School Leadership

ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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FOCUS: SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

OTHER TOPICS

Leadership as a Way of Thinking

Leadership is only one ingredient school executives need to serve our schools well

Douglas E Mitchell and Sharon Tucker

ike most Americans, educa tors tend to think of leader ship as a matter of taking action and getting results. They see real leadership as a rare and wonderful capacity to *take charge* and *get things done* in the face of complex and trying circumstances. Leaders, those who believe in this typically American perspective argue, are people who can overcome resistance, shore up the weaknesses of their followers, and produce effective action - accompanied by a great sense of accomplishment and satisfaction.

For public education, this view is doubly wrong. First, the assumption that individual leaders can produce quick and dramatic differences in school performance keeps us from focusing on the importance of teamwork and comprehensive school improvement. Second, emphasizing the value of melodramatic, media-grabbing, high-profile actions keeps people from providing desperately needed guidance for ordinary programs and day-to-day school operations. In urging risk-taking behavior, this view of leadership distorts our understanding of the thought processes and concrete actions that make up the real dynamics of school effectiveness.

All too often, today's most popular school improvement policies are based on the assumption that effective leadership is a matter of effort and expertise or that legal mandates and formal rules can produce it. While these policies certainly do create anxiety and guilt among educators, there is little evidence that they produce effective schools. Perhaps it is time to recognize that leadership is less a matter of aggressive action than a way of thinking and feeling - about ourselves, about our jobs, and about the nature of the educational process.

The Spirit of Leadership

The thinking that lies behind effective leadership is complex and varied. Contrast the following comments by school superintendents who were asked to describe how they motivate staff to perform effectively. For some, the dominant leadership problem is one of responding to ideas and program proposals put forward by others. With little study or analysis, for example, one superintendent decides to provide major funding to a program proposed by a group of teachers and says of his decision,

> "Support is the key thing. I wouldn't care if they were trying to turn seawater into ice cream, I would have supported it."

A second superintendent, responds to the same situation by saying,

> "In this district, where teachers, parents, or administrators decide a problem needs to be addressed, we form a study group. Everyone is

assigned research articles to read, and when they come together to share what they have learned, they debate, talk about the idea's application, about where we are headed. We bring in outside helpers to speak to the group. Only then do we financially support a change and make it part of the district's program."

For other superintendents, staff leadership means finding ways to draw attention to their own versions of good program and policy ideas, rather than reacting to ideas or pressures arising from others. One superintendent in a mid-sized urban school district visits every classroom in the district four times a year. It is a major undertaking, but he makes this "big commitment" in order to interact informally with staff and engage them in discussions of possible new directions. On his visits he makes a point of talking about innovations currently under way in the district.

Another superintendent organizes a yearly management retreat with principals. She explicitly addresses the issue of districtwide goal setting and insists on discussing with everyone district program priorities and strategies for achieving them. She believes that it is crucial that everyone be able to philosophically "buy into" the district priorities and that all have a feeling of "being in it together."

So much variability exists among these superintendents and in their work settings that it is difficult to get a handle on the characteristics of successful influence over instructional programs. Settings range from large to small districts, from urban to rural environments. Occasionally boards of education or labor problems make some climates contentious. Others have relatively peaceful settings

where board members have long tenures or have broad agreements on basic goals.

The superintendents, both men and women, some in their 40s and some in their 60s, also vary in personality and style. Their personal characteristics, their organizational environments, and the kinds of communities in which they work influence their leadership style and emphasis.

One common feature is clear, however. These superintendents, like the principals in each of their districts, seek to control, or at least significantly influence, school performance. How they seek to gain influence varies, as do the goals toward which they direct their efforts. If we could clarify the sources and aims of executive influence in public education, we would add much to the current debates over how school performance can be improved.

Superintendents' leadership springs from the way they think. Effective action follows from effec-

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tive thinking in ways that are far too richly textured and varied to be captured in any list of supposedly effective leadership strategies. For this reason, recent studies of school effectiveness have often found it necessary to talk of the "ethos" or "culture" of the school. Cultures guide thinking and feeling and influence behavior by helping people to get a "feel for" the situation in which they find themselves. Cultures create and constrain executive behavior by generating values rather than directives. They create social norms and draw attention to opportunities for action; they do not specify exactly what to do or how to do it.

School performance is just as closely tied to competent administration, effective supervision, and dynamic management as it is to aggressive leadership. Indeed, educators who succeed in producing a balanced integration of the work orientations and actions implied in these four concepts are much more likely to stimulate high performance in their schools than those who give themselves to a one-dimensional leadership or management emphasis.

Transactional vs Transformative Leadership

As vividly expressed in James Mcgregor Burns' seminal analysis of leadership[1], some cultures emphasize transactional control through the distribution of incentives, while others work by transforming the goals and aspirations of organization members.

The first type of culture creates a system of economic, political, or psychological incentives for hard work and successful performance of assigned tasks. Transactional leadership only works, unfortunately, when both leaders and followers understand and agree about

the important tasks to be performed. To acquire leadership in such a cultural setting it is also necessary to get control over the incentive system - to be able to reward high performance or, if necessary, to punish those who refuse to cooperate.

Transformational leadership, by contrast, arises when leaders are more concerned about gaining overall cooperation and energetic participation from organization members than they are in getting particular tasks performed. If leaders are working in cultural settings where goals are unclear or organizational members do not agree about them, effective leadership requires an approach that transforms the feelings, attitudes, and beliefs of their followers. Compliance is not enough under these circumstances; it is important to get followers to believe in themselves and in the goals of the organization. Transformational leaders are "people oriented"; rather than focus on tasks and performance, they build relationships and help followers develop goals and identify strategies for their accomplishment.

The difference between transactional and transformational control systems can be seen in superintendents. Transactional superintendents seek indirect control through attention to the design of district organizational structures. They give careful thought to how organizational structures serve to facilitate or impede the work of the school staff. Transformational superintendents think quite differently. They give primary attention to the staffs rather than the structures.

Transactional superintendents concerned with structures, concentrate on defining job functions and on developing district policies and procedures. They believe that if

they succeed in improving organizational operations, school instructional improvement will follow. They concentrate on creating and stabilizing district programs. They have a high sensitivity to hierarchy and standardization of practices.

Transformational superintendents, concerned with staff skills and beliefs, direct their efforts to building and strengthening organizational norms and attitudes. They strive to establish common meaning systems, believing that quality education will arise when professional staff agree about educational goals and the most effective strategies for their attainment.

Frontier vs. Settled Cultures

Cross-cutting the transaction/transformation dimension of relationship between leaders and followers is the cultural role of the school organization. The primary issue in this second cultural dimension is whether the schools are seen as part of an established, successful system for the socialization of the young or as institutions in need of redirection and reform, restructuring to meet new conditions or reach new goals.

In some communities and in some historical periods, schools enjoy broad community support based on a widely shared consensus about the purposes and processes of education. In the beginning of the 19th century, for example, there was a near-universal enthusiasm for schools as the source of economic opportunity and civic culture. Even today, schools serving middle- and upper-class families in many suburban communities continue to enjoy widespread support as a natural adjunct to family and community socialization. More typically, however, today's schools are troubled institutions - they are often labeled

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failures and challenged to change their goals while at the same time radically improving performance in traditional areas of emphasis.

The difference between these two cultural settings is much like the difference between frontier life and settled communities. In frontier cultures life is rough, danger is everywhere, and groups have to band together for mutual support and protection. Frontier leadership emphasizes culture building and problem solving - individual differences may be respected, but there is an obvious need for common experiences and a shared commitment to the emerging community.

In settled cultures, by contrast, well-established norms and shared beliefs interpret ordinary activities and guide the inhabitants. These same beliefs baffle newcomers and prevent minority group members from experiencing full membership in the community. Stable schools with settlement cultures develop programs that are sensible; tasks and relationships are both well-

specified. Effective leadership in a settlement culture rests on coordination and expertise - programs can be planned in detail, and task assignments can be fully specified. In this type of cultural setting the most productive approach to leadership often involves concentrating on recruiting good staff members and coordinating support services - leaving work on core tasks to staff experts.

Culture and Work Role

The two cultural dimensions just described intersect to define supervision, administration, management, and leadership - the four key terms in the lexicon of control over school performance (see fig. 1). When schools are well established and their cultural role is settled, supervision and administration are the dominant processes. When confidence is lost and new frontiers are being crossed, dynamic management and aggressive leadership are required. Supervision shares with management (rather than administration) a common reliance on incentive systems and transactional control. When

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organization members lack common incentives and goals and need to be energized and engaged in transforming interpersonal relationships in order to define or restructure their work activities, administration and leadership become dominant functions.

Changing circumstances and changing beliefs about the schools encourage educators to give primary emphasis to one rather than another of these basic work orientations. As superintendents, principals, and other school staff respond to the underlying cultural dimensions, they change their think-

ing about how school performance should be controlled. With these changes in thinking about effectiveness come basic changes in conceptions of effective teaching, strategies for school improvement, and beliefs about how to influence the work behavior of school staff members.

Supervision. Educators who see the school as a stable, broadly supported social institution and who think about interpersonal influence in transactional, incentive-based ways, will give primary emphasis to supervision in defining their own role. Supervisors in these environments tend to assume that educational goals are obvious to everyone. If there is difficulty it is because some people are unable or unwilling to work effectively to obtain them. The supervisory approach gives superintendents and principals responsibility for identifying specific tasks and directing staff in how each is to be performed. They closely monitor staff to ensure that directions are being followed and that performance is high.

The supervisory orientation to school effectiveness brings with it the belief that teachers can be effective if they will diligently implement good standard classroom

Figure 1
CULTURE AND WORK ROLE DEFINITIONS

	Transactional	Transformational
Settlement Cultures Standardized Work Activities	Supervisor	Administrator
Frontier Cultures Problem Solving Work Activities	Manager	Leader

Melodramatic claims about school failures are a basic ingredient in the shift from the management focus of the '70s and '80s to the emphasis on restructuring and transformational leadership in the 1990s.

practices. Within this cultural view, good teachers are seen as loyal laborers working on tasks defined by curriculum experts and overseen by principals. School improvement is a matter of teacher diligence and conscientiousness rather than creativity or spontaneity. Student achievement is equated with mastering materials, and teaching effectiveness with careful implementation of established programs. Supervisors subscribe to the world view expressed in most reforms adopted after the publication of *A Nation at Risk* (1983) - better schooling results from longer hours, more requirements, stronger mandates, and above all, an accountability system that ties incentives directly to measured student achievement.

Administration. Educators who feel that their control over meaningful incentives is weak, or who simply believe that school effectiveness rests more on the attitudes of teach-

ers and students than on the implementation of specific programs, will adopt an administrative approach to influencing school performance. The administrative work orientation shares with the supervisory one the settlement culture's confidence that the overall goals of education are well understood and supported. These administrators do not feel a need to redirect teachers or students to new learning objectives or to reconsider the efficacy of existing school programs.

From this perspective, high-quality teaching depends on giving teachers more professional autonomy. Effective teachers creatively diagnose student learning styles and problems and develop their own techniques for encouraging achievement within established programs and practices. Indeed, those who adopt an administrative orientation to school improvement believe that teaching and learning are rather private and individualized processes - not amenable to either direct oversight or explicit rewards and sanctions. Curriculum and child development specialists help ensure effective instruction by identifying and helping to remediate children's special learning problems. To increase their effectiveness, professional teachers and specialists form into a cohesive team. Administrators give a lot of attention to interpersonal dynamics - they talk about the importance of good communication and emphasize the role in recruiting, supporting, and coordinating staff activities. When they identify performance problems, they make every effort to create a transformational relationship with teachers and students. They use counseling, staff development, and day-to-day interactions to ensure that their staffs fully participate in the established program.

Management. When educators sense that broad social support for education is no longer available, when change is more important than implementation of established program, it makes sense to shift from supervision to management. Managers, like supervisors, rely more on transactional than transformational relationships. They see effective teaching as the result of competence and skill. Task definition is more important than nurturing interpersonal relationships. For the manager, teaching is a skilled craft and is improved by careful program design and application of sophisticated instructional techniques. Good programs are those that are fully researched and carefully planned. Where supervisors tend to think of getting people to work harder, managers think they need to work smarter. They value effective analysis of school performance problems and staff training. Managers are likely to emphasize the importance of performance indicators and to want explicit measures of school productivity.

Transformational leaders see themselves as responsible more for redefining educational goals than for implementing existing programs.

Leadership. Where weakened social and cultural support for the schools is accompanied by a belief that high performance depends on transforming student and teacher attitudes and beliefs (not just redirecting their behavior), leadership becomes the dominant theme in school improvement. Leaders, like managers, recognize that support for their organizations depends upon making qualitative changes in their performance. Unlike managers, however, leaders do not believe that either the incentive system or the knowledge base for effective performance is adequately developed.

A belief in the transformational leadership approach to school improvement leads easily to concepts like "restructuring" or "re-inventing" school organizations. Transformational leaders see themselves as responsible more for redefining educational goals than for implementing existing programs. They believe that high-performance teachers are more like creative artists than skilled craft workers. Teachers are talented experts. Because of their creative talents, they know what is important for children and how to make schools work. Leadership-oriented executives assume, however, that teaching talent becomes effective only when it is integrated into cohesive, coordinated activity. Their effectiveness depends on everyone working together, developing and then pursuing common goals.

Leadership-oriented executives think of high performance the way a drama coach or concert master does - the important thing is to solicit full engagement and release energy. School improvement is, therefore, a matter of realigning school programs with the needs and interests of communities, families, students, and school staff. These

transformational leaders see the central issue as commitment rather than competence. Of course, effective teachers will need to be competent, but the key problem for improved schools is harnessing teacher competence to a new set of program goals.

Leadership is Only Part of the Story

It is not surprising that today's education policymakers and school reformers are talking about the critical importance of leadership for principals and superintendents. They are reflecting their own belief that schools have to change program goals in order to prepare workers for an international economy and citizens for a turbulent and pluralistic civic culture. As the superintendents we studied made crystal clear, however, transformational leadership is not the only route to improved school performance. Melodramatic claims about school failures are a basic ingredient in the shift from the management focus of the '70s and '80s to the emphasis on restructuring and transformational leadership in the 1990s. It is vitally important to recognize that failures and shortcomings, just like success and high performance, come in many different forms. Where the problem is changing goals and redirecting belief systems, all shortcomings will be interpreted as comprehensive and catastrophic. The "little failures" of poor organization and technically weak programs may ultimately be the most important, however. And these little failures can be more easily remedied through energetic management, supportive administration, or directive supervision than by the melodrama of charismatic leadership.

Public education and the nation's children will be well

served if school executives devote as much skill and energy to supervising well-established programs, administering to the needs of teachers and students, and managing the utilization of scarce resources as they are now being urged to spend on mobilizing and focusing energy on sweeping revisions and fundamental changes. As important as it is to redefine educational goals and restructure school programs to pursue them, this kind of frontier leadership is only part of a balanced approach to creating and sustaining high performance in schools.

[1] J. M. Burns. (1978). *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row).

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Visions That Blind

Principals would do more lasting good for schools if they concentrated on building collaborative cultures rather than charging forcefully in with heavy agendas for change

Michael G Fullan

The current emphasis on vision in leadership can be misleading. Vision can blind leaders in a number of ways. For instance, the principal who is committed to a particular innovation or philosophy - whole language, integration of special education, cooperative learning - may pursue it in such narrow and self defeating ways that key teachers will resist the idea until the principal leaves or is transferred. In other cases, the principal is "apparently successful" in getting teachers to use the innovation while failing to achieve more basic changes in enabling them to consider alternatives, reflect on their practices, and otherwise improve.

The high-powered, charismatic principal who "radically transforms the school" in four or five years can also be blinding and misleading as a role model. This principal's strategy is fragile be-cause so much depends on his or her personal strength and presence, which is relatively short-lived. I have not seen any follow-up studies of schools that have been transformed by powerhouse leaders, but my hypothesis would be that most such schools decline after the leader leaves. Also, the particular direction of change in these schools may have some flaws that go uncorrected because of the leader's dominance.

The basic problem in both of these situations - overattachment to particular philosophies or innovations, or overreliance on the charismatic leader - is that they restrict consideration of alternatives and suppress the voices of teachers who may have questions or who may be open to other ideas than the ones being considered. Too much store is placed in the leader as solution compared to the leader as *enabler* of solutions. Such reliance leads at best to short-term gains, at worst to superficial solutions and dependency.

The crucial question is "Whose vision is it?" Principals are blinded by their own vision when they feel they must manipulate the teachers and the school culture to conform to it. Such a vision does not serve long-term development:

> "My vision," "my teachers," "my school" are proprietary claims and attitudes which suggest an ownership of the school that is personal rather than collective, imposed rather than earned, and hierarchical rather than democratic. With visions as singular as this, teachers soon learn to suppress their voice. It does not get articulated. Management becomes manipulation. Collaboration becomes cooptation. Worst of all, having teachers conform

to the principal's vision minimizes the possibilities for principal learning. It reduces the opportunities for principals to learn that parts of their own vision may be flawed, and that some teachers' visions may be as valid or more valid than theirs. (Fullan and Hargreaves 1991, p. 90).

Developing Collaborative Cultures

While principals can be instrumental in implementing particular innovations through direct monitoring and support, schools are not in the business of managing single innovations; they are in the business of contending with multiple innovations simultaneously. Rather than impose their individual visions, principals would do well to develop collaborative work cultures to help staff deal with all these innovations. To build collaborative work cultures, principals must concentrate on fostering vision-building; norms of collegiality that respect individuality; norms of continuous improvement; problem-coping and conflict-resolution strategies; lifelong teacher development that involves inquiry, reflective practice, collaboration, and technical skills; and restructuring initiatives (Fullan et al. 1990, Fullan and Hargreaves 1991).

This does not mean that principals' visions are unimportant. The clarity and quality of their visions may have helped mark them for leadership, but:

> Principals have no monopoly on wisdom. Nor should they be immune from the questioning, inquiry, and deep reflection in which we have asked teachers to engage. Principals' visions should therefore be provisional and open to change. They should

be part of the collaborative mix (Fullan and Hargreaves 1991, p. 90).

In short, the principal should strive to be not an instructional leader, but rather a leader of instructional leaders (Glickman 1991, p. 7). He or she is responsible for making vision-building a collective exercise. It is a mistake to fix on a vision too early in the process. Louis and Miles (1990) observed during the course of their case studies of five urban high schools engaged in major improvement projects:

> The more successful of our schools had no a priori mission statements. Instead, multiple improvement efforts coalesced around a theme or set of themes only after the activity had begun (p. 206).

When one commits to major reform, it is often best to start small and experiment, gradually expanding on the successful:

> The objective of evolutionary planning is to capitalize on the "low risk" quality of smaller-scale innovation to increase certainty. This, in turn, increases motivation and the possibility of concerted, more "tightly couple" action across the school (Louis and Miles 1990, p. 211).

Thus, an alternative approach to vision-driven reform is one in which the principal pursues promising visions provisionally, learning as well as leading through collaboration. If there is one justifiable generic vision, it is schools working together to press for and support improvements.

During the course of our Learn-

The message for both the school and district levels is captured in Schein's (1985) observation: *"The only thing of real importance that leaders do is to create and manage culture."*

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ing Consortium work over the past three years[1], we formulated eight guidelines for how principals should approach the complex task of working interactively with teachers and communities:

1. Understand the culture of the school before trying to change it;
2. Value your teachers; promote their professional growth;
3. Extend what you value;
4. Express what you value;
5. Promote collaboration, not cooptation;
6. Make menus, not mandates;
7. Use bureaucratic means to facilitate, not to constrain;
8. Connect with the wider environment (Fullan and Hargreaves 1991).

Districts also need to employ short-term strategies (inservice for leaders) and mid- to long-term strategies (selection and promotion criteria and procedures) to create, coordinate, and allow the development of leadership for collaborative school cultures (Fullan and Hargreaves 1991, Zywine et al 1991).

The message for both the school and district levels is captured in

Schein's (1985) observation: "*The only thing of real importance that leaders do is to create and manage culture.*" But the process of helping to develop collaborative work cultures is complex. It requires great sophistication on the part of school leaders; to express their own values without being imposing; to draw out other people's values and concerns; to manage conflict and problem solving; to give direction and to be open at the same time. Thus, Schein's statement should not be taken too literally. Developing school cultures is a subtle, not a blatant business.

Note:

[1] The Learning Consortium is a partnership of four large school boards (average number of students 54,000) and two post-secondary institutions, set up in 1988, designed to work on teacher development across the teacher education continuum (preservice, induction, inservice, leadership) and on school development by coordinating the resources, policies, and practices of the districts and of the post-secondary institutions (see Fullan et al. 1990).

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School Snapshot: Focus on Collaborative Work Culture

Thorah Central Elementary School today has built itself a collaborative work culture, but it wasn't always so. A few years ago, as then-new teacher Marie Geleen remembers, the professional isolation was stifling:

> When I arrived at the school, I soon found out that teachers believed in the closed door syndrome. I had no idea what was going on in other classrooms. There was little kid-talk in the staff room - mostly complaints. I felt as if I was working in a vacuum. Classroom management had never been a problem for me before, but these kids were the most obnoxious, poorly motivated kids I had ever to deal with. I was never quite sure if the negative attitudes of the students were being fostered by the homeroom teachers. That year I spent a lot of time upset, questioning my competence, questioning my instructional strategies, and looking for a different job.

Principal Don Real's assessment of the situation was that the school's isolation was keeping Thorah's 23 teachers from doing more than just a "good, steady job." Thorah, in rural Durham County, is a K-8 school northeast of Toronto, Ontario. Most of its 300 students are bused from across the sprawling county. A good hour's drive from the board office, the school's location didn't provide opportunities for teachers to work with colleagues at other schools and, for whatever reasons, they didn't work with one another very well either.

Don Real began his effort to change the school with a personal decision: he would learn more about strategies to support three initiatives Thorah has already undertaken: the whole language approach, the full-time integration of exceptional students, and multigrade classrooms. In 1988 he invited two teachers - Gloria Snodden, a 4-6 multigrade teacher, and Marie Geleen - to go with him to a seven-day Summer Institute of the Learning Consortium, which focused on cooperative learning, peer coaching, and the management of change - including the development of collaborative work cultures.

That fall the three educators got to work. Real committed to team-teach a 7th grade mathematics class with Marie Geleen. Every six days, Real recalls, "we worked as a coaching pair. We planned the lesson together. We alternatively taught the lessons while the other person watched, and then we would process the lesson after it had been taught." Noticing how "genuinely enthused" their students were becoming, the two became convinced that collaboration was the key.

Snodden, who had been trying to implement some of the cooperative learning ideas on her own in her multigrade classroom, was becoming convinced about the same idea. "What really changed me," she now recalls, "was the integration of the special education children into my classroom in 1987. Now there were other students and teachers in the classroom and we had to learn to work together."

Snodden found the multigrade classroom an ideal place to use cooperative learning - children of all ages and abilities could be challenged to work according to their own level on the same themes. "The goal of multigrade classroom is to be more like a family. There is less peer pressure ... it's also a good place to integrate exceptional children."

Terry-Lynn Jago, a special education teacher who today team-teaches with Snodden, agrees that cooperative learning builds self-esteem in children as well as adults. The power of being in a group, Jago says, has made all the difference for her kids. "Each child is part of a group - the group is their home for half of each year." For an exceptional child, "if you don't belong to a group and you're in competition with everyone else, you don't build self-esteem, especially if your behavior really sticks out."

Real, Geleen, and Snodden visited other district schools that had participated in the Summer Institute and invited teachers from those schools to Thorah. Other teachers at Thorah begin to show more interest toward the end of 1988, so the Institute trainer gave an introductory session on cooperative learning to the whole staff.

In three years, largely through the active but by no means dramatic leadership of the principal, the professional culture of Thorah has changed substantially.

At staff meetings, the principal reinforced the cooperative learning concept by organizing teachers into groups of four. Rather than present material in the usual manner, Real gave topics to the groups to discuss, and they used various cooperative learning techniques to report their conclusions. For example, one member of each group would be called on at random to report the group's findings, a method that effectively raised involvement and accountability levels of all staff members.

Over the next three years, the principal and other staff members participated in other Summer Institutes, Cooperative Learning Institutes, and Learning Consortium training institutes. They worked at integrating cooperative learning into various curriculum areas - mathematics, history, and language arts. They have given many presentations on cooperative learning, integration of exceptional students, and the collaborative development of school plans.

In September 1991, Don Real was transferred to Cartwright Central Public School, and Cartwright's principal Roden Rutledge was transferred to Thorah. Thorah continues with its cooperative learning impetus, and now teams from each school, after attending a Summer Institute on creative conflict, are planning ways to link the two schools as they implement and integrate ideas on cooperative learning and creative conflict.

This year, an outside researcher interviewed teachers at Thorah to see how things are going there. The researcher found positive feelings of trust among staff members. Discipline problems are minimal, there's a high energy level, staff room conversations are focused more on kids, and staff meetings are run on a cooperative model.

Now, four years after joining Thorah, Geleen observes:

> There is more smiling. There is a family atmosphere. I find it a very relaxing atmosphere to be in. I know I can make mistakes and say I tried this and I'm not happy with it. There is much more collegiality - more openness. There was little interaction before, but now there is lots of sharing. Staff members are more enthusiastic about how kids learn. Students show more respect and understanding of each other. I have special education students who are able to teach a concept to the group.

There are fewer classroom discipline problems.

Twenty-one of the twenty-three teachers that were at Thorah in 1988 are still there, yet so much is different. And although teachers appreciate the principal's active leadership, they don't see him as a visionary. They simply acknowledge that his enthusiasm sparked their own involvement. As Gloria Snodden explains:

> Don is not charismatic really. He just had these expectations for the school. People really respected that. He was so excited about cooperative learning, I just got caught up in it.

And Real himself recalls:

> Someone asked for my implementation plan. Well, it really wasn't there, we just rolled with it ... I sure wanted them to do it when I found it was successful ... I believe they felt pressure, but in the initial stages there was not pressure. It was an invitation. It was the success we saw with the kids that really committed us.

The whole experience changed Don Real. He now finds himself "doing things now as a person that I wouldn't have done before. Like doing workshops. I hate speaking in front of people - it gives me a great deal of stress. But I'd volunteer to do these things now."

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Developing Teachers' Leadership Skills

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There have long been teacher leaders in schools. They have traditionally accepted positions as department chairs, team and grade leaders, curriculum committee chairs, and more. With the advent of school and teacher education restructuring efforts, new leadership roles are emerging (Lieberman & Miller, 1990). Whether taking on traditional or emerging roles, a major characteristic of teacher leaders is that they often teach full- or part-time and then assume other responsibilities (Howey, 1988). An additional characteristic is that they have generally learned the new role just by doing it.

A more systematic approach to developing the requisite skills for assuming leadership roles may be helpful. Whether or not a teacher takes on a formal leadership position, the acquisition of these skills may serve to enhance performance in the classroom.

Emerging Opportunities for Leadership

Beginning Teacher Assistance Programs

Programs such as those developed in Ohio (Zimpher, 1988) and in California require the identification of experienced master teachers to work with beginners. These "mentors" must be able to provide not only good role modeling, but also offer the kinds of help necessary to establish the beginners as competent professionals. They must know about teaching children AND about teaching adults; they must have a level of expertise that goes beyond being a comforter and a source of practical information.

School-Centered Decision Making

School-centered decision making, also known as site-based management, has been variously interpreted (Sirotnik & Clark, 1988),

but in its most authentic form it requires strong teacher involvement in decisions about structures and programs in their schools. School districts that have moved to decentralize decision making have discovered that teachers with conflict resolution and communications skills are more effective. Also helpful is an understanding of the school district's organization and knowledge of the state and federal education scene.

Professional Development Schools (PDS)

Professional development schools call for an array of new teacher leader roles. These PDSs, jointly created by schools and universities (Holmes, 1990), propose to serve as the locus for teacher preparation, career-long professional development, and school innovation and inquiry. Teacher leaders will be called on to demonstrate skills required in

mentoring programs and school-based management, as well as skills related to a wide array of peer helping approaches, inquiry methods, innovation leadership, and school-university collaboration.

Learning Leadership Skills

In the past, teacher leaders' successes or failures were due more to context, previous experience, and personal characteristics than to any formal effort to provide them with appropriate leadership skills. Teachers have been expected to have the necessary skills on entry into leadership positions, or to develop them on the job.

Lieberman, Saxl, and Miles (1988), in hopes of offering guidance for formal program development for teacher leaders, described in detail the kinds of on-the-job learning of teacher leaders they studied. The teacher leaders reported that they had had to develop competence in several areas including:

- rapport building,
- organizational diagnosis,
- dealing with the change process,
- finding and using resources,
- managing the leadership work, and
- building skills and confidence in others.

Devaney (1987) offered an inclusive list of leadership areas that teachers might be called on to exercise in emerging school organizations. The six roles she identified can provide an organizer for the descriptive reports on the formal programs to develop leadership skills:

Continuing To Teach and Improve One's Own Teaching

This is the largest category of staff development programs for teacher leadership. Teaching exper-

tise, including subject matter knowledge, seems critical because it is basic to other leadership roles, including in-service education, advising and assisting individual teachers, and peer support.

Maeroff (1988) described several programs for enhancing teachers' power by increasing their knowledge of their subject matter. He claimed that the sessions were designed to get teachers accustomed to acting and being perceived as professionals and required them to set the agenda for their own learning.

Organizing and Leading Peer Reviews of School Practice

Programs for the development of teachers' ability to examine school practices must include preparation in doing a form of practical research. Pine (1986) suggested that action research be seen as an ongoing aspect of staff development and that teachers be prepared accordingly. Action research methods have proven useful to teachers in the Puget Sound Educational Consortium who are seeking to enhance their leadership capacities within their individual schools, their districts, and the consortium.

Providing Curriculum Development Knowledge

Curriculum development knowledge may also be seen as requisite to leading peer review of school practice. Klein (1985), for example, discussed the master teacher as a curriculum leader. Perhaps because curriculum development knowledge is seen as a prerequisite to teacher leadership, there are no readily apparent descriptions of programs to develop this knowledge among teacher leaders. Perhaps, too, this is an area where undergraduate and graduate

courses are assumed to provide sufficient preparation; such an assumption may be unwarranted.

Participating in School-Level Decision Making

Many articles may be found espousing the importance of teachers' involvement in decision making in their school, but the impression is given that one learns decision making primarily by doing it. The Pittsburgh Public School District is one exception (Johnston, Bickel, & Wallace, 1990). In-house facilitators of organization development are trained to lead problem solving and to conduct process observations in each participating school.

Leading In-Service Education and Assisting Other Teachers

As early as 1982, Joyce and Showers offered guidance to program creation for teachers in peer coaching. Little, Galagaran, and O'Neal (1984) later offered directions for training of teachers for teacher assistance responsibilities, based on the California experiences in mentor teacher programs and teacher advisor projects. Raney and Robbins (1989) have given a good overview of the cognitive coaching program offered in Sonoma County, California. Hilton, Kuehnle, School, and Zimpher (1988) described an induction program for "invigorating the new and experienced" teachers in Ohio, while Anderson, Asbury, Grossman, Howey, Rentel, and Zimpher (1988) described a peer assistance program, also in Ohio. These latter two efforts have led to the creation of a graduate program in professional development through the Ohio State University.

Participating in the Performance Evaluation of Teachers

The Ohio teacher leader program described by Anderson et al. (1988) prepared teachers not only for assistance roles, but also for performance review of peers. Descriptions have also been given of the Schenley High School Teacher Center and the preparation for teacher assistance and performance review of the Pittsburgh teachers who participate in it (Johnston et al., 1990).

Conclusion

As in the larger field of teacher education, there is little evidence of research on the actual effectiveness of the programs offered to develop leadership skills. There are, at best, developers' comments on perceived effectiveness. Perhaps the next five years will see a more concerted effort, not just to develop programs to replace learning on the job, but also to evaluate teacher leader programs and thus enhance not only the programs offered, but the leaders who emerge.

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The Search for Teacher Leaders

Interviews with high school teachers nominated by their colleagues sketch a portrait of who leaders are and how they behave.

Meena Wilson

More than 2.5 million teachers in 15,500 school districts across the country strive to develop the skills, attitudes, and knowledge of young people.[1] The quality of their work determines the future well-being and economic welfare of a generation of Americans. Education can make a difference.

The general assessment, though, seems to be that education is not making enough of a difference. *Why do students not achieve as they should?* This tough issue has resisted glib policy solutions and thereby has created a window of opportunity for teacher leaders.

Sketching the Picture

Do teacher leaders exist? Who are they? How do they think, feel, and behave? How do they show leadership? Do they have any impact on the system? I began my search for teacher leaders by asking more than 400 teachers at all six high schools in one school district to nominate teachers that they regarded as leaders. Despite their difficulty with my request, the reasons listed (by more than 100 teachers) for nominating a colleague were remarkably consistent.

Followers sketch this picture of their leaders:

- They are hard-working and highly involved with curricular and instructional innovation.
- Their creativity is demonstrated by their power to motivate students from a wide range of backgrounds and abilities.
- They are gregarious and make themselves available to other teachers as a resource or an advocate.
- They energetically sponsor extra-curricular activities for young people.

These responses were cursory answers to a simple question: Who is a teacher leader? To give the portrait more detail, I used a reputational nomination procedure to elect 13 of 355 teachers for intensive interviews. With demographic data from these interviewees, a fuller picture of teacher leaders emerged. A typical leader is 42 and has taught for 18 years, at the same school for almost 13 years. More than half of them have served as formal leaders, either as department chair for an average of 11 years and/or as a committed representative of the teachers' union for at least 3 years. They usually hold a master's degree.

How do these men and women compare with leaders from other fields - for example, business? Choosing a template to understand and assess the leadership ability of these teachers was not easy. Theo-

> **Teacher leaders perceive that the school culture does not reward (and perhaps obstructs) risk-taking, collaboration, and role-modeling.**

ries about leadership are numerous, and transcribed interviews yielded 560 pages of description. I eventually selected the widely disseminated Kouzes and Posner (1990) model as the best tool for understanding teacher leadership.

In *The Leadership Challenge: How to Get Extraordinary Things Done in Organizations,* Kouzes and Posner describe the leadership behaviors of 1,300 middle and senior managers in private and public sector organizations across the country.[2] Briefly, leaders *challenge the process* because they are risk-takers who capitalize on opportunities. As idealists who communicate expressively, they *inspire a shared vision.* Since they like teamwork and instinctively nurture the talent and energy of colleagues, leaders *enable others to act.* Leaders are role-models and planners who *model the way.* By serving as coaches and cheerleaders, they *encourage the heart.*

Interviewees candidly shared thoughts and feelings, making it possible to understand their strengths and limitations as leaders. Let me share the evidence and the exploratory understanding I gained about teacher leadership.

Seekers of Challenges and Growth

First, in common with other leaders, teacher leaders seek challenge, change, and growth. Here are some of their comments:

> Today was something different. We worked on a grant-writing project and are submitting a building grant proposal. We are so excited about it that we can hardly see straight.

> I think one ought to like what one is doing, so I expend a lot of energy creating situations that I will like. I don't want to get stagnant.

> I had so much fun learning about 9th graders. I see so many neat and exciting things that I can do, things that if I were a 9th grader would really interest me.

The teacher leaders I spoke with go out of their way to find innovative, exciting programs, both for the benefit of their students as well as themselves.

Supporters of Colleagues

At the same time, teacher leaders feel like family: informal, reassuringly dependable, and supportive of colleagues.

> My sense is that anytime you get teachers who worked together talking about kids, problems, and curriculum in a supportive way, they feel better about themselves, and there is more energy. All of that has positive consequences for kids in their classrooms.

> A number of us feel that one of the most significant things we ever did was arrange to have lunch together outside the faculty lounge ... It was an environment where everybody had given you per-

mission to be elated about things that worked and cry about things that didn't. The end result is that it created relationships that made possible a lot of sharing and encouragement to try things when you were nervous.

> I created materials that we then passed out to everybody who was teaching that subject in my department. I have a personal interest in digging out information that I think may be helpful to somebody else even if I can't use it at that particular moment.

Thus, these teachers busily pursue novel opportunities, but continue to be nurturing and cooperative people. Using leadership jargonese, they are risk-oriented and collaborative. Clearly, these leaders both "challenge the process" and "enable others to act."

Role Models for Students, But Not Teachers

Third, leadership is the process of bringing forth the best form from oneself and others. Unfortunately, these teachers do not as yet seem to lead colleagues. However, the Kouzes and Posner model shows they are potent leaders of students.

> Around here I have a reputation of working hard and pushing the kids hard ... Some people just hold kids' hands.

> I like to be able to love my students. When I get letters from them after they have graduated or when they come back to see me and tell me that what we did in class was right and that it worked for them, that's the kind of positive stroke that I think teaching is all about.

They'll come in early and sit down, and they won't look at you, but they want strokes. Their parents don't ever talk to them. Ever. Their parents ask you questions like, "Who is my son? Who does he go around with? What's he like? What does he do?

I would caution student teachers always to be flexible with the kids, but not to leave them with no structure, because many times we are the only structure, the only model, these kids have.

In the eyes of their colleagues, leadership skill with students is what uniquely qualifies some teachers as leaders in their schools. Ironically, teacher leaders do not see that simply by "walking their talk," they inspire and influence others. They fail to understand that role modeling is a powerful form of leading.

I don't know that we are leaders, because we are not out championing any cause. We don't do what we do for recognition. We are here because we enjoy teaching, and we like to improve the quality of our teaching and help kids. I think because we do these things, people notice us.

I think of him as a master teacher, and that is how he gets his influence ... (by) modeling what an excellent teacher should be as far as relationships with students and content. His leadership hasn't been with anything he had done outside the classroom.

This lack of understanding of how they can play a leadership role, just by "modeling the way," has some unfortunate consequences. As com-

mitted and competent professionals, teacher leaders could invigorate their schools. But if they do not recognize that role models are critical to school improvement, their leadership potential is aborted.

Coaches and Cheerleaders

Fourth, coaching and cheerleading "encourage the heart" of workers in any organization.

Historically, teachers have not coached other teachers, but the following comments are telling in their portrayal of the need for, and the potential efficiency of, peer-coaching.

When I am God of Education, for at least two years. nobody will be in a classroom by themselves.

I am excited about mentoring because it is a support system for new people who sometimes feel they have just been thrown to the wolves. That is such a terrible thing to have happen to somebody who is full of new ideas, and there is nobody out there to bounce ideas off or vent frustrations on.

When we first started peer-coaching, the people who came forward weren't the new teachers. It was the person with 18 or 20 years in teaching who came to the first meeting and said, "What can I do?" "If I could do this, I could do a better job." they were the ones who ... were looking for something to re-energize their life and their teaching.

Peer-coaching gave teachers the power to try things, to seek out innovation, to find out about what was go-

ing on in other places.

Yes, committed and competent professional can invigorate their schools when they choose, and are formally chosen, to be role models, coaches, and cheerleaders. The question remains: Is their ability to "model the way" and "encourage the heart" likely to be put to systematic use in any school district?

What About A Shared Vision?

One leadership behavior that they did not demonstrate was "envisioning a unique and ideal future." These teachers seemed to register dreams too hazy to shape an ideal school. Though committed to idealistic personal goals, they were tentative about schoolwide goals. While recognizing that a leader is "a strong personality who has some sense of where she is going and what she wants to do," only two asserted that teachers are entitled to express "an idea of what they want the school to be like, and a willingness to work toward that, rather than just being in the environment and existing and coping with it.

Some themes emerged: Teacher leaders want schools to be communities with more resources for instruction and greater influence and control for teachers. However these ideas were not expressed persuasively enough to "inspire a shared vision".

A useful picture of teacher leaders had taken form. This picture had light and dark aspects, and areas of gray as well. Yet other goals of the study were unmet. Leaders or not, did these teachers have an impact on their high school? Did their initiative win them recognition and influence? How was their influence demonstrated in interactions with colleagues? Was the

teacher's exercise of leadership supported by the organizational culture of their school? What part could teacher leaders play in the drama of school reform?

The Costs of Playing by the Rules

The findings of the next phase of this study are disconcerting. The very capabilities that distinguish teacher leaders from others in the high school environment - risk-taking, collaboration, and role modeling - produce tensions between them and colleagues.

Administrators, for example, often prefer to avoid risks. Interviewees typically observed that:

> It's not what the kids learn that matters to them; it is whether the boat is rocking or not.

> Sometimes we have different missions in schools. As an administrator, one of your missions is order and discipline. That is important within the building, and that is a primary mission for them. If they are not doing that job, nothing else works. If you have multiple missions, at times they are going to conflict with one another.

These comments cut to the heart of the conflict between administrative need to maintain order and risk-taking attitudes that naturally generate some disorder.

Nevertheless, most of these teacher leaders choose a non-adversarial stance toward principals, and their credibility as innovators usually enables them to push their own priorities. Teacher leaders accept that administrators have different agendas, and they adjust by adopting a live-and-let-live attitude.

Also, collaboration between administrators and teachers is a new rule of the game. Traditionally, administrators have not expected to be influenced by teachers. Teacher leaders, in general, find this restrictive attitude toward teacher initiative to be distasteful. For example:

> I am not saying that all administrators come with a chip on their shoulder ready to do their thing. It's just that they have been trained to say, "This is what we are going to do," trained to not ask teachers, to not accept any kind of direction from teachers.

Teacher leaders prefer to cooperate with others in order to create learning options for their students, themselves and others. However, administrators, by habit, seem averse to teamwork that disregards rank-based authority. Teacher leaders do not like this traditional attitude, but pragmatically choose to ignore the impasse.

Finally, teacher leaders often are dismayed by the behavior of colleagues who don't seem to want the best for students. Leaders are committed to student welfare. They like young people and willingly devote tremendous time and energy to students as individuals; they focus on students first and subject matter second. As they put it:

> We have teachers who don't like kids. They don't get them behind their desks ... they have to have authority; they have an "us vs them" mentality. They talk about "bad kids" and how they are going to take them on.

> Too many high school teachers are content-oriented instead of kid- and process-oriented.

Yet, they choose not to censure less-committed colleagues, partly because they believe that "professionalism" requires the freedom to choose the ends and the means you wish to adopt for your classroom.

So, just as school-culture norms prevent teacher leaders from demanding public air-time for their risky teaching ideas and recognition for their collaborative style, professional norms restrain them from openly criticizing teachers whose commitment to students is low. Given these cultural and professional norms, "teacher leadership" sounds hollow. When a teacher leader does not audaciously insist on the best for all young people, is he or she really a leader?

Teacher Leadership: A Feminine Paradigm?

Thus, this research indicates that school culture, as perceived by these teachers, does not reward (and perhaps obstructs) risk-taking, collaboration, and role-modeling. In fact, leadership traits such as initiative, an instinct for teamwork, and commitment actually can create stress for teacher leaders in their relationships with colleagues.

Despite frustration, teacher leaders manage conflict, but not by becoming confrontational. On the

Administrators, by habit, seem averse to teamwork that disregards rank-based authority.

contrary, they prefer persuasion. Their choice of strategies seems to demonstrate nontraditional ideas about whether leaders are important and how change occurs. Many of these teachers voiced the following thoughts:

- The label of "leader" sets a person apart from peers and diminishes his or her ability to bring about change.
- Leadership is a role played by one person in a group. The role seduces the leader into believing that he or she is the mouthpiece of the group. Given a strong group of competent people, a leader may not be necessary.
- Secondary teachers value their autonomy and do not wish to lead or be led.
- As a group, teachers should exercise more control over the initiation and implementation of change.
- Participatory decision making is critical. Any teacher who wishes to participate in a particular decision should be encouraged to do so.

What do such statements suggest? Maybe these teachers misunderstand the nature of leadership. Or conceivably, as individuals, they are reluctant to give up their enjoyment of good teaching for the uncertain satisfaction of good leading. Certainly, not one interviewee aspired to become an administrator.

A third supposition is that if the behaviors and attitudes commonly regarded as demonstrating leadership are not acceptable to these teachers, perhaps they prefer a style of leading that is not as yet prevalent. Notably, a majority did not consider themselves leaders, despite their influence on colleagues

and appointment to leadership positions. Could it be that lacking an alternate set of rules for playing the leadership game, they choose to bow out of the leadership arena?

Their preferences are theoretically and practically significant. Rosener differentiates between so-called masculine and feminine styles of leading.[3] The masculine style uses structural power, which is based on authority associated with position, title, and the ability to reward and punish. The feminine style relies on personal power, which is based on charisma, work record, and contacts. Masculine versus feminine styles of leading also are labeled transactional versus transformational.

Additionally, these teachers prefer shared leadership, with roles and tasks distributed among members of a group. Individuals move in and out of membership. Perchance, these teachers' hazy notions of leadership hint at a dynamic organizational form for which an organizational chart does not as yet exist. Can this organizational form be described (for want of better terminology) as feminine rather than masculine? Unfortunately, not enough information is available to warrant such generalizations.

Dilemmas and Dreams

Paradoxically, though the teachers described here are highly proficient leaders of their students and themselves, in their work with colleagues they appear to be reluctant leaders who exercise incomplete leadership. Their remarks illustrate how their influence in the high school is curtailed by school-culture and professional norms, as well as self-imposed limits. For example, they neither accept nor fulfill their leadership role in the school due to prevalent misconcep-

tions about professionalism and leadership. To be fair, though, they seem to reject the leader's job because they like neither the structure that props up leaders, nor the style the role requires.

For me, my research led to some answers but raised an even bigger question: Can "teacher leadership" be more than a semi-fulfilled potential? I hope so. I hope the school of the future will be a formal but nonhierarchical system that nourishes informal arteries of influence, a place where the pulse and rhythm of good teaching and learning are driven by the capabilities of teacher leaders. It seems to me that only then will the potential contribution of these teachers be realized. Only then will we genuinely begin the work of fashioning school environments within which it is possible for every student to achieve.

Notes:

[1]*Newsweek,* (Fall/Winter 1990), special issue entitled "The Future Is Now."

[2]J. M. Kouzes and P. Z. Posner, (1990), *The Leadership Challenge: How to Get Extraordinary Things Done in Organizations,* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass).

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Motivating Teachers for Excellence

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Teachers are primarily motivated by intrinsic rewards such as self-respect, responsibility, and a sense of accomplishment. Thus, administrators can boost morale and motivate teachers to excel by means of participatory governance, inservice education, and systematic, supportive evaluation.

What do we know about work motivation?

Because motivation is psychologically complex, no general and comprehensive theory exists. The beginnings of such a theory, however, have taken shape from the writings of influential theorists such as Abraham Maslow (1970), Douglas McGregor (1967), Frederick Herzberg (1964), and, more recently, Edward L. Deci (1975).

Maslow (1970) argues that everyone seeks to satisfy two basic levels of needs: lower level needs (physiological, security, the need for love and belonging) and higher level needs (esteem of both self and others and self-actualization or achieving one's full potential). Once any of these needs is met, it becomes less important as a motivator.

What are extrinsic and intrinsic rewards?

According to several authorities, the proper approach to work motivation lies in a careful distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic rewards. Herzberg (1964) distinguishes between extrinsic rewards surrounding a job (such as salaries, fringe benefits, and job security) and intrinsic rewards of the job itself (such as self-respect, sense of accomplishment, and personal growth). Intrinsic rewards, according to Herzberg, are more satisfying and motivating.

McGregor (1967) is best known for his two managerial theories, Theory X and Theory Y, which emphasize, respectively, extrinsic and intrinsic rewards. Deci (1975), in his book INTRINSIC MOTIVATION, shows how injudicious use of extrinsic rewards can undermine intrinsic motivation.

What motivates teachers?

Recent studies have shown fairly conclusively that teachers are motivated more by intrinsic than by extrinsic rewards. Pastor and Erlandson (1982) conducted a survey which found that teachers perceive their needs and measure their job satisfaction by factors such as participation in decision-making, use of valued skills, freedom and independence, challenge, expression of creativity, and opportunity for learning. They concluded that high internal motivation, work satisfaction, and high-quality performance depend on three "critical psychological states": experienced meaningfulness, responsibility for outcomes, and knowledge of results.

Sergiovanni likewise found that teachers obtain their greatest satis-

faction through a sense of achievement in reaching and affecting students, experiencing recognition, and feeling responsible.

What can administrators do to encourage teachers?

In a survey conducted by Brodinsky and Neill (1983), a majority of school administrators (and teachers) cited three policies that effectively improved morale and motivated their staffs: shared governance, inservice education, and systematic, supportive evaluation.

Shared governance, or participatory management, enhances teachers' professional status and their "ownership" in the planning and operation of the school. Thus, shared governance gives teachers a vested interest in school performance and also promotes harmony and trust among teachers and administrators. The results of such cooperation can be dramatic: in Salt Lake City, a shared governance policy enacted eight years ago enabled teachers and administrators jointly to develop a districtwide accountability plan, an evaluation/remediation process, a salary progression program, and a curriculum reform which emphasized basic skills.

Formal or informal inservice education promotes sharing of ideas and interdependence among teachers. Informal education can include resource sharing or conversations among teachers about professional concerns; formal education can include workshops and seminars. Either kind of inservice tends to improve instructional techniques and enhance professional self-awareness.

How can an evaluation system help to motivate teachers?

An evaluation system, if well designed, provides teachers with the necessary feedback to assess their own professional growth. A poorly designed evaluation system can be disastrous, pitting teachers against administrators and engendering anxiety, mistrust, and resentment.

Administrators should encourage teachers to take part in the design and implementation of a practical, research-based evaluation system customized to individual district needs. The main purpose of evaluation should be to provide information to help teachers improve their teaching performance.

Accordingly, a good evaluation system should reflect respect for individual worth and dignity by encouraging teachers to set personal and organizational objectives. An evaluation system should also foster imagination and creativity, recognize work well done, and involve both self-appraisal and appraisal of others.

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Lessons for Principals from Site-Based Management

An elementary school principal says the advantages of school-based management far outweigh the drawbacks, and he offers eight suggestions to ease the transition

Abby Barry Bergman

The decision was made. Our staff had voted to accept the superintendent's offer to try a new approach to school decision making: site-based management. As with any innovation proposed in a school community, I met the prospect with both enthusiasm and concern. Our small elementary school was working well. The Ralph S. Maugham School's reputation for academic excellence, creativity, and a spirited, involved, and dedicated staff was widely acknowledged. Why should we tamper with something that was working well? How would my role as the principal change?

Frankly, I was pleased with the degree of sharing that was already established in the school; I also enjoyed the prerogative to make important decisions on my own, knowing full well that the staff expected everything would fall into place. Somehow, they didn't seem to want to be bothered with the intricacies of the hundreds of decisions made every day. I was a bit worried. Isn't site-based management most often recommended for troubled schools that require major restructuring?

Learning to Let Go

Tenafly, New Jersey, is a well-to-do suburban community of approximately 13,500 residents located within a few miles of New York City. The community has consistently demonstrated an active interest in, and willingness to support, quality educational programs. Our public school district consists of four elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school.

My own leadership style can best be characterized as organized and responsive. I had made countless arrangements to ensure that the school ran smoothly and stayed on an even keel. To the degree that I could provide assistance to teachers and take care of their concerns, I felt that I was fulfilling the role of an involved, active principal. As my experience with site-based management unfolded, however, I found

that I needed to learn to let go and provide the means for people to solve their own problems.

This process of "letting go" can be likened to a tightly wound watch spring. As we moved toward site-based management, I had to let it unwind incrementally; with each release of the spring, new potential energy was realized. The rewards for all of us soon became apparent.

Charting New Paths

In the spring of 1990 at staff meetings, we designed the configuration for a school leadership council. After examining various models, we decided on the following arrangement:

- four teachers: one from a primary grade, one from an intermediate grade, one specialist, and one additional teacher at large (if possible, a nontenured teacher);
- three parents: representing both those who are actively involved in our parent organization and those who are not;
- the school principal;
- a noncertified staff member (secretary, aide, or custodian);
- a member of the board of education;
- a central office administrator.

Then, in a self-directed meeting, the school staff elected representatives to the council, the parent body followed a similar procedure, the superintendent appointed a central office administrator, and the school board president selected the board member representative.

Lesson 1: Learn to Listen

In the fall, we held our first meeting as a school leadership council. Bena Kallick, our district's consultant for site-based management, was the facilitator. Through our involvement with her, we learned many of the skills and techniques associated with site-based management. More important, we learned them within the context of our own deliberations - not an isolation from real problems.

Our first step was to develop a school philosophy. We worked in cooperative groups, employing and practicing the techniques many of us had learned to use in classrooms. In the process, one of the most important lessons we learned is that in order to really listen, you must move beyond simply hearing the content of what is said. You must hear some of the emotion, concern, and passion with which points are made. I discovered that by paraphrasing what someone is saying and checking whether my understanding matches the intention, communication is clarified for both parties. As a result, I hear some teachers in a new way for the very first time. What an insight!

Lesson 2: Establish Patterns for Communication

Defining a school philosophy became a significant task for our fledgling group. After producing our first draft, council members volunteered to meet with 7 to 10 members of the community to share our efforts, check whether our beliefs were consistent with their views, and then report results to the council. Some teachers met with other teachers who were not members of the council; other teachers met with parents; some parents met with non-parent citizens; the secretary met with our clerical staff; the board member interviewed other board members; and I chose to work with our growing Hispanic community.

Through these interchanges, we

> **With a move to site-based management, decisions may be a little slower in coming, but they will be more enduring.**

listened to the ideas of others, refined our perceptions, became attentive to our audience, and raised our collective consciousness about what a school philosophy means. In order to represent the collective thinking, we synthesized the various viewpoints into statements about our values as a school community.

Lesson 3: Understand Individual Styles

The format of the meetings to gather community input took several forms, from informal conversations to more structured discussions. Two teachers invited small groups of parents to early morning coffees. Another staff member interviewed all the school aides after lunch. One teacher laid out a folder containing our working draft in the faculty room and asked for feedback.

Initially, I wasn't comfortable with this mix of approaches. It wasn't "neat"; there seemed to be little consistency in how we were spreading our wood. I learned,

though, that once others are en-
trusted to fulfill such functions, a
variety of styles will emerge, re-
flecting the individual personalities
within a group. While I cannot dia-
gram the pattern of communication
with clearly placed lines and ar-
rows, I can say that what we did
worked! Information was shared
liberally and in an unfettered fash-
ion. After modifications resulting
from the input we gained, a gen-
eral consensus arose within the
school and community, and our
philosophy was published. The
three basic precepts are:

1. We strive to provide a nur-
turing environment in which all
children can flourish, enhancing
their self-worth.

2. We strive for academic qual-
ity in a stimulating school environ-
ment.

3. We value close ties among
children, staff, parents, and the
community.

Lesson 4: Promote Open Communication

As the council met throughout
the year, we learned how to pro-
cess information and feelings in
group work by "freezing" a state-
ment to seek further clarification
and more open communication. By
acknowledging the emotion behind
a member's remarks, we found that
our discussions took on a new free-
dom and honesty.

Previously, during such inter-
changes, I had attempted to protect
group members by trying to keep
feelings from surfacing that might
be hurtful or impede our progress.
What I learned, though, is that such
feelings must be aired. We found
that by expressing and dealing with
divergent opinions, we made far
more progress than by trying to
minimize them. Teachers began to
face one another without my inter-
vention.

Figure 1
Patterns of Communication

Other Board Members

Other Central Office Administrators

Parents Not Active in School

Hispanic Parents

Parents Active in School Organization

School Leadership Council

School Aides and Clerical Staff

Asian Parents

Parents in Small Groups

Special Teachers

Parents in Small Groups

Teachers Not on Council

Lesson 5: Work to Build Trust

A new level of trust began to
develop within the group. Before
long, we were taking turns leading
the meeting, exercising our skills
in setting agendas, assigning roles
(facilitator, recorder, timer, and
process observer), and evaluating
our progress. Divergent ideas re-
sulted from brainstorming sessions
in an atmosphere of mutual respect.
Reaching consensus, we discov-
ered, does not mean total agree-
ment, but rather a willingness
among all members to accept a
decision.

As we refined our decision-mak-
ing processes, we began to see the
connections among the various
tasks we were tackling: determin-
ing our school philosophy, analyz-
ing sources of frustration, defin-
ing priorities, and generating alter-
natives. We assumed ownership for
our individual assignments and re-
ported findings of our own "re-
search" to the entire group. One of
the more important and broadly felt
realizations was that we looked for-
ward to our meetings and to the

sense of accomplishment shared.
We truly enjoyed our times to-
gether.

Lesson 6: Think with New Perspectives

One of the important issues pre-
sented to our council mid-year was
the frustration staff members felt
within a busy, stressful day. The
parade of classroom interruptions,
pull-out programs, and short, un-
productive spurts of planning time
- all contributed to a feeling that
staff members longed for more
"quality time". In light of the daily
demands on student and teacher
time, I might have thrown up my
hands, deemed the problem impos-
sible to solve, and then felt thwarted
by not being able to provide any
relief. But, this time, I held back
for a while.

In our council meetings, we fo-
cused on the tempo of our teach-
ers' day, contrasting this with what
we considered to be quality time
in our own lives. Council members
wrote about what the concept meant
to them in their personal lives, and

students described their notions of quality time. Before long, we began to see how we might build more quality time into our days. For example, we knew that we enjoyed our times together as a staff solving problems, sharing joys and sorrows, and providing professional and personal support for one another. We then looked for time within our day that could be used to foster what we valued.

One solution was to schedule our monthly faculty meetings early on Monday morning, instead of in the afternoon. In this way, we would be able to use the large chunk of time, in the afternoon, to address faculty concerns: sharing new book titles for our literature-based reading program, talking about individual youngsters who might pose a particular challenge, or dealing with other matters brought directly from the staff. Certainly, some compromises needed to be made. The early morning meeting would allow less time than our traditional after-school faculty meetings. However, we found that many teachers are more attentive and forthcoming with fresh ideas at this time. While we may not have actually gained more time for staff deliberations, we found new frames of reference for faculty meeting times. And we might never have arrived at this happy arrangement had we not learned to look beyond the school walls to gain new perspectives about perceived problems.

Lesson 7: To Promote Autonomy, "Let Go"

It had been my usual practice to send memos to remind staff about meetings and commitments as a date or deadline approached. When it came time for us to experiment with having an early morning faculty meeting, I felt certain that several people might be late or even forget about the new time. Since this was a council decision, however, I was advised to leave it to the members to apprise their colleagues of our new format.

When individuals feel that they are a part of a decision, they assume more responsibility for implementing it than if the decision is made for them. This may sound like a simplistic observation, but when you see it for yourself, there is an important lesson to be learned. If you want to promote an autonomous staff, then you must allow things to happen without checking every step of the way. As the members of our council sensed a growing control, their commitment and enthusiasm for their work together grew.

Lesson 8: Take Time for Self-Reflection

Self-analysis and reflection proved to be an invaluable outcome of our one-year experience. Through our deliberations, I learned to examine my own leadership style. For example, I realized that I had become quite comfortable accomplishing many tasks in isolation - from scheduling to budgeting to planning for program implementation. Now there was a new mechanism available for gaining staff and community input into decisions that might have a significant impact upon the school.

Through our deliberations as a council, I developed a better appreciation of the frustrations and perceptions of our staff members. I became mor empathetic about the time pressures they felt. I also examined my relationships with staff and my own reluctance to delegate tasks. In the past, I had always tried to jump in and solve problems for teachers, rather than empowering them to feel that they might possess the solutions. My own desire to be responsive may have impeded others at school from assuming leadership functions.

The Added Benefits

With a move to site-based management, decisions may be a little slower in coming, but they will be more enduring. Staff members who may have been reluctant to assume responsibility - feeling "it's the principal's problem, not mine" - will feel a part of the process. With the realization that their input is valued comes a new sense of commitment. The process of site-based management also allows the principal to assume a new level of involvement, seeing situations from the vantage point of others.

The process requires self-examination, role analysis, and meaningful reflection. Working with a school council in a participatory fashion helped to free me from the loneliness that often accompanies leadership. The experience also led to new understandings about human and group dynamics, as well as a compelling legitimacy for solving problems in a collegial fashion.

As principals wend their way through the many passages of site-based management, there will be moments of confusion and frustration. There will be times when you think you're losing control over time-honored prerogatives. But take it from one who has been there. Any perceived drawbacks pale in comparison to the substantial benefits of the approach.

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Helping Children to Learn: Contracts of Three Parties

Margaret S. G. Chan & Lily Y. S. Wong

Pupils come to school with the purpose to learn. However, some pupils are not learning. The reasons are many and varied. Research tells us that if pupils are motivated to learn, they will do well in school. If teachers are effective, their pupils will benefit from their teaching. And if parents are supportive and encouraging, their offsprings will excel in their academic performance.

Oftentimes, pupils are blamed for being unmotivated to learn, and that's why they do not achieve in school. On the other hand, teachers are criticized for being ineffective, hence, their pupils do not learn well. Others accuse parents of not providing quality time and support to their children.

In a class of very normal pupils, we may be surprised to know that these pupils too have needs of different kinds. These needs are special and unique to each of them.

If we, teachers and parents, do not bother to find out from them their perceived needs, we will never know. And some of these needs may become obstacles to learning and development if they are ignored.

Working with three parties - Pupils, Teachers and Parents

Pupils

It is useful to help pupils set their own learning goal, so that their learning behaviours are directed. Besides, with a learning goal set by themselves, they are made accountable for and be responsible to their own learning. Setting goals is an effective motivation strategy. Bandura and Schunk (1981), and Zimmerman (1989) found that pupils who set short-term goals for learning mathematics actually liked the learning activities which they once thought was dreadful. Their intrinsic interest and feelings of self-efficacy and mathematical skill were higher than those who did not set learning goals.

Teachers

Feedback is informative and useful to any performer. Feedback from pupils is useful information for teachers to modify their teaching speed, style, and approaches. But if teachers do not invite honest feedback from their pupils, and simply try to improve their teaching on the basis of their own personal perception, evaluation and reflection, their improvement may not meet the needs of their pupils. However, if teachers get feedback from their pupils, they can then adjust their teaching accordingly to cater to the needs of the children in their class. And that is more effective than merely teach based on what they think is good teaching.

Parents

Like teachers, parents normally will not get feedback from their children. They will simply provide what they themselves think children need, such as food and fun. They rarely realize the important role played by their subtle support and encouragement in children's learning. Again, even if children verbalize their needs openly, parents may overlook those that really are related to learning. Unless children write down and have their needs endorsed by their parents and monitored by their teachers will the needs be taken seriously. The written suggestions of help that children hope to get at home give parents specific ideas for supporting learning.

If teachers and parents work hand-in-hand to help children learn, the effect is greater than working alone by one single party at home or in school. To provide the necessary conducive learning support to meet the learning needs of children, teachers and parents must work together with the pupils to reach the learning goals set by the pupils. To do that, a contract should be set up to bind each of the three parties: the pupils, the parents and the teachers.

In order to try this out, the first author, a class teacher of Primary 5, experimented this plan with her pupils, a class of high ability children. Her objective was to bind the effort of the three parties so that each would do the best for the maximum learning of the children.

Procedure

Using their performance in the first continuous assessment (CA1) in Term One as a guide, pupils were encouraged to set their own targets of performance for the first semestral assessment (SA1) in Term Two. They were told that their targets should be high but realistic. It took 20 to 30 minutes to set their targets on paper. After the targets were set, pupils were told that they need to come up with an action plan in order to achieve them. The action plan comprises three parts:

(a) What the pupils themselves have to do?

(b) What kind of help they want from their teacher?

(c) How can their parents help them at home?

Before they set their targets, the pupils were asked to discuss the prospect of the project in groups. They were very enthusiastic and generated many interesting ideas for them to work on their action plan. They were explained that each of them was unique and had different abilities and needs. Hence they had to draw up their own action plan to suit their own special requirements. They were given ample time to think over carefully and to work on it at home, together with their parents if necessary.

The pupils were told that the action plan was a kind of written contract or promise whereby each of the parties - pupil, teacher and parent(s) - had a role to play. To bind the parties to the contract, all of them had to sign their names to indicate that they had agreed to play a part to the best of their abilities. The pupils signed their names willingly. The class teacher, signed and noted the requests and help which pupils needed from her in English, Mathematics and Science, the subjects she taught them. Most of the parents signed willingly with the exception of the parents of one child who asked her parents to give her more freedom and not to give her any tuition. After some negotiation and compromise between

Pupils who set short-term goals for learning mathematics actually liked the learning activities which they once thought was dreadful.

Figure 1: Performance target and action plan of a pupil

Target Setting

I aim to achieve the following results in my SA 1 1994

ENGLISH — 90
MT — 85
MATHS — 95
SCIENCE — 93
HMT — A

MY ACTION PLAN

A SELF
1 Revise work when free
2 Finish homework in time
3 Pay attention in class
4 Try not to sleep late
5 Do more assessment books for revision

B What I want my teacher to do?
1 Try not to give too much homework when exam is
    closing in. (we can have more time to revise)
2 Give more Maths Challenge Problem Sums   Tytn
3 Explain Slowly during lessons.   23/4/94

C How my parents can help me at home?
1 Be Help in my homework when necessary.
2 Help me in my revision
3 Lower volume of TV, RADIO, etc

Williedh 21/4/94

PLEASE SIGN
HERE

teacher and parents, the latter agreed and signed the action plan for their child. Figure 1 is an example of a pupil's performance target and action plan. To help pupils study in a more systematic manner, they were taught how to draw up a study plan. The pupils placed a sheet of transparency on a dummy timetable designed by the class teacher, with the days of the week and the times of the day. Pupils then filled in the subjects they wanted to work on and in any of the time slots that they had chosen. At the end of the week, they were to review their study plan and made appropriate changes. This was revised and amended several times until they were happy and comfortable with their study plan.

If teachers get feedback from their pupils, they can then adjust their teaching accordingly to cater to the needs of the children in their class.

Action taken by the teacher

Besides modifying her teaching approaches, the class teacher tried to cater to the individual needs as far as they are reasonable. Furthermore, to help the pupils to study more effectively in school and at home, the class teacher also taught them study skills. Both the study plan and the study skills were modified from a school project which was shared with other schools at a professional sharing session. The activities of the study skills for the primary pupils in this study are similar to those of the PQ4R Method developed by Thomas and Robinson (1972). They are, however, made simpler and more practicable for younger learners to follow. A brief outline of the study skills is given below.

(a) Before the Lesson

Reading ahead - Pupils are to look at the title and section headings to find out what the chapter is all about. For each section, the pupils are to take note of the salient points by underlining the key words and phrases.

(b) During the Lesson

Listening skills - Pupils are to listen attentively to the topic and purpose of the lesson. They are to take note of the important points, and towards the end of the lesson they are to listen to the summary.

(c) After the Lesson

Lesson review - Pupils are required to write out the lesson summary immediately after the lesson. On-going skill practice--Pupils are advised to apply what they have learnt in as many different situations and levels so as to give themselves ample chance to practise and transfer what they have acquired.

During the first few weeks, the class teacher (the first author) monitored the pupils' progress and gave them, especially the weaker

ones, a lot of encouragement. Additional help was also provided by pairing a weaker pupil with a brighter pupil for cooperative learning. The two of them sat side by side in class so as to facilitate this. Altogether six pupils were involved in this cooperative learning process. All three weaker pupils showed significant improvement after one term. In fact, one of them, Amy Ong came up to tell the teacher that she could not help Nora any more as Nora had become as good and sometimes even better than her. Both of these pupils scored A* for Mathematics in their Semestral Assessment in the Second Term, a target which they had set up for Mathematics.

Results of the Semestral Assessment in Term Two

All the pupils in Primary 5D are in the EM1 (English and Mother Tongue as First Language) stream. They sat for 5 subjects in the Semestral Assessment One. The subjects are English, Mathematics, Science, Mother Tongue and Higher Mother Tongue. Surprisingly, all of the pupils scored A* and A for English, Mathematics and Science, a performance which matched their target or above it.

From the informal feedback, many pupils reported that the target setting and study plan were helpful. They believed that they had a goal and a systematic way of studying to help them achieve their target. Most of the pupils also mentioned that by signing their action plan, their parents became involved and the parents' support and encouragement contributed significantly towards their performance in the Semestral Assessment One.

Recalling a scenario in the beginning of the academic year, the

first author remembered one particular pupil, Carl. Carl was faring badly in his studies. He was bottom of the class in the Continuous Assessment One. He did not qualify for the EM1 stream but his parents insisted that he opt for it even though Chinese was his weakest subject. His work attitude was poor and he was inattentive in class. He passed up incomplete work and often did not do his homework. His Chinese language teacher and his class teacher sent for his parents several times about his work and work attitude.

Initially, he was paired off with David, the top boy in the class to work together, but they turned out to be incompatible. He was, later, paired with another boy, Zainal. This time the two worked well together and got along fine. The teachers gave him individual attention and a lot of encouragement. Together with the target setting and the study skills taught, slowly and steadily, Carl began to show improvement in his studies. His attitude towards school became positive and he began to participate more actively in class. His parents noted his all round improvement and were very grateful to the teachers' effort and they sent a letter of appreciation to the class teacher.

Conclusion

All pupils in the class showed improvements in their performance. They achieved their targets in varying degrees. The positive change in the pupils' studies and attitude towards school were due to the target setting by the pupils, support and encouragement from the parents and the caring and consideration given by teachers to pupils. The implementation of the study plan and study skills which helped the pupils to study more system-

atically and organised their time more efficiently also had a large part to play. This was evidenced in Carl's comments:

It helps me organise my time. When I use the study plan, I find that I have more time for things like practising my piano which is rather time-consuming.

If this works with a high ability class, the effect of the contract of three parties on the average and low ability pupils will also be of interest to teachers and parents. The benefits to these children are unimaginable.

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What is Attention Deficit Disorder?

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Many teachers and parents have received and will continue to receive the diagnosis of Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) for children who have problems. The American Psychiatric Association (APA) has identified and defined this disorder. According to the American Psychiatric Association (1980), ADD is indicated when children display inappropriate inattention, impulsivity, and sometimes hyperactivity for their mental and chronological age. ADD may be diagnosed as with or without hyperactivity. Approximately 20% of the population will be diagnosed as having ADD.

Teachers and parents are the ones who usually seek help for children who exhibit the problems associated with ADD. Children from ages 8 to 10 years are most likely to be referred and diagnosed as ADD. The younger the child is

when diagnosed as ADD, the more severe form of ADD they are likely to show. Conversely, if preadolescent and/or adolescent children are diagnosed, they will usually show a less severe form of ADD. ADD is most obvious in situations that call for self-application or in group situations, and may be absent in a one-to-one situation or in a situation that is novel to the child. These facts should be kept in mind as the criteria used for diagnosis of ADD are considered.

What are the APA Characteristics of ADD?

The American Psychiatric Association (1980) uses the following criteria for diagnosing ADD.

1. Inattention (will exhibit at least three of the following): -- often fails to finish things he or she starts -- often seems not to listen -- is eas-

ily distracted -- has difficulty concentrating on schoolwork or other tasks requiring sustained attention -- has difficulty sticking to a play activity

2. Impulsivity (will exhibit at least three of the following): -- often acts before thinking -- shifts excessively from one activity to another -- has difficulty organizing work (this not being due to cognitive impairment) -- needs a lot of supervision -- frequently calls out in class -- has difficulty awaiting turn in games or group situations

3. Hyperactivity -- ADD may be diagnosed as with or without hyperactivity (if hyperactive, will show at least two of the following): -- runs about or climbs on things excessively -- has difficulty sitting still or fidgets excessively -- has difficulty staying seated -- moves about excessively during sleep --

is always "on the go" or acts as if "driven by a motor"

4. Onset before age 7.

5. Duration of at least 6 months.

6. Not due to schizophrenia, affective disorder, or a severe or profound mental retardation.

When a child shows the appropriate criteria, the diagnosis of ADD will be given.

Associated Problems of Children with ADD according to the APA Criteria

Teachers and parents who deal with children with ADD will need to deal with and work on improving children's attention skills, impulsivity, and hyperactivity, if present. Further research indicates that self-esteem and social skills will also need to be remediated. Perceptual and conceptual skills are also affected and need to be worked on. Finally, since ADD seems to affect children's reinforcement responses and intrinsic motivation as well, effective reinforcement systems need to be found. Many of these remediation needs in ADD children are interconnected and approaches will impact one another.

What are possible causes of ADD?

Researchers still stress that no conclusive evidence on ADD is available but indications are leaning toward some probability of ADD being genetic, prenatal, or physical in nature. Because of the nature of possible causes, medication is often tried as an answer to the problems seen in ADD children. However, no one medication has been found to be successful

with all ADD children. Dexedrine, Ritalin, and Cylert are commonly prescribed. Active research into the causes is ongoing.

What are some directions for teaching students with ADD?

ADD is often diagnosed as secondary to other learning difficulties which may range from learning disabilities to emotional disturbance. The earlier the diagnosis can be made and remediation begun, the better the chances of avoiding these other complicating difficulties.

As indicated by the name of this disorder, attention skills will need extensive work. Attention is an important prerequisite for all learning and success in school. Students will need to learn to finish work once started. They will need to learn to listen and be helped to have as few distractions as possible. Additionally, they should be programmed to build up their length of attention span. Some sources of ideas for this attention building are listed at the end of this digest.

Impulsivity is also an area needing remediation. Students will need to stop and think before they answer or begin work. This will require much supervised remediation at first but this control must eventually become self-controlled on the student's part. Activities and plans for working with impulsivity are available.

Hyperactivity or an inability to control movement, if present, can interfere with attending and learning. Teaching students how to slow down and become aware can include activities such as "The Turtle Imagery Procedure"; this activity teaches children to say they will go slow, like a slow turtle, in a structured program that includes more inclusive exercises. Other helpful methods include modeling of ap-

propriate behavior by adults, self-confrontation with videotape, role playing, biofeedback, and relaxation.

One major problem students with ADD will encounter is in the area of effective socialization with peers. It is part of a cycle that when students fail to make friends and get along with others, the students then also have negative feelings about themselves.

Other specific skill deficits in perceptual and conceptual areas will also need attention. Much of the work in this area focuses on the task to be taught and uses a strong behavioral approach emphasizing incremental learning steps.

ADD seems to affect reinforcement response. But for any remediation program to succeed, parents and teachers will need to find out what would be potentially reinforcing for a student, and then a reinforcement schedule can begin to be planned. Success for those students is crucial.

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Praise in the Classroom

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Most educators agree that children need to be in supportive, friendly environments. But recent research indicates that some teacher attempts to create such environments by using praise may actually be counterproductive.

The purpose of this digest is to give teachers new insights into ways to make their statements of praise more effective and consistent with the goals most early childhood educators have for children, namely, to foster self-esteem, autonomy, self-reliance, achievement, and motivation for learning. Most teachers praise students in order to enhance progress toward these goals. However, current research poses the possibility that some common uses of praise may actually have negative effects in some or all of these areas.

Praise: Effects on Self-esteem and Autonomy

Some praise statements may have the potential to lower students' confidence in themselves. In a study of second graders in science classrooms, Rowe (1974) found that praise lowered students' confidence in their answers and reduced the number of verbal responses they offered. The students exhibited many characteristics indicative of lower self-esteem, such as responding in doubtful tones and showing lack of persistence or desire to keep trying. In addition, students frequently tried to "read" or check the teacher's eyes for signs of approval or disapproval.

In a series of six studies of subjects ranging in age from third grade to adult, Meyer (1979) found that under some conditions, praise led recipients to have low expectations of success at difficult tasks, which in turn decreased the persistence and performance intensity at the task. It seems that certain kinds of praise may set up even the most capable students for failure. No student can always be "good"

or "nice" or "smart." In order to avoid negative evaluations, students may tend not to take chances and attempt difficult tasks.

Praise as a Motivator

Many teachers attempt to use praise as a form of positive reinforcement in order to motivate students to achieve and behave in positive ways. However, as Brophy (1981) points out, trying to use praise as a systematic reinforcer in a classroom setting is impractical. Even if teachers were able to praise frequently and systematically, say once every 5 minutes, the average student would still be praised less than once every 2 hours. Brophy's research disclosed the reality that much teacher praise is not deliberate reinforcement, but rather, is elicited by students--the students actually condition the teacher to praise them.

Even if teachers could praise students systematically, there is still some indication that such praise

Research demonstrates that various forms of praise can have different kinds of effects on different kinds of students

would not be effective. Researchers point out that at best praise is a weak reinforcer. Not all young children are interested in pleasing the teacher, and as children grow older, interest in pleasing the teacher diminishes significantly. Esler (1983) reports that correlations between teachers' rates of praise and students' learning gains are not always positive, and even when correlations are positive, they are usually too low to be considered significant.

Some researchers (Martin, 1977; Stringer and Hurt, 1981) have found that praise can actually lessen self-motivation and cause children to become dependent on rewards. Green and Lepper (1974) found that once teachers began praising preschool children for doing something they were already motivated to do, the children became less motivated to do the activity.

Research demonstrates that various forms of praise can have different kinds of effects on different kinds of students. Students from different socioeconomic classes, ability levels, and genders may not respond in the same way to praise. The use of praise is further complicated by the fact that it may have differential effects depending on the type of achievement being measured. For example, praise may be useful in motivating students to learn by rote, but it may discourage problem solving.

Praise as a Classroom Management Tool

Teachers of young children are especially likely to try to use praise as a way to manage individuals or groups of children. A statement such as "I like the way Johnny is sitting," is often aimed not only at Johnny's behavior but also at nudging children in the group to con-

form. Teachers of older students would never get away with such control techniques. Even young children who may not be able to articulate their frustration with such blatant manipulation may show their resentment by defiantly refusing to conform or by imitating the "misbehaving" child.

Kounin (1970) did extensive observations in kindergarten classrooms in order to gain insight into effective management practices. He found that smoothness and maintenance of the momentum of classroom instruction and activities were the most powerful variables in controlling deviant behavior and maintaining student attention. Praise did not contribute to effective classroom management.

Praise versus Encouragement

Research does indicate that there are effective ways to praise students. The terms "effective praise" and "encouragement" are often used by researchers and other professionals to describe the same approach. In this paper, we will refer to both as "encouragement."

To praise is "to commend the worth of or to express approval or admiration" (Brophy, 1981, p.5). Dreikurs and others (1982) say that praise is usually given to a child when a task or deed is completed or is well done. Encouragement, on the other hand, refers to a positive acknowledgment response that focuses on student efforts or specific attributes of work completed. Unlike praise, encouragement does not place judgment on student work or give information regarding its value or implications of student status. Statements such as "You draw beautifully, Marc," or "Terrific job, Stephanie," are examples of praise. They are nonspecific, place a judgment on the student, and give some indication of the student's status in

Ineffective praise can stifle students' natural curiosity and desire to learn by focusing their attention on extrinsic rewards rather than the intrinsic rewards that come from the task itself

the group.

Encouragement, on the other hand:

- Offers specific feedback rather than general comments. For example, instead of saying, "Terrific job," teachers can comment on specific behaviors that they wish to acknowledge.

- Is teacher-initiated and private. Privacy increases the potential for an honest exchange of ideas and an opportunity for the student to talk about his or her work.

- Focuses on improvement and efforts rather than evaluation of a finished product.

- Uses sincere, direct comments delivered with a natural voice.

- Does not set students up for failure. Labels such as "nice" or "terrific" set students up for failure because they cannot always be "nice" or "terrific".

- Helps students develop an appreciation of their behaviors and achievements.

- Avoids competition or comparisons with others.

- Works toward self-satisfaction from a task or product.

Children have an intrinsic desire to learn. Ineffective praise can stifle students' natural curiosity and desire to learn by focusing their attention on extrinsic rewards rather than the intrinsic rewards that come from the task itself (Brophy, 1981). This kind of praise replaces a desire to learn with blind conformity, a mechanical work style, or even open defiance. On the other hand,

teachers who encourage students create an environment in which students do not have to fear continuous evaluation, where they can make mistakes and learn from them, and where they do not always need to strive to meet someone else's standard of excellence. Most students thrive in encouraging environments where they receive specific feedback and have the opportunity to evaluate their own behavior and work. Encouragement fosters autonomy, positive self-esteem, a willingness to explore, and acceptance of self and others.

Preparing Underachievers to Work in Heterogeneous Groups

Jessica Ball

Students who underachieve often lag behind their age-mates in social maturity and communication skills (Clizbe, Kornrich & Reid, 1980). Specifically, research has found that underachievers tend to show deficits in basic interpersonal skills (e.g., how to bid for a turn to talk, how long to talk, how to give and receive feedback), role taking, conflict negotiation, and ability to work productively as part of a team (Deshler & Schumaker, 1983). These social deficits typically appear within a profile of other, interrelated problems, most often including low self esteem, lack of motivation in school, and specific learning difficulties (Clizbe et al., 1980; Deshler, Warner, Schumaker & Alley, 1983). These problems tend to be self-perpetuating: apathy, low self esteem, and specific learning difficulties produce poor academic performance, further decrements in

self esteem, and peer rejection. How can teachers interdict this vicious cycle?

Findings of research indicate that significant gains across these problem domains can be made if teachers take steps to prepare and involve underachieving students in task-focused interactions with a representative mixture of students in their classes (Ames, 1984; Feldman, Devin-Sheehan & Allen, 1976; Johnson & Johnson, 1991). In general, research shows that well-structured group work that brings together students with a range of ability and achievement can, under certain conditions, improve motivation, self-esteem, achievement, interpersonal relationships, discipline, and life skills (Slavin, 1983a). These benefits have been found for students with special needs (Gartner & Lipsky, 1987) and also for students without special needs who are achiev-

ing at expected levels (Johnson et al., 1991). Further, in comparative studies, underachievers show greater gains on tasks requiring factual recall, application, problem solving, and higher order thinking when they are allowed to work in heterogeneous groups rather than in homogeneous groups (Swing & Peterson, 1982; Hooper & Hannafin, 1988; Tudge, 1990).

While demonstrated benefits for underachieving students has been the main rationale for advocating the use of heterogeneous grouping in classrooms, it should be noted that several studies have demonstrated benefits for high-achieving students as well (Slavin, 1983a; Swing et al., 1982). In the case of underachievers, gains have often been attributed to their exposure in mixed ability groups to high-level reasoning, problem solving skills, and social skills when working with a heterogeneous group of their

peers. In the case of high-achievers, gains have been attributed to the frequent opportunities to give detailed, elaborate explanations when working with students with a range of abilities (Swing et al., 1982; Webb, 1991).

Despite the accumulation of positive evaluations of involving underachievers in heterogeneous cooperative groups, teachers are often skeptical about the feasibility or effectiveness of this approach. For example, many teachers in Singapore and elsewhere report that mixing underachieving and normally achieving students in groups can have negative effects on peer interaction, classroom management, the level of students' discourse, and group productivity. Reflecting this skepticism, it is not uncommon to find that the underachievers in a class are grouped together, or denied participation in groupwork entirely, on the basis that "they can't handle the stimulation of group work", "no one wants them in their group", or "they keep other students from doing their work." Thus, although underachievers are integrated into regular classrooms, they are effectively segregated from the "mainstream" within their classrooms. This segregation, when it is practised across many classroom activities, perpetuates and exacerbates the academic and social problems of underachievers. Studies suggest that disappointing experiences with integrating underachievers with their more achieving peers may be due to inadequate preparation of students for the social demands of working in a group. Disappointing results have also been attributed to the routine nature of tasks that teachers often assign to groups, such that students do not find it absolutely essential to cooperate in order to succeed. Often, under-

achievers become bored or disruptive when they are not given essential roles to play in completing a group task. With one or two members doing most of the work on a single group product, underachievers may remain involved while nevertheless being assured of "success" on the basis of the performance of more active and able group members.

Studies have shown that low-achieving students tend to be less prepared socially to engage in effective task-related interactions than normal and high-achieving students (Swing et al., 1982). Also, they are more likely to fall into passive, dependent roles when teachers assign tasks to groups that do not require reciprocal interdependence among all members (i.e., the task could be done just as well by working alone or by having one or two members do most of the work) (Cohen, 1994).

Slavin (1983a) and other investigators of student groups have consistently emphasized that learning gains cannot be realised simply by putting students into heterogeneous groups and encouraging them to "work together." Reinforcing this point, in a review by Webb (1991), studies consistently showed that the simple **frequency** of interaction of students in a group does not predict their achievement. Rather, teachers must take steps that influence the **quality** of students' task-related talk and cooperative effort. Several studies suggest that the extent to which students successfully rise to the challenge of working together on tasks that **require** cooperative effort is positively correlated with gains in achievement, when individuals' prior achievement is held constant (e.g., Leecher, 1988).

Current research findings and teachers' experiences suggest that

Studies have shown that low-achieving students tend to be less prepared socially to engage in effective task-related interactions than normal and high-achieving students

in order to realize the potential benefits of grouping underachieving students with a representative mixture of students in their classes, teachers must take certain steps to prepare underachievers to work productively with their peers. Most importantly, teachers must: (a) build in a programme of social skills training prior to and/or during group interaction; and (b) ensure that group tasks require reciprocal interdependence among members, rather than sequential or hierarchical interdependence in which low achieving or less able members are chronically in the role of being helped by stronger students. These steps, when they are well conceived and systematically followed, help to ensure that underachievers can meet the behavioural requirements of effective participation in group work (Hazel, Schumaker, Sherman & Sheldon, 1982).

The effectiveness of group work in promoting achievement gains depends on whether task completion requires each member to contribute meaningfully to task-related interactions

Heterogeneous groupings within classrooms

The widely researched approaches to student groupwork advanced by Slavin (1983b) and by Johnson et al. (1991) both involve students in groups that are representative of the whole class composition. Students are held accountable for the learning of all members in their group. Studies have shown that when low, medium, and high achieving students in a class are brought together for small group work in this way, there is more frequent giving and receiving of explanations among all group members, more elaborative thinking, and greater perspective in discussing materials and tasks (Johnson et al., 1991). These features of students' interactions are associated with greater depth of understanding, reasoning, and long-term retention (Johnson et al., 1991).

It is ideal if all students in a class have an opportunity to work with everyone in the class during the school year. This gives students opportunities to develop and practice skills needed to work with a wide variety of people, and prevents an underachieving student from placing too great a burden on any one group. Further, the opportunity for social interaction within a group of socially adept peers promotes the underachieving student's social skills and their acceptance by peers (Mize, Ladd & Price, 1985; Tindall, 1985).

Teaching social skills

Skills specificity. Studies show that effective social skills training must focus on behaviours that are specific and directly relevant to the desired behaviours in the groups tasks to be assigned (Miller and Harrington, 1990). For example, asking students to "cooperate with each other" or to "share ideas" is too broad. Instead, teachers need to model and allow students to practice the precise behaviours that are aspects or components of cooperation or sharing.

Sequencing of social skills lessons. Some social skills need to be learned before others (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1990). For example, students need to learn basic skills, including getting into their groups quietly and quickly and keeping their hands to themselves, before being expected to learn more sophisticated skills, such as encouraging others to share ideas, checking for understanding, or resolving conflicts.

Steps in teaching social skills. Several steps are involved in teaching social skills, including:
(1) Helping students to see the need for the skill in class (e.g., your group will do better) and in life (e.g., people will want to be with you more).
(2) Defining the skill in concrete terms (e.g., what it looks/sounds like; variations).
(3) Setting up practice situations.
(4) Allowing time for clarification, reflection and feedback.
(5) Encouraging further practice both in and out of class.

Contextualising social skills learning. Social skills are best taught in the context of regular subject lessons. For example, a single social skill may be selected for discussion, demonstration, and role play for five to ten minutes at the beginning of a lesson in which there is going to be a significant group work activity. Five minutes should be allocated at the end of the lesson for reflection and feedback about how students experienced the group work and the progress they made in developing the skill.

Structuring the group task

Group task selection. Teachers need to select tasks that are challenging but within reach, because unsuccessful groups will not raise self-efficacy among members (Schunk, 1990) and may result in members blaming the underachiever for the group's failure.

Clizbe et al. (1980) suggest that initially grouping underachievers with normally achieving students in less competitive or academically demanding areas, such as sports or art, is often an excellent way of initiating underachieving students into groupwork. In these non-academic contexts, it is more likely that underachievers who have become stigmatized or isolated by their peers will gain peer acceptance, since their peers may be less anxious about the impact of the underachiever on the performance output of the group.

Once underachieving students are helped to feel confident and competent in meaningful roles in the class as a whole and in specific group tasks, the cycle of rejection, apathy or behavioural disruption, and poor performance can be broken and conditions for improved achievement and academic self-efficacy can be created.

Individual accountability. Underachieving students will tend to discount positive feedback accruing to the group if they have had to make little or no personal effort toward the group's success. Not only will the experience be of little benefit to the apathetic group member, but he or she runs the risk of further stigmatisation by more active group members as a "hitchhiker" or "free-loader."

Ames (1984) found a reduction in negative ability-related social comparisons when teachers ensured that each group member was accountable for performing some aspect of the task and the group members shared rewards (e.g., points, praise, privileges) based on their collective performance.

In Slavin's (1983b) model of cooperative learning involving heterogeneous groups, students are given time to help each other during the group work, and then students are tested individually. Individual scores (absolute or improvement scores) are combined to form the group score. Several studies have shown significant positive effects of this approach on student achievement as well as on interpersonal relations and self-esteem (Slavin, 1983a).

Reciprocal interdependence among members. Slavin (1983b) emphasizes that: "Students must have a reason to take one another's achievement seriously, to provide one another with the elaborate explanations that are critical to the achievement effects of cooperative learning" (p. 9). The cooperative group approach developed by Johnson et al. (1991) involves group members in cooperative work toward a single group product. Groups are assessed on their performance on the group task, and on how well the members worked together. Several studies have shown that this approach promotes higher achievement across levels of ability and prior achievement records (Johnson et al., 1991).

Teachers often assign routine tasks to groups wherein achievement depends upon more able students helping weaker students. While this arrangement is interdependent, it is hierarchical rather than reciprocal; that is, the weaker student's performance is dependent upon the stronger student's help, but not vice versa (Cohen, 1994). Teachers may unwittingly foster this arrangement by assigning the most capable student in a group the role of group leader. Studies have shown that when high achievers assume a helping role in groupwork in which mutual interdependence is not essential for successful task completion, the high achievers benefit, especially by giving explanations to other members, while low achievers do not benefit, because they assume the complementary, passive, dependent role (Swing et al., 1982).

In short, the effectiveness of group work in promoting achievement gains depends on whether task completion requires each member to contribute meaningfully to task-related interactions (Cohen & Arechevala-Vargas, 1987). Variations of Slavin's (1983b) "jigsaw" model of groupwork, in which each member has a unique and essential role, task, or set of resources, have been found to promote positive task-related interactions and high achievement across levels of ability and achievement (Johnson et al., 1991; Slavin, 1983a).

Concluding comment

Some teachers, principals, and parents may view time routinely spent on helping students to develop social skills as a waste of time, detracting from time on academic skill development. However, given the broad set of deficits that underachieving students typically bring to the classroom, a correspondingly broad set of skills beyond the academic domain appears to be required for ultimate success in school and after school completion (Schumaker, Deshler & Ellis, 1986).

Once underachieving students are helped to feel confident and competent in meaningful roles in the class as a whole and in specific group tasks, the cycle of rejection, apathy or behavioural disruption, and poor performance can be broken and conditions for improved achievement and academic self-efficacy can be created.

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American ASCD members visit Singapore

On July 9 and 10, Singapore ASCD hosted a delegation of 24 American educators and their spouses. The delegation, led by Barbara Jackson, Immediate Past President of ASCD and Arch Phillips, Jr., Director, International Travel Programs, was on a 19-day swing through South-east Asia.

In Singapore, the visitors called at Lian Hua Primary School and Raffles Girls' Secondary School. At both schools, our guests had a first hand look at schools in Singapore. Next stop was the Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore for a briefing on curriculum issues in Singapore. Our guests later called on Mr Wee Heng Tin, Director of Schools, for an exchange of views on educational issues.
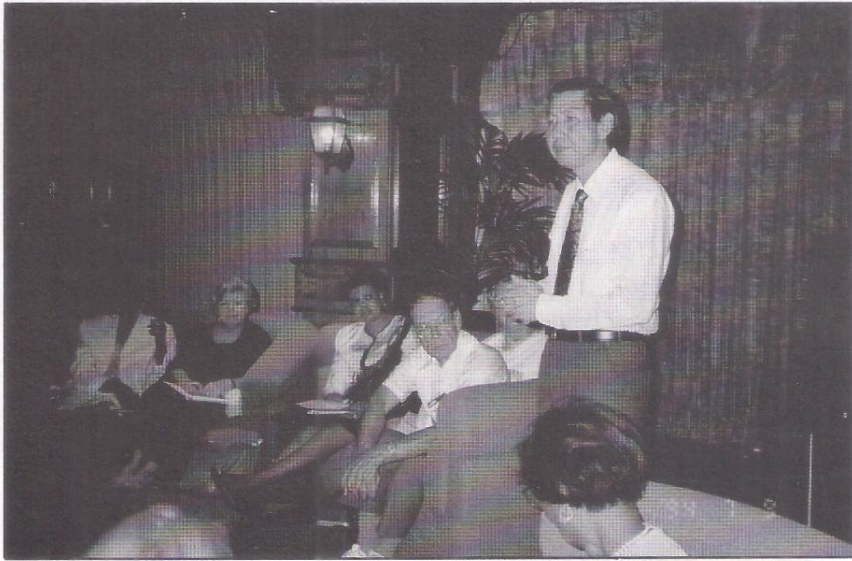
In his letter to Miss Kan Sou Tin, President, ASCD Singapore, Arch Phillips, Jr. commented that … the opportunity you provided is deeply appreciated and was vital to our learning first-hand about educational issues, priorities, and curriculum planning in Singapore . It's our pleasure, Arch.

At Lian Hua Primary School

The Eco-garden at Lian Hua Primary

US ASCD members having a discussion with Mr Wee Heng Tin, Director of Schools Division, Ministry of Education, Singapore