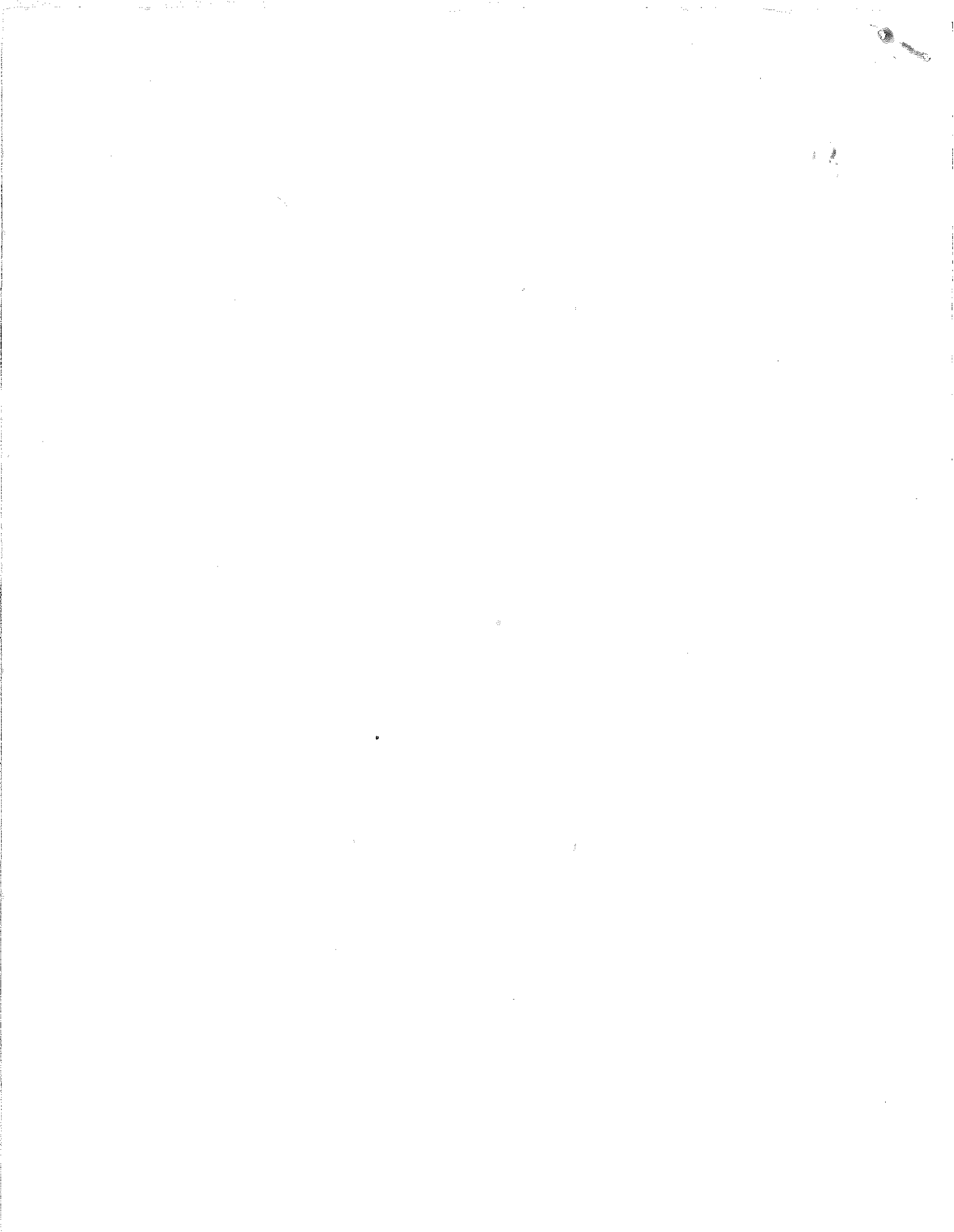




## RESTRUCTURING SCHOOL GOVERNANCE: TWO MODELS

*Abstract:* This chapter focuses on restructuring demands rising from the conviction that schools as presently structured are out of synch with their environments: with their external political and client environments, and with their internal environments as constituted by students and teachers. These demands seek changed governance and control arrangements for schools. The two most fully developed and widely discussed models are school site management and public schools of choice. These two models are described here, contrasted with present school governance, and examined for their potential for altering such core characteristics as school mission conception, social order, and participant roles.

Mary Anne Raywid  
Hofstra University  
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## THE GOVERNANCE VIEW

There is yet a third domain of concern currently spawning demands for school restructuring. As we have seen, some of the present calls for restructuring are inspired by a desire to better align school organization and practice to accord with present knowledge about teaching and learning. Others are inspired by a desire to better align the school as a workplace with the requisites of professional practice and wellbeing. A third inspiration is the desire to reorganize the school so as to align it better with its environment -- both its external political environment and its internal environment.

This third view of restructuring stems from the conviction that the school is simply no longer in synch with its political environment -- i.e., with the desires of the parents and the communities it presumably serves, or with the political system whose procedural principles public institutions are expected to reflect. Nor, say proponents of this conception of restructuring, do school conditions and practices accord with their internal environment as defined by the nature and needs of the human beings who populate schools -- the adults as well as the youngsters. This third inspiration for restructuring offers yet another vision of the major school problems to be solved, and hence of the sorts of changes necessary, and the policies needed to introduce them.

The second half of the 20th century has seen repeated challenge to largescale organizations of all sorts. It has been a period of increasing public skepticism about major societal institutions and a growing lack of confidence in major organizations. Pollsters have repeatedly displayed the scope of such disaffection, to encompass

and even . . . . . Actually, schools have received fewer knocks than some other institutions, whose leadership has sometimes been taken to lack trustworthiness and/or competence. The public ranks schools in about the middle of the list of major American institutions: as less trustworthy than . . . . . , but as moreso on the other hand than . . . . .

The critique of largescale institutions has included a number of concerns. One entire set has addressed the matter of control and governance. The issue of maintaining democratic authority and responsibility in a society of increasing technical expertise has been a major question. Where does the expertise desirably limit the kind and amount of political control, and how may the experts then be controlled? How can we assure quality control in a largescale enterprise, with appropriate mechanisms of accountability, without simultaneously impeding the effectiveness of the institutions controlled? Another particularly thorny issue for public

schools has been the desirability both of extensive inclusivity and of manageable scale. The scale problem is of relatively recent vintage. But it recurs in school discussions, as the number of negatives associated with bigness lengthens, and the number of justifications for large schools diminishes. These are only a sampling of the sorts of challenges that have been put to numerous largescale public and private organizations.

It is not surprising that one dimension of this critique has been a broad-gauged challenge to bureaucracy, the century's dominant mode of organizing largescale enterprise. Over the past three decades it has been criticized as inefficient and ineffective (its two grounds of greatest alleged superiority), as inhumane, as non-responsive to its clients or to the rest of its public, as dominated almost entirely by technological and turf imperatives, and as largely out of control, leaving no one to stand effectively at the helm. Such criticisms have been brought to apply to virtually all bureaucratically structured organizations in recent years -- corporations, the church, the army, the post office, as well as the schools.

Whether just and otherwise appropriate, viewing bureaucracy as the source of school ills spotlights a number of alleged pathologies. It points us in the direction of the major elements of organizational structure: governance and communication arrangements, role allocations, and workplace norms and procedures. These in turn suggest four major challenges closely tied to school organization and structure. If we take seriously the idea that perhaps the school's problems stem from its structure -- and their resolution rests on altering that structure -- then school reform is very much a matter of examining present and desired practice with respect to:

- 1) How the school as an institution construes its mission.
- 2) The fundamental rules and procedures of school practice.
- 3) The roles -- functions, prerogatives, responsibilities -- of the 'players' within a school: students, teachers, specialists, administrators, parents
- 4) The way schools are governed, both internally and externally.

Both present school structure, and the major alternatives now being suggested to replace it, represent particular positions on these four issue areas.

To date we have evolved just two major proposals for reorganizing schools so as to improve them. One seeks to do so primarily by expanding the influence that parents, or more precisely their elected or appointed representatives, can exert over decisions made for their school. The other abandons the approach of enhancing representative governance and gives individual families more direct and extensive control. It does so by enabling them to select the school that best suits them and their youngster. To date, these are the only detailed proposals we have for implementing the widely voiced demand to "restructure" the schools in the interests of different

governance patterns.

The first of these proposals is known as site management, the other as the schools of choice concept. The two ideas are not incompatible, and indeed hold a number of features in common. They do, however, rest on somewhat different diagnoses of current school ills and hence recommend some differences in treatment. A brief description of each of these proposals may prove helpful at the outset.

The site management proposal recommends that curriculum, personnel, and budget decisions be made within, for, and by individual schools. The authority to act, and the resources to implement the decisions, should be returned to the schools by states and districts, with each school receiving its budgetary share (the amount being determined by its enrollment) in a lump sum for its own allocation. Each school is expected to operate within policy guidelines set by the state and district -- but in general, school accountability shifts from the present input and monitoring controls to outcomes such as attendance, and student achievement on state and district examinations. The preparation of annual reports on these and other matters becomes a major school responsibility, as does careful longrange planning.

All school site management proposals call for the establishment of one or more committees -- typically designated "School Advisory Councils" -- for obtaining the systematic input on school decisions of teachers, parents, and sometimes of other citizens and students as well. Site management proposals differ, however, on the crucial feature of whether the councils are to be decisionmaking bodies setting policy for the school, or whether they should merely be advisory to the principal who is the decisionmaker. A related feature on which proposals differ is whether the principal is appointed and continued in that post by the advisory council or by the district superintendent. Obviously, these two structural arrangements are key matters in setting up a site management system.

The choice idea calls first for the deliberate diversification of schools, so that each school (and sometimes mini-schools, and schools-within-schools) develops its own program that is distinctive in some way (for example, as to its philosophy, its curriculum, instructional approach, school climate and ethos). The public is then invited to select their school from among the array, depending on the student's particular needs and interests or on family preference as to general school orientation.

Schools of choice have originated under more varied auspices and as an answer to a greater variety of problems than has the site management idea, which was developed largely by scholars and policy analysts to modify school governance. Some choice arrangements have been adopted to accommodate students not otherwise being well served in the system, others as a response to strong parent and/or teacher preferences, others to provide pilot sites for innovation and

experiment, and still others as an alternative to forced busing. The multiple roots tend to make for more varied renderings of the choice proposal, reflecting rather different features and qualities as the idea has been developed in different places. (Hence the differences among, for example, magnet schools, alternative schools, and open enrollment schools.)

As it has grown in some districts, the choice opportunity extends to staff who also select their own programs. Under such circumstances, teachers often collectively design the program within their school, an arrangement calling in turn for a considerable degree of independence from curricular and other mandates originating at state and district levels. In other locales, however, the choice arrangement has not substantially altered top-down program design and control, or the way in which teachers are assigned to schools. Choice programs of the first sort have much in common with site management arrangements, while programs of the second sort do not. Even, however, in those schools of choice which enjoy considerable autonomy, that probably occurs more often informally and perhaps sometimes even accidentally or by default, than by formal delegation of power over curriculum, budget, and personnel decisions -- the hallmark of site management.

The site management proposal assumes that today's major education problems stem from the highly centralized control to which schools have become subject, and the consequent distancing of decisionmaking from the level of application. Control properly belongs in the hands of those most directly associated with a school, say advocates: its staff, and its students and their families. Most site management proponents give no hint of an intent to establish a *new balance* between school, district, and state levels of control. Rather the interest is in lodging control primarily at the school level.

We shall look at both of these major reorganization suggestions for schools, site management and choice, examining the responses each would make to the four challenge issues identified on page 2. We shall also be looking at the way in which contemporary school organization responds to those issues. First, however, it may be well to emphasize that both the schools of choice proposal and the site management proposal are calling for a fundamental reordering of school organization to permit and enable the individual school to define itself to a far greater extent than is now the case. Just such a reordering has now been recommended by a substantial number of reform reports, including the National Governors' Association's *Time for Results*; the Committee for Economic Development's *Investing in Our Children*, and the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy's *A Nation Prepared*.

The recommendation that the school be recognized and treated as the primary unit of education is a proposal further buttressed by a broad array of contemporary research. John Goodlad has urged it on the basis of his extensive study of schools. Effective Schools research has

underscored it. Organizational specialists are proposing it. And most recently, those convinced of the superiority of private and parochial schools have attributed the advantage of these schools largely to the independence of each, and its resulting opportunity to define itself.<sup>1</sup>

### I. Conception of Mission

A substantial part of the demand for restructuring schools stems from the charge that they are not doing well by the youth entrusted to them. The particular object of this complaint differs -- including, e.g., that the schools are not educating -- or that they are not educating substantial numbers, they are failing to teach the right things, they are failing to motivate or inspire, they are invading what should remain the family's province, they are violating individual youngsters with unfair treatment or indifference. These complaints, as well as many others, bring challenge to the way in which the school construes its mission.

The mission of schooling -- and especially of public schooling -- has long been multi-faceted. Perhaps those Massachusetts colonists of 1620 had the singlemindedness often attributed to them in seeking only to enable the young to read the Bible so that they might know the word of God. But if so, they may be the *Isot* group with so clear and uncomplicated a vision of just what schools should accomplish. Later colonists clearly sought public and secular purposes, as well as individual, in urging the spread of education. And many disagreements over school practice can be traced to disagreements over whether the school is assumed to be primarily a public good or a private benefit. The stance taken on this matter goes a long way toward determining appropriate school orientation. If, for example, the school's mission is primarily to serve public interests, then such functions as sorting, slotting, and certifying youngsters for their subsequent careers seems a reasonable focus and function. Letting youngsters sink or swim in one program and then tracking them into another is understandable. But if the school ought instead be construed a private benefit, then these practices are hard to justify -- and it is difficult to argue advantages for any individual to ever having a failing grade entered on his or her academic record!

Beyond the public versus individual question, the mission issue also includes the matter of just what sort of enterprise schooling is. Is its task the delivery of particular goods, such as the multiplication tables, Shakespeare, the alphabet, the Civil War, or other items appearing on cultural literacy lists? Or is it the dispensing of particular services, such as custodial, instructional, developmental?

Some of the schools' difficulties stem from different positions on these matters, some from the conflicting and contradictory nature of the alternatives. A part of the restructuring demand is that we reconstitute the mission. In some cases, what is sought is a shift to a stronger public

good orientation. That certainly seems the message in the demand for better school performance to improve the nation's economic competitiveness. So a public good orientation has seemed to inspire much of the current Excellence Movement. There are also, however, a number of restructuring proponents whose interest lie in strengthening the school's determination to benefit each and every child.

The school's posture on such matters appears to be that of most largescale contemporary institutions. Its mission is to make available a set of services to people seeking those services. That seems straightforward and reasonable enough. But in the case of the school, the posture is complicated by several features not shared by other institutions. In the first place, those to be served are not there voluntarily but are legally compelled to present themselves. In the second place, the youthfulness of service recipients recommends measures designed to see that they avail themselves fully of the services. In the third place, our national commitments to equity and equal opportunity recommend measures going beyond the simple laying out of the services. There may also be an obligation to render them meaningful and genuinely accessible to service recipients. These differences make school service delivery unique. They also leave us feeling somewhat ambivalent about schools. On the one hand, we believe they open doors, even worlds, to the young. On the other, school functions can also be perceived "services masquerading as gifts," the institution can be seen as both obtrusive and intrusive, and teaching can be viewed a practice based on condescension.<sup>2</sup>

The cynical view reflects just how a number of people have come to perceive large schools. Those who staff them have been variously tagged as part of "the helping professions" and as "street-level bureaucrats."<sup>3</sup> As they have pursued the path of other professionals and other bureaucrats, they have become the targets of the kind of resentments addressed to other figures. Schools have adopted the bureaucratic model in identifying more and more functions for special treatment, and in proliferating offices of new experts to offer them -- e.g., planners, evaluators, special reading teachers, speech therapists, counselors, curriculum developers, school social workers, remedial specialists. One result has been a depersonalizing trend along with the fragmentation of services.

Psychologists have suggested that one of the reasons for the contemporary resentment against doctors is that the specializing within their profession has led to 'thingification.' The patient is dehumanized by the doctor who is concerned with a particular organ or a particular wound or disease, rather than with the individual. The doctor-patient encounter, as psychologist Erving Goffman put it, is not a human one but a transaction between a service provider and a client's malfunctioning object.<sup>4</sup> Many suggest that the school's posture has become analogous: that school is a set of transactions between a service deliverer and a client's particular area of

deficiency -- be that a matter of deficient mathematical skills, of socially unacceptable behavior, or a lack of knowledge of history.

One of the major consequences of the large school orientation has particular import for its mission. The school has become increasingly oriented toward effective service delivery, rather than toward success. In other words, its focus has been on its task, not on its achievement: on the pursuit of what is generally recognized as good practice, rather than on succeeding with individuals. True, sound practice is not unrelated to what has been found successful -- but successful according to statistical norms that may not apply similarly to all populations. Thus, schools and teachers have not been judged on the basis of their success, but on the basis of whether they were doing what sound practice recommends.

There have been good reasons for such a tendency. As more youngsters have presented difficult challenges, and as circumstances have posed further obstacles, it has seemed that all we can reasonably expect is sound practice. But it appears that the limits of public tolerance and understanding have been exceeded (perhaps, for instance by such extremes as the New York high school which was graduating only 7% of its students). For whatever reasons, neither individuals nor the public at large seem willing any longer to accept the 'sound practice' defense. That is in considerable part what the accountability preoccupation of the present is about. External demands will no longer permit the 'sound practice' orientation; critics are insisting that schools shift their mission to that of engaging in practice that succeeds in virtually all cases.

A corollary tendency of present school posture will probably also be abandoned with the shift away from the 'sound practice' orientation. It reinforced accounting to the hierarchy -- one's superordinates within the organization -- for they, after all, were better judges than the public of what 'sound practice' consists in. Thus, complaints from outside tended to be passed up the school's hierarchical ladder and accountability diffused and obfuscated in their treatment. A success focus demands a more direct form of accounting to the public, and a clearer view of just where responsibility lies. It is likely to change the traditional practice of lodging ultimate responsibility with a single figure at the top of the hierarchy, to diffusing it a lot more generously throughout the system.

Many of the current calls for restructuring address this mission shift from correct to successful practice. The ramifications of such a shift are hard to overestimate. The difference between a call for restructuring and a call for reform usually hinges on an assumption about how fundamental and pervasive the needed change will prove. The assumption in this case is that we urgently need a very fundamental reconstruing of what schools are for. Beyond that, however, proposers differ as to just how they would restructure. The dominant trend of the last

five to ten years has been a sharp increase in the state role in education. This began to occur in the late 70s, largely through the imposition of state competency tests to determine students' eligibility to graduate, and in some cases even to be promoted to the next grade. The effort has been stepped up during the 80s, with curricular mandates and course content specification, in addition to more tests. There are those who maintain that the right combinations and proportions of state and local inputs can eventually correct today's imbalances in the control of schools, and that such correctives will suffice. Others, however, are convinced that nothing short of real restructuring will do.

To the extent that site management proposals fail to assign major roles to community figures other than parents, they would appear to be reflecting a private benefits view of education, construing it primarily as an entitlement and advantage for the individual, rather than a matter of public interest. Although the monitoring of particular outcomes can help assure the fulfillment of larger purposes (those of the local and national communities), the emphasis seems to be on the purposes of the school's immediate constituents. Whether particular site management arrangements reflect the participatory democracy flavor of shared decisions, or whether authority remains essentially in the hands of the principal, the "subsidiarity" principle is presupposed -- i.e., the conviction that decisions are best reached at the level closest to their implementation. The interests most strongly voiced at that level are likely to be the immediate and personal concerns of the participants.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the upshot with respect to school mission would be schools more attuned to the particular characteristics of their students -- to their educational needs and aspirations, and perhaps to their interests. Such schools ought to display a good deal of flexibility as compared to schools where districtwide regulations and procedures have been established to cover large numbers of youngsters, many of whom may differ in important ways from the population of any particular school. Depending on the match between the principal and the parent community -- and how the principal is appointed -- site management could also mean closer alignment between the particular ethnic orientation of parents and the values reflected in the school. This would mean an increase in what is often called school "responsiveness," as the institution is better able to adapt to the orientations of particular groups. The result could be a distinctive ethnic flavor for the mission and general style that many schools reflect.

Irrespective of the extent to which a particular site management arrangement divides authority among and between professional educators and parents, the increased contact implicit in the arrangement may alter their relationships. The social distance may narrow between educators as professionals and employees of the bureaucracy, and parents as 'laypersons.' The

partnership aspects of the parent-educator connection, and the home-school link, are likely to loom larger. The arrangement should make both parents and educators more prone to see themselves as engaged in a shared enterprise directed toward common purposes. Thus, a greater sense of mutuality seems probable. Under such circumstances, the bureaucratic tendency to depersonalize service delivery is likely to recede and the personal dimensions of education's mission expand. The school might well become more flexible in its willingness to respond differently to individuals and their differing needs.

But although site management can conduce to such tendencies, it is also quite plausible that it would change very little in any of these regards. If the School Advisory Council remains advisory only, and its discussions trivial or perfunctory, it is possible that the site management impact would not extend much further than the internal shift of authority within the district's hierarchy. Decisionmaking power for the School Advisory Council would certainly strengthen the likelihood of such tendencies as a sense of partnership and mutuality and of increased personalizing and flexibility on the part of the school. Short of the decisionmaking feature, however, such tendencies are far less assured. And it is even possible that a strong, decisionmaking School Advisory Council with a bureaucratic orientation might keep its powers strictly within the Council and the empowerment would extend no further than these representatives.

It is conceivable that depending upon the extent and the adequacy of outcomes monitoring, site management arrangements could neglect the interests of the public and the wider community. Depending upon the extent of the rejection of century-long tendencies toward standardization and program uniformity, the range of program diversity could become a problem, along with coordination difficulties between educational levels. Both of these challenges address the possibility that a system we now perceive as overly centralized and homogenized could become so much less so as to pose opposite problems of fragmentation and disarray. That is possible, although the many other factors also functioning to assure educational uniformity might well suffice to maintain strong school-to-school likenesses. These factors include such things as the wide use of particular textbooks and other materials, the similarity in teacher preparation nationwide, and the common elements in collective bargaining agreements.

There is an additional challenge, posed quite early in the history of the site management idea by one of its formulators: "The key question in community responsiveness is whether the tyranny of the majority at a single school site would produce better public policy than the tyranny of the majority in an entire district."<sup>5</sup> There are two noteworthy features of the way in which the author, Lawrence Pierce, frames the challenge: the first is his assumption of the tyranny of the majority, whether its jurisdiction be the school or the district. Any collective

enterprise may prove unavoidably tyrannical in relation to dissidents. But the right of a minority to register effective disagreement, or to pursue its own course, is more restricted under the arrangements by which we organize school than is the case in many other pursuits -- e.g., religion, leisure activities, the selection of assorted professional expertise (medical, legal, etc.).

A second feature of Pierce's challenge is that it calls attention to our political tradition's assumption that a larger decision base -- a state instead of a district, the nation instead of a state -- may yield wiser decisions, or at least decisions where the interests of minorities have a better chance at representation and inclusion. Civil rights demands of the 60s denied this assumption, and the public school's continuing failure to meet the needs of particular groups continues to fuel the hope that if the disadvantaged could control their own programs, the programs would adapt better to what is needed and hence prove more successful.

Professor Pierce's response to the 'tyranny' challenge was to combine the site management idea with the opportunity to choose one's school. Thus, if a family did not share or approve of the orientation of the neighborhood school, they could select another. Such a solution makes sense: Schools permitted to develop their own vision of education would surely differ more than schools can now, because of constant current pressures toward uniformity. When the differences, and a particular school's resulting orientation, are plainly logically arbitrary -- the consequence of just one of several strains of professional opinion -- then it seems only fair that a youngster needing, or a family preferring, a *different* strain be free to seek it. (This does not mean that schools autonomous enough to differ would necessarily prove any more logically arbitrary than centrally controlled schools: the extent to which educational science supports an array of different and even contradictory practices -- and the extent to which education is permanently value-based -- means that any school's practice must be to a large degree logically arbitrary.)

Does this mean that the schools emerging from the site management arrangement will be idiosyncratic? Possibly, to some extent. It is certainly conceivable, for example, that a neighborhood where a number of thespians live might want the school's mission to feature the performing arts -- or that a community of professors might want the mission to emphasize the cultivation of intellectual prowess -- or that a disadvantaged community might want a mission offering a career emphasis and employability assurances. But, proponents of site management assert, such schools will be no less logically arbitrary than are present school orientations and practices, a great many of which enjoy no more -- and sometimes less -- empirical support than the alternatives they exclude.

This leads to today's second major proposal for restructuring schools, the choice arrangement. As the paragraphs immediately above have suggested, some have come to the choice

idea as a necessary concomitant of the site management arrangement. For others, it is the choice feature that is the more salient and significant one, with school governance of lesser import.

What might be the effects of the choice arrangement on the school's conception of mission? It seems reasonable to anticipate tendencies similar to those we associated with site management, but probably more sharply pronounced. When a school's clientele has explicitly chosen to be there, it is reasonable to expect agreement on at least one matter of substantial educational import and significance. Depending on the school's theme, or the way in which it has established its own distinctiveness and identity, a school of choice may enjoy extensive value agreement among the groups associated with it, staff as well as parents and students. That means there may be substantially more unanimity with respect to mission than is common in public education. This could make for more school-to-school differences -- at the same time that it yields the benefits which effective schools research and private schools research have linked to high levels of mission coherence.

Another mission-related likelihood associated with a school of choice is that it is even more prone than a site management school to feature responsiveness to individual students and parents. The fact that it is chosen alters the relationship of chooser and chosen, in ways that changes in school governance may not accomplish. It stands to reason that a balancing of statuses and power differences, and a resulting mutuality, are more likely to arise in a relation to which neither of the parties involved is captive. And a likely consequence is added efforts at responding adequately to all individuals, rather than simply addressing the average or the majority. (It must be recognized, however, that such a benefit can be anticipated only in a system providing enough attractive schools of choice to go around. In those locales where magnet schools have hundreds or even thousands of applicants for each opening, reports suggest that the indifference and lack of responsiveness can be even higher than in the schools the magnets replaced!)

Thus, the choice arrangement is likely to bring an intensification of the school's private benefits orientation. Interests associated with the public good would need to be maintained either by input controls and monitoring, as under present arrangements, or by accountability for outcomes as the site management arrangement would have it.

## II. Rules and Procedures Defining the School's Social Order

According to some, a great many of education's difficulties are fairly directly traceable to matters rarely discussed and often unrecognized. These include the most fundamental beliefs and commitments, and the most basic understandings of the way things work, which are so deeply

ingrained as to be taken for granted, rarely discussed, and virtually never questioned. They constitute the culture of a school and yield its social order as they give rise to rules and standard operating procedures. School culture is, of course, far broader. It consists of norms and beliefs about students, about the world, and about life and its purpose. I refer here only to that part of this broad ideological system that gives rise to those rules of behavior, both written and unwritten, which control the interactions of the participants.

Within contemporary schools, this most fundamental belief system appears to include a commitment to bureaucracy as the only plausible, viable form of social organization. At levels too fundamental to be challenged, many of those in schools have accepted that there must be differential status and authority assignments, fixed roles, clearly divided responsibilities and accountability measures, and written rules governing interactions. Irrespective of how they may complain, and even of the explicit attacks on bureaucracy of the past several decades, large numbers apparently continue to assume its singular superiority as ~~the~~ way to organize largescale enterprise. Many also accept the inevitability of bureaucratic dominance in any modern society.

Such understandings, and the interaction patterns they produce, yield a school's social order. This 'order' determines the way in which its constituents 'do' school, and this, in turn, determines the school's climate. There is good reason to be concerned with such matters. A widening range of research is suggesting that they determine how those associated with a school react to and feel about it -- and that this in turn determines the importance they will assign it in their lives and the kind and amount of effort they will devote to it. This seems true of staff as well as of students, and it seems to go a long way toward defining the difference between a good and a poor school.<sup>6</sup>

Within the school, such assumptions have yielded a strong tendency toward formal rules generation (even to the point where students are confronted at the beginning of the school year with long lists of rules to be followed in each of their classes and extra-curricular activities). The need for and appropriateness of such -- as the best way to have things run smoothly and avoid chaos -- is simply assumed. The need for bosses to command, oversee, and enforce the work of teachers is similarly assumed. The impersonality fostered by bureaucratic organization is not only accepted but receives particular reinforcement in the school: The work is so organized and apportioned among the staff as to discourage if not to entirely preclude collaboration. It is pursued in isolation from colleagues, 'behind the classroom door.'

In what ways would today's two major restructuring proposals for schools revise this social order? Would the site management arrangement alter it in any substantial way? Would the choice arrangement modify it? The answer in each case probably turns in significant measure

on one key governance contingency. In those site management arrangements where the authority shifted to the principal *remained* with the principal, and was not shared with the School Advisory Council, there may be only minimal change in other regards as well. In those schools of choice where the top-down control pattern remained undisturbed, other changes might also prove minimal. But assuming site management and choice arrangements which actually dispersed authority, what school social order changes might be anticipated?

Site management is a less assured source of such change than is the choice arrangement. The reason is that even if School Advisory Council members are empowered as decisionmakers, changes for *other* members of the staff and other parents may prove minimal. Site management is a plan that directly affects only the representatives of teacher and parent groups -- and then only in their policymaking roles; even the teacher representative's role may remain unchanged as that individual functions within his or her classroom. And others may not be empowered at all by the arrangement. Site management is primarily a governance arrangement. It is not clear that formal governance changes alone would serve as sufficient catalyst to broader social order changes -- although of course they would do so if teacher influence in the decisionmaking council were to yield policies specifying functions differently, or explicitly changing key procedures (e.g., establishing team teaching).

But there is little reason why the switch to a representative government need be accompanied by extensive social order change. It would, of course, change the relationship to the school of the parent members of the decisionmaking body. But as school boards have proven, that arrangement certainly needn't disturb a bureaucratic orientation for schools. Thus, we conclude that site management may, but need not, lead to broader changes in the social order of the school. Its installation may set the stage for further changes, but there is nothing in the machinery it establishes or the dynamics it sets in motion that makes it a probable catalyst of broad social order change within the school.

The choice arrangement, in contrast, would probably be assured of yielding broader social order changes, since there is a strong tendency to disperse any additional authority among the staff,<sup>7</sup> thereby bringing direct empowerment to a considerably larger group. Here are the dynamics likely to bring about such generalized empowerment.

Recall that the new authority transferred to a school by the choice arrangement is made necessary by the charge to establish a distinctive program representing a unique identity. This necessarily entails the empowerment of all the program planners, as they must create and carry out their own vision of schooling. It makes sense that the full teaching staff be involved, because the novelty or uniqueness needs to be pervasive and manifested throughout the school, not just to be reflected in a supplementary add-on or sideline. It is this kind of involvement in

planning which is thought to account for the report of teachers in schools of choice that their work is more professional in nature than was the case in their previous assignments.<sup>8</sup> The program-planning obligation places a premium on reflection -- and on collective reflection -- as staff seek to evolve a mission for their school, work out curriculum decisions and ways to package academic content, and devise learning activities. Because the charge is to mount a distinctive program, they cannot simply pursue existing course syllabi or accept the leadership of textbook authors in selecting their directions. The situation, then, places teachers in new and novel roles: instead of being cast as the consumers of curriculum designs and materials, they must function as the creators of them. This in turn generates expectations of creativity from teachers, rather than asking conformity of them.

In the course of the sorts of experiences just sketched, the isolation typical of the teaching role in most schools is likely to be altered substantially. Teachers will have to be involved with colleagues in such tasks as school mission adoption, and collaboration may become as necessary a part of role demands as independence and self-sufficiency have proved to date.

There is another quite fundamental regard in which the choice arrangement is likely to transform teaching and simultaneously to alter the social order of the school. Today's public schools are, in Tonnes' classic terms,<sup>9</sup> Gesellschaft institutions. They exist, that is, by formal agreement to perform certain specified functions. Governments, post offices, department stores represent such institutions. By no stretch of the imagination do they and their associates constitute real communities. Gemeinschaft institutions, on the other hand, are communities. They consist of people bound together by sentiments, shared beliefs and commitments, and feelings of kinship to one another. Gesellschaft institutions are marked by secondary associations<sup>10</sup> -- relationships restricted to the single purpose and function that has brought two human beings together. A customer and a supermarket cashier share a secondary association -- as ordinarily do a lawyer and client, and in most high schools, a teacher and a student. A teacher is a math or an English teacher and has no concern or responsibility for a student's performance in other classes nor in the individual's personal life. Primary associations, on the other hand, are typical of Gemeinschaft institutions. These are relationships marked by a range of interest and concern, such that the whole lives of participants, past, present, and future, are prospectively relevant and germane to the relationship.

Now it seems that the choice arrangement tends to make schools into Gemeinschaft communities, and to make relationships there into primary associations. Such a tendency has been noted by a number of observers.<sup>11</sup> It seems to arise from several sources. First, the commonality reflected in the choice provides the foundation upon which a Gemeinschaft community can rise -- and sometimes it reflects one that is already present.<sup>12</sup>

Second, there seems a strong tendency in schools of choice to pursue broad educational aims addressing the full intellectual and character development of students. Such schools are concerned with intellectual growth as well as with academic achievement. They tend also to be concerned with the sort of human being that is evolving -- with personality as well as character, and with tastes and proclivities as well as with knowledge and ideas. Such concerns require primary associations between students and teachers, and these in turn generate *Gemeinschaft* community.

Third, there is a tendency in schools of choice to deny the bureaucratic pattern of formally defined and specific roles. Role definitions in many such schools tend to be much more flexible. Within a bureaucratic social order, the maintenance of role stability is a fundamental value. Roles may proliferate as new expertise and specialization warrants. Otherwise, however, it is the stability and endurance of role definitions which largely account for the dependability and stability of the organization. Their resistance to change is perceived a major virtue of bureaucratic organizations. Role maintenance is thus a primary value. The parallel value in schools of choice, however, is typically just the opposite: role flexibility is a positive value, given its capacity to maximize adaptation and hence responsiveness.

It appears then that the choice arrangement has considerable potential for changing a number of the dimensions of a school's social order. At least under some conditions, it leads to extensive change in the kinds of relationships and interaction patterns characterizing the school, and in the norms governing school behavior. A brief word may be helpful about the machinery for increasing the likelihood of such changes in schools of choice. The essentials appear to begin with the opportunity to choose -- which in turn presumes a broad enough array so that choosers can find a program which appeals. The choice opportunity for staff seems at least as important as choice for students and their families.<sup>12</sup> The staff must be charged with designing a unique and distinctive program, and they must be given the authority needed to do so i.e., the specific authorization to set aside external curricular and other mandates, and to devise alternative accountability measures. What is needed next are arrangements that conduce to teacher collaboration. Such arrangements must include shared instead of individual responsibilities, and common time periods regularly set aside for collaborative work. They also include provision for team teaching, out-of-classroom assignments for students to free teacher time for work with colleagues, periodic staff retreats, shared summer workshops and work schedules.

Obviously, the kind of social order described here departs significantly from that of most schools. It may call for different kinds of teachers, differently prepared. It will obviously place a premium on different personal attributes than do present school roles. Different qualities

would be needed and different competencies must be developed. Training in cooperative work would be important, for instance, along with negotiating skills and other strategies of group endeavor. Additionally, teachers need more knowledge of their teaching fields to be curriculum designers, than if required only to carry out a curriculum assembled by someone else.<sup>13</sup>

### III. The Roles of the Players

One of the major criticisms often directed at schools is that they have divided up tasks and functions in ways that are counterproductive. As the previous section sought to suggest, most contemporary largescale organizations organize and parcel out functions in predictable ways. The direction of the enterprise, and its coordination, are masterminded from the top, and the lower one's position in the pyramid-shaped hierarchy, the narrower the range of function and the fewer the discretionary decisions to be made. Tasks, and the roles of those who perform them, are well defined and delineated, and one worker is likely to be stepping on another's toes by assuming other functions and responsibilities, or even by understanding or knowing how to perform them!

Ultimately, the principle employed to divide up the total task, and to assign responsibility for the separate pieces, is the *logical* divisibility of the total product or service. Just which logic to employ as the division base is fairly clear in product manufacture where the elements of the parts are the ultimate components of the final product. Thus, the production of each of these is the task assigned a particular set of workers -- i.e., production in an automobile manufacturing corporation might divide workers into groups of rivet makers, drill hole punchers, and . . . . Assembly specialists are then responsible for adding just one of these components in the assembling of carburetors, generators, axles, etc. Still other assembly specialists subsequently install one of these parts in the emergent product. The analog is a bit harder to identify, however, in organizations established to provide a service rather than to manufacture a product. Service organizations typically divide up the parts in terms of the knowledge base that undergirds each one -- and so we get history teachers as distinct from music teachers, and counselors and administrators as distinct from teachers. The knowledge base keeps expanding, and with it the tendency to further redivide and thereby to delimit the tasks and functions of individuals.

The results of these role-defining tendencies of largescale organizations have been the object of much criticism of schools. They are also what prompts a number of those demanding the restructuring of school organization. Some are convinced that the ceaseless multiplying of specialties and experts is serving steadily to deskill classroom teachers, leaving them in shrinking and diminishing roles, with less and less knowledge of the total enterprise of

schooling. Others stress that even short of such a progressive deskilling, narrow role definitions serve to alienate workers in the school -- the staff as well as the students for whom they are responsible. Some are convinced that today's further tightening of the top-down control arrangements always present in large organizations is impeding the teacher's task and alienating teachers from their work. Others focus on the financial consequences, charging that a disproportionate amount of school funds are going to the 'superstructure' -- administrators and staff specialists -- and correspondingly few resources remain to be concentrated on classroom instruction. It is also alleged that the way we have divided up the services to be performed in schools is fundamentally ill-suited to the clients to be served -- that the division of instructional areas into disciplines taught by different teachers makes for a situation in which students remain unknown by their teachers, just as the subjects taught by their colleagues remain unknown to teacher. The division of counseling from teaching functions, for example, in effect deprives youngsters of contextual adult counsel and guidance. The division of disciplinary from teaching functions undermines the teacher's ability to maintain control in the classroom. And the programs designed to have remedial or enrichment specialists deal with special groups narrows still further the range of students the classroom teacher handles, and eventually the skills and general competence of that teacher.

Several of these cases are worth examining in a bit more detail, for what they seem to recommend by way of re-dividing tasks and functions in a school, and hence for reallocating roles. Consider first the alleged impacts of current role divisions on students. It is charged that the division of instruction into separate disciplines taught by different teachers creates a situation in which the daily experience of students is so fragmented as to deny meaningfulness to what is taught, at the same time that it becomes impossible for students to be known as individuals. Thus, the allocation of tasks according to substantive expertise is thought to undermine the effectiveness of instruction as well as to deny youngsters the psychological support they need.

Negative effects on teachers are also attributed to the role definitions typical of public schools. The sociology of work identifies the narrowing of worker function with a loss of meaningfulness and attendant loss of psychic reward for employment. As Peter Drucker put it, "The quickest way to quench motivation is not to allow people to do what they have been trained to do."<sup>14</sup> According to some analysts, this particular feature of school organization is largely responsible for the 'burnout' phenomenon receiving so much attention several years ago. As tasks are more narrowly and rigidly defined, workers become less able to specify their own working conditions, to perceive the outcomes or impacts of their efforts, or hence, to engage in tasks they can find meaningful. Thus, at least for some, current role definitions in schools tend

to decrease teacher task engagement and job satisfaction.

It is thus not surprising that some find present role allocations to contribute to school ineffectiveness. By producing debilitating psychological effects on both sets of key figures, teachers and students, present task divisions are said to undermine school productivity of all sorts. But the toll is alleged to be particularly heavy with respect to education's broad or general goals. As tasks are defined in increasingly narrow and explicit terms, responsibility is increasingly difficult to assign for the development of such traits as good character, and civic responsibility, and sound judgment. And estranged workers are not likely to assume unassigned responsibilities.

Such charges lend added force to the suggestion that the way in which tasks are apportioned within schools needs re-examination. At present the distribution is epistemologically rooted. Organizational practice predicates assignments on knowledge bases, with an expanded knowledge base yielding (or justifying) new specializations. But if the consequence of this is the fragmentation and ineffectiveness we have seen, what might be done instead? How ~~might~~ we to apportion tasks?

One possibility is to attenuate the connection now linking knowledge base to organizational specialization, acknowledging that the requisites of effective service delivery simply differ sufficiently from the requisites of scholarly expertise that the latter should not dictate the former no matter how extensive the knowledge base becomes. Heretical as this may initially appear, there is much to be said for it. For example, despite present demands for increasing teacher expertise in the subjects they teach, it is well known that particularly in the disciplines representing cumulative knowledge (mathematics and the sciences), teachers simply cannot use their advanced knowledge. It is also well known that the individual best versed in a subject may not be its best teacher, and that the administrator best versed in the sociology of organizations may not be the school's most effective leader.

Without arguing the art over science conception of teaching or administering, we might at least ask whether organizational practice in schools has identified the *proper* knowledge base for role allocations. It could be, for instance, that the proper base might be new epistemological combinations, amalgamating knowledge, for instance, about a particular student age group (e.g., young adolescents) plus a broad teaching area (e.g., U.S. history and literature) plus relevant school organization and structure (e.g., middle schools and junior highs). Whether or not this particular combination seems felicitous, it may well be advantageous to re-explore, without just assuming, the nature of what really constitutes specialized knowledge for educators. X  
Particularly as discussion proceeds on how to strengthen the preparation of educators, it may be important to challenge the traditional notion that teachers, for example, need much subject

matter preparation, plus some acquaintance with pedagogy. Perhaps a more fundamental restructuring is in order.

It is clear that the addressing of extant criticisms would entail very fundamental and far-reaching reorganizing of the school. It could yield very different sub-structures and alignments of responsibilities. It might prove beneficial to start all over to decide how best to divide up the tasks. Perhaps we would not have groupings based on age and ability levels but would divide students into different sorts of groups. Perhaps we would not use the Carnegie unit system -- and if it is retained for students, it might not be for teachers, or vice versa. Possibly one or two or three teachers would remain with a student group all day.

In any event, it appears that the way the functions need to be distributed may not accord with the logical divisions of products or services at all -- and hence that schools are, indeed, now allocating tasks in ways that impede instead of assuring goal realization. But short of such fundamental rebuilding of the school as an organization, what role changes might be anticipated in the wake of the two restructuring proposals that are now being urged? Would site management or choice bring substantial related changes?

Site management would directly expand the roles of those teachers involved in the School Advisory Council, to include policymaking (or policy advisement) functions. The roles of other staff would not, however, be modified by the arrangement -- unless, of course, specific policies were adopted, stipulating specific changes in teacher responsibilities and functions. Nor would any of the sorts of role changes considered above be involved even for teacher members of School Advisory Councils. It is certainly plausible that the added influence of parents might lead to policies modifying current role allocations within the school -- particularly role allocations between parents and school staff -- but it is quite possible that it would not. As we have tried throughout to suggest, a great deal of the change potential of the site management arrangement hinges upon the extent to which the School Advisory Council is actually empowered. If it remains unempowered, and advisory only, little may change, and in fact disappointments may generate negative feelings on the part of parents. But, as we have also tried to suggest, even if the Advisory Council is empowered, there is little in the site management arrangement providing an automatic catalyst to changes in *other* elements of the school's organizational structure.

By contrast, the choice arrangement does seem to come with built-in dynamics conducing to change in the several parts of a school's organizational structure. The need to jointly construct a school mission changes work patterns from solitary to collaborative. The likelihood that unsuccessful youngsters will leave the school provides an incentive to construing school mission as effectively serving all of those enrolled. The self-selection opportunity which choice entails

helps generate Gemeinschaft community. With respect explicitly to the effects of the choice arrangement on roles, the evidence suggests that staff in schools of choice are clearly likely to assume more extended roles than those assigned them in other schools.<sup>15</sup> This often occurs by necessity, since many schools of choice are small enough to lack the specialized personnel to offer particular services. But sometimes it happens in other ways, as youngsters come to know and trust teachers as individuals, and teachers become more aware of the traits and backgrounds of their students. It appears that the choice arrangement is likely to usher in conditions and to establish dynamics changing the teacher's role considerably. Collectively, these conduce to making staff roles far broader than in other schools. Teachers come to function less as subject matter experts and more as experts in students.

It might also be noted that the heightened job satisfactions of teachers in schools of choice, and the stronger identification with their school, also produce a willingness to take on added functions and to assume responsibilities well beyond those of teachers in other schools. This yields a separate impetus to the role extension commonly visible in schools of choice. It might also be noted that student roles, too, are likely to be expanded in schools of choice. It is not uncommon for students to teach courses, or units within courses, and in other ways to reflect a strong sense of responsibility in relation to the school.

#### IV. Governance

Current school criticism has come increasingly to rest on the way schools are governed. Indeed, as voiced by many, the demand for restructuring is precisely a demand for new governance arrangements and machinery. The dissatisfaction has seemed to attach largely to several features. Perhaps the most frequent target is centralization.

For almost a century, a steady trend has shifted educational control farther and farther from the classroom, its final point of application. With the adoption of largescale bureaucratic organization came the rationale for controlling the teacher's work and, to the extent possible, placing the really important decisions for the classroom in the hands of administrators. But that same organizational structure also served as a steady drain on the prerogatives of building administrators, as the prerogatives of central administrators gathered more and more control into district offices.

In some states, there has long been a visible tendency to centralize school governance still further, assigning the county or the state a dominant role. Such a tendency has received powerful support from the Excellence Movement, which has significantly increased the school control exerted at the state level. State control is now exercised through a combination of such

measures as curricular mandates with specified course syllabi, and standardized state-administered testing programs. In this way, legislatures and state education departments have sought to control and monitor classroom inputs, processes, and outcomes. It is not surprising, then, that the vigor with which "the regulatory impulse"<sup>16</sup> has been exercised over the past five to eight years is now yielding sharp complaints to the effect that schools are over-regulated -- and burdened with stultifying homogenization and standardization. The results, some charge, have been to impede the success of teachers and to drive the best ones out of classrooms altogether.

As earlier chapters have made clear, a related complaint against present school governance is that it fits poorly with the discretionary power necessary to effective teaching. Thus, some claim, present school governance impedes the use and application of the teacher's expertise, and deprives teachers of the requisite conditions of professional performance.

BOE | A corollary tendency has been the increasing insulation of the school from public control, with more and more decisions made by those operating the system. As one pair of analysts describe it, school control was "wrested from the people."<sup>17</sup> Their explanation, and that of others, is that direct parent influence has been effectively blocked and walled out, and even the indirect influence they might exert through the board of education has been blunted by a shift in board functions. Boards, it is charged, often deal extensively with matters of less import than those they ignore.<sup>18</sup> And many board members construe their function more in terms of representing the schools to the public than of representing the public to school authorities in the formulation of school policy.

Accountability to the public has thus been obfuscated as school employees -- teachers -- have been accountable to their superordinates -- department chairs and principals -- rather than to the parents or public who have wanted to voice complaints or to express expectations.

In concert with these tendencies, there has been another: a trend toward the amalgamation or conflating of value issues with matters of technical knowledge, such that the public's prerogatives have been usurped with respect to the values to be served in schools and the priorities to be observed among them. This tendency, identified as the "hyprationalization"<sup>19</sup> of school practice, has placed professionals in charge of many decisions that would earlier have been identified clearly as issues for public determination. It has been marked as well by a temptation to over-extend the evidence, and to mandate arrangements that are logically arbitrary in that there is as much empirical support for alternative arrangements as there is for those imposed and enforced.

A final governance challenge of a different sort has been raised by those who maintain that the incentive structure built into present school governance is fundamentally flawed. Teachers, it

is claimed, have nowhere to go, with the only means to increased responsibilities or to status enhancement, taking them out of the classroom. Moreover, collective bargaining agreements effectively deprive them of rewards for extraordinary effort or salutary performance, and the assignment of students to their classes leaves them not only with a 'captive audience' but with a group to which they, also, are captive.

Now how, and to what extent, do current influential restructuring proposals address such problems? It seems worth repeating at the outset that only two models for altering the governance structure of public schools have achieved much prominence: the site management model and the proposal to make public schools into schools of choice.<sup>20</sup> {FN: A third suggestion is, of course, the voucher proposal, and a number of permutations have been elaborated in extensive detail. Space limitations have recommended their omission here, in the interests of focusing more thorough attention on the restructuring now being urged within the public sector. Privatization is yet another restructuring possibility, and it has now been proposed in several forms in addition to vouchers. For example, a plan has been developed for teachers to establish themselves as private entrepreneurs and to contract their services, individually or in groups, with boards of education.} No other models have been elaborated for restructuring school governance within the public sector, although there has been much talk of teacher empowerment which would, of course, necessitate governance change.

Between the site management and choice models, it is the former which makes most explicit reply to school governance objections. Site management is immediately responsive to the challenge of over-centralized school control. It accomplishes this by making the school the primary unit of education and, to a considerable extent, a self-determining unit. External authorities at district and state levels would continue to set policy parameters and broad guidelines -- presumably, for example, with respect to equity and standards -- and individual schools would have extensive autonomy in terms of their goals, priorities, curricular organization, learning activities, climate, and general orientation.

The extent to which the site management arrangement would affect the distribution of power and autonomy within the school, and between school and parents, would depend heavily upon (1) the way the School Advisory Council is constituted and (2) the functions assigned it, as well as on (3) the way in which the principal is named and maintained in office. A site management plan in which the School Advisory Council is named by and strictly advisory to the principal has not redistributed authority between school and community at all -- although the principal may choose to delegate some of his or her power.

Even in such a minimal change arrangement, however, there has been one highly significant shift: considerably more authority now resides at the school level and thus the principal has

potentially become a much more powerful figure. One must stress "potentially," however, because so long as principals are named and continued in office at the pleasure of district authorities, those authorities will be in a position to exert sufficient pressure to call the shots quite extensively for the building level. Nevertheless, the principal's position in the site management arrangement will be more prominent, and that individual will doubtless be looked upon by parents and public as more responsible and accountable for school operation than principals are generally taken to be now. Thus, from the standpoint of incumbents, the price of this prospective enhancement of the principalship will be increased vulnerability. There will quite probably be an increase in status for the principal -- as well as in pay, according to many site management proposals -- to match the apparently expanded responsibilities. But whether there is also an increase in power must depend upon the superintendent unless the principal is otherwise named.

By contrast, a site management arrangement in which the principal is named by and responsible to an elected School Advisory Council has substantially modified existing power and authority distributions. This provides the structural foundation for a genuine reapportioning of professional and community control, as well as for a return of substantial effective power to the school. But it is not *all* that is necessary to the accomplishment of these major purposes of site management. Recall that site management is ordinarily defined to entail the control of curriculum, budget, and personnel at the school level. These are not all-or-nothing decisions, of course, and varying degrees of control are possible with respect to each. But so basic are these three elements to school operation that unless at least some authority regarding all three is transferred into the school, it would be hard to say that site management exists. Minimally, a school must receive a lump sum budget to allocate as it sees fit -- even though there may be some exclusions and limitations. Often, at least initially, salaries are excluded from this sum and regulated at the district level. The freedom to purchase services and supplies directly from private suppliers if desired, is also a budgetary prerogative often excluded initially, despite the right to allocate sums as the school sees fit. As the site management arrangement develops, however, instructional cost decisions are also made at the site level, and individual schools are free to decide to purchase technical assistance services, for example, from the district or from outside it.

Minimally, with respect to personnel, a site management school must be able to control hiring to the extent that a teacher who seems a poor prospect for its particular program cannot be externally assigned to the school. As the site management concept is more fully developed, control over personnel decisions would also include the right to adopt differentiated staffing and, for example, to employ one teacher and three aides rather than two teachers.

Minimally, with respect to curricular control, the site management school must be free to arrange and package its curriculum as it desires -- for example, to teach subjects as separate disciplines or as inter-disciplinary offerings. Within courses, there must be sufficient freedom to permit such decisions, for instance, as whether history should be thematically taught, or offered as a chronology of events or as a set of recurring issues or as a number of different strands of development. In order to claim curricular control, a school must also from the start have at least the freedom to supplement an externally specified set of offerings (i.e., a set dictated by required tests) with offerings and topics important to its constituents even though not to others.

There are both similarities to site management, and contrasts, in the way the schools of choice idea responds to current school governance complaints. Of course, choice entails decentralization also -- since the deliberate diversifying of schools is incompatible with their centralized control. Autonomy and relief from standardization are requisite to creating the unique and distinctive programs fundamental to the choice concept. Similarly, differentiated programs tend to set centrifugal forces in motion since they are incompatible with the generation of standard operating procedures for all. Thus, although they do not call explicitly for site management, choice advocates envision schools of choice as gaining a considerable amount of autonomy and control over their own programs.

They also envision some degree of control over personnel within the school. By extending the choice opportunity to staff as well as to students, they seek to assure that prospective teachers are sympathetic to the school's mission and identity. But choice advocates also urge the participation of present school staff in interviews and hiring decisions, with the power to conclude that a prospect is not a good candidate and should not be offered a position in the school.

The choice literature contains little discussion of budgetary control. Although there have been discussions of relative costs, these have not reflected school-incurred expenditures but largely expenditures taken on at the district level for particular schools. Thus, it has been ascertained that magnet schools customarily require start-up expenses, and that elementary school magnets often cost less to operate thereafter than other elementary schools in the district, while secondary school magnets average higher per pupil costs than other district programs.<sup>21</sup> In other types of schools of choice, per pupil costs are typically at or below district averages.<sup>22</sup> But in none of these cases is budgetary control reported to be exerted at the site level. Short of explicit provision to that effect, it should not be anticipated to follow from the choice arrangement.

The choice arrangement strikes essentially the same bargain with respect to regulation and accountability as does the site management school: it obtains increased autonomy via freedom

from mandates and process monitoring, increasingly in exchange for outcomes assessment. This is precisely the bargain Governor Perpich offered Minnesota schools in his Access to Excellence plan proposing ultimately to transform all of the state's schools into schools of choice. It must be noted, however, that schools of choice face a difficulty with this bargain that site management schools need not confront. Their distinctive programs may differ as to educational goals or ends, as well as with respect to means. This means that they need to be appraised in relation to what they are trying to accomplish, as well as in relation to what other schools are trying to accomplish and what test-designers are trying to test. Their major strengths may, indeed, lie elsewhere than in what the tests examine -- leaving them at a disadvantage in score comparisons.

Schools of choice offer quite a different, and novel, response to the charges that schools have insulated themselves from public and parent control, while at the same time absorbing more and more of the decisions that were earlier public decisions. Rather than relying on the return of power and authority to the immediate vicinity, where it can be exercised and monitored by local officials, the choice arrangement simply offers opportunity to find the orientation one prefers and to choose it. The arrangement in effect acknowledges that school must inevitably represent an interweaving of values, preferences, personal orientations with technical knowledge about teaching and learning. Schools of choice do not undertake, then, the division and re-apportionment of decisions between profession and public. It leaves them largely in professional hands. But it enables families to leave school situations they do not like and to affiliate with the one they find most compatible and most promising for their youngster.

If the value dimensions of an educational program are largely inextricable from the technical dimensions, then this may be a more effective way to empower parents than the reallocation and power shift approaches can deliver. It recognizes the inextricable entanglement of technical and public questions in the design of educational programs. It protects the professional integrity of those programs -- i.e., the extent to which they can be based on technical knowledge and the professional judgments of teachers. And it also protects the interests of parents by empowering them to choose among programs. Note that the choice arrangement does not promise decision-making power or prerogatives within the school. (In some schools of choice such power is extensive -- indeed, with some even featuring joint decision-making as a major theme. But such a role is not an element of the choice concept.) Yet in different terms, choice offers individual families more power than even direct participation in decisions would offer: participation does not always assure influence. But the right to place one's child in a school one has chosen -- and to remove that child if sufficiently moved to do so -- carries a guarantee of personal efficacy.

The choice arrangement would not totally shift the incentive structure for educators, as some governance critics are demanding; but it would tend to modify it in rather important ways. From the start, the opportunity to choose and to be affiliated with a school reflecting one's own professional orientation -- or better yet, the opportunity to develop such a school -- is the sort of vision that brought many people into teaching in the first place. It accords with the incentives research has shown to be prominent for teachers.<sup>23</sup> But at the same time, another sort of incentive should serve to heighten teacher responsiveness to the public: the opportunity to maintain a school according to one's own vision of education is contingent upon parental acceptance and sharing of that vision. Thus, a school of choice can remain open only so long as it continues to attract a constituency. Should it become insufficiently attuned to local families, or unsuccessful in its efforts with students, the school must be redesigned or its staff must be relocated elsewhere. Thus, the choice arrangement would appear to introduce new and fairly effective sorts of incentives.

#### ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

We can be fairly sure that neither site management nor choice would prove a panacea, and that both would introduce challenges and risks. We turn now to an examination of what might prove to be the issues that these two systems would need to confront. Perhaps the first is the protection of the larger public interest in schools governed primarily by the educators and parents most immediately involved (as in site management), or in schools devised by groups of educators for selection by groups of families (as in schools of choice). Both arrangements presume that state and district guidelines would continue to reflect the public interest and to keep schools operating within the parameters outlined by public policy. Both site management and choice assume, however, that individual schools will have a considerably enlarged

1 - decisionmaking sphere. Presumably this can come out of the substantial sphere currently taken up with bureaucratically imposed requirements that do not substantially impact upon the public interest and will not diminish its sphere. Nevertheless, this would bear watching under both site management and choice arrangements and would need to remain a concern of officials at both state and district levels. Whether the accountability arrangements evolved to date -- the assessments facilitated by testing programs and data collection -- could serve to sufficiently protect the public's stake in public education remains to be seen.

2 - A second challenge that would bear watching is whether the interests of students are sufficiently protected under site management and choice conditions. Although youngsters would of course formally continue to enjoy whatever legislative and judicial protections they currently possess, it is conceivable that these would not receive as substantial protection in all

site management and choice programs as under current circumstances. One reason is that particularly under site management, what is sought is not checks and balances, but a preponderance of authority to lodge with the school. Thus, the overlapping of responsibilities which currently affords some protections might tend to disappear. One can also envision circumstances and programs in which children's rights could be systematically abrogated, for instance in a program tending toward rigid control, as defined by parents and teachers. One can also envision circumstances under which what should be educational entitlements might be insufficiently regarded. Imagine, for example, a school in which little groundwork is laid for the later development of higher intellectual skills -- i.e., in this example, processes that are crucial but perhaps testable only at some later date. Schools of choice as well as site management schools could be subject to this sort of ill. By and large, however, the right of students to withdraw from a school and enroll elsewhere might be expected to function as a strong deterrent to the tendency of organizations to overlook the rights and desires of their clients.

3- A third area of prospective challenge pertains to whether the integrity of technical knowledge and professional judgment can be protected under the site management and choice arrangements. Would the participation of parents in a site management school, or the power of parents in a school of choice, jeopardize whether established knowledge or professional discretion were permitted to govern the situations calling for them? This is a matter of considerable and understandable concern to educators. Although there is little systematic evidence on the question, what there is is reassuring in relation to such professional concerns, at least so far as schools of choice are concerned. One of the conclusions reached with respect to the much-studied Alum Rock choice demonstration was that the power enhancement seemed to favor teachers more than parents.<sup>23</sup> This would suggest that teachers' ability to protect the prerogatives of experts might be strengthened in relation to those of parents, as well as in absolute terms.

4- But professional educators must be concerned about other matters as well, and a separate question must be raised about how they might fare as wage earners under site management and choice. Certainly under each of these arrangements, protections now usually assured by contractual agreement would have to be modified or otherwise handled. For example, the individual's right to replace less senior teachers within any school in a period of retrenchment is not compatible with the autonomy of site management schools or with the programmatic integrity of schools of choice. It is not impossible to retain such wage earner guarantees under each of the new structures under examination. But doing so in a fashion consistent with those structures is a challenge that will need attention.

5- Still another challenge lies in the risk that site management and choice schools may become

institutions marked by majority tyranny. In some respects, the sorts of protections maintained outside the school should suffice -- the protections extended by state and district policy, for example, and by the courts. In another respect, however, they cannot, and either of these structural reforms would introduce a real antinomy. On the one hand, research suggests with increasing force and clarity that strong value consensus and mission coherence contribute much to school effectiveness. The capacity to generate such agreement is a substantial part of the benefits of both the site management and the choice proposals. But at the same time, genuine deference and responsiveness to all who are a school's constituents at a given moment could dilute that strong agreement. Is there a solution recognizing both the educational benefits and the individual rights which can thus stand at loggerheads? Some find it in the choice arrangement: the individual or group constituting a dissatisfied minority at one school have the privilege and the opportunity to leave it for another. But there may be other, less extreme responses to this challenge and it should be viewed a question for consideration.

6- Still another such question involves assuring certain sorts of equity within schools of choice. Although such schools have proved effective instruments for furthering equity concerns, they have also posed two kinds of equity challenges. The first is how to avoid further ethnic and socio-economic segregation in schools that are chosen, given the known correlations between such groupings and child-rearing tendencies. Although there have been exceptions, it is well-known that middle class and affluent parents often select open schools for their youngsters, while working class and underclass parents gravitate toward back-to-basics and fundamental schools. Experience of several sorts suggests ways to avoid this kind of segregation by choice: experience with respect to the way school themes are selected and articulated, the way schools of choice are located, and the way they are marketed. But this kind of equity concern is a challenge which needs to be addressed in a choice system.

7- Another such challenge is one that has been variously labelled "the problem of the unchosen" and "the problem of the inactive chooser."<sup>24</sup> First, how can each family be apprised of the choice opportunity in such fashion that all are able and disposed to use it, and to use it wisely? Unfortunately, those families most prone to take rapid advantage of the choice option are the more educated and well-to-do. Thus the interests of the less fortunate may need protecting in a choice system. What happens in such a system to those youngsters whose families fail to exercise the choice option? This becomes a challenge because the temptation is to use these non-choosers to solve the system's problems (for example, by placing them in under-enrolled programs). An all-choice system that ended up with some schools filled with choosers and others populated solely by non-choosers would face real equity problems.

There can be comparable sorts of equity problems in districts where some of the schools are

schools of choice and others are not. Since the schools of choice are likely to receive more favorable funding, some have cried foul, even in districts where the differential is plainly marked as start-up funds only. Even more fundamental are the equity problems raised by the departure for schools of choice of youngsters whose families are active choosers, leaving neighborhood schools to the non-choosers. The staff of these schools has protested that the consequence is an unfair, two-tiered system. The reply of choice advocates is that the arrangement should bring benefits in the form of improvements not just to the schools of choice, but to all local schools. Nevertheless, there remains a challenge to help assure the realization of this kind of benefit.

8- A final challenge of a somewhat different order is also worth mention. Both the site management and choice proposals entail different kinds of roles for formal leadership within these schools. As earlier noted, a number of fresh responsibilities are added for the principal of a site management school. Such individuals need preparation that is more like that given now to prospective district officials -- in addition to the preparation for instructional leadership that principals in other schools are expected to provide.<sup>25</sup> The principals or directors of schools of choice also need to be prepared for somewhat different functions. They may be called upon to perform more often as instructional and as symbolic leaders than most principals appear to do,<sup>26</sup> with leadership functions generally becoming at least as pronounced as the management functions more typical of the principalship in other schools.<sup>27</sup> It is possible, too, that this preparation challenge will not be restricted to leadership. It may be that teachers in site management schools and in schools of choice need different sorts of preparation than teachers typically receive.<sup>28</sup> At minimum, this is a question that needs to be examined carefully.

#### CONCLUSION

This concludes our examination of the two major proposals under most frequent discussion as models for restructuring public schools. Both stem from convictions about deepseated and pervasive school problems. The demand for restructuring is precisely a demand for fundamental and thoroughgoing change -- as opposed to minor tinkering with and adjusting of what is there, or perhaps making a few additions to cover newly perceived gaps. Instead, the very meaning of the term restructuring involves a new beginning from the start, a full redoing or re-inventing and re-creating. Many are insisting today that nothing short of such extensive overhauling can bring the necessary improvements in schools.

Such an interpretation of the challenge stems from the conviction that today's public schools are in profound difficulty. At its core there usually lies a perception of extreme misalignment between schools and their environments. As we have tried to suggest, some of those demanding

restructuring are most concerned about the misalignment between the school and its external political environment -- i.e., the expectations of parents and communities and of the larger political system. Other restructure demands come from those emphasizing the school's internal environment and its misalignment with the adults who staff schools and the youngsters who attend them. Both these misalignments, it is thought, call for a rethinking of the most fundamental qualities of schools: What is their charge and mission? How ought they go about pursuing it daily? What kinds of tasks need doing in a school, and who ought to be responsible for them? How ought the whole process be organized and controlled?

We have examined the replies to these questions reflected in today's two restructuring models, and we have juxtaposed their replies to the replies implicit in present school practice. Detailed examination of the two models reveals that neither would be undertaken with full assurances or without challenges. Whether either the site management or the school of choice proposal could accomplish the sorts of fundamental reconstituting of schools that restructuring advocates seek would depend upon the details of the plans in each case. Both are multi-faceted proposals -- as, indeed, adequate response to multi-faceted problems must be. The result, however, is that either proposal can be defeated by eliminating from the adoption plan one or more of the facets requisite to success. Moreover, any restructuring proposal is likely to introduce characteristic challenges of its own. They may be different challenges than those posed by current arrangement, and there may even be improvement potential in exchanging the present set for a new set; but any organizational design comes with its own risks, and the two considered here are not exceptions. To those, however, who urge school restructuring, the situation is dire enough -- and the present difficulties profound enough -- to make such risks worth taking. Site management or choice, they hope, will alter the school's present minimally productive relationship to its environment.