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ABSTRACT
                During 1983 and 1984, 202 high schools were selected
for national recognition as exemplary institutions through the
Secondary School Recognition Program (SSRP) of the United States
Department of Education. This paper identifies factors common to
successful secondary schools and develops propositions about
secondary school effectiveness. Data were analyzed from the following
sources: school applications, site report visits, and transcripts of
discussions between site visitors and SSRP panelists. Successful
secondary schools exhibited the following characteristics: clearly
defined and agreed-upon goals; high expectations; a high level of
professional collaboration; positive and open student-teacher
relationships; management of change; strong instructional leadership;
a high level of community involvement; a high level of
extracurricular participation; and a balance between control and
delegation. The data suggest that the two competing theories of
organizational success--the school effectiveness model and the
excellence model--are partial theories that may complement each
other. High productivity best described the SSRP schools, in that
they combined effective techniques with strong work cultures. Nine
tables are included. (LMI)

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THE SECONDARY SCHOOL RECOGNITION PROGRAM:
A FIRST REPORT ON 202 HIGH SCHOOLS

by
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July 1985

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THE SECONDARY SCHOOL RECOGNITION PROGRAM:
A FIRST REPORT ON 202 HIGH SCHOOLS

During 1983 and 1984, 202 high schools were selected for national

recognition as exemplary institutions through the Secondary School Recogni-

tion Program (SSRP) of the United States Department of Education. In the

process of selection, considerable information about these schools has been

gathered through a program application and a site visit. This information

includes data on 14 attributes of success defined by the SSRP staff which

are based upon their review of the school effectiveness research. The

information on the 202 schools has been analyzed by the authors using a

conceptual framework drawn from literature on organizational climate,

culture, and effectiveness. The purposes of this analysis are to identify

factors common to successful secondary schools and to develop propositions

about secondary school effectiveness that can be tested in subsequent studies.

This paper is the first report on this work.

The paper is organized into four parts. The first section provides a

brief overview of the recognition program itself. The second section pre-

sents basic descriptive information on the 202 high schools - their loca-

tions, sizes, proportions of minority enrollment, and graduation standards.

The third section provides a review of the school data to assess the relative

strength of the 14 attributes used by the SSRP as criteria of success.

Also in this section, conditions in the 202 SSRP high schools are compared

to conditions in "typical" schools. In the final section, there is a discus-

sion of the major themes that appear to be associated with success.

Overview of the Program

During the 1982-83 school year, the United States Secretary of Education, T.H. Bell, initiated a program to identify and recognize outstanding secondary schools. The new program was intended to be a positive counter-balance to the critical analysis of public education anticipated from the National Commission on Excellence in Education which was expected to issue its report in the spring of 1983. The stated purposes of the SSRP, as the initiative was labeled, were to identify and recognize exemplary public secondary schools and, through publicity and other means, to encourage the emulation of their successful programs, policies, and practices by practitioners in other schools. The SSRP staff defined 14 criteria or "attributes of success" developed from the effective schools research. An application form and a site visit guide were designed to collect information on these attributes and on multiple outcome measures. The SSRP staff avoided the thorny problem of defining what was "best" or "effective" in secondary education by contending that the schools selected were only exemplary. That is, the schools selected were judged to be representative of the "best" in American secondary education but were not described as being the "best" or "most effective" schools. The staff of the schools selected, of course, often declared themselves to be the best and joined the media in ignoring the program staff's distinction between best and exemplary.

The program was administered by the secretary's office in cooperation with state departments of education. The states distributed the program applications and set up screening processes for their review. These processes varied considerably from state to state. In 1982-83, each state was permitted to nominate five schools in each of two categories: schools for

young adolescents (middle schools and junior high schools) and high schools. In the second year, 1983-84, each state was given a quota for its nominations reflecting its population and the number of eligible schools in the state. In 1982-83, 44 states participated and 396 nominations were submitted. In 1983-84, 48 states, the District of Columbia, and the Department of Defense overseas schools participated and 555 nominations were received.

The applications submitted by the states underwent a three-step review process. First, a national panel convened by the secretary conducted a paper screening of the applications. The 18-member panel was broadly representative of the constituent groups in public education. The paper screening reduced the number of applications by one-half. The remaining schools received a site visit by a person selected by the SSRP staff. The site visitors were researchers, consultants, or administrators with extensive experience in secondary education. They conducted interviews with teachers, administrators, students, and parents, made observations in the building, and prepared reports on the schools. Their reports contain rich information about the perceptions of different stakeholders regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the schools and their roles and influence, as well as descriptions of the climate in the schools and classroom practices. In the final step of the selection process, the national panel reviewed these reports and the school applications, interviewed the site visitors, and made their recommendations to the secretary of education.

In 1983, 88 high schools and 65 schools for young adolescents were selected for recognition and 114 and 90, respectively, were selected in 1984.

After the 1983 SSRP schools were selected, revisions were made in both the application and the site visit process. The quality of the data was

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improved in 1984 through a redesigned application that was organized more explicitly around the 14 "attributes of success," a longer site visit (two days), and increased attention to classroom processes. In addition, the nomination process itself was altered. Each state was given a quota for nominations based upon its population and the total number of eligible schools, and the states were encouraged to use more systematic review procedures.

Background Information on the Schools

The files on the 202 exemplary high schools represent a rich source of information on American secondary education. The data base contains descriptions of school policies and procedures; anecdotes and illustrations that illuminate school cultures; and important indicators of school effectiveness such as enrollments in advanced work, attendance rates, numbers of disciplinary infractions, drop-out rates, and the proportions of graduates entering postsecondary institutions. While the data are not always complete or comparable, analysis of this information can identify key factors associated with school success. The 202 schools represent a unique sample of American high schools. By both reputation and expert review they have been judged successful. Collectively they represent the standard of excellence in public education.

The data on the 202 high schools have been drawn from three sources: the applications submitted by the school administrations, the reports of the SSRP site visitors, and recording of discussions among the site visitors about common characteristics of the schools. The applications contain quantitative information about enrollments, student characteristics,

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staffing patterns, attendance, discipline, and activities of graduates. In some cases, test scores are included but this information typically is incomplete and therefore difficult to assess. The applications also contain information about outstanding school programs, graduation require- ments, school policies, extracurricular activities, community involvement, and school awards and achievements. Specific questions about the 14 attributes of success are included in the 1984 application. And the applica- tions include descriptions of the schools' climate, improvement priorities, and major problems addressed in recent years.

The site visit reports include information from interviews with teachers, support staff, students, parents, and the principal. The inter- views address the roles these groups play in the schools, their sense of the schools' strengths and weaknesses, and the schools' work culture and climate. The site visit reports also include the site visitors' impressions of the facilities, school climate, and, in 1984, a summary of multiple classroom observations. While the reports vary in completeness and detail, they are generally rich in anecdotal evidence and can be used to cross-check claims made in the applications.

A third source of information are the transcripts of discussions among the site visitors and panelists. Following the site visit process in both 1983 and 1984, the site visitors were brought together to meet with the SSRP panelists. In recorded sessions, the site visitors shared their impressions of the schools, identified characteristics common to the schools visited, and discussed the factors they felt contributed most to the success of the schools.

Coding of the data from the applications and the site visit reports was organized by the authors. Descriptive information about enrollment, staffing, and ethnic composition were taken from the applications. Indicators of the 14 attributes of success were defined and coded. In addition, the coders attempted to identify the core values of the school, its improvement priorities, the problems the school had addressed and their status, and the factors that appeared to contribute most to its success. For the 1984 schools, data on the classroom visits were coded.

The coding scheme was based cn variables drawn from the literature on school effectiveness, school improvement, schools as organizations, organizational climate, and related fields of study. While the information in the SSRP files did not permit examination of all the variables of interest, most of the factors included in the contemporary effective school models were included in the analysis. The data analysis also included variables from a competing model of organizational excellence developed by Peters and Waterman (1982) in their study of successful businesses. This model has been applied to schools by others who have noted similarities between successful schools and Peters' and Waterman's eight themes (Yin, Blank, & White, 1984; Clark, Lotto, & Astuto, 1984).

Demographics

Table 1 displays the breakdown of the schools selected in both 1983 and 1984 by the type of communities they served. In both years, over half of the schools selected were located in suburban communities. There was a slight increase in 1984 in the proportion of the schools located in urban areas. Table 2 presents data on the size of the selected high schools. Again the distributions for 1983 and 1984 are similar although the mean

school size was 1456 in 1983 and only 1371 in 1984. The proportion of the student enrollments in these schools from low-income families is presented in Table 3. This distribution is based on school reports of the number of children eligible for the free lunch program. Although about one-seventh of the selected schools reported low-income populations greater than 30 percent, half of the schools reported less than 10 percent of their students were from poor families. Similarly, Table 4 shows that only about one-eighth of the schools had minority enrollments greater than 50 percent while about half had less than 10 percent. The four tables show there was little change in these basic demographics from 1983 to 1984.

Standards

The best information about the academic standards in effect in the selected schools are their course requirements for graduation as reported in their applications. Displayed in Table 5, this information, provides only a crude surrogate for the actual academic standards in the schools. The content of courses with similar titles varies widely and information about the number of students who exceeded these minimum course requirements was not collected. Information was collected, however, on the number of students doing advanced work in the core subject fields but the definitions of advanced work used by the applicants varied so widely that the data cannot be aggregated. The data presented in Table 5 do show the course requirements in the 1984 schools to be higher than those in the 1983 schools, perhaps reflecting the national trend toward more rigorous graduation standards. Specifically, the data indicate that the schools selected in 1984 had higher course requirements for English, mathematics, and science but show little difference in the social studies and foreign language requirements.

TABLE 1

URBANICITY GF SSRP HIGH SCHOOLS
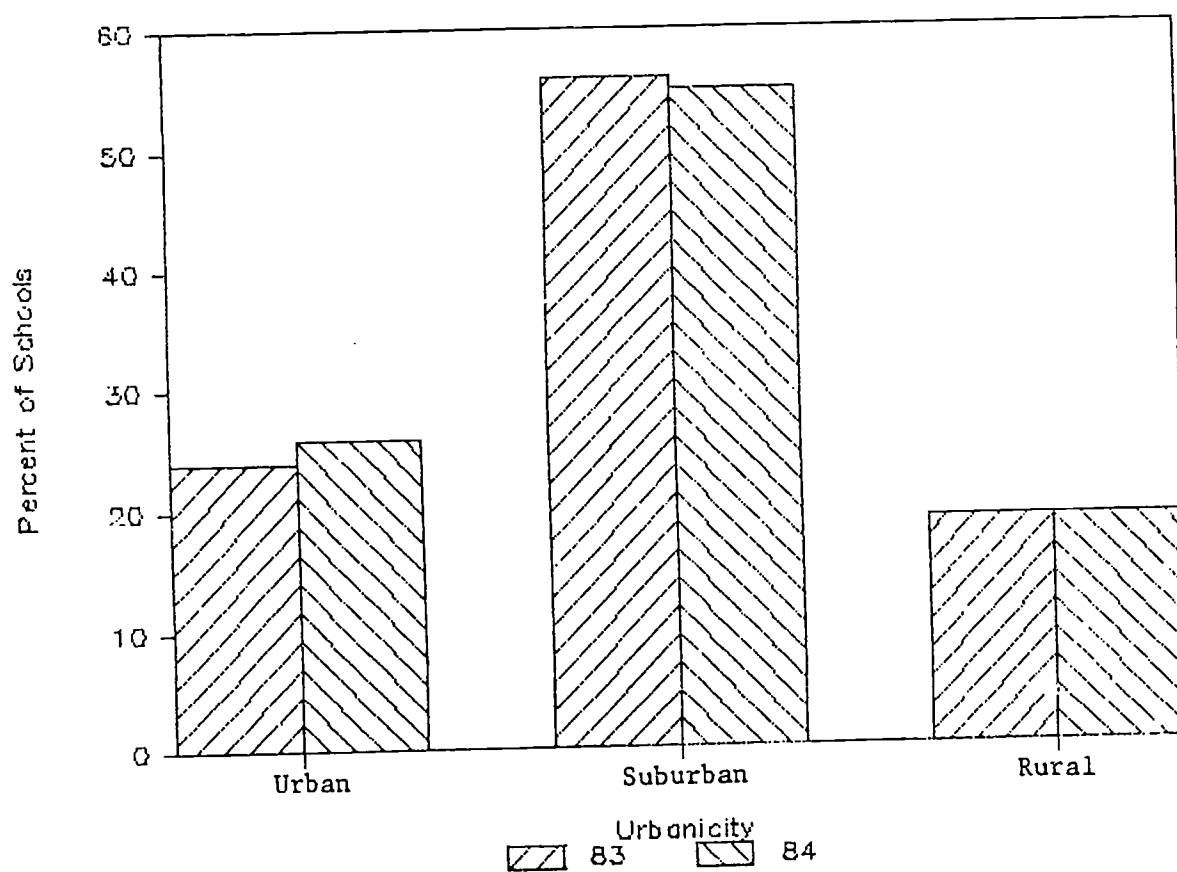
TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT OF SSRP HIGH SCHOOLS

9

13
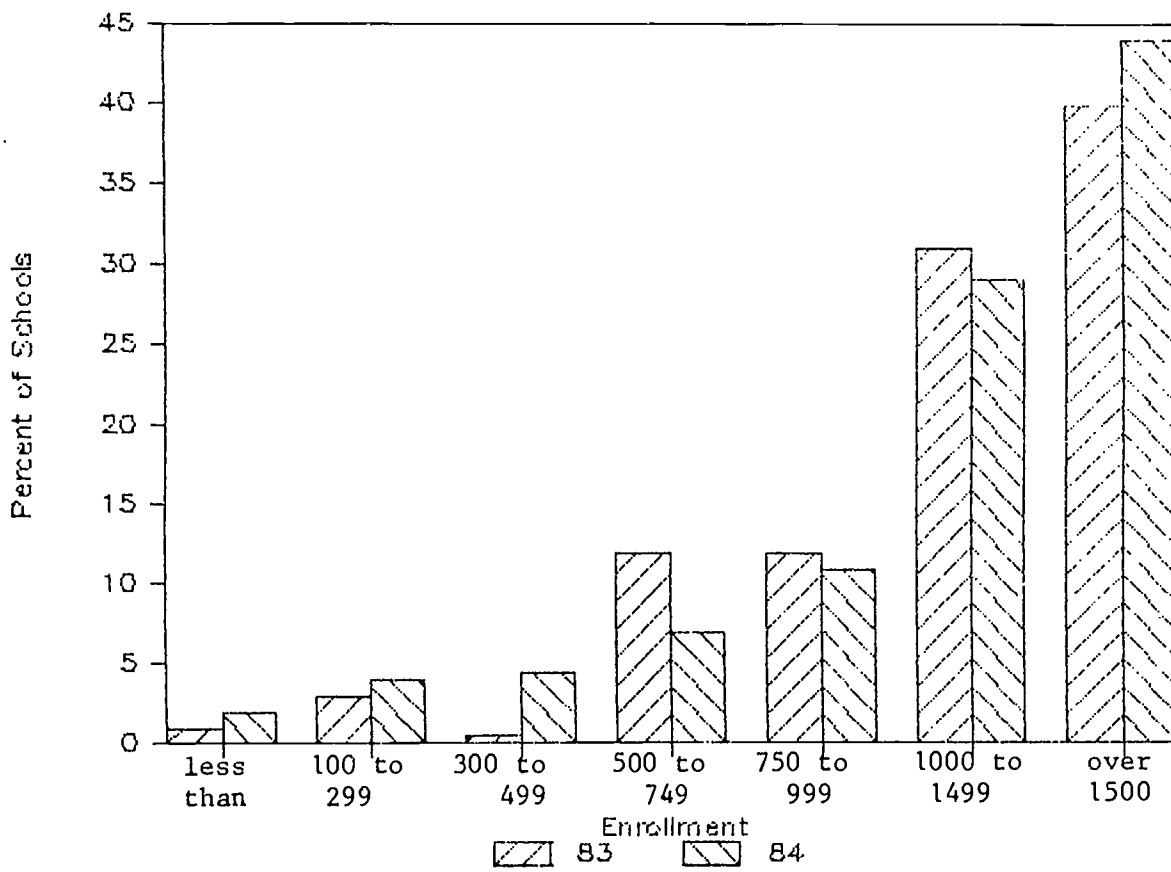
TABLE 3

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN SSRP HIGH SCHOOLS
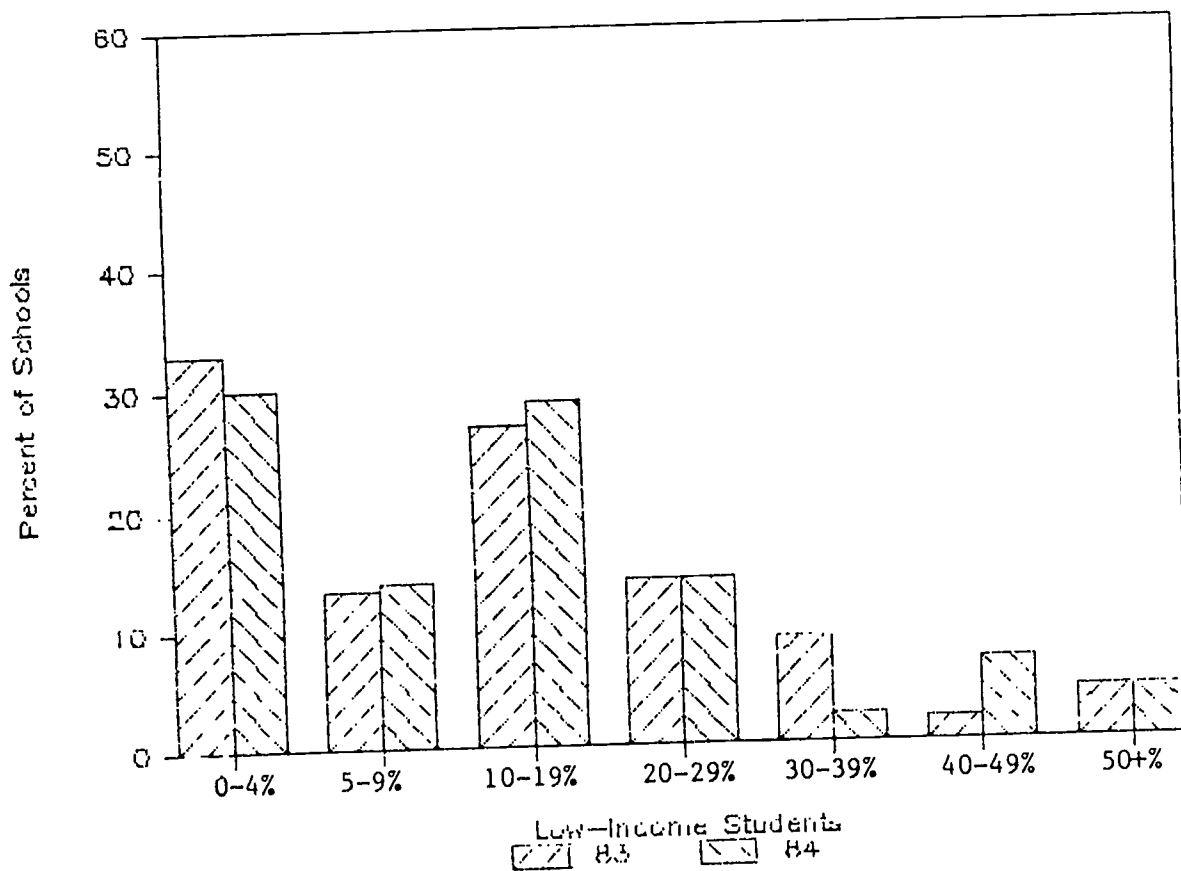
TABLE 4

MINORITY REPRESENTATION OF SSRP HIGH SCHOOLS

Percent of Minority Students

☐ 83   ☐ 84
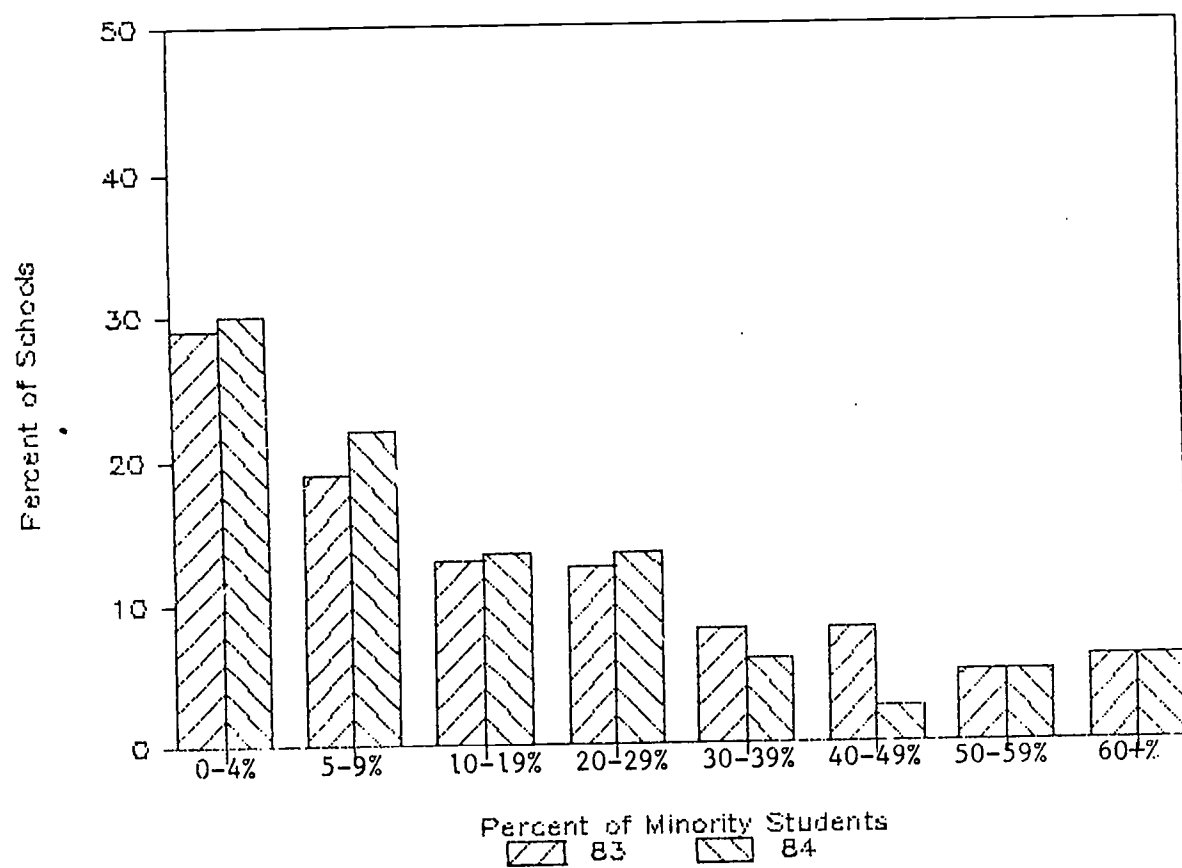
TABLE 5

COURSE REQUIREMENTS IN SSRP SCHOOLS

Subject	Number of Years Required	% of Schools in 1983	% of Schools in 1984
English	2	0	3
	2.5	1	1
	3	26	15
	3.5	5	2
	4.0	68	79
Mathematics	0	2	2
	1	29	19
	1.5	3	1
	2	51	60
	2.5	2	1
	3	13	15
	4	0	2
Social Studies	1.5	1	4
	2	25	19
	2.5	9	13
	3	60	51
	3.5	3	4
	4	1	9
Science	0	1	2
	1	40	34
	1.5	5	2
	2	47	50
	2.5	2	1
	3	6	11
	4	0	1
Foreign Language	0	88	88
	1	5	4
	2	5	7
	3	3	0
	4	0	1
	6	0	1

The SSRP Schools and the Effective Schools Variables

Much of the information gathered and used in the selection of the SSRP
schools was based on critical variables drawn from studies of effective
schools. Table 6 lists these 14 attributes of success and Table 7 includes
the outcome measures, or indicators of success, that were used as indicators
in the selection process. Program staff found it difficult to attain good
information on all of these attributes and, after the first year, SSRP
panelists, site visitors, and others suggested additional indicators that
should be included. As a result, changes were made in both sets of varia-
bles for the 1984 program. Two of the "attributes of success" used in
1983, homework and a variety of teaching strategies, were dropped from the
list of critical variables in 1984 although the program continued to
attempt to collect information on both variables. A new variable, evalua-
tion for instructional improvement, was added. Similarly, the indicators
of success were altered by adding several additional items and revising
others.

Two issues are raised by these lists of outcome and process variables.
First, do the outcome variables represent reasonable criteria for determining
school success? And, second, is the evidence available to the SSRP adequate
to make a determination about the relative strength of the process indicators?

The Outcome Variables

The Council for Effective Schools defines an instructionally effective
school as one which meets the following criteria:

- high and sustained overall achievement when compared to state
  and national performance;

TABLE 6

ATTRIBUTES OF EFFECTIVENESS USED
IN THE SSRP, 1983 and 1984

	1983	1984
Clear Academic and Behavioral Goals	X	X
Order and Discipline	X	X
High Expectations for Students	X	X
Teacher Efficacy	X	X
Rewards and Incentives for Teachers and Students (divided into two items in 1984)	X	X
Positive School Environment (climate)	X	X
Administrative Leadership	X	X
Community Support (and involvement)	X	X
Concentration on Academic Learning Time	X	X
Frequent and Monitored Homework	X	--
Regular and Frequent Monitoring of Student Progress	X	X
Well-Coordinated (articulated) Currricula	X	X
Variety of Teaching Strategies	X	--
Opportunities for Student Responsibility (and participation)	X	X
Evaluation for Instructional Improvement	--	X

TABLE 7

OUTCOME VARIABLES DEFINED AS INDICATORS
OF SUCCESS IN THE SSRP, 1983 AND 1984

	1983	1984
Numbers Going on to Postsecondary Education	X	X
Numbers Entering Military	X	X
Numbers Finding Employment	--	X
Numbers Receiving Scholarships or Other Awards	--	X
Student Performance on Minimum Compentency Tests	X	X
Student Performance on Standard Achievement Tests	X	X
Student Drop-Out Rates	X	X
Students and Staff Attendance	--	X
Suspensions and Other Exclusions	--	X
Awards for Recognition of Outstanding School Programs or Teaching	--	X
Student Participation in Academic Competition	X	X
Student Awards in Academic, Vocational, or Other School-Related Competitions	--	X

- no significant difference in achievement of children from
  different socio-economic or ethnic groups - within or across
  schools; and

- measurement of achievement in reading, language arts, and mathe-
  matics. (Gray, 1984, p. 10)

Most studies of effective schools have used similar criteria and have
relied heavily on standardized tests of basic skills as measures of achieve-
ment. These studies have been conducted, with few exceptions, in elementary
schools. Clearly, these criteria are an inadequate basis for making
judgments about the effectiveness of secondary schools. Numerous reviewers
of the school effectiveness research have noted this problem (Brookover,
1981; Cohen, 1983; Rutter, 1983) but no consensus has emerged as to what
criteria should be used in secondary education.

Brookover, in his review of the literature on effective secondary
schools, defends the use of measures of basic skills, arguing that learning
the basic skills must be the primary criterion since they are the foundation
of all learning. In deference to the broader mission of the secondary
schools, Brookover suggests the addition of criteria in other content areas
including some knowledge of the sciences, social sciences, and humanities.
He also supports the use of a strong equity criterion, calling for evidence
of effectiveness for all students.

Conversely, both basic skills achievement and measures of equity are
rejected as criteria by Rutter (1983) on the grounds that such measures do
not fit the mission of secondary schools. Rutter contends that secondary
schools can play only a marginal role in reducing social inequalities. It
is unlikely, he argues, that changes in schooling can do much to reduce
individual differences unless the schooling of the most advantaged students

is restricted or impaired. Rutter suggests that criteria should be developed in seven categories: scholastic achievement, classroom behavior and discipline, absenteeism, attitudes toward learning, continuation in education, employment, and social functioning.

Newmann, Smith, and Wehlage (1983) suggest five outcome domains for their proposed study of high school effects. Noting the problems of measurement, conceptualization, and disagreement about the purpose that obstruct the evaluation of secondary education, they suggest basic literacy, academic knowledge, higher-order thinking, vocational competence, and social maturity as the critical outcome domains to be assessed. If these areas represent the major outcomes of secondary schooling, then obviously achievement in these domains should be used as the primary criteria of effectiveness.

This brief review of varying perspectives on the critical outcomes of secondary schools suggests something of the range of variables that might be considered as well as the difficulty of reaching any consensus about what is most important. Additional variables could be mentioned; for example, the development and demonstration of skills in the arts and athletics or the formation of character (Grant, 1982).

A review of various perspectives on selecting criteria of effective-ness for secondary schools suggests some general guidelines for developing criteria and collecting indicators (Corcoran, 1985). These include:

- the use of multiple criteria in order to cover the broad mission of the secondary school and avoid distortions;

- the use of measures of achievement in all major curricular areas, measures that fit the school's academic goals;

- the inclusion of indicators of "civility," prosocial behavior, or the absence of anti-social behavior;

- the use of both student outcome measures and indicators of school processes that are demonstrably related to student outcomes;

- the use of a time frame for assessing effectiveness of at least three years in order to provide evidence of sustained success;

- the use of data that permits performance to be compared to the past, state or national norms or standards, or similar schools, and;

- the review of several social equity criteria to ensure maximum effort to achieve equality of educational opportunity.

The SSRP was, and is, constrained by the availability of data and by the amount of paperwork that could reasonably be required of applicants. Therefore, the program could not be expected to meet such demanding standards. No provision was made in the SSRP for trend analysis or for comparisons to state or national averages, for example, because of the extra paperwork that would have been created for the applicants. Trend data is seldom readily at hand although it could be argued that requesting it might improve the information available to local decision makers. And, of course, it is difficult, if not impossible, to attain outcome data for all major curricular areas. Evidence about access to programs or tracks or the performance of different ethnic or socio-economic groups also is seldom readily available.

The Process Attributes

The second question concerns the "attributes of success." Is the evidence collected through the application and site visit sufficient to permit judgments to be made about the presence or absence of the 14 attributes in the schools and about their relative strength? The documents were carefully reviewed to determine what evidence was available for each of the

attributes. Coders were asked to review the evidence relevant to each attribute and to make overall ratings for each school on a one-to-five point scale for each of the success attributes or to indicate where there was insufficient evidence to support such a judgment. A rating of three was defined as a typical or conventional school situation; a four indicated an above-average condition; and a five was reserved for schools that could only be described with superlatives. Table 8 presents the results of this analysis including the major indicators for each attribute, the sources of the information coded, comments about the general quality of the information, and conclusions about the relative strength of the factor in the 202 schools.

Differences in the information available from the 1983 and 1984 school files as well as incomplete data in key areas for the 1983 sample (see Table 8) obstruct comparisons between 1983 and 1984. Nevertheless, the available data suggest that in general the schools selected do possess the attributes of success defined by the SSRP staff. When the coders were able to judge the strength of the 14 attributes in the schools, the schools generally were rated as above average or exceptional. Inter-rater relia- bility on these ratings also was quite high. The schools appear to be strongest and most innovative in areas such as student expectations, teacher efficacy, school climate, parent participation, and rewards and incentives for students and teachers. As a group, they appear to be most conventional in areas such as assessment processes, coordination of curric- ulum, teaching methods, and the amounts of student responsibility and autonomy permitted. Other areas such as administrative leadership and academic learning time proved difficult to assess from the data in the files.

TABLE 8

EVIDENCE RELATED TO THE SSRP ATTRIBUTES OF SUCCESS

INDICATORS IN THE SSRP FILES	SOURCE AND QUALITY OF DATA IN THE SSRP FILES
Clear Goals	
● Goal Statements ● Teacher perceptions of goal consensus ● Core values expressed by principal, teachers and others ● Principal's statements	Data were taken from applications and site visit reports. The principal's statements in the application and interviews with staff provide rich information on core values and priorities. The degree of goal consensus was determined by cross-checking the applications with site visit reports of interviews with different groups.
Order and Discipline	
● Data on disciplinary actions, suspensions, and vandalism ● Site visitor observations ● Applicant's assessment of climate ● Comments on discipline policy	The applications contain the applicants' assessment of school climates. The site visit reports contain direct observations of school and classroom climates. The claims of different groups interviewed were cross-checked with the observations and data on disciplinary actions to determine the amount of order in the school.
High Expectations	
● Graduation requirements ● Student reports on work demands	The applications contain information on graduation requirements and the numbers of students enrolled in advanced academic work. The applicants also described school

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TABLE 8 (con't)

High Expectations (con't)

- Application questions on
  standards

- Evidence of academic
  competition

standards and the amount of
participation in academic
competition. Interviews conducted
during the site visits provide some
information on the level of
work effort required of students
and the typical amounts of
homework assigned. The data on
homework were difficult to assess.

Teacher Efficacy

- Teacher perceptions

- Information on teacher
  participation in planning,
  curriculum review, and so
  forth

The applications contain infor-
mation on teacher participation in
planning, decision making, cur-
riculum reviews, and so forth. The
site visit reports contain further
information on the perceptions
of some teachers about their
influence and their participation
in school planning. These data are
uneven and in many cases could not
be coded.

Rewards and Incentives

- student perceptions

- teacher perceptions

- Applicant's information on
  school policies and practices

The applications are a rich source
of data on policies and programs.
There is rich anecdotal infor-
mation. This information often
could be confirmed or challenged by
cross-checking it against the
teacher and student interviews in
which this question was directly
raised.

Positive Environment

- Attendance data for staff
  and students, data on
  discipline

- Staff perceptions

The application contains infor-
mation on school climate and
discipline. The site visit reports
contain perceptions of staff,
students, and parents of the school
environment and direct observations

TABLE 8 (con't)

Positive Environment (con't)

- Student perceptions   made by the site visitor.

- Site visitor observations
  on climate, teacher-student
  relations, facilities, and so
  forth.

Administrative Leadership

- Perceptions of teachers
  and parents

- Site visitor observations

- Examples of problems solved
  in application

- Coder's overall judgment

There are often examples of approaches to problems in the applications that reveal something of the administrative style in the schools. Site visit information tends to be positive, only a few contained critical comments. Overall, it is difficult to assess the quality and character of administrative leadership in the SSRP schools.

Community Support

- Parent perceptions
  of teachers and parents

- Teacher perceptions

- Applicant examples

The applications contained descripti as of the forms of community involvement and examples of community support. These were often confirmed during interviews with parents. The data are rich and detailed but restricted because of the limited parent and community input during the site visit.

Academic Learning Time

- Site Visitor observations

- Classroom visits (1984)

- Examples in some applications

There is little information on on this variable in the 1983 files, but the 1984 files contain results of classroom observations and the applicant's discussion of how instructional time is protected or has been increased.

TABLE 8 (con't)

Homework

- Application information on
  policy

- Student estimates

The applications indicate the
presence or absence of a policy
and site visitors asked students
about the amount of homework. How-
ever, the student estimates varied
with their course of study so it
was difficult to assess and to
code.

Monitoring of Student Progress

- Testing procedures

- Assessment procedures

- Evaluation of programs

Testing and assessment procedures
are described in the application.
Unique assessment practices are
also often described. However, no
information is available on class-
room assessment or grading
practices. Since most schools
leave assessment in the hands of
individual teachers, the
information on this topic must be
regarded as incomplete.

Well-Coordinated Curriculum

- Curriculum articulation

- Curriculum review

- Program coordinator

There is limited information in the
applications on articulation
although the interviews address
problems of coordination and inter-
departmental cooperation. However,
the data on this topic are weak.

Variety of Teaching Strategies
(Deleted in 1984)

- Classroom observations

- Classroom observations in
  1984

There is little information in the
1983 files but rich, although
uneven, data are provided in the
1984 site visit reports based on
classroom observations.

TABLE 8 (con't)

Opportunities for Student Responsibility

- Application information on
  student government, extra-
  curricular programs and
  participation, and community
  programs

- Student perceptions

Information is missing in over one-
quarter of the 1983 applications,
but is nearly complete for the 1984
schools. Data on student
participation in extracurricular
activities are provided in some
files but are not uniform.

Evaluation for Instructional Improvement
(added in 1984)

- Description of testing

- Examples of uses of test
  data

- Mechanisms for evaluation
  described

Information is generally anecdotal.
Interesting examples are provided
but it is hard to analyze this
variable.

These data suggest that it is the work cultures and climates of these schools that are most important to their success. The data do not support the notion that these schools are more successful because they are technically more efficient than other high schools. Many of the schools have adopted innovative approaches to curriculum management and development, attempted to improve instructional methods, and sought to make effective use of technology but these are not the attributes that their staffs, their constituents, and SSRP site visitors view as most crucial for their success. These technical dimensions do not seem to set them apart from other high schools; rather it is their high expectations of their staff and students, their collegiality, the exceptional levels of work effort and unusual amounts of cooperation characterizing their staffs, their staffs' commitment to improvement, and their strong professional cultures that are their trademarks. In sum, it appears to be particular patterns of organizational culture that lead to school success and this also explains why success so often breeds success.

Some Themes Associated With Success

After reading over 200 stories of success, it is easy to succumb to the problem of information overload. So many positive things appear to be happening in these schools and so many creative ways of dealing with problems are described that it seems impossible to synthesize and summarize the key lessons to be gleaned from the files. Yet, analysis and reflection do suggest some themes that may help explain the extraordinary success of many of these exemplary American secondary schools.

Not all of the schools exhibited all of these themes, but almost all of the schools revealed evidence of some of them, and some schools seemed to have put all of them together. The nine themes selected by the authors were based on a review of the data from the full set of applications and site visit reports, the authors' personal experience in visiting approximately 10 percent of the schools selected in 1983 and 1984, and recorded testimony from 18 site visitors. The examples selected here to illustrate these themes are taken from the schools judged to be among the strongest on all of the indicators related to a particular theme. Each theme is described using anecdotes or examples taken from the various data sources.

With the increased attention in the business literature to the positive

effect of culture on the performance of organizations (Deal & Kennedy,

1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982), it is not surprising to find educational

researchers examining the influence of organizational culture in schools

(Spady, 1984; Firestone & Wilson, 1985). The first five themes described

below offer some concrete examples of what is meant by the notion of a

strong school culture.

Clearly Defined and Agreed Upon Goals

A prominent feature of these schools is the sense of shared purpose

among the faculty, students, and community. As one site visitor noted,

"There is a consistency in the belief system." As might be expected, this

consensus cannot be derived simply from reviewing lists of formal goal

statements. The formal statements prepared by these schools appear to be

no different from those found in any school; they are full of the same

abstract platitudes and educational jargon. What is important is how these

statements are translated into action and affect day-to-day activities:

> One rural Northwest school has five "desired student outcome goals"
> that were adopted by a school-community committee. They are
> reviewed annually, are in every year's staff handbook, and form
> the basis for all major curriculum decisions. They also form the
> basis for the accreditation visits and evaluation of the total
> school program. These goals are communicated directly to all
> students by the principal each year and by all staff before each
> semester's advisory session. They form the basis for all student
> scheduling and counselling sessions. The goals are elaborated in
> a weekly newspaper column by the principal and in a quarterly
> newsletter to parents."
>
> One West Coast school, which five years ago did not have a winning
> attitude and was not success oriented, has completely turned around.
> The basis for that action was a set of clearly written goals. In
> the words of the principal, "Common goals are a must. All actions
> can be related to those goals, and everyone understands why things
> are being done in a certain manner."

A large urban high school beset with a number of problems has
made a concerted effort to align the curriculum and governance of
the school's 12 "democratic principles." With the aid of a Dan-
forth Foundation grant, the school has been able to conscien-
tiously apply these principles in every aspect of school life.

Not only must goals be clearly communicated and integrated into the

daily operation of the school, they also must be agreed upon by the various

constituent groups:

In one Southeastern school, expectations for academics have been
agreed to by faculty, students, and community members. As one
athletic coach commented, "Priorities are straightforward--
academics come first."

High Expectations/High Task Orientation

Another important aspect of the culture in these schools is a strong

task orientation combined with a conviction that all students can be

motivated to learn. Everyone seems to accept responsibility for enhancing

the learning opportunities for their students. This sense of responsibility

translates into a high level of discretionary effort by staff, more informal

student-teacher interaction, and willingness to review and revise programs.

The high task orientation is best exemplified by a commitment to increasing

learning time and by setting clear academic and behavioral expectations for

students:

As one site visitor to a Southern school noted: "This school
values class time. Students show up on time and remain engaged
until they are dismissed, not necessarily when the bell sounds.
The halls are empty during classes. Doors to classrooms are
generally open and there are no disruptions from the outside."

A student commenting about the expectations in his Midwestern
high school claims: "One always knows where you star. In my old
school, I had to wait until grades came out before I knew how I
was doing. Here, the teachers lay down the expectations on the
first day and expect you to follow them."

The high expectations by teachers are not only for students but
also for themselves. A site visitor in another Midwestern school
mentioned, "Students remarked that teachers have high expecta-

tions for teachers as well as students. This means that teachers expect to be available to students, that teachers expect to give students quick feedback after they do work, that teachers expect to monitor student work closely and that teachers expect to meet the needs of each individual student."

Commitment to academics is the theme around which high expectations and a strong task orientation have been built in these exemplary schools. This is not just an upper middle class suburban phenomenon. Indeed, some of the most academically demanding schools are located in large urban centers where magnet schools have been created to attract students from around the city (many of them travelling more than an hour to get to school). This academic focus is also found in rural areas:

An all black inner-city high school was recently redefined as a magnet school for the college bound. As part of a larger court-ordered desegregation plan, the school has developed an integrated student body in a few short years where 98 percent go to college and the drop-out rate is only 0.6 percent. As the principal has noted, "We attract only the best students because we offer them a challenge they can't get elsewhere. We offer them a chance at a truly demanding curriculum. Good students will always respond to a real challenge."

In a large selective East Coast high school noted for its history of high academic performance, the principal commented, "The best way to keep students in school is not to require that they take maximum credits, but to offer programs which attract them." He has recently expanded self-directed electives in the twelfth grade, created a new medical science program, introduced PLATO into the engineering program, mandated an introductory course in computer science, supported a robotics elective in industrial arts, and quadrupled the number of student submissions to the Westinghouse competition.

A rural Northwest community of 1300 where visits to the doctor, an evening at the movies, or even a game of bowling necessitates up to three hours travel has a college enrollment of approximately 90 percent. In this school there is a real devotion to academics. As the site visitor stated, "The thing that interested me most (about this school) was the fact that most classes seemed to start well before the bell rang and it was hard for some students to leave when the class was completed."

High Professional Collaboration

One characteristic of secondary teaching is that teachers are given a great deal of discretion to choose how they will interpret and implement curricular guidelines and instructional strategies within their classrooms. There is typically little opportunity to collaborate with peers. This kind of "autonomy," rather than being uplifting, can be very isolating (Lortie, 1975).

Teacher collaboration in this sample of schools takes on a different meaning. An atmosphere exists that encourages positive involvement and collaboration. There is a culture of collegiality directed by common goals that creates a strong sense of efficacy on the part of teaching staff. But this effort moves beyond individual efficacy as identified as an attribute of success. Instead, it involves a collective effort of a faculty. One site visitor described three New England high schools as examples of how this works.

> The structural arrangements that encourage teacher commitment are a 3-year rotating departmental coordinator role, a schoolwide instructional committee, teachers' role in selection of the principal, and the expectation that curriculum revision and development are the responsibilities of the faculty.
>
> Candidates for vacant positions are interviewed by staff and decisions are made at the departmental level; curricular decisions and decisions about operating budgets are made at the department level with major emphasis on teacher input. Teachers also report that professional autonomy is matched by accountability.
>
> Teachers were central to the recent and dramatic curriculum revision leading to the program of studies, sequenced courses approach. Teachers were central in developing teacher evaluation policies and procedures and special student recognition days, in establishing criteria for various candidates for teaching positions, in entre-preneurial efforts, in developing field sites for student work-study experiences, and in selecting textbooks.

There are several important spinoffs from this sense of professional efficacy. First, by involving teachers more, their level of effort is increased. Teachers in these schools can often be found working on special projects an hour before school starts and well after the day ends. They seem more willing to take initiatives to assist individual students. Such discretionary effort emanates from and contributes to a sense of collective responsibility and accountability in the school that is often missing in other schools. This increased effort has a second positive effect of gen-erating increased contact time with students. While that contact may not always be focused directly on academics, it certainly enhances the quality of academic learning.

Positive and Open Student-Teacher Relationships

Recent descriptions of student-teacher interactions in American high schools indicate that many of the participants are just going through the motions (Sizer, 1983). Indeed, one of the more pessimistic observers of the high school scene (Cusick, 1983) has even suggested that tacit bargains are often struck between students and teachers: if teachers don't push too hard or expect too much from students, then the students will reciprocate by not causing discipline problems.

If those observations are the norm for current conditions in American high schools, then the schools in the SSRP are aberrant nonconformists. An important theme that stands out in almost every single school is the constructive way in which students and teachers work together to achieve shared goals; it comes through very clearly in the comments of site visitors:

Each student interviewed in a Midwest school was able to identify faculty members he or she was friendly with and could go to for personal advice. Many different staff members were mentioned. Students say they respect the staff members because they enjoy teaching and because they treat students with respect. School staffs provide considerable personal assistance during the day and after school. Many take weekend and holiday trips with students sometimes without compensation.

Specific comments from teachers in one East Coast school on teacher/ student relations include, "The teachers have a good personal relationship with kids. We deal with kids in a warm, loving way. The climate is highly intellectual but also warm. This school tries to meet the needs of all kids."

One of the positive results of such open and positive relationships is the development of a strong and caring environment. Almost every student group interviewed in these schools made comments about the support provided by teachers. Students even mentioned how these relationships were clearly different than those experienced in other schools. This cooperation was seen as evidence by students that teachers care and that the overall enterprise is serious and meaningful.

This caring has two important dimensions. Students point out that not only do teachers care about academic achievement but also about them as human beings. This enthusiasm and concern helps both students and teachers conquer the monotony of daily school schedules and sustain their drive for excellence.

Management of Change

From an ecological perspective, a primary function of an organization is survival (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Schools are no different than other organizations in their struggle to survive. While schools have more of a monopoly over their client group and are consequently more likely to survive than organizations in more competitive markets, there is a great deal of variability in the survival capacities of schools. Not all schools

survive and also thrive. A central aspect of the capacity of schools to flourish is their adaptability to changes in their environments (Meyer & Scott, 1983).

The vast majority of schools in the SSRP have faced serious environmental threats or constraints and turned their problems into opportunities. The list of their problems in Table 9 is similar to those faced by most American secondary schools, but the creative ways in which these schools have responded set them apart from the norm. Note that many of these schools have turned areas of deficiency or threatening conditions into strengths.

Two common environmental constraints are declining financial resources and changes in the ethnic composition of student populations. Some examples help illustrate how schools have dealt with their problems:

TABLE 9

PROBLEM AREAS FOR SSRP HIGH SCHOOLS (1983 and 1984)

	PROBLEM	TIMES MENTIONED	STAGE OF PROBLEM-SOLVING PROCESS			
			Have Recognized Problem	Working On It	Have Solved Problem	Now a School Strength
1.	Inadequate Facilities	99	20	44	21	13
2.	Declining Populations	90	20	57	7	3
3.	Financial Issues	77	16	47	11	2
4.	Academic Standards	70	1	21	31	16
5.	Attendance	68	4	25	35	4
6.	School-community Relations	64	0	12	24	28
7.	Discipline	59	1	17	30	10
8.	Drugs/alchol	49	5	32	8	4
9.	Desegregation	47	1	11	21	14
10.	Maintaining Quality	45	2	34	2	7
11.	Teacher	44	4	10	8	22
12.	Changing Leadership	42	4	2	14	13

A Midwestern district was faced with an overnight 20 percent reduction in the local tax base when the major employer in the community unexpectedly filed for bankruptcy. The school district aggressively mounted a campaign to deal with the problem. As the superintendent noted, "We're very much a proactive place rather than a reactive one." The community quickly lobbied the state legislature to negotiate a state loan fund for school districts that have 10 percent or more of their tax base reduced by the demise of local industry.

Another Southwestern school from a very poor district with a large minority population has built a showcase out of almost nothing. As the site visitor commented, "One quickly forgets when entering the grounds that this is a poor school. The teachers and students don't think of themselves as poor, they think of themselves as resourceful." By using donated land, stockpiling building materials when a favorable price presented itself, and having construction work done by vocational students and maintenance staff, they have created "a masterpiece of construction and architecture...that would be the envy of a large metropolitan school. As a result of the student investment in the campus, it is clean, well maintained, graffitti free, pridefully upgraded."

The proportion of black students in this urban high school has increased from 8 percent to 40 percent in the recent years. Academic excellence has always been a hallmark of this school and the challenge was to continue that excellence with a changing student population. The first response was to create a streaming system, which outside consultants noted only produced de facto segregation and a reaction from the black community. The community made 14 recommendations that the school is currently implementing. A number of programs, including PUSH-EXCEL, a study skills center, and active involvement of parents in a variety of school committees have supported the improvements made by minorities. While there is still differential achievement, "The issues is on everyone's agenda and there is genuine concern about doing better. They have accepted it as their problem, one that they are willing to struggle with until they find some answers."

It is important to note that these schools did not compromise their sense

of purpose or their standards while making these changes, and, indeed, they

often used crises to help enhance or focus their mission.

Strong Instructional Leadership

The effective schools literature emphasizes the role of strong instructional leadership in schools (Edmonds, 1979; Wellisch, MacQueen, Carriere & Duck, 1978; D'Amico, 1982). However, there has been little discussion of the forms that effective leadership takes in secondary schools or what behavioral manifestations are to be sought. While there has been some investigation of the role of the principal as an instructional leader in the elementary school context, there is reason to be cautious about applying this analysis to larger and more complex secondary settings.

The evidence about leadership in the SSRP schools may not resolve these issues, but it does reinforce the significance of the leadership factor for effectiveness. However, what is most striking about this collection of schools is the multifaceted nature of their leadership. No one leadership style appears to be dominant. In some cases we find the dynamic, powerful principal who seems to be orchestrating everything:

> In this Southeastern high school the teachers credit the principal with the good morale among the faculty. They indicated that he was so positive and up-beat that it was impossible to get down on kids or on the school...Parents, students, and faculty give much credit to the principal. He is always around, he is positive, fair, color blind (a racially diverse school), firm, and consistent. He keeps looking for new projects and new ways to improve the school.

Leadership also can be dispersed. The desired qualities do not always reside in one person. In most of the schools, there are a number of people who can and do take leadership roles at different times. These examples run counter to the "great man/woman" theory as an explanation of excellence. For example:

In one New England school where there have been numerous changes
in the principalship, there has been shared leadership among
teachers and departmental coordinator; which persists and ensures
a meaningful role for teachers in planning and decision making.

At the heart of this is the ability of formal leaders in these schools

to recognize the strengths of a diverse set of people and to allow those

people to make maximum use of their skills. Good leaders develop other

leaders.

High Community Involvement

Another striking feature about these 200 secondary schools is the

degree of involvement of parents and community members in the affairs of

the school. While the research literature recognizes the importance of

contact with parents, it often is described in negative terms. That is, a

primary responsibility of the principal is to act as a buffer between

teachers and parents (Morris, 1981). From this perspective, outsiders are

viewed as threats or as constraints on the smooth operation of schools.

Furthermore, practical knowledge suggests that it is harder to get parents

involved in secondary school activities than it is in elementary schools.

To the contrary, in these exemplary schools community interest is

high, and it has been turned into opportunities to increase the resources

and overall effectiveness of the schools. School staffs have built on the

strengths of the community and made them an integral part of the school.

One important way in which this has been accomplished is through strong

community education programs. The community is encouraged to make use of

school facilities and made to feel welcome when they are there:

> One Eastern seaboard school has a long-standing policy of
> community use of its school. Hundreds of organizations make use
> of the classrooms, gyms, and pool at the school. The school also
> maintains a class association with a privately administered
> nonprofit adult education organization which annually offers 100
> courses in the school.

In one small Midwestern community many of the social activities revolve around the school. The district recognizes this by developing an elaborate community education program based on the philosophy that the school facilities are owned by the community and they have the right to use them. Instead of having the local municipality run the program, the school's district takes on that responsibility.

These schools also use parents as positive public relations links to the larger community. As a site visitor in one Midwestern community commented:

> "There is a parent group that has a representative from each of the neighborhoods served by the high school. This group works very hard at telling the school's story to the community. They have produced a videotape describing school programs, and they show this videotape to service organizations and other interested groups throughout the community in order to help people better understand the strong (school) program."

Another aspect of community involvement is the participation of community members in the daily activities of the schools. This involvement often moves beyond volunteering clerical time, raising funds, or monitoring hallways. In some schools it includes playing an active role in the instructional program as tutors and classroom aides.

> A site visitor in a Midwestern high school noted that the district has over 600 parents come and donate 2,500 hours per year to "do something the schools couldn't otherwise do." As one teacher noted, "I could not run my many individual programs without the help of these wonderful caring volunteers."

In many cases, the community was not only brought into the school but students also were introduced to their community through service programs, internships, and cooperative education. Through involvement in community activities students learn to appreciate the needs and concerns of the community.

High Extracurricular Participation

Almost any high school can point to extra-curricular activities for which it has developed a reputation of success. Often these activities involve athletic prowess and participation is limited to a small elite group of students. The trend found in these exemplary schools is quite different. The participation rates are high, the breadth of offerings is quite wide, and the number of activities for which the school receives recognition is much broader than just a few athletic teams. These schools have nationally recognized debate teams; state acclaimed orchestras, marching bands, and stage bands; drama societies and travelling thespian groups; math and science teams; vocational programs and clubs; and community service programs.

> This Midwestern school is noted for its high involvement in extracurricular activities. Almost 1000 of the 2500 students are on 1 of the 23 interscholastic sport teams that won 11 of 18 possible conference championships this year. But participation is more broadly based than that. There are 56 clubs and 13 other activities where students are involved. The student-operated radio station reportedly is one of the most powerful of its kind. An exceptionally popular intramural program -- built on short-term, just-for-fun suggestions from students -- involves a reported 89 percent of the students. The parents also praise the performing arts programs. Several hundred students are involved in plays, musicals, choir, band, and orchestra. The school also maintains a consistent high ranking in state-level competitions for its debate and speech teams.

> This Midwestern high school is noted for its diversity of co-curricular programs. While the interscholastic teams maintain enviable records in conference competition, the school is equally proud of its intramural program. Most impressive is its music department which has one-third of the student body participating in the band, choir, orchestra, or musical shows. Linked to its strong academic and vocational program is a diverse set of activities that reinforce classroom learning. The school continues to receive state and national recognition from such groups as Future Business Leaders of America, Future Farmers of America, and Distributive Education Club of America.

Individual accolades are important in these schools but even more important may be the uses made of the acclaim. Past successes are used to build new ones. The old adage that success breeds success takes on concrete meaning in these schools. Not only are current strengths used to develop new ones but they are used to reinforce the sense of shared purpose or raison d'etre among the school staffs, students, and community members. Positive accomplishments are not just treated as useful public relations gimmicks but are actively integrated with the school's culture. Success becomes the expected and predictable outcome of commitment to the school's values. Younger students are led to view the accomplishments of their older peers as a norm to which they should aspire and which they will accomplish through effort and collective commitment, giving them a sense of direction and purpose for their work in the school. The motivational power to learn grows out of these experiences in extracurricular programs and is carried over into the classroom.

A Balance of Control and Delegation

An important factor in understanding how schools function is knowing how their internal linkages work. Linkages refer to the mechanisms used to coordinate the activities of people who work in the organizations (Firestone & Wilson, 1985). There is currently a great deal of debate about linkages in schools. The traditional perspective (Gerth & Mills, 1946) conceives of schools as rational bureaucracies in which linkages are tight and professional activity is closely supervised and coordinated. An opposite perspective conceives of schools as loosely linked systems (Weick, 1976) in which little coordination is possible. As with many theoretical positions, tests

against reality reveal the absence of pure forms. Indeed, schools have been identified that exemplify the entire range from loosely to tightly linked (Herriott & Firestone, 1984).

An interesting finding in these exemplary secondary schools is their combination of looseness and tightness. The same phenomenon was described by Peters and Waterman in their analysis of excellent companies (1982). These schools typically exhibit tight cultural linkages. That is, the schools have a strong sense of purpose and there is consensus about a set of core values or norms often buttressed by appeals to tradition or past heros. Activities related to these core values may be closely monitored to ensure support for those actions that reinforce the desired image and speedy elimination of those that undermine it. On the other hand, these schools also exhibit more looseness in their formal, enduring arrangements (e.g., roles, rules, procedures, and authority relations). These schools also appear to be more flexible in identifying roles and authority relations. People are permitted, even encouraged, to move in and out of them. This is not to imply that rules and procedures are loosely enforced. Those that are most relevant to the quality of instruction are rigidly monitored (e.g., the sanctity of classroom instruction and the importance of academic success).

Conclusions

What can be concluded from this preliminary review of the data on the SSRP schools? First, it is clear that it is possible to develop some generalizations about the schools selected by the SSRP. Second, the document analysis suggests that the schools selected do possess many of the characteristics described by the program as attributes of success. Third,

the rich anecdotal data provide a wealth of information about the policies
and practices of successful secondary schools. This data about approaches
to critical problem areas can be of help to staffs of other secondary
schools and it can be invaluable information to those who are working to
improve them.

Most importantly, the information on the schools provides a rich
foundation for theory development. Propositions about successful schools
grounded in this data base can be tested through empirical work. The data
suggest that the two popular competing theories about organizational
success -- the school effectiveness model as exemplified by the work of
Edmonds and others and the excellence model developed by Peters and
Waterman -- are only partial theories that may complement one another.
Some interpretations of the effectiveness model focus on the technical
aspects of schooling -- goals, time allocations and time use, rule
enforcement, testing, curricular alignment, evaluation, and so forth. The
SSRP schools display these attributes, but, as noted earlier, these
technical factors do not appear to be what most distinguishes them from
other schools nor are they viewed by either the school officials or the
SSRP site visitors as the critical factors underlying school success. The
excellence model emphasizes the social dimensions of organizations --
motivation, incentives, community, client responsiveness, communications,
and cooperation. It is in these areas that the SSRP schools excel.

Studies on organizational productivity conducted in Europe and the
United States have concluded that both dimensions, the technical and the
socio-cultural, are critical to high productivity. And it is high produc-
tivity that best describes the SSRP schools. In these schools, effective
techniques are combined with strong work cultures to achieve unusual

success. They are schools in which administrators, teachers, and students are motivated to work harder and to work smarter. They are schools characterized by initiative and cooperation, by high standards and genuine concern for the welfare of staff and students. The SSRP schools are indeed exemplary and while their examples suggest no easy recipes for success, their policies and practices can be usefully emulated by others. What may be more difficult to replicate, however, is the overall character of their organizational cultures. For the strong school cultures described above are in part a consequence of specific policies and practices and in part a reflection of the quality of the people in the organization. Here, too, however the SSRP schools may provide others some guidance for they not only provide working conditions that encourage professional behavior but these same conditions may attract individuals who share these values and who are able to sustain the academic culture.

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