DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 305 718 EA 020 758

AUTHOR	Peterson, Kent D.
TITLE	Secondary Principals and Instructional Leadership: Complexities in a Diverse Role.
INSTITUTION	National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, Madison, WI.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.; Wisconsin Center for Education Research, Madison.
PUB DATE	Feb 89
GRANT	G-008690007-89
NOTE	38p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Document Service, National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, 1025 W. Johnson Street, Madison, WI 53706 ($5.00).
PUB TYPE	Information Analyses (070) -- Viewpoints (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Role; High Schools; *Instructional Leadership; *Leadership Responsibility; *Principals; *School Supervision; *Teacher Administrator Relationship

ABSTRACT

From an organizational perspective, this paper synthesizes research on instructional leadership at the secondary level to provide principals with useful school management models to overcome obstacles to effective supervision. In addition, this paper analyzes the properties of secondary schools that shape principals' work; reviews their daily tasks; describes models of instructional leadership; delineates specific ways that high school principals influence school and classroom processes to shape teaching and learning; discusses how principals build school cultures and foster school improvement; and gives specific instances of the ways some principals mold teaching and learning in suburban and urban settings. Several conclusions emerge from this discussion. First, principals share their instructional leadership position with assistant principals, department chairs, and teachers. Second, instructional leadership in high schools often attends to both the technical side of the school (by configuring and managing the instructional process) and to the cultural side (by molding the norms, values, and beliefs of teachers). Third, principals shape improvement through planned change efforts that incorporate systematic and organized processes that draw on the resources of administrators, teachers, and department chairs. Fourth, principals can cultivate and develop instructional leadership in others. Fifth, principals may exercise instructional leadership through small individual actions. Finally, instructional leadership can be enhanced by fostering a sense of shared clarity of purpose and mission among all school constituents. (JAM)

[redacted]

SECONDARY PRINCIPALS AND INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP: COMPLEXITIES IN A DIVERSE ROLE

Kent D. Peterson
University of Wisconsin-Madison

February, 1989

Center Mission

The National Center on Effective Secondary Schools conducts research on how high schools can use their resources to enhance student engagement in order to boost the achievement of all students. Its main studies deal with higher order thinking in the curriculum, programs for students at risk, the stratification of learning opportunities, the quality of teachers' work life, and noninstructional influences on adolescents' achievement.

Clearinghouse Services

The Center includes a Clearinghouse, which provides an evolving bibliography, research syntheses on topics relevant to effective secondary schools, and, as resources permit, selective searches of the Center's bibliographic data base upon request. The general bibliography contains about 300 references on such topics as organizational remedies, class size, governance and organizational reform, grouping, school climate, school improvement programs, curriculum remedies, at-risk students and higher order thinking. Single copies are available upon request from the Clearinghouse. Research syntheses are available at cost (see enclosed sheet). For more information, contact Madge Klais, Reference Coordinator, Clearinghouse, National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, University of Wisconsin, 1025 W. Johnson Street, Madison, WI 53706. Telephone: (608)-263-7575.

Regular Center Publications

In the Fall and Spring of each year, the Center publishes a newsletter that offers analyses of substantive issues, also a resource bulletin on practical topics. To be placed on the mailing list to receive these publications free of charge, please contact Anne Turnbaugh Lockwood, Dissemination Coordinator, National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, University of Wisconsin, 1025 W. Johnson Street, Madison, WI 53706. Telephone: (608)-263-7575.

SECONDARY PRINCIPALS AND INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP: COMPLEXITIES IN A DIVERSE ROLE

Kent D. Peterson
University of Wisconsin-Madison

February, 1989

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank Judith Little, Oliver Moles, Joe Murphy, Fred Newmann, and Bob Slater for helpful reviews and comments on the paper. In addition, Judith Martin provided fine bibliographical and editorial assistance. Carol Jean Roche unflaggingly provided excellent copy after every rewrite.

This paper was prepared at the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, supported by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (Grant No. G-008690007-89) and by the Wisconsin Center for Education Research, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison. The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the supporting agencies.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SECONDARY PRINCIPALS AND INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP: COMPLEXITIES IN A DIVERSE ROLE

Increasingly some research identifies the importance of instructional leadership by principals, yet other research suggests that principals spend little time on it. These disparities are especially evident for secondary principals who work in large, differentiated organizations. Using current research and applying organizational theory, this analysis of research asks: "How do high school principals act as instructional leaders, that is, how can their work shape and reinforce high-quality teaching and learning?"

To answer this question, this paper describes obstacles to instructional leadership and the ways secondary principals overcome those obstacles. It analyzes the properties of secondary schools that shape principals' work, reviews their daily tasks, describes models of instructional leadership, and delineates specific ways that high school principals influence schools and classroom processes to shape teaching and learning. It also discusses how principals build school cultures and foster school improvement. To elaborate on general statements, it gives specific examples of the ways some principals mold teaching and learning in suburban and urban schools.

Though many behaviors contribute to instructional leadership, several key themes are evident from research and theory.

First, in secondary schools, though principals may act as a key locus of instructional leadership, that function is also taken on by assistant principals, department chairs and teachers.

Second, instructional leadership in these schools often attends to (1) the technical side of the school by configuring and managing the instructional process and (2) to the cultural side of the school, by molding the norms, values, and beliefs of teachers. Attention to the technology of teaching alone overlooks a key set of factors that influence quality teaching and student outcomes.

Third, high school principals may shape improvement through either: (1) building a capacity for change by leading non-programmatic efforts that continuously fine-tune the instructional machinery or (2) developing planned change efforts that incorporate systematic and organized processes that draw on the resources of administrators, teachers, and department chairs. Different contextual factors will probably influence which approach or approaches are most appropriate and most likely to produce positive results. Instructional leaders of the school may work together to identify the most effective leverage points for improvement, leverage points that are contextually determined.

Fourth, secondary principals can act directly as instructional leaders, but they also can cultivate, encourage, and develop instructional leadership in others. The size and complexity of most secondary schools requires more than one person to shape instruction. Thus, part of effective leadership is the delegation and nurturance of internal leaders and the linkage to other sources of leadership.

Fifth, secondary principals often lead through "small" actions not visible to the whole school as they complete the brief tasks and interactions that fill their days. Through these actions, they signal what is meaningful and important, solve organizational problems affecting classrooms, and build commitment.

Finally, instructional leadership is exercised by working for clarity of purpose and a shared sense of school mission. It appears that principals with a vision for their schools are better able to shape their own hectic worklives to foster quality instruction, motivate others, and build effective cultures.

Leadership, to be continuous, and thus more effective, is often embedded in all the decisions that principals make, the problems they solve, and the interactions they have with students and teachers. Principals' daily routines vary substantially from school to school. Nonetheless, instructional leadership by the principal may, when properly enacted and continuously applied, have a substantial influence over the culture of the school, instructional and curricular processes, and student performance.

The nature of and the challenges to the enactment of effective instructional leadership in high schools point to several important implications for principals, policymakers, and those who educate school administrators. To begin with, secondary principals may need to exert more effort and pay greater attention to instructional issues due to the ways their influence is attenuated by organizational obstacles. These principals may need to be more concerned with instructionally-focused action than their elementary school counterparts.

Furthermore, policies that further erode the resources and discretion of secondary principals may not be fostering instructional leadership. Policies that encourage a principal's activity in the instructional domain should be promulgated. Finally, those who educate school administrators at universities and during inservice workshops should design distinctive training activities. These activities could focus on exerting influence through others, building school cultures, and shaping improvement programs in high school settings. Without more attention from principals, policymakers, and those training administrators, instructional leadership in secondary schools may remain relatively weak, when it could have a powerful impact on school improvement.

SECONDARY PRINCIPALS AND INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP: COMPLEXITIES IN A DIVERSE ROLE

INTRODUCTION

There is currently a clamor for the secondary school principal to exert more and better "instructional leadership." Instructional leadership refers, in this paper, to actions these administrators take to shape and reinforce high-quality teaching and learning. Studies of elementary school principals have generally found such actions rare (Kmetz & Willower, 1982; Peterson, 1978). Studies of secondary school principals have found proof of direct actions in the instructional arena even more scarce (Martin, 1980). While one study found student achievement attributable to principals (Rowan & Denk, 1984), another study found no statistical relationship between principals' behaviors and student performance (Jones, 1988). To further complicate the issue, research on elementary school principals reveals some leadership behaviors that are directly related to effective teaching and learning or that create conditions associated with student performance (Little, 1988; Murphy, 1988). In spite of these disparate findings, policymakers and researchers identify the principal's role as instructional leader to be important to effective teaching and learning (Ginsberg, 1988; Greenfield, 1987; Pitner, 1988).

How does one reconcile this seeming disparity between the research and the rhetoric? In this paper, I will deal with this question by examining the instructional leadership of secondary school principals from an organizational perspective. From this perspective, it is possible to understand how secondary schools as organizations constrain and place contingencies upon instructional leadership that principals must overcome. I will discuss the organization of secondary schools and its influence on principals' work. I will then describe the nature of instructional leadership within those parameters. Next I will examine models of instructional leadership and follow them with descriptions of the techniques some principals use to mold teaching and learning practices at both the school and classroom level. I will describe some of the tactics and strategies principals use to build instructionally effective school cultures and to foster school improvement. Finally, I will provide examples of the principal's instructional leadership in suburban and urban settings and note patterns in this role.

Researchers have paid considerable attention to the role of school principals in leading academically effective schools (Little, 1982; Manasse, 1985; Purkey & Smith, 1983). This attention stems from recent research on effective schools (Purkey & Smith, 1983), research on the work of principals in their schools (Boyd & Crowson, 1982; Pitner, 1988), research on the enactment of instructional leadership activities that may shape classroom activities, and research on implementation of new programs, school innovations, and change (Corbett, Dawson, & Firestone, 1984; Fullan, 1982, 1985). In addition, through published reports, national commissions, and special monographs we see federal policymakers, associations of governors, and national associations of school administrators focusing on the importance of leadership to improve instruction.

While this research and attention has generated considerable interest in the nature of leadership in schools, we still lack a powerful and coherent conception of the ways in which high school principals shape instruction. Considerable difficulties present themselves in trying to determine the influence of administrative behavior on student performance (Boyd & Crowson, 1982; Murphy, 1988; Pitner, 1988). Nonetheless, we know that some behaviors of principals are associated with variation in student performance (Rowan & Denk, 1984). We also know that certain school norms are associated with student success (Little, 1982), and that other school and classroom factors are related to student learning (Murphy, 1988).

This paper is a selective, not exhaustive, examination of the best knowledge and theory available on the ways in which secondary school principals act to shape instruction. Its purpose is to synthesize research on instructional leadership at the secondary level in order to provide ideas useful for practicing secondary principals.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS AS ORGANIZATIONS

The organizational features of secondary schools, especially their diverse organizational forms, their complex technology, diverse departmental structures, varied goals, poor organizational linkages and transient clientele, shape and constrain principals' work.

The technology of secondary school classrooms varies from that of elementary schools (Purkey & Smith, 1983). Elementary schools tend to group students for an entire day with one teacher who covers most subjects using a variety of grouping arrangements for different academic subjects. This teacher is also able to vary the length of the learning session. In general, high school students spend classroom time listening to teachers lecture or participating in large group discussions, frequently in homogeneous classes. The classes are a standard length (50 minutes) and as the day progresses, students move throughout the school to individual teachers to learn various subjects.

Compared to elementary schools, secondary schools have greater subject matter specialization and denser division of labor (Purkey & Smith, 1983). Secondary schools generally have a departmental structure in which middle-level administrators (department chairpersons) have authority to shape aspects of instruction. As compared to elementary schools, secondary schools have more variety in official staff responsibilities, as indicated in the separate jobs of assistant principals, counselors, social workers and teachers. Because of the larger number of after-school programs, more staff are involved in decision-making that distributes scarce resources and coordinates activities. This complexity increases demands on principals to handle non-instructional business.

The goals of secondary schools, like those of elementary schools, are complex, multiple, hard to measure, and often diffuse (March, 1978). The variety of goals identified

for secondary schools is perhaps greater than for elementary schools, due in part to the value placed on extra-curricular activities. These varied purposes also fragment administrative attention to instruction.

The proliferation of special-interest groups that may influence the school's academic, athletic, and social affairs poses further constraints. At the same time, in secondary schools one finds relatively low parental involvement in academically focused school activities (Purkey & Smith, 1983) and this sometimes makes it difficult for administrators to gain public support for academic concerns.

Teachers in secondary schools differ markedly from those in elementary schools. The professional and occupational norms of secondary teachers tend to be subject-oriented, department-focused, and more individualistic (Little, 1988; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Secondary school teachers often have strong external occupational affiliations with subject matter associations that influence their beliefs about curriculum and teaching practices. These potent linkages may weaken principals' authority to exert leadership on instructional issues.

But not all secondary schools are alike in these conditions that might make it easier or more difficult for principals to shape instruction. Schools vary in size, in the degree of influence exerted through central office policies and procedures, in the number of administrative or other support staff, in staff transiency, and in the importance of faculty affiliation with external professional associations. It may be somewhat easier to act as an instructional leader: (1) in smaller schools where contacts with faculty can be more extensive, (2) in districts with few schools and less onerous bureaucratic demands, (3) in schools with more administrative assistants to act in leadership roles, (4) in schools where there is release time for department chairs to work with teachers, to observe and to give feedback, and to lead improvement efforts, and (5) in schools with relatively little staff turnover so that norms and values supportive of instructional success can be shaped and reinforced over a period of time. In short, variations in the properties of secondary schools may provide both obstacles to or opportunities for the exercise of direct and indirect instructional leadership.

THE NATURE OF PRINCIPALS' WORK

Principals, like other mid-level managers, face challenging work demands (Boyd & Crowson, 1982; Martin & Willower, 1981; Mintzberg, 1973; Peterson, 1978). Observational research has identified the daily routines of elementary and secondary school principals and the constraints these place upon the exercise of instructional leadership (see Pitner, 1988 for a review). These studies show that beyond attention to classroom instruction, managerial and administrative tasks need to be completed, demands of superiors heeded, or irate parents quieted. Like elementary school principals, secondary school principals may

have to exercise instructional leadership while completing other non-instructional managerial responsibilities.

Secondary school principals' daily work, like that of elementary school principals, is characterized by a large number of short, often interrupted tasks, most under ten minutes in length (Martin & Willower, 1981; Willis, 1980). This work varies, from supervising the student parking lot to helping staff develop ways to teach higher order thinking strategies, from filing accident reports to hiring new department chairpersons. Secondary school principals' days are fragmented as they meet with outside salespersons, cope with central office demands, respond to teacher requests, address student discipline problems, and solve an unending onslaught of problems relating to resources, building maintenance, and interpersonal conflict. They lack control over a large portion of their day, and spend much of their time in unscheduled meetings and spontaneous face-to-face interactions (Martin & Willower, 1981).

In larger secondary sch s, principals occasionally benefit from the support of assistant principals, department chairs, social workers, psychologists, and counselors who solve school problems and improve staff relationships. These staff often help deal with crises and maintain the normal flow of activities (Corcoran & Wilson, 1986) so that principals should have more opportunity to work directly on instructional issues.

Most studies conclude that secondary school principals spend little time in direct instructional leadership activities, e.g., curriculum planning, teacher observations, informal feedback sessions with teachers, or selection of instructional materials (Martin & Willower, 1981; Morris, Crowson, Porter-Gehrie & Hurwitz, 1984). Rather, most of their day is spent managing the resources of the school and buffering teachers and the classroom from interruptions and disruptions from the outside (Lightfoot, 1983; Little & Bird, 1987; Martin & Willower, 1981; Morris et al., 1984; Rossmiller, 1988).

Although few studies have collected data on the actual amount of time secondary school principals spend in direct instructional leadership activities, those that report quantitative data find little time was spent in these activities. One study of five high school principals (Martin & Willower, 1981) found that on average 17.4 percent of the day was spent in activities related to academic programs. These activities were defined as non-routine curricular matters such as changes in course content, implementation of new teaching strategies, or pupil personnel services.

Classroom visits, including formal evaluations or informal drop-ins, also appeared to be infrequent. Principals in the Martin and Willower (1981) study averaged only 4.2 percent of their day in classrooms, ranging from a high of 8.8 percent to a low of no time at all. Interactions with faculty (which may or may not have focused on instructional issues) occupied an average of 34.6 percent of principals' time (with a range of 26.8 to 50 percent). Over half the day (59.4 percent) was spent in the office. In a similar observational study, Morris et al. (1984) located principals in teachers' classrooms an

average of 7 percent of the day, with a range of 3 percent to 17 percent. Interactions with teachers on all matters averaged 19 percent of the day, ranging from 13 percent to 36 percent. On average, they found that secondary school principals visited classrooms infrequently and spent the largest proportion of their day in interactions with faculty on topics other than instruction.

These studies challenge the notion of secondary school principals as direct, intensive instructional leaders. However, principals may influence instruction in other, more indirect ways. For example, Bossert (1986) suggested that significant decisions made by principals about teacher selection, program change, or scheduling may be obscured by simple records of time use. Selection of a talented department chair may not take many minutes and may not be counted in observational studies, but may substantially affect the instructional program. Also, studies may not show the ways principals facilitate the leadership taken by assistant principals, department chairs, or others (Pitner, 1988). As Dwyer (1985) has suggested, principals may shape the culture and ethos of their schools through a variety of informal interactions on both instructional and non-instructional issues and that many of these small managerial tasks shape teaching and learning. For example, principals may communicate their vision of the school while they are taking care of maintenance problems, student discipline, or teacher conflicts. They may be assessing teachers while responding to heating problems or while praising teachers' efforts during their short visits to classrooms.

Finally, although these studies conclude that the average time spent in instructionally related tasks was small, there was still considerable variability among the principals studied. Some principals spent more than twice as much time as the average cited above on instructionally focused tasks. Furthermore, none of the studies focused on those principals who have been engaged in systematic school improvement efforts, efforts that may have considerably increased the amount of time spent in the instructional arena. Also, most of the studies used traditional definitions of actions that comprise instructional leadership and did not count symbolic work as part of this role. Thus, as a measure of direct time on instructionally focused activities, the studies may be fairly accurate, but as measures of the indirect and long-term influence of principals, they may be weak estimates.

Given this picture of the daily tasks of secondary principals, how do they act as instructional leaders? How do they shape the work of teachers, administrators, and students so that the teaching and learning process is enhanced?

It appears that principals act as direct instructional leaders when they work with teachers and others to shape the learning of students. However, they also act as indirect instructional leaders by facilitating leadership in others, by shaping the conditions of teaching, and by helping set school-level standards of course-taking, teacher selection, and school procedures. Effective leaders may focus on technical change, but their activities are also often highly symbolic, as they build the school's culture around their vision for the school. Their leadership may focus on school improvement, sometimes in a direct systematic fashion, or at other times through informal support for teacher change and

improvement. In either case there are constraints on the principal's role that influence the ways in which instructional leadership can be exercised.

MODELS OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP

There have been many attempts to define instructional leadership. These definitions usually specify the broad functions of instructional leadership, the behaviors that comprise it, and what it produces. In this paper, I have defined instructional leadership as those core actions taken by principals to shape the teaching-learning process. These actions may involve directly molding teaching and curricula, shaping the values and purposes of the school, or establishing the conditions that promote effective teaching and learning. While this definition could include everything that principals do, I will focus on actions, functions, decisions and tasks that may have the most substantial or long-lasting influence on the conditions that foster high-quality teaching and learning.

Specifications of instructional leadership have included extensive lists (Murphy, 1988; Murphy, Weil, Hallinger, Mitman, 1982) and sets of detailed behaviors that may influence instruction (Peterson & Bickman, 1985). Most models list similar core functions and behaviors. In more detailed models, Murphy et al. (1982) and Hallinger and Murphy (1987) noted three core areas that are influenced by instructional leadership: (1) defining the school's mission, (2) managing curriculum and instruction, and (3) promoting a positive learning climate. Under each of these three domains, Murphy et al. (1982) listed a set of behaviors that comprise instructional leadership. For example, a principal can help define the school's mission (see Figure 1) by working with teachers to identify important goals and then communicating those to important stakeholders. They can assist in managing the curriculum by working with teachers on curricular coordination and monitoring the academic progress of students. And, a principal could promote positive school climate by limiting interruptions of instructional time and facilitating school improvement efforts. Murphy et al.'s (1982) original model and the research that followed (see Murphy, 1988 and Pitner, 1988 for reviews) shows the importance of principals engaging in activities that shape, direct, and structure the technical aspects of the teaching and learning process as well as those that establish the normative conditions of the school. Although it is one of the best models available, it does not always specify the causal links between the behaviors and student learning or note the ways school context may shape instructional leadership. However, their latter research and writing has filled in many of these limitations (Hallinger & Murphy, 1985; Murphy, 1988; Murphy et al., 1982).

[Figure 1 here]

In another well-known model, Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, and Lee (1982) posited that principals' instructional management behavior shapes two major aspects of school, which in turn shape student learning (see Figure 2). They argued that principals' management behavior shapes "school climate" and "instructional organization" which, in turn, influences

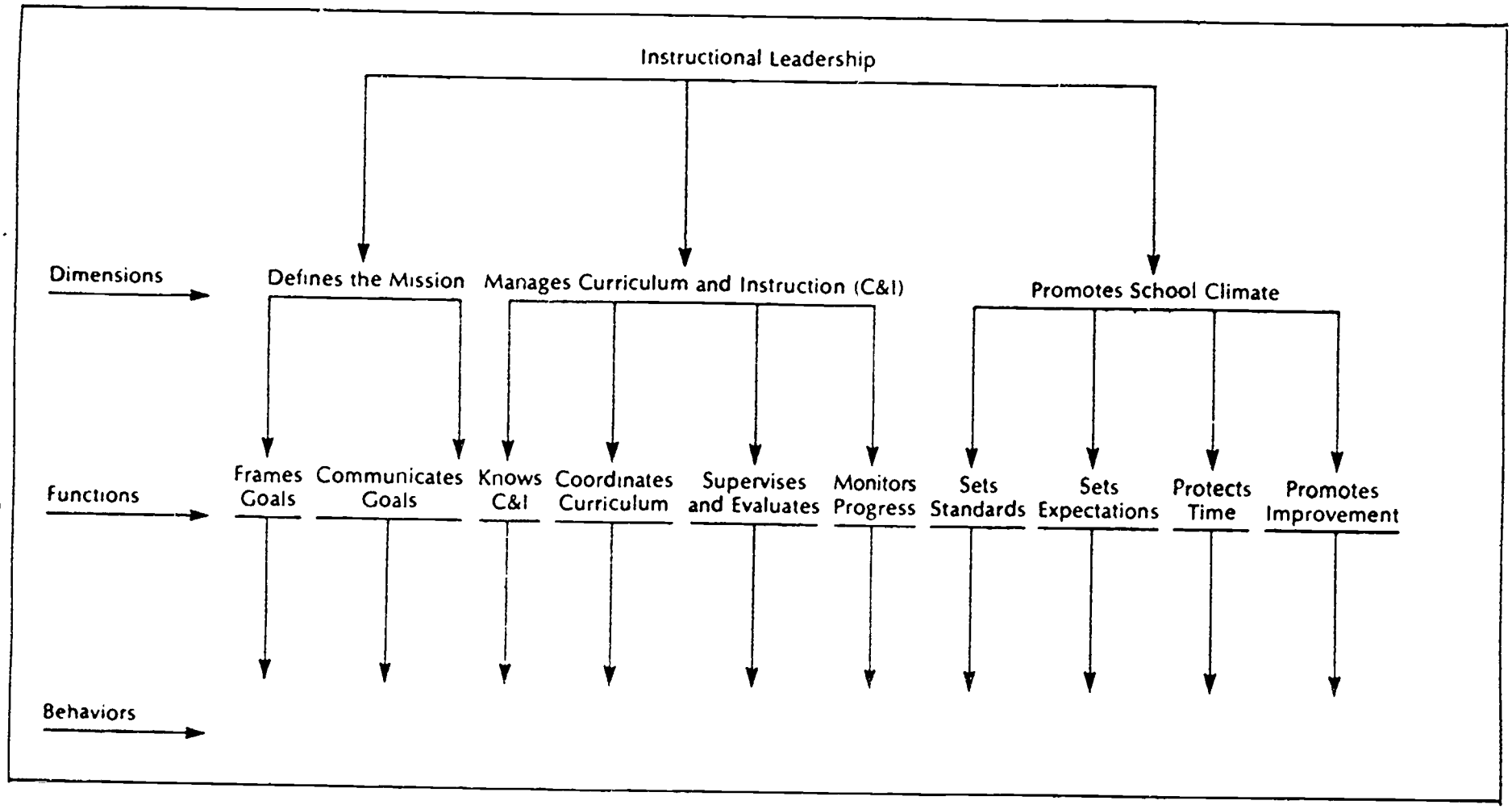

Figure 1.

Instructional Leadership Framework

Hallinger and Murphy (1987)

student outcomes. They listed the specific managerial behaviors of principals that shape climate and instructional organization and described their outcomes. For example, to shape the instructional climate a principal could establish an effective discipline program and work to foster positive relationships among staff. In order to manage the instructional organization, a principal might schedule time for teachers to work together on curricular alignment, assist staff in establishing procedures for the assignment of students, or provide feedback on teaching techniques. These and many other actions are included as part of the Bossert et al. (1982) instructional leadership model.

[Figure 2 here]

Others have noted that instructional leadership need not come from principals alone (Little & Bird, 1987; Pitner, 1986). It can come from teachers, and it can be facilitated by structural arrangements, managerial processes, and internalized norms.

Pitner (1986) questioned the assumption that all effective schools need the principal to be a strong instructional leader. She contended that this may not be possible in many school settings, and that under some conditions it may be possible to have "substitutes for [principal] leadership." Drawing on Kerr and Jermier (1978), she contended that substitutes for the principal's direct instructional leadership may exist that could themselves limit principals' influence on teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors).[1]

It is not new to contend that increases in staff motivation, improved instructional techniques and curriculum content, or strong organizational cultures may result from factors other than direct principal leadership. In studies of educational and non-educational organizations, Lortie (1975), Kaufman (1960), Edstrom and Galbraith (1977) and Mechanic (1962) showed that socialization, training, influential subordinates, and governance structures of organizations can affect motivation, productivity and coordination. There may be some properties of schools that reinforce, replace (ie. substitute), or neutralize the principal's leadership (Kerr & Jermier, 1978; Pitner, 1986).

How might this occur? First, faculty with compatible norms and values in a school may <u>reinforce</u> principals' leadership. Second, there some schools that <u>replace or substitute</u> leadership because strong leadership by department chairpersons or central office supervisors can make the principal's actions redundant. Third, some schools may <u>neutralize</u> or reduce the impact of principals' leadership, for example, when influential factions of teachers fight improvements fostered by principals; when district staff transfer policies make school culture building nearly impossible; or when lack of funds prevents staff development. That some aspects of high schools may partially replace the principal's leadership does not justify principals abdicating leadership to these "replacements." Rather, effective secondary school principals need to respond deliberately to the mix of factors that reinforce, neutralize, or counteract their leadership. Studies do not show patterns for dealing successfully with these factors, but it seems reasonable to assume that more effective instructional leaders may systematically apply creative leverage to overcome these obstacles.

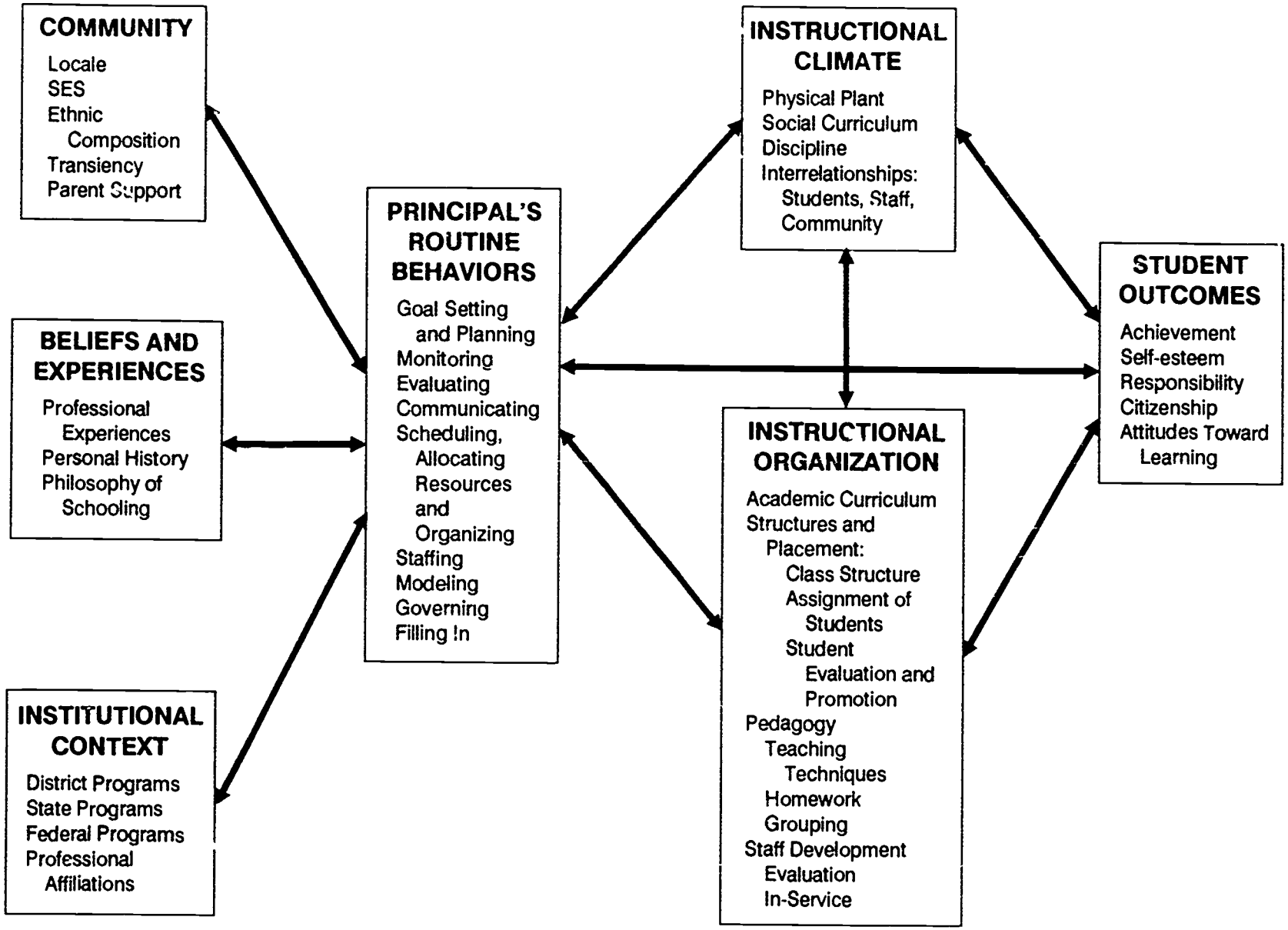

Figure 2
The Principal's Role in Instructional Management
Bossert, S., Dwyer, D., Rowan, B., & Lee, G., 1982.

For example, they may choose to avoid some issues in order to act more vigorously on those factors that otherwise seem to reduce their opportunity for leadership.

Duckworth (1983) presented a model to show how principals shape the work of teachers, student activity and student achievement. This model reiterates the ways in which principals shape the technical and normative elements of the school through both direct and indirect decisions about instruction, school structure and faculty, although its emphases are different. He also noted the influence of other potential leaders in the shaping of teacher agendas, incentives, and resources. As Pitner (1988) noted in her analysis of the Duckworth model, district factors, principals' work, school organization and school climate all shape (a) teachers' agendas for the class, (b) teacher incentives to work and to shape instruction, and (c) teacher resources. All of these factors, Duckworth (1983) argued, may occur concurrently and interactively.

In summary, these models provide a long list of behaviors in which principals may engage as instructional leaders, and the models suggest several themes in common. First, principals are key to instructional leadership, but are not the only persons to have potentially important roles. Second, effective leadership seems to focus on shaping both the technical and the cultural aspects of teaching and learning (Wilson & Firestone, 1985). Each aspect may be essential for consistent success. Third, leadership implies movement toward valued ends with changes occurring through both planned efforts and/or through informal ones. In either case, improvements may arise often only through incremental stages. Some change efforts focus on school-level structures and conditions of teaching and learning, while others focus on classroom-level conditions. Finally, principals may enact much indirect, symbolic leadership through brief daily interactions with teachers, students, and others, as well as in the less numerous, though more visible, long-range planning activities they may do as administrators.

In short, it appears that secondary school principals' instructional leadership can be described, as in Table 1, according to the type of influence used (direct or indirect), the point where leverage is applied (school or classroom), the focus of the influence (technical or symbolic), and the degree of formalization of the improvement process (systematic or non-systematic). To be effective instructional leaders, secondary school principals appear to adapt their efforts to accommodate specific local organizational constraints and contingencies that hinder teaching and learning. Because the character of effective leadership depends on the context and the mission of the school, it cannot be specified in a universal list.

Table 1

Secondary Principal Instructional Leadership

Type of Influence	Direct	Indirect
Point of Leverage	School	Classroom
Focus of Influence	Technical/ Technology Enhancing	Symbolic/ Culture Building
Improvement Process	Systematic/ Formalized	Non-Systematic/ Informal

INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP: THE SCHOOL LEVEL

School-level instructional leadership may modify the instructional structure of secondary schools by improving technical and cultural conditions related to enhanced student performance. These alterations could focus on allocated learning time, curriculum, teachers, and school goals.

A. Allocated Learning Time

The total amount of time allocated for academic subjects limits how much instruction can take place in classrooms. Recent studies of secondary schools note time allocation problems brought on by the limited number of academic courses many students take, the methods teachers use to attract students to tangential electives, the ways some graduation policies restrain or enhance course-taking, and the ways the master schedule can restrict academic schedules (Finley, 1984; Powell, Farrar & Cohen, 1985; Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin & Cusick, 1986). Secondary school principals may be able to increase the total time allocated to academic subjects by setting school graduation requirements, establishing procedures for controlling the number and type of electives students take, and by shaping the master schedule to reflect the merit of certain types of courses and class schedules.

B. Curriculum Coherence and Alignment

Secondary schools have been criticized for the lack of coherence in curricula and the limited articulation with curricula in elementary and middle schools (English, 1988; Powell et al., 1985; Sedlak, et al., 1986). The nature of course content, the ways content is paced and connected to other learning, and the ways knowledge and skills are developed across several courses may increase overall student learning (English, 1988). Principals may be able to increase the coherence and articulation of the curriculum by fostering the leadership of teachers and department chairs, by making time available for teachers to work on curriculum and by signaling the importance of curriculum issues (Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984; Lucy, 1983).

C. Teacher Quality

Excellent teachers are key to effective teaching and learning. School policies and practices related to teacher recruitment, selection, assignment and development can strengthen or weaken the school's instructional infrastructure and culture (Finley, 1984; Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984; Joyce & Showers, 1983). While studies have not produced clear models of effective recruitment, selection or assignment practices, principals may improve their schools by maximizing the quality of teachers they select and carefully assigning teachers based on ability to serve particular student needs rather, for example, than solely on the basis of seniority. Regular coordinated staff development may also enhance faculty performance (Joyce & Showers, 1983; Little, 1982).

D. Framing and Articulating School Goals

More than elementary schools, secondary schools have strong, centripetal pulls to multiple, non-academic goals. The multiplicity of goals and the pull of non-academic activities increases the likelihood that the purposes of school may not be clear or shared by teachers and students. Therefore, leaders in secondary schools may help foster shared beliefs about the academic purposes of the school (Kroeze, 1984). Greater consensus about purposes and goals may increase the informal instructional coordination among teachers, departments, and individuals as well as increase the level of effort expended toward those goals (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984). As Schein (1985) and others (Manasse, 1985; Murphy, 1988) have noted, one of the central tasks of leadership is identifying the purpose of the organization, then working to articulate and communicate a shared sense of mission. Research on effective schools (Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984), on secondary school principals (Acheson, 1985), and on building schools' culture (Deal & Peterson, 1988) points to the importance of principals fostering a clear and instructionally oriented mission in their schools. Principals may hold a "vision" of what their school can become, may communicate this to others, and also reinforce efforts to reach for that vision (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1980).

In these and other ways, principals can shape teaching and learning by applying effort and attention to points of leverage at the school level. But principals can also shape classrooms as well.

INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP: THE CLASSROOM LEVEL

Much of the research on instructional leadership has focused on the ways principals shape classroom processes. Although most of these studies were conducted in elementary schools, (Murphy, 1988), some literature shows that high school principals, often with the help of department chairs and teachers, can affect classroom interaction. Key functions of instructional leadership include influencing decisions about time-on-task, class organization, and curriculum. Also one must consider actions that adequately "buffer" the classroom and provide useful feedback to teachers (Bossert et al., 1982; Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984; Pitner, 1988).

Though our understanding of teaching and learning is far from complete, recent research on classrooms has identified important features of instruction, classroom organization, curriculum and evaluation that can be shaped by principals' leadership.

A. Time-on-Task

Studies have shown that the amount of time that students are engaged in a learning activity, especially at the most efficient "success rate," is associated with higher student achievement (Bossert, 1986). Through observation and feedback to teachers about student engagement, both informally and in staff development programs, principals may be able to increase the amount of time on task in secondary classrooms and, concomitantly, student achievement (Stallings, 1980).

B. Class Size and Composition

Research shows that class size and the distribution of abilities within classrooms can affect learning (see Bossert, 1986). While most of the data on class size has been collected in elementary schools, evidence indicates that class size interacting with other variables can also affect performance at the secondary level (Bennett, 1987). Secondary principals may be able to limit class size in some courses to enhance student performance. The assignment of students could be altered to take advantage of class size effects.

C. Curriculum

Curriculum content, alignment, and pacing can be examined at the school or classroom level. While the degree of learning produced by certain types of curricula has not been adequately studied, there is some indication that the sequencing, pacing, and coverage of the curriculum may influence student learning in high schools (see Bossert,

1986; English, 1988; Powell, et al., 1985). Curriculum decisions remain largely the domain of teachers and departments in most high schools, but principals sometimes foster specific curricular goals and, in addition, provide support and time in the schedule so that interested teachers can work together to improve the alignment and quality of curricula (Bird & Little, 1985; Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984). Thus, principals can lead teachers in a concerted effort to align curricula, specify content, and arrange the pacing of materials to improve classroom achievement.

Studies suggest that secondary schools frequently rely mostly on textbooks, student preferences, or "teacher improvisation" to determine the curriculum rather than developing curricula more systematically by specifying the school's learning objectives, teaching processes, and content requirements (Ball & Lacey, 1984; Powell et al., 1985; Sedlak et al., 1986). In a study of effective secondary schools, Corcoran & Wilson (1986) discovered schools where teachers who were involved in curriculum design and improvement produced curricula that were coherent and aligned with school goals. Class schedules were arranged to allow teachers to work together on curricula, objectives were regularly re-examined for consistency and importance, and leaders' attentions were on this domain.

Buffering the classroom. Applying organizational theory to the analysis of effective schools, Hawley and Rosenholtz (1984), Bossert (1986), and Rossmiller (1988) argue that principals need to be able to "buffer" the classroom as a part of instructional management. Principals can lessen classroom interruptions, protect teachers from irate parents, lessen the non-instructional demands on teachers, insure the adequate and timely flow of resources to teachers and decrease the "pull-out" programs that fragment lessons. These buffering behaviors may help increase the focus and quality of teaching and learning.

Observing and supervising teachers. Secondary school teaching involves a highly complex set of tasks that require constant decision-making and problem solving as well as the direct supervision and motivation of large numbers of differentially attentive adolescents. Recent studies of effective secondary schools (Corcoran & Wilson, 1986) and instructional leadership in secondary schools (Little & Bird, 1987), have found that observation and supervision is an important factor in the improvement of instruction, in the promotion of norms of achievement and change, in the development of shared technical languages, in the increased motivation of teachers, and in the increased acceptance and use of feedback to improve instruction. The observation of teachers by principals and others along with constructive rather than judgmental feedback, can be an integral part of technical and cultural change (Little & Bird, 1987).

As Little and Bird (1987) noted, the observation of teaching and constructive feedback to teachers has multiple functions. It can improve teaching by providing useful, technically relevant information on the process and content of classroom instruction. But observation and feedback can also foster the development of shared understandings regarding the teaching-learning process. This process encourages the growth within the school of a shared language about instruction that teachers and administrators can use when

solving instructional problems, designing new curricular offerings, or mentoring new teachers. Observation and feedback can also shape norms to make peer observation, informal mentoring, and collegial support more acceptable. As Hawley and Rosenholtz (1984) and Rosenholtz (1985) argue, such norms of collegiality may increase teachers' interactions about instruction and facilitate problem solving about classroom processes. Observation and feedback may signal that high-quality instruction is a priority, a valued function of schools. Surprisingly, this signal is not always sent clearly or received by secondary school teachers. Thus, when principals observe teachers and provide feedback, they may be improving the technical environment of the classroom as well as the normative culture of teachers.

SECONDARY PRINCIPALS AND SCHOOL CULTURE

Beyond efforts to affect teaching in the classroom directly, principals also affect instruction by developing a school culture. It is important that the principal foster staff commitment to the school's goals (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Schein, 1985; Selznick, 1960). Students of organizational change and improvement cite the importance of organizational norms and values in the effective transformation and improvement of schools (Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984; Little, 1982; Little & Bird, 1987; Rosenholtz, 1985; Wilson & Firestone, 1987). Indeed, much attention is now focused on the ways principals and others shape the norms, values and beliefs of teachers and students to enhance student learning and other valued outcomes (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Lightfoot, 1983; Peterson, 1988; Wilson & Firestone, 1987). What is school culture and how can instructional leaders influence it?

"School culture" has been variously defined (Deal, 1985) as the unconscious set of commonly shared norms, values, and beliefs that exist in a school to shape behavior and interactions or, more colloquially, "the way things are done around here" (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Deal & Peterson, 1988). School culture is the implicit set of understandings that shapes teachers' views of reality, of teaching, and of the purposes of schooling.

What are the characteristics of instructionally effective school cultures? In several studies, more effective schools were likely to have teachers who shared norms of collegiality, norms of achievement, and norms of continuous improvement (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984; Little & Bird, 1987). These norms reinforce behaviors of teachers and others that increase the flow of technical information and teacher motivation.

How do these norms support high-quality instruction and student learning? Norms of collegiality are shared expectations that teachers and other colleagues will cooperate, exchange ideas about teaching, and provide assistance when requested (Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984; Little, 1982). Norms of achievement refer to the agreement that students and teachers will work diligently to achieve what is valued in the school (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984; Little & Bird, 1987). For students, this involves working to succeed in academic work, while for teachers, this means working hard at teaching,

spending time grading papers, or exerting special effort to improve curricula. Norms of continuous improvement are teachers' shared expectations that they will regularly seek to improve what they are doing in the classroom, will frequently attend seminars, conferences, and classes, and continuously experiment with new, more effective ways of teaching.

How do principals cultivate such norms among teachers? In one study, Keedy (1982) found that principals regularly reinforced and rewarded particular beliefs about appropriate behavior. In a secondary analysis of case studies of elementary and secondary school principals, Deal and Peterson (1988) identified several concrete ways that principals shape school-level norms by communicating a vision for the school and establishing rituals and traditions. Other studies also have noted the ways principals mold the instructional culture and norms among teachers to foster improved teaching and learning (Rossman, Corbett, & Firestone, 1988; Rossmiller, 1988; Wilson & Firestone, 1985).

Although we lack longitudinal studies of norm-setting, the literature suggests several ways in which principals can influence norms among teachers and school culture (Schein, 1985). They reinforce teachers who work as a team, who work hard and who try out new ideas (Keedy, 1982; Schein, 1985). They may react strongly when the norms and values they held firmly were violated (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Lightfoot, 1983). Principals can affect instructional culture by modeling and teaching specific skills in formal or informal supervision, and by coaching teachers on instructional behavior (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Little, 1982; Schein, 1985). In one instance the high school principal regularly taught a section of a history course, in another the principal helped teachers learn a new instructional methodology, and in another the principal gave pointers, tips, and suggestions for improving a lesson (Deal, 1985; Deal & Peterson, 1988). In these cases technical improvement of teaching occurred, but the principal also symbolically reinforced the norms of improvement and risk-taking.

Leaders may also affect school norms by selectively rewarding staff (Schein, 1985). In one school, teachers who sought new ways to teach were afforded extra money for conference attendance (Deal & Peterson, 1988). [illegible]pals may reward teachers who help students during planning periods or who work [illegible] hours. The rewards need not be financial; they can involve new professional opportu[illegible]ties such as participation in special teams, or symbolic recognition, such as a letter of thanks or praise during a faculty meeting.

The recruitment, selection, and removal of teachers by principals may be based on the teachers' technical abilities and on their educational values and beliefs (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984). For example, in several case studies, researchers found that principals carefully interviewed teachers to ascertain their commitment to norms of collegiality, performance, and improvement and later removed teachers who did not fit into the culture (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Lightfoot, 1983).

Strong school instructional cultures are sometimes developed and maintained by ceremonies, rituals, and traditions that communicate the culture to newcomers and reinforce

the culture for the old guard (Deal, 1985; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Deal & Peterson, 1988; Dwyer, 1985; Rossman, Corbett, & Firestone, 1988; Wilson & Firestone, 1987). In some high schools, principals regularly recount stories of the accomplishments of teachers and students, of the successes of the school, and the heroic efforts of staff members who help students succeed (Deal, 1985; Deal & Peterson, 1988). They provide the opportunity for seasoned school members to celebrate the values of the culture and for newcomers to see the meaning and purpose of the organization.

To summarize, instruction can be improved in part by improving the "ethos" or "culture" of schools (Deal, 1985; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Rutter et al., 1979). That is, by trying to develop general norms of collegiality, performance and achievement which themselves seem to stimulate more effective interaction and behavior among staff. Although we do not yet have systematic evidence of the degree to which high-quality instruction and student learning are associated with variations in school culture, early findings suggest significant relationships.

INITIATING AND FACILITATING SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

From early research on program implementation and curriculum reform to more recent work on school improvement and effective schools research, researchers have found that principals play key roles in facilitating effective, institutionalized school improvement (Fullan, 1985; Manasse, 1985). School leaders can approach school improvement in different ways. Sometimes improvement is incremental, with changes occurring gradually in small steps (see Table 2). At other times, improvement is more radical, with changes occurring more quickly and transforming substantial aspects of school and/or classroom processes and structures. School improvement may follow programmatic efforts (Figure 2) such as the introduction of new mathematics or physics curricula or it may rely more on informal processes, without special programs or formalized structures.

Examples of these types of school improvement approaches are provided in Table 2. Non-programmatic, incremental improvements would be illustrated, for example, in efforts to renew the school's culture where improvement proceeds slowly through an informal social process. Non-programmatic, yet radical improvement, might occur when an entirely new group of teachers is hired for a department; the intent is to transform the department's approach to instruction, but without necessarily implementing a specific planned curriculum. Incremental, programmatic improvement occurs when there are formal activities in the school to identify and implement gradual change efforts. These might include school improvement committees, the use of management by objectives or some other regular planning process. Here improvement is less dramatic, but it is systematic. Radical, programmatic improvement was attempted occasionally in the 1960s when major innovations such as team teaching, PSSC physics and modular scheduling changed key aspects of high schools.

Much research on school improvement has described the ways principals and teachers respond to major change efforts involving the development and application of new or different programs (Corbett, Dawson, & Firestone, 1984; Fullan, 1982). Recently, the research on school improvement has documented how schools have worked to improve the school as a whole through school improvement teams or committees (Clark, Lotto, & Astuto, 1984) or, also, through non-programmatic efforts (Peterson, 1986). Research suggests that both programmatic and non-programmatic improvement efforts can be effective if they respond to the special contextual factors of the school (Corbett, Dawson & Firestone, 1984; Fullan, 1982, 1985; Peterson, 1986). In the more effective improvement efforts, researchers found that principals were able to garner adequate resources of time and money, identify and supply valued incentives to staff involved with the changes, develop needed linkages between staff and other sources of ideas and support, find ways to overcome teacher factionalism, cope with turnover of key staff, connect the change effort to both prior and current practice, and engage in sequential planning (Corbett, Dawson & Firestone, 1984).

Fullan's (1985) review of change studies produced similar conclusions. He found that principals are more successful in improving instruction when they have (1) a "feel for the improvement process," (2) support and communicate a "guiding value system" that shapes the school's mission, (3) engage in "intense interaction and communication" about the change efforts, and (4) support "collaborative planning and implementation" (p. 400). Additionally, Hawley and Rosenholtz (1984) argued that principals help schools improve by shaping workplace norms and values as they work closely with teachers on improvement efforts and facilitate teacher-teacher interactions about instructional issues.

In almost all the studies, then, principals p ayed a key role in the improvement effort, though that role differed across schools or types of improvement (Fullan, 1982, 1985; Hall & Hord, 1987). The Hall and Hord (1987) study of secondary principals found that principals may act as (1) responders to change, helping others to organize change, (2) managers of change, helping to support and encourage improvement, or (3) initiators of change, actively leading and managing the change effort. Principals who helped initiate change in instructional domains were more likely to see substantial changes in teaching and learning processes.

Thus, another route to instructional leadership in schools is the initiation, support and leadership of broader improvement efforts. Presently, there is no definitive evidence on the "best approach" to school improvement (incremental or radical; programmatic or non-programmatic). Rather, it appears that principals may need to shape improvement efforts according to the unique set of historical, social and organizational properties in their schools.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SECONDARY INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP

Little doubt remains that being an instructional leader in a secondary school is difficult and involves a complex set of decisions about time, resources, personnel and instruction. The particular combination of actions that secondary principals should take in any particular school setting are not clearly documented in research. But there is wide agreement that secondary principals can influence the quality of instruction and student learning. The examples below illustrate how this can happen.

Instructional Leadership in A Suburban Setting

Principals in suburban high schools are often perceived to have few problems motivating students or improving instruction, but this is far from the case. Suburban schools can fall prey to mediocrity, intransigence, and goal displacement as easily as others. One example is Hank Cotton, a principal who shaped instruction and encouraged leadership qualities in others over more than a dozen years at Cherry Creek High School in suburban Denver (Deal & Peterson, 1988).

When he arrived, Cotton found truancy, a smorgasbord of course offerings, little curriculum articulation or coordination, questionable instructional approaches, and lack of consensus over the core purposes of Cherry Creek High School. Within the first semester Cotton began to articulate new goals and to build support for a more traditional, academically focused school. He did this through administrative decisions (enforcing the attendance policy and following through on sanctions) and by communicating with constituents (speaking to numerous parent, student and teacher groups about the academic purposes of the school). In the short run, these new policies and pronouncements produced conflict, disagreement, and only occasional pockets of support. Over a period of time, however, they built norms of achievement.

Over the next half-dozen years, the principal continued to reinforce the academic goals of the school by carefully selecting department chairs and teachers, then persuading them of the academic mission of the school. He did this by communicating his vision in spoken and written words (memoranda, policies, and bumper stickers), in action and ceremony (providing money for academic awards ceremonies and attending non-athletic competitions such as debate tournaments), in symbolic ways (spending time on instructional problems and teaching a class) and directly (by providing time for faculty to meet to reflect on the goals of the school). This approach to developing a shared sense of purpose took the time and attention of the principal and other administrators, deans, and department chairs whom he appointed.

The principal of Cherry Creek also influenced the instructional organization of the school, working indirectly through the assistant principals, department chairs, and teachers. During the early years, he directed departments to re-examine their curricula and to sharpen the focus of many courses, to decrease elective offerings and to build stronger

conceptual relationships among the courses. Once principal-appointed department chairpersons were in place, curriculum revision occurred more regularly, initiated most often at the department level.

Cotton communicated his concern for student performance during regular visits to teachers' classrooms, his personal review of student grades and performance on national achievement tests, and new administrative information systems that tracked student grades on a quarterly basis. It appears that these actions helped increase teachers' attention to student performance.

Cotton also buffered the classroom from interruptions and shielded teachers from non-academic tasks. Increased sanctions for tardiness and decreased announcements gave teachers more uninterrupted time to teach. The principal relieved teachers of many non-teaching responsibilities such as hall monitoring and lunchroom duty. This provided teachers more time to spend on building the instructional program and working with colleagues. It also established the primacy of student academic work and teacher professionalism.

Classroom observation, evaluation, and provision of feedback to teachers increased under Cotton's leadership. Beginning with the most talented teachers in the school, he instituted a new evaluation system that gave teachers considerably more feedback on their performance than they had received previously. Using assistant principals and department chairs, the principal expanded this process of extensive monitoring and feedback to other teachers. Over time some teachers left and, it appears, some marginal teachers refused to transfer to the school due to reports of rigorous feedback and high expectations. Teachers came to view the high expectations for instruction as a "badge of honor" rather than an onerous demand.

Rigorous evaluation and high expectations were supported by the particular norms of collegiality and continuous improvement that the principal fostered. Cotton reports that he consciously sought teachers who were good at what they did, and who were always looking for new approaches, new ways of reaching students, new ideas for the classroom. In addition, he made resources available to teachers who wanted to attend seminars, conferences, or university coursework. He facilitated collegiality by scheduling teachers to have preparation periods in common as well as hiring teachers who valued working collaboratively on projects. Following his initial demands for change, department chairpersons and teachers began to suggest and push for school improvement activities.

It took many years for Cotton to raise the high school to the level of excellence and professionalism it now enjoys. But important improvements in instruction, curriculum and student performance occurred, first through his first 3-4 years of leadership and later, indirectly as he nurtured the leadership of assistant principals, department chairs, and teachers.

Instructional Leadership in Urban Settings

Urban principals face special problems, more demanding than those found in suburban settings (Morris, et al., 1984), which make it more difficult to act as instructional leaders. The problems of safety and discipline in urban high schools often pull time and resources away from instructional areas. Often, large district bureaucracies and complex teacher contracts increase the reporting demands of principals and lessen their ability to hire and transfer staff. In working with students, urban principals must find time to deal with multiple social service agencies, the police, and the correctional system. Although urban principals on average appear not to spend much time on systematic instructional or curricular improvement efforts, qualitative studies illustrate that it is possible for these administrators to initiate, facilitate, and support improvement efforts.

In one study of secondary schools selected as exemplary, faculty members in one urban school wrote (Corcoran & Wilson, 1986):

> Our principal articulates the goals (of our school) clearly so all staff are aware of priorities. He works to keep the goals in focus by reinforcing them in faculty meetings and the principal's newsletter. Most importantly, he models his expectations. Improving instruction is our number one goal. The principal emphasizes and models this expectation by making frequent classroom visitations, supporting appropriate staff development, and allocating much of his time and energy for our instructional programs. He recognizes and reinforces good instruction through formal avenues and by personal intervention. His credibility as an instructional leader is enhanced by his active participation in staff development as a presenter of clinical supervision precepts. The staff are aware that their principal not only values good instruction, but knows what it is and practices it himself (p. 40).

Other urban secondary school principals use some of the same approaches. Lightfoot (1983), in her descriptions of "good" high schools, noted that the principals of the New York and Atlanta high schools she studied actively communicated the academic goals and mission of the schools to parents, students, staff, and faculty in meetings, informal contacts, and in writing. Teachers were selected in part because they shared the instructional "vision" of the principal. The attention the principal paid to student performance reinforced the message that student learning was paramount. These principals tried to develop a shared sense of purpose through their own actions and through the people they hired.

Urban secondary school principals, as reported in several studies, also shaped their instructional program and with the help of assistant principals and department chairs (Lightfoot, 1983; Bird & Little, 1985). A principal in New York City initiated curricular change in one department, attended meetings, and helped implement the program (Lightfoot, 1983). Other principals organized staff schedules so that teachers could meet

to plan curricular improvements, and they delineated staff responsibilities so that there could be greater concentration on curriculum and instruction (see Hawley & Rosenholtz, 1984). These principals shaped the administrative features of the school to smooth the way for teachers to spend time both on an individual basis and collectively to improve curriculum and instruction.

Principals in urban schools may also increase the quantity and quality of supervision and feedback to teachers about instruction. At Bolton High School, an inner-city high school with students from lower income areas, the principal substantially increased classroom observations and teacher evaluations, thus providing concrete feedback on performance and communicating the importance of teaching (Bird & Little, 1985). Urban principals in the Lightfoot (1983) study spent a good deal of time visiting classrooms for short times and talking with teachers about the importance of student achievement.

Lightfoot (1983) reported that urban principals shaped the instructional efforts and focus of teachers by developing and reinforcing school cultures that valued quality teaching, curricular coherence, and student performance. Mastruzzi, the principal of Kennedy High School in New York City, built a school culture that valued student diversity, believing that all students could achieve academically (Lightfoot, 1983). He selected teachers who held the same values, reinforced those values through school traditions and ceremonies, and showed his personal interest in all students and their capabilities.

Urban principals may be able to foster greater attention to instruction, enhanced collegiality among staff, and continuous school-wide improvement by building a shared sense of purpose and reinforcing norms that enhance, rather than restrict, teacher commitment, motivation and interaction. Though many urban principals find it difficult to escape from the daily press of non-instructional, managerial and disciplinary tasks, these examples illustrate that greater attention to culture building, instructional management, and school improvement is possible.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Many behaviors contribute to instructional leadership, but several key themes are evident from research and theory. First, in secondary schools, though principals may act as a key source of instructional leadership, that function is also shared with assistant principals, department chairs and teachers. Second, instructional leadership in high schools often attends to both the technical side of the school by configuring and managing the instructional process and to the cultural side of the school, by molding the norms, values, and beliefs of teachers (Deal & Peterson, 1988; Little & Bird, 1987; Wilson & Firestone, 1985). Attention to the technology of teaching alone will overlook a key set of factors that influence quality teaching and student outcomes.

Third, high school principals may shape improvement through either: (1) building a capacity for change by engaging in direct observation and feedback to teachers, and continuously fine-tuning the instructional machinery or (2) planned change efforts that incorporate systematic and organized processes that draw on the resources of administrators, teachers, and department chairs. Different contextual factors will probably influence which approach or approaches are most appropriate and most likely to produce positive results. Some high schools have the staff time and talent to make effective use of incremental approaches, while other high schools may need more dramatic interventions. Instructional leaders of the school may work together to identify the most effective leverage points for improvement.

Fourth, secondary school principals may act directly as instructional leaders, but they also can cultivate, encourage, and develop instructional leadership in others. The size and complexity of most secondary schools requires more than one person to inspire instructional improvement. Thus, part of effective leadership by principals in secondary schools is the delegation and nurturance of internal leaders and the linkage to other sources of leadership.

Fifth, secondary principals exercise instructional leadership through small, individual actions. They exert leadership during the brief, demanding, complex tasks filling their days. They signal what is meaningful and important, solve organizational problems affecting classrooms, and build commitment.

Finally, instructional leadership may be enhanced by clarity of purpose and a shared sense of school mission. It appears that principals with a vision for their schools are better able to shape their own hectic work lives to foster quality instruction, motivate others, and build effective cultures.

The quality of leadership is evident not simply in dramatic policy or program initiatives. Instead, it is embedded in all the decisions principals make, the problems they solve, and the interactions they have with students and teachers. Principals' daily routines vary substantially from school to school. Nonetheless, instructional leadership, when properly configured and continuously applied, may have a substantial influence on the culture of the school, instructional and curricular processes, and student performance.

Table 2

Structure and Magnitude of Instructional Change

		Magnitude of Change	
		Incremental	**Radical**
Structure of Process	Non-programmatic	Culture of Renewal	Hiring new English Department
	Programmatic	MBO or Planning Planning	Team Teaching PSSC Physics

REFERENCES

Acheson, K. (1985). The principal's role in instructional leadership, 28(8). Eugene: University of Oregon, Oregon School Study Council.

Ball, S. J., & Lacey, C. (1984). Subject disciplines as the opportunity for group action: A measured critique of subject subcultures. In A. Hargreaves, & P. Woods, (Eds.), classrooms and staffrooms: The sociology of teachers and teaching. Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press.

Bennett, S. (1987). New dimensions in research on class size and academic achievement. Madison, WI: National Center on Effective Secondary Schools.

Bird, T., & Little, J. W. (1985). Instructional leadership in eight secondary schools. Boulder, Co: Center for Action Research, Inc.

Blumberg, A., & Greenfield, W. (1980). The effective principal: Perspectives on school leadership. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bossert, S. T. (1986). Instructional Management. In G. Hoyle, (Ed.), World yearbook of education 1986: The management of schools. New York: Nichols Publishing Co.

Bossert, S., Dwyer, D., Rowan, B., & Lee, G. (1982). The instructional management role of the principal. Educational Administration Quarterly, 19(3), 34-64.

Boyd, W., & Crowson, R. (1982). The changing conception and practice of public school administration. In D. Berlinger (Ed.), Review of Research in Education, (pp. 9, 311-272). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Clark, D., Lotto, L. S., & Astuto, T. A. (1984). Effective schools and school improvement: A comparative analysis of two lines of inquiry. Educational Administration Quarterly, 20(3), 41-68.

Corbett, H. D., Dawson, J. A., & Firestone, W.A. (1984). School context and school change. New York: Teachers College Press.

Corcoran, T. B., & Wilson, B. L. (1986). The search for successful secondary schools: The first three years of the secondary school recognition program. Philadelphia, PA: Research for Better Schools.

Deal, T. E. (1985, May). The Symbolism of Effective Schools. The Elementary School Journal, 85 (5), 602-620.

Deal, T. E., & Kennedy, A. A. (1982). Corporate Cultures: The rites and rituals of corporate life. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Deal, T. E., & Peterson, K. D. (1988). Symbolic leadership and the school principal: Shaping school cultures in different contexts. Manuscript prepared for United States Office of Education.

Duckworth, K. (1983). Specifying determinants of teacher and principal work. Eugene, OR: Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon.

Dwyer, D. (1985). Frances Hedges: A case study of instructional leadership. The Peabody Journal of Education, 63,(1), 19-87.

Edstrom, A., & Galbraith, J. R. (1977). Transfer of managers as a coordination and control strategy in multinational organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly, 22, 248-263.

English, F. W. (1988). Toward a contextually grounded curriculum. Improving the Curriculum: The principal's challenge. Reston, VA: National Association of Secondary School Principals.

Finley, M. (1984). Teachers and tracking in a comprehensive high school. Sociology of Education, 57, 233-243.

Fullan, M. (1982). The meaning of educational change. New York: Teachers College Press.

Fullan, M. (1985). Change processes and strategies at the local level, The Elementary School Journal, 85, 391-421.

Ginsberg, R. (1988). Principals as instructional leaders: An ailing panacea. Education and Urban Society, 20(3), 276-293.

Greenfield, W. (1987). Moral imagination and interpersonal competence: Antecedents to institutional leadership. In W. Greenfield (Ed.), Instructional leadership: Concepts, issues and controversies (pp. 56-73). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Hall, G. E., & Hord, S. M. (1987). Change in schools: Facilitating the process. New York: State University of New York Press.

Hallinger, P., & Murphy, J. (1985). Instructional leadership and school socioeconomic status: A preliminary investigation. Administrator's Notebook, 31(5), 1-4.

Hallinger, P., & Murphy, J. (1987, September). Assessing and developing principal instructional leadership. Educational Leadership, 45(1), 55-62.

Hawley, W. D., & Rosenholtz, S. (1984). Good Schools: What research says about improving academic achievement. Peabody Journal of Education, 61(4), 53-83.

Jones, P. (1988). How can secondary school principals influence student achievement? Canadian Administrator, 27(6), 1-9.

Joyce, B. R., & Showers, B. (1983). Power in staff development through research on training. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Kaufman, H. (1960). The forest ranger: A study in administrative behavior. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Keedy, J. L. (1982). Norm setting as a component of principal effectiveness. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.

Kerr, S., & Jermier, J. (1978). Substitutes for leadership: Their meaning and measurement. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 22(3), 375-403.

Kmetz, J. T., & Willower, D. J. (1982). Elementary school principals' work behavior. Educational Administration Quarterly 18(4), 62-78.

Kroeze, David J. (1984). Effective principals as instructional leaders: New directions for research. Administrators Notebook, 30(9), 1-4.

Lightfoot, S. L. (1983). The good high school. New York: Basic Books.

Little, J. W. (1988). Conditions of professional development in secondary schools. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley, Center for the Study of Teaching in the School Context.

Little, J. W. (1982). Norms of collegiality and experimentation: Workplace conditions of school success. American Educational Research Journal, 19(3), 325-340.

Little, J. W., & Bird, T. (1987). Instructional leadership "Close to the Classroom" in secondary schools. In W. Greenfield (Ed.), Instructional leadership: Concepts, issues and controversies, (pp. 118-138). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Lortie, D. C. (1975). Schoolteacher. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lucy, J. R. (1983). Span of control and its relationship to allocated time on task of the department chairperson. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

Manasse, A. L. (1985). Improving conditions for principal effectiveness: Policy implications of research. The Elementary School Journal, 85(3), 138-162.

March, J. G. (1978). American public school administration: A short analysis. School Review, 86, 217-250.

Martin, W. J. (1980). The managerial behavior of high school principals. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Pennsylvania State University.

Martin, W. J., & Willower, D. J. (1981). The managerial behavior of high school principals. Educational Administration Quarterly, 17(1), 69-80.

Mechanic, D. (1962). Sources of power of lower participants in complex organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1(3), 349-65.

Mintzberg, H. (1973). The nature of managerial work. New York: Harper & Row.

Morris, V., Crowson, L., Porter-Gehrie, C., & Hurwitz, E. (1984). Principals in action. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.

Murphy, J. (In press). Principal instructional leadership. In L. S. Lotto & P. W. Thurston (Eds.), Advances in Educational Administration. Greenwich, CT: JA Press.

Murphy, J. F., Weil, M., Hallinger, P., & Mitman, A. (1982). Academic press: Translating high expectations into school policies and classroom practices. Educational Leadership, 40(3), 22-26.

Peterson, K. D. (1986, November). Non-programmatic school improvement: Themes and patterns. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mid-South Educational Research Association, Memphis, TN.

Peterson, K. D. (1977-1978). The principal's tasks. Administrator's Notebook, 26(8), 1-4.

Peterson, K. D., & Bickman, L. (1985). Antecedents of principal instructional leadership: A quantitative study. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.

Pitner, N. J. (1988). The study of administrator effects and effectiveness. In N. J. Boyan (Ed.), Handbook of research on educational administration: A project of the American Research Association, (pp. 99-119). New York: Longman.

Pitner, N. J. (1986). Substitutes for principal leadership behavior: An exploratory study. Educational Administration Quarterly, 21(2), 23-42.

Powell, A. G., Farrar, E. & Cohen, D. K. (1985). The shopping mall high school. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

Purkey, S. C., & Smith, M. S. (1983). Effective schools: A review. Elementary School Journal, 83(4), 427-452.

Rosenholtz, S. J. (1985). Effective schools: Interpreting the evidence. American Journal of Education, 93(3), 352-388.

Rossman, G. B., Corbett, M. D., & Firestone, W. A. (1988). Culture, change, and effectiveness. Albany: SUNY Press.

Rossmiller, R.A. (1988). Secondary school principals and the quality of teachers' work life. Madison, Wisconsin: National Center on Effective Secondary Schools.

Rowen, B., & Denk, C. (1984). Management succession: School socioeconomic context. and basic skills attainment. American Educational Research Journal, 21(3), 517-537.

Rutter, M., Maugham, B., Mortimer, P., Ouston, J., & Smith, A. (1979). Fifteen thousand hours: Secondary schools and their effects on children. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Schein, E. N. (1985). Organizational culture and leadership. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Sedlak, M. W., Wheeler, C. W., Pullin, D. C. & Cusick, P. A. (1986). Selling students short: Classroom bargains and academic reform in the American high school. New York: Teachers College Press.

Selznick, P. (1957). Leadership and administration. New York: Harper and Row.

Stallings, Jane A. (1980). Allocated academic learning time revisited, or beyond time on task. Educational Researcher, 9, 11-16.

Willis, Q. (1980). The work activity of school principals: An observational study. The Journal of Educational Administration, 18(1), 27-54.

Wilson, B., & Firestone, W. (1987). The principal and instruction: Combining bureaucratic and cultural linkages. Educational Leadership, 45(1), 18-29.

ENDNOTE

1. Pitner (1987) as well as Kerr and Jermier (1978)'s definition of "substitutes" is somewhat contradictory for they define "substitutes" as properties of the subordinate, task, or organization may replace leadership or that may neutralize leadership. In the present discussion, "substitutes" will denote only those factors that could conceivably replace principal leadership behaviors.