This paper attempts to blend the literature on professionalism with the literature of community, thus positing a framework for a school-based professional community. Sociologists have long distinguished between occupations—even high status ones—and professions. Among the key distinctions of professionalism are: a technical knowledge base shared among all members of the profession; membership control over entry to the profession; and a strong client-orientation which emphasizes putting client needs before personal interest. The literature on community has stressed the importance of broadly shared values and behavioral norms, a sense of responsibility for the collective good, and the need for an extended relationship of caring among individuals. Blending these two literature bases into a coherent framework for school-based professional community suggests an integrated professional-community model that combines a universally applicable knowledge base rooted in the discipline of teaching with organizational factors, such as values, climate, and caring relationships. The professional-community model assumes that knowledge of organizational settings improves performance and that a sustained focus on student learning, rather than on decision-making models or teacher-centered innovation, can prove beneficial for schools. A conclusion is that a combination of both structural and human-resource conditions are necessary for the professional community to exist. (Contains 58 references.) (LMI)
An Emerging Framework for Analyzing School-Based Professional Community

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April, 1993

1 This paper accompanies an outline prepared for a non-traditional symposium on the development of professional community in urban schools, American Educational Research Association, April 12-16 1993. It reflects the major contributions of our colleagues in the "Longitudinal Study of Restructuring Schools," Tony Bryk, Jed Hopkins, Jean King, Peg Lonnquist, Mary Anne Raywid and Sharon Rollow. The study is funded by the Center for Organization and Restructuring Schools, University of Wisconsin, OERI grant # R117000005. The comments of numerous colleagues at the Center are gratefully acknowledged.
INTRODUCTION

PROFESSIONALISM AND COMMUNITY

The sociological literature on professionalism and community are, in general, rather distinct, and offer different premises about the attainment of social goals. The professionalism literature emphasizes the distinctive form of social control that is exercised by a work group that is selective, highly trained, and which performs a task of recognized value to society. The community literature, on the other hand, emphasizes the need for social integration within and across subgroups as a means of reinforcing important norms and values, and of creating a supportive environment for individual development.

Professionalism

Sociologists have long distinguished between occupations -- even high status occupations -- and professions (Zald, 1970; Benveniste, 1987). The reform literature in education is studded with exhortations to increase the professionalism of teachers, who have traditionally been viewed as "semi-professionals". Among the key distinctions are:

A Technical Knowledge Base: Professions share a body of abstract knowledge that cannot easily be acquired or assessed by a lay person. The acquisition of the knowledge base takes a relatively long time, and the determination of what knowledge is important is determined by members of the profession itself.
Control over entry to the profession and conditions of work: The profession itself determines when the individual is sufficiently knowledgeable and/or possesses the personal qualities to enter or continue practice in the profession. Although licenses are granted by the state, the boards that grant such licenses are composed of practitioners in the field, and any examinations or criteria for entrance are decided on by the profession. Even when professionals are employed in bureaucracies, they retain considerable control over their work environment, either through direct involvement in management (as in a law firm), or because their supervisors are members of the same profession (the medical director of a hospital is always a physician).

A strong client-orientation: The traditional professions -- law, medicine, and the clergy -- have often been viewed as an altruistic calling. The professions are characterized by a strong code of ethics, which emphasizes putting client needs before personal interest. Doctors, for example, are expected to treat patients with communicable diseases; lawyers are required to do a certain amount of pro bono work. All clients are expected to be treated as equally deserving of professional attention, irrespective of their ability to pay. Clearly many members of professions do not live up to these standards, but when they do not, they are open to public criticism or curtailment of membership.

Community

While professional community is often considered to be an element of the definition of professionalism, it tends to be defined as synonymous with strong national professional associations whose role is to uphold the above privileges.
and responsibilities. The community literature, in contrast, presents a micro-level image of community that emphasizes a very different set of factors (Gans, 1962; Bellah, et al, 1985; Etzioni, 1990). More recently, some authors (Bryk and Driscoll, 1988) have begun to emphasize that the communitarian theory may be applied to organizations such as schools, in which characteristics such as the following are important:

**Shared values and norms of behavior:** While western philosophy has often emphasized the importance of individual moral development and responsibility, the communitarian perspective focuses on the balance between the individual and the group. The development of strong, ethically-based and morally binding norms of behavior are one characteristic of an effective community.

**A Sense of Responsibility for the Collective Good:** In a community, the individual remains responsible for his or her own actions, but is asked to put the common good ahead of (or at least on par with) personal advancement.

**Extended Relationships of Caring:** In an effective community, the relationships between individuals are conditioned by a sense of interpersonal responsibility that extends beyond a specific, organizational role (teacher/student).

**Professional community and organizational community**

Theories of professionalism and community are not incompatible, but a discussion of their intersection does not characterize the literature of school
reform. In this paper we propose an integrated model that couples the universally applicable knowledge-base, values, etc. Identification is with the discipline/profession. The strong values base and caring relationships, climate, etc. are factors affecting organizational performance. In the remainder of this paper we will articulate this model further, examining three main issues: (1) What benefits might accrue from the development of professional communities in schools; (2) what characteristics of professional communities in schools may be derived from current research on school reform; and (3) what conditions, both inside and outside the school, are needed to support the development of professional communities.

SCHOOL-BASED PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY - WHY SHOULD WE WANT IT?

The creation of strong professional communities holds several potential advantages for schools. Among them are the development of collective responsibility of teachers for the learning performance of students and the instructional performance of teachers; increased personal commitment of professionals to their work; the establishment of values, norms and belief structures as the instrumental control mechanism for school achievement rather than a traditional normative control mechanism based on rules, roles and regulations; and the establishment of flexible boundaries that lead to greater organizational learning.
Collective Responsibility

Collective responsibility for performance is an important correlate of professional community. Members of each school, when they work as a unit, may take on the responsibility for collectively considering and monitoring the effectiveness of the school. This may involve setting standards for performance related to instruction, pedagogy, and student learning, as well as the willingness to confront and/or mediate poor performance of teachers in the school. Such organizational behaviors can be considered pro-social (Brief and Motowidlo, 1986). They are performed with the intention of contributing to the organization's objectives. Teachers suggest that potential beneficial pro-social outcomes which may be associated with collective responsibility include more effective job performance, improved communication and coordination between individuals and sub-groups, improved job satisfaction and morale, improved satisfaction of parents, students and faculty with the organization and improved organizational efficiency. Collective responsibility for performance manifests itself in increased assistance between teachers in instruction, volunteering for additional assignments and putting forth extra effort in creating opportunities for student learning (Little, 1990).

Responsibility is closely linked to accountability. Collective responsibility for performance suggests that all teachers be held accountable for the academic achievement of students as well as the pedagogical growth and development of all members of the school community. Darling-Hammond and Snyder (1992) would add these areas of accountability as well: governance, organizational structure, and evaluation strategies for school functioning.
Strong engagement of teachers, with the school community can result in a shared sense of purpose as teachers, working as a unit, apply their skills to mediate the dilemmas and problems associated with student learning and activity.

Professional versus Bureaucratic Control

Traditionally rules, regulations and division of labor have acted to generate organizational controls. Bureaucratic regulations have been supported by unions as well as administrators because they have protected teachers against arbitrary action (Perrow, 1972, ch. 1). Transformed or restructured schools share norms, values and beliefs that act as substitutes for the traditional control structures. Based on assumptions related to professionalization of the workplace, (see Bucher and Stelling, 1969; Angle and Perry, 1983; Forsyth and Danisiewicz, 1985; Abbott, 1991) norms, beliefs and values act to create internal social control mechanisms far stronger than that of traditional models of normative control; while permitting professional discussion and disagreement that encourage growth and improvement (Litwah, 1965).

Flexible Boundaries

Flexible boundaries that lead to greater organizational learning are critical for the development of rich professional communities. Within the organization there needs to be communication across traditional role groups. Professional community requires that administrators and teachers view themselves as part of the same endeavor. Thus, role boundaries, which are often rigid, are more flexible.
Role flexibility helps to build and modify information, routines and the school communities' ability to transfer information between grade levels or departments. Organizational structures provide a design for acquiring information of use to the organization and improving the organization's capacity to utilize information (Cohen, 1991). Individually retained skills and knowledge provide the foundation of the school's capabilities. However, for a school community to endure beyond one cycle of an innovation may rest with its capacity to mutually learn the new norms, values and belief structure.

Hargreaves (1992) contends that schools are often balkanized, e.g. marked by low permeability, high permanence, singular identification with departments or grade level groupings and are highly political in complexion. Consequently, school communities characterized as having flexible boundaries can be posited as having three analogous characteristics.

- **Communities with flexible boundaries contain subgroups that have consistent and regular linkages.** What teachers know and believe about children is shared across grade levels, departments and role groups.

- **Relationships are fluid.** Teachers move between sub-groups. The core beliefs and values held by staff and faculty have high durability, resilience, and elasticity engendering meaningful and thoughtful conservation across role groups.

- **Identification of the members of communities with flexible boundaries is unified.** Teachers identify with the school as a whole unit rather than with
a particular piece of the organization. Members develop a capacity for empathy and concern as opposed to self-interest.

SCHOOL-BASED PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY:  
WHAT ARE ITS SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS?

Professional communities are identified by movement toward five constructs - reflective dialogue, de-privatization of practice, focus on student learning, collaboration and shared values. They are not to be considered hierarchical but rather as continuums of actions or behaviors which manifest themselves within transformed or transforming organizations.

Reflective Dialogue:

Members of a professional community are episodically engaged in conversation concerning what they are about. Once decided upon, the norms, beliefs and values an organization holds at the center of its practice are part of the assumed basis for action. Growth of the community, is marked by a recurring dialogue that holds practice, pedagogy and student learning under scrutiny. The result of such conversation is the improvement of existing practice based in the core beliefs, norms and values of the community.

Reflective practice implies a self-awareness about what one does. It implies both self-critique and institutional-critique as teachers work towards discoveries concerning their own learning and practice. By engaging in reflection teachers can become students of their craft as they puzzle about the assumptions basic to quality practice. Furthermore, commitment to reflection as
a communal activity in which teachers engage suggests a public activity. Public conversation concerning the school and practice within the school may focus itself in four traditions as identified by Zeichner and Tabachnick (1991).

- **Academic** - The focus of reflection is on representations of subject matter to students to promote understanding.

- **Social Efficiency** - The focus of reflection is on the intelligent use of generic teaching strategies suggested by research on teaching.

- **Developmentalist** - The focus of reflection is on the learning, development and understanding of students.

- **Social Reconstructionist** - The focus of reflection is on the social conditions of schooling and issues of equity and justice.

Thus, reflective dialogue provides a method by which individuals share the roles of teacher and student interactively. Such collaboration leads to deepened understandings of the process of and products created within the teaching and learning acts. Finally, reflection becomes a form of social interaction that is carried on through both a private and public dialogue between all members of the school community for the purpose of joint understandings related to students, learning, and pedagogical practice.
De-privatization of Practice:

Teachers within professional communities practice their craft in public ways. Teachers can share and trade-off the roles of mentor, advisor or specialist when providing aid and assistance to peers (Lieberman, 1988; Little, 1990). It is within these relationships that teachers work to define and develop their own practice and control their own work in public, de-privatized ways. Peer coaching relationships, based in classroom observation, has been accepted by many schools as a methods to improve both classroom practice and collegial relationships2.

However, the benefits of public practice are not limited to individual classroom observation. The resultant dialogue allows teachers to display their success and learn from their disappointments. It allows teachers to be predictive in their planning and thinking; to reflect in meaningful ways on student effort and achievement rather than content and didactics. Teamed relationships have additional benefits, as well, teachers grow in their teaching practice by developing skills and routines for describing, analyzing and executing the instructional act, and they develop a shared common language with which to discuss these tasks. Thus, teachers deepen the levels of trust, respect and openness to improvement within the school community, thereby reinforcing the value base and assumptions the school community is built upon.

2 However, mandated peer coaching, which is driven by an administrative agenda, has produced little more than contriven collegiality (See Hargreaves, 1990).
Collective Focus on Student Learning:

A sustained and undeviating focus on student learning can be considered a core characteristic of professional community. Professional actions focus on choices that affect students' opportunity to learn and provide substantial student benefit (Little, 1990; Abbott, 1991; Darling-Hammond and Snyder, 1992; Darling-Hammond and Goodwin, 1993). Therefore, strong norms, beliefs and values must exist that support notions of children as academically capable and provide learning environments responsive to and supportive of student achievement.

Teacher actions that focus on student learning may be considered cooperative, collegial or collaborative. Cooperative relationships have been observed to manifest themselves as teachers jointly discuss and support each other in working with students on a superficial level. They may share students across subject matter class divisions and assist in parent conferences and discipline programs yet a shared value base about teaching practice, students and learning is largely absent. Teachers engaged in a cooperative focus on student learning spend greater amounts of their time discussing students and lesser amounts of time discussing learning. Collegial relationships evidence rudimentary dialogue concerning issues related to classroom practice and student performance. Collegial teachers may share lesson plans around interdisciplinary theme units or work towards common expectations concerning student work and behavior. Time spent together in joint planning sessions focuses less on past war stories about classroom activity and more on issues related to future teaching.
Collaboration:

In comparison to cooperative and collegial teacher relationships, collaboration, the use of others' expertise, is fostered within professional communities. Faculty call on one another to discuss the development of practice and process skills related to the implementation of practice. Collaborative efforts are utilized to create shared understandings from complex and confusing data, as well as to enhance the community in which the members work.

In sharp contrast to Hargreaves' (1991) descriptions of contrived collegiality, true collaborative efforts result in mutually felt obligations between teachers that result in "richly substantive discourse" (Little, 1990 p. 522). Thus, the content of collaboration becomes as important as the context in which collaboration occurs. The content of such collaboration may focus upon:

- the on-going study of teaching and learning;

- facilitation of organizational learning in such ways as to increase the dissemination of new knowledge and to provide forums for the examination of previously held beliefs.

- and provision of a support structure for teachers as they implement new and challenging pedagogical methodologies.

Collaborative work with peers increases teachers' sense of affiliation with each other, with the school, and their sense of mutual support and responsibility.
for the effectiveness of instruction (Louis, 1992b). Emergent professional communities increase the number, character, and quality of feedback mechanisms by providing opportunity to improve classroom practice and the development of supportive relationships among staff, thus, creating an extended sense of efficacy among teachers (Louis and Smith, 1992).

**Shared Norms and Values:**

Professional communities have a basis in moral authority that is derived from the central social importance of teaching and socializing children. Members of the organization need to affirm, through language and action, their common belief in values concerning assumptions about children, learning, teaching and teacher's roles, the nature of human needs, human activity, and human relationships (Schein, 1985) and the organization's extended role in society and the organization's relationship with the surrounding environment (Giroux, 1988). In schools, such basic assumptions include beliefs about children and their ability to learn, beliefs about the proper roles of teachers, parents, and administrators, and beliefs concerning the use of time and space within the school.

When teachers explain their behavior in a given instance they often appeal to the values they hold concerning children. Thus, by mandating after school study sessions for failing students, teachers suggest they value student achievement and performance. Such behavior also suggests a belief that teachers are responsible for providing additional help for failing students and providing conditions that support additional student efforts. However, it is a shared value base about student work that allows practices such as these to be
supportive of student learning. For example, teachers must first agree about late work policy for such time to be considered productive and supportive of shared values within the school setting.

WHAT CONDITIONS SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL-BASED PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY?

Structural Conditions

Several conditions are necessary to support the creation of strong professional communities. The design of the school as a work setting can create an environment that fosters a communitarian approach to teaching rather than parallel but unconnected teaching. Structural conditions that create interdependence of work practice foster interdependence elsewhere, creating an environment of internalized connections between teachers in academic work. Within such schools the issues of time, size, physical conditions, interdependence among teachers, communication and autonomy, and control over membership are taken seriously and examined regularly to determine the extent to which they support or encumber practice. Working in concert, these structural conditions can create the needed foundation for professional community to emerge.

Time to Meet and Talk: Research in school effectiveness and school change suggest that time is not only necessary to implement change agendas but essential if innovation is expected to be maintained (Louis, 1992; Raywid, 1993). A decade ago, Goodlad suggested that schools could not remain both
static and exceptional. Therefore, an institutionalized on-going self-renewal process is necessary for the maintenance of school effectiveness, involving considerable and regular blocks of time. However, such periods of time cannot be simply tacked onto the ends of already tiring school days. It must be built into the school calendar, in such a way as to provide teachers opportunity to consider curriculum, instruction and pedagogical issues within department or grade level gatherings as well as across school efforts directed toward less segmented considerations. Consequently, time must be conceptualized in two ways, first, teachers must be provided the means to meet on a daily basis to address issues of concern to smaller groups of faculty and second, provision must be made for the regular connection between members of the full faculty.

**Physical Proximity:** Opportunity must be provided for teachers to interact and collaborate with one another. Physical conditions, especially in large schools, are often a barrier to the exchange of ideas, and the establishment of a sense of identity relating to common interests and goals (Louis and Miles, 1991). Creation of physical spaces, such as team planning rooms and faculty spaces devoted to educational practices, may increase teacher contact therefore, minimizing the limitations inherent in most school buildings and schedules.

The provision of physically close classrooms and open-door policies may provide an important factor in motivating long-term teacher efforts concerning school improvement. Related to the de-privatization of teaching, open-door policies may provide teachers mechanisms for determining the effects of their work over the long run. As other teachers act in the roles of mentors, advisors, and specialists concerning classroom practice previously untapped feedback
mechanisms are created for teachers to learn from and about their practice. When teachers are physically close to each other opportunity is increased for teachers to engage in sustained observations and conversations related to teaching and student learning.

**Interdependent Teaching Roles:** Professional communities are marked by strong reciprocal influence among the teaching staff. A hallmark of reciprocal influence between teaching faculty are the presence of recurring formal situations in which teachers work together. Team-teaching and integrated lesson design are two examples of formal interdependent teaching roles. Collaborative teaching teams work toward both short-term and long-term goals related to student learning as they address issues related to program content, instruction, and practices of teaching. Teachers, in these circumstances, are thought to be acting as professionals as they sustain regular patterns of interaction based in the shared value structure of the team rather than based in artificial organizational role boundaries (Kanter, 1982; Meyer and Rowan, 1983; Miller, 1985). As teachers work interdependently they grow in their relationships with one another they gain a greater sense of effectiveness with regard to their pedagogical practice; enhancing classroom experiences as well as collegial relationships (Louis and Miles, 1990).

**Communication Structures:** Community requires opportunities and structures that encourage exchange of ideas both within and across organizational boundaries. Communication structures such as E-mail and regular meetings provide teachers with internal networks focused on instructional and curricular targets, personal and professional growth experiences, and the establishment of discourse communities that encourage
the exchange of ideas. Within the school site, teacher networks, foster an intellectual environment characterized by communicative dialogue related to pedagogy, school organization and student learning.

**Teacher Empowerment and School Autonomy**: Professional communities are distinguished by high degrees of teacher empowerment and organizational or school autonomy. Newmann (1991) suggests that by empowering teachers, i.e.: giving them more individual autonomy, discretion and control in conducting their work; a greater sense of ownership of and responsibility for quality in student learning will emerge among teachers.

Individual autonomy to act, as a member of a larger school community, frees teachers to decide what is the best practice given their classroom situation. Teachers become empowered, when working as teams or individually, by actions unique to their practice. Thus, teachers are freed to consider the physical and social growth and development of their students when implementing school-wide policy.

Professional communities are distinguished by school-based autonomy from a centralized bureaucratic structure favoring instead, a more flexible arrangement; e.g.: site-based management and school-based decision making. Such a conception suggests that the school is a complex integrated system directed toward a set of shared goals in which alternative problem re-solving methods and processes are part of daily sense-making activities. It is underlined by the notion of an internalized structure of norms and beliefs acting within the school in lieu of a more regulatory system of control mechanisms.
Social and Human Resources

In addition to the structural pre-conditions, development of professional community requires several pre-conditions related to human resources. They include openness to improvement, trust and respect, shared expertise, a sense of efficacy, leadership, and socialization mechanisms.

**Openness to Improvement:** Openness to improvement within the school community is important to ensure an atmosphere in which risk-taking, innovation and development can occur. Teachers in restructured schools report that risk-taking must be supported if lasting serious change is to be sustained (Louis, 1992b). Policy related to school change efforts needs to reflect an appreciation of those willing to implement innovations. If teachers are to begin the process of understanding their teaching, making informed changes in, and reflecting upon their practice the teaching context must be structured as to support risk.

**Trust and Respect:** Trust and respect from both colleagues inside the school and the relevant external communities is a necessary condition for developing commitment (Firestone and Rosenblum, 1991; Louis, 1992) as well as professional community. Respect refers to the honoring of the expertise of others, while trust refers more to the quality of interpersonal relations. Personal trust can build the sense of loyalty, commitment and effectiveness necessary for shared decision making and the establishment of collegiality. Lieberman (1988) suggests the importance of open supportive communication as base to the establishment of productive working relationships. It is argued by Hargreaves (1992) that trust has two dimensions - predictability and common
goals. Trust manifests itself as confidence "invested in persons or process" (p. 22). Thus, trust becomes an outcome of faculty investment in either people related to or processes created for school improvement. Once present in the school site, trust and respect act as facilitators of the community building process.

**Cognitive and Skill Base:** Professional community must be based on effective teaching, which is, in turn, based on the intellectual and practical grasp of the knowledge base and skills underlying the field. Practice that is not grounded in expertise is distinctly unprofessional, as they involve shared efforts to deny the poor functioning of the group. Creation of structures, e.g.: collaborative peer coaching, that support individual the growth and development of teachers' knowledge and skills may act in concert with supportive leadership to mediate existing poor performance. By working to understand and attend to the intricacies of content and practice school- based expertise is created and available for the use of others. Thus, the practice of teaching becomes understood, generated through development, and enhanced through innovation (Brown and Duguid, 1991) in schools with strong cognitive and skill bases. Subsequently, teacher collaboration can be used to construct new information as richer and more complex problems are resolved.

**Supportive Leadership:** Supportive leadership is necessary for a professional community to emerge. Leadership, whether in the form of principals or site-based teams, needs to focus efforts on issues related to school improvement - collegiality, shared purpose, continuous improvement and structural change (Fullan, 1992). Leaders who act as "keepers of the vision" are crucial for organizational innovation as they act as a constant source of relevant
information on how to deviate from the culture in which they are embedded. Building a shared vision acts to create coherence and unity thus, establishing within the community a sense of "internal quality" (Vandenberghhe and Staessens, 1991).

Commitment to organizational effectiveness is considered within a leader's scope of influence (Angle and Perry, 1983). Creating meaningful interaction with faculty and staff may be a preferred role for principals who are attempting to establish a supportive environment and a climate for learning (Caldwell and Spinks, 1992). Consequently, what a leader says or does communicates what is important. In this way, certain expectations are communicated which are related to the basic values and assumptions in the organization which are, in turn, influenced by the leader (Staessens, 1991). A principal who focuses attention on classroom practice expresses that pedagogical issues are very important. In doing this, the expectation is expressed that communication surrounding theses issues is required. A principal might exclusively contact teachers only when matters of administrative or organization concern arise, hence, the implication can be drawn, by staff, that these areas are of most concern and focus efforts on ends unrelated to student learning.

Socialization: Processes for the recruitment, induction and continued education of members of the organization must be present for a strong sense of community to be maintained. The existence of processes to socialize new members into an organization is an indirect indicator of the existence of strong organizational norms (Bryk and Driscoll, 1988). Teachers produce through their mutual efforts a socialization process designed to protect existing norms and
beliefs therefore, perpetuating the school community. In this way, teachers become "bearers of the vision" (Vandenberghhe and Staessens, 1991) insuring that future activities will be commensurate with practices that are valued. Development activities need to focus on not only training in new curriculum practices and instructional techniques but on the development of staff as involved and productive members of a collective. It is through the process of communicating with and reacting to each other, one makes clear what is expected and possible or prohibited and unthinkable. Hence, these interactions form an element of social control. Certain behaviors are accepted and encouraged and others dismissed and dissuaded in a daily on-going organizational process aimed at creating a common social reality.

SUMMARY

This paper has attempted to blend the literature concerning professionalism with the literature of community, positing a framework for a school-based professional community. Traditionally, the professionalization literature has emphasized a technical knowledge base shared among all members of the profession; membership control over entry to the profession; and the norm of client-orientation. The literature concerning community has emphasized the importance of broadly shared values and norms of behavior; the importance of a sense of responsibility for the collective good; and the need for an extended relationship of caring between individuals. Blending these two literature bases into a coherent framework for school-based professional community suggests an integrated professional community model that combines a universally applicable knowledge-base rooted in the discipline of teaching with organizational factors such as values, climate and caring.
relationships. Integrating these two literatures assumes that knowledge of organizational settings improves performance and that a sustained focus on student learning, rather than on decision-making models or teacher-centered innovation, can prove beneficial for schools.

In our study of schools, it has proven difficult to create a clear pattern of conditions necessary or sufficient for the creation of school-based professional community. We have studied schools in which optimum levels of structural conditions are present yet, with human resource conditions lacking professional community has failed to thrive. Others (Louis and Miles, 1991; Raywid, 1993) have suggested that the existence of human resource conditions without the support of adequate structure is equally unsuccessful. At this time, we are aware that some combined minimal level of structural and social and human resources conditions are necessary for community to exist. Further study is necessary to hypothesize which factors pre-suppose the formation of school-based communities and which factors sustain existing professional communities.

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An Emerging Framework for Analyzing School-Based Professional Community

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I. Professionalism and Community

A. Professionalization emphasizes:
   (1) a technical knowledge base shared among all members of the profession;
   (2) membership control over entry to the profession; and
   (3) the norm of client-orientation (putting client needs before personal interest and treating all clients as equally deserving of professional attention)

B. Community emphasizes:
   (1) the importance of broadly shared values and norms of behavior;
   (2) the importance of a sense of responsibility for the collective good;
   (3) the need for an extended relationship of caring between individuals

C. Professional community and organizational community:
   (1) the professional community model emphasises the universally applicable knowledge-base, values, etc. Identification is with the discipline/profession.
   (2) the organizational community literature emphasises the values, caring relationships, climate, etc. as factors affecting organizational performance.
   Knowledge of the organizational setting is assumed to improve performance.
   (3) A school-based model of professional community focuses integrating (1) and (2).

II. School-Based Professional Community: Why would we want it?

A. Increased collective responsibility (across individuals/departments) for performance (performance may be defined more broadly than increased student achievement)

B. A substitution of internalized organizational control for bureaucratic rules (internalized controls are viewed as more effective in circumstances that demand complex judgements and present frequent non-routine circumstances).

C. Flexible boundaries, both within the school and between the school and its environment will increase the adaptive "learning capacity" of the school by increasing individual and group access to new information.

D. Increased personal commitment of professionals to their work; increased willingness

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1 This outline was prepared for a non-traditional symposium on the development of professional community in urban schools, American Educational Research Association, April 12-16, 1993. It reflects the major contributions of our colleagues in the "Longitudinal Study of Restructuring Schools," Tony Bryk, Jed Hopkins, Jean King, Peg Lonnquist, Mary Ann Raywid and Sharon Rollow. The study is funded by the Center for the Organization and Restructuring of Schools, University of Wisconsin, OERI grant # R117Q000005-91. The comments of numerous other colleagues at the Center are gratefully acknowledged.
to work hard for the goals of the school.

III. School-Based Professional Community: What are its Specific Characteristics?

A. Reflective Dialogue: conversations about serious educational issues or problems that involves the application of new knowledge in a sustained manner. Reflective dialogue frequently results in implications for changed behavior.

B. De-privatization of Practice: frequent examination of individual teaching behaviors, both through observation and "case analysis" that is rooted in the desire to improve.

C. Collective Focus on Student Learning (as opposed to teaching strategies or techniques).

D. Collaboration: involvement of professional staff in developmental activities that have consequences for more than one person. Collaboration must go beyond collegiality, which may involve superficial exchanges of help, support or assistance.

E. Shared Norms/Values: (1) Professional staff must share a commitment to both the outcomes of professional community (II.A-II.D) and the central features of professional community (III.A-III.B)

(2) Additional values observed in restructuring schools include (a) all students can learn; (b) all students are of equal value; (c) expanded responsibility of professional staff for student development that goes beyond academic achievement; (d) a sense of obligation to keep learning about the craft of teaching; and (e) shared beliefs about how to treat students in and out of class, e.g., how to deal with student behavior.

IV. What Conditions Support the Development of School-Based Professional Community?

A. Structural Conditions

1. Time to meet and talk
2. Small size
3. Physical proximity
4. Interdependent formal teaching roles (team teaching, etc.)
5. Communication structures/networks (e-mail, regular meetings, etc.)
6. School autonomy, teacher empowerment (SBM/SDM)
7. Control over membership (ability to select teachers and administrators; some ability to encourage non-supportive staff to leave).

B. Social and Human Resources

1. Openness to improvement/willingness to accept feedback
2. Trust and respect from relevant colleagues and the district
3. Adequate cognitive and skill base; understanding of the knowledge base for effective teaching and learning
4. Supportive leadership (post-heroic leaders who do not view themselves as the architect of school effectiveness)
5. Relatively intensive socialization processes