A SOCIOCULTURAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING CHANGE IN ORGANIZATIONS AND APPLICATION OF THE FRAMEWORK TO AN EDUCATIONAL SETTING

by

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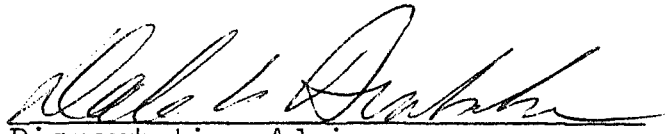

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The purpose of this study was to analyze occurrences within an elementary school which experienced administrative succession accompanied by the introduction of a decision-making model that featured suspension of positional authority in decision areas of curriculum and instruction. To this end, development of a conceptual framework and its application to the case study was used as the method of inquiry.

The principal method of investigation was participant observation supplemented by informal interviews, verbatim accounts of meetings, and questionnaires. Observations were made of classroom interactions, the use of facilities, faculty meetings, and team meetings. Reports and memoranda were used as part of the data base, also.

The conceptual framework was based upon the assumption that social systems and subsystems are interrelated in regular and patterned ways. The framework included the social science concepts of patterned interdependent interaction, membership, means of interaction and setting. Patterned interdependent interaction encompasses the expected behaviors derived from status and role as guided by norms and values. The interdependent nature of the interactions indicates that change will move in various directions with varying intensities. The concept of membership aided in

defining and understanding inter- and intra-organization interactions. Means of interaction included the use of symbol, ritual, and myth as ways of maintaining status-role within the interaction system. The concept of setting provided for examination of interaction between the organization and the factors external to it.

The use of the conceptual framework provided an analysis of (1) factors surrounding the origin or locus of initiation of the innovation, (2) stress manifestation during periods of change within the target system, (3) factors influencing the span of time needed for internalization of the innovation, and (4) evaluation as affected by the status-role of the evaluator and the reasons for evaluating.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Every student has a group of persons to whom he or she is indebted for ideas, challenges, encouragement, and other support. This writer would like to express her appreciation to the members of her doctoral committee.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to develop a conceptual framework which will aid in understanding changes which occurred in an elementary school after the decision-making patterns were altered. The framework will focus mainly on administrative and teaching roles in public schools.

CHANGE AS A SOCIOCULTURAL FORCE

Change is ever-present in society. Change touches every society, every culture; and each individual therein must relate to it. As a society's store of skills, information and understandings increases, change accelerates. More options become available to the members of the society. As choices become possible, some options are viewed with more favor than others. Values held by society's members determine which options are most desirable. Thus, attaining an acceptable number of the desirable options leads to "the good life."

Change modifies the prerequisites for attaining the good life. One of the results is that stress appears in society's organizations and institutions as its members attempt to identify the new favored choices and find ways to make their acquisition possible. This much prized goal,

the good life, may be thought of as synonymous with success; and success is defined by the dominant social group. Thus, it becomes more evident that as changes occur, different skills and knowledge will be needed to achieve success.

In our society, agencies of formal education, schools, have come to be regarded as the organizations through which the prerequisites may be obtained. Since its inception, public school in the United States has worn the cloak of a social institution. Its major thrust has not been to educate, necessarily, but to promote social mobility. Broudy and Palmer have noted that ". . .in any period the schools will stress the skills, knowledge, and values that the dominant social group judges to be essential to its success."[1]

The schools are populated by members of the society and are subject to the pressures generated by society's demands to meet its success-oriented needs. In efforts to provide the skills, knowledge, and values being stressed at any given time, school staff members organize in various ways. As society deems their attempts to be more or less effective, pressures to present the skills and information in more effective ways are generated. Thus we find schools frequently being reorganized and subject-matter presentation being rearranged in an effort to provide society with members who

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[1]Harry S. Broudy and John R. Palmer, Exemplars of Teaching Method (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 2.

are better equipped to perpetuate the culture and participate in the good life.

Upon closer examination, we find that alternative means of education exist. It is true that schools offer a means of achieving socialization and of exercising social control. It is also true that schools provide for formal instruction and transmission of information. However, Clifford notes that, given our present systems of mass communication, rapid transportation, and nationally accepted standards of goods and services, formal education no longer plays the important role it once did in perpetuating the culture.[2]

This realization, along with recent skepticism concerning the effectiveness of schooling, has shaken the American public. Even so, Americans have not chosen to abandon schools. Rather, the public has chosen to become more involved. They are insisting on knowing about schools. They are insisting on change, even if the change is a return to an earlier state as evidenced by the current "back to basics" movement.

The pressure is always present. Change! Provide society with people better equipped to be successful. In recent decades, the federal government has helped to increase the pressures. Funding is made available for innovative programs which respond to societal ills. This government

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[2]Geraldine Joncich Clifford, The Shape of American Education (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975), p. ix.

action comes, of course, from public demands that these ills be given attention. School administrators, eager to secure additional funding for their schools, have decided to begin innovative programs. University professors of education have entered into the picture, helping to supply the innovative ideas.

More often than not the decision to reorganize, adopt a new teaching approach or new materials, is made at some level other than the point of implementation. The state, the school board or the principal decides that the new way will better meet the needs of youngsters (hence society will be better served). Planning is done in varying degrees. Attention is given to supplies, space, number of students, and qualified personnel. The beginning is planned, and the evaluation of the innovation is considered. However, little attention is given to the effect of the innovation on the relationships of the people involved. What happens to the quality of instruction when a teacher is asked to be a supervisor of aides as well as the teacher of children? What happens to the relationships of teachers and administrators when shared decision-making is implemented in a school?

Clifford noted that the educational enterprise of the United States has lacked in coordinated state planning and educational design. She characterizes our educational decisions as being of a populist nature, as emphasizing choice making, responding to emotion as well as to reason,

and encouraging inventiveness to the extent that virtually anything goes.[3] This supports the earlier contention that schools are in and for society only. It also points out the need to gain better understanding of the possible impact of our educational programs.

As formal education has become more important to members of society, the need to know and understand schools has become more important, as pointed out earlier. Research has not fully satisfied this desire to know and understand. The effectiveness of teaching and learning is still not adequately documented. Little attention has been paid to the interrelatedness of the factors comprising schools. Too often studies have focused on curriculum or teaching method, history or philosophy, economics or staffing patterns--treating the topics as though schools existed in a cultural vacuum.

Now that we have come through the "turbulent 60's," our nation is experiencing an intensification of public interest in all areas of social policy: health, education, welfare and crime. This interest is spurring social scientists to examine social agencies such as schools from new perspectives.

The public's need to <u>know</u> about schools and schooling coupled with possibly the first teacher surplus in our

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[3]Clifford, op. cit., p. xi.

history provides a setting which should be conducive to thorough examination of educational decision-making which produces change: sociocultural, curricular, and structural.

There is a need for careful, systematic analysis of change in our schools. The interrelatedness of our socio-cultural institutions and persons who function within them must be carefully considered. No longer will isolated, narrowly focused studies suffice. Rather scholars must study the total environment of the school as an organization within a particular culture. Openness and choice in the lower school have an effect upon the high school. Colleges and universities feel the need to adjust when high schools offer improvement of academic programs. In turn, the lower school feels the stamp of the colleges and universities through the involvement of scholars and scientists in curriculum making. All of these are strongly influenced by the thoughts, feelings, and actions of those outside the schools.

We need to gain a fuller understanding of the changes that are now occurring and to develop conceptualizations that will aid in more effectively planning for change. The spontaneous or accidental changes will always be with us, but we can strive to be better prepared for engaging ourselves in the change process(es) by understanding the probable outcomes of our attempts at innovation.

To this end, the remainder of the paper will be devoted to the development of a conceptual framework for analyzing

the possible effects of organizational change in schools, and to the application of the framework to a case study.

METHODOLOGY

It was stated earlier that the major purpose of this study is to develop a conceptual framework which could be used to understand change that occurred in an elementary school. What is a conceptual framework; and how can a conceptual framework aid in understanding?

It is generally understood that a framework is a structure for supporting or enclosing something. A concept is an idea which combines various elements into an understandable whole. Hence a conceptual framework is one that draws together various elements into a supporting scheme or structure which may aid in the better understanding of a given topic.

Conceptualizations of social interaction patterns may aid us in our attempts to understand to a greater degree the complex organizations in which men participate. By examining dominant social interaction factors in the operation of organizations, it may be possible to gain insight into the sociocultural forces which produce change as well as sociocultural responses to change. If this is possible, then we should be able to make better preparation for the future.

To this end, Chapter Three will be given over to the development of a conceptual framework for which the components have been drawn from the writings of recognized

figures in sociology and anthropology. The framework will be used in a case study approach to analyze and to understand more fully a series of events which comprised an elementary school staff development project.

The framework in this study will focus on the administrative and teaching roles in a school in which decision-making patterns were altered. Key factors which are influenced by change or which may affect the direction, speed or intensity of change will be identified and examined.

Case study is a nonexperimental technique. McAshon pointed out that:

> A case study may result from: (1) lack of information about a matter, (2) conflicting information about something deemed to be important; or (3) misinformation about some individual or group; or it may occur (4) just as an attempt to gain new insights into factors that result in a given behavior or complex situation.[4]

According to Sarason, a case study ". . .is not a collection of facts, . . .but rather a description of events which are considered important according to some conception or theory about how things work and develop."[5] Viewed from Sarason's perspective, it seems reasonable that a conceptual framework would enhance the case study in the absence of a

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[4]Hildreth H. McAshon, Elements of Education Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1963), p. 21.

[5]Seymour B. Sarason, The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1976), p. 165.

fully developed social science model. Indeed, these may be prior steps to the development of an appropriate model which would incorporate some or all of the concepts involved in the current framework.

Through a full description and careful analysis of a series of events, an attempt will be made to convey an understanding of occurrences following the alteration of decision-making patterns in an elementary school.

Data were gathered by on-site observation by this investigator, personal interviews with project participants, questionnaires, logs of other research participants and related memoranda.

In this chapter, the investigator has stated her intent to develop a conceptual framework for examining change in schools. It has been stated in this chapter that change is a sociocultural force which must be viewed on a broad spectrum rather than in the narrow, segmented manner so prevelant in the literature. The need to carefully consider the interrelatedness of our systems and the persons who function within them has been established.

The investigator has pointed to case study through the use of a conceptual framework as the methodology to be used.

Chapter Two will examine the literature as a means of building a sociocultural view of the schools. Terms will be defined and essential elements of the framework will be introduced in the chapter.

The investigator's conceptual framework for viewing change as a dynamic process will be presented in Chapter Three. Careful development of the framework will be accompanied by four clusters of questions which will be used as guides in applying the framework to the case under consideration.

Chapter Four will present the case study of an elementary school staff development project. Events taken from a two-year period of time will be discussed in terms of the framework.

The final chapter will present a summary and conclusions based on the development of the framework. Recommendations for further study will conclude the work.

CHAPTER II

A SOCIOCULTURAL VIEW OF THE SCHOOL: A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In the previous chapter, the investigator provided a map for the entire dissertation. The present chapter is designed to set the stage for the conceptual framework which focuses on change within a particular elementary school. Relevant scholarly literature will be cited; and from the ensuing discussions, working definitions will be derived.

AN OVERVIEW

In order to comprehend schools as organizations, it is important to view schools within their larger context. Modern societies devote sizable portions of their resources to the development and maintenance of specialized agencies of formal education. The school, as our society's specialized agency of formal education, is a microcosm of the larger social order. In her discussion of schools, Sexton indicates that most of the processes and structures of the school are mirrors reflecting present and past images of the larger society.[1] She notes that schools, probably more than most organizations, perform functions that are an integral part of the entire social system. This

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[1]Patricia Cayo Sexton, The American School: A Sociological Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 2.

assertion is based upon the output of schools as compared to the output of business and industrial organizations. Business and industrial output is most often a special product destined for a specific market. School output, on the other hand, is in the form of individuals who will eventually participate in the various institutions of society---economic, political, educational, familial.[2]

Organizations do not exist in vacuums. It must be recognized that they both act upon and are constrained by physical and socio-cultural factors within the environment.

Morrish[3] and Sarason,[4] in their separate works concerning change processes in schools, discuss at some length the importance of the microcosm when attempting to understand the functioning of schools. The school is closely linked to its environment through the influence of groups and individuals within society: parents, community organizations, all levels of government, the media and institutions of higher education, to name a few. Schools are visibly dependent, highly vulnerable agencies of the larger social system.

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[2]Sexton, op. cit., p. 66.

[3]Ivor Morrish, Aspects of Educational Change (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1976).

[4]Seymour Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971).

In short, schools are social institutions; and as such, they are reflectors of the society within which they exist. Schools are populated by individuals, and these individuals are the product of the culture into which they were born.

In order to understand the full import of the foregoing assertion and to comprehend the complexity of relationships implied, it is necessary that literature concerning the basic concept of social systems be examined. Literature concerning the attendant concepts of culture and society, as well as the structural components of society, must also figure prominently in the review of related writings.

A social system may be thought of as the patterned interaction of a number of individuals whose relations to each other are oriented toward a shared goal. Parsons maintains that the concept of social system is necessarily basic to any discussion of culture and society. He defines a social system as:

> ....a system of the actions of individuals, the principal units of which are roles and constellations of roles. It is a system of differentiated actions, organized into a system of differentiated roles.[5]

In later writings, Parsons classifies social systems as one of the four primary human action systems. The remaining three human action systems are identified as being the behavioral organism, the personality of the individual, and

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[5]Talcott Parsons and E. A. Shils, Toward A General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 197.

the cultural system.[6] In his discussion of these action systems, Parsons states:

> Within action systems, cultural systems are specialized around the function of pattern-maintenance, social systems around the integration of acting units (human individuals or, more precisely, personalities engaged in roles), personality systems around goal-attainment, and the behavioral organism around adaptation.[7]

Society

In the broadest sense, society refers to the entirety, the totality, of social relationship among human beings. This view of society is so general as to be of little use in understanding the interactions of human beings. By adding the elements of self-perpetuation and common possession of distinctive institutions and culture, the view becomes clearer. Two fundamental and interrelated premises of sociological inquiry are now incorporated in the definition.

> ....men live everywhere in groups and... their behaviour is substantially affected by shared norms and values.[8]

Parsons characterizes society as the most self-sufficient type of social system. Local communities,

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[6]Talcott Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 5.

[7]Ibid., p. 7.

[8]Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, ed. A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 674.

schools, business firms, and kinship units are social systems which exist as sub-systems of societies. In other words, the sub-systems are more dependent on other sub-systems of the same society than on sub-systems of other societies.[9]

Culture

As noted earlier, Parsons views culture as one of the four primary human action systems. Kluckhohn provides a more specific definition of culture. He takes the position that culture consists of those aspects of the total human environment, both tangible and intangible, which have been created by men.[10] Kluckhohn lists the following propositions on the theory of culture:

1. Culture is learned;
2. Culture derives from the biological, environmental, psychological, and historical components of human existence;
3. Culture is structural;
4. Culture is divided into aspects;
5. Culture is dynamic;
6. Culture is variable;
7. Culture exhibits regularities that permit its analysis by the methods of science;
8. Culture is the instrument whereby the individual adjusts to his total setting, and gains the means for creative expression.[11]

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[9]Parsons, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

[10]Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Study of Culture" in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, 3rd ed. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, ed. (London: Collier-MacMillan Limited, 1969), pp. 42-44.

[11]Kluckhohn, op. cit., pp. 44-45. Kluckhohn notes that these propositions were put forth by Melville J. Herskovits in Man and His Works, (1940), p. 625.

Murdock agrees that culture is the product of learning, rather than heredity. He describes a culture as a system of collective habits that are shared by members of a society.[12] The habits that are shared within a society are divided into two major classes by Murdock: habits of action and habits of thought.[13] Habits of action include a society's customs or observable modes of behavior such as etiquette, ceremonials, and the techniques of manipulating material objects. Habits of thought or collective ideas include such things as practical knowledge, religious beliefs, social values, rules, and limits or permissible variations of behavior.[14] Murdock elaborates further:

> Collective ideas also include a body of social expectations--anticipations of how others will respond to one's own behaviour... With every custom and with every organized cluster of customs, such as "culture complex" or "institution", there is ordinarily associated a mass of collective ideas.[15]

Murdock summarizes much of what has been presented concerning culture by stating:

> ...we must realize that every human society has a culture, that cultures are acquired and transmitted by learning, that their elements are only in part shared by the entire society,

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[12] George Peter Murdock, Culture and Society (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), pp. 113-114.

[13] Ibid., p. 115.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

> being largely distributed according to the prevailing system of social relationships in association with ascribed and achievable "statuses"..., and that the norms of man's social interaction are definitely a part of culture as are the norms of his reactions to the external material world.[16]

Social Structure

The foregoing discussions have alluded to the structural components of society. The terms patterned interaction, shared goals, and norms of social interaction all imply structure. Social structure may be seen as incorporating (1) an arrangement of positions or statuses and (2) a network of relationships among individuals which is circumscribed by generally accepted rules of conduct.[17]

Linton notes that patterns of reciprocal behavior between individuals or groups of individuals must exist if a society is to function.[18] According to Linton, two organizing concepts are used in defining a society's pattern of reciprocal behavior: status and role.

Status is the major position within the pattern and refers to a collection of privileges and responsibilities. It is possible, indeed probable, that an individual will hold several statuses as a result of participation in a

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[16]Murdock, op. cit., p. 154.

[17]Gould and Kolb, ed., op. cit., p. 668.

[18]Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York, N. Y.: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1936), pp. 113-119.

number of patterns. It is generally accepted, however, that an individual's status is derived from the sum total, or entirety, of these statuses. Linton summarizes this point by stating:

> However, unless the term is qualified in some way, the status of any individual means the sum total of all the statuses which he occupies. It represents his position with relation to the total society. Thus the status of Mr. Jones as a member of his community derives from a combination of all the statuses which he holds as a citizen, as an attorney, as a Mason, as a Methodist, as Mrs. Jones' husband, and so on.[19]

The second organizing concept discussed by Linton is role.[20] Each status has a dynamic aspect. As pointed out earlier, a status may be referred to as a collection of rights and responsibilities. Therefore, as an individual puts these rights and responsibilities into expression or action, role performance is occurring. It becomes evident then, that status and role are inseparable. One depends upon the other.

To an individual who is part of a pattern of reciprocal behavior, status and role represent the attitudinal and behavioral guidelines needed for satisfactory participation.

> Status and role serve to reduce the ideal patterns for social life to individual terms. They become models for organizing the attitudes and behaviour of the individual so that these will be congruous with those of the other individuals participating in the expression of the pattern.[21]

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[19]Linton, op. cit., p. 113.

[20]Ibid., p. 114. [21]Ibid.

Merton enlarges upon Linton's approach to status and role by developing the conceptions of status-set and role-set.[22] As noted earlier, Linton used the term status to refer to the sum total of statuses an individual occupies which in turn represents the individual's position with relation to the total society. Merton uses the term status-set when referring to this complex of statuses (the illustration used earlier: citizen, attorney, Mason, Methodist, Mrs. Jones' husband).

Each of the statuses represented within the status-set is accompanied by a role. Merton views role as a complex entity, an array of role relationships in which an individual is enmeshed by virtue of occupying a particular status.[23] To illustrate, the status of teacher in the United States has a role-set which consists of not only the role of a teacher vis-á-vis her students, but also a complement of differing role relationships which includes colleagues, principals, parents, the Board of Education, and professional associations.

Normative Structure

As previously noted, there are associated rights and responsibilities which constitute a status, and role is the

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[22]Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Revised and Enlarged Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 368-384.

[23]Ibid., p. 369.

dynamic aspect which is discernable when those rights and responsibilities are put into action. It is implicit in this conception that there is a set of agreed upon behaviors which govern role fulfillment. It should be made explicit that there exists in society a normative structure which provides guidelines for behavior. Haas and Drabek maintain that the normative structure provides networks of rather specific expectations which guide participants within the social system. The expectations are based on commonly accepted ranges of behaviors which are appropriate for individuals within any given behavioral setting.[24] The normative structure may be thought of as containing two major components: norms and values.

Norms are ideas or expectations concerning the behavior of individuals in specified situations. Thus, according to Haas and Drabek,[25] norms are categorical, i.e., they apply to groups or categories of people such as teachers, waiters, students, wives. Norms are situational, applying only in certain situations. The content of norms varies from social system to social system. Nonetheless, in all interaction

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[24]Thomas E. Drabek and J. Eugene Haas, Understanding Complex Organizations (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, Publishers, 1974), pp. 41-43.

[25]J. Eugene Haas and Thomas E. Drabek, Complex Organizations: A Sociological Perspective (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1973), pp. 110-111.

patterns, or role relationships, there are norms which specify task assignment, authority, and status differences. In addition, there are norms which specify behaviors which are appropriate when the social unit's rules are broken. These norms are called sanctions.[26]

Parsons asserts that norms function mainly to integrate social systems.

> ....they regulate the great variety of processes that contribute to the implementation of value commitments.[27]

The second component of normative order or structure is values. Parsons defines a value as:

> An element of a shared symbolic system which serves as a criterion or standard of selection among the alternatives of orientation which are open in a situation....[28]

Parsons concludes, in a later work, that values form the primary connecting link between the social and cultural systems. They are conceptions of desirable systems that regulate social units in the making of commitments.[29] It may be recalled from our earlier discussion of culture that Parsons views culture as one of the primary human action sub-systems.[30] Culture is man-made, the product of learning

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[26]Drabek and Haas, 1974, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

[27]Parsons, 1966, op. cit., p. 19.

[28]Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 12.

[29]Parsons, 1966, op. cit., p. 18.

[30]This discussion may be found on pages 13-14.

not heredity; and it consists of habits of action and habits of thought. Norms and values, the regulators of culture and society, may be found in these habits of action and thought. Some of the norms and values are made explicit; others must be inferred from overt behavior.

Organizations As Social Systems

Human beings carry out their day-to-day endeavors in a milieu of social action systems. Within society are to be found many social sub-systems such as communities, business firms, and schools.[31] These social sub-systems which are known as organizations have become highly important in American life.

Alexis de Tocqueville recognized the importance of organizations in the United States even in the 1800's. He offered the following description:

> Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types--religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute.[32]

Complex networks of organizations now characterize our society. Each organization mirrors much of what has already

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[31] Parsons, 1966, op. cit., p. 1.

[32] Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America. Translated by George Laurence and edited by J. P. Mayer (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1969), p. 513.

been discussed with reference to social systems. For instance, Merton stresses the patterns of activity which are functionally related to the purposes of the organization.[33] He also cites the function of status-role and norms by stating:

> The system prescribed relations between the various offices involves a considerable degree of formality and clearly defines social distance between the occupants of these positions. Formality is manifested by means of a more or less formal ritual which symbolizes and supports the "pecking order" of the various offices.[34]

The importance of role structure and communication networks in defining and understanding organizations was noted by Boulding. He maintained that the communication network united the role occupants.[35]

Bennis includes all elements of social systems in his definition:

> Organizations, by definition, are social systems where people have norms, values, shared beliefs, and paradigms of what's right and what's wrong and what's legitimate and what isn't, of how practice is conducted. One gains status and power on the basis of agreement, concurrence, and conformity with those paradigms.[36]

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[33] Merton, op. cit., p. 195.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Kenneth E. Boulding, A Primer of Social Dynamics (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 23.

[36] Warren G. Bennis, The Unconscious Conspiracy: Why Leaders Can't Lead (New York: AMACOM, 1976), p. 96.

Katz and Kahn view organizations as open systems, patterned sets of events, in which the focus is not upon individual actors but upon patterns of activity. They see the need for "identifying and mapping the repeated cycles of input, transformation, output, and renewed input which comprise the organizational pattern."[37]

Two additional dimensions, existence over time and relative complexity, are added by Haas and Drabek. They agree that organizations are patterned interaction systems with all that the term implies. They note that organizations vary widely in several respects: type of task, kind of technology used, and extent to which rules are formalized and explicated. In addition, these two sociologists maintain, organizations must be relatively complex interaction systems which persist over time.[38]

Bureaucratic and Professional Organizations

Two forms of organizations are prevalent in modern societies: bureaucratic and professional. The basic distinguishing feature between professional and bureaucratic organizations centers around the difference in social

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[37] Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 28.

[38] Drabek and Haas, 1974, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

control found within each.[39] Professionals usually form voluntary associations for the purpose of self- and peer-control. In contrast, the source of control within bureaucracy comes, not from a colleagial group, but from the hierarchy of authority.

> Performance is controlled by directives received from one's superiors rather than by self-imposed standards and peer-group surveillance, as is the case among professionals.[40]

As stated earlier, a distinctive mark of our present era is the preponderance of complex or formal organizations. One of the defining characteristics of all organizations is the conscious concerting of action to achieve a common goal. A second characteristic is the hierarchical nature of relationships of some individuals within the organization having control over others.

The continued existence of a formal organization depends, to a large extent, on the individuals within maintaining their roles. Katz and Kahn point out that every organization faces the task of reducing the instability and spontaneity of individual human acts and increasing the reliability of organizational behavior.[41]

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39 Peter M. Blau and W. R. Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 62-63.

40 Ibid.

41 Katz and Kahn, op. cit., p. 199.

Power to stabilize organizational roles has been conceptualized in various ways. Dahl, a political scientist, defines power as the ability of A to get B to do something B would not otherwise do.[42] This definition implies that the power variable is a relational one. Power is meaningless unless it is exercised. An individual or a group cannot have power in isolation; rather it must be in relationship to some person or group. In other words, the individual members of a power relationship are tied to each other by mutual dependency.[43]

Weber, in his systematic examination of varied patterns of social organization, was one of the first scholars to address the question of why individuals repeatedly engage in behavior patterns wherein some follow the wishes of others.[44] In his classical theories of authority and bureaucratic organizations, Weber indicates that the reason individuals engage in the aforementioned behavior patterns is because some have power over others.

Weber defines power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry

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[42] Robert Dahl, "The Concept of Power", Behavioral Science, 2 (July, 1957), 202-203.

[43] Richard H. Hall, Organizations: Structure and Process (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 204.

[44] Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by Alexander M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947).

out his own will despite resistance."[45] Power, defined in this manner, is a comprehensive concept of social influence with force or coersion implied.

Authority, in contrast, is based upon voluntary compliance with directives issued by the individual in control. Weber defines authority as "the probability that certain specific commands...from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons."[46]

Weber postulated three types or forms of authority: traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal.[47] Traditional authority is exemplified in absolute monarchies and feudal states. In this instance, people observe the directives of a person occupying a position of authority because the position was rightfully inherited. The necessity of turning to past traditions for legitimation of present acts distinguishes this type of authority from others.

Charismatic authority emanates from a perceived divinity or supernatural power. This type of authority generally functions as a revolutionary force.

Rational-legal authority is derived from a belief in the supremacy of the law. This form of authority is embodied in a position within a sphere of legitimate power. Allegiance is owed to an impersonal set of principles rather

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[45]Ibid., p. 152.
[46]Ibid., p. 324.
[47]Ibid., pp. 324-386.

than to a person. A formally established body of rules which coordinate the actions of individuals in pursuit of explicit goals is necessary for this form of authority. The government, an industrial corporation, and the army are examples of rational-legal authority structures.

Simon defined authority as "the power to make decisions which guide the actions of another."[48] He went on to postulate four motivational bases conditioning the acceptance of authority: confidence (the development of technical skills), social approval (identification with a group), sanctions and rewards, and legitimation.[49]

Peabody examined the work of social scientists concerning sources of authority and found essential points of agreement which he classified into four broad categories:

> ....(1) authority of legitimacy; (2) authority of position, including the sanctions inherent in position; (3) authority of competence, including both technical skills and experience, and (4) authority of person, including leadership and human relations skills....[50]

Most modern administrative organizations exemplify bureaucratic organization. Etzioni characterizes bureaucratic organization in the following manner:[51]

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[48]Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior, Second Edition (New York: MacMillan, 1957), p. 125.

[49]Ibid., pp. 104-106.

[50]Robert L. Peabody, "Perceptions of Organizational Authority: A Comparative Analysis", Administrative Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 4 (March 1962), p. 464.

[51]Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 53.

1. A clear-cut division of labor which encourages specialization.

2. Hierarchical ordering of positions in terms of supervision and control.

3. A clearly defined scope of authority of superiors over subordinates based on knowledge and ability.

4. A formally established set of rules and regulations governing official decisions and actions.

5. Impersonal orientation expected between officials and their clients as well as with other officials.

6. Administration separated from ownership.

Katz and Kahn cite the strengths of bureaucratic organization as being efficiency and effectiveness, unity and compliance of personnel. The deficiencies they cite are the great waste of human potential for innovation and creativity and the great psychological cost to the members due to the fact that they do not much care for the system or its goals.[52]

Essential Components of Organization

No discussion of organizations could be considered complete without an examination of the essential components of organizations: interaction, membership, the means through which interaction occurs, and setting or environment within which the organization exists.

Interaction appears to be a universal phenomenon. The use of patterned interactions as the core for definitions

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[52]Katz and Kahn, op. cit., p. 222.

of social systems has been noted in earlier discussions of social systems and organizations as social systems. Atomic systems, solar systems, biological systems, all result from interacting members within the system. Coser and Rosenberg point out that interaction defines "the process which constitutes the very core of social life and human behaviour."[53] Human interaction is distinguished from other types by the involvement of norms, status positions, and reciprocal obligations in the interaction process.

Haas and Drabek[54] discuss three implications of the view of organizations as interaction systems. First, interaction entails a process of give and take, mutual and reciprocal, influencing by the persons involved. Second, due to the interdependent nature of these relationships, organizations are more than the simple sum of the parts. Third, interdependence must be recognized as the primary characteristic of all systems.

The definition of membership has been approached from many angles by social scientists. Homans emphasized the frequency of interaction as a means of determining membership.[55]

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[53] Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, editors., Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, 3rd ed. (London: Collier-MacMillan Limited, 1969), p. 57.

[54] Haas and Drabek, 1973, op. cit., pp. 8-13.

[55] George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), pp. 82-86.

Merton[56] advocates two additional criteria: (1) self definition as a member, that is, the individual designates that he/she is a member accepting the patterned interactions expected of all members but not of non-members; and (2) definition by others, both members and non-members, that individuals participating in the interaction patterns are members.

Haas and Drabek also accept Homans' requisite of frequency and add the content of interaction as a second criterion.[57]

> Organizational membership is thereby defined using criteria based on the interaction itself without reference to ideas of actors as explanatory variables. And the degree to which normative expectations correspond to behavior can then be investigated; it becomes problematic rather than definitional.[58]

As stated earlier in the discussion of organizations, a network of communications is an important unifying component within organizations. Individuals interact with each other through varied means, both verbal and non-verbal. Symbols and their use in ritual and myth assume a prominent place in maintaining interaction patterns within society and its organizations. White stresses the importance of symbols.

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[56] Merton, op. cit., p. 286.

[57] Haas and Drabek, 1973, op. cit., p. 14.

[58] Ibid.

> All human behavior consists of, or is dependent upon, the use of symbols. Human behavior is symbolic behavior; symbolic behavior is human behavior. The symbol is the universe of humanity.[59]

Firth suggests that the intrinsic properties of symbols lie in the recognition of one thing standing for another with their relationship being that of concrete to abstract.[60] The relationship between the object and representation is perceived so strongly that the symbol generates the same reaction the actual object could be expected to generate. The reactions are often of high emotional charge.

A symbol "is designed to quickly convey to the observer the whole set of emotions associated with the original meaning being symbolized."[61] Some symbols are used to foster group identity, others to exert control, and still others to reinforce authority.

The interactions of individuals as they function in social systems give rise to ritual and myth. Brubaker states that "rituals begin to emerge in order to provide their participants with the emotional security that is associated with predictable behavior."[62] Ritual is then, as Firth

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[59]Leslie A. White, "The Symbol: The Origin and Basis of Human Behavior", Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, eds., Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, Third Edition (London: Collier MacMillan Limited, 1969), p. 34.

[60]Raymond Firth, Symbols: Public and Private (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 15-16.

[61]Dale L. Brubaker, Creative Leadership in Elementary Schools (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976), p. 25.

[62]Ibid.

suggests, a symbolic mode of communication.[63]

Myth may be viewed as a means by which individuals can manipulate tensions about interpersonal relationships, thereby helping to control them.[64] In other words, myth becomes a way of explaining the unexplainable, or of side-stepping subjects for which explanation brings discomfort. Firth points out that myth supplies explanation and allocates responsibility or task in such a way that the inescapable can be comprehended and more easily accepted by the individual.[65]

Interaction systems, organizations, do not take place in a vacuum, rather they are embedded in and interact with their surroundings. An organization's surroundings may aptly be referred to as its environment or setting. The environment is comprised of that which is not included in the organization.

Organizations both act upon and are constrained by environmental forces of varied types.[66] It is apparent that the environment has an effect upon organizations. Changes in weather conditions, societal attitudes and values, or shifts in markets cause organizations to adjust. At the same time, it is important to note that organizations have

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[63]Firth, op. cit., p. 176.

[64]Ibid., p. 204.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Drabek and Haas, 1974, op. cit., p. ix.

an effect upon their environments. Recent concern over atmospheric pollution provides us with a powerful example. Schein characterizes the interaction between organization and environment:

> ...the organization must be conceived of as an open system which means that it is in constant interaction with its environment, taking in raw materials, people, energy and information, and transforming or converting them into products and service which are exported into the environment.[67]

Haas and Drabek provide a fitting summary:

> Thus, the relationship between the organization and its environment is one of high interdependence. Environmental characteristics specify the "setting" within which the interaction system exists.[68]

Innovation and Change

It is widely accepted that change is constant, uncomfortable, always adaptive and usually progressive.[69] As a result, the dynamic characteristic of sociocultural systems is change. The survival chances of a society "are largely a function of its ability to meet change."[70] When societies do not adapt their values and institutions to the demands of

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[67] Edgar H. Schein, Organizational Psychology (Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 95.

[68] Haas and Drabek, 1973, op. cit., p. 18.

[69] Murdock, op. cit., p. 128.

[70] Robert Prethus, The Organizational Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 27.

change, be they social, economic, or climatic, the results are disastrous.[71]

Murdock cites what he says is now a commonplace acceptance of modern anthropological thought:

> ....that culture is adaptive, satisfying individual and societal needs and altering over time in response to the changing conditions of life.[72]

According to this anthropologist, cultural change most often begins with the process of innovation. A single individual develops a new habit, a new approach to some area of living. The new habit is subsequently learned or accepted by others in the society, and change occurs.[73]

Barnett[74] sets forth the idea that every man is basically innovative. This position is explained by pointing out that no two stimuli are exactly the same and that no response to stimuli is ever exactly the same. If this position is accepted and coupled with Barnett's definition of innovation as "any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms"[75] we are led to the realization that

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Murdock, op. cit., p. 18.

[73] Ibid., p. 117.

[74] Homer G. Barnett, Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953), p. 7.

[75] Ibid.

through the actions of everyday living each person may be producing something different.

An innovation does not just appear; neither is it made of whole cloth. Rather, an innovation is made up of pre-existing components. The new combinations of components are completely the outcomes of mental activity.

> An innovation is therefore, a creation only in the sense that it is a new combination, never in the sense that it is something emerging from nothing.[76]

As one interacts, always in a slightly different way, with persons, events, places, things or ideas, the possibility of producing an innovation is inevitable. Barnett, then, sees innovation as a means of producing change.

Watzlawick, Weakland, and Fisch[77] describe two types of change. The first occurs within a given system which itself remains unchanged and is called first order change. The second, whose occurrence changes the system itself, is called second order change.

Haas and Drabek postulate three types or intensities of change in organizations: regularized cycles, change in systems, and change of systems.[78] Regularized cycles of change most often hinge upon seasonal variation. In

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[76] Barnett, op. cit., p. 181.

[77] Paul Watzlawick, John Weakland, and Richard Fisch, Change (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1974), p. 10.

[78] Haas and Drabek, 1973, op. cit., pp. 265-274.

accordance with seasonal demands, organizational personnel vary their programming so as to adapt easily.

Changes in systems take place over time and are usually minor, reflecting an effort to add new activities rather than changing in any significant manner.[79]

Basic change of the system itself is the most dramatic of the three types. Most system changes occur in response to everyday problems which necessitate small adjustments to adapt to the changing environment. Occasionally, however, dramatic occurrences in the environment, or with the organization itself, necessitate massive changes in the system.[80]

In the words of Murdock, then:

> However halting or harsh it may appear to its participants,....change is always adaptive and usually progressive. It is also inevitable, and will endure as long as the earth can support life.[81]

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79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

81 Murdock, loc. cit.

CHAPTER III

THE FRAMEWORK

The rapid rate of change in society has produced a flurry of social science research activity during the past decade. Much of this research centers its attention on organizations as social systems. The school, like other organizations such as the church, government, business and industry, reaches into almost every sector of our society. As a result, it is important that we systematically analyze the process of change in the school. This analysis should include the construction of a framework that identifies and defines key organizing concepts which in turn become key terms in explanatory statements focusing on social system change.

The purpose of this study is to analyze occurrences within a project which involved the alteration of decision-making patterns in an elementary school. The conceptual framework developed in the present chapter will be used to analyze selected events from the two-year project.

Before presenting this researcher's conceptualization, it is important to examine the assumptions underlying the framework. Five assumptions are basic to the writer's perspective. First, change is inevitable. As people

interact with each other and with the environment, they constantly seek to find the most satisfying patterns of interaction or seek to maintain patterns of interaction which have proved to be satisfying in the face of a changing environment. Values of the individual are bound up in any definition which might be offered for the term "satisfying." Interactions which provide security; reward, either material or non-material; prestige; power, provided by the dependency of others, are some of the possible descriptors of "satisfying patterns." If we accept that organizations are patterned interaction systems, then it becomes apparent that a parallel statement applies to organizations.

Second, stress is a necessary component of the change process. Stress is a condition which occurs when there is a misalignment or discrepancy between demands placed upon an individual and the individual's ability or capacity.[1] Organizational stress may be defined in a similar way. The greater the discrepancy between demands on and capacity of the organization, the greater the degree of stress.[2]

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[1] Hans Selye, The Stresses of Life (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 25-52.

[2] Additional definitions and discussions of stress are to be found in the following: James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Son, Inc., 1958), p. 184; Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 128.

Change takes place within a context which gives it meaning. This third assumption is related to the first two but focuses our attention on the fact that change is not a free-floating abstraction. Change is contained or bounded by some recognizable context, be it organization, institution, society or individual. Therefore, to give meaning to the term "change", it must be examined within a given context.

Fourth, organizational behavior is social in nature and is characterized by patterns and regularities. Biological or psychological factors may be involved in organizational behavior; however, when an organization is used as the basic unit of analysis it would seem more appropriate to hold the social aspect as central to the analysis. This is not to imply that biological and psychological factors will not enter the analysis, for these factors cannot be completely ignored. They will not, however, be held as the central focus of analysis.[3]

Finally, conceptual frameworks are useful for understanding occurrences within organizations. As noted earlier[4], the use of a framework aids in understanding events within organizations which tend to be highly complex

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[3] Guy E. Swanson, "On Explanations of Social Interaction," Sociometry, 28 (June, 1965), 101-123.

[4] A more complete discussion of the topic is found on pp. 7-8 of this dissertation.

in nature. By using a conceptual framework, we can focus on selected occurrences which, once understood, can be more easily related to the whole.

CONCEPTS WITHIN AN ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

Any framework for analyzing a social system such as a school is designed to understand better the decisions made by those who influence the social system. These decisions are in fact judgments or evaluations made by persons as they participate in the social system and its subsystems. The judgment or evaluation is always made on the basis of the objectives or goals held by the person. The choice of objectives or goals is influenced, either consciously or subconsciously, by the beliefs and values of the system's members. Therefore, the concepts and explanatory statements in the following paragraphs are always related to goalsetting and evaluation although these terms will not be the primary focus of the discussion. Rather, the primary focus will be on the interdependent interactions of system members and the supporting concepts of membership, means of interaction, and setting.

Interdependent Interactions

As defined and discussed in Chapter Two, an organization is an interaction system which may be observed as a collection or series of patterned interactions among

individuals.[5] It is also important to note that the interactions are interdependent.[6] This interaction system, while being relatively permanent, is not static. Rather, it is a dynamic, pulsating organism composed of interacting subsystems populated with actors. While the term "relative permanence" implies that there is enough stability in the interaction patterns to be observable over time, it is important to recognize that the interacting systems will be in a state of flux. Reasons for this state will be discussed in subsequent sections on membership, means of interaction, and setting.

An organization has been defined as a relatively permanent interaction system. This definition could apply to groups or societies, also. Therefore, for clearer understanding, another dimension seems indicated--that of complexity. That is, one must differentiate between groups, organizations, and societies. For purposes of this study, the Haas and Drabek definitions will be used.[7] Groups are

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[5] This discussion is to be found on pp. 13-14.

[6] Haas and Drabek discuss the importance of the interdependent nature of these interactions in their previously cited work, Complex Organizations: A Sociological Perspective (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1973). The writer is indebted to the social scientists, Haas and Drabek, for the use of this concept as the core concept of her framework.

[7] Ibid., pp. 1-22.

identifiable, relatively permanent and relatively simple interaction systems. Organizations are identifiable, relatively permanent, relatively complex interaction systems. Societies may be characterized in the same way but tend to be more complex than organizations.[8]

If the patterned, interdependent interactions are held as the focus rather than the individual actors, it is possible to see that there exists an entity that is different from that indicated by the identification of particular actors or the simple sum of the actors. In other words, when we examine the interactions of the actors we find something quite different in meaning and effect than when we examine only the actors. In fact, the interactions are more than the sum of their parts. For example, if all parts of a typewriter were spread on a work bench, our understanding of each part would be something quite different from our understanding of the parts assembled into an operating machine. It is the interdependent relationships which give special meaning to the machine we know as a typewriter.

The interdependent nature of the interactions within the system indicates that change in one area will produce change in all other areas. This is not to say that the change will be the same in all sectors, either in intensity or kind. If this line of reasoning is accepted, it becomes apparent that change is not linear but multi-directional

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[8] See Figure 1 for the typology presented by Haas and Drabek, p. 8.

DEGREE OF PERMANENCE	DEGREE OF COMPLEXITY			
	LOW			HIGH
Relatively Permanent	Groups	Organizations	Communities	Societies
Relatively Transitory	Gatherings	Emergent Organizations	Synthetic Organizations	Social Movements

Figure 1 A Typology of Interaction Systems

and reflexive. That is, change moves in a number of directions in response to a particular input in the system.

As change occurs, stress will increase. The symptoms of stress will be evident in the patterned interactions comprising the organization. It may be remembered from the discussion of assumptions at the beginning of the present chapter that stress is viewed as a condition which occurs when there is discrepancy between demands placed upon an individual (or organization) and the individual's (or organization's) capacity. Interaction will be affected as attempts are made to alleviate stress or achieve a less threatening level of stress. Thus, due to their interdependent nature, inter- and intra-organizational interaction may be affected. The degree to which interactions are altered depends upon the locus of the stress-producing input.

Membership

As noted in the previous chapter[9], social scientists have focused on various criteria when discussing membership in a group or organization. There is general agreement on the frequency of interaction as a criterion. It will be remembered that being defined as a member by self and others, and content of interaction, were additional criteria offered.

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[9] This discussion is to be found on pp. 30-31.

Membership may be viewed as a person engaging in the behavior prescribed by norms for a given role. Two people will fulfill a role in similar ways but not the same way. The individual's beliefs and values, past experiences, and intelligence are among the factors which shape one's perception of role. Roles within an organization will, therefore, be modified by the way in which an individual fulfills a role which, in turn, has implications for role interactions.

The focus on interactions aids in seeing that role enactment, as evidenced by the behavior of the individuals occupying the roles, varies. As a result, interaction patterns within and between systems will vary to some degree because of the interdependent nature of interactions.

It has been stated previously that an organization is an interdependent interaction system which has a reality that is something other than the sum of its individual parts. If this is accepted, then it is more important to examine interactions than individual role fulfillment. The frequency and regularity with which one interacts with others who hold certain things in common, such as tasks and clients, is a more fruitful way of defining membership. The things held in common would tend to produce interaction units which were similar in nature. The two criteria, frequency and content of interaction, are taken into account in the definition.

Any individual holds membership in more than one group or organization simultaneously. One may be a member of a political party, union, church and professional organization to indicate a few. These exemplify the various statuses in which individuals find themselves. Merton[10] refers to this complement of social statuses of an individual as his/her status-set. Affiliations with other groups will influence one's interactions within each group where membership is held. Consequently, whatever affects the individual has implications for the interaction patterns of each group or organization wherein membership is held.

Means of Interaction

By defining an organization as an interaction system, it is implicit that the term interaction indicates reciprocal influence between actors. In human organizations such as schools, influence is channeled through symbolic manipulation. It has been noted that:

> ....man is a symbol manipulator, the only symbol-manipulating animal and the only animal whose social groupings depend on and are pervaded by complex symbolic processes.[11]

This symbolic interaction may be verbal or nonverbal. It may be accomplished through face-to-face contact or in an

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[10] A more complete discussion of Merton's views of status-set and role-set is to be found in Chapter Two on p. 19.

[11] Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, Social Psychology, 3rd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 7.

indirect manner. The important thing to remember is that reciprocal influence results.

Language is a major means of interaction. When defined as "a structured system of communication by means of oral symbols..."[12], it becomes evident that language in the form of verbal communication is an important aspect of the framework. Given the direction of this researcher's conceptualization, it is not seen in isolation. Rather, the interdependent interactions of language, persons, memberships and settings are viewed as having implications for either change or conservatism.

Verbal interaction consists of both oral and written communication. The importance or weight of the communication is most often determined in relation to the role and status held by the originator. In other words, when the person is speaking or writing within the context of the organization (interaction system), the person's position within the system will affect the manner in which the communication is received.

In addition, the setting may increase or diminish the importance of the interaction. For example, we may be told that two people are engaged in verbal exchange while seated in a room. This gives us little information for understanding

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[12] Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, ed. A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 377.

the impact of the exchange. If it is pointed out that one person is a principal and the other is a teacher, we may better understand the possible impact. The setting adds another dimension to the weight of the exchange. "I see that you enjoy fraternizing." When said by the principal to the teacher as the two are seated in the school office, the statement carries different impact than when the two are dressed in their finest clothing seated at an elegant reception. If the system being considered is the school, then the interaction which occurs in the office between persons occupying statuses with differing role expectations within the system is of greater impact than the one occurring at the reception. This is true because one is perceived as being more directly related to the roles within the system than the other.

Written verbal communication may be viewed in much the same way. Memoranda, bulletins, letters, schedules and directives are usually circulated within the context of the system or subsystem and have little meaning outside.

Symbols are fundamental means of interaction in the functioning of systems. A symbol may be defined as a thing or event which stands for another with their relationship being that of particular to general, concrete to abstract.[13]

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[13]Raymond Firth, Symbols: Public and Private (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 15-16.

The relationship between object and representation is perceived so strongly that the symbol generates the same reaction as the actual object or event could be expected to generate. In other words, a symbol is the representation of an object or an idea encountered within a social context which evokes an expected reaction.

It is assumed that there is common understanding of symbols. However, there is no way of knowing the exact meaning a symbol has for an individual. The emotional charge carried by the symbol interacting with the individual's past experiences may produce variation of meaning among individuals within the same system. The response to a symbol will be variable among individuals when filtered through personal experience even though there is agreement within the group concerning the meaning and form of the symbol.

It should be noted again that the setting is of prime importance. Symbols may not be removed from their social context and retain any consistency of meaning. In this way symbols may be considered characteristic of a system or subsystem.

As change occurs within and between systems or subsystems, old symbols may lose their usefulness. When this occurs, either the old symbols will be adapted for use or new symbols will develop. Symbols may be carefully planned

and their adoption encouraged; but often they are spontaneous or accidental.

Ritual is another means of interaction within and between systems. Ritual is seen as a symbolic mode of communication with a special set of behaviors comprising each ritual. Each participant in a ritual is expected to act or react in a specified manner. Ritual is symbolic in that it is a representation of a real situation. Hence, through the use of ritual, participants communicate a statement of an actual situation.[14]

The final means of interaction in this conceptualization is myth. Myth is generally considered to be based more on tradition or convenience than on fact. The elements of both reality and unreality are contained in myths. Through myth, explanation is supplied and responsibility or task allocated in such a way that the inescapable can be comprehended and better accepted by the individual.

What function do these last three means of interaction serve within a system? Because of the common understanding of symbols, ritual, and myth, the individuals within a system are reassured as to their status and destiny within the system. By engaging in the specified set of behaviors, each participant can more accurately predict the behavior or reaction of others in the system.

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[14] Ritual and myth as means of interaction were initially discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 32-33.

Symbols serve varied functions. Some of them are used to foster group identity, others to exert control and still others to reinforce authority. Symbols are also used as an abbreviated means of communication since an entire set of emotions and meaning can be conveyed quickly.

Through the use of ritual and myth, individuals within the system are helped to control more effectively their tensions about interpersonal relationships. Ritual permits the expression of conflict, amelioration, or status change in an acceptable manner. In a similar fashion, myth becomes a way of explaining the unexplainable, or cushioning subjects for which explanation brings discomfort. As noted in the previous chapter, myth provides explanation and assigns responsibility in such a way that the inevitable can be accepted by the individual.[15] In short, symbols and symbol use in ritual and myth aid in communication and smooth the way for interpersonal relationships.

Settings

Attention has been given to the interdependent nature of interactions within organizations up to this point. However, the conceptualization will not be complete without noting the importance of the setting within which the organization exists. The psychological perspective of any given setting has already been presented by pointing out the

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[15]The initial discussion of myth is found on p. 33.

importance of beliefs, values, intelligence and past experience of individuals.

A second perspective which is sociocultural in nature must be added.[16] The setting reflects the existing social structure. Organizations exist within the larger structures of societies and have developed in response to societal forces. As societies progress, they become more complex. A kind of unquestioned cooperation, often beyond one's consciousness, develops as division of labor becomes more and more specialized. In western cultures, controlling and stabilizing forces for the massive interaction patterns which evolve come from such power spheres as government, business and industry, and religion. An organization may fall primarily under any given power sphere, but it will never be without the influence of the others. As noted in the discussion of membership, the interactions within an organization are influenced by the member's affiliations with other organizations and groups. Influence of this kind radiates from within the organization and is relatively subtle. It is nonetheless powerful.

In short, factors which are independent of any person have impact on the interdependent interaction systems which comprise organizations. Therefore, the interaction of

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16 Seymour B. Sarason, The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1976), pp. 24-26.

sociocultural influences and organizations adds yet another dimension to the conceptualization.

Questions to be Examined by Use of the Framework

When analyzing change within organizations, it is important to determine whether the change was relatively spontaneous, occurring without design, or whether it was the result of planning. Study of change in the schools of the United States has often focused on planned change. Once this is determined, there are clusters of questions which this writer feels are important to consider. The first question-cluster centers around the locus of initiation.

A decision is made to modify existing procedures in an effort to improve current practices, conditions, or outcomes. This leads to the introduction of a new arrangement of ideas or individuals or both. When considering the possible impact of the new arrangement or innovation, the locus of initiation becomes an important factor. Does the initiator hold membership in the organization? If so, at what level or within what sub-system does the initiator primarily operate? If the initiator is not a member of the target organization, in what organization is membership held? What is the relationship between the organization in which membership is held and the target organization? All of these questions center around the origin of the innovation and are important considerations in understanding the

degree of acceptance or resistance to innovation as a means of change.

The second cluster of questions deals with manifestation of social stress. It will be remembered that one of the assumptions discussed in the beginning of this chapter dealt with the inevitability of increased stress within organizations during periods of change. When an innovation is introduced, are there ways to identify and predict the path increased stress will take within the organization?

Keeping in mind that an organization has been defined as an interdependent interaction system, examination of the means of interaction seems a logical area to look for evidences of increased stress. Symbols and their use in ritual and myth have been discussed as means by which individuals maintain interaction patterns. These aid in communication and smooth the way for interpersonal relationships. Will new symbols be formed during periods of increased stress; or will new meanings develop for existing symbols?

As new interaction patterns form, will the familiar rituals suffice; or will new rituals develop in an effort to ease the discomfort produced by increased stress? It was noted earlier in the chapter that ritual permits the expression of conflict, amelioration, or status change in a manner that is socially acceptable.

As new responsibilities or tasks are assigned in connection with the innovation, will myths be generated in an effort to cope with the attendant uncertainties?

The third question-cluster focuses on (1) the span of time needed for individuals to adopt and/or adapt to the innovation and develop any new interaction patterns which might be needed, and (2) the major factors which influence the process. For instance, the purpose of the present study is to analyze a project which involved the alteration of decision-making patterns in an elementary school. When a person or a group is asked to function in a new way as a major decision-maker, how long does it take for awareness of decision-making potency to develop? What factors influence this process? These factors may be found within the organization or may be the result of interaction of organization and setting. Does the perceived locus of power have an effect; and, if so, what is it? Does the style of leadership within the organization have an influence on the developing awareness? What factors within the setting but external to the organization have an effect on the process?

Evaluation is central to the final cluster of questions. It is important to identify who will evaluate the innovation and for what reasons. Membership, as well as the status-role of the evaluator, are critical concerns when thinking about evaluation. How will the evaluation be accomplished? At what points will evaluation occur?

As data are presented in the following chapter, the conceptual framework presented in the current chapter will be used to provide insight into possible answers to these questions.

CHAPTER IV

APPLICATION OF THE FRAMEWORK TO AN EDUCATIONAL SETTING

In the opening chapter, the need for systematic methods of analyzing the effect of innovation and the accompanying change on educational organizations was established; and a rationale for the use of conceptual frameworks was presented. Literature considered by the writer to be relevant to the present study was reviewed in the second chapter. A conceptual framework composed of key elements to be found in the literature was presented in the third chapter along with four clusters of questions that were used in analyzing the case study discussed in the present chapter.

An overview of the project is provided in the early part of the present chapter in order to understand the analyses that follow. A brief summary of the framework and restatement of the questions which provided the focus of the study are presented.

The principal method of investigation was participant observation. This was supplemented by informal interviews, verbatim accounts of meetings, and questionnaires. Observations were made of classroom interactions, the use of facilities, faculty meetings, and team meetings. Reports and memoranda were also made available.

Overview: A Chronology of Events

During the spring of 1974, a professor and two doctoral students agreed to work together in a project which involved altering the decision-making patterns in an elementary school. One of the doctoral students (hereafter referred to as the principal) was on sabbatical leave from Camp Lejeune Dependents' School System and expected to return to a different school in the same system upon completion of his sabbatical. The principal was interested in developing a school environment that would be stimulating and productive for both teaching personnel and students.

The professor was interested in working in an elementary school to implement a decision-making model that would provide for the suspension of bureaucratic or rational-legal authority[1] in areas of curriculum and instruction. The model chosen for use in the project was based on the premise that the professionals working most closely with the curriculum and instruction, the teachers, should be actively involved in the decision-making process.[2]

The second doctoral student, this researcher, was invited by the principal and the professor to join the

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[1] For a discussion of Weber's term rational-legal authority, refer to pages 27-28.

[2] Dale L. Brubaker and Roland H. Nelson, Introduction to Educational Decision-Making (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 42-45.

project team along with the superintendent of Camp Lejeune Dependents' School System within which the elementary school was located. This researcher was interested in observing the process of change in schools, particularly in regard to teacher education. The superintendent had been supportive and actively involved in other projects in the school system. He was invited to participate at the level he felt was appropriate to his interest and available time. These four people, the professor, the principal, the superintendent, and the present writer, became the project research team.

The decision-making model proposed by the professor was a modification of one implemented previously in another school within the Camp Lejeune System.[3] The earlier project resulted in the radical reorganization of an existing school. The professor believed that elements of the model could be used to improve curriculum and instruction without extensive reorganization of staff.

A conscious effort was made to approach the new situation at Stone Street Elementary School as a separate endeavor with no ties to the earlier project.

The major component of the earlier model to be used at Stone Street Elementary School was that of professional decision-making in areas of curriculum and instruction with

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[3]James M. Howard, Jr., "A Study of the Relative Significance of Positional Authority in an Experimental School," (Ed. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1974).

retention of bureaucratic decision-making in areas of administrative governance.

The bureaucratic decision-making mode is characterized by a particular attitude toward authority. Superordinates, those with more positional authority in the hierarchy, are expected to give commands with which subordinates, those with less positional authority, are expected to comply.[4] Decision-making tends to follow a vertical path from top to bottom in accordance with the hierarchical nature of bureaucratic organization.[5]

The professional decision-making mode is characterized by a dependence upon knowledge and expertise as a basis for action. Colleagues may consult with one another before proceeding, but decisions and actions are not based on directives from superordinates.[6] This mode of decision-making tends to be more horizontal in nature.[7]

The research team decided upon three major goals for the project:

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[4] Dan C. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, Amitai Etzioni, ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 4.

[5] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 76-77.

[6] Amitai Etzioni, ed., op. cit., pp. x-xi.

[7] Dale L. Brubaker, Creative Leadership in Elementary Schools, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 38-39.

> ...to systematically build a knowledge base focusing on bureaucratic and professional forces exerted on educational decision-makers in all elementary schools...; to weigh the extent to which educational decision-makers...can and should operate in the professional decision-making mode in the area of curriculum and instruction while at the same time operating most efficiently in the bureaucratic mode in non-curriculum and instruction (governance) matters; and to disseminate our findings with special attention given to what might and might not be useful to other educational leaders in their own settings.[8]

The setting for the project, Stone Street Elementary School, was one of five elementary schools on the Marine Base at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. Students in the school were mainly children of Marine officers. The faculty of Stone Street Elementary School was composed of twenty full-time teachers; seven special teachers, four of whom were full-time, three of whom were part-time; and seven teacher aides, one of whom was the principal's secretary.[9]

Classes for the approximately 450 children were self-contained. There were multiple classes at each grade level; therefore, in accordance with Camp Lejeune Schools' policy, a team leader was selected for each grade level.[10]

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[8]The goal statements were taken from a mimeographed report, The Stone Street Project, prepared for distribution during late fall, 1974. A copy of the report may be found in Appendix A.

[9]A chart showing the distribution of staff, and any changes in staff members due to resignation and replacement during the project period 1974-76 is found in Figure 2.

[10]The duties and responsibilities of elementary teacher, team leader, and teacher aide have been excerpted from Camp Lejeune Dependents' Schools Position Descriptions and are to be found in Appendix A.

STAFFING PATTERN

STONE STREET ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

NUMBER	POSITION	STAFF REPLACEMENTS BETWEEN AUGUST, 1974 and JUNE, 1976
1	Principal	
7	Team Leaders (6 classroom teachers 1 special teacher)	1 replacement occurred August, 1975 (actually joined staff January, 1975)
14	Classroom Teachers (other than team leaders)	5 replacements occurred 3-August, 1975 2-January, 1975
6	Special Teachers (other than team leaders)	2 replacements occurred 1-August, 1975 1-September, 1975
7	Aides	1 replacement occurred August, 1975

Figure 2

The research team decided to proceed with the project in a very low-keyed manner. No drastic reorganization, no formal announcements, and no official title accompanied the beginning of the project.

The man who had been principal of Stone Street Elementary School retired at the close of the school year in 1974. The retirement of one principal and the arrival of his successor provided a natural beginning point for the project. In order to establish a view of Stone Street School as it existed prior to the project, interviews of the retiring principal and the teachers were conducted on May 8-10, 1974. Information gathered during these interviews was used to prepare for orientation sessions with the teachers prior to the opening of school in the fall.

Results of the interviews indicated that the retiring principal assumed the role of major decision-maker for the school and expected full compliance with all directives. The teachers appeared to be satisfied with their work and secure in their relationship with the retiring principal.

A series of orientation meetings was held in August, 1974, as teachers returned to Stone Street School to prepare for the upcoming year. At these meetings, the project was presented to the staff. The teachers were told that they would assume the major responsibility for decisions falling in the area of curriculum and instruction. The principal would assume responsibility for decision-making in the realm

of governance. The emphasis was on aiding classroom teachers in improving curriculum and instruction. An improved educational experience for children was the desired outcome.

In past years, teachers had been given pre-determined schedules, copies of school regulations, pupil assignments, and staffing arrangements. These decisions were made by the former principal prior to the arrival of the teachers for the beginning of the school year.

The new principal proceeded in a different manner. The staff was asked to identify available resources, recurring problems and possible solutions. Teachers were then given the challenge of organizing for instructional purposes. The following are examples of decisions made by the teachers:

1. They decided to create teaching teams and to elect their own team leader, rather than have the principal name one.

2. After examining alternatives, the teachers decided to group students on a grade level basis for instruction.

3. They assumed the responsibility for scheduling inter- and intra-team learning activities. A steering committee composed of team leaders was created to set up such schedules and to coordinate activities after the schedules were initiated.

4. The teachers decided which materials they would use in their learning environments and which techniques they would employ for instruction.

With the exception of the fourth item, similar decisions had been made by the principal prior to this year.

The staff members at Stone Street School were caught off balance by the way in which the principal's role was changed. In order to establish an atmosphere of trust and to convey to the staff that he viewed them as colleagues, the new principal took the following actions almost immediately:

1. A teacher had repeatedly asked for the replacement of a faulty doorknob during the previous year. A new one was ordered and installed without delay.

2. A key to the supply room was placed on the hook in the secretary's office, and teachers were trusted to select their own supplies when needed. In the past, the key had to be secured from the principal or his secretary.

It should be noted at this point that the professor viewed himself as consultant to all groups within the project: administrators, teachers, and aides. His frequent on-site involvement provided demonstration teaching, resource identification, and guided discussions for the teaching staff. Conferences with the principal were designed to aid in the development of an appropriate leadership style for encouraging shared decision-making.

This researcher was more detached than the principal or the professor. Her less frequent on-site visits included

demonstration teaching, provision of materials in the form of mimeographed handouts, identification of other curriculum and instruction resources, and evaluation.

The orientation and work period passed quickly, and the students reported for classes during the third week in August. Once the prepared schedules were put into operation, it became evident that adjustments would have to be made. The teachers and aides found that being the primary decision-makers could be a frustrating experience. Most steering committee and team meetings during September and October were dominated by scheduling conflicts.

In an attempt to assess the progress of the project, the professor and this researcher returned to Stone Street School in mid-November to observe interactions in the school and to interview informally groups and individuals.

The series of observations and interviews revealed that adjustments were occurring slowly within the organization of Stone Street School. Teachers were still unsure of the areas in which they were to make decisions. The principal, while trying to maintain a climate conducive to shared decision-making, occasionally reverted to past leadership patterns which tended to be more authoritarian.

The research team decided that the next step would be to evaluate what had occurred at Stone Street School since the project began in the spring of 1974. As a result,

on February 3 and 4, 1975, the following series of events were observed.

The professor visited the school site and joined the principal in a faculty meeting. The history of Stone Street Project was given and some intuitive feelings of its progress noted. Special emphasis was given to one of the main thrusts of the project: those closest to the children being taught should be given the responsibility for curriculum and instruction matters.

In order to evaluate the progress of the project, a questionnaire devised by the professor and the writer was administered to three groups: steering committee members, teachers, and aides.[11]

Further discussion at this meeting revealed that a major issue for some of the teachers was the matter of representation and involvement of teachers in faculty decisions. The question was raised as to whether the steering committee was allowing for adequate faculty participation in decision-making concerning curriculum and instruction matters. As a follow-up on this statement of concern, the professor met with the steering committee on the following day. The meeting was audio-taped for analysis at a later time.[12]

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[11] See Questionnaire 1 in Appendix E.

[12] See the transcript of the steering committee meeting, February 4, 1975, in Appendix C.

It was during this period of time that the staff at Stone Street School heard the title Stone Street Project used in connection with the year's developments. Many were dismayed to learn that they were participating in a project.

By the end of May, 1975, the steering committee had developed into an active leadership group at Stone Street School. They had urged the teachers on various teams to seek assistance from central office curriculum specialists rather than saving questions for the scheduled visits of these people. The steering committee also became the channel through which teachers and aides expressed their concerns to administrators. For instance, notes on a steering committee meeting May 21, 1975, indicated that teachers and aides resented being asked to make suggestions for a system-wide calendar the day after the school board had approved the calendar. Dissatisfaction over this and similar events led to the steering committee's final deliberation at this meeting. An attempt was made to establish steering committee guidelines for the coming year. They outlined school-wide issues with which the committee should be concerned as distinguished from individual, team, and system-wide concerns. They also discussed ways in which the steering committee might function or be of service in these areas.

At this point, the teachers were using their decision-making powers mainly in the areas of scheduling and

discipline. The larger issues of the quality of the total learning environment and how their decisions might affect it had not yet come into focus for them.

The year had involved the principal in change, also. An interview with him on May 20, 1975, indicated that he had consciously tried to adapt his role in decision-making.[13] The principal described instances when he had had to exercise restraint in order to allow teachers the opportunity to develop their own solutions. On these occasions, he had found it tempting to intervene as a "benevolent dictator."

By the close of the school year, the effects of the project were beginning to ripple beyond Stone Street School. The principal planned to present a paper at a state-wide principals' meeting in July, 1975. The professor compiled the paper for the research team. The superintendent also suggested that the project be explained to the associate superintendent and his staff of curriculum specialists so that they could cooperate more effectively with the teachers at Stone Street. In addition, tentative plans were made to present an explanation of the project to the principals in the school system at a meeting early in the academic year, 1975-76.

The beginning of the second year of the project brought some changes in the staff of Stone Street Elementary School.[14]

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[13] See "Interview with Principal" in Appendix C.

[14] Figure 2 on page 63 provides information regarding changes.

Resignations from the staff were not prompted by dissatisfaction but appeared to be due to factors such as the opportunity for overseas assignment or transfer of husbands.

In preparation for the upcoming year, interviews were conducted with the principal, the superintendent, and some of the teachers early in August. A progress report detailing the first year of the project was prepared during this period. The professor developed the first draft and requested that other members of the research team submit suggestions for additions or revisions. Teachers and aides were asked to respond in a similar fashion during the first part of September.[15]

The final draft was readied for distribution to those whom the Stone Street School staff felt should have access to the report. Those included mainly interested teachers and administrators within the school system and visitors to the project site.

The opening of school proceeded more smoothly than in the previous year. Teachers, through the steering committee composed of team leaders, began asking for clarification of their decision-making areas. The principal continued to examine his leadership responsibilities in light of the project model. Together they dealt with problems of

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[15] See "Progress Report on Stone Street Project for 1974-75 School Year," Appendix B.

communication, grouping for instruction,and supervision of students in areas other than the classroom. All concerned felt that progress was being made with regard to the project.

As the holiday periods of November and December approached with the expected tension and restlessness of all school participants, two events occurred which were to have far reaching effects. The teachers' lounge was moved, from the room that teachers had participated in equipping, to one end of the large activity room. The area was partially screened from that used by children for various activities. There was little privacy for those who used the lounge and no relief from the noisy activities which were characteristic of the large room's use. The new location, however, was larger thereby providing space for more people, and it had the advantage of being removed from the office area and the health room. The former lounge was then used as an office for the aides. The principal made the decision to move the lounge, and the teachers felt this was a serious breech of trust. The principal felt that he had talked with teachers individually in an effort to make them aware of the need to move the lounge. He felt that he had made the best decision for all concerned.

The second event was in the form of a memorandum from the principal to all teachers. The memorandum, which came to be known as "The Christmas Edict," was issued on

November 24, 1975.[16] It outlined procedures regulating supervision of students, especially at lunch and during outdoor periods, and mandated that food be consumed only within the confines of the cafeteria.

Again teachers felt that they had been treated as less than professionals. They reasoned that if the principal felt things were amiss, he should have pointed out the problems and asked the teachers to deal with them rather than to issue unilateral decisions. The principal indicated that he felt the situation was serious enough to warrant quick action. He also noted that teachers had shown no awareness of the need for action even though playground accidents had increased and insect infestation had spread through the entire building.

These two events appeared to have the effect of uniting the teachers. After the initial shock, they began to question anyone's right to violate the teachers' decision-making powers as long as the project was in operation.

In late January, a third event occurred which must be noted. Heat was not adequate in one wing of Stone Street School during a period of very cold weather. Children and teachers had to wear their coats but still remained uncomfortable all day. The principal contacted the maintenance

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16 See "Note to Teachers," November 24, 1975, in Appendix D.

plant and found that the equipment needed to correct the situation was unavailable. The steering committee met and decided that they should write a memorandum to the superintendent recommending a procedure for such emergencies. The memorandum was given to the principal who questioned the lack of a signature. He suggested that the first grade team leader, as chairman of the steering committee, sign it. As a result, the memorandum was retrieved and signed by all teachers and aides at the school. The principal indicated that the memorandum would be "noted and forwarded" not "approved and forwarded." The principal stated that he took this action because he felt that the memorandum would antagonize central office personnel since everything possible had been done to remedy the situation. In view of this, the steering committee chairman retained the memorandum noting that she would personally deliver the document to the superintendent the next time there was inadequate heat in the building.

When discussing the event, steering committee members stated that their purpose in developing the memorandum to the superintendent was not to question the principal's actions but to establish a standard procedure in case of heat failure in the future. The teachers maintained that the well being of their students had a direct bearing upon curriculum and instruction; therefore, they felt that they had taken the proper action.

During meetings in February, the researchers found that teachers were beginning to explore seriously the opportunities for improvement of curriculum and instruction offered by the project's decision-making model. The teachers characterized the school system's consulting program as a hodge-podge. They began formulating ideas regarding the most effective ways of assessing the strengths and weaknesses of their current program and identifying consultants who could aid in developing the best learning environment for Stone Street School students. The teachers now seemed convinced that they could best decide who and what they needed in the way of resources within the limitations imposed by fiscal and school board policies. Teachers, under the leadership of their steering committee, continued to develop these ideas through the remainder of the school year.

It was during this time that the professor became aware that he perceived himself to be a consultant to the principal not to all groups within the school.

During the early spring months of 1976, the teachers became more assertive in seeking role clarification for team leaders, aides, and administrators. The principal and steering committee talked openly regarding areas of disagreement.

Two members of the steering committee became identifiable leaders. Their influence, evident at a low level during the fall, crystallized during the November and

December conflicts between the principal and the teachers. These two people, the reading teacher and the first grade team leader, became the teachers' advocates while maintaining highly professional relations with the principal.

The superintendent, one of the research team members, accepted an overseas position and left the school system early in the spring. This event was to have an effect on the project, also. As the end of the school year approached, uncertainty of the continuation of the project developed. This stemmed from rumors concerning administrative changes within the school system as a result of the superintendent's resignation.

Amid these rumors, the professor and this researcher returned to Stone Street School at separate times during May, 1976. Interviews were held with teachers, aides and the principal in order to assess the progress of the project to date. Information from the interviews was supplemented by a questionnaire which was administered to teachers, aides, and special teachers.[17]

After the close of the school year, the new superintendent transferred the principal to the large high school in the system. As a result the project terminated with the end of the school year, June, 1976.

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[17] See "Questionnaire 2" in Appendix D.

Restatement of the Framework

A brief restatement of the conceptual framework which will be used to analyze the events outlined in the foregoing passages is provided for the reader's benefit.

The umbrella concept of the framework is that of interdependent interaction. Not only are the interactions interdependent; they are patterned. That is, expected behaviors associated with status and role, and guided by norms and values, provide more or less reliable patterns for the interactions which are found in organizations. The interdependent nature of patterned interactions which form organizations indicates that change will move in various directions with varying intensities.

The three supporting concepts are membership, means of interaction, and the setting within which the interaction system exists. The concept of membership aids in defining and understanding inter- and intra-organization interactions. Means of interaction deal with ways of maintaining status-role within the interaction system; and the concept of setting provides for examination of interaction between the organization and factors external to it.

Restatement of the Questions

The major elements of the conceptual framework were accompanied by four question clusters which provided the basis for application of the framework.

1. What are the origins of innovation?
    1.1 Does the initiator hold membership in the target organization?
        1.11 If so, at what level within the organization does the initiator normally function?
    1.2 If the initiator is not a member of the target organization, in what organization is membership held?
        1.21 What is the relationship between the organization in which membership is held and the target organization?
2. When an innovation is introduced, are there ways to identify and predict the path increased stress will take within the organization?
    2.1 Will new symbols be formed during periods of increased stress; or will new meanings develop for existing symbols?
    2.2 As new interaction patterns develop, will new rituals develop in an effort to ease the discomfort of increased stress?
    2.3 Will myths be generated in an effort to cope with the uncertainties connected with assignment of new responsibilities or tasks?

3. What is the span of time needed for individuals to internalize the innovation; and what are the major factors which influence the process?
   - 3.1 Does the perceived locus of power have an effect on the process?
   - 3.2 Does the style of leadership within the organization have an effect on the process?
   - 3.3 What factors within the setting but external to the organization have an influence on the process?
4. Who will evaluate the innovation and for what reasons?
   - 4.1 How will the evaluation be accomplished?
   - 4.2 At what points will evaluation occur?

Origins of Innovation

The occurrence of administrative succession provided the opportunity for innovation at Stone Street Elementary School. The arrival of a new administrator is accompanied by the need for adjustments on the part of the administrator and others within the organization. In the case under investigation, the need for adjustment was compounded by the fact that the administrator involved persons outside the organization in helping to implement a plan for altering the decision-making patterns of the incumbents.

Interviews with school staff prior to the retirement of the former principal yielded evidence that teachers felt

secure under his direction. They were not actively seeking any change in conditions. The staff of Stone Street School assumed that some change would occur as a natural result of administrative succession; however, they did not seem disturbed by the situation.

The research team composed of the new principal, the superintendent of the school system, and two members of a university staff were interested in actively seeking to bring about change. The various interests of these research team members were stated in the project overview. It is important here to note that the impetus for change came from two sources: first, a more or less normal event, the retirement of the principal; and second, the desire of persons basically external to the system or organization to try a different approach to decision-making.

In the first instance, some adjustments would be necessary in order to maintain a homeostatic condition. That is, those adjustments would be made which were necessary to maintain equilibrium or stability of the system. This type of change is not uncommon in schools or other social systems. As one person leaves and another is inserted into the vacancy, there will be some modification of role fulfillment based on such factors as the new individual's perception of the role, past experiences, knowledge, values and/or personality; however, changes of this type rarely reach beyond the level at which the newcomer operates within the

system except in rather superficial ways. As Charters points out:

> ....the roles are formal and impersonal in the sense that the activities and interactions expected of role incumbents do not change when the incumbents change;....[18]

The second source involved the introduction of an innovation into the system. When attempting to understand the implications of this, it is important to explore the origins of the innovation.

Barnett explains that innovation begins within one individual who exposes others to the innovation through interaction with them.[19] The position held by the innovator(s) within or outside the target system will have a bearing on the acceptance or rejection of the innovation.

In the case of Stone Street Elementary School, the innovators (the research team) were a heterogeneous group. The principal was the most visible of the innovators to the school staff. He held the highest position in the Stone Street School hierarchy, albeit a new membership within the target system. He also held membership in the university by virtue of his role as a doctoral student. The fact that the

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[18] W. W. Charters, Jr., "The Social Background of Teaching," in Handbook of Research on Teaching, N. L. Gage, ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 780.

[19] Homer G. Barnett, Innovation: The Basis for Cultural Change, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953), pp. 6-10.

principal was nearing completion of a doctoral degree, the most advanced degree attainable, enhanced his position.

The superintendent held the highest administrative position in the school system. He was not a member of the school staff; however, he held membership in a system which encompassed the target organization. Therefore, by virtue of the organizational hierarchy of school system, his involvement was influential. The teachers seemed to view his involvement as one of endorsement rather than active participation.

The two remaining innovators were not members of the target system or the larger school system. They were, instead, members of a university school of education which had a history of project involvement with the school system of which Stone Street School was a part. As a result, many of the teachers within the target system more than likely had preconceived notions of the value of university involvement in their school depending upon the individual's source of information regarding earlier projects. This, coupled with the traditional view[20] teachers hold of university professors as impractical theorists, had implications for the acceptance or rejection of the innovation.

The impetus for change came mainly from personnel with administrative responsibilities and from university personnel

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[20]Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), pp. 36-38.

with whom they had ties. We have no grounds for assuming that any portion of the impetus for change came from the teachers.

The implications for acceptance of or resistance to change seem clear. The desire to satisfy someone else's needs is rarely as strong as the need to satisfy our own. If the impetus for change is our own discomfort or dissatisfaction, the need for appropriate action is much more urgent than that coming from an external source unless we feel personally threatened by the external source.

Teachers did not appear to question or to resist openly the idea of altering the decision-making pattern in the school. This may have been because they felt there was no choice. Those with positional authority, the principal and the superintendent, approved of the approach. Perhaps this influenced the teachers as far as initial agreement to participate was concerned; however, the positional authority of some of the innovators was not totally sufficient to make the attempt to change decision-making patterns wholly successful. This should not be construed to mean that teachers rejected positional authority or rebelled at being asked to accept additional decision-making responsibilities. There is an obvious possibility that administrators found that they could not, or should not, relinquish their decision-making prerogatives.

Stress Manifestation

Stress is inevitable during periods of change. We can observe evidences of stress during periods of rapid biological change in teenagers, for instance. As they mature physically, emotionally, and mentally, different demands are placed upon them by self, peers, and adults. In efforts to reduce the stress created by the discrepancies between their capabilities and the new demands they encounter, teenagers develop many coping mechanisms. They dress, speak, and engage in activities that give them identity with a group. In this way, they tend to achieve an added sense of security and well-being.

This investigator contends that as levels of stress within an interaction system increase due to change, persons within the system adopt symbols, participate in rituals, and develop myths in often unconscious attempts to lower or cope with the stress levels.

The narrative overview of the project yields evidence of symbol use during the two-year project. Three examples have been selected for discussion: (1) an occurrence of conscious symbolic action by the principal; (2) the development of a symbol as a result of conflict; and (3) the use of an existing symbol in both old and new ways.

As a result of early interviews with the staff of Stone Street School during which staff members expressed concern regarding technical rather than programmatic issues, the

principal and professor decided that some action needed to be taken to indicate to staff members that their concerns were taken seriously and that their opinions were valued by the principal. The replacement of a faulty doorknob and provisions for uncontrolled access of staff members to the supply room were actions consciously taken by the principal to symbolize his trust and faith in staff members' ability to participate as decision-makers. The symbolic actions were used to reduce stress in the interaction pattern between principal and staff.

The conflict which erupted over the relocation of the teachers' lounge provided a new symbol for the teachers. First, it should be noted that the teachers considered the room to be theirs. They had helped to furnish and decorate it as a small retreat from the intense classroom interaction with children. The lounge was originally located in the complex of rooms which also housed the principal's office, his secretary's office and reception area for school visitors, and the health room where parent volunteers and injured or sick children were located. The principal was concerned that teachers' discussions were frequently overheard by parents, students, and others in that area of the building. He was also concerned about the work area for aides which was located in one end of the large multi-purpose room. He had talked with teachers individually about his concerns and had raised the concerns in steering committee meetings.

His perception that a problem existed was apparently not shared by the teachers; therefore, no action was taken. As a result, the principal arranged for the teachers' lounge to be moved to one end of the multi-purpose room and the aides' work area to be moved from the multi-purpose room to another location better suited to their needs. The move took place in late fall of 1975 after the teachers had been more broadly involved in participative decision-making for over a year. The teachers' lounge became a symbol of the principal's power over them, and the symbol became a part of the myth that pictured principals as participants in shared decision-making only so long as the decisions were not in conflict with their desires.

When this researcher interviewed steering committee members in late May, 1976, she asked them to identify any critical incidents or turning points in the two years of the project. The "teachers' lounge" was the first incident mentioned even though more than six months had elapsed.

The third example, the use of an existing symbol in both old and new ways, revolves around memoranda as a means of communication or interaction. Memoranda are used as a formal means of interaction in organizations. The principal indicated in discussions with the professor that he had used memoranda in a minimal way, mainly to inform staff members of central office directives or deadlines. This illustrates the usual flow of memoranda in public schools, from the top

of the hierarchy down but rarely in the reverse direction. In this way the "memo" becomes a symbol of "from the top" control. The principal used this means of informing teachers of new procedures upon which he had decided. The memorandum in question has been referred to as the "Christmas Edict" and imposed upon staff and students procedures for certain daily routines that the principal had decided were necessary. As in the previous instance, the principal felt that he had provided time for teachers to identify the problem and take action. When they did not, he resorted to bureaucratic measures. He used his positional authority to insure that the action he deemed necessary would be taken, and he used the recognized, impersonal means for disseminating the information. The "memo" became a power symbol, a way of making one's decisions formal. In this way, the symbol was used to exert control.

Still smarting under what they considered to be another violation of their rights and responsibilities as they understood them vis à vis the project,[21] teachers were faced with the problem of inadequate heat. This provided the opportunity for use of an existing symbol in a new way. Teachers seemed to grasp the effect of using the symbolic memorandum as an interaction means. It will be recalled that they decided that a uniform procedure was called for in

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[21]The two incidents which the teachers felt were not in keeping with the project were bracketed in the narrative overview as occurring prior to the Christmas holidays, 1975.

such situations and put their recommendations into a memo to the superintendent. Their actions gave the old symbol new meaning. The decision was made formal and passed up the hierarchy rather than vice versa. Symbolically, power flowed from the bottom up rather than from the top down. One of the teachers summed up the incident during the May, 1976, interview by saying, "We made a decision. We wrote the memo, and now the heat's on--in the pipes."[22]

In each example, symbols were important factors in the interactions of system members as stress levels increased. The first example cited intentional use of symbolic behavior to lessen stress by reassuring teachers as they moved toward new decision-making patterns. The second example illustrated the rise of a symbol from conflict and its incorporation into a myth which was used to explain events which teachers either could not, or would not, understand. The third example demonstrated how a symbol which initially helped increased stress in one direction was used to turn the stress in the opposite direction.

As stated earlier, some symbols are important in fostering group identity, some are used to exert control, and still others are used to reinforce authority.

Symbols and their use in ritual and myth are useful in maintaining interaction patterns. The number of interactions

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[22]This quote was taken from the writer's field notes of an interview with members of the steering committee on May 14, 1976.

which occur on a daily basis make it imperative that the interactions come together in some predictable or patterned manner. Patterns of interactions, individuals acting and reacting in expected ways, may become rituals. The behaviors comprising rituals are raised above routine by the sincerity of the participants. There must be an air of importance, specialness, if the term ritual is to apply. As indicated earlier rituals may be symbolic expressions of aggression, conflict, amelioration, or status change, among others. Ritual actions most often deal with interpersonal relations.

As members of the staff, both teachers and administrators, strove to develop different interaction patterns, new rituals and modification of existing rituals developed. Three examples have been chosen to illustrate the development and use of ritual as a means of maintaining interaction patterns during periods of increased stress.

The first example deals with the steering committee ritual. The steering committee, composed of elected team leaders, became the symbol of increased staff participation in decision-making. The steering committee met at regular intervals as well as for called meetings to deal with faculty concerns which had been gleaned from team meetings and to deal with administrators' concerns as passed to them by the principal. The meetings dealt mainly with conflict and amelioration. The members of the steering committee

represented the teachers as they discussed conflict or the need for alternative approaches to problems.

The second example pertains to existing rituals that were disrupted by the developments at Stone Street School. This illustrates the interdependent nature of interactions, not only within, but between organizations or social systems. Central office curriculum specialists, under the direction of the associate superintendent for curriculum and instruction, routinely made visits to the schools to observe and talk with classroom teachers. This ritual was disrupted as teachers at Stone Street School began to request the involvement of the curriculum specialists rather than waiting for regular visits from the central office group. Closer examination yields the significance of this ritual disruption.

Curriculum specialists are supposed to provide services for teachers. These positions, however, have evolved from elementary or secondary supervisory positions and are housed usually in the same building as the superintendent and other ranking school administrators. As a result, the supervisory overtones of the positions often seem to overshadow the service aspects. Therefore, when teachers began to request the involvement of the curriculum specialists, they reversed the emphasis (service functions over supervisory functions).

The third example illustrates how an existing ritual was altered to be compatible with the new principal's approach to shared decision-making. The faculty meeting ritual is familiar to all persons who have worked in schools. The meeting usually takes place in a large classroom or in the library. Teachers sit together at tables or desks facing the principal who has called the meeting. The principal usually stands before the group or sits at a table apart from the teachers. This scene is not unlike any meeting with the president or chairperson standing behind a podium equipped with a gavel. The gavel and podium are symbols of the chairperson's right and responsibility to lead the meeting. In keeping with the idea of principal and teachers working together as professionals, the principal conducted the meetings from a position as part of the group. Either principal and teachers would sit in chairs which had been placed in a circle, or the principal would sit among the teachers at tables in the library. The seating arrangement symbolized the change in interaction patterns between teachers and principal.

In each of these situations, ritual provided a means of interaction either within or between systems. The steering committee ritual, the curriculum specialists ritual, and the faculty meeting ritual all provided means of coping with increased stress levels as the Stone Street School staff

adjusted to the changes caused by the disruption of familiar decision-making patterns.

One myth which developed during the project has already been noted. The myth had two versions. As principal and teachers became aware that shared decision-making did not always work as well as desired, a myth grew to explain the situation.

Shared decision-making and treating each other as colleagues were "goods," proper values for professional educators to hold. When shared decision-making did not operate effectively, an explanation was needed. Teachers said that the principal believed in shared decision-making as long as the decisions made were not in conflict with what he wanted. In short, principals do not actually want participative decision-making.

The principal's version of the myth reallocated responsibility for unsuccessful attempts at cooperative decision-making. He said that teachers either could not, or would not, identify problems and take action. Instead they waited for someone to help them begin. Based on this, teachers do not actually want participative decision-making.

There are elements of reality and unreality in the myth. The principal did intervene in some instances, not because he did not value colleagiality, but because he felt the weight of responsibility placed upon him by virtue of his position within the school system hierarchy. This will be

more fully discussed in the next section, "Factors Influencing the Speed of Internalization." Teachers did hesitate in dealing with some problems, not because they did not wish to participate, but because their function within the school focused their attention on problems which they felt were of greater importance.

The myth, with its elements of reality and unreality, was used to manipulate tensions in regard to interpersonal relationships.

Symbols and symbol use in ritual and myth smooth the way for interpersonal relationships. Through the use of these three, the individuals within a system are reassured as to their status and destiny within the system.

Factors Influencing the Speed of Internalization

The span of time needed for individuals to adopt or internalize an innovation seems to rest on many factors. In the case under consideration, new interaction patterns had to be formed as a result of altered decision-making roles. These interaction patterns did not arrive with the new principal, full blown and ready for operation. They had to develop through action and communication.

It has been stressed that patterned behavior is necessary for individuals to relate effectively within any social system. Prior to the arrival of the new principal and the accompanying innovation, staff members knew what to expect from each of the various roles within the school.

The model introduced by the principal and the professor made available opportunities for increased teacher participation in professional mode decision-making in areas of curriculum and instruction. The school staff was not radically reorganized; however, the team leaders who had previously been appointed by the principal, were now elected by their team members. This group of elected representatives became the school steering committee.

In order to provide a basis for understanding the new decision-making model, the professor and the principal explained to teachers the two modes of decision-making: professional and bureaucratic. They explained that the bureaucratic mode would be used in matters concerning governance (or the administrative functions) and the professional mode would be used in matters pertaining to curriculum and instruction (the teaching and learning areas).

Reference has been made to a governance-curriculum and instruction distinction. In an effort to bring more clarity to the discussion that follows, these definitions are provided. Governance is based on the exercising of authority and encompasses the formal rules and regulations that control or direct the overall operation of an organization.[23] Curriculum and instruction refers to that decision-making area

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[23] Dale L. Brubaker and Roland H. Nelson, Introduction to Educational Decision-Making (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 33-41.

within the school as a socio-cultural organization where students traditionally encounter learning activities.[24]

It is important to note that the distinction between areas of governance and curriculum-instruction is not hard and fast in the view of this writer. Keeping in mind the concept of interdependent interaction systems, it becomes apparent that decisions made in one area will have an effect in the other area. Some concerns or issues will not fall clearly into either zone and may be thought of as occupying an overlap or gray area.

Teachers agreed that they wanted more participation in decision-making, but they were slow to realize what power they had by virtue of the principal's delegation of authority in curriculum and instruction matters. For example, as the professor and this researcher met with the steering committee, the following exchange occurred:

Steering Committee Member:	It seems that often the steering committee is presented with problems from the teams which need almost immediate attention. Sometimes it is days before the principal calls for a steering committee meeting.
Researcher:	Did you realize that your steering committee could call its own meetings and decide its own agenda, rather than always waiting for the principal to initiate proceedings?
Steering Committee Member:	It never occurred to me.[25]

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Recorded in field notes of meetings held November 13-14, 1974.

In order to increase participation in decision-making, a concomitant increase in communication was necessary on the part of principal, teachers, and aides. The interaction patterns were more frequent within and between teams as well as between teams and principal.

In addition, the content of interactions changed. Use of time and space were now considered to be mainly related to curriculum and instruction and, therefore, under the purview of professional decision-making mode. As a result, interactions that were team to team and between teams and principal now dealt with coordination of the overall living patterns within the school. Prior to the onset of the project, the principal had assumed major responsibility for these matters. This later developed as an overlap or gray area in the distinction between governance and curriculum and instruction as illustrated in Figure 3.[26]

Although teachers were provided information concerning the decision-making modes and the governance-curriculum and instruction distinction during orientation meetings in August, 1974, and at other meetings during the fall, they maintained in interviews in spring, 1975, that they had not been informed in the beginning what the project was all about. They did not understand the ramifications of

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[26] This figure is an adaptation of one presented by Brubaker in Creative Leadership in Elementary Schools, op. cit., p. 41.

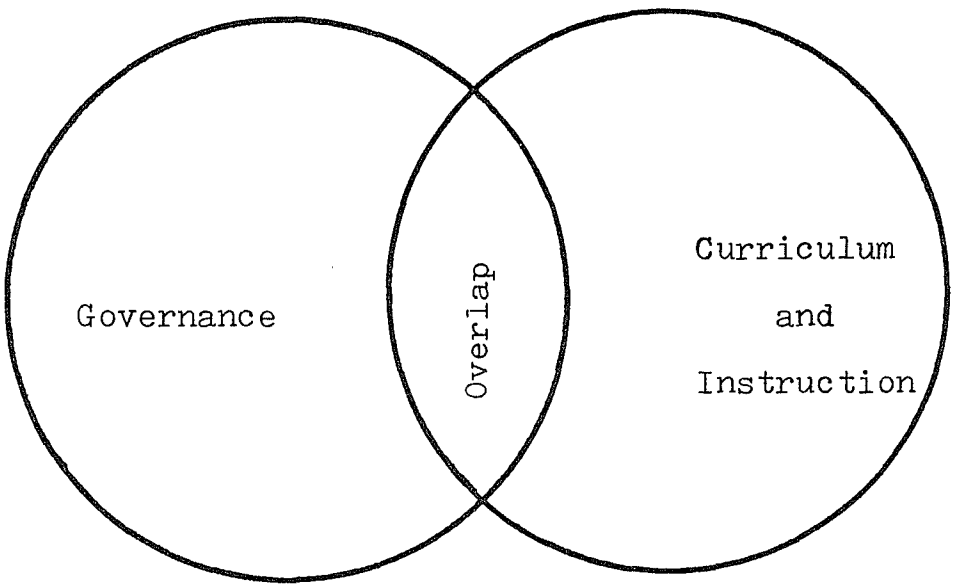

Figure 3 Areas of overlap between governance and curriculum and instruction with overlap area as possible source of conflict in decision-making modes.

professional decision-making until they had experienced it and had time to reflect upon its potential power.

In order for the decision-making model to operate, the principal had to suspend his positional authority in the areas of curriculum and instruction. Due to the bureaucratic nature of public school organization, teachers are at the bottom of the hierarchy.[27]

> 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. A system of this kind implies that those in command set goals, oversee their realization and are accountable for outcomes. Accountability, our culture states, follows authority.[28]

If colleagial relationships are to exist in this setting, it is imperative that trust permeate the immediate social system, in this instance, Stone Street School. As teachers entered into shared decision-making, they were extremely vulnerable. Formally, within the organization, teachers participated more broadly in decision-making at the pleasure of the principal.

The leadership style of the principal helped to establish trust in the first year of the project. To a large extent, he relied upon charisma and expertise as sources of

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[27] Charles Bidwell, "The Schools as Formal Organizations" in Handbook of Organizations, James G. March, ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 972-1022.

[28] Dan C. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, Amitai Etzioni, ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 4-5.

power or influence in his dealings with teachers, using positional authority as little as possible. He maintained frequent contact with staff members on an individual basis, as well as in groups. He encouraged teachers to participate in all phases of school life. As indicated in an interview with the principal, he refrained from stepping in as a "benevolent dictator" during stressful periods when teachers wrestled with problems.[29]

Trust and respect permeated staff relationships for the most part during the first year of the project. This was evidenced in responses to the first questionnaire and in interviews with teachers, aides, and principal.

Trust is a fragile entity, however; and the events of the holiday season, 1975-76, were devastating to those involved because trust seemed to have been shattered. The experience in trust, coupled with newly developed skills in group interaction, seemed to aid teachers and principal in openly facing the conflict that arose. The principal indicated that he realized his actions stemmed from feeling rather than thought, and teachers noted that they were more aware of problems that affected the whole school program.

These are clear indications of the interdependent nature of interaction patterns. Change in any role or interaction subsystem necessitates change in others within the system.

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[29]See "Interview with Principal," May 20, 1975, in Appendix C.

Not all were affected to the same degree, however. In this instance, teachers, team leaders, and principal were most affected. The aides' function changed to some degree, but cafeteria and custodial personnel were affected least.

At the close of the second year, teachers were beginning to raise questions central to developing an improved educational experience for children. During an interview session May 14, 1976, teachers told this writer that they finally understood the power they had been given. They wished to identify consultants who could help them assess the current curriculum and teaching practices in Stone Street School. Based on the assessment, they wanted to set priorities for program development; and within the constraints of fiscal and school board policy, they wanted to invite staff-selected consultants to come to Stone Street School to aid in the development. They were also exploring the possibility of exchange visits with other schools in order to broaden their perspective.

Two years of struggle and adjustment were necessary before teachers and principal were prepared to take definite steps toward the central purpose of the project: an improved educational experience for children as a result of involving those who work most closely with children in professional decision-making.

The Role of Evaluation

The term evaluation implies judgement and/or valuing on the part of some individual or group. Evaluation is goal related and, thus, indirectly value related. This is due to the function of values in goal selection or goal setting.

Humans evaluate, make judgments, and draw conclusions in all facets of society. In everyday life, these evaluations tend to be informal. As individuals function within organizations, however, the evaluations are likely to be formal because there are organizational goals to be met. If the organization is bureaucratically organized, then those in positions of authority are responsible for goal attainment. Hence, persons and their use of techniques and materials are subject to evaluation by those in positions of authority.

Evaluation, however, is not unilinear, rather it is multi-directional. There is superordinate-subordinate evaluation, peer evaluation, self evaluation. The results of evaluation at any level will affect other levels due to the interdependent nature of patterned interactions which form organizations.

In the case of the Stone Street Project, an innovation was to be evaluated; but this could be done only in terms of the behavior of persons within the target school and, to a lesser extent, those persons outside the school but within the larger school system.

The determination of who will evaluate and for what reasons is of importance. "Who" is defined in terms of membership and status-role of the evaluator. In the case under investigation, formal evaluation was done mainly by persons external to the school. These persons, the two university members involved in the project, were viewed by teachers as being extensions of those with positional authority, the principal and the superintendent.

Attempts were made to involve teachers and aides in the evaluation process in order to lessen stress and increase their understanding of the impact of the innovation. These attempts were not entirely successful; and, in retrospect, one can understand why. Just as teachers and aides had not been involved in the determination to implement new decision-making patterns after the fact, so they were involved in evaluation after the fact. The need for and means of evaluation were decided upon, the data gathered, and preliminary reports written before teachers and aides became involved in any way other than to provide data. At that point, they were asked to react to and amend reports as they felt necessary and to make recommendations concerning to whom information should be disseminated.

These actions tended to reinforce the idea of evaluation as being a tool of those in positions of authority. The rhetoric of the project initiators was, "Shared decision-making is valuable." Their actions did not necessarily

support the rhetoric. Evaluation became a symbol of positional authority rather than of participation and colleagiality.

This has implications for trust which is a necessary factor in the decision-making model implemented at Stone Street School. A full discussion of the trust factor was presented in the section on factors influencing the speed of internalization of the innovation.

The timing of evaluation is also of importance. The results provide feedback into the system so that members can decide on adjustments or modifications. Feedback aids in identifying progress and pinpointing areas which need attention. The progress reports based on periodic evaluations were attempts at providing this kind of information. The frequent on-site visits provided additional opportunities for feedback to be given to teachers, aides and principal.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Change is an ever-present force in society and its organizations. Change accelerates as a society's store of skills, information and knowledge increases. Stress appears in society's organizations and institutions as different demands are placed upon them. Change, adapt or perish, seems to be society's challenge to its organizations.

The school, as our society's specialized agency of formal education, reflects the larger social order. The stresses and upheavals of society are echoed in the school.

There is a need to gain greater insight into the changes that are now occurring in the schools of our society. There is a need for the development of conceptualizations and models that will aid in understanding and more adequately planning for change.

To this end, development of a conceptual framework and its application to a case study were used as the method of inquiry in the present study. The conceptual framework presented herein was based upon the assumption that social systems and subsystems are interrelated in regular and patterned ways.

The study focused on administrative and teaching roles in a school in which decision-making patterns were altered.

The principal method of investigation was participant observation supplemented by informal interviews, verbatim accounts of meetings, and questionnaires. Observations were made of classroom interactions, the use of facilities, faculty meetings, and team meetings. Reports and memoranda were used as part of the data base, also.

The literature provided a view of schools as socio-cultural organizations. Schools were characterized as performing functions that are an integral part of the entire social system.

The importance of the macrocosm was stressed when attempting to understand the functioning of schools. The linking of the school and its environment by the influences of groups and individuals such as parents, government, the media, and institutions of higher education was cited.

In order to provide a basis for the development of a conceptual framework, sociological and anthropological literature was reviewed. Social systems were defined as patterned interaction systems of a number of individuals whose relations to each other are oriented toward a shared goal.

Society and culture were presented as two of the primary human action systems. Society was referred to as the totality of social relationship among human beings. It

is self-perpetuating, and its members hold distinctive institutions and culture in common. Culture has been described as consisting of those aspects of the total human environment, both tangible and intangible, which man has created. Culture is learned rather than hereditary.

The key elements of social structure, status and role, and the accompanying normative structure have been discussed as ways of maintaining man's sociocultural milieu.

Organizations as social systems were discussed as characteristic of American life. The importance of role structure and communication networks in describing and understanding organizations was noted.

Two forms of organizations, bureaucratic and professional, were discussed as being distinguished by the difference in social control found in each. Professionals are self- or peer-controlled while the source of control within bureaucracy comes from a hierarchy of authority.

Theories of professional and bureaucratic organizations were presented. Within this context, the concepts of power and authority were discussed. Power was defined as a comprehensive concept of social influence with force or coercion implied. Authority, in contrast, was characterized as being based upon voluntary compliance with directives issued by the individual in control.

Efficiency and effectiveness, unity and compliance of personnel were cited as strengths of bureaucratic

organization. The deficiencies noted were the great waste of human potential for innovation and creativity.

Included in the review were discussions of the essential components of organizations: interaction, membership, the means through which interaction occurs, and the setting or environment within which the organization exists.

Change was discussed as the dynamic characteristic of sociocultural systems. Culture, characterized as an adaptive component of social systems, alters over time as it responds to individual and societal needs.

Innovation has been proposed as a means of bringing about cultural change. The importance of the individual to the process of innovation was explained. A new habit or approach to some area of living is developed by an individual who passes the innovation to others within the social system through interaction with them. Change results when the innovation is learned or accepted by others in the system.

The literature revealed that most system changes occur in response to everyday problems and necessitate small adjustments in response to the changing environment. Massive changes in the system itself are rare and come in response to dramatic occurrences in the environment or within the organization itself.

The third chapter presented a conceptual framework which was used in analyzing occurrences within a project which

involved the alteration of decision-making patterns in an elementary school.

The umbrella concept of the framework is that of patterned interdependent interaction. Expected behaviors derived from status and role, as guided by norms and values, provide the more or less reliable patterning for interactions of individuals within organizations. The interdependent nature of the interactions indicates that change will move in various directions with varying intensities.

Presented as supporting concepts of patterned interdependent interaction were membership, means of interaction, and setting within which the interactions exist. The concept of membership aided in defining and understanding inter- and intra-organization interactions. Means of interaction, as a concept, dealt with ways of maintaining status-role within the interaction system; and the concept of setting provided for examination of interaction between the organization and factors external to it.

The conceptual framework was based upon five assumptions: (1) change is inevitable; (2) stress is a necessary component of the change process; (3) change takes place within a context; (4) organizational behavior is social in nature and is characterized by patterns and regularities; and (5) a conceptual framework can be useful in understanding occurrences within organizations.

The major elements of the conceptual framework were accompanied by four question clusters which provided the basis for application of the framework. The four clusters centered around these questions:

1. What are the origins of the innovation?

2. When an innovation is introduced, are there ways to identify and predict the path increased stress will take within the organization?

3. What is the span of time needed for individuals to internalize the innovation; and what are the major factors influencing the process?

4. Who will evaluate the innovation and for what reasons?

A recapitulation of events occurring over a two-year period within an elementary school were presented. These events comprised The Stone Street Project and involved administrative succession accompanied by the introduction of a decision-making model which featured suspension of positional authority in decision areas of curriculum and instruction. The professional mode of decision-making was used for concerns falling in the area of curriculum and instruction (areas within the school where teaching and learning occur) while the bureaucratic mode was retained for areas of governance (the administrative functions).

The use of the conceptual framework presented in the third chapter provided an analysis of (1) factors surrounding

the origin or locus of initiation of the innovation, (2) stress manifestation during periods of change within the target system, (3) factors influencing the span of time needed for internalization of the innovation, and (4) evaluation as affected by the status-role of the evaluator and the reasons for evaluating.

Conclusions

The status-role, as circumscribed by the hierarchical nature of school organization, of those responsible for introducing the innovation did have an effect on the acceptance of the innovation by individuals within the target system. The authority, and therefore the perceived power, of the principal, the superintendent and their university allies paved the way for "trial acceptance." The teachers' willingness to try the new approach was probably influenced by two factors: the positions of the project leaders within the school hierarchy, and the positive value our culture places on participative decision-making.

Positional authority and perceived power were deterents to acceptance during later stages of the project. This was evidenced by actions of the principal and reactions of the teachers during the critical holiday period.

Examination of the means of interaction, especially symbols and their use in ritual and myth, does provide information for identifying areas of stress within organizations experiencing change. Monitoring of these areas at intervals

during periods of innovation could provide useful information for researchers. The unpredictable nature of symbol, ritual, and myth development may preclude their use in predicting the path increased stress takes within an organization.

There were indications that change occurred not just within the interaction subsystem populated by teachers, but within other subsystems in the target organization. Principal, team leaders, special teachers, regular classroom teachers, and aides were most affected. Curriculum specialists housed in the central office also felt the need to adjust as a result of the changes within the school. Cafeteria and custodial personnel were least affected. This appeared to be directly attributable to the interdependence of interaction patterns within the setting.

The span of time required for new interaction patterns to form as a result of attempts at innovation was more lengthy than anticipated. This was due to factors such as trust, leadership style of those with positional authority, and the setting within which the target system existed. These factors should be taken into consideration when planning for a project involving a service organization such as a public school.

The setting within which the target social system existed partially negated the effectiveness of the professional decision-making mode. The setting, the surrounding

milieu or environment, was that of a bureaucratically organized school system on a military base. The symbols of power and authority permeated the setting. Within such a setting, the interdependent nature of interactions between target system and its setting may preclude effective implementation of professional decision-making models.

Feedback provided from evaluation results was helpful to project participants as they struggled to adjust to the demands of the project. The status-role of the formal evaluators had an effect on how feedback was received and used. The fact that evaluation was done by persons with positional authority or persons closely associated with them had a negative effect due to the threatening nature of perceived power which accompanies positional authority. More involvement of the teachers in planning the evaluation would have helped to ease their apprehensions and would have been more congruent with project values.

A number of topics for further study have been generated during this investigation. They include the following:

1. Can identification of symbol development and/or adaptation be used as a means of determining the presence and location of stress within organizations?

2. Can rituals be developed consciously which will aid in anticipating and alleviating stress during periods of innovation?

3. Can identification and analyses of symbols and their use in ritual and myth be used to provide feedback to the organization's members during periods of innovation?

4. Can the effectiveness of innovators be improved by familiarization with the identification and analyses of symbol, ritual and myth during the preplanning stage of projects?

5. What is the relationship between the status-role of a project evaluator and the effectiveness of feedback at various levels within an organization?

6. What will happen to the quality of curriculum and instruction if the decision-making model continues in use?

7. What will happen to the roles of supervisory personnel as teachers become more adept at professional decision-making?

8. Are there significant differences in self-image of teachers who are involved in the professional mode of decision-making and teachers who are not?

9. What kind of in-service education programs best prepare teachers to participate in the professional decision-making mode for areas of curriculum and instruction?

10. What kind of in-service education programs best prepare administrators and other public school personnel to participate with teachers in the professional decision-making mode?

11. Do educational experiences provided by teachers using professional decision-making processes provide society with better educated individuals?

12. Can professional and bureaucratic modes of decision-making co-exist within bureaucratic organizations?

13. How can conflict created by the two modes of decision-making be reduced?

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APPENDIX A

POSITION DESCRIPTIONS

POSITION DESCRIPTION - Teacher Aide

I. INTRODUCTION

This position is located at the Camp Lejeune Dependents' Schools, Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. It consists of the duties to be performed by a Teacher Aide.

II. MAJOR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

A. Assist the teacher in the supervision of students in the classroom, in the lunchroom, on the playground, in the hallway, and in loading and unloading buses.

B. Assist pupils with practice papers to include various types of seat work, manipulation of games, learning number scales.

C. Assist the teacher in preparing seat work papers for students in the class.

D. Assist the teacher in follow-up work, normally continuing with a program after initial explanation by classroom teacher.

E. Assist the teacher with audiovisual materials and equipment to include setting up materials and equipment and helping the teacher supervise the program.

F. Check out supplies from the supply room as directed by the classroom teacher.

G. Assist the teacher in reading to the children, and listen to students read, making needed corrections.

H. Assist with bulletin boards and other displays.

I. Assist the teacher on field trips.

J. Assist children who become ill or need first aid.

K. Give assistance, under the direction of the classroom teacher, to children who have been absent.

L. Assist the teacher in obtaining reference and resource materials from the library for use in the classroom and may on occasion accompany children to the library.

M. Assist with art and music.

N. Perform other duties as assigned by the classroom teacher, to include the collection of monies.

O. May be required to assist pupils at street crossings before and after school.

P. Some aides may be assigned to assist school administrators with clerical duties and/or act as reading/library aide.

POSITION DESCRIPTION - Teacher - Elementary

I. INTRODUCTION

This position is located at the Camp Lejeune Dependents' Schools, Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. It consists of the duties to be performed by an elementary classroom teacher.

II. MAJOR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

A. Organize material to provide clarity, continuity, and coverage in presentation. This includes written daily lesson plans in each subject field being taught; these plans should be prepared at least one week in advance. On some occasions, subject may be a member of a teaching team and will plan lessons in cooperation with six or more teachers.

B. Presentation of prescribed material as classroom instructions. A variety of techniques of instruction are used, e.g., lecture, demonstration, active student participation, both as a group and as an individual, and selective use of available visual aids. The technique used will be dictated by the prevailing conditions which include background and interest of the students, maturity of the students, sophistication, and knowledge of the subject. This requires that the teacher exercise a high degree of perception and sensitivity to the needs of the student. Presentation will also include large and small group instruction, team teaching and provision will be made for individualized instruction as needed.

C. Evaluate student progress. Provide counsel in ways and means to meet needs of each individual student.

D. Keep current the required records.

E. Discusses students' progress with principal, guidance counselor and parents as needed, both orally and in writing.

F. Participates in extra-curricular activities as assigned as an integral part of teaching responsibilities, to include workshops, in-service training, etc.

G. Other duties as assigned.

POSITION DESCRIPTION - Team Leader (Elementary and/or Secondary Schools)

I. INTRODUCTION

Team Leader positions are utilized in the Camp Lejeune Dependents' Schools, Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. A Team Leader will also serve as a classroom teacher in the elementary and/or secondary schools. The Team Leader will normally work with three or more teachers, one or more practice teachers, and one or more paraprofessional employees as well as specialists in the various fields of art, music, physical education, remedial reading, speech, etc.

II MAJOR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

A. Organizes with the assistance of team members, material to provide for clarity, continuity, and coverage of subject presentation. This includes written daily lesson plans in each subject area for all pupils assigned to the program for which the Team Leader has responsibility; these plans should be prepared at least one week in advance.

B. With the assistance of other team members, materials are presented for classroom instructions to large and/or small groups. A variety of techniques for instructions are used; e.g., lectures, demonstrations, active student participation and audiovisual aids. At times, outside consultants may be invited to participate as needed.

C. In cooperation with other team members, will keep current the required records of all students on a daily, weekly, semester, and annual basis.

D. With the assistance of the Associate Superintendent, the Director of Instruction, and the School Principal, the Team Leader will conduct a testing program for the pupils she supervises.

E. She will participate in extra-curricular activities as an intricate part of the teaching responsibilities to include workshops, in-service training, etc.

F. In coordination with the School Principal, she will coordinate activities with the School Librarian and/or the paraprofessional assigned to the Library when the Librarian is not available.

G. The Team Leader will make special provisions for specialized instruction for pupils who need additional help in reading and speech.

H. In coordination with the School Principal and other team members, she shall be responsible for individual parent conferences and reports to parents on a periodic basis.

I. In cooperation with the School Principal and other team members, she will be responsible for coordination of audiovisual equipment for both large and small group instruction.

J. In cooperation with the School Principal, she will be responsible for the placement and reassignment of pupils

within a program and/or other academic programs as required in order to meet individual differences of each pupil assigned.

K. The Team Leader will be responsible for the assignment of duties to the teacher aide in accordance with the current job description for teacher aides and the aide's ability. This will include, but not be limited to, such assignments as working with all members of the team, cutting stencils, supervising pupils in the cafeteria, etc.

L. She will be responsible for the assignment of duties to practice teachers in accordance with current directives of the college or university which assigns students to the school system. This includes working closely with the college professors who supervise the practice teachers. She will be directly responsible for supervising practice teachers, to include specific as well as general guidelines in assisting practice teachers in preparing lesson plans, in assigning practice teachers to other team members and making certain that each practice teacher becomes an active fully-participating team member.

M. The Team Leader will be responsible for briefing substitutes assigned to his/her team prior to substitutes reporting to the classroom.

N. Other duties as assigned.

APPENDIX B

PROJECT REPORTS

THE STONE STREET PROJECT

The Stone Street Project is a title given to recent developments at Stone Street School, grades one through six, located at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina.

The Stone Street Project staff agreed upon three goals at the project's inception: to systematically build a knowledge base focusing on bureaucratic and professional forces exerted on educational decision-makers in all elementary schools in the United States in general and Stone Street Elementary School in particular; to weigh the extent to which educational decision-makers (mainly the elementary school principal and teachers) can and should operate in the professional decision-making mode in the area of curriculum and instruction while at the same time operating most efficiently in the bureaucratic mode in non-curriculum and instruction (governance) matters*; and to disseminate our findings with special attention given to what might and might not be useful to other educational leaders in their own settings.

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*Examples of governance are directives concerning the maintenance of buildings, preparation of the school-system budget, and state and local laws concerning attendance and dismissal of students. Examples of curriculum and instruction are the choice of course titles and content for such courses, the scope and sequence of the curriculum, and the decision to adopt or not to adopt team teaching.

Building a knowledge base has been a critical part of the research and development process and, furthermore, will be in the future. We see this as the ongoing process of formative evaluation. Prior to the opening of school for the 1974-75 school year, a series of interviews were conducted with the following people: Superintendent of Schools at Camp Lejeune Dependents' Schools; the retiring Principal at Stone Street School; and a number of teachers and aides at Stone Street School. We discovered that more formal relationships with teachers, such as speeches and other presentations of a similar nature, quickly turned into ritual with little open sharing of basic views. Less formal dialogue of a one-to-one and small group nature produced the opposite result: people relaxed and shared deeper concerns. During the fall orientation week we continued to talk informally with teachers and aides individually and in small group settings. At this time the principal, as a leader and facilitator, made decisions that demonstrated that his actions were as good as his rhetoric. Seemingly mundane matters were handled although we were always conscious of the fact that if we delivered on these things we would get greater mileage in the area of curriculum and instruction. (The teacher would enter teaching and learning with greater resources, such as time and energy.) The following were some of the decisions made by the principal:

1. A doorknob that had repeatedly been taped was considered unacceptable and a new one was ordered and installed.

2. Teachers were informed that they would no longer have to wait in line to get into the supply room. A key to the supply room was placed on a hook in the secretary's office and teachers were trusted to select their own materials.

3. Teachers were advised that the principal would spend time in the cafeteria during lunch hour in order to get to know the students better. After eating, students were allowed to participate in outdoor activities.

For any knowledge to be useful it has to be placed in some kind of conceptual framework. Therefore, part of our inquiry entailed building a conceptual framework to make sense out of such knowledge. Our framework, which will be described in a position paper on the Stone Street Project, has three basic categories in which we place schooling activities: (1) curriculum and instruction; (2) governance; and (3) matters that fall in the gray area between curriculum and instruction and governance. We have also used the sociopolitical system model for analyzing school activities. (See Dale L. Brubaker and Roland H. Nelson, Jr., Creative Survival in Educational Bureaucracies.)

An important part of building a knowledge base has been our search through related literature and research. We have centered our attention on personal and organizational change and the role of leadership in the change process. Suffice

it to say at this time that there has been a good deal of research on personal change but little, comparatively speaking, on organizational change. We feel that this reflects our society's bias toward the individual's personality in contrast to the organization's personality. Research and literature concerning leadership demonstrates the highly prescriptive nature of definitions of leadership, each of which has its own value biases.

We recognize the importance of research design in building a knowledge base. Since we have emphasized attitudes and actions on the part of those interested in elementary-school-education from the inception of the project, we have given special attention to informal, non-threatening evaluation devices that accurately assess the participant's attitudes and actions. (An occasional paper will deal with this subject.)

Our second goal focuses on the teacher as a professional in the area of curriculum and instruction and assumes that those closest to the children being taught, teachers with the help of their aides, should be responsible for creating and maintaining learning environments. Throughout our early deliberations in the spring and fall of 1974, we reminded ourselves of the important roles teachers and their aides should play in planning for the school year. Teachers, for example, made the following decisions:

1. They decided to create teams and chose to elect their own team leader, rather than have her named by the principal, after which a leader was elected.

2. They were responsible for scheduling learning activities within teams and between teams. They elected a steering committee to create such a schedule and coordinate activities after the schedule was initiated.

3. They were responsible for selecting and working with teacher aides.

4. They chose to group students for the most part on a grade level basis after weighing other options.

5. They decided which materials they would use in their learning environments.

6. They decided which methods they would employ for instruction and learning.

7. They were urged to negotiate with consultants as to time of visits and content of consultancies. They were also asked to identify consultants.

8. They applied for and some received mini-grants from central office and began planning for implementing such programs.

The biggest challenge we have faced and will continue to face in reaching toward the second goal is making teachers and others conscious of the curriculum and instruction--governance distinction. That is, we want teachers and others in the school who also have leadership positions to see that

the bureaucratic form of organization is most appropriate for governance matters whereas the professional form of organization is most appropriate for curriculum and instruction matters. In the process we hope to develop a "living definition" of professionalism in education.

The third goal, disseminating our findings so that they can be useful to others in various school settings, is also an ongoing process. The present paper is but the first step in this process. We also have other tentative ideas as to how to meet our third goal, including the following:

1. Have an open door policy so that visitors can see Stone Street School in operation.

2. Distribute a series of occasional papers, yet to be written and printed, on various aspects of the project.

3. Present progress reports to various groups in the community, state, and nation with special emphasis on reactions of others to the project so that revisions can be made.

4. Have a series of seminars designed to discuss how what we have learned at Stone Street School can be used in different settings.

We can therefore see that we have just begun to be involved in what we think can be an exciting and rewarding research and development project that has important implications for creative leadership in elementary-school education. We welcome your reactions and suggestions as we

continue to develop the project.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS

Professor Instructor	Superintendent Principal
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro	Camp Lejeune Dependents' School

PROGRESS REPORT ON STONE STREET PROJECT FOR 1974-75 SCHOOL YEAR

We identified three major goals for the Stone Street Project in an earlier report titled THE STONE STREET PROJECT: (1) the systematic development of a knowledge base focusing on bureaucratic and professional forces exerted on educational decision-makers in elementary schools; (2) the generation of alternatives in which educational decision-makers (particularly the elementary-school principal and teachers) can operate in the professional decision-making mode in the area of curriculum and instruction while at the same time operating most efficiently in the bureaucratic mode in non-curriculum and instruction (governance) matters; and (3) the dissemination of findings while engaged in working toward the first two goals with special attention given to what might and might not be useful to other educational leaders in the Camp Lejeune Dependents' School System and other interested school systems.

As the first two goals deal with research and development, it might be wise to identify the kinds of evaluation we engaged in during the first year of the Stone Street Project:

1. Interviews with administrators, teachers, and aides.

2. Teacher and student reactions to demonstration teaching.

3. Audio-recordings and/or notes on faculty steering committee meetings.

4. Research instruments including standardized tests for children and questionnaires for teachers and the principal, one of which was designed to evaluate leadership styles (the Vroom Scale).

5. Informal discussions with faculty, administrators, aides, and students.

The following comments with regard to progress at Stone Street School during the 1974-75 school year are therefore based on the previously cited evaluation procedures.

A particular attitude is at the heart of the participation process engaged in by professional educators. This attitude is the willingness to try out the professional decision-making mode. By way of contrast, let us examine the basic premise of the bureaucratic decision-making mode--the mode in which we are most comfortable since most organizations are primarily organized in a bureaucratic fashion. The basic premise of the bureaucratic process is that commands from those who are higher-up in the hierarchy are to be complied with by those who are lower in the hierarchy. Acceptance of this premise affords one a good deal of security for one knows where he stands. The persistent question we therefore asked while involved in the Stone Street Project was ARE TEACHERS WILLING TO BREAK LOOSE FROM THE BUREAUCRATIC DECISION-MAKING MODE IN THE AREA OF CURRICULUM

AND INSTRUCTION AND ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT ACCOMPANIES THE PROFESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING MODE? More specifically, will teachers make their own decisions in curriculum and instruction rather than looking to the principal and other "higher-ups" to make such decisions?

In evaluating their involvement in the Stone Street Project during the first school year, many teachers asked us "Why didn't you tell us at the beginning of the year that we were going to make all of these decisions?" At first the question disturbed us for we distinctly remembered numerous occasions when we did tell teachers that they were going to make decisions in the area of curriculum and instruction. With time, however, we learned to look behind the question posed by teachers in order to understand that telling teachers about involvement in the professional decision-making process did little good. The decision-maker had to <u>experience</u> involvement in the professional decision-making process before it was understood. Let us examine the kinds of decisions Stone Street teachers made--decisions that give us increased optimism in their willingness to participate in the professional decision-making mode in curriculum and instruction.

First, they elected their own steering committee and maintained good communication with their representatives in order to deal with matters such as scheduling, school-wide planning, discipline (particularly in the cafeteria), wise

use of the library, and beautification of the school environment. Teachers' relationships with the steering committee and decisions made by the steering committee indicated that teachers were broadening their definition of curriculum and instruction to include school-wide-activities rather than simply activities in the classroom. This was a critical step forward for at the first of the year many teachers saw the Stone Street Project as something separate from classroom planning. In short, teachers adopted what we might call an environmental (total school) view of curriculum and instruction rather than a strictly classroom-centered view. A natural extension of this view is that the school is a part of rather than apart from the larger community(ies) outside the school.

An emerging goal in the Stone Street Project centered on the development of an educational setting in which leadership opportunities are enhanced. It was most heartening to see steering committee members play the actor rather than reactor role as the year progressed. In the process they were very much aware of the importance of defining their role as well as that of teachers, aides, the principal, and others. They asked questions such as: "Should we be responsible for conveying messages to teachers or is there some way to streamline these bureaucratic functions such as using bulletins or the intercom?" "How can we provide for the direct participation of teachers in school-wide decision-making for we

can become as authoritarian as an authoritarian principal?" "How can we use the principal's power in order to accomplish some of the things we want to accomplish?"

The Central Administration of Camp Lejeune Dependents' Schools also played an important role in developing teacher leadership with its mini-grant program and services from its curriculum staff.

The Principal as leader in the Stone Street School was also afforded the opportunity to try out different leadership styles in different situations. In the area of curriculum and instruction the Principal learned in his own words "...to trust myself to let teachers arrive at decisions collectively."* This is a most significant sign of progress for trust in fellow professionals' expertise is one of the essential characteristics of participation in the professional decision-making mode.

Many if not most of us have been taught that there is a fixed and final answer to a problem which in turn leads us to place product (the answer) over process. Teachers at Stone Street School appeared to criticize this view as the year unfolded. Rather, they learned to trust themselves and the professional decision-making process. Although making their own decisions in curriculum and instruction was at times agonizing, they also expressed their delight in

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*Teachers were likewise not used to collective responsibility in their decision-making.

being able to "...create a new thing" as one teacher indicated. Professional responsibility can be heavy but it can also be very rewarding.

A number of questions and issues absorb our attention in planning for the 1975-76 school year including the following:

1. Is the rationale behind the Stone Street Project clearly understood by teachers? By others?

2. What issues are clearly governance issues that should be handled bureaucratically? What issues are clearly curriculum and instruction issues that should be handled professionally? What issues are in the gray area between governance and curriculum and instruction,and how should these issues be handled?

3. What are some of the ways that can provide for the direct participation of teachers (other than steering committee members) in school-wide decision-making?

4. What suggestions can we offer each other with respect to priority setting and the wise use of time?

5. What kind of attention should be given for role definitions for steering committee positions? For Aides?

6. How can students be involved more in school-wide planning? Parents? Others?

7. Are there ways in which we can provide more leadership opportunities for teachers? For students? For others in the community?

8. Who should be involved in the dissemination of findings about the Stone Street Project? In what ways should they be involved?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWS

STONE STREET ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

FEBRUARY 4, 1975

Interviewer: An interesting question was raised yesterday that we would like to begin our discussion with and that is what advice you would give if we tried to try out some of the things we've done here at Stone Street in another school.

Teacher 1: We had to open school (prepare to open school) and get adjusted to the project at the same time. It made it very difficult; and frustrating. Getting ready for the project took away from our classroom planning.

Teacher 2: I never got my classroom ready. I still haven't gotten it ready.

Teacher 1: The administration should understand that we do use our time well. We work overtime. They should understand that we don't throw away our time. We do use it wisely.

Interviewer: Do you need more time at the beginning of the program or do you need time throughout the year?

Teacher 1: A lot of the things we did we did in haste. In retrospect now we had to think of the children coming to school in the next three

Teacher 1 (continued): days and the new program (project). We were just trying to get started and didn't realize that we could create a new thing.

Interviewer: What do you think of the idea that there is no way you can plan for a new project or program? You just have to jump into it to really understand it.

Teacher 1: I don't agree with that. There are certain preliminaries you can prepare for. Not enough planning goes into a lot of things.

Interviewer: What else would you do differently? Or, if we were to start again, what are some things we should have done?

Teacher 3: I think we should have known at the beginning that decisions were to be up to the teachers. We didn't know and so we just kept waiting. Waiting for someone to tell us what to do.

Teacher 4: We decided who the team leaders were going to be but we hesitated to just step in and take over.

Interviewer: How might you have been told what was going to happen?

Teacher 3: Should have told us the week before school opened.

Interviewer: You weren't told? How might you have been told?

Teacher 1: We weren't told anything. The scheduling was left up to us. It was as if Mr. Parker (the principal) was there so we could consult him but he didn't dictate to us. We were just reluctant. We had not been placed in a situation like that before.

Interviewer: So even if you had been told it still would have taken time to have believed it. Are you at the place now where you do believe it?

Teacher 1: I believe it. (Others chorus agreement.)

Interviewer: Any other suggestions you have if we were to start afresh?

Teacher 1: I think we need to have students involved. We involved teachers and the principal in assessment but not students and they're our top priority.

Interviewer: What kinds of things might you ask the students? How would you involve the students in this planning process?

Teacher 1: I think there are ways to measure how effective the teacher is in the classroom -- from the students' point of view. What is more effective to them. How they learn best.

Interviewer: I was thinking of the planning for the whole school. What did you have in mind in the planning process?

Teacher 1: Student government type situation. Even involve entire school.

Interviewer: How about the point that came out yesterday in the faculty meeting -- about how teachers should have opportunities for direct involvement rather than always through steering committee. Have you picked that up with the people you're representing and working with -- that they would like to be involved directly? Or are they quite happy to let the steering committee make the decisions?

Teacher 5: Most of the staff still don't know what the steering committee is. What we do exactly, that is. We don't tell them, we weren't set up to tell them what to do. And that's not how we've been functioning (telling them what to do). It's the thing where we weren't told what to do or anything of this nature. We need to inform our teachers of what we've done and not done thus far. They know what's happened one by one but they need a total evaluation -- progress report.

Interviewer: One thing you're suggesting is that you have an open faculty meeting where you discuss the role of the steering committee, what you've done so far, what you would like to do in the future and things like that?

Teacher 5: Yes, I guess you could say it that way. Because we're supposed to be a funneling (organization) thing.

Interviewer: You're saving a lot of people a lot of time, aren't you?

Teacher 4: Some (teachers) are quite satisfied but I'm sure there are some that are not. We need more time to talk things over with our team members before we come back to steering committee meetings.

Teacher 5: This is why we need to plan ahead. We shouldn't just come to a steering committee meeting and hear about something for the first time. We need to know the issues ahead so that we can talk with our teams. Otherwise they (the teachers) think we're making a decision for everybody. We need to plan ahead and know what we're going to talk about so that we can talk to team members ahead of time. What they feel may not be what I as a person would feel but I would have to...(report).

Teacher 1: I find this process (talking to team members, etc.) to be too time consuming to effect and there are things that the entire group (faculty) could decide on and save the steering committee

Teacher 1 (continued): time. We discuss it, then we go back to our team members and discuss it, then we discuss it and decide.

Teacher 5: If you had a lot of people together it would take even longer.

Teacher 1: I think you can sometimes resolve a lot of things when you have everyone together and some don't have to go through every channel. It needs to be done and let's get it done. If I'm sitting in a large group I would just sit back and let a few people decide even if I disagreed. There are quite a few people on our faculty who will talk to you as their representative who wouldn't talk in a big meeting. It's not that they're afraid but she doesn't want people to think she's a (maverick)... One way to get around this is to sit around the tables in different groups during faculty meetings and tell about things that have been bothering you and things you would like to correct. Right now we interact but with the same team for the same grade levels.

Teacher 4: Would someone assign each team member to a group or would each group choose a group,for some people would sit back and not choose?

Teacher 1: It's just like teaching. We get people to assume the role of leader so that a lot of people don't have the chance to try out the leader role. It's not always the responsibility of the team leader to step in. I think this is something that really needs to be talked about. We get into a rut as to what we expect the team leader to be -- based on what we have expected in the past.

Teacher 5: I don't understand what you mean by the role of the team leader.

Teacher 1: It means different things to different people. We need to define this role as a school. Dispersing information? To build a more cohesive team? Creating new ideas? Build enthusiasm?

Teacher 4: We know that our role is different from other team leaders' roles -- such as TTII for instance, from hearsay.

Teacher 1: As team leaders here we sometimes assume teachers' responsibilities. They don't have to remember anything. We do everything for them. We inform them that thus and so has happened. That should be far removed from our responsibility.

Teacher 4: I don't find myself doing that too much.

Teacher 5: Me either.

Teacher 1: But you have to inform them.

Teacher 3: This is part of our job description.

Teacher 4: But what Teacher 1 is asking is what we should do beyond our legal responsibility.

Teacher 1: We need to share ideas between teams. We don't have the opportunity to share ideas with different ends of the hall, etc. enough.

Interviewer: Whose job is it to lead in order to get this cross-fertilization or whatever we want to call it?

Teacher 1: I think this is when you need someone other than a teacher to step in. I think this is when the principal needs to step in, to give guidance for we as teachers cannot resolve all these issues ourselves.

Interviewer: Would you want the principal to say this idea came from the steering committee or just go ahead without saying that?

Teacher 2: I can't see what would be wrong with saying that the steering committee recommended this.

Interviewer: Would any of you disagree? Do any of you think the steering committee should do this?

Teacher 4: I think you would get more response from the principal leading this but I think it would be a good idea for them (the faculty) to know that this idea came from their steering committee.

Teacher 3: The whole picture changed when we got involved in rescheduling when the teachers knew it came from the principal. It wasn't received very well when it came from the teachers.

Interviewer: The principal has a position of authority, right? (Discussion of curriculum and instruction-non curriculum and instruction distinction.)

Teacher 3: What do you mean by curriculum and instruction?

Interviewer: Have you ever been involved in a school where the principal didn't get around to curriculum and instruction because he spent so much time with administrative details?

Teacher 4: More or less.

Teachers: Former principal active in curriculum and instruction.

Interviewer: I see. Therefore involvement of the present principal and the previous principal is viewed as being more a matter of style than degree of involvement.

ANNOUNCEMENTS/INTERCOM

INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL

STONE STREET SCHOOL

May 20, 1975

Interviewer: Earlier today you mentioned a problem about the cafeteria. Could you say more about that?

Principal: I felt that we had a serious problem of misbehavior in the cafeteria. I felt this problem was evidenced by an unusual amount of noise made by children who were yelling at each other instead of talking in a conversational tone. So I suggested to the teachers that there was a problem and that we take some appropriate action. I think that the action taken by teachers at that time was to admonish children to behave; and for perhaps that one day, their behavior was a little better. The following day, the noise level that had been in evidence before was present again. I again mentioned to the teachers that I felt there was a problem of too much noise in the cafeteria and that I didn't feel that we had really done much to solve the problem.

I called a staff meeting and said that I would like to again call their attention to the

Principal (continued): misbehavior in the cafeteria and asked that each teacher, for a period of five days, accompany her class to the cafeteria and sit with them during the entire time. They did that; and, as a result, a number of plans were formulated to help abate this noise in the cafeteria and help children behave better. They came up with their own schedules. Some changed the length of time children had to stay in the cafeteria; some allowed children to leave when they had finished eating rather than dismissing the entire class at one time as they had done previously. All of these things seemed to take the children who were not eating out of the cafeteria and leave the children who were eating in the cafeteria. This resulted in an immediate drop in the noise level so that instead of having a clamor of voices you just had a nice conversational level of talking. The thing that we really found rewarding about that was the fact that it had carry-over into the rest of the school program. We noticed the difference as children moved about the building. They were moving more quietly. They were certainly being more polite and courteous as far as listening to other students or

Principal (continued): outside speakers who were presenting programs. We felt that it had a real good effect on student behavior in the entire school.

Interviewer: What were the principles that you think you learned from these occurrences?

Principal: Well, for one, I think that sometimes it is not sufficient to point out a problem to people who aren't accustomed to coming up with their own decisions about how to solve those problems. I think sometimes some inkling of a beginning has to be given as to how the problem can be approached. Then when people begin to realize that they can make the decision and that they can do the things that they feel like their experience dictates, they come up with a very good solution -- probably much better than I could have.

Interviewer: How about cooperation between special teachers and regular classroom teachers? Has this been affected by the project?

Principal: Yes. The teachers we call special teachers in our school are the music teacher, the art teacher, the physical education teacher, the speech therapist, and the reading improvement specialist. In the years that I have been here in the school system, I have seen outright

Principal (continued): animosity develop between the special teachers and the classroom teachers. This generally resulted from special teachers having a little more time between classes; and therefore, having a little more break time than the classroom teachers. The classroom teachers often resented that. What we had happen here was that the special teachers have taken a very active role in helping to work out schedules. As a result, every teacher in the school is keenly aware of every special teacher's schedule. The special teachers, in turn, are aware of the classroom teachers' schedules. Each is aware of how much break-time the other has; each is aware of how much release-time from students the other has. This has resulted in one of the best senses of cooperation I think I've ever seen on our staff. I've mentioned that here -- near the end of the year -- we have not had money to employ substitute teachers. The relationship that has developed between special teachers and classroom teachers has resulted in the special teachers going into the classroom as a substitute for the classroom teacher and doing an excellent job with a very wholesome attitude.

Principal (continued): This has been sincerely appreciated by the classroom teachers. I think each has gained respect for the other.

Interviewer: Can you describe the development of what you referred to earlier today as "rhythmics"?

Principal: The music and physical education teachers got together and worked out a program that was not entirely music and not entirely physical education. They work together on such things as rhythms for children. This was done with various little dance steps and various little instruments that they could tap rhythmically as well as other ways that they could sit down and think of together. They came up with procedures that could be used in the classroom. When the classroom teachers saw what was happening, they suggested several games and other instruments to the special teachers that could be used to broaden and enrich the experience for children. It has grown into a cooperative project -- one of the best things we think we've had happen to our primary students this year.

Interviewer: Are there other occurrences you wish to discuss? Has anything happened to the schedule since the last time we talked or is it pretty much the same?

Principal: (Chuckle) That has been, certainly, our heaviest concern. We have tried to change some schedules and we've changed some. We've taken a look, and we've asked ourselves "Are we utilizing the time that the child has here in the best way that we possibly can?"

I met with each team and raised questions just such as that. Asking questions such as: "Is our recess schedule at the appropriate time?" "Is our language arts block long enough?" "Are we spending enough time on mathematics?" "Are we guaranteeing, as much as we can, that we don't have short intervals of time that end up to be meaningless little study periods or something of that sort?"

After I met individually with teams, they sat down and worked for a couple of sessions on trying to refine their own schedule within their own teams. That immediately evolved into what they felt were some needed changes in the schedule for the entire school. This involved changes in such things as the library schedule, music schedule, p.e. schedule.

At this point, we had the team leaders meet for several meetings trying to work out more appropriate times for the special classes to be

Principal (continued): scheduled so that we could use the students' time more wisely. This resulted in a real cooperative effort from the entire staff. After it had been discussed with the team leaders, the entire staff got together and worked out some new schedules. We felt like it did work into a better program for the youngsters and certainly made us think that we were using time more wisely than before.

We did run into some difficult problems to solve while we were trying to rearrange schedules. We had one meeting in the library, in particular that (illustrates this). Someone had gone to the trouble to write down Schedule A, Schedule B, Schedule C, D, E, and I think there was even a Schedule F. We sat for some 45 minutes discussing how this part of E was good and this part of A was good, and this part of B would have to be changed. Then could we combine the best parts of these? Finally someone said that we weren't ready to make a decision on which one of these is best or how we could best combine these so more meetings would have to be held.

While I was sitting in on this meeting, I really had to fight the urge to step in and

Principal (continued): act as the benevolent dictator who could write out a schedule in 30 minutes and give everyone a copy and have it followed. I felt strongly that teachers should be the ones to make the schedule. To get the best schedule, it has to be made by people who are really close to the situation. It takes a lot of time and a lot of communication that is not always friendly. It does take a lot of compromise and a lot of work to get a schedule this good for 450 to 500 -- but that's what we were working for.

Interviewer: Were there any other critical incidents you care to comment on?

Principal: I think one other thing that has been critical that should be mentioned here is the cooperation we now have between the fourth and fifth grade team teachers in working up a mini-grant. This is the first mini-grant we've had in our school that involved more than one grade level and more than just one team. (Description of grant proposal given.) We think that the time they have spent (in planning) is going to result in a cooperative venture that is going to mean a lot to everybody in the entire school.

Interviewer: You mentioned earlier today that a project with the librarian had affected attitudes within the entire staff. Can you elaborate on that?

Principal: We had several hundred books in boxes sitting in the library work room. The librarian's extremely busy schedule and lack of assistance (couldn't seem to get the books processed). The situation was explained to the team leaders. We sat down and listed the things we ought to do and what we thought was the proper sequence for doing these things.

The first job that needed to be done fell to the principal and that was to get in an immediate requisition for shelving. That paperwork was taken care of. We knew it would be several weeks before the shelving could be put in.

The processing of books started immediately. Every teacher and every aide had some role in getting those books out of boxes, processed and ready to put on the shelves. When the workmen finally came and installed the shelves, the very next day the shelves were filled with the processed books.

Interviewer: Did the teachers do that, or students, or just who?

Principal: Students did very little of it. They did help some with the things we felt they could do. In the actual processing of the books, mostly

Principal (continued): aides (did the work). Teachers gave up their aides for days at a time so that the aides could come in and work on this library project. We think it was a resounding success because all those books that had been in boxes were on shelves for (children to use).

Interviewer: What was the librarian's response?

Principal: At first it was quite defensive. When we explained to her that this was a job that was far bigger than she could personally take care of, she then seemed to realize that help was essential if we were going to get the job done within a reasonable amount of time. Once she got over the shock of having a lot of people in the library and set up the system for processing books, she began to use more student help for routine things.

Interviewer: Has this improved communication between the librarian and the teachers?

Principal: Indeed, yes! I think it has vastly improved their rapport. I think each understands the other's problems a lot better.

Interviewer: Do you think this points out that teachers are assuming collective responsibility?

Principal: I think that has been borne out in my conversations with the team leaders. When I

Principal (continued): approached individuals about using their aide in the library for any extended period of time, they tended to be rather defensive and said, "Hold it. Our aide has all she can do as it is." When we got the team leaders together and presented the problem, when we walked back to the library workroom and saw all those boxes of books that needed to be on the shelves, then using the aides was not an imposition on any one team, rather it became a contribution to the total school program.

Interviewer: Can you describe the times when you have felt the most "pushed" by teachers?

Principal: I think the time that I have felt most "pushed" and again where I thought that I would almost have to assume the benevolent dictator role had to do with some of the schedule changes. Specifically, in the primary grades, youngsters work right up to three o'clock in the afternoon. They have a morning break and an early afternoon break from 1:00 to 1:20. Then they work for the remainder of the day. When I went down to the fifth and sixth grade classrooms, I found they took a morning break, a break after lunch and also at 2:30 in the afternoon. They came back in just in time to get their

Principal (continued): things ready for dismissal.

When I asked teachers if this was the wisest, best use we could make of the children's time, the immediate and staunch reply was that children were so exhausted at that time that they weren't capable of doing any academic work anyway.

When I see primary younsters digging away at it during that period of the day, I begin to feel that something could be done to make that part of the day productive for the upper grades, also.

I think I met more resistance to changing that one period. I think, if we had not run into the cafeteria problem, I might have had to take some bureaucratic action to correct the situation. As it turns out, the solutions that we came up with to correct the cafeteria noise problem affected the (afternoon schedules for all teams).

That was a time I felt extremely pushed by teachers. I felt I was being very firmly resisted. What I thought and what I proposed was not being given serious consideration. Even more serious than that was that I thought decisions were being made that were more in the best interest of teachers rather than students.

APPENDIX D

MEMORANDUM TO TEACHERS

STONE STREET ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
MARINE CORPS BASE
CAMP LEJEUNE, NORTH CAROLINA 28542

November 24, 1975

NOTE TO TEACHERS

I. The most valuable asset this school has is its good teachers. Wise utilization of these assets demand that we schedule most of each teacher's time so that she is in contact with students. I believe we all agree that not much is done for students while a teacher sits in the lounge.

The following procedures will go into effect on Monday, 1 Dec., 1975:

A. All personnel (principal, teachers, aides, custodians, students and volunteers) will eat lunch each day in the cafeteria. Students should not be permitted to eat snacks inside the building at any time. We simply have to do something about our infestation of bugs. I have been advised that cutting off the food supply for bugs is the first effective step to take.

B. Each teacher will accompany her class when they go outside for recess or any other outside activity. The only exception to this procedure will be at lunch time, when one teacher and one aide from each

grade will be on duty any time students are permitted outside. Many serious fights, much unsafe play and a number of student injuries has necessitated this action.

C. When a teacher needs the principal's help with a student, the following procedure should be followed:

Alternative One: Have another teacher or aide supervise your class and bring the student to the office.

Alternative Two: Send another student to get the principal and keep the misbehaving child under your own supervision.

Under no circumstances should a student be sent to the office by himself. No student should be instructed to stand outside the room or in any other place where there is no direct supervision by a teacher.

II. These procedures are being put into effect for two basic reasons:

A. Following these procedures will make our students safer and our building cleaner.

B. More extensive supervision of all students will sharply reduce the probability of student injury and the subsequent likelihood of charges of negligence.

III. In addition it is hoped that many desirable side effects will result from these procedures:

A. There will be opportunities for more personal pupil-teacher relationships to develop.

B. Students will be encouraged to develop more self-control and a more positive self image.

The Principal

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRES

QUESTIONNAIRE I

The following is an anonymous questionnaire designed to help us understand what has happened thus far this year in Stone Street School as well as plan for the remainder of the year. The questionnaire has been given to members of the steering committee, the representative body of the faculty.

Self Evaluation

These questions will help us see your perceptions as to what has happened thus far this year.

1. How has teacher-student interaction changed, if at all, this year?

2. How has teacher-teacher interaction changed, if at all, this year?

3. How has teacher-principal interaction changed, if at all, this year?

These questions will help us see where you think things should go for the remainder of the year.

4. What are some of the things you think need to be done during the remainder of this year?

5. Generally speaking, do you feel overstimulated this year, understimulated, or about right (in balance)?

Evaluation of the Steering Committee

6. Do you feel that most of the faculty consider the steering committee to be a body that represents them?

7. On a scale from 1 (least effective) to 10 (most effective) please rate the effectiveness of the steering committee this year.

8. What suggestions would you make for the steering committee for the remainder of the year?

Evaluation of Others

9. How did you think you would relate to consultant(s) before the school year began? That is, what role did you think the consultant(s) should have in relationship to you before the school year began?

10. How do you think you should relate to consultant(s) for the remainder of the year? Any suggestions?

11. How did you think you would relate to the principal before the present school year began?

12. How do you think you should relate to the principal for the remainder of the year?

13. Has there been any change in your relationship to supporting staff such as aides, clerical staff (secretary), custodian(s), cafeteria help during this year?

14. Has there been any change in your relationship with parents during this past year?

15. Has there been any change in your relationship with the central administration, including the Superintendent, Associate Superintendents, and curriculum area people during this past year?

16. Any suggestions for improvement of Stone Street School for the remainder of the year?

QUESTIONNAIRE II

During the past two years, the staff at Stone Street School has been moving toward broader staff involvement in decision-making. The following questions are asked in order to gain a better understanding of what has occurred during these two years. Please answer the questions as fully as possible. If you have been here for less than two school years, please indicate the date on which you joined the staff in the upper right-hand corner under the code letter. The code letter is simply to indicate the group with which you are identified (e.g. aide, teacher, team leader, special teacher, principal). Do not sign your name. Thank you.

1. How would you characterize communication at Stone Street School?

2. Has it changed over the past two years?

3. Is any individual or group responsible for the change?

4. Has the functioning of the staff at Stone Street School changed over the past two years? If so, in what ways?

5. What areas of the school's functioning have been most affected by the project? (Administrative concerns, instructional procedures, curriculum, etc.)

6. Who is/are the most influential person/persons in Stone Street School?

7. Are you happier working in this type of setting or a more traditional one? Why?

8. What, if anything, has the project meant to you as a professional (regardless of the setting in which you find yourself in the future)?

9. Has the school's curriculum been affected by your participation in decision-making? Why? Why not?

10. What direction do you see the project moving in during the future months? Please give consideration to two areas: Strengths (to build on) and Needs (to provide for).