners. Thus, the teacher may respond very individually and personally to learner misbehavior and not be bound by the rigid sanction systems necessary in large group configurations. [18] A very different pattern of teacher-pupil relationships is likely to grow out of the multitask arrangement, which-by its structure-is less authoritarian and rigid.

What is being demonstrated here is not that one set of learning process ar-rangements is the only effective means to achieve desired teacher-pupil relationships. Rather, the point is that learning process arrangements tend to have a series of effects that form an environment relevant to teacher-pupil relationships. When choices about learning process arrangements are made, we should be aware of the likely consequences of those choices and weigh them in the balance with other important considerations.

In addition to effects on teacher-pupil relationships growing out of the teacher's style of control, learning process arrangements also have consequences for teacher-pupil relationships because of differences in the allocation of teacher assistance to individual learners. Bossert found that during recitation, teachers come to depend on students who perform well to help carry forward the specific objectives of the recitation. Those students set the standards of performance for the class. Ironically, teachers gave most individual attention to top-performing students, "thus bolstering those pupils' positions in the academic hierarchy of the classroom and ensuring their ability to perform well."19

In the multitask arrangement, because few tasks are assigned to the entire

group, a standard of performance is less likely to develop, as is a clique of academic elites. Under these conditions Bossert observed that top-performing learners received less individual help, whereas less capable learners were allocated significantly more teacher attention. [20]

Learning Process Arrangements and Peer Relations

In his study of classrooms, Bossert also found that instructional organizationwhat we have been calling learning process arrangements-has important consequences for peer relations. In Table 12.3 we have summarized Bossert's findings for the two extreme learning process arrangements, recitation and multitask.

When recitation dominates as a teacher's primary learning process arrangement, a number of things follow as a matter of course. First, teachers and learners both are in a position to make comparative assessments of learner performance. In fact, recitation would appear to exaggerate the importance of finding correct answers. The teacher calls on students in sequence until the correct answer is given. Wrong answers and poor performance are very public and an important part of recitation-style teaching. [21]

The classroom dynamic tends to be competitive. Children quickly master the basics of the competitive system and performance-homogeneous friendship groups evolve. High performers band together to protect their high and rewarded status.' There tends to be an exclusion of learners who clearly perform less well. Bossert found examples of high-performance children who abandoned former close friends when thrown into the more competitive atmosphere of the primarily recitation classroom. [22] Thus, recitation appears to emphasize those aspects of classroom life that lead to the formation of performance-based status groups. Children tend to associate only with those who perform at a similar level and low performers tend to be isolated.

Multitask process arrangements seem to have quite a different effect on peer relations. As mentioned earlier, multitask arrangements deemphasize and make difficult the comparative assessment of learner performance. With the

Table **12.3 Learning Process Arrangements, and Peer Relations**

Recitation	Multitask
Comparative assessment of learner performance	Relatively little comparative assessment of learner performance
↓	↓
Competition	Cooperation
↓	↓
Performance-homogeneous friendship groups	Performance-heterogeneous friendship groups

incentive to competition greatly reduced, multitask classrooms seem to promote cooperative behavior among learners. [23] Children tend to organize themselves based on interests, and consequently, as Bossert found, performance-heterogeneous friendship groups come into being. What is more, the groupings are fluid, since individuals will differ in their interests in a particular project or activity. [24]

Learning Process Arrangements and Learning

Although his data were not directly related to the question of achievement, Bossert speculates and develops a hypothesis that is of interest [25]. He notes the possibility that allocation of individual assistance by the teacher, which we have already mentioned, might affect learner achievement. [21 3] Second, citing Bidwell, he argues that teachers cannot successfully control learners through authority of office; the development of "trust and rapport [is] necessary for gaining pupil compliance and promoting learning within a Classroom. [,27] But two things inherent in the recitation learning process arrangement appeared to inhibit trust and affective bonds between learners and teachers. Teachers who relied on recitation frequently used the impartial desist to correct deviant learners. Second, the recitation format kept teachers from becoming involved in their students' activities. Bossert concludes: "Seemingly, the multitask orga nization, which enhances a teacher's opportunity to develop rapport with the pupils, may be more conducive to pupil achievement than recitation. [-28]

PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENTS

Another way of looking at formal classroom organization is to consider the physical arrangements, a term we use to refer to the entire physical learning environment. Included are things that can be manipulated by the teacher (seating, equipment placement, displays, project centers, and dedicated work stations, etc.) as well as environmental characteristics that are not easily manipulated by the teacher (lighting, windows, room size, floor coverings, type of furniture, etc.).

Although everything about the learning environment is likely to have some effect on learning, probably nothing is so important as seating arrangements. [29] Because seating is of great importance, and because it is an issue for all teachers and can be manipulated, our discussion of physical arrangements centers on seating.

It is obvious that the selection of learning process arrangements imposes restrictions on reasonable physical arrangements. For example, it'is not reasonable to arrange seating around dispersed work stations when the primary learning process arrangement is lecture or recitation. On the other hand, just because recitation is part of a teacher's repertoire of process arrangements does not mean seating must be arranged in parallel rows facing the teacher's desk. As David B. Young suggests, physical arrangements "can communicate the relationship the teacher expects to establish with students. [,30] Because a teacher uses recitation all or part of the time does not necessarily indicate he

or she wishes to communicate a desire for anauthoritarian classroom. Yet the traditional auditorium seating arrangement probably communicates such a desire.. As form follows function, it would seem that seating arrangements should be selected to facilitate the learning process arrangements most frequently used by the teacher.

While seating arrangements are interdependent with learning process arrangements, some comments on the likely effects of various seating arrangements are appropriate. For the sake of this discussion, we identify three types of seating configurations. Type A refers to whole-class auditorium-style seat~ ing; Type B refers to part-class auditorium seating and part-class work-station seating; Type C refers to a situation in which there is no auditorium seating arrangement, only work-station seating. Note that we include modified auditorium seating (where desks and/or chairs are not in parallel rows but are directed toward one focal point) with traditional auditorium seating. Keep these three types in mind as we discuss some of the probable consequences of seating arrangements.

One function of seating arrangements of great significance to. teachers is monitorability of learners. Type A arrangements are optimal for simultaneous general monitoring of all learners. Type C arrangements make the simultaneous monitoring of all learners difficult, probably impossible. If general monitoring of all students is -necessary, then seating should be arranged in the auditorium or modified auditorium style. Clearly, some benefits are gained by such arrangements, while cooperation among learners is likely to decrease and competition to increase, as Bossert suggested earlier.

Working configurations of learners are also, to some extent, a consequence of seating arrangements. Auditorium and modified auditorium seating (for ex ample, U shapes) make small-group work difficult. Auditorium seating forms no natur ' al groupings, and so the identification, sense of membership, and con versational patterns necessary for group work do not easily emerge.

Seating also, affects focus. In lecture situations a single focus is desirable. However, when auditorium-seating patterns are used, even when the teacher encourages interstudent discussion, the learners will tend to address their questions and observations to the focal point of the arrangement-the teacher. Auditorium seating probably inhibits all learning process arrangements with the exception of lecture.

Privacy and interpersonal distance are also affected by seating arrangements. Auditorium seating makes face-to-face interactions among learners difficult. Round tables and chair clusters, on the other hand, make such interactions likely. Dispersed learning stations give the opportunity for relative privacy to learners who wish to use those stations. Seating is important in the ways we just discussed, because it arranges learners and teachers in ways that create expectations about how and with whom they are to interact.

BEHAVIOR ARRANGEMENTS

Like the other dimensions of formal classroom arrangements, behavior arrangements have as their purpose the creation of an environment and circum

stances in which learning will thrive. Two types of behavior arrangements are considered here: rules and routines. Although the distinction between rules and routines is somewhat arbitrary, it may be a useful one for discussing behavior arrangements in classrooms.

In a classroom, as in any social system, behaviors that make possible the accomplishment of objectives can be identified and required. Other behaviors, those that hinder or interfere with the pursuit of classroom objectives, can be identified and forbidden. Still other behaviors may be identified as desirable because they not only facilitate the accomplishment of objectives but make those pursuits more pleasant. Behaviors that are codified (required or forbidden) we will call rules. Those identified as desirable or useful we will call routines. The essential distinction is that rules require or forbid behaviors and have sanctions attached to them. Routines are desirable procedures that are encouraged but that do not generally have sanctions attached to them.

Obviously regulation and routinization do not suddenly appear out of nowhere. There are a number of what might be called determinants of regulation and routinization, such as the environment, the teacher's needs, and even the other formal classroom arrangements, particularly learning process arrangements.

The external environment (community) and internal environment (district and school building organization) are determinants of classroom rules and routines that are difficult for teachers and supervisors to manipulate. Zaltman and his colleagues paint a vivid if somewhat cynical picture of the possible effects of the internal and external environment on teachers and classrooms:

> Teachers are left with the perplexing problem of trying to effectively meet the individual needs of a diverse population while operating in a climate and organizational structure that encourage similarity of student treatment and conformity to routine behavior. The external reward structure of school organizations also reinforces a conformity to "accepted behavior." The custodial function of the school often becomes more important to the public than goals such as learning. Teachers isolated coping atmosphere can also reinforce the routinization of performance. For example, a teacher unable to deal with the diversity of student learning styles may turn to routine make-work assignments in order to keep active minds and bodies busy. [31]

It would appear that pressures from both external and internal environment create a press for regulation and routinization of classroom behavior. As discussed earlier under the heading of organizational climate, this monumental task of creating a schooling environment in which decisions are freed from all pressure-save that to improve learning-falls to the school principal. The teacher and supervisor are then able to set levels of regulation and routinization appropriate to the needs of learners. The purpose of all classroom arrangements is to facilitate learning, not to mitigate community prejudices or administrative desire for uniformity.

Another determinant of the level of routinization and regulation found in the classroom---one that is curiously ignored in the literature on teaching-is teachers' needs for order and certainty, plus a host of psychological variables

that make each teacher unique. Doubtless teachers differ significantly in their need for order, for example; and it is equally obvious that individual psychological needs are not easily altered. It would not be unreasonable to assume, therefore, that these needs are very likely to affect regulation and routinization in classrooms and that they are not easily manipulated by teachers or supervisors. They are not givens, but neither are they easily changed.

This may be the place to say that there is no single model or style of effective teaching. Teachers who have relatively high needs for order and structure in the classroom should not assume that they will never be excellent teachers. While it is unlikely that those needs will ever disappear or even be significantly diminished, an awareness of, and a commitment to reduce the possible harmful effects of, such needs is important. Similarly, teachers who have virtually no order needs should not assume that they are destined to be excellen t teachers.

A third determinant of routinization and regulation is the other formal classroom arrangements. Most obvious is the relationship between learning process arrangements and regulation and routinization. In recitation situations, there is a great need for order and predictability. Everyone must focus on the recitation, and so rules about paying attention, looking toward the front of the room, staying in one's seat, raising one's hand to be recognized, not talking to one's neighbors, and so on, all emerge to protect the recitation routine.32 Multitask learning process arrangements, however, are designed to be unique and individualized. The behaviors that create disturbance and unpredictability for recitation are not necessarily problematic for multitask arrangements.

To further our analysis, it is helpful to conceptualize two extreme types of classroom situations. One is governed by a great many rules, and established routines constrain behaviors not covered by the rules. On the other extreme is the classroom free of rules and routines. It is not really possible to generalize and say that one level of regulation is appropriate or effective for all classes. The issues raised previously (environment, teacher need, and other formal classroom arrangements), as well as characteristics of a particular class (age, sex, previous socialization, etc., of students), also make impossible generalizations about the appropriate level of regulation for classrooms. ,

Despite the lack of education-specific research on the effects of regulation, several principles have support from experts in classroom management. First, rules should be kept to a minimum. 33 Cohen and Manion argue that keeping rules to a minimum also keeps the disciplinary actions taken by the teacher to a minimum. They indicate, too, that rules can stultify the classroom atmosphere and that some evidence exists that rules by themselves have little effect on classroom behavior. 34

35

Second, rules should be stated positively, The thinking is that it is better to direct behavior toward some end than to forbid certain behaviors. Closely related is a third principle that suggests that learners should be involved in the formation of rules and routines. This is not to say that learners ought to set the norms of behavior, but it may be appropriate for them to decide how appropriate behavior,might be realized. As Docking indicates, "This kind of task

would not only be sound educationally in that pupils would be given responsibility to reach a decision by rational discussion~l it would promote group feeling and commitment."[36]

The above discussion is not meant to convey the notion that regulation of the classroom by the teacher is unneces sary or undesirable. Hargreaves com ments on the young teacher who fails to establish authority with a class:

> This is a lesson learned the hard way by countless generations of student teachers who, believing that the pupils ought to be treated with respect as mature persons, try to create a definition of the situation that is congruent with their beliefs. Almost always the result is disastrous. The pupils do not respond in the expected way. Soon the teacher finds himself only nominally in charge of a collection of noisy, disobedient, rude and irresponsible children, who are quite unwilling either to listen to the [37] teacher or to work .

We have resisted going to the industrial literature or even the sociological literature-beginning with Gouldner's famous *Patterns of Industrial Bureau cracy* 3~__to talk about the use of rules and routines in schools. The perspective there is that of the functioning organization. Here the perspective is learning, and th6 individuality of effective learning makes it reasonable to minimize reg ulation and routinization, both of which stifle and ' restrict the kinds of behavior that are essential to education: creativity, spontaneity, and responsibility.

~ Clearly, some regulation and routinization make life in the classroom easier, even possible. Yet, it appears that teachers must be extremely vigilant in keeping these behavioral arrangements to a minimum. Hargreaves discovered that rules seem to develop around five themes: pupil talk, pupil movement, [39] time, teacher-pupil relationships, and pupil-pupil relationships . With just one rule addressing each theme, the teacher would already be pushing the outer limit for the number of rules governing a classroom.

Alternatives to Regulation

Chaos is not being advocated here. However, the use of rules as a stopgap to quash emerging classroom behavior patterns is also not advocated. Rules should be rational, and their reasonableness should be apparent to teacher and learner alike. Instantaneous rule making in the face of misbehavior is unlikely to be rational.

Often the, kinds of misbehavior that occasion teacher rule making are symptomatic of more serious classroom difficulties. The rule merely masks the symptom and ignores the problem. Gnagey suggests that planning and routines make regulation less necessary. In particular, pupil-teacher planning keeps learners attuned to where they are going and thus reduces classroom frustration [.40] In addition, "routines help prevent unnecessary delays and unscheduled interruptions. [-41]

Reduction of interruptions is an important alternative to rule making. In- terruptions break the flow and result in boredom. Teachers and supervisors will have to work with the school administration to make sure that announce

ments, attendance procedures, and the like are kept at an absolute minimum. Closely related to interruption is the transition from one classroom activity to another. Researchers have found that transitions are occasions for off-task behavior and disruption. 42 Careful planning and control of transitions can go a long way toward managing the classroom without creating a long list of negative rules.

LEARNING MATERIALS ARRANGEMENTS

In discussing learning materials arrangements, perhaps we open ourselves to the accusation that we are avoiding the broader, more urgent, and important issues of curriculum. Perhaps we are. On the other hand, this is not a book about curriculum, or at least it is not a book written from the curriculum perspective. One's conception of curriculum-whether traditionalist, conceptual-empiricist, or reconceptualist-is doubtless of tremendous importance and is likely to affect the implementation of the systems model of classroom performance at every step. 43

In 1976 the National Survey and Assessment of Instructional Materials reported that 90 percent of the time learners are engaged in educationrelated activity is spent in the company of learning materials. 44 This statistic points to the importance instructional materials have taken on in the contemporary classroom-. Perhaps unfortunately, textbooks have become increasingly important in structuring the work of teachers and learners. As Talmage and Eash note, textbooks "are the curriculum in many classrooms. As such, the philosophy of education, the curriculum, and the instructional practices in a school district emanate from them."45

The learning materials adopted for use in a particular classroom tend to have important and overwhelming consequences for what will go on in that classroom thereafter. There is no need to emphasize here, that learning materials will prescribe the other dimensions of the formal classroom organization. In addition, however, some other specific outcomes should be mentioned.

The teachers' practice of their beliefs about curriculum are either advanced or restricted by learning materials, particularly textbooks. Whether an individual teacher regards education as mastery of subject areas, personal development of learners, development of social concern, understanding the past, or as the mastery of useful skills, often makes little difference if learning experience.s are organized around textbooks. Perhaps more than any other formal classroom arrangements, learning materials (especially textbooks) constrain the teacher's ability and responsibility for what goes on in the classroom.

SUMMARY

,In this chapter arrangements explicitly created to facilitate the teachinglearning process were discussed as a fourth component of the classroom sys

Learning Process Arrangements
- **recitation**
- **class task**
- **multitask**

Physical Arrangements (seating)
- **auditorium**
- **modified auditorium**
- **small group**

Behavior Arrangements
- **rules**
- **routines**

Learning materials Arrangements

Figure 12.6 Key Elements of Formal Classroom Arrangements

terns model. Four categories of formal classroom arrangements were considered: 1) learning process arrangements-the teacher-directed structuring of learning activity; 2) physical arrangements-the entire physical learning environment (particularly seating arrangements); 3) behavior arrangements-the rules and routines that govern the behavior of teachers and learners; and 4) learning materials arrangements-materials (especially text- and workbooks) that are used as the content for a particular class. Each of the four types of arrangements can be used to structure the learning situation, and each tends to ,increase or decrease the effectiveness of the learning situation. Congruence among formal classroom arrangements was discussed; congruence of formal classroom arrangements with the other components of the classroom systems model will be taken up in Chapter 13. The key elements of formal classroom arrangements are summarized in **Figure 12.6.**

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4. *Ibid, p. 54.*
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9. Steven T. Bossert, *Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, *1979).*
10. *Ibid., p. 91.* 11. *Ibid., p. 94.* 12. *Ibid., p. 45.* 13. *Ibid., p. 13.* 14. *Ibid., pp. 44-45.*

15. *Ibid., p.* 47.
16. *Ibid., p.* 48.
17. *Ibid., p.* 55.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid., p.* 62.
20. *Ibid., p.* 60.
21. *Ibid., p.* 71.
22. *Ibid., p.* 81.
23. *Ibid., p.* 83.
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29. Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, *A Guide to Teaching Practice* (London: Methuen, 1977), p. 131.
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31. Gerald Zaltman, David H. Florio, and Linda A. Sikorski, *Dynamic Educational Change* (New York: Free Press, 1977), p. 6.
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33. Cohen and Manion, op. *cit., p.* 144; Thomas L. Good and Jere E. Brophy, *Looking in Classrooms,* 2d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 171; David E. Hargreaves, Stephen K. Hester, and Frank J. Mellor, *Deviance in Classrooms* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 257.
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38. Alvin W. Couldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (New York: Free Press, 1954).
39. Hargreaves, op. *cit.*
40. William J. Gnagey, "Classroom Discipline," in Dwight W. Allen and Eli Seifman (eds.), *The Teacher's Handbook* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1971), p. 191.
41. *Ibid.*
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43. Cf. William F. Pinar, "Notes on the Curriculum Field," *Educational Researcher* 7 (September 1978).
44. EPIEgrarn 5, 1976: 1.
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CHAPTER13

The Teaching Task

There are a great many ways to describe the teaching task, several of which are included in Figure 13. 1. As you can see from the figure, there appears to be a great deal of conceptual overlap among the models displayed. Generally, the teaching model is said to contain preinstruction elements (often equated with planning), learning activity, and some form of evaluation. These components can be subdivided into, for example, the sequence of activities and decisions involved in planning; but for ease of discussion this chapter will focus on a three-part model of the teaching task, composed of planning, implementation, and evaluation.

Figure 13.2 presents the general model of the teaching task. The components of the model and the relationships implied by the lines and arrows are suggested by the work of the scholars included in Figure 13.1: Armstrong and his colleagues,' Jacobsen and his colleagues2, Martin3, and Perrott4. In fact, the recent work of these writers forms the basis for our discussion of the teaching task throughout this chapter. Each of the phases of the teaching task will be considered separately and in detail.

PLANNING

Martin asserts that teachers should spend as much time planning as they do teaching.[5] The extent to which teachers agree with that assertion is unknown, as is how much time they actually spend planning for instruction. It does, however, seem reasonable to assume that a task so complicated as bringing about effective learning among individuals of varying ability, interest, and previous learning will require sophisticated and lengthy planning efforts. Those who have written about teaching in recent years have emphasized planning, although the components of planning and their order differ with each writer.

In this chapter instructional planning will be discussed under the rubric of five distinct steps: (1) deciding instructional goals, (2) diagnosing learners, (3) specifying instructional objectives, (4) selecting instructional strategies, and (5)

Armstrong *et al.*	Jacobsen *et al.*	Martin	Perrott
Specifying performance objectives	Planning	Preactive	Planning
Diagnosing learners			
Selecting instructional strategies			
Interacting with learners	Implementing instructional activities	Interactive	Implementation
Evaluating effectiveness of instruction	Evaluating student performance	Evaluation	Evaluation

Figure *13.1* Models of the Sequential Teaching Task

selecting evaluation procedures. In Figure 13.3, these steps are depicted graphically.

In brief, instructional planning simply m eans that the teacher targets some specific content related to the instructional goals of the grade level/school/society, translates the targeted content into instructional goals, and assesses the extent to which the class, can meet those goals. Planning continues as the teacher specifies the instructional objectives, selects instructional strategies to take the learners from where theyare to mastery of the objectives, and chooses evaluation procedures to determine whether the strategies have succeeded in bringing the learners to the point where the instructional objectives are met.

Planning Step 1: Deciding Instructional Goals

Step I in the planning process usually involves deciding the content of the unit or lesson. It is, of course, not an arbitrary decision, but requires the teacher to select content that is aligned with the general goals of society, school-,system goals, and more specific goals for the grade level. For example, society may have a general goal that schools prepare cultured citizens. The school system

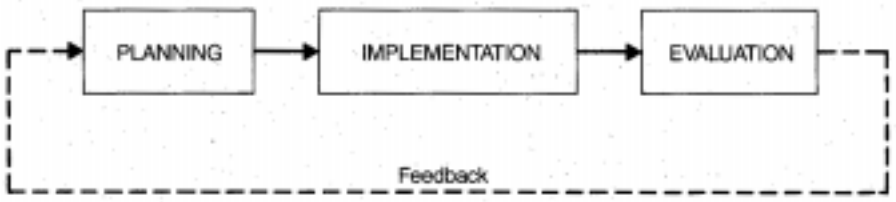


Figure *13.2* The Teaching Task: General Model

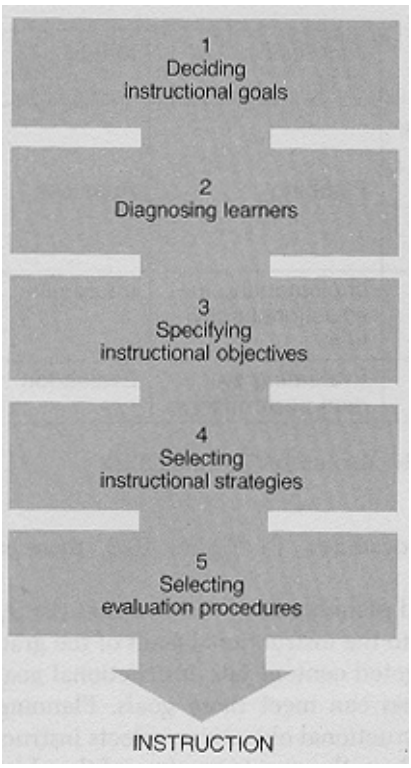


Figure 13.3 Planning for Instruction

may have several goals that correspond to this general goal, one of them being that learners experience the common forms of American literature. This goal is specified further when the teaching staff of a particular high school agrees that high-school juniors will study twentieth-century poetry and drama. These various goals make up the context in which the teacher makes content decisions about instructional units.

Too often decisions about appropriate content are ignored, and the content of units and lessons is dictated by the textbooks the school happens to own. Even when textbooks are selected with great care and attention to the various goals that affect schooling, no single textbook is likely to provide adequate content to meet the changing goals of schools and the changing needs of learners. Effective planning, therefore, requires teachers to identify content needs in advance and find ways of meeting them, particularly when the textbook and school-provided materials mesh inadequately with the identified goals of the community, district, or school. Ultimately, the content choice results in the establishment of one or more instructional goals.

Planning Step 2: Diagnosing Learners

6

There is some disagreement as to the order of Steps 2 and 3, but it seems most useful to us to diagnose learners before specifying instructional objectives.

What we are calling diagnosing learners is otherwise known as preassessment [7] and finding out what learners know. [8] Whatever it is called, it is an important part of the teaching task. Without diagnosing learners, teachers are likely to make false assumptions about what learners know and can do. Consequently, teachers may prepare instructional experiences for which learners are unready, or they may repeat experiences with which learners are already familiar.9 Both errors are hazardous to effective instruction.

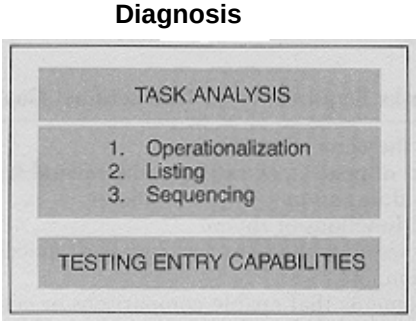
The second step in planning, then-the diagnosing of learners-is the process of finding out what learners know and can do relative to the instructional goals established in Step 1. Martin's approach seems to be viable, and we rely on his discussion of diagnosing learners for our treatment of the subject here.'O For him, the diagnosing of learners consists in (1) task analysis and (2) testing entry capabilities. In Figure 13.4, the process for diagnosing learners suggested by Martin is depicted.

Task analysis involves identifying the knowledge and skills a learner "must be able to employ in order to attain any given instructional goal."" Actually, three sequential steps are involved:

1. *Operationalization* of the instructional goal in terms of what pupils must be able to do in order to attain it
2. *Listing* of all the more simple pupil actions and capabilities that are prerequisite or corequisite to performance of the overall instructional task
3. *Sequencing* of these pupil actions and capabilities in terms of which specific actions are required for the successful performance of which other actions [12]

In the process of operationalization, the instructional goal is made concrete and stated in terms of learner performance. The instructional goal mentioned earlier (high-school juniors will study twentieth-century American poetry and drama) is made more specific, for example, by stating learner performance: high-school juniors will be able to compare and contrast the poetic techniques of twentieth-century American poets.

After the instructional goal has been operationalized, the teacher gen-



, **Figure 13.4** The Process of Diagnosing Learners

crates a list of all the knowledge and skills required for learners to perform the operationalized instructional goal. An abbreviated listing for the above instructional goal might look like the one in Table 13.1.

It is important that teachers try to construct a rather comprehensive list of knowledge and skills necessary for learners to perform the operationalized instructional goal. The more comprehensive the list, the less likely the teacher will be to make incorrect assumptions about the learners' preparedness for instruction.

The third step in task analysis is the sequencing of the knowledge and skills listed in the previous step. Each knowledge or skill "is preceded by more basic capabilities on which it depends and is succeeded by more complex capabilities to which it contributes. [13] This process is extremely important, since it allows the teacher to approximate the level at which he or she believes learners can perform and to diagnose their knowledge and skills at that and adjacent levels, rather than assessing the entire sequence.

The list contained in Table 13.1 has already been sequenced. Notice that four of the items are blocked together because no necessary order obtains, yet the knowledge described in the block reasonably precedes Level 3, the selection of poetic elements that enables comparisons or contrasts to be drawn. A teacher might, for example, choose to diagnose learners at Level 2 because it is not known how much the learners have been exposed to the elements of poetry, or how much they have retained from previous exposures. The teacher in this case assumes Level 1, and he or she has little or no evidence that learners can perform at Level 3.

In addition to task analysis, diagnosing learners also includes testing entry capabilities. While task analysis determines *what* knowledge and skills should be assessed, *how* to assess entry capabilities is a separate issue. [14] The value of testing entry capabilities lies in the teacher's acquisition of information about which instructional objectives are feasible and whether they will be motivating for a particular group of learners. Without some means of diagnosing learners, teachers are unlikely to make reliable and valid assessments of what learners know, and hence, they are unlikely to specify learning objectives that are both possible and stimulating.

Very simply stated, diagnosing learners refers to determining the readiness of learners for a particular set of learning experiences. Armstrong and his colleagues make,some suggestions' about how teachers can determine where

Table 13.1 **Listing of Tasks Required by an Instructional Goal**

1. Reading vocabulary at the eleventh-grade level
2. Knowing the definitions of poetry according to the several traditions
   Knowing the variety and importance of poetic meter
   Knowing the kinds and functions of rhyme
   Knowing the common poetic techniques and figures of speech: simile, metaphor, personification, etc.
3. Selecting key poetic elements that enable comparisons or contrasts to be drawn
4. Critically evaluating the relationships between poetic technique and meaning

learners are on the sequenced list,of prerequisite skills, knowledge, and attitudes. [15] Their suggestions include work samples, anecdotal record, conferences, observation checklist, interest inventory, prerequisite knowledge tests, and prerequisite skills tests.

Analysis of the learner's work, sample is often relevant to the question of learner'readiness for instruction. Reviewing notebooks, papers, exams, and the like can provide valuable evidence about the readiness of individual learners. Once it is decided that a data source will be useful, however, "there is a need to process that information and establish procedures for making decisions about individual youngsters." [16] It is helpful to establish some criteria; for example, in reviewing notebooks, a teacher might decide that learners whose paragraphs do not contain a clear topic sentence and restricted, elaboration of that idea are not prepared for subsequent learning experiences without remediation, review, or practice exercises.

If teachers keep anecdotal records containing entries about individuals and groups, related to readiness for future learning experiences, these will obviously be useful in making determinations about who does and does not possess the prerequisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes for the proposed instructional goal.

The teacher-learner conference is another valuable source of data, although a time-consuming one. There are obviously some skills, knowledge, and attitudes that can be very effectively observed through one-on-one discussion. If the conference is to be used, the teacher ought to know quite specifically what she or he is looking for and have in mind criteria that can be used to distinguish learners who are equipped with the prerequisites for the instructional goal from those who need remediation,of some sort.

Other more conventional tools for diagnosing learners (interest inventories, knowledge tests, and skills tests) are discussed as performance outcome measures in Chapter 14. Whatever methods are used to collect diagnostic information about learners, simply collecting data is not enough. The data must be compared, studied, and analyzed. In many cases, it is useful to construct a composite data sheet for a class. Figure 13.5 is an example of such a data sheet;

	Knowledges				Skills				Attitudes			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Arney	x	x	x		x	x			x			
Ascherman	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Besel	x	x			x							
Bormuth	x	x			x	x	x		x			
Inman	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			
Johnson	x	x	x		x	x			x			
Karman	x	x	x	x	x	x			x			
Stern	x	x	x		x	x			x			
St. Clair	x	x			x	x			x			

Figure *13.5* Composite Data Sheet

it is based on the suggestions of Armstrong and his colleagues. [17] It is essentially a checklist for the items identified through the earlier task analysis.

The diagnosis must be followed, if indicated, by prescription. That is, if individuals or groups of learners do not possess the knowledge, skills, and attitudes previously judged prerequisite for attempting the instructional goals, the teacher must devise methods to ready the unprepared learners, If the deficiency is widespread, the prescription can be written into the instructional objectives. If only a few learners are unready, individual remediation plans can be developed.

Planning Step 3: Specifying Instructional Objectives

The third step in the planning process, specifying instructional objectives, flows directly from the activity and results of Steps I and 2. As Martin notes, "Once the teacher has established general instructional goals and obtained ac curate information concerning each pupil's related capabilities, he or she is in a positiorf to combine these two sets of information to create specific instruc ,tional objectives."18 In Figure 1 3.6, this process is presented graphically.

A decade or so ago, during the accountability movement that swept the country, the use of instructional (or performance) objectives was, in many cases, imposed on teachers by legislative mandate. Too, the accountability programs were hastily developed and insensitively implemented without teacher preparation and involvement. Consequently, just as soon as the public eye turned elsewhere, such programs were frequently abandoned by professional educators. Many teachers, perhaps irrationally, continue to view instructional objectives with suspicion and resentment-so much so that we

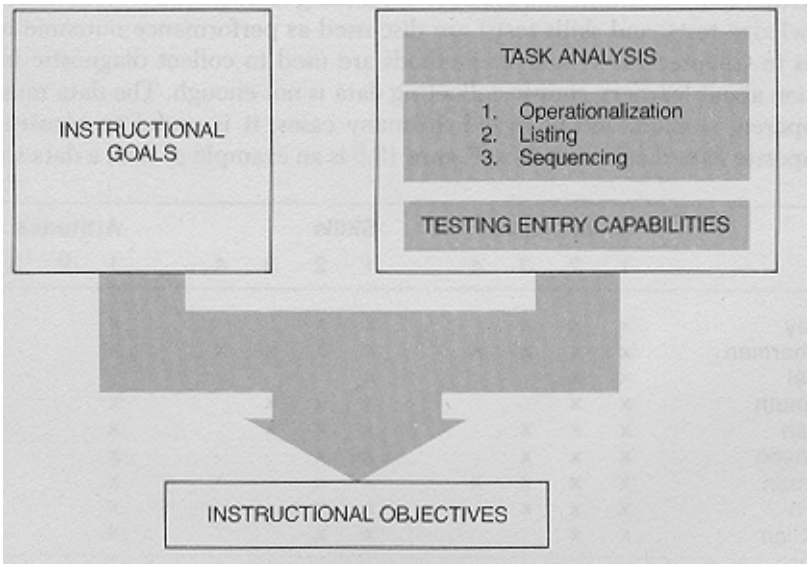


Figure *13.6* Combining Instructional Goals and Learner Diagnosis to Specify Instructional Objectives

would hesitate to discuss objectives if they weren't so integral to effective teaching.

Reviewing the experimental research, Armstrong and his colleagues assert that "instructional programs guided by performance objectives result in higher achievement levels for learners."19 Jacobsen and his colleagues note that performance objectives assist teacher-student communication as well as teacher-teacher, teacher-administrator, and administrator-state-agency communication. "They also help teachers to develop learning strategies, individualized instruction, and evaluation standards. ,20 We hope these claims will inspire experienced teachers and supervisors to put aside the negative emotional residue directed at instructional objectives and look at them afresh.

At this point it might be useful to try to define instructional. objectives. They are narrowly focused goals that describe behaviors learners are expected to exhibit. Scholars agree that an adequate instructional objective describes (1) the behavior, (2) the conditions (how and when) under which learners will demonstrate learning, and (3) the criteria (degree) that learners must meet or exceed .21 An example of an instructional objective that meets these requirements is as follows: Given a number of geometric cutout shapes of different sizes and colors, second-grade learners will be able to sort them into piles by shape with 90 percent accuracy. 22 Notice that this objective may be said to involve both cognitive and psychornotor skills. Instructional objectives may also involve affective behaviors.

As mentioned, instructional objectives are specified in response to the task analysis and diagnosis of learners. The teacher begins with the knowledge, skill, and attitude levels of learners relevant to the instructional goals and then proceeds to transform the remaining items of the task list into specific instructional objectives. In other words, included as instructional objectives are all the prerequisite skills, knowledge, and attitude levels not met by learners and not addressed through individual prescription for remediation.

It is likely that a single instructional goal will correspond to a rather lengthy task list, even after removing the items the learners have mastered. These may be transformed into perhaps an even lengthier instructional objectives list. This list fornis the specific content around which the planning model continues. Martin suggests that several instructional objectives should guide each lesson. 23 The planning unit would exhaust the list of instructional objectives.

Planning Step 4: Selecting Instructional Strategies

Step 4 in the planning process is the selection of teaching strategies. While it is necessary for the previous three steps to be completed for an entire learning unit, selection of teaching strategies might be done as a more proximate kind of planning just prior to the delivery of the lesson. On the other hand, there is some advantage to selecting teaching strategies, or at least suggesting them, at the time of the remote planning of the unit, since some strategies require advance coordination of facilities or equipment.

There are, of course, a great many teaching strategies, and many teachers

have one or several with which they feel particularly comfortable. In a way, having a favorite strategy may be harmful to effective teaching because the teacher is less likely to select a strategy based on its appropriateness for specific instructional objectives or specific learners. [24]

Armstrong and his colleagues have developed a unique classification scheme that is useful in selecting teaching strategies appropriate for specific instructional objectives. [25] The classification scheme (Figure 13.7) is based on two criteria. The first is the focus of the instructional objective; is it relatively content-centered or process-centered? That is, is the behavior learners are to demonstrate after instruction learner mastery of a specific body of subject matter, or learner mastery of a content-processing technique?211 The se ' cond cri terion is the channel. It distinguishes instructional strategies in which talk and activity are channeled through the teacher from those that "involve direct teacher control only at the beginning, when ground rules are being explained. Once the activity has begun, primary patterns of communication flow *directly* from learner to learner and need not be channeled through the teacher."27

The teaching strategies contained in all four cells of Figure 13.7 are fully discussed by Armstrong and his colleagues. 28 We . will simply discuss one strategy from each cell and focus on the teacher's effort to select the appropriate strategy for a particular instructional objective.

If an instructional objective appears to focus on -content, then teaching strategies from either Cell I or 3 are more likely to be appropriate. Instructional objectives that require learners to master a process, rather than content, would be more likely to be served by strategies listed in Cell 2, or 4. Keep in mind that the strategies listed in the cells are only illustrative. How would a teacher decide whether to select Cell 1 or Cell 3? Put differently, how would a teacher select a channel: talk or activity channeled through the teacher or talk or activity *not* channeled through the teacher?

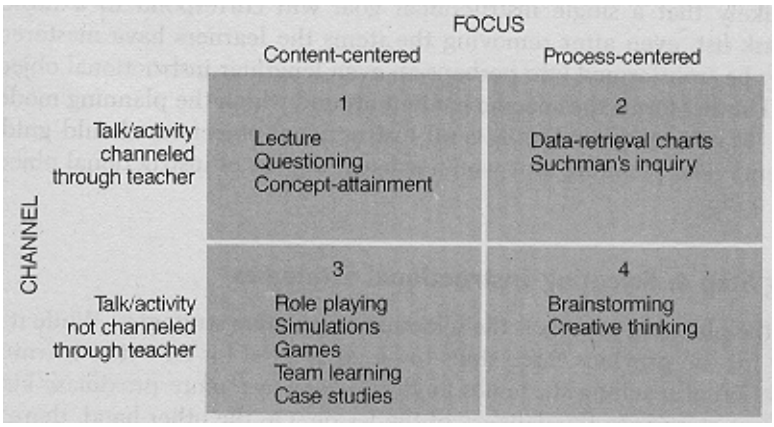


Figure 13.7 Categorizing Instructional Strategies

SOURCE: Adapted from David G. Armstrong, Jon J. Denton, and Tom Savage, Jr., *Instructional Skills Handbook* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Educational Technology Publications, 1978), p. 97. Used by permission.

Obviously some of the earlier steps in preparation for instruction were somewhat mechanical. The selection of appropriate teaching strategies to meet instructional objectives, however, is a' highly discretionary and professional decision. There are no rules that always obtain. The teacher must keep in mind, among other things, the unique characteristics and requirements of the instructional objectives, the particular group of learners, his or her own strengths and weaknesses and those of each teaching strategy, attitudes of learners, the strategy last used with this class, and a myriad of other issues that are too situation-specific to be mentioned.

As indicated in Cell 1, if an instructional objective is primarily contentcentered and other conditions suggest the appropriateness of instructional talk and activity channeled through the teacher, then lecture, questioning, concept attainment, and similar teaching strategies are indicated. Why would a teacher select the questioning strategy rather than lecture or concept attainment? We can only suggest some possible reasons:

1. For variety: the teacher has just used lecture with this group.
2. Age of learners: the group is very young and has a sbort attention span.
3. Feedback: the teacher wants to get a sense of how well learners are mastering the material while the instruction is in progress.
4. Learner motivation: the teacher can create a sense of participation by building on learner responses.
5. Group building: the teacher wants the learners to understand the perspectives of classmates.

it can be noted that, after examining the advantages and disadvantages of a specific strategy for a particular situation, the choice of teaching strategies can never be simply a matter of teacher preference. Without doubt, the probability of reaching the instructional objectives is very directly related to the care the teacher used in selecting teaching strategies.

Cell 2 contains two representative teaching strategies appropriate when the instructional objectives are primarily process-centered and talk and activity channeled through the teacher appear the better choice. One might decide to use the data-retrieval chart, a procedure suggested by Hilda Taba and her colleagues, because: [29]

1. The chart requires learners to review and retain specific content.
2. The chart facilitates comparison and contrast of elements.
3. The process, used in a Plass, generates excitement, a sense of anticipation, and participation.
4. Learners often acquire new insights about previously examined material.
5. Learners can become convinced of the worth of this process and use it in their independent study; writing, and preparation for exams.

Figure 13.8 is a simple example of a data-retrieval chart for contrasting some important aspects of form for several short stories of Edgar Allan Poe.

In Cell 3 five strategies are suggested that are appropriate for content-cen

	Conflict	Point of View	Complications	Resolution
The Cask of Amontillado				
The Tell-tale Heart				
The Pit and the Pendulum				
The Black Cat				

Figure 13.8 Data-Retrieval Chart for Selected Poe Short Stories

tered instructional objectives when talk/activity *is not* going to be channeled through the teacher. Armstrong and his colleagues summarize the procedures for conducting team learning:

1. Write out several paragraphs including basic information learners are to acquire. Some questions refer to specific factual information in paragraphs. Others require students to make inferences going beyond provided information.
2. Divide learners into groups consisting of five to eight individuals.
3. Appoint a recorder for each group.
4. Advise learners that anyone *within* a group may help anyone else within a group and that no ' one in one group may help someone in another group.
5. Call groups together.
6. Ask recorders or other group representatives to respond to every question.
7. Achieve group consensus on questions. [30]

Team learning might be a teacher's choice of strategies for a number of reasons:

1. It is particularly suited to the content of the lesson.
2. There is a need to build group cohesiveness and encourage interaction among learners.
3. It is a welcome change from teacher-centered strategies.
4. The strategy allows for individual learners to assume leadership roles,
5. It requires and facilitates contributions from all learners. '

Last, Cell 4 contains several strategies appropriate when the learning objectives are process-centered and the talk and activity are effectively *not* ,channeled through the teacher. Brainstorming, a strategy from Cell 4, involves focus on a problem with learners calling out suggestions. Verbal and facial reactions to even the wildest suggestions are not allowed. Usually the teacher writes the suggestions on the board as they are called out. Often a time limit is established, and after the time limit the whole group discusses the relative value of each suggestion and orders them. [31] The strategy is useful in promoting creative thinking. It might be used because:

1. The problem or instructional objective calls for creative and unusual solutions or discussions.
2., It promotes fantasy and the synthesis of ideas.
3. It is stimulating and enjoyable for many learners.
4. It provides a forum for nontraditional thinking processes.

The system described for categorizing instructional strategies is often helpful because it requires the teacher to consider the specific focus of the learning objectives, the channel, and the characteristics of particular strategies and their appropriateness for a given learning objective. Thus, at the very least, the system encourages variety of instructional strategies and an effort to consider and select strategies suited to instructional objectives.

It should be mentioned that several strategies are often beneficially combined to accomplish one or more instructional objectives. Varying strategies within the same lesson is useful in all classroom situations and essential when the learners have a short attention span.

Planning Step 5: Selecting Evaluation Procedures

Although we have included a lengthy discussion of evaluation procedures (for both teaching and learning) in Chapter 14, the point must be made here that, in actual practice, decisions about evaluation are appropriately made during the planning process, when the instructional objectives are fresh in the teacher's mind. Evaluation is an important part of teaching and the selection of evaluation procedures ought to be done when the other important decisions about instruction are made. Of course, these decisions are closely tied to the instructional goals and objectives selected. In fact, the whole issue of selecting evaluation procedures is equivalent to deciding how to determine the extent to which the learning objectives have been met.

IMPLEMENTATION

By calling the second component of the teaching task implementation rather than the interactive phase, we draw attention to the relationship between this component and planning. The implementation component is the plan in action. If planning was carefully executed, then teaching is largely a process of implementing the plan.

Implementation describes the time the teacher spends with learners in an effort to meet the instructional objectives. A common way to describe the teaching task in the classroom is to discuss the skills a teacher might use to instruct. [32] While that approach is far from a comprehensive description of classroom teaching, it does provide a framework to think and write about and discuss teaching. Martin classifies three types of implementational skills: structuring, soliciting, and reacting. [33] While there is not room to examine all

the skills that fall under these three general headings, a sampling of skills follows.

Structuring Skills

Martin describes structuring skills as the "interactive means by which a teacher organizes lesson activities and makes them meaningful for PUpilS.,,34 *Set induction is* an example of a structuring skill that includes the activities that prepare the learner for learning. Perrott discusses several, functions of set induction including: (1) focusing the learner's attention, (2) transitio n- from previously learned material to new material, and (3) making the lesson framework known to the learners. 35 Part of structuring skill, then, entails keeping learners informed about what they will know after the learning experience and helping learners to recognize what they have learned and how it fits in with what they previously knew. These latter skills are sometimes called linking and closure, respectively. Research evidence supports the notion of keeping learners aware of the lesson's structure .36 Teachers can rather easily incorporate these structuring tactics into their style, and the evidence suggests it would be beneficial to do so.

Soliciting Skills

'-'Soliciting skills" is the term used by Martin to describe "the provision of opportunities for pupil involvement or activity. -37 Soliciting skills, for the most part, refer to questioning. As Jacobsen notes, "Questioning is of vital concern because it is one aspect of verbal interaction which is the most common and, therefore, the most critical form of interaction between teachers and students."38 Learning to question is undoubtedly an important part of learning to teach.

However, questioning is complicated by the fact that the wording of questions elicits a certain kind of response. That is, the instructor's presentation of -the question essentially determines the level of response-whether a mere factual one or some more cognitively complex response such as synthesis. In preparing and asking questions, it is important for teachers to have in mind Bloom's taxonomy of the cognitive domain. Questions eliciting knowledge responses are fine, but it is likely that the higher cognitive levels (comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation) should be probed as well.

For example, Martin mentions a soliciting skill he calls conceptual questions~-that is, questions requiring the cognitive manipulation of several facts to produce an answer:

> Manipulation may include noting similarities and differences, breaking a whole into component parts, forming a whole from parts,, describing the application of a
> general principle to a specific situation, and so on."

Questions of this type are more likely to require higher-order cognitive activity than, for example, questions that call for a factual response.

A great deal has been written on the subject of questioning, and we have

only hinted at its complexity and importance for successful teaching. There is no doubt that questioning endures as one of the most important skills a teacher can master.

Reacting Skills

Reacting skills refer to teacher efforts to provide feedback or instructional response to learner activity.40 Two skills of this type are *informational feedback* and *incorporating learner response*. Informational feedback simply means letting a learner know how accurate and complete a response was. Incorporating learner response, of course, refers to making use of a learner's ideas in subsequent discussion and questioning. Both of these skills are important for motivating learners, keeping the lesson on track, and making the learners a vital part of the lesson.

All three categories of instructional skills discussed here briefly are vital to effective teaching. All three can be learned or improved by every teacher. Being aware of the existence of these different skills is a first step in improving the implementation of the instructional plan.

EVALUATION

The final component of the teaching task is evaluation. In Chapter 14 of this book we discuss the evaluation of teaching and learning under the heading of classroom performance outcomes and their measurement. In cases where planning was adequate and detailed, evaluation takes on a very specific function: its purpose is to let the learner and teacher know whether or not the instructional objectives have been met and, if not, where remediation or review is necessary. Evaluation is perhaps as much an indicator of the success of teaching as it is of learning. Evaluation is feedback. Change is possiblewithout it; improvement is not likely without it. For the specifics of evaluation, we refer the reader to Chapter 14.

SUMMARY

The teaching task was defined in terms of a general model with three components:~ planning, implementation, and evaluation. In light of the purpose of this book, the planning component was emphasized. Instructional planning incorporates five stages: deciding instructional goals, diagnosing learners, specifying instructional objectives, selecting instructional strategies, and selecting evaluation procedures. The implementation component was discussed in terms of three vital instructional skills: structuring skills, soliciting skills, and evaluation skills. Last, the evaluation component was mentioned as a vehicle for feedback concerning the success of both learning and instruction. A more comprehensive discussion of evaluation iscontained in Chapter 14. The key elements of the teaching task are summarized in Figure 13.9.

Planning
- **Deciding instructional goals**
- **Diagnosing learners**
- **Specifying instructional objectives**
- **Selecting instructional strategies**
- **Selecting evaluation procedures**

Implementation
- **Structuring skills**
- **Soliciting skills**
- **Evaluation skills**

Evaluation

Figure 13.9 Key Elements of the Teaching Task

With the end of Chapter 13, "The Teaching Task," we conclude our discussion of the five components of the classroom social system: teacher, student, classroom climate, formal classroom arrangements, and the teaching task. You will recall from an earlier discussion (Chapter 2) that the classroom performance model is used to examine the relationships among these five components or ten pairs of mutual relationships:

teacher ↔ climate
student ↔ climate
teacher ↔ task
student ↔ task
student ↔ teacher
task ↔ climate
task ↔ formal classroom arrangements
teacher ↔ formal classroom arrangements
student ↔ formal classroom arrangements
formal classroom arrangements ↔ climate

A major thesis of this discussion is that classroom performance is most effective when all the component pieces fit together or, stated differently, when all ten pairs of components are congruent. After taking up the issue of performance measurement in, Chapter 14, we will apply the classroom performance model to a school situation in Chapter 15.

NOTES

1. David G. Armstrong, Jon J. Denton, and Tom V. Savage, Jr., *Instructional Skills Handbook* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Educational Technology Publications, 1978).
2. David Jacobsen, Paul Eggen, Donald Kauchak, and Carole Dulaney, *Methods for, Teaching. A Skills Approach,* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1981).
3. Jack Martin, *Mastering Instruction,* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1983).
4. Elizabeth Perrotf, *Effective Teaching. A Practical Guide to Improving Your Teaching,* (New York: Longman, 1982).

5. Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 30.
6. ~See Armstrong, *op. cit.,* and Martin, op. *cit.*
7. Martin, op. *cit.,* pp. 35 ff.
8. Perrott, *op. cit.,* p. 12.
9. Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 36.
10. *Ibid.,* pp. 35 ff.
11. *Ibid.,* p. 36.
12. *Ibid.,* pp. 36-37.
13. *Ibid.,* pp. 40-41.
14. *Ibid.,* pp. 41 ff.
15. Armstrong, *op. cit.,* pp. 52 ff.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 53.
17. *Ibid.,* p. 91.
18. Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 44.
19. Armstrong, *op. cit.,* p. 46.
20. Jacobsen, *op. cit.,* p. 59.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 58; Armstrong, op. *cit.,* p. 28; Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 46.
22. Based on Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 48.
23. *Ibid.,* p. 44.
24. Armstrong, *op. cit.,* p. 98.
25. *ibid.,* pp. 97 ff.
26. *Ibid.,* p. 98.
27. *Ibid.,* p. 99.
28. *Ibid.,* pp. 100-133.
29. Hilda Taba, Mary C. Durkin, Jack R. Fraenkel, and Anthony H. McNaughton, *A Teacher's Handbook to Elementary Social Studies: An Inductive Approach,* 2d ed. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1971).
30. Armstrong, *op. cit.,* p. 119.
31. *Ibid.,* pp. 126-127.
32. Perrott, op. *cit.,* p. 7; Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 64.
33. Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 63.
34. *Ibid.,* p. 64.
35. Perrott, *op. cit.,* p. 22.
36. N. L. Gage and D. C. Berliner, *Educational Psychology* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975).
37. Martin, *op. cit.,* p. 63.
38. Jacobsen, *op. cit.,* p. 176.
39. Martin, op. *cit.,* p. 68.
40. *Ibid.,* p. 63.

CHAPTER 14

Classroom Performance Outcomes and Their Measurement

In this chapter, we take up the issue of performance outputs and their measurement. There are a number of reasons why the importance of these measures and the data they produce cannot be overemphasized. There is evidence that people seek feedback about their performance because it helps them to evaluate their performance and development.' Performance'information can challenge, revitalize, and stimulate change. Without performance feedback, individuals, as well as whole organizations, lose their bearings and their perceptions become distorted. In addition to these general needs for performance data, the supervisory process outlined in this book uses these data to spotlight the problems that activate classroom performance analysis.

Performance output information is vital to effective classroom functioning. Because of the uncertainty and unpredictability of the classroom, students, and especially teachers, consciously and unconsciously seek to standardize activity and relationships. While some standardization is necessary for good order, much of it simply produces boredom and disinterest and stifles creativity and enthusiasm. If the tendency toward routinization goes unchecked and unevaluated, ineffectiveness is inevitable. The performance outputs discussed here serve to stimulate thinking about the classroom by providing feedback about teaching, individual learners, and the class as a whole. -

Sometimes the prospect of being confronted with classroom performance data is frightening to teachers. Most often these fears are an outgrowth of previous experiences with arbitrary judgments recorded on a checksheet during a one-shot administrative visit., In contrast, the data collection done as part of this supervisory process is specific, simple, and of mutual interest to teacher and supervisor. As Good and Brophy found, "When teachers were presented with specific information about their behavior that both intrigued and both-

-2

ered them, they wanted to change their behavior. These data are relevant for the study of classroom behavior, not for judging the adequacy of the teacher.

AN OVERVIEW OF PROBLEM ANALYSIS

As we mentioned in an earlier chapter, the specific purpose of collecting performance output data is to enable, the teacher and supervisor to identify problems. By problems we simply mean discrepancies between the behavior expected by the teacher-supervisor team and what the data reveal. Thus, "problem" as used here often refers to an opportunity. The problem provides the focus, the goal, and the starting point for the supervisory process.

We have defined a problem (opportunity) as a discrepancy between expected and actual performance. The mechanics for identifying discrepancies are necessarily somewhat flexible. Ideally, the teacher and supervisor can identify their expectations rather precisely prior to collecting performance output data. For example, if a teacher and class appear to be average in every way, it might be expected that students would perform on a par with national averages on a standardized mathematics test. Lower-than-average performance by the class would result in a discrepancy between expected and actual performance. Of course, such data would have to be studied to make certain the lower class average was not an artifact of a few low-scoring individuals; that situation would represent quite a different problem than a low-scoring class. In the case just outlined, however, the ideal process would work well.

In Figure 14.1, the general and ideal process (data-collection and problem-identification phases of the diagnostic cycle) is expanded for clarification.

In Step 1, the teacher and supervisor meet to select some performance outputs for investigation. Selection from among the three types of performance output (teacher, individual student, class) is based on mutual discussions about what data might reveal problems (opportunities) related to classroom effectiveness.

Steps 2, 3, and 4, while logically distinct and ordered, are in fact interdependent and may require simultaneous consideration. In most instances, the identification of the performance output expectation depends on the data-collection mechanism. For example, we might expect a class to perform with the national average in mathematics, but we cannot-know what the national average is until we select a measure. So, too, some adjustment of the expectation is probably in order given the mix of the teacher (e.g., first-year versus experienced), the class (e.g., suburban versus inner city), the individual student (e.g., socioeconomic background), and the measures themselves (e.g., culture-biased versus culture-free). These adjustments might be made after determining the performance levels and selecting measures, or they might have an influence on the selection of the measure(s).

Data collection is next (Step 5). It is also characterized by a great deal of flexibility in terms of who, how, and when. Individual student performance output data might be collected by the teacher, the supervisor, or both. It might be collected during-a single class or it might be longitudinal-that is, be collected periodically over an extended time. It might be collected with a camera, a computer, a pen and paper, a test, a tape recorder, and so on. Anthropologists believe they come closer to understanding a culture when they

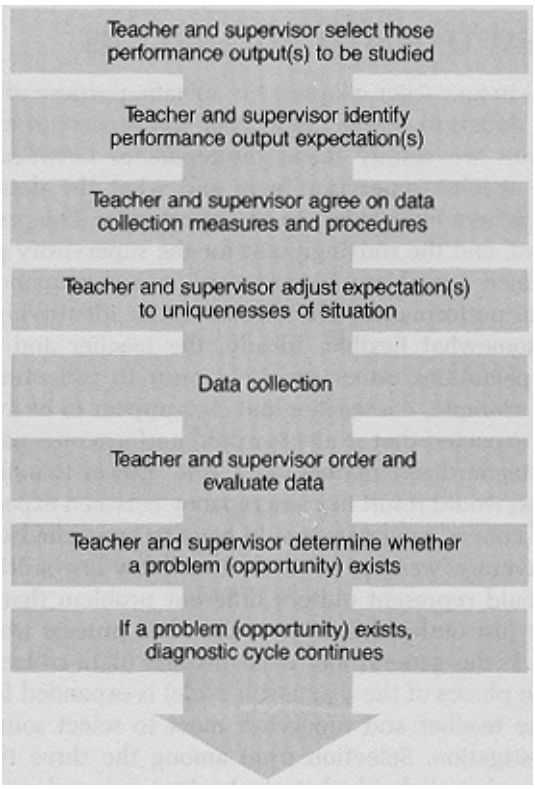


Figure 14.1 Ideal Process for Identifying Problems

use a variety of data sources. An accurate understanding of performance outputs probably benefits from the same wisdom.

Step 6 is very important, partly because of the temptation to speculate wildly about newly collected data. In most cases it seems reasonable that teacher and supervisor take the raw data and independently try to make sense of them. Reflection and time may yield valuable and complementary insights about the performance data. Eventually teacher and supervisol come together to order and evaluate the data. At the same time, they determine whether or not problems or opportunities exist. If either or both exist, the diagnostic cycle continues. The entire cycle of the supervisory process is described in Chapter 3.

We have discussed a somewhat ideal process in which the expected output performance level was capable of being measured and stated as a specific quantity. That is not always the case. For example, a teacher and supervisor might decide to investigate teacher behavior outputs like smiles or displays of acceptance. Such notions are decidedly more vague than student mathematics performance, and deciding expected performance output levels is proportion

ately more difficult. Despite the elusiveness of such outputs, a teacher and supervisor might, for example, view videotapes of the teacher and mutually conclude whether their expectations for teacher smiles have been met or not. Thus, even when expected performance output levels are not easily determined in advance, teacher and supervisor can evaluate whether or not what is observed is acceptable to them. Although far from the ideal process discussed earlier, this process might very well serve as a springboard to continue the diagnostic cycle.

MEASURING PERFORMANCE OUTPUTS

What follows is a discussion about classroom performance measures and a selection of actual methods and instruments for collecting performance output data. Each of the three sets of classroom outputs (teacher performance, student performance, and class performance) will be discussed separately.

Some words of caution are in order before the discussion proceeds. No single measure of performance output should be relied upon to provide ultimately reliable data. It is best to investigate performance outputs with several measures, preferably different kinds of measures.

Engaging in the study and improvement of teaching and, the classroom system is a process that involves a balance between collecting scientifically accurate data while maintaining the enthusiasm and motivation of the teacher and supervisor. Especially in the beginning, gome degree of accomplishment and success in the process is important. For that reason, the measures and methods for collecting performance output data suggested in this chapter have been chosen for their simplicity, immediate usefulness, and interpretability.

MEASURING TEACHER PERFORMANCE

Before suggesting appropriate measures, it must be determined what performance outputs of teaching are to be examined. Research has provided some evidence about teacher behaviors that are associated with effective teaching, and we take the position that such evidence is useful. However, because of the complexity of teaching and the incomplete nature of research on teaching, the objective of this chapter is not to present a list of teaching behaviors that describe the effective teacher. Rather, a synthesis of research and a discussion of selected researched behaviors are presented as a set of concepts to provide focus for observing, analyzing, planning, and changing teacher performance.

In the search for significant teacher performance outputs, the names of researchers like Ryans, Gage, Flanders, and Rosenshine and Furst, stand out. [3] These scholars, and others, have produced lists of characteristic behaviors of effective teachers based on their own research and syntheses of previous research. Notice that none of the approaches is identical (see Table 14.1).

There do, however, appear to be two common themes running through the

Table 14.1 **Characteristics of Effective Teachers**

Ryans, 1960	Teacher warmth
	Teacher is organized and businesslike
	Teacher is stimulating and imaginative
Gage,1968	Warmth
	Guided discovery or indirect method
	Cognitive organization
Flanders, 1970	Teacher asks questions
	Teacher accepts student feelings
	Teacher acknowledges student ideas
	Teacher praises and encourages students
Rosenshine and Furst, 1971	Teacher is enthusiastic
	Teacher is businesslike and task-oriented
	Teacher is clear when presenting instructional content
	Teacher uses a variety of instructional materials and procedures
	Teacher provides opportunities for students to learn the instructional content

lists. They parallel ideas emphasized by Amitai Etzioni that any collectivity (such as a classroom) must meet two basic sets of needs: (1) the mobilization of resources to achieve the task and (2) the social and normative integration of group members. The former needs of a collectivity are called *instrumental* and the latter, *expressive.* [4] The researched effective-teacher behaviors. fall rather neatly into the instrumental and expressive categories (see Table 14.2).

Although some of the categorization is arbitrary, it is clear that two dimensions of teacher behavior persist simultaneously in reputable analyses of effective teaching: the instrumental and expressive dimensions. It seems reasonable that teachers and supervisors concerned with improving teacher effectiveness might focus on both dimensions as integral. In Rosenshine's words, "For both academic engagement and gain in achievement it is best to be moderate to high on both academic emphasis and affective focus."5 He further notes that of the two dimensions, the instrumental is the more crucial.

Instrumental Dimension of Effective Teacher Behavior

After reviewing the research on basic skills of students ages six through ten, Rosenshine pointed to five variables that are usually associated with engaged minutes and achievement gain. These variables seem to provide a reasonable focus for our detailed discussion of the instrumental dimension. They constitute a pattern of instructional variables that Rosenshine calls direct instruction:

> Direct instruction refers to academically focused, teacher-directed classrooms using sequenced and structured materials. It refers to teaching activities where

Table 14.2 **Instrumental and Expressive Characteristics of Effective Teachers**

Researcher	Instrumental	Expressive
Ryans, 1960		Warmth
	Organized and businesslike	Stimulating and imaginative
Gage, 1968	Guided discovery	Warmth
	Cognitive organization	
Flanders, 1970	Asks questions	Accepts student feelings
		Acknowledges student ideas
		Praises and encourages
Rosenshine and Furst, 1971		Enthusiastic
	Businesslike and task-oriented	
	Clear when presenting content	
		Variety of instructional materials and procedures
	Provides opportunities for students to learn content	

goals are clear to students, time allocated for instruction is sufficient and contin uous, coverage of content is extensive, the performance of s tudents is monitored, questions are at a low cognitive level so that students can produce many correct responses, and feedback to students is immediate and academically oriented. In di rect instruction the teacher controls instructional goals, chooses materials appro priate for the student's ability, and paces the instructional episode. Interaction is characterized as structured, but not authoritarian. Learning takes place in a con vivial academic atmosphere. The goal is to move the student through a sequenced set of materials or tasks. [6]

Although each variable is not exclusively a teacher behavior, each variable does have implications for teacher performance.

The first of Rosenshine's five variables constituting direct instruction is aca*demic focus,* referring to time spent on activity directly related to academic activities. Rosenshine cites a great deal of recent evidence for the close link between academic focus and student achievement. [7] Academic focus may conjure up unpleasant images of the authoritarian classroom. However, the evidence cited by Rosenshine indicates "that there is no need for teachers to be demeaning in order for their classes to be high in academically engaged time. Decent, humane, genuine interactions occur in many classrooms that are highly structured and teacher directed."S

Rosenshine's second variable, *direction of activities,* refers to the teacher's role as a strong leader who directs student activity, approaches the content in

Table 14.3 Instrumental Teacher Behavior

1. Academic focus
2. Direction of activities
3. Grouping students for learning
4. Verbal interaction
5. Major classroom activities

a direct and businesslike way, organizes learning around teacher-posed questions, and remains the center of attention.9 Again, a great deal of research supports the relationship between this kind of teacher behavior and student achievement.10 It should be noted that it is likely that the need for highly structured direction of activity by the teacher decreases as the maturity of the student increases.

The third variable, *grouping students for learning,* refers to the variety of configurations of students that may be used in a classroom situation. The research on grouping indicates that when students are working alone, they spend less time-on-task and more time on transitional activity. It appears that when teachers work with a few children at a time, they are unable to supervise the remaining children, who, as a result, spend less time academically engaged."

Verbal interaction focuses mostly on questioning activity of the teacher. Although for years teachers have been urged to ask questions at the higher levels of Bloom's cognitive taxonomy, recent evidence does not support these exhortations. Rather, there is some evidence that single-answer factual questions are more functional, and that this is particularly true for basic skill subject areas, lower grade levels, and lower socioeconomic children. Rosenshine notes that many of the questions regarded as higher-level are actually personal or opinion questions. These have been found by Brophy and Evertson to be negatively associated with achievement. [12]

The last of the five variables included in direct instruction is *major classroom activities.* Today's students spend a great deal of their time in seatwork, working alone. Generally, on-task time is substantially lower for students doing seatwork than when students are working with a teacher. There is not a great deal of research to tell us how to increase on-task time or the optimal amount of individual seatwork.13 Teachers and supervisors must recognize the tendency for seatwork to produce less academically engaged time, and the need to work to improve or compensate for this situation.

Expressive Dimension of Effective Teacher Behavior

The instrumental dimension, concerned with mobilization to achieve the task, was operationalized for analysis of classroom behavior as direct instruction. Clearly, the five variables that constitute direct instruction are not the only concepts that could be used to examine instrumental teacher behavior, but they do provide a concrete focus, a place to begin.

To operationalize the expressive dimension we again turn to the work of Barak Rosenshine, who in 1970 reviewed research on enthusiastic teaching and

its relationship to student achievement. Briefly, he noted that the research provides some evidence that teacher behaviors rated as animated, enthusiastic, stimulating, energetic, and mobile were related to student achievement. [14] In addition, the frequency of eye contact, voice fluctuation, movement, and gesture were related to student achievement. Thus, enthusiasm might be considered an important behavioral characteristic and one directed toward the social and normative integration of the classroom social system (expressive).

Table **14.4 Expressive Teaching Behavior**

1. Enthusiasm
2. Warmth

A second expressive behavior is discussed by Gage in his important paper "Can Science Contribute to the Art of Teaching?" He indicates that successful teachers .

> tend to behave approvingly, acceptantly, and supportively; they tend to speak well of their own pupils, pupils in general, and people in general. They tend to like and trust rather than fear other people of all kinds.... Although any single term is inadequate, it seems safe to use the term "warmth." Teacher warmth, operationally defined as indicated above, seems-on the basis of abundant and varied research evidence-to be quite defensible as a desirable characteristic of teachers. [15]

These two variables, enthusiasm and warmth, appear frequently in the literature on effective teaching and are reasonable foci for teacher-supervisor analyses of the expressive dimension.

The next step is to find measures of instrumental and expressive performance outputs so, that teacher and supervisor can collect data for analysis and planning change. Although we have discussed a very limited number of performance outputs, many more exist. Likewise, although there may be many ways to collect information about the behavior of teachers in classrooms, we will introduce only a few---ones we believe are useful measures of the behaviors we have discussed.

Measuring Instrumental Performance Outputs

Most of the data-gathering techniques we will discuss are simple, straightfor ward, require little or no training or practice, and can easily be analyzed and discussed by teacher and supervisor. The ' instrumental outputs will be dis cussed one at a time, in the order they were introduced earlier.

Academic Focus. We noted that academic focus refers to the time spent on activity directly related to academic activities. A number of very simple techniques can be used, with varying degrees of precision, to collect information .about the academic-focus behaviors of the teacher or the effects of those behaviors on students.

From the perspective of the teacher, a simple monitoring of what the teacher is doing every minute of the class period would be an indicator of academic focus. It might be stated as a percentage of total time available, as, for example, a teacher's behavior might be described as academically focused 65 percent of the time. The rest of the time was used in keeping order, housekeeping, etc. Electronic transcription (audio or audio-video) might be used to record teacher behavior. Or the supervisor might use a stopwatch to time academically-engaged time.

Another technique, and probably a more useful one, would be for the supervisor to record the behavior of the teacher at short intervals, say, every fifteen seconds. In reviewing this record of what the teacher was doing throughout the class period, teacher and supervisor can quite accurately determine how much academically-focused time there was and also identify trends of teacher behavior that interfere with or distract from academic focus.

Perhaps the most interesting and useful technique is one that focuses on how children are actually spe ' nding their time. Often a description of teacher behavior alone is misleading, particularly when the teacher works with small groups. Acheson and Gall discuss a seating chart observation record called "at task," which is very simple and useful for recording how students are using their time. The supervisor:

1. Stations him/herself in a section of the room where he/she is able to observe all students.
2. Constructs a chart that resembles a seating pattern of the students in the room that day.
3. Indicates on the chart the sex and some other identifying characteristic of each student. The latter is necessary when the students are not known to the supervisor.
4. Creates a legend to represent at-task behavior and each type of inappropriate behavior observed. A typical legend might be: A, At task; B, Stalling; C, Other schoolwork than that requested by the teacher; D, out of seat; E, Talking to neighbors.
5. Systematically examines the behavior of each student for a few seconds in order to determine whether the student is at task, that is, doing what the teacher considers appropriate. If so, indicates this by marking a 1A in the box on the seating chart meant to represent the student....
6. Repeats step 5 at three- or four-minute intervals for the duration of the lesson using the same letter legend to indicate observed behavior but changing the number to indicate the sequence of observations. For example, 3A in a box indicates that the student was at task during the supervisor's third observation.
7. Indicates time of each set of observations. This is marked somewhere on the [16] chart. . . .

Figure 14.2 is a sample data-collection record. Although the sample is abbreviated (only six students are included), the detail and simplicity of the system are clearly demonstrated. From this record, a tally sheet can be constructed as an overview of the class period. [17] A careful analysis of line A (at task) in Figure 14.3 will allow teacher and supervisor to spot problems, particularly if the percentage of time-on-task does not meet their expectations. This technique

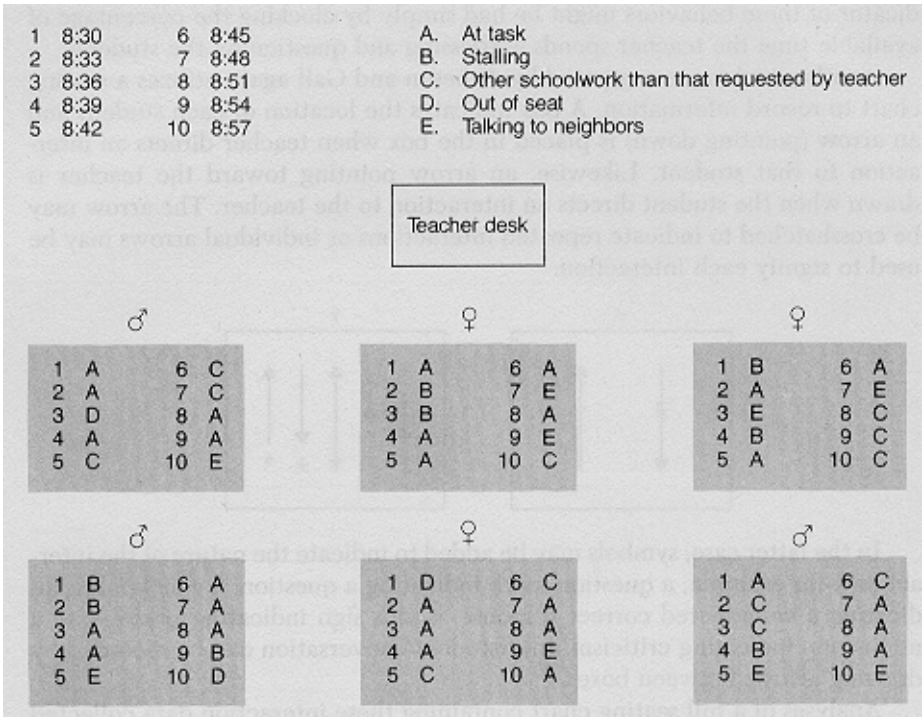


Figure 14.2

SOURCE: Adapted from Keith A. Acheson and Meredith Damien Gall, *Techniques in the Clinical Supervision of Teachers* (New York: Longman, 1980), p. 109. Copyright @ 1980 Longman, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.

		8:30	8:33	8:36	8:39	8:42	8:45	8:48	8:51	8:54	8:57	Total	%
BEHAVIOR	A	3	3	2	4	2	3	3	5	2	1	28	47
	B	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	13
	C	0	1	1	0	2	3	1	1	1	2	12	20
	D	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	5
	E	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	9	15

Figure 14.3

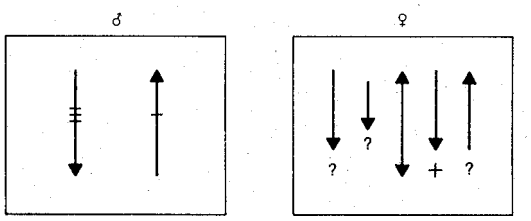
SOURCE: Adapted from Keith A. Acheson and Meredith Damien Gall ' Techniques *in the Clinical Supervision of Teachers* (New York: Longman, 1980), p. 110. Copyright @ 1980 Longman, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.

allows the information about student behavior to be displayed in an attractive way, one sure to provoke thought and discussion between the teacher and supervisor.

Direction of Activities. This variable refers to behaviors that keep the learning activity directed, focused, and organized by the teacher. A very crude in

dicator of these behaviors might be had simply by clocking the percentage of available time the teacher spends addressing and questioning the students.

Another technique suggested by Acheson and Gall again utilizes a seating chart to record information. A box indicates the location of each student and an arrow (pointing down) is placed in the box when teacher directs an interaction to that student. Likewise, an arrow pointing toward the teacher is drawn when the student directs an interaction to the teacher. The arrow may be crosshatched to indicate repeated interactions or individual arrows may be used to signify each interaction.



In the latter case, symbols may be added to indicate the nature of the interaction-for example, a question mark indicating a question, a check mark indicating a volunteered correct response, a plus sign indicating praise, and a minus sign indicating criticism. Interstudent conversation can be recorded by drawing arrows between boxes. [18]

Analyses of a full seating chart containing these interaction data collected by the supervisor can indicate behavioral patterns relevant to teacher direction of activity. It might be clear, for example, that the teacher directs only a limited number of students while many are virtually ignored. It might be learned that the teacher has a tendency to interact with girls, and boys can expect not to be called on to participate or volunteer.

Included in the notion of direction of activities is also the concept of being businesslike. We have no instrument or technique to suggest for monitoring this; however, teacher and supervisor can study audiotapes of class periods to determine if this quality needs to be emphasized. Examining transitions should be the best indicator. How long are transitions from one activity to another? Are instructions to students during transitions clear and brief.? Are the instructions understood without requests for clarifications? Are student regimens un-' derstood by all so that milling and confusion are minimal? What percentage of the students settles to the task immediately after transition? Being businesslike is a variable that abundant research associates with effective teaching-learning.

Grouping Students for Learning. Grouping for learning has to do with Rosenshine's assertion that children "spend more time off-task and in transition when they are working alone."19 The technique for studying this variable simply consists of recording the amount of time children spend working alone. Decisions about whether the resulting data show children spend too much or too little time working alone would then have to be made by teacher and supervisor, keeping in mind Rosenshine's claim that too much

time working alone is negatively related to learning, particularly for younger children.

Verbal Interaction. This variable focuses on the factual-question-student-response-teacher-feedback pattern that research indicates is an effective teacher behavior, more so with younger students and those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. One useful technique for looking at this variable is the Flanders Interaction Analysis System. [20] (See Table 14.5.) The Flanders system involves categorization of teacher behavior using a ten-category scheme. Although a thorough understanding of the Flanders system is certainly a desirable goal for supervisors and teachers, a simplified use of the categories can provide information about verbal interaction as understood here. The effective teaching pattern described above might be translated into a Flanders category sequence of 4-8-3. Category 4, "asks questions," is used to indicate behavior

Table 14.5 **Flanders's Categories for Interaction Analysis**

TEACHER TALK	INDIRECT INFLUENCE	1.* Accepts feeling: accepts and clarifies the feeling tone of the students in a nonthreatening manner. Feelings may be positive or negative. Predicting or recalling feelings is included. 2.* Praises or encourages: praises or encourages student action or behavior. Jokes that release tension, not at the expense of another individual, nodding head or saying, "um hm?" or "go on" are included. 3.* Accepts or uses ideas of student: clarifying, building, or developing ideas suggested by a student. As teacher brings more of his own ideas into play, shift to category five.
	DIRECT INFLUENCE	4.* Asks questions: asking a question about content or procedure with the intent that a student answer. 5.* Lecturing: giving facts or opinions about content or procedure; expressing his own ideas, asking rhetorical questions. 6.* Giving directions: directions, commands, or orders to which a student is expected to comply. 7.* Criticizing or justifying authority: statements intended to change student behavior from nonacceptable to acceptable pattern; bawling someone out; stating why the teacher is doing what he is doing; extreme self-reference.
STUDENT TALK		8.* Student talk—response: talk by students in response to teacher. Teacher initiates the contact or solicits student statement. 9.* Student talk—initiation: talk by students which they initiate. If "calling on" student is only to indicate who may talk next, observer must decide whether student wanted to talk. If he did, use this category.
		10.* Silence or confusion: pauses, short periods of silence and periods of confusion in which communication cannot be understood by the observer.

*There is NO scale implied by these numbers. Each number is classificatory, it designates a particular kind of communication event. To write these numbers down during observation is to enumerate, not to judge a position on a scale. [21]

defined as: "Asking a question about content or procedure, based on teacher ideas, with the intent that a pupil will answer. [22] The 8 stands for "pupiltalk-response" and is defined as "Talk by pupils in response to teacher. Teacher initiates the contact or solicits pupils in response to teacher. Teacher initiates the contact or solicits pupil statement or structures the situation. Freedom to express own ideas is limited. [23] The 3 in the sequence, "Accepts or uses ideas of student," is defined as "Clarifying, building, or developing ideas suggested by a pupil. Teacher extension of pupil ideas are included.... The frequency of this kind of interaction sequence would be a useful indicator of the verbal interaction variable under consideration. The more frequent a 4-8-3 pattern, Rosenshine's research suggests, the more effective the teaching." [24]

A second technique for examining verbal interaction, one that requires no training, is called selective verbatim. [25] The supervisor simply records verbatim the questions the teacher asks during a lesson or lesson segment. Both the frequency and cognitive level of teacher questions can be examined to see if they are appropriate for the particular class and grade level. Teacher reinforcement statements and praise and criticism of students can also be recorded and examined by teacher and supervisor.

Major Classroom Activity. Of the major classroom activities (studentteacher verbal interaction, seatwork or self-paced activity, group work without teacher, etc.), a large block of time may be spent by students doing seatwork alone. The concern of teacher and supervisor is finding the balance of classroom activity that is most effective for a particular class and grade level. Also of concern is finding ways to improve academic engagement--only 65 percent when students are working alone. [26]

The at-task technique mentioned earlier is certainly one way of recording information about major classroom activity. Of course, the supervisor could simply focus on students doing seatwork and approximate their academicallyengaged time.

Measuring Expressive Performance Outputs

Enthusiasm. In his review of enthusiastic teaching, Rosenshine suggests that these teacher behaviors are characteristic of enthusiastic teaching:

Teacher requests interpretation.
2. Teacher requests opinions.
3. Teacher requests facts.
4. Teacher praises frequently.
5. Teacher makes gestures.
6. Teacher is a rapid speaker.
7. Teacher moves about in the classroom.
8. Teacher asks varied questions.
9. Teacher makes eye contact.
10. Teacher raises and lowers vocal inflection. [21]

Many of these behaviors can simply be counted by the supervisor during a class period; however, slightly more elaborate data-collecting procedures are available for some. Clearly, aspects of enthusiasm can be studied generally (and specifically) through the use of audio- or audio-visual tapes. In fact, electronic transcription is a very useful way to examine enthusiasm since no data are lost in making the record. However, such techniques do not provide much focus and can result in the intimidating conclusion that a teacher is simply not enthusiastic. More focused techniques allow the teacher and supervisor to concentrate on one aspect of enthusiasm at a time and consequently design a limited and manageable plan for change.

For example, the teacher's physical movement in the classroom can be monitored carefully by an observer recording movement patterns on a seating chart. Such data might demonstrate to a teacher that he or she moves infrequently and that when movement does occur, it is always toward the same side of the classroom. The supervisor might notice that the teacher always moves toward a student speaker, causing the student speaker to lower his or her voice and thus depriving the rest of the class from hearing what is going on.

" Teacher raises and lowers vocal inflection" can be examined through audio recordings that are then listened to by the teacher and supervisor in order to make judgments about the adequacy and variety of the teacher's vocal inflection.

Often the discovery that one's teaching lacks observable enthusiasm can be responded to by a plan involving gesture, voice pitch and volume modulation, and movement. Any of the behaviors constituting enthusiasm can be monitored by an observer or electronic transcription, and improvements can be built into th6 teacher's method and lesson plan. For a teacher just to discover that his or her teaching is less enthusiastic than it, might be, however, is not sufficient. A plan of action, focusing on specific behaviors and including a system bf self-monitored progress, is necessary for enduring instructional improvements.

Warmth. In his review of research, Gage found that teacher warmth was consistently related to student achievement. [28] Mohan elaborates on some of the behaviors constituting warmth; they are:

1. Teacher accepts the feeling tone of the students in a non-threatening manner.
2. Teacher clarifies the feeling tone of the students in a non-threatening manner.
3. Teacher praises student action or behavior.
4. Teacher encourages student action or behavior.
5. Teacher jokes to release tension.
6. Teacher turns minor disciplinary situations into jokes.
7. Teacher believes most pupils possess productive imagination.
8. Teacher believes most pupils are resourceful.
9. Teacher believes that students can behave themselves without constant supervision.

10. Teacher, believes that most students are considerate of her wishes.
11. Teacher believes that her colleagues are willing to assume their share of the unpleasant tasks. 2.9

Of all the teacher behaviors discussed, warmth is perhaps the least tangible and most difficult to collect data about. The first three categories of the Flanders Interaction Analysis (accepts feelings, praises or encourages, accepts or uses ideas of students) give some idea of teacher warmth. But perhaps the most useful technique would be the selective verbatim approach, in which the observer makes a verbatim transcript of verbal events that are indicative of warmth. As a result of such a transcript, a teacher and supervisormight decide that warmth is not exhibited often enough or is not shown to certain students.

To summarize, we first identified teacher behaviors that researchassociates with effective teaching. Next we suggested some ways to collect focused information on individual teacher performance with regard to those behaviors. Quite obviously these are not the only performance outputs of teaching, yet they are particularly important because they have a demonstrated relationship with effective teaching and learning. Equally obvious is the fact that other' measures could be used to examine teachers' performance outputs. However, as mentioned earlier, these particular measures are easily used and understood. As the teacher and supervisor become more experienced in classroom analysis, they may well elect more precise and sophisticated measures and procedures.

MEASURING INDIVIDUAL STUDENT PERFORMANCE

just which student performance outputs are educationally relevant is a question surrounded by less controversy than which teacher outputs are relevant. Most educators would agree that the primary educational outcomes schools must be concerned with are cognitive and affective. Both of these dimensions will be discussed at length.

Cognitive Performance Output

It would be difficult to discuss cognitive performance of students without making reference to Bloom's Taxonomy of the Cognitive Domain.30 Lindvall and Nitko's outline of Bloom's taxonomy is reproduced in Table 14.6 for your reference. 31

As Tuckman notes, Bloom's taxonomy can be useful in determining the cognitive skills of students. He continues:

> It can also help teachers gain more insight into their goals and into the relationship between their goals and instructional activities. Perhaps most importantly, the taxonomy enables teachers to better identify the level of their activities so that they can move to ever increasing levels of complexity. Rather than limiting objectives to the levels of knowledge and comprehension, teachers are encouraged by the taxonomy to extend instruction into application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. 32

Table 14.6 **Taxonomy of the Cognitive Domain**

1.00 Knowledge

1.10 Knowledge of Specifics.

1.11 Knowledge of Terminology. Knowledge of the referents for specific symbols (verbal and nonverbal).

1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts. Knowledge of dates, events, persons, places, etc.

1.20 Knowledge of Ways and Means of Dealing with Specifics.

1.21 Knowledge of Conventions. Knowledge of characteristic ways of treating and presenting ideas and phenomena.

1.22 Knowledge of Trends and Sequences. Knowledge of the processes, directions, and movements of phenomena with respect to time.

1.23 Knowledge of Classifications and Categories. Knowledge of the classes, sets, divisions, and arrangements that are regarded as fundamental for a given subject field, purpose, argument, or problem.

1.24 Knowledge of Criteria. Knowledge of the criteria by which facts, principles,. and conduct are tested or judged.

1.25 Knowledge of Methodology. Knowledge of the methods of inquiry, techniques, and procedures employed in a particular subject field as well as those employed in investigating particular problems and phenomena.

1.30 Knowledge of the Universals and Abstractions in a Field.

1.31 Knowledge of Principles and Generalizations. Knowledge of particular abstractions that summarize observations of phenomena.

1.32 Knowledge of Theories and Structures. Knowledge of the body of principles and generalizations together with their interrelations which present a clear, rounded, and systematic view of a complex phenomenon, problem, or field.

2.00 Comprehension

2.10 Translation. Comprehension as evidenced by the care and accuracy with which the communication is paraphrased or rendered from one language or form of communication to another.

2.20 Interpretation. The explanation or summarization of a communication.

2.30 Extrapolation. The extension of trends or tendencies beyond the given data to determine implications, consequences, corollaries, effects, etc., that are in accordance with the conditions described in the original communication.

3.00 Application. The use of abstractions in particular and concrete situations. The abstractions may be in the form of general ideas, rules of procedures, or generalized methods.

4.00 Analysis

4.10 Analysis of Elements. Identification of the elements included in a communication.

4.20 Analysis of Relationships. The connections and interactions between elements and parts of a communication.

4.30 Analysis of Organized Principles. The organization, systematic . arrangement, and structure that hold the communication together.

5.00 Synthesis

5.10 Production of a Unique Communication. The development of a communication in which the writer or speaker attempts to convey ideas, feelings, or experiences to others.

Table 14.6 **Continued**

5.20 Production of a Plan or Proposed Set of Operations. The development of a plan of work or the proposal of a plan of operations.

5.30 Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. The development of a set of abstract relations either to classify or to explain particular data or phenomena, or the deduction of propositions and relations from a set of basic propositions or symbolic representations.

6.00 Evaluation

6.10 judgments in Terms of Internal Evidence. Evaluation of the accuracy of a communication from such evidence as logical accuracy, consistency, and other internal criteria.

6.20 judgments in Terms of External Criteria. Evaluation of material with reference to selected or remembered criteria.

Although the cognitive domain is very important, we are faced with a problem in describing how cognitive outputs can be measured. We agree with Madaus and his colleagues that "whatever construct is measured by tests of general intelligence, it is not congruent with the construct 'school achievement'; intelligence and ability tests do not tap specific, course-related student learning."33 Similarly, commercially prepared achievement tests are not valid measures of the cognitive performance of a particular learner from a particular classroom. Cognitive output performance can only be validly measured by a test that adequately taps the cognitive content to which a learner has been exposed. For all practical purposes, this fact disqualifies any kind of commercially prepared tests as valid measures of the cognitive performance of individual learners.

At least for the purposes of instructional improvement, if not for all practical purposes, teacher- and/or supervisor-constructed tests and observations are advocated as the only valid means of collecting data about the cognitive performance of individual learners. Only the classroom teacher can know the cognitive experiences to which an individual child has been exposed. Thus, only that same classroom teacher, perhaps in concert with the supervisor, can devise measures of cognitive output performance appropriate for that child and his or her instructional improvement.

By now it must be obvious how important a thorough knowledge of testing and test construction is, not only for teaching but also for the process of instructional improvement. If the collection of performance output information is defective or misleading, it can hardly be hoped that the cycle of activity stimulated by that information will be worthwhile. There. are a great number of books on the subject of testing, and every school professional library should contain several. If your knowledge of testing is scant, faded, or aged, it is important to give yourself a refresher course before attempting to construct teacher-supervisor-made tests to be used as measures of cognitive performance output.

Although our limitations of space and purpose make an adequate discussion of testing impossible, there are some things we would like to say about the relationship between Bloom's taxonomy and testing. First, testing for knowledge of specifics is important because without such a knowledge, it is improbable that individuals will develop abilities of greater cognitive complexity. However, if teachers and supervisors keep the taxonomy in mind, they are less likely to ",stall out" at the knowledge-of-specifics level, and the tests they construct are more likely to tap the higher taxonomic levels as well.

Performance on the first three levels of the taxonomy can be examined by means of objective-type tests, as well as several other procedures. Lindvall and Nitko describe these three levels:

> Knowledge involves recalling terms, facts, rules, and principles and other generalizations. Objectives in this category include the ability to name, list, state, describe, or define.
>
> Comprehension involves understanding a given content well enough to put it into other words, summarize it, or explain it. Objectives in this category include the ability to translate, give examples, illustrate, interpret, summarize, or explain.
>
> Application involves the use of rules, methods, procedures, principles, and other types of generalizations to produce or give reasons for certain consequences or to predict the result of some described situation. Objectives here would include the ability to solve, give reasons for, prove, put into practice, or predict. [34]

Testing for knowledge of specifics usually involves the use of completion, matching, multiple-choice, or unstructured short-answer formats. As most experienced teachers know, writing stimulating and significant objective test items that tap fairly the knowledge of specific content covered in a course is not easy. The usefulness of the test is greatly improved if it is constructed carefully by a teacher or supervisor who knows what good objective test items should do and look like.

In testing for comprehension, the second level of the taxonomy, it is useful to focus on two subcategories-translation and interpretation. 35 Testing translation performance often means asking the learner to change an expression from words to symbols, express something in different words than those given, or provide an example. The ability to translate can be measured by noting a learner's performance when asked to construct a translation of a communication or to identify a correct translation from several choices. 36

Testing for the other subcategory of comprehension, interpretation, requires learners to make "comparisons between or summaries of separate elements of a communication."37 Thus, learners might be presented with graphs, tables, or diagrams and be asked to make interpretations, or they might be given a paragraph and be asked to answer questions requiring them to relate

several ideas within the paragraph.

Testing the third level of the taxonomy, application, involves writing questions that ask a learner to apply given principles or procedures to produce, explain, or predict an outcome. 39 Requiring learners to identify an essential element or step, choose the principle that best explains something, or use principles to make a prediction about what will happen in a given set of

circumstances are all common ways of objectively testing application performance. [40]

Testing performance related to the higher taxonomic levels (analysis, synthesis, and evaluation) is more likely to require nonobjective procedures such as direct observation, essay tests, assignments, and so on. [41] It should be kept in mind that while performance on the lower taxonomic levels of the cognitive domain can also be examined with nonobjective tests, objective testing has some obvious advantages.

Although performance outputs at the higher levels are most often tested by means of essay tests, evaluating performance levels from essay answers is difficult. Scannell and Tracy provide some suggestions about preparing essay questions and evaluating essay answers that enhance their use in performance evaluation. [42] These suggestions in no way obviate the need for a thorough understanding of testing on the part of teachers and supervisors. Still, following these suggestions is likely to makeperformance evaluation based on essay tests
[43]
more reliable and valid. (See Table 14.7.)

In summary, we have noted Bloom's contention that the cognitive domain has several levels. It was also pointed out that in order to measure a student's cognitive performance validly, the measure must be teacher- or supervisorconstructed. Lower-level cognitive performance is often examined with objective measures, while bigher-level cognitive performance is often evaluated with essay-type tests. A thorough knowledge of testing is important for successfully measuring the cognitive performance output of students. Some of the sources mentioned in this discussion might serve as good background reading prior to examining cognitive performance outputs of individual students.

Affective Performance Output

To collect affective performance output for individual learners, either observational or self-report methods are possible. We are inclined to agree with Anderson, who argues:

Table 14.7 **Developing and Scoring Essay Tests**

Recommendations for Developing Essay Tests:

1. Follow a test plan in selecting topics for the test.
2. Carefully define the task presented in each question.
3. Use questions requiring brief answers and include as many questions as practical.
4. Do not use optional questions.
5. Allow examinees ample time to answer all questions.
6. Directions should be thorough and specific. Recommendations for Scoring Essay Tests:
1. Score papers one question at a time.
2. Minimize the opportunity to know who wrote the examination papers.
3. If several factors are to be graded, evaluate them separately.
4. Ignore errors in the mechanics of expression while assessing the quality and accuracy of the answer's substance.
5. Either have examinees start each answer on a fresh page or do not write scores on test papers until all the scoring is completed.
6. Shuffle test booklets after scoring each question.

> Within the context of the schools, self-report methods appear superior to observational methods for assessing affective characteristics. From a practical perspective, the difficulties associated with self-report methods are more easily overcome than are those associated with observational methods. From a theoretical perspective, it seems reasonable to assume that,people will express themselves more readily verbally than they will behaviorally. 44

Thus, the methods for collecting affective performance output contained in this chapter are primarily of the self-report kind.

What are affective characteristics? They can be defined as "the feelings and emotions which are characteristic of people, that is, qualities that represent people's typical ways of feeling or expressing emotion."45 Anderson,believes that at least two affective characteristics have relevance as ends of the schooling process: values and attitudes. 46 That is, while some affective characteristics have little connection with schooling, others (like values and attitudes) do, and consequently they ought to be monitored and evaluated along with cognitive performance and the dimensions of the classroom performance model.

Included i n~ this chapter is a sample of measures of the type we believe to be most appropriate for collecting individual affective performance output important for identifying problems. These instruments are not ideal for all age groups. Rather, they are a sample of instruments that are easy to score and interpret, and they are representative of the values and attitudes that ought to be tapped in the evaluation of individual learners' affective performance. Included here are measures of self-esteem, anxiety, locus of control, and general feelings about school. Each is discussed briefly.

The Self-Esteem Inventory. The SEI has twenty-five items and, was devel-

47

oped for use with individuals above the age of eight . Copies are available from Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., 577 College Ave. (P.O. Box 60070), Palo Alto, California, 94306; however, the items listed below were taken from Robinson and Shaver. 48 In order to prevent possible misuse of tests by unqualified persons, Consulting Psychologists Press,,does not permit the publication of its tests in public media. Thus, only five of the twenty-five items are included here to illustrate the test content.

The measurement of a child's attitudes toward him- or herself seems particularly important to the successful analysis of classroom problems. There is ample evidence that self-esteem affects motivation and the likelihood of success. Children who have low self-esteem can be helped, but first, the condition must be diagnosed. The SEI is an easily administered and easily scored test that can yield significant data about individuals in need of special attention in the learning environment.

The Self-Esteem Inventory is scored by summing the number of correct responses and multiplying by four. 4" The closer the score comes to 100, the greater the individual's self-esteem. (See Table 14.8 for scoring key.)

The Children's' Manifest Anxiety Scale. The CMAS contains fifty-three items and was designed for use with nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-olds. The

Figure 14.4 Self-Esteem Inventory (selected iterns)*

SEI

INSTRUCTIONS: Please respond to the following [5] statements by checking ''like me'' or ''unlike me'' according to how you feel about the statement.

	like me	unlike me
1. I often wish I were someone else.	_____	_____
3. There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could.	_____	_____
13. Things are all mixed up in my life.	_____	_____
16. There are many times when I'd like to leave home.	_____	_____
24. Things usually don't bother me.	_____	_____

Source: Reproduced by special permission of the publisher, Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., Palo Alto, CA 94306, from *The Self Esteem Inventory* by Stanley Coopersmith @ 1967. Further reproduction is prohibited without the Publisher's consent.

Table 14.8 **Correct Responses for SEI (selected items)***

1. unlike me

3. unlike me

13. unlike me

16. unlike me

24. like me

scale was adapted from the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale by Castaneda, McCandless, and Palermo and is described, along with norms for grades four, five, and six, in *Child Development.* [50] Figure 14.5 contains a reconstruction of the scale as described in the *Child Development* article.

The CMAS is scored by summing the number of items marked yes, excluding numbers 5, 10, 17, 21, 30, 34, 36, 41, 47, 49, 52. The higher the score, the higher the anxiety. The eleven items not included in the scoring compose a separate index of the respondent's tendency to falsify answers. This "L Scale"

Figure 14.5 Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale

CMAS

INSTRUCTIONS: Read each question carefully. Put a circle around the word YES if you think it is true about you. Put a circle around the word NO if you think it is not true about you.

1.	It is hard for me to keep my mind on anything.	YES	NO
2.	I get nervous when someone watches me work.	YES	NO
3.	I feel I have to be best in everything.	YES	NO
4.	I blush easily.	YES	NO
5.	I like everyone I know.	YES	NO
6.	I notice my heart beats very fast sometimes.	YES	NO
7.	At times I feel like shouting.	YES	NO
8.	I wish I could be very far from here.	YES	NO
9.	Others seem to do things easier than I can.	YES	NO
10.	I would rather win than lose in a game.	YES	NO
11.	I am secretly afraid of a lot of things.	YES	NO
12.	I feel that others do not like the way I do things.	YES	NO
13.	I feel alone even when there are people around me.	YES	NO
14.	I have trouble making up my mind.	YES	NO
15.	I get nervous when things do not go the right way for me.	YES	NO
16.	I worry most of the time.	YES	NO
17.	I am always kind.	YES	NO
18.	I worry about what my parents will say to me.	YES	NO
19.	Often I have trouble getting my breath.	YES	NO
20.	I get angry easily.	YES	NO
21.	I always have good manners.	YES	NO
22.	My hands feel sweaty.	YES	NO
23.	I have to go to the toilet more than most people.	YES	NO
24.	Other children are happier than I.	YES	NO
25.	I worry about what other people think about me.	YES	NO
26.	I have trouble swallowing.	YES	NO
27.	I have worried about things that did not really make any difference later.	YES	NO
28.	My feelings get hurt easily.	YES	NO
29.	I worry about doing the right things.	YES	NO
30.	I am always good.	YES	NO
31.	I worry about what is going to happen.	YES	NO
32.	It is hard for me to go to sleep at night.	YES	NO
33.	I worry about how well I am doing in school.	YES	NO
34.	I am always nice to everyone.	YES	NO
35.	My feelings get hurt easily when I am scolded.	YES	NO
36.	I tell the truth every single time.	YES	NO
37.	I often get lonesome when I am with people.	YES	NO
38.	I feel someone will tell me I do things the wrong way.	YES	NO
39.	I am afraid of the dark.	YES	NO
40.	It is hard for me to keep my mind on my school work.	YES	NO
41.	I never get angry.	YES	NO
42.	Often I feel sick in my stomach.	YES	NO
43.	I worry when I go to bed at night.	YES	NO
44.	I often do things I wish I had never done.	YES	NO
45.	I get headaches.	YES	NO

Figure 14.5 Continued

46. I often worry about what could happen to my parents.	YES	NO
47. I never say things I shouldn't.	YES	NO
48. I get tired easily.	YES	NO
49. It is good to get high grades in school.	YES	NO
50. I have bad dreams.	YES	NO
51. I am nervous.	YES	NO
52. I never lie.	YES	NO
53. I often worry about something bad happening to me.	YES	NO

SOURCF: Adapted from Alfred Castaneda, Boyd R. McCandless, and David S. Palermo, "The Children's Form of the Manifest Anxiety Scale," *Child Development 27 (1956), 317-326.*

is scored "by summing the number of items on the L Scale (excluding items 10 and 49) which are marked 'yes.' Items 10 and 49 are added to the L Scale score if they are marked 'no.' "51

Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire. The IAR seale contains thirty-four forced-choice items and "was designed to determine whether the child in elementary or secondary school believes the responsibility for his o r her progress is internally or externally controlled. -52 Norms for grades three through twelve are reported by Crandall, Katkovsky, and Crandall in *Child* Development. 53 The total of the positive items for which the respondent assumes credit constitutes the I+ score; the total of the negative items for which the respondent assumes responsibility is the I- score. Figure 14.6 contains the instrument as reconstructed from the *Child* Development article.

The IAR is scored by summing the I+ and I- items separately. "The I+ total indicates how much credit the child takes for positive situations while the I- total suggests how much blame he or she accepts for negative situations."54 Table 14.9 contains the scoring key. The authors recommend that children under the sixth grade have the test individually and orally presented to them. 55

Feelings About School. The FAS Instrument (Form FASI) contains fifty true-false items and was designed to indicate the relative positive or negative feelings students have about school. It has been used in grades four through twelve. Actually, the FASI is part of a whole program for examining the affective domain in schools. The program, developed by Robert E. Bills, is described in A System for Assessing AffectiVity.56 Other dimensions of the program are: Locus of Responsibility Scale, Relationship Inventory, Parent Inventory, and Index of Adjustment and Values. Figure 14.7 is a reconstruction of the FASI, adapting instructions for use by the classroom
teacher.

The FASI is scored using the key provided below (Table 14.10). If the response agrees with the key, the item is scored +1 and if the response disagrees with the key, the item is scored -1. The sum of all the pluses and minuses is

Figure 14.6 Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire

IAR

INSTRUCTIONS: Please answer all 34 questions by checking the answer that best describes what happens to you or how you feel. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. If a teacher passes you to the next grade, would it probably be
   _____ a) because she liked you, or
   _____ b) because of the work you did?
2. When you do well on a test at school, it is more likely to be
   _____ a) because you studied for it, or
   _____ b) because the test was especially easy?
3. When you have trouble understanding something in school, is it usually
   _____ a) because the teacher didn't explain it clearly, or
   _____ b) because you didn't listen carefully?
4. When you read a story and can't remember much of it, is it usually
   _____ a) because the story wasn't well written, or
   _____ b) because you weren't interested in the story?
5. Suppose your parents say you are doing well in school. Is this likely to happen
   _____ a) because your school work is good, or
   _____ b) because they are in a good mood?
6. Suppose you did better than usual in a subject at school. Would it probably happen
   _____ a) because you tried harder, or
   _____ b) because someone helped you?
7. When you lose at a game of cards or checkers, does it usually happen
   _____ a) because the other player is good at the game, or
   _____ b) because you don't play well?
8. Suppose a person doesn't think you are very bright or clever.
   _____ a) can you make him change his mind if you try to, or
   _____ b) are there some people who will think you're not very bright no matter what you do?
9. If you solve a puzzle quickly, is it
   _____ a) because it wasn't a very hard puzzle, or
   _____ b) because you worked on it carefully?
10. If a boy or girl tells you that you are dumb, is it more likely that they say that
    _____ a) because they are mad at you, or
    _____ b) because what you did really wasn't very bright?
11. Suppose you study to become a teacher, scientist, or doctor and you fail. Do you think this would happen
    _____ a) because you didn't work hard enough, or
    _____ b) because you needed some help, and other people didn't give it to you?

Figure *14.6* Continued

12. When you learn something quickly in school, is it usually
    _____ a) because you paid close attention, or
    _____ b) because the teacher explained it clearly?
13. If a teacher says to you, "Your work is fine," is it
    _____ a) something teachers usually say to encourage pupils, or
    _____ b) because you did a good job?
14. When you find it hard to work arithmetic or math problems at school, is it
    _____ a) because you didn't study well enough before you tried them, or
    _____ b) because the teacher gave problems that were too hard?
15. When you forget something you heard in class, is it
    _____ a) because the teacher didn't explain it very well, or
    _____ b) because you didn't try very hard to remember?
16. Suppose you weren't sure about the answer to a question your teacher asked you, but your answer turned out to be right. Is it likely to happen
    _____ a) because she wasn't as particular as usual, or
    _____ b) because you gave the best answer you could think of?
17. When you read a story and remember most of it, is it usually
    _____ a) because you were interested in the story, or
    _____ b) because the story was well written?
18. If your parents tell you you're acting silly and not thinking clearly, is it more likely to be
    _____ a) because of something you did, or
    _____ b) because they happen to be feeling cranky?
19. When you don't do well on a test at school, is it
    _____ a) because the test was especially hard, or
    _____ b) because you didn't study for it?
20. When you win at a game of cards of checkers, does it happen
    _____ a) because you play real well, or
    _____ b) because the other person doesn't play well?
21. If people think you're bright or clever, is it
    _____ a) because they happen to like you, or
    _____ b) because you usually act that way?
22. If a teacher didn't pass you to the next grade, would it probably be
    _____ a) because she "had it in for you," or
    _____ b) because your school work wasn't good enough?
23. Suppose you don't do as well as usual in a subject at school. Would this probably happen
    _____ a) because you weren't as careful as usual, or
    _____ b) because somebody bothered you and kept you from working?
24. If a boy or girl tells you that you are bright, is it usually
    _____ a) because you thought up a good idea, or
    _____ b) because they like you?

Figure 14.6 Continued

25. Suppose you became a famous teacher, scientist or doctor. Do you think this would happen
    _____ a) because other people helped you when you needed it, or
    _____ b) because you worked very hard?
26. Suppose your parents say you aren't doing well in your school work. Is this likely to happen more
    _____ a) because your work isn't very good, or
    _____ b) because they are feeling cranky?
27. Suppose you are showing a friend how to play a game and he has trouble with it. Would that happen
    _____ a) because he wasn't able to understand how to play, or
    _____ b) because you couldn't explain it very well?
28. When you find it easy to work arithmetic or math problems at school, is it usually
    _____ a) because the teacher gave you especially easy problems, or
    _____ b) because you studied your book well before you tried them?
29. When you remember something you heard in class, is it usually
    _____ a) because you tried hard to remember, or
    _____ b) because the teacher explained it well?
30. If you can't work a puzzle, is it more likely to happen
    _____ a) because you are not especially good at working puzzles, or
    _____ b) because the instructions weren't written clearly enough?
31. If your parents tell you that you are bright or clever, is it more likely
    _____ a) because they are feeling good, or
    _____ b) because of something you did?
32. Suppose you are explaining how to play a game to a friend and he learns quickly. Would that happen more often
    _____ a) because you explained it well, or
    _____ b) because he was able to understand it?
33. Suppose you're not sure about the answer to a question your teacher asks you and the answer you give turns out to be wrong. Is it likely to happen
    _____ a) because she was more particular than usual, or
    _____ b) because you answered too quickly?
34. If a teacher says to you, ''Try to do better,'' would it be
    _____ a) because this is something she might say to get pupils to try harder, or
    _____ b) because your work wasn't as good as usual?

SOURCE: Virginia C. Crandall, Walter Katkovsky, and Vaughn J. Crandall, "Children's Beliefs in Their Own Control of Reinforcements in Intellectual-Academic Achievement Situations," *Child Developmeitt 36 (1965), 91-109.*

Table 14.9 Scoring Key for 1AR

Add one point to the I+ score when respondent checks the following:
1 b, 2a, 5a, 6a, 9b, 1 2a, 1 3b, 1 6b, 1 7a, 20a, 21 b, 24a, 25b, 28b, 29a, 31 b,
32a.
Add one point to the I- score when respondent checks the following:
3b, 4b, 7b, 8a, 1 Ob, 11 a, 14a, 15b, 18a, 19b, 22b, 23a, 26a, 27b, 30a, 33b, 34b.

the final score. The higher the score, the more positive are the respondent's feelings about school .57 Scores ' on the FASI can range from -50 to +50. Norrnative information by grade is provided by BillS.58

In brief, affective performance outputs are probably best measured by instruments already in existence, because they are rather difficult to construct and validate. A sample of four affective scales was included to demonstrate that short, easy-to-administer, easy-to-score, and easy-to-interpret instruments are available for clinical use in the classroom. Three sources of information on affective measurement, in particular, are recommended for your reading and reference: *Evaluating Classroom Instruction: A Sourcebook of Instruments,* by Borich and Madden; *A System for Assessing Affectivity,* by Bills; and *Assessing Affective Characteristics in the Schools,* by Anderson. These books are cited in the bibliography of this book.

Figure 14.7 Feelings About School Instrument (FASI)

FAS

INSTRUCTIONS: This is NOT a test, since we want only to know what you believe or how you feel about certain things. You can help your school to improve itself by being as honest as you can be. PLEASE BE AS FAIR AS POSSIBLE. Please respond to all 50 statements by indicating whether you believe them to be mostly true (circle T) or mostly false (circle F).

1. I am learning things in school which help me now.	T	F
2. The students are giver. a ''square deal'' in most of the school activities.	T	F
3. Too many of our teachers have ''pets.''	T	F
4. Mostly, I like our school clubs and activities.	T	F
5. The teachers pick on some of the kids.	T	F
6. I like the way our teachers treat us.	T	F
7. Some of the teachers are lazy.	T	F
8. I hate one of my teachers.	T	F
9. Our teachers are interested in us.	T	F
10. When we have assembly programs, they are usually interesting.	T	F
11. My classes are boring.	T	F
12. Our teachers are not interested in our school organizations.	T	F
13. Our student leaders are interested in doing a good job.	T	F

Figure *14.7* Continued,

14.	Some of my classes are so uninteresting that I can't do my best work.	T	F
15.	My teachers usually have a good sense of humor.	T	F
16.	In general, I like my teachers.	T	F
17.	My teachers try to understand me.	T	F
18.	Some of my teachers are not very happy about being teachers.	T	F
19.	My teachers are seldom sarcastic.	T	F
20.	I wouldn't be going to school if I didn't have to.	T	F
21.	School work is boring and uninteresting for me.	T	F
22.	My teachers usually make me feel as if I am important.	T	F
23.	My teachers like me.	T	F
24.	My teachers are honest with me.	T	F
25.	Some of the women teachers show favoritism toward boys in their classes.	T	F
26.	Some teachers assign unreasonable amounts of homework.	T	F
27.	Most of the teachers are fair in their criticisms of my work.	T	F
28.	Some of the teachers act as if they were bored with their work.	T	F
29.	Some of the teachers act as if they want the students to feel embarrassed.	T	F
30.	I like most of the courses I have taken at this school.	T	F
31.	Some of the teachers act as if they want the students to be afraid of them.	T	F
32.	Most of the teachers are pleasant and cheerful most of the time.	T	F
33.	Most of the teachers try to be fair in dealing with students.	T	F
34.	Some of my teachers don't grade fairly.	T	F
35.	Some of my courses are extremely boring.	T	F
36.	We are not given enough freedom in choosing our courses.	T	F
37.	My textbooks are up-to-date.	T	F
38.	Our teachers don't pay enough attention to what we are interested in.	T	F
39.	The food prices are usually fair.	T	F
40.	Our principal is usually glad to receive suggestions from the students.	T	F
41.	This school places too much emphasis on grades.	T	F
42.	There are no student activities at this school which I find interesting.	T	F
43.	There is not enough chance to meet other students and to become friends with them during the school day.	T	F
44.	Our student council tries to help the students.	T	F
45.	I like the way this school is run.	T	F
46.	We have too many rules at this school.	T	F
47.	It is hard to get along at this school unless you are someone's "pet."	T	F
48.	It's difficult for a new student to get to know other people at this school.	T	F
49.	It would be easy to organize a new club at this school.	T	F
50.	Students get "square deals" even if they are being punished for breaking school rules.	T	F

SOURCE: Adapted from Robert E. Bills, *A System for Assessing Affectivity* (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1975).

Table 14.10 **Scoring Key for FASI**

1. T	11. F	21. F	31. F	41. F
2. T	12. F	22. T	32. T	42. F
3. F	13. T	23. T	33. T	43. F
4. T	14. T	24. T	34. F	44. T
5. F	15. T	25. F	35. F	45. T
6. T	16. T	26. F	36. F	46. F
7. F	17. T	27. T	37. T	47. F
8. F	18. F	28. F	38. F	48. F
9. T	19. T	29. F	39. T	49. T
10. T	20. F	30. T	40. T	50. T

MEASURING CLASS PERFORMANCE

The reader might wonder why we take up the issue of class performance outputs when we have already considered them while focusing on the individuals who make up the class. To a certain extent the outputs do overlap, as will be demonstrated. On the other hand, focusing on the class as the unit of analysis, rather than individuals, does provide an important and distinct perspective. The approach to supervision of instruction advocated in this book does, after all, concern itself with a systems model of classroom performance. For that reason the system (class) performance outputs are of particular importance to
us.

As with teacher and individual performance outputs, we are confronted with the problem of deciding which performance outputs to examine. One framework that describes the survival requisites of any social system is Talcott Parsons's functional imperatives.[59] Figure 14.8 displays the functional imperatives of a social system according to Parsons. Notice that two of the imperatives describe ends of the social system and two describe means; likewise, two of the imperatives concern mediating the social system's relations with the environment, while two concern the maintenance of the social system's internal structure. It would seem, then, that if we can measure class output performance corresponding to the functional imperatives of a social system, we will in fact be evaluating the health, success, and viability of the class social system. Each of the imperatives and its measurement is discussed below.

Goal Achievement and Its Measurement

Goal attainment refers to the problem of establishing priorities among system goals and mobilizing system resources for their attainment.[60] While classroom

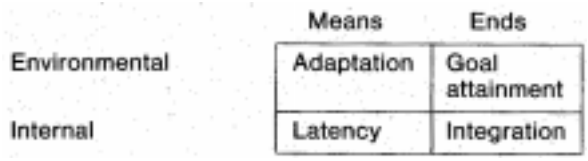


Figure *14.8* Functional Imperatives

and school goals do not have the consensus among community members and educators one might expect, some types of goals can be identified.61 They are the same goals the teacher and school have for each individual learnernamely, cognitive, affective, and social growth.

The cognitive performance of a class can be studied in several ways, one of which we have already discussed-the teacher-constructed test. If carefully constructed, such tests allow the teacher and/or supervisor to determine learners' mastery of the content and cognitive processes they have been exposed to. The array of performance scores also allows the teacher and supervisor to isolate individuals or clusters of learners who stand apart from the class by reason of extremely high or low scores. The teacher-constructed test (usually a criterion-referenced test) enables the teacher and supervisor to answer the question: Did the class as a whole master the content and cognitive processes that the teacher intended? As in the measurement of the performance outputs discussed earlier in this chapter, if the performance does not meet the expectations of the teacher and supervisor, a problem is thus identified.

Class cognitive growth should also be evaluated using standardized norm-referenced tests. Lindvall and Nitko define a standardized norm-referenced test as

> a published test, accompanied by specific directions for administration and scoring, that has been given to a group of subjects representative of the group of students for whom the test was designed. The performance of any subsequent examinee can be compared with the performance of typical examinees through the use of derived scores and norms. 62

The unique contribution of norm-referenced tests is that they make it possible to compare the achievement of students in one class or school with a national sample of same-grade students. 63 Notice that such tests not only measure differences in achievement among classes and schools but they also simultaneously measure differences in what has been taught in various classes and schools.

Commonly used achievement tests include the *California Achievement* Tests,64Iowa Tests *of* Basic *Skil . ls,* 65 Iowa Tests *of Educational Development, 66 Metropolitan Achievement Tests,* 67 and *Stanford Achievement Test Series.* 68 Other sources of such tests are the current edition of the *Mental Measurement*

69 70

Yearbook, the *Test Collection Bulletin, and* catalogs of test publishers. Achievement tests should be selected carefully, keeping in mind the major purposes of such testing--to make judgments about the relative performance of the class, and therefore about the effectiveness of the local instructional program, provided that the initial ability of the pupils and the character of the local instructional program are taken into account."71

Lindvall and Nitko caution against misuse of norm-referenced achievement tests. The test norms should not be used blindly to determine whether or not a class is achieving satisfactorily. There may be no truly average class; adjustments in expectation must be made depending on the scholastic aptitude, instructional facilities, and so on of the particular class. Nor can teacher effec

tiveness be judged by such test results. "The factors that affect pupil learning are so numerous and their interaction so complex that to attempt to ascribe the amount of learning that takes place within a class to any one factor (such as teacher performance) is entirely unrealistic. ,72

To the extent that the classroom teacher and the school have affective goals (particularly related to the values and attitudes of learners), the affective characteristics of the class can be perceived as affective output performance of the classroom system. One way to measure affective output performance would be to use the same kind of measures we introduced earlier in the chapter when discussing individual student performance. Those measures, like the achievement tests just discussed, have norms against which a particular class can be compared to determine whether or not it is meeting the teacher's and/or supervisor's affective expectations. Of course, a mean score (arithmetic average) of all class members would be compared to mean scores of other groups of similar age and sex.

Another way to use the same measures is to test the class periodically to determine if affective growth has indeed occurred. This method is particularly accurate, since the growth of the identical group from one point in time to the next is examined, rather than comparing the group with a national norm.

There is a great deal of consensus about some of the values and attitudes classrooms and schools should promote and teach. Communities generally expect or hope that the schools will instill in their students a respect for knowledge and skill, a desire to learn, thoughtfulness, skill, good citizenship, respect for democratic government, and so on. Some notion of affective output performance related to these values and attitudes can be gained by using the selfreport instruments mentioned earlier. Evidence of affective output performance can be recorded as extraordinary events in the teacher's anecdotal files. In addition, observations of affective output performance can be recorded by the supervisor when making class observations, or by both teacher and supervisor as they review audio or video recordings of the class periods.

Affective performance output appears less focused and concrete than cognitive performance. Yet, if the problems and opportunities that power the model for instructional improvement advocated here are to be discovered, then teachers and supervisors must work at identifying affective performance expectations and collecting data to determine if those expectations are met. For too long the affective domain has been ignored by both teachers and schools.

When it comes to measurement, the goal of social growth, like that of affective growth, is elusive. Ideas like self-confidence, poise, the ability to converse intelligently with peers and adults, maturity, compassion, and generosity all come to mind when we think of the social development of children. As before, it is imperative that teacher and supervisor establish their expectations for the social behavior and growth of a class. The teacher anecdotal record and the supervisor's observational notes can serve as one data base against which these expectations are checked. Likewise, the sociometric methods for studying the class (discussed later) may prove useful in surveying its social development.

Adaptation and Its Measurement

Adaptation refers to the problem of securing sufficient facilities (means) from the environment to meet the system's goals. [73] Stated somewhat differently, adaptation denotes the extent to which the classroom social system has met the basic requirements of the environment. For the classroom, the environment is the school, the district, and the community. Output performance of adaptation might be monitored in several ways. The attitudes, evaluations, and support of those in the immediate environment can be sampled. At the school level, this may mean learning whether or not other teachers and administrators (particularly those associated with academic coursework dependent on this class) perceive students who complete the class as adequately prepared. Are both the district administration and parent groups satisfied with the progress of learners in the class? These questions can be answered by simply asking parents to report their perceptions and level of satisfaction with the classes their children take.

In some ways, the problem of adaptation is more appropriately addressed at the school-system rather than the classroom level. The classroom is somewhat protected from its environment by the school. Convincing the community that the classrooms and school are meeting the changing needs of that community, and thereby securing support and funding for an adequate educational program, are tasks traditionally left to school administrators. Surely those tasks could be much easier if classroom teachers were sensitive to the changing world, the changing educational needs of the community, and the community's evaluation of those who have been exposed to the school's educational program.

Integration and Latency and Their Measurement

Both integration and latency have to do with maintaining the internal structure of the classroom system.

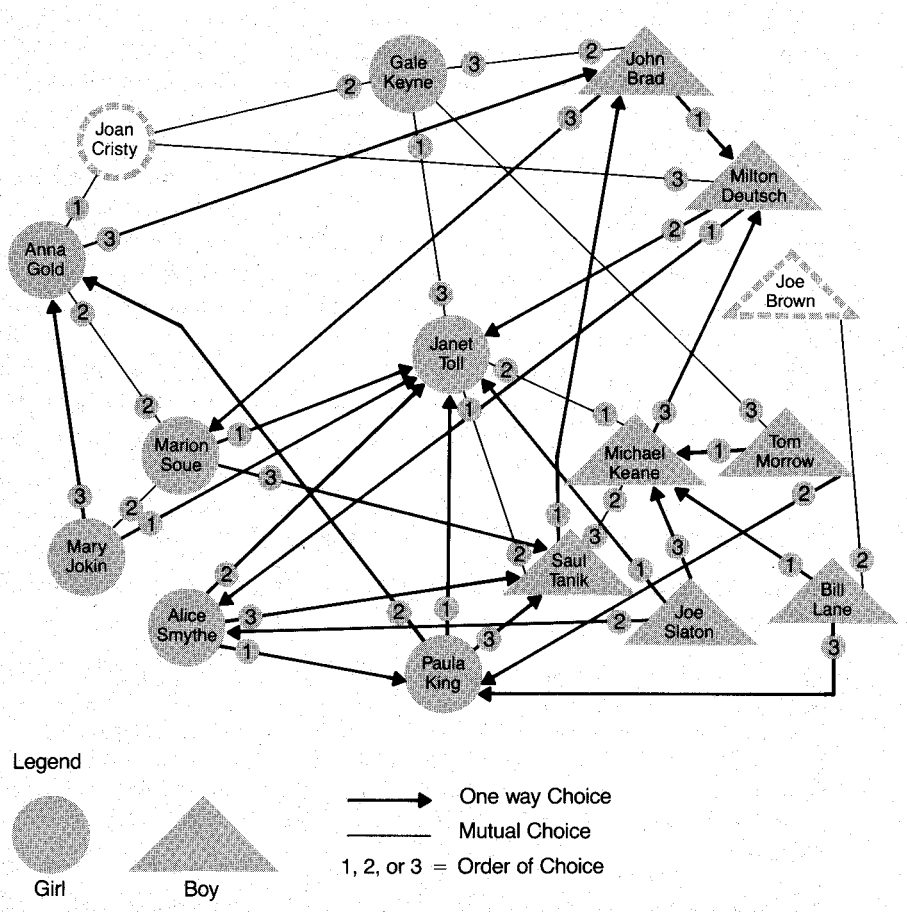
> Integration denotes the problem -of coordinating and maintaining viable interrelationships among system units. Latency embraces two related problems: pattern maintenance and tension management. Pattern maintenance pertains to the problems of how to insure that actors in the social system display the "appropriate" characteristics (motives, needs, roleplaying skills, etc.). Tension management concerns the problem of dealing with the internal tensions and strains of actors in the social system. [74]

Because the measurements of performance outputs related to maintaining the internal structure of the classroom system are interrelated, integration and latency will be discussed together.

When translated- into performance outputs, the internal structure of the classroom system suggested by the functional imperatives (integration and latency) has both positive and negative dimensions. Performance outputs required by the positive dimension of integration and latency include cooperative behavior, esprit, and commitment to class, teacher, and academic

work. Outputs related to the negative'dimension include tension, conflict, absenteeism, isolation, and alienation. Thus, the measurement of performance output can focus on the positive and/or the negative dimension. The kinds of measures that are available determine whether one dimension or both are selected for verbalizing performance expectations and measurement.

One very useful technique for "getting at" the kinds of performance outputs just discussed is sociometry.75 Sociometry has often been used in classrooms, but usually only as a type of popularity index. In fact, sociometry can do much more, depending on the phrasing of the question(s) used to have learners express their choices. For example, if learners are asked to list the



Note: For an absent boy or girl, use the respective symbol dashed, leaving any choice line open-ended (see Joe Brown above).

If rejections are obtained, the choice line may be made in dashes or in a different color.

Whenever a direct line from chooser to chosen cannot be drawn without going through the symbol for another individual, the line should be drawn with an elbow, as in the case of Bill Lane to Paula King.

Figure 14.9 Sociogram

three persons in the class they like best (in order of preference), the information resulting is essentially a popularity index. However, if they are asked to list those with whom they would like to work, do math problems, play, and so on, different kinds of information result. Sociometric data are often displayed in a sociogram, such as the one in Figure 14.9.76 Status of an individual in the group is based on the number of choices received and is displayed by the individual's distance from the center of the sociogram; high-status individuals are placed toward the center, low-status individuals are placed on the periphery. Of course, several sociograms could be constructed for each class, depending on the various criteria used to collect the learners' choices (e.g., math performance, fun to play with, etc.).

A careful examination of sociometric data should answer many questions about output performance related to integration and latency. The level of cooperative behavior, alienation, conflict, and isolation can be determined by asking questions such as:

1. Are there cliques in the class?
2. Are there isolates?
3. What is the pattern of first choices?
4. Are some individuals isolated socially but sought after when it's time to do math?
5. How do the cliques or subgroups differ? a. Are some alienated from the rest of the class? b. Are some committed to the teacher, class, or academic performance?
6. Does social structure as displayed in the sociogram inhibit or enhance cooperative behavior?

In general, a great deal about the structure of the class social system can be learned from sociometric investigation.

Once the subgroups of a class are identified, their attitudes can be compared by averaging the group scores on the type of affective scales discussed earlier in the chapter. Conflicting attitudes, norms, and beliefs can thereby be detected. Large differences suggest a lack of solidarity and a lack of cooperation among students and groups of students.

SUMMARY

The system for improving instruction advocated in this book is power ed by the identification of problems. Problems are defined as discrepancies between the performance expectations of the teacher and/or supervisor and actual performance. In order to determine if discrepancies exist, measures of the performance output of teacher, individual learners, and the class are suggested and discussed. Teacher performance output is examined in terms of instrumental and expressive behavior; individual learner performance output is examined in terms of cognitive and affective growth; class performance output is

Teacher performance
- **Instrumental activities**
  - **Academic focus**
  - **Direction of activities**
  - **Grouping students**
  - **Verbal interaction**
  - **Classroom activities**
- **Expressive activities**
  - **Enthusiasm**
  - **Warmth**

Individual student performance
- **Cognitive aspects.**
  - **Higher level**
  - **Lower level**
- **Affective aspects**
  - **Values**
  - **Attitudes**

Class performance
- **Academic goals**
- **Adaptation**
- **Integration**
- **Latency**

Figure 14.10 Key Elements of Classroom Performance

examined in terms of the functional imperatives for any system: goal attainment, adaptation, integration, and latency. Whenever possible, specific suggestions are made for the measurement of the outputs discussed. The key elements of classroom performance are summarized in Figure 14.10.

NOTES

1. See L. A. Festinger, "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," *Human Relations 7 (1954), 117-140; T.* F. Pettigrew, "Social Evaluation Theory: Convergences and Applications," in J. D. Levine (ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, *1967).*
2. Thomas L. Good and Jere E. Brophy, *Looking in Classrooms,* 2d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, *1978), p. 395.*
3. See D. G. Ryans, *Characteristics of Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Teachers, *1960); N.* L. Gage, "Can Science Contribute to the Art of Teaching?" in Modan Mohan and Ronald E. Hull (eds.), *Teaching Effectiveness: Its Meaning, Assessment, and Improvement* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Educational Technology Publications, *1975);* Ned A. Flanders, *Analyzing Teaching Behavior* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, *1970);* B. Rosenshine and N. Furst, "Current and Future Research on Teacher Performance Criteria," in B. 0. Smith (ed.), *Research on Teacher Education: A Symposium* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, *1971).*
4. Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (New York: Free Press, *1961), p. 91.*
5. Barak V. Rosenshine, "Content, Time, and Direct Instruction," in Penelope L.

Peterson and Herbert J. Walberg (eds.), *Research on Teaching: Concepts, Findings, and Implications* (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing, 1979), p. 40.

6. *Ibid,* p. 38.
7. *Ibid.,* pp. 39, 40.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 40.
9. *Ibid,* p. 71.
10. *Ibid.,* pp. 41, 42.
11. *Ibid.,* p. 42.
12. Jere E. Brophy and Carolyn M. Evertson, *Process-Product Correlations in the Texas Teacher Effectiveness Study: Final Report* (Austin: University of Texas, 1974).
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CHAPTER15

The Classroom Social System: An Application

In Chapters 9 through 14 the classroom social system was conceptualized as a five-component system, a subsystem of the school. The case presented in this chapter is a demonstration of how that system is used to analyze instructional problems and opportunities. It is also a continuation of the case begun in Chapter 8, in which the principal and supervisor developed the organizational context of Kippari Elementary School. A crucial requirement for the implementation of a collegial approach is an atmosphere of trust, colleagueship, and participation. As we take up the Dubow Case, it is assumed that the efforts to prepare the organizational context have been successful.

Throughout this book, we have tried to persuade the reader of the benefits of having both a principal and a supervisor. Both this case and the earlier case assume this ideal situation. If the principal is also the supervisor, the approach to working with teachers is the same, but it is more difficult to create an honest collegial relationship.

As in the Osen Case, the Dubow Case is only suggestive of what might happen in a real supervisory situation. It is a simplification-a demonstration of how the diagnostic cycle, classroom social system, and organizational context come together in the study and improvement of instruction.

DUBOW CASE

Patricia Dubow teaches fourth grade at Kippari Elementary School. Kippari has 280 students in six grades and kindergarten. Ms. Dubow has twenty-one students in her fourth grade, eleven boys and ten girls. Like the rest of the students in the school, the twenty-one students ir, Ms. Dubow's class are primarily white and come from families in which one or more of the parents are professionals or very successful businesspeople. Table 15.1 contains some vital information about the students in Ms. Dubow's class.

Ms. Dubow is in her second year of teaching. Last year, the evaluations of her teaching by the principal were not very promising, but the principal thought the problems would work themselves out in time. They haven't. Ms.

Table 15.1 **Patricia Dubow's Fourth Grade Class**

Name	Sex	Age	# Sib-lings	Parent's Occupation		Health	IQ	Teacher Last Yr.	Reading Grade Level	
				Father	Mother				Last Year	This Year
Don	m	9.0	1	cpa	hw		108	m	3	3
Sandra	f	9.1	0	business	teacher	glasses	119	c	3	4
Shelley	f	8.9	1	professor	professor		117	c	2	2
Sean	m	9.2	0	med dr.	hw		110	m	3	3
Connor	m	8.8	0	teacher	dentist		124	m	3	4
Maura	f	9.0	4	business	hw		131	m	3	2
Nicole	f	8.8	1	business	business		117	m	3	3
Susan	f	9.1	1	lawyer	lawyer		122	c	4	3
Ira	m	9.3	0	lawyer	hw		134	c	2	3
Tom D.	m	9.0	2	business	real estate		130	m	3	3
Tom S.	m	8.9	1	post office	teacher		121	c	3	4
David	m	8.9	1	business	cpa		111	c	3	3
Clay	m	8.8	0	business	hw		114	m	3	3
Janice	f	9.1	1	unemployed	business		130	c	3	3
Robert	m	9.0	2	med dr.	nurse	hyperactive	127	c	3	2
Sola	f	9.2	3	anesthesiologist	hw		120	c	3	3
Carol	f	8.9	0	business	soc work		116	c	3	4
Ignacio	m	9.3	2	scientist	scientist		126	m	4	3
Roberta	f	9.0	1	lawyer	business		120	m	3	4
Angus	m	9.0	0	med dr.	teacher		111	m	2	3
Ashley	f	9.1	1	business	librarian		114	m	3	3

Dubow is exceptionally bright and articulate. As a college student, she carried two majors (American literature and elementary education) and she graduated in the top 3 percent of her class. She is an avid reader; she's dynamic and enjoys children. Despite, all this promise, Ms. Dubow has some serious classroom problems.

Kippari Elementary School has, during the past year, begun to implement the classroom performance model and diagnostic cycle to improve instruction. The principal and supervisor have worked closely to develop the school context and to foster collegial relationships between the teachers and themselves. They have also introduced the staff to the classroom performance model. The situation is rather ideal for introducing this phase of classroom improvement.

Teachers were asked if they would be interested in participating in the new instructional improvement program. Patricia Dubow and seven of her colleagues at Kippari Elementary volunteered their participation in the experimental round of the process. Patricia was eager to participate because during the past year she had come to know Joan Felling, the new instructional supervisor, who had been assigned half-time to Kippari Elementary. Patricia and Joan had talked several times about teaching and children, and she was confident Joan would be helpful in working out some classroom problems.

On Tuesday, February 24, Patricia and Joan got together briefly over coffee to talk about beginning the new program of supervision. Patricia already knew about the program in general. She knew that it was a data-based program for working at instructional improvement. She also knew that,the program involved a series of collegial decision-making episodes in which she and Joan would carefully study the classroom and what goes on there.

Joan and Patricia spent most of the first session talking generally about performance indicators-that is, performance outputs of the teacher, individual students, and the class as a whole. The model and process are driven by data about the actual performance of teacher, individuals, and the whole class. Joan and Patricia ended their session by agreeing to reread Chapter 14, "Classroom Performance Outcomes and Their Measurement," so that they could prepare to specify desired performance levels at their next meeting.

A week later, when Patricia and Joan got together, they talked about their perceptions that these dimensions of performance appear to overlap in many ways. This observation supported their notion that they might begin the process by focusing on any of the three dimensions of performance output. Patricia was most interested in beginning with class performance rather than teacher or individual student performance. Joan noted to herself that teachers often started with a class performance focus-perhaps a less threatening prospect than that of collecting data about the teacher. They agreed to focus their first efforts on class performance outputs.

Joan said she had drawn up a flow chart representing some of the basic steps of thediagnostic cycle and the classroom performance model. Joan and Patricia studied the flow chart together (see Figure 15.1) and talked about what it represented. In accordance with the flow chart, it was clear that the first step would require Patricia and Joan to specify desired performance

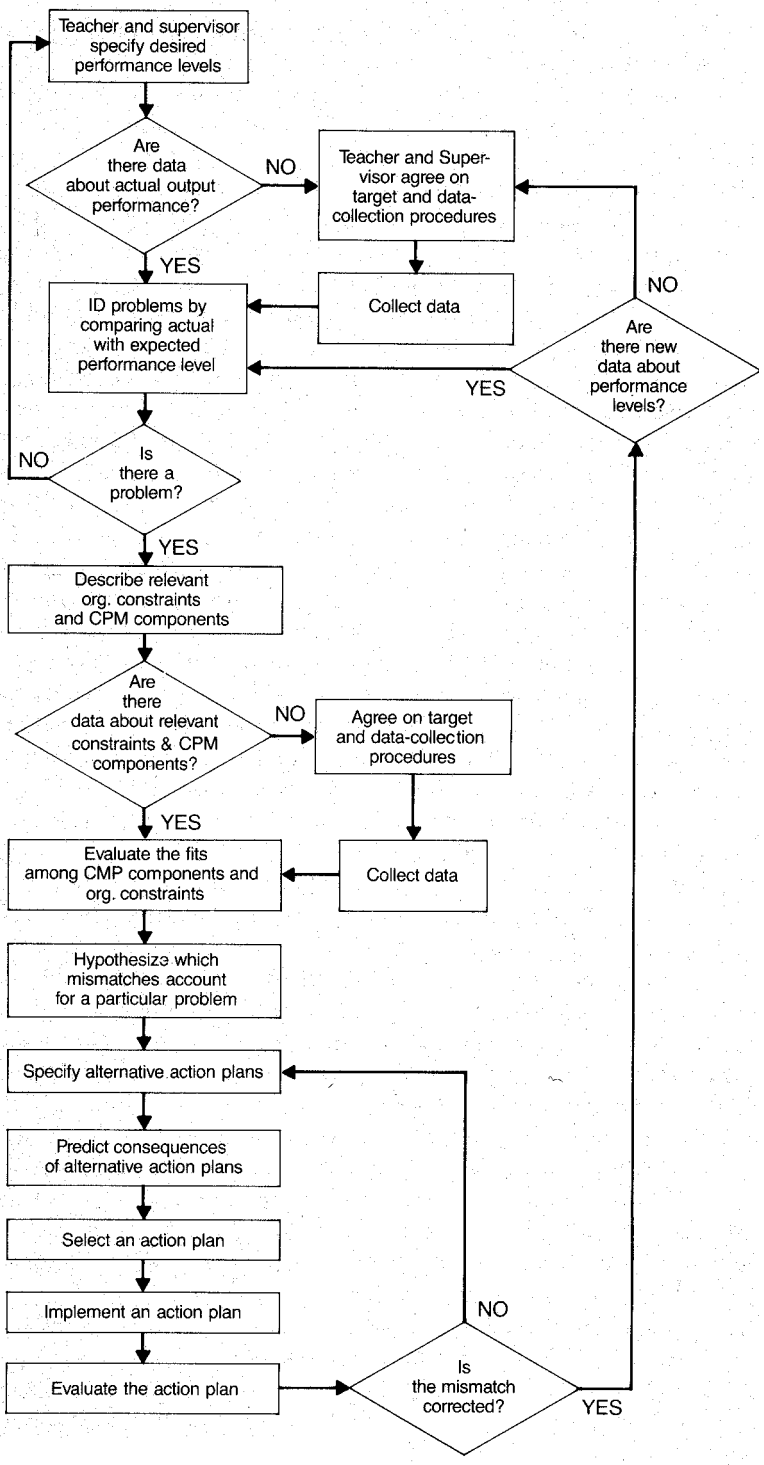

Figure 15.1, Flow Chart Diagnostic Cycle

levels. Since they had decided to look at class performance, that meant referring to the latter part of Chapter 14, where the measurement of class performance is discussed in terms of functional imperatives of a social system: goal attainment, adaptation, integration, and latency.

Specifying Performance 1,evels

Patricia and Joan decided to focus on the expected performance levels of Patricia's class, loosely using the functional imperatives. They started with *goal attainment.* Among the possible goals that could be given priority, Patricia said that she emphasized cognitive and affective goals. She indicated that, since the socioeconomic status of the children in her class was high and their homes afforded them better-than-average intellectual stimulation and opportunity, they should be expected to perform well above grade level in areas like reading and math. Also, they might be expected to exhibit some cooperative behavior as an indication of their affective maturity. Joan agreed with this tentative set of general expectations.

Returning to the flow chart (Figure 15.1), Patricia and Joan responded to the question: Are there data about actual output performance? Since a standardized reading test was given to Kippari students each spring, the class's reading level and average change from the previous year's score were readily available. Patricia and Joan thought those data would serve as a useful and convenient starting place for the diagnostic cycle.

Affective performance is not measured in any structured way at Kippari. Patricia said she had some anecdotal notes related to the attitudes of specific students, but no general information about class attitudes. Joan suggested that it might be interesting and helpful to follow a class with some kind of affective measure to see how attitudes changed over a period of several years. Patricia agreed and noted that regardless of the long-term benefits, her teaching might benefit directly and immediately from some information about her class's attitudes. Patricia and Joan looked through some of the instruments described in Chapter 14 and tentatively decided to use the Feelings About School Instrument (FASI). Joan said she would find out more about the FASI and, if possible, get a set of them so they could have some affective performance data shortly. Meanwhile, they could focus their efforts on cognitive goals.

Adaptation, the second imperative used to describe the functioning of the classroom system, refers to the extent the classroom has met the requirements of the school and broader community. Patricia and Joan talked about several ways performance information relevant to the classroom's adaptation might be gleaned. In the end, they decided to use some form of parent feedback as an indicator of the community's perceptions of the adequacy of Patricia's classroom.

'Integration and *latency,* the imperatives describing the maintenance of the classroom's internal structure, have both positive and negative performance indicators. Patricia and Joan thought the sociometric techniques suggested in Chapter 14 would provide positive and negative information about the class's

internal structure. Joan said she had had some experience with these techniques and would be happy to help Patricia put together some sociometric questions that would produce the kind of information necessary to construct sociograms of the class. Patricia said she had some data relevant to incidents of cooperative behavior, conflict, absenteeism, and isolation; however, they were far from systematic. She said she thought the sociometric data would be very interesting.

It was getting late, so Joan tried to put the accomplishments of the meeting in some perspective by using the flow chart. "We have decided to focus initially on class performance, rather than teacher or individual student performance. We have.talked about and agreed on tentative performance expectations related to the functional imperatives of the classroom social system. Under the imperative of goal attainment, we specified desired levels of performance for one cognitive goal-reading. We agreed that this class should be reading above grade level, given their advantaged circumstances. Although we talked briefly about an affective goal and discussed the FAS Instrument, we decided to delay specifying an expectation until we learned more about the ways we might collect affective data."

Patricia noted that they had not specified performance levels for adaptation, although they had discussed the possible use of some parental feedback. Nor had they specified performance levels for integration and latency except in very general terms of an expectation of cooperative behavior, isolation, or conflict that might be discovered through sociometric methods. She posed a question to Joan: "Might we -proceed by following several paths of the flow chart simultaneously? For example, could we act on the already existing performance data about cognitive goals, while preparing to collect data about affective performance, parental feedback, and sociometric data?"

Joan thought that would be a good idea, since they were both enthusiastic and anxious to begin the diagnostic cycle. "Actually," Joan said, "you get a sense that there, are many different ways to proceed, all of them exciting, somehow interconnected, and having the same purpose-instructional improvement.."

"Let's meet again soon," suggested Patricia. "111 put together the reading data that we need to determine whether they meet our specified performance levels. Although we're mainly interested in the overall class performance and class improvement since last year, I'll bring individual reading scores as well. That way we can be sure the class average is not just an effect of a few extreme scores.

Two days later, Patricia and Joan met again and Patricia brought with her a chart similar to Table 15.1 and the class characteristics she calculated from those data (see Table 15.2).

It was immediately clear to both Patricia and Joan that the reading level of the class did not meet the expectations set in their last meeting. They had set fourth-grade level as the expectation, and the class was nearly a year behind that. At the time of last year's February test, these children had scored almost

Table 15.2 Class Characteristics

Patricia Dubow's Class on 29 February	
Average IQ	120
Previous year reading average	2.90 (3rd grade test)
Current year reading average	3.09 (4th grade test)
Average change	. 19

at grade level, 2.90. Now, in the fourth grade, the class scored at a level only slightly higher than third grade. Patricia said she was terribly surprised by these calculations and was anxious to go forward with the analysis.

Since the current class was made up of children from two different third grades, Joan and Patricia compared last year's scores for the two classes. There was little difference: children from M's class had scored 3.0 and those from C's class had scored 2.9 on the standardized test. The reading level this year was due to a lack of progress, rather than to some previous experiences. In the terminology of the diagnostic cycle, Patricia and Joan had identified a problem as well as a promising opportunity.

According to the flow chart, when it has been determined that a problem exists, the team should then set about describing relevant organizational constraints and the components of the classroom performance model. In essence, that means analyzing relevant organizational constructs (inputs) and components of the classroom system (transformation process) to determine how the unsatisfactory performance (outputs) came about. If it can be explained why the class reading performance was lower than expected, the reading levels can be improved through strategic changes in the system or, at the very least, some understanding about why the reading level was unexpectedly low can be determined and expectations can be adjusted accordingly. Figure 15.2, introduced in Chapter 2, is repeated here to reinforce your memory of the dimensions integral to the classroom performance model.

Although both organizational constraints and the classroom system affect student performance, the system we have designed has the teacher and supervisor focus their efforts on the classroom system while the principal and supervisor direct their efforts to improving classroom inputs. In response to the unexpectedly low reading levels of the class, Joan and Patricia began to look at the process components of the classroom performance model that seemed likely to be related to the class reading performance.

Joan and Patricia started to talk about the five components of the classroom performance model (teacher, student, classroom climate, formal arrangqments, and teaching task). They decided- it might be a good idea for them to review the chapters of this text pertaining to those components so they could refresh their memories and be better prepared to describe the components and eventually evaluate the fits between them.

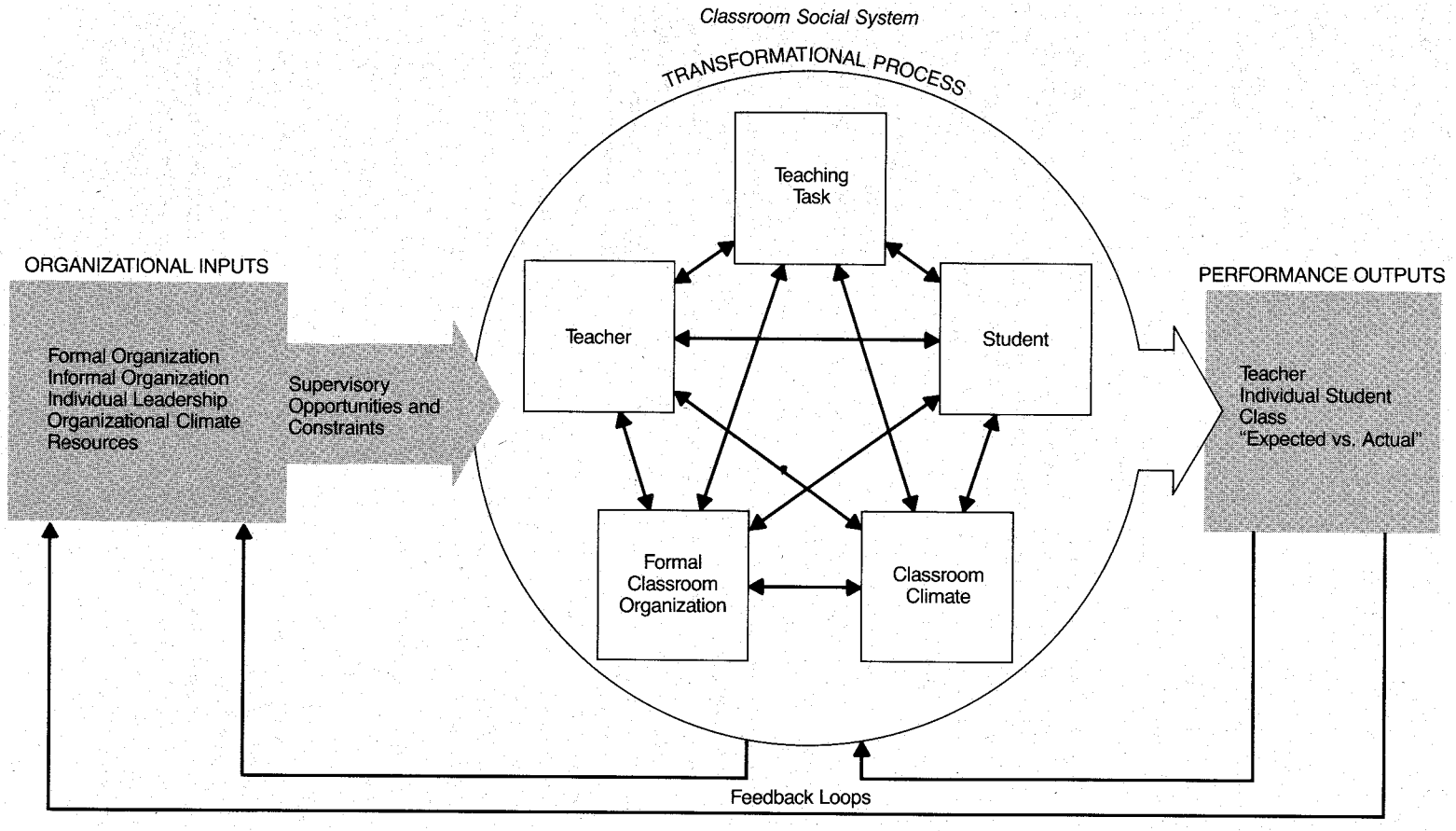

Figure 15.2 The Classroom Performance Model

Describing the Components of the Classroom Performance Model

A week later Patricia and Joan met to examine the classroom performance model components. Joan had prepared a legal pad with a page for each component. At the top of each page she had also written a series of questions based on the outlines at the end of each component chapter (Chapters 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13) to help guide their descriptions (see Figure 15.3).

For the analysis of the *teacher* component, Joan had written:

1. What kind of background do you have in reading instruction?
2. How developed are your reading teaching skills? (In classroom management, questioning, and interpersonal areas?)
3. What are your feelings toward pupils, fellow teachers? Teaching reading? Administrators? Self?
4. Are you enthusiastic about your job and this school?
5. Do you expect high performance from your students? Do you have challenging but realistic expectations for all children?

Patricia and Joan described the teacher component (Patricia) using the questions as a guide. In talking about her reading background, responding to Question 1, Patricia said she had had one reading course as an undergraduate. She also said that teaching reading didn't seem particularly difficult. "The reading program is rather completely planned and prepared by the book publisber. We just go through the text and workbook. Even the discussion questions are supplied in the teacher's guide." Joan was not very impressed with Ki0pari's reading curriculum, nor with the rather slavish and unimaginative use of the materials by the teachers. However, she knew this was not the time to talk about that. Now was the time to describe.

To respond to the second question about teaching skills, Patricia indicated that she managed her classroom rather tightly, especially the reading class. In reading, the children appeared to be somewhat restless. Yet she believed that she asked many questions to stimulate interest and that she tried to be very supportive and encouraging'.

Patricia talked about Questions 4 and 5 together. Her feelings about the job of teaching and the people she worked with were very positive. She was not having any problems with colleagues, administrators, or students. She thought she was very enthusiastic about her job and considered it an important part of her life. With regard to teaching reading, she said that while it was not her favorite subject, she enjoyed teaching reading most of the time.

Patricia raised the question of the Pygmalion effect-that is, could it be that she had been treating the children differently, based on differing expectations? Joan asked Patricia whether she believed she did have different expectations for different children. Patricia said she didn't know. Joan suggested an exercise. She asked Patricia to comment on the reading potential of each child as Joan called out the names of Patricia's students at random. Joan took notes. When they had finished, it appeared that Patricia's expectations were not ex

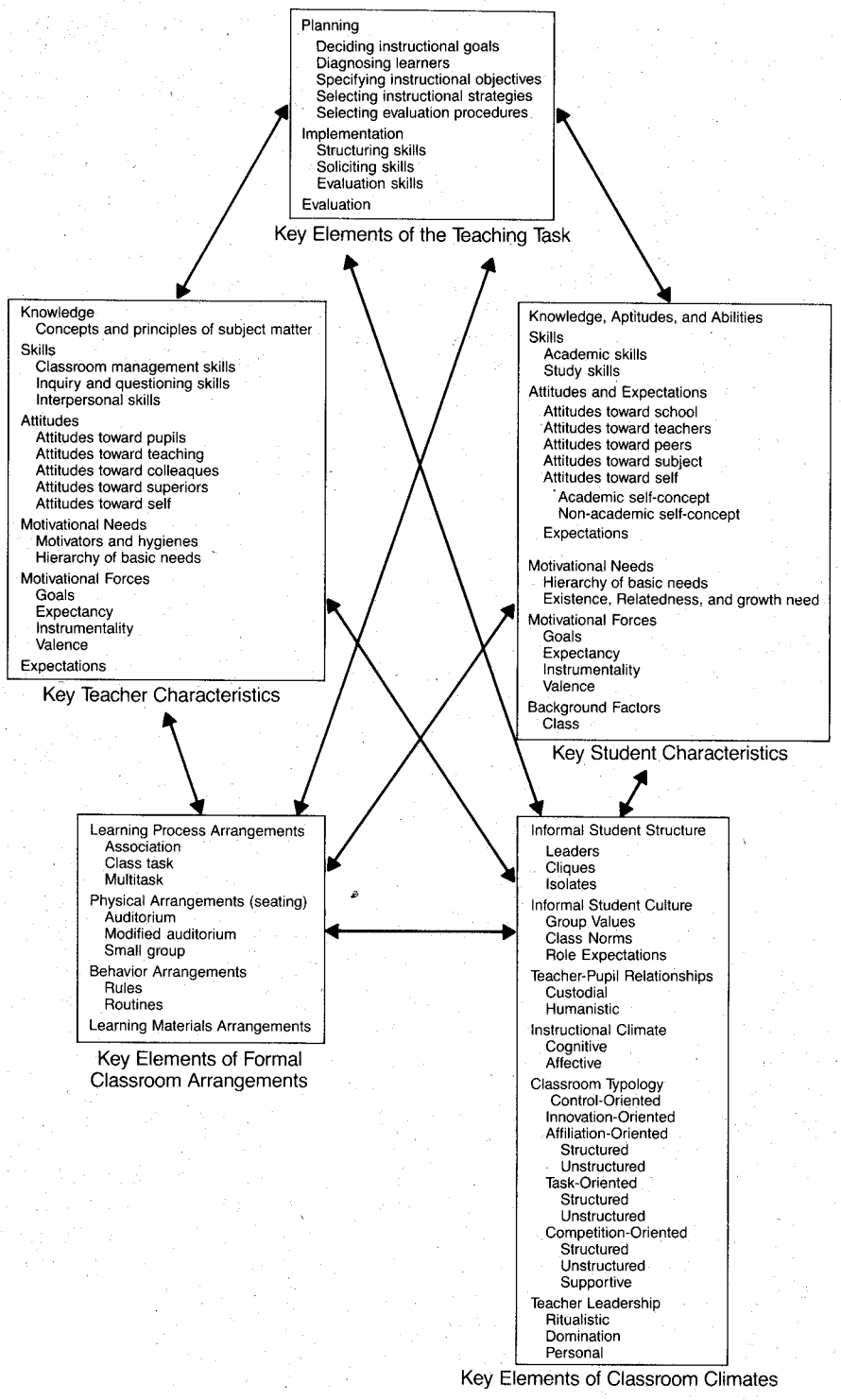
Planning
Deciding instructional goals
Diagnosing learners
Specifying instructional objectives
Selecting instructional strategies
Selecting evaluation procedures
Implementation
Structuring skills
Soliciting skills
Evaluation skills
Evaluation
Key Elements of the Teaching Task
Knowledge
Concepts and principles of subject matter
Skills
Classroom management skills
Inquiry and questioning skills
Interpersonal skills
Attitudes
Attitudes toward pupils
Attitudes toward teaching
Attitudes toward colleaques
Attitudes toward superiors
Attitudes toward self
Motivational Needs
Motivators and hygienes
Hierarchy of basic needs
Motivational Forces
Goals
Expectancy
Instrumentality
Valence
Expectations
Key Teacher Characteristics
Knowledge, Aptitudes, and Abilities
Skills
Academic skills
Study skills
Attitudes and Expectations
Attitudes toward school
Attitudes toward teachers
Attitudes toward peers
Attitudes toward subject
Attitudes toward self
Academic self-concept
Non-academic self-concept
Expectations
Motivational Needs
Hierarchy of basic needs
Existence, Relatedness, and growth need
Motivational Forces
Goals
Expectancy
Instrumentality
Valence
Background Factors
Class
Key Student Characteristics
Learning Process Arrangements
Association
Class task
Multitask
Physical Arrangements (seating)
Auditorium
Modified auditorium
Small group
Behavior Arrangements
Rules
Routines
Learning Materials Arrangements
Key Elements of Formal Classroom Arrangements
Informal Student Structure
Leaders
Cliques
Isolates
Informal Student Culture
Group Values
Class Norms
Role Expectations
Teacher-Pupil Relationships
Custodial
Humanistic
Instructional Climate
Cognitive
Affective
Classroom Typology
Control-Oriented
Innovation-Oriented
Affiliation-Oriented
Structured
Unstructured
Task-Oriented
Structured
Unstructured
Competition-Oriented
Structured
Unstructured
Supportive
Teacher Leadership
Ritualistic
Domination
Personal
Key Elements of Classroom Climates

Figure *15.3*

treme. She had pointed to the high performance of Tom S., Ignacio, and Roberta, and the exceptionally low performance of Robert. Joan said she didn't believe Patricia's expectations were likely to be an important consideration in this problem.

To analyze the student component, Joan had developed the following questions from the chapter outline:

1. What are the students' attitudes toward reading?
2. Do the norms of the students support academic performance?
3. What about the academic self-concept of the students?
4. Do the students appear to be motivated?
5. Are there relevant background characteristics of the children?

Some of the questions about the student component could not be answered without specific data. For this first round of the diagnostic cycle, Patricia and Joan were relying primarily on Patricia's informal observations in response to Joan's questions. Each time a diagnostic cycle is completed, however, there should be contributions to the data pool, which will make future analyses more precise. If the descriptions of the components and subsequent match analyses don't lead to productive and specific suggestions for instructional improvement, it is a likely indicator that the descriptions were based on data that were too general and unsystematic.

Patricia and Joan talked about Patricia's students as a class, trying to keep in mind the purpose of description. Patricia thought the attitude of the class ,toward reading was less enthusiastic than for arithmetic or science. Students were a little more restless and inattentive during reading. For the most part, Patricia thought her students were motivated and she knew they were cap'able. Given their advantaged background and probable intellectual stimulation in their homes, Patricia wondered why they didn't appear more interested in reading.

For the classroom climate component, many of the questions that might be asked were directly tied to specific climate instruments. Joan posed the questions,,even though data were not available to answer them, since they might decide they needed specific climate data in order to continue their analysis:

1. What kind of informal structure exists among students?
2. Are the norms of the class supportive of the teacher and the subject matter?
3. Is the teacher's control posture custodial or humanistic?
4. What kinds of cognitive and affective demands are felt by students?
5. What "type" of class is this?
6. What kind of leadership does the teacher engage in?

In order to get a feel for the classroom climate component without having in hand the typical climate data that can be collected, Joan suggested they ,center their discussion on the nine aspects of classroom social climate identified by the Classroom Environment Scale (CES). As discussed in Chapter 9,

four areas are covered by the CES approach: personal relationships, goal activities, system maintenance, and system change. These four areas are discussed in terms of nine separate aspects of behavior. Patricia and Joan talked about the nine aspects as they described Patricia's class. As a result of their discussion, Joan produced a table (Table 15.3) recording Patricia's ratings of her class as high (+), average (A), or low (-) for each of the bebavorial aspects.

Joan compared Patricia's ratings with Figure 11.1, "Typology of Classrooms." According to the typology, it looked as if Patricia's classroom, at least her reading class, came closest to what is called the structured task-oriented classroom. Patricia agreed with this assessment.

The formal classroom arrangements questions written by Joan were quite straightforward:

1. What is the primary learning process arrangement used in reading class?
2. What is the typical physical arrangement of the classroom during reading class (seating, etc.)?
3. What rules and routines are in place?
4. What textbooks and learning materials are used?

Patricia described her classroom using the terminology proposed in Chapter 12. She noted that the primary learning process arrangement she used was recitation. The physical arrangements of her classroom were what she called "pretty standard" (see Figure 15.4).

In response to Question 3 concerning rules and routines, Patricia described her classroom as very orderly. Although she was aware that tight classroom control was not a style popular among many contemporary elementary-school teachers, she was also aware of advice from experienced teachers that it is easier to loosen up than tighten up when it comes to classroom routines and rules. She had found that this tight style suited her. She didn't feel comfortable with the chaotic appearance of the classrooms of some of her colleagues. As her seeondyear of teaching was more than half completed, she felt very comfortable with the behavioral arrangements in place. She was proud of the orderliness of her classroom and the children in her classroom.

Table **15.3 Patricia's Estimate of Classroom Climate Dimensions**

Behavioral Aspect	Rating
Involvement	-
Affiliation	A
Teacher support	A
Task orientation	+
Competition	A
Order and organization	+
Rule clarity	+
Teacher control	+
Innovation	

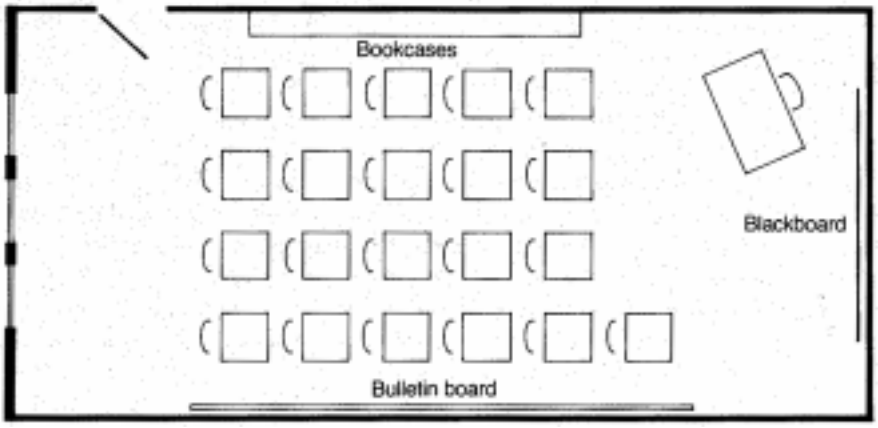

Figure 15.4 Seating Arrangement of Patricia's Classroom

The learning materials Patricia used were essentially those provided by the school, Joan was aware that the same textbook and workbook used by Patricia were being used in the other fourth grade. Nevertheless, the unexpected lack of progress in reading level was peculiar to Patricia's class.

The final component of the classroom system to be described -was the teaching task. Patricia and Joan agreed that it would make sense to use Patricia's current teaching units, especially reading, to describe the teaching task. Joan's questions, prepared to guide the description, were again very simple and based on Figure 13.9.

1., What was your remote planning for units and classes?
2. What was your proximate preparation for classes?
3. How is each class structured?
4. What kinds of questions do you ask?
5. What kind of evaluation is done and how frequently?

In answer to Joan's questions, Patricia talked about her unit and class prep arations. She said that her preparations were not at all like those discussed in Chapter 13 '. Rather, she taught to the curriculum outline which required that the fourth-graders complete the textbooks assigned. Patricia had assumed that if theclass completed the materials required by the curriculum outline, the students would perform at grade level. Her proximate preparation for class, then, consisted of finding ways of making sections of the curriculum (for ex ample, a chapter in the basal reader) interesting.

Patricia thought her classes were structured traditionally. Usually she would begin a reading segment with some artifact or story that would interest the children in the reading. Then, either Patricia or the children who volunteered might read aloud. Or parts of a reading segment might be assigned to be read in class, but silently. This process was repeated in subsequent classes until

the chapter was completed. After each chapter, a short written test was given that focused on phrases and words introduced in the chapter.

It had been a long but interesting meeting. Both Patricia and Joan were satisfied with their tentative descriptions of the five classroom system components. They knew that if their descriptions proved inadequate for the remaining steps of the analysis, they could stop and collect more specific and objective data. They referred to the flow chart. Next time they would perform the all-important process of evaluating the fits among the components. They were hopeful that these analyses would give them some idea of why Patricia's class had not improved its reading skill to the extent they had hoped. They decided to meet again the next day, while today's observations were still fresh in their minds and momentum was in their favor.

Evaluating the Matches

Early the7 next morning, Patricia and Joan met to look at the fits or matches among the components of the classroom social system. Joan brought with her the diagram of the system she often used in talking about the performancebased instructional improvement program. She thought they might use the diagram to keep the different relationships graphically before them as they talked (see Figure 15.5)

Joan also suggested that they use the questions from Figure 3.3 to structure their analysis of component matches. They each had before them the notes

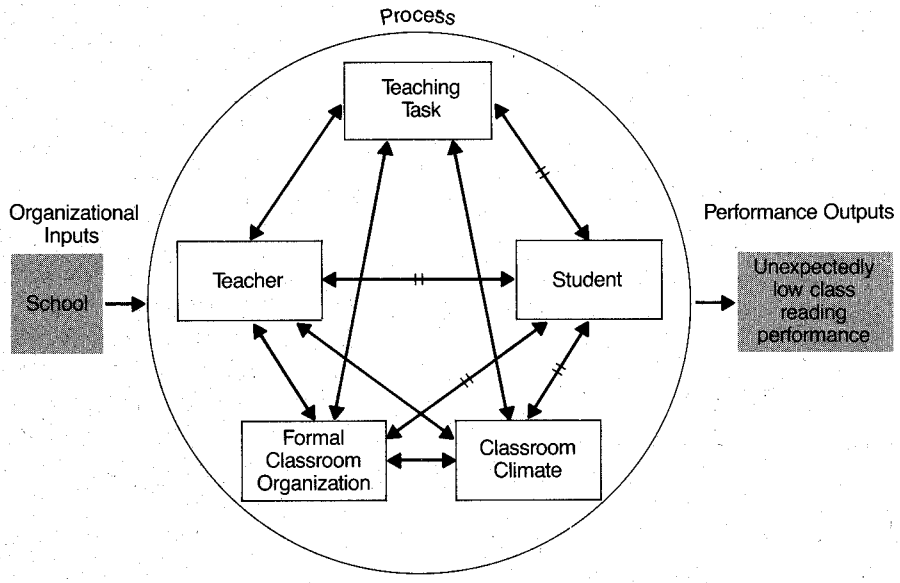

Figure 15.5 Classroom Social-System Components

from yesterday's descriptions of the components of Patricia's classroom. A summary of Patricia and Joan's discussion and the conclusions they reached as they analyzed each pair of components follows.

1. TEACHER <--> CLIMATE To what extent are teacher needs supported by the classroom climate?

Both Joan and Patricia thought the classroom climate did support Patricia's needs, particularly her needs for order, predictability, task organization and teacher control. Patricia felt comfortable with the structured taskoriented climate *(Match).*

2. STUDENT *--> CLIMATE To what extent are student needs met by the classroom climate?

The students in Patricia's class are advantaged, stimulated, confident, exceptionally bright, and generally motivated. They aren't motivated in reading class. The climate, as described, stifles student involvement. There is little innovation or even opportunity for students to work together *(No match).*

3. TEACHER <--> TASK To what extent are teacher needs met by the teaching task? Does the teacher have the skills and abili, ties to achieve the task?

As described, both the teacher and the teaching task are very structured. The teacher has a great need for order, and the teaching task (as outlined by the reading program and curriculum) is Very orderly and predictable. Text, workbook, and teacher's guide, are integrated by the publisher *(Match).*

4. STUDENT <-> TASK To what extent are student needs met by what is taught? Do the students have the abilities and, interests to accomplish the task?

Student needs do not appear to be met. As a class they are performing below reasonable expectation, and they are restless and disinterested in the reading class. They have the ability but not much interest, The task and reading materials do not engage them *(No match).*

5. STUDENT <-> TEACHER To what extent are student and teacher needs consistent?

The teacher has great order needs. The students are not flourishing under this order. They are above average in every way. Students are otherwise motivated, intelligent, enthusiastic, but they appear bored by what is comfortable .for the teacher (No *match).*

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4. STUDENT ←→TASK To what extent are student needs met by what is taught? Do the students have the abilities and, interests to accomplish the task?

Student needs do not appear to be met. As a class they are performing below reasonable expectation, and they are restless and disinterested in the reading class. They have the ability but not much interest, The task and reading materials do not engage them *(No match).*

5. STUDENT ←→TEACHER To what extent are student and teacher needs consistent?

The teacher has great order needs. The students are not flourishing under this order. They are above average in every way. Students are otherwise motivated, intelligent, enthusiastic, but they appear bored by what is comfortable .for the teacher (No *match).*

6. TASK ←→CLIMATE Does the classroom climate facilitate the teaching task? Does the classroom climate hinder or promote the demands of learning?

The climate, such as it is, does facilitate the teaching task as described. Both task and climate promote order and predictability *(Match).*

7. TASK ←→FORMAL STRUCTURE Do the formal classroom arrangements facilitate the teaching-learning process? Do the formal classroom arrangements motivate behavior consistent with the task demands?

The task, structured and inflexible as it has been described, is consistent with recitation style, auditorium seating, highly regulated behavior, and highly structured learning materials *(Match).*

8. TEACHER ←→FORMAL STRUCTURE To what extent are teacher needs met by the formal classroom arrangements?

The teacher feels comfortable with structure and order, and the formal classroom arrangements are highly structured *(Match).*

9. STUDENT←→ FORMAL STRUCTURE To what extent are student needs met by the formal classroom arrangements? To what extent do students have a clear perception of classroom expectations, the convergence of student and teacher goals?

Student needs do not appear to be met by the current formal structure of the reading class. Present structures are associated with a lack of motivation and enthusiasm on their part (No *match).*

10. FORMAL STRUCTURE ←→ CLIMATE To what extent are the goals, rewards, and norms of the informal classroom organization consistent with those of the formal organization?

Since the classroom climate is typified by high task orientation, order, rule clarity, and teacher control, the formal structure is very congruent with it. The formal structure supports order and all the characteristics of the climate *(Match).*

11. CLASSROOM←→ SCHOOL To what extent is the internal structure of the classroom components consistent with the broader school constraints?

In one sense the classroom structure is consistent with the school, since the curriculum approach, particularly that of reading, is rather inflexible. On the other hand, the climate of the school is not at all inflexible, and while the other fourth grade is using the same reading program, it appears to be using it loosely and with greater adaptation to the student group (No match).

Identifying Which Mismatches Account for the Performance Problems

After describing the components and assessing their congruence, the next step is to relate mismatches to problems. In this case, the question facing Joan and Patricia is: "N"ich mismatches account for or explain the reading performance problem?" Joan took a figure of the classroom performance model and marked with a double line the mismatches they had identified (see Figure 15.6).

It was immediately clear to both Patricia and Joan that the students were at the hub of the problem; they were out of step with the rest of the classroom social system, all of which is associated with or controlled by the teacher. "If

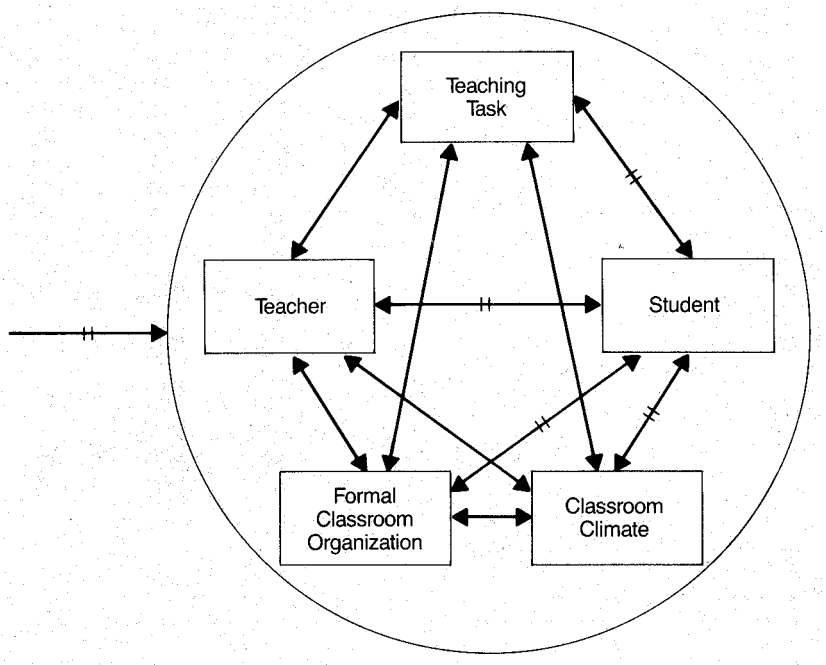

Figure 15.6 Mismatches

this were a mechanical system," Joan remarked, "we could simply replace the component that is out of synchronization. But here the component that doesn't fit is the student group."

"I know," said Patricia. "It looks as if we've got a big task ahead of us. Everything but the student component will have to be changed: the climate, the teaching task, the formal structure, and me. Can it be done? How and where do we begin?"

"You're right, Patricia. The task is going to be monumental. Let's see if we can break it down into manageable dimensions. We'll work together and take it one step at a time. Actually, I'm looking forward to the challenge. I know we can do it. I havean idea." Joan constructed a table (Table 15.4) listing all the component pairs in the order they had analyzed them. In a column labeled ₁₁ current" she indicated whether they had decided the pair was a match (m) or not a match,(nm). in the "current" column there were five mismatches, all of them (with the exception of classroom *-> school) were mismatches between the student group and another system component.

Joan noted that some of the components would have to be adapted simultaneously, but that they could think and plan change in a kind of sequence. She asked, "What if we were to plan and implement opening up the classroom climate first? How would that affect the matches and mismatches of the system?" Joan labeled a column in the table "Step One: Opening the Classroom Climate." They calculated hypothetically what would happen. The student <--> cli-

Table 15.4 **Effects of Step-By-Step Planned Component Change**

Component Pairs	Current	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
1. Teacher ↔ Climate	m →	(nm) →	m	m	m
2. Student ↔ Climate	(nm) →	m	m	m	m
3. Teacher ↔ Task	m	m →	(nm) →	m	m
4. Student ↔ Task	(nm)	(nm)	(nm) →	m	m
5. Student ↔ Teacher	(nm)	(nm) →	m	m	m
6. Task ↔ Climate	m →	(nm)	(nm) →	m	m
7. Task ↔ Formal structure	m	m	m →	(nm) →	m
8. Teacher ↔ Formal structure	m	m →	(nm)	(nm) →	m
9. Student ↔ Formal structure	(nm)	(nm)	(nm)	(nm) →	m
10. Formal structure ↔ Climate	m →	(nm)	(nm)	(nm) →	m
11. Classroom ↔ School	(nm)	(nm)	(nm)	(nm) →	m

Step 1 Decontrol and loosen up the classroom climate.
Step 2 Reduce teacher's order emphasis.
Step 3 Reduce structure emphasis in teacher task.
Step 4 Loosen the formal structure.

rn = match
mn = no match
→ = change

mate relationship would become a match, but three new mismatches would be created, bringing the mismatch total to seven. "I was afraid that would happen," Joan said. "But let's go on and look at what happens as we change each of the components to make it congruent with the student component."

Joan added "Step Two: Reduce Teacher's Need for Order," "Step Three: Make Flexible the Task Structure," and "Step Four: Loosen the Formal Structure." She calculated the matches and mismatches with each step, noting that the number of mismatches first increased and then, in Step 4, disappeared altogether. "This is aclassic case of things getting worse before they get better!"

"I'm intrigued by the process," Patricia observed. "I assume that our first concern will be with the climate component."

"Absolutely!" Joan agreed. "Let's get together again early next week and develop action plans with regard to changing the classroom climate.."

Developing a Plan of Action

When they next met, Joan and Patricia were anxious to move the supervisory process forward. At the last meeting they had constructed an informal hypothesis about the causes of the problem, namely that every component in the classroom system was incongruent with the student component. They had then outlined a four-step plan to bring the components into congruence and produce a classroom social system conducive to the development of this particular group of students. They now turned their attention to the first step of the four-step plan--development and implementation of ways to open up Patricia's classroom climate.

Joan and Patricia began by studying the "Typology of ' Classrooms," Figure 11.1. Currently the climate in Patricia's classroom was low in involvement and innovation; high on task orientation, order and organization, rule clarity, and teacher control; and average on affiliation, teacher support, and competition. In order to open up the classroom climate so that it would be more appropri ate for this kind of class, Patricia said she thought it would be crucial to in crease student involvement and innovation, and probably affiliation. Joan agreed. "I think these students need to be much more actively involved in both teaching'-and learning. We might also consider deemphasizing task orienta tion, order, and teacher control somewhat."

Joan indulged her penchant for tables once more, constructing a table of alternatives they had discussed. "We have to think about what might happen as a result of these possible changes." They talked and produced Table 15.5.

"I think Alternative Three makes the most sense," argued Patricia. "We knew our intervention would result in more system mismatches as a result of Step One. Besides, I don't think the first alternative is possible unless I deemphasize task orientation, order, and teacher control at the same time."

Joan agreed. "We have to choose a course of action somewhere between naive ambition and deadly caution. I think we can handle Alternative Three. But now we've got to translate Alternative Three into some specific behavioral and structural changes."

Table 15.5 **Alternatives and Consequences**

Alternative	Consequences
1. Increase student involvement, innovation, and affiliation	Small increases in congruence between students ↔ climate
2. Deemphasize task orientation, order, and teacher control	Same as above
3. Do both 1 and 2 above	Match between student ↔ climate Three new mismatches: teacher ↔ climate, task ↔ climate, and formal structure ↔ climate

Patricia thought they might plan around the next reading unit, to begin in two weeks. "It seems to me that the climate characteristics corresponding most closely with this student group and an open climate-namely involvement, innovation, and affiliation-might all be enhanced through group project work."

"That sounds great!" Joan said. "And student group work, even if it's supervised by the teacher, reduces teacher control and task orientation. What is this reading unit about?"

"Building. Architecture," Patricia answered. "I can think of a project that might work. Tell me what you think. We could have the students select a kind of building or style of building and then group them by preference. They could work several sessions a week doing library investigation and finding magazine pictures of their category of architectural style or type of building. They could eventually do a report to the class comparing and contrasting the examples they find."

"That sounds like an excellent idea," Joan said. "Their project work might also increase their interest in contributing to the readings you do in class."

Joan and Patricia talked and planned for several hours. When they were finished, they had produced a reading unit plan and eight specific lesson plans that emphasized small-group work and provided opportunities for students to interact and become creative and more involved. They also decided to form three reading groups to be used as the basic organization for reading class (seven children each). Instead of one large recitation section that required task orientation and a great deal of teacher control (e.g., use of desist commands), the group system would allow for the rotation of group project work, seat work, and close, less formal reading sessions with the teacher. Joan noted that just changing to the group system would decrease the order demands P , atricia had to maintain with the large recitation group of twenty-one students.

They also talked about monitoring the progress of and evaluating the action plan. Patricia and Joan agreed on two monitoring sessions in which Joan would observe the reading classes and make further suggestions. During the last class of the planned reading unit, Joan would observe and take notes on the frequency levels of student involvement or contributions to the discussion,

and she would count the frequency of desists Patricia issued and to whom she issued them. These data would be used to determine if the plan to involve stu~ dents and decrease teacher control was working. Meanwhile, Patricia and Joan planned to collect some specific data about affective goals (mentioned earlier) and possibly other aspects of classroom climate.

A preliminary problem had been identified (insufficient class improvement on reading level), and an action plan had been formulated and was ready for implementation. Patricia and Joan planned two monitoring sessions to assist the implementation phase. They decided that classroom observation would be done at the end of the planned reading unit. During the observation, Joan was to collect data that she and Patricia agreed upon--data relevant to the planned changes. The postobservation conference would then be used to evaluate the success of the action-plan implementation and to determine whether the mismatch had been adequately corrected. If it had been, Patricia and Joan would presumably go on to Step 2 of their long-range, four-stage plan to bring the classroom social system into congruence with the student group. After the completion of that plan, as suggested in the flow chart (Figure 15.1), they might analyze the newly collected performance data relative to affective goals and begin a whole new cycle. The process is never-ending. It is a process that engages the teacher and another professional educator in constant renewal and instructional improvement.

CONCLUSION

We have proposed a theory and practice of supervision aimed at improving instruction. Our general approach is based on the assumption that the improvement of instruction ultimately rests with teachers themselves. Any attempt to change teaching behavior, however, is facilitated by social support as well as professional and intellectual stimulation from colleagues. The primary goal of the supervisor is not simply to help teachers solve immediate problems but to engage with teachers in the joint study of classroom activities. Successful teacher-supervisor relationships are based on professionalism, colleagueship, and trust.

If supervision of instruction is to be meaningful and effective, it must be guided by theory. The theoretical model should define improvement of instruction, direct action toward that, end, and identify the organizational constraints and opportunities in each school. A diagnostic process must link the model to action; foster teacher, supervisor, principal collaboration; encourage teacher professionalism by reinforcing norms of autonomy and self-direction; and concentrate on the intrinsic motivation of teachers through teaching itself.

The classroom performance model (see Figure 15.2) provides a strong theoretical focus for a diagnostic cycle of supervision that encourages improvement through self-study and change. The model uses an open-systems framework to examine classroom behavior. Key organizational forces are identified; formal structure, informal structure, leadership, organizational cli

mate, and resources are major organizational inputs for the classroom system. Performance in the classroom is viewed as a consequence of the interaction of five key classroom elements: teacher, student, teaching task, classroom climate, and formal classroom organization. Effectiveness is a function of the congruence among these five elements; hence classroom performance is analyzed in terms of the congruence patterns of the system elements. Improvement is the elimination of discrepancies between the desired and actual performance outcomes at three levels-teacher, class, and individual student.

The diagnostic cycle is the mechanism for linking the classroom perfor mance model with the improvement of instruction. The cycle is a generic ap proach to problem solving organized into five related steps: (1) problem iden tifying, (2) diagnosing, (3) planni ' ng, (4) implementing, and (5) evaluating. The process is used both to improve school context and to improve classroom per formance. Improving school context consists of developing an open, participa tive school climate and establishing colleagueship in teacher-supervisor relationships. After such a climate has been established, the diagnostic cycle is used to uncover performance problems (teacher, student, or class), to find the likely causes of the problems, and to plan, implement, and evaluate classroom interventions.

We illustrated the use of the model and process in improving the school context (Chapter 8) and in improving classroom performance (Chapter 15). These cases represent only two of a myriad of problems that confront supervisors, teachers, and principals. It should be obvious that supervision is complex, demanding, and continuous. The classroom performance model and the diagnostic cycle provide no panacea; rather, they are useful tools. Effective supervision requires a long-term perspective, one in which goals are dynamic. Goal achievement merely becomes a step toward a new goal. There are no ultimate goals. There is only the continuous process of improving teaching and learning.

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