Chapter 5

The Organization of Effective Secondary Schools

VALERIE E. LEE
University of Michigan

ANTHONY S. BRYK
University of Chicago

JULIA B. SMITH
University of Rochester

From its inception in the 1960s, the major focus of large-scale quantitative investigations of school effects has been on the issue of equal opportunities in education for disadvantaged and minority students. For two decades, school effects research attempted to identify the best way to deploy new federal resources for advancing educational equity. Beginning with the publication of the *Equality of Educational Opportunity Report* by James Coleman and others in 1966, this type of research was based on two different (but not inconsistent) conceptual frameworks. One, with an economic orientation, focused on school effectiveness as a series of input-output analyses (i.e., production functions) that were meant to estimate the impact of such fiscal resources as average teachers' salaries, books in the library, and class size on the average achievement of students in particular schools. Another strand, involving mainly sociologists, pursued issues of social stratification. Work using this second framework examined the role of education in status attainment. With years of schooling as the key independent variable, the primary focus was on the consequences of schooling for occupational and social mobility.[1]

Both strands of school effects research in its early manifestation were conceptualized with a functionalist orientation based on human capital theory. Although seeking answers to ostensibly different questions, these two streams of work shared a common viewpoint: They conceived the organizational structure of a school as a "black box." As such, the in-

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The major arguments in this review first appeared in a related paper, "High School Organization and Its Effects on Teachers and Students: An Interpretive Summary of the Research" (Bryk, Lee, & Smith, 1990).

ternal workings of the school were a peripheral element in the investigation. What mattered, instead, were inputs (either school resources or students' years of schooling) and outputs (either achievement or occupational success). Neither research stream concerned itself with the internal workings of schools, the process through which schools produce desired outcomes, or how their organizational structures might influence the distribution of these outcomes (either within a particular school or across the population).[2]

These two frameworks, which dominated research on school effects throughout the 1970s, are still prominent in contemporary economic analyses of education. At the end of that decade, an interest in "effective schools" turned research attention toward the larger institutional and societal structures that surround schools and the organizational properties that characterize them.[3] Strictly speaking, this new work was not a new development; rather, it represented a shift in focus. Dreeben (1988) points out that effective schools research represented a renewed connection with the seminal studies on schools as institutions offered earlier in this century by Waller and Sorokin.

Developments in the theory of schooling occurred simultaneously with empirical studies of the effects of schools on students. New research formulated a conceptual and empirical link between the process of schooling and a focus on schools as organizations.[4] These studies included two important notions: (a) The process of schooling and learning extends over time, and (b) appropriate investigation of the schooling process must take into account appropriate levels of inputs and outputs. That is, decisions and activities at certain levels (e.g., federal, state, or district) both provide incentives and create constraints on action at subsequent levels (such as schools and classrooms). The allocation of resources (people, time, and materials) at each level was critical. Another important development from this new conceptualization—one that receives considerable attention in this review—was the revelation of American schools as internally differentiating institutions. Rather than the earlier focus on between-school differences in resources, this latter work highlighted the fact that a major source of inequity in American education lay within the same schools. Decisions made at each level were found to create substantial variability in teachers' conditions of work and students' opportunities to learn, even within the same school.

In this review, we draw primarily on work that grew out of these theoretical reconceptualizations of schooling. Empirical work on effective practices completed during the last decade has begun to merge with a rush of ethnographic studies of schools, which have in turn generated a growing body of quantitative work on school organization and its effects on teachers and students. It is primarily from this literature of the 1980s

that we developed this review. The perspective has been enriched by recent historical accounts of schooling in this century.[5]

THE CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

While the major focus of this chapter is on secondary schools, at the outset we wish to identify the perspectives on schooling that guide the review. These perspectives are general, defining schools at both the elementary and secondary levels. In this review we use two contrasting perspectives of schooling: the rational-bureaucratic and personal-communal models. First articulated by Charles Bidwell (1965), the models are based on a fundamental sociological distinction set out by Weber; expanded by Merton (1949), Parson (1951), and Sorokin (1928); and applied to schools by Waller. From the bureaucratic perspective, schools are seen as "formal organizations" characterized by a functional division of adult labor into specialized tasks; teaching roles defined by subject matter and types of students; an emphasis on social interactions that are rule governed, are affectively neutral, and have limited individual discretion; and a form of authority that is attached to the role within the organization rather than to the person occupying the role. The communitarian perspective views schools as "small societies," organizations that emphasize informal and enduring social relationships and are driven by a common ethos. A consequence of a communal organization is that the role of adults is diffuse and the division of labor is minimal.

Each perspective offers a different vision of a "good school." Progressive urban reformers sought to create comprehensive high schools, which would be "good schools" from the bureaucratic perspective. Ideally, such institutions would be efficiently organized to serve large numbers of students of varied backgrounds and interests, mainly by offering specialized services and a diverse array of courses. Managing this set of complex organizational goals would require a large and specialized administrative staff. Social relations within schools of this type would be formalized in accord with rational-legalistic norms. On the other hand, the communitarian perspective, reminiscent of an earlier and simpler society where schools were small and organizational goals less complex, has a somewhat nostalgic flavor. Curricular offerings would be fewer in number, and schools organized in this way would emphasize a common experience for all students rather than specialized services to meet the needs of individuals. Social relations would be more personal than role based, and there would be a natural deference to adult authority.

Over the last several decades, both reform efforts and research activities have been dominated by the bureaucratic perspective. It has provided a powerful framework for school expansion, presumably meeting the need to deliver new educational opportunities to an increasingly di-

verse clientele as efficiently and equitably as possible. In schools designed as efficient delivery mechanisms for special services, however, the personal and communal aspects of school life have been undervalued. Bureaucratically organized schools, for example, would tend to overlook the need for teachers to interact informally with students and to engage them in personal relations. Rather, such schools would emphasize the need to respond to individual differences instead of a commonality of interest. They would also underestimate the importance of the normative features of the small society of the school in educating students.

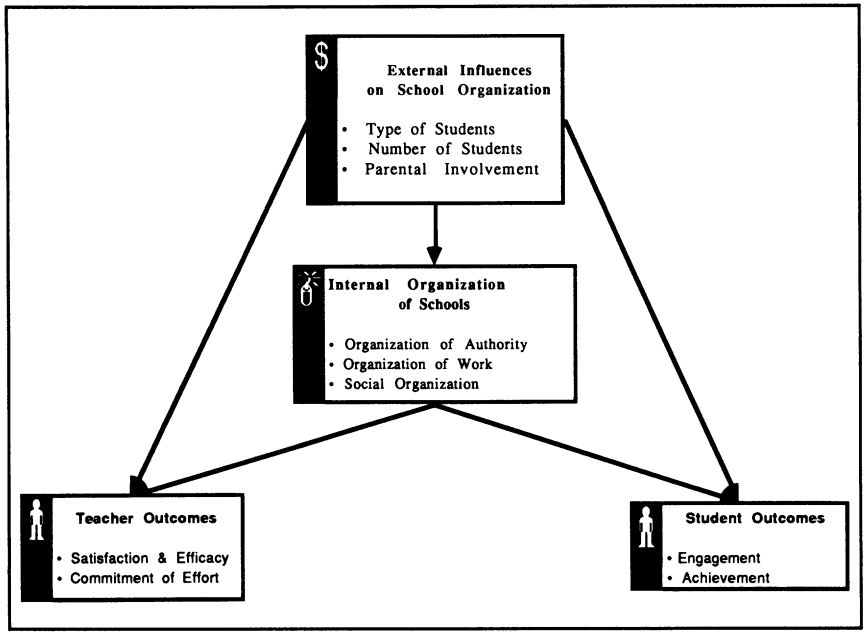
Communitarian critiques of contemporary schools, especially high schools, have emerged in the last decade. Illuminating liabilities in the bureaucratic organization of schooling, this strand of research has begun to rediscover the importance of strengthening social ties between students and adults around the educational activities of a school. Such writing has also initiated fundamental discussions about the aims of schooling, the values that underlie these aims, and the meaning of the work students and adults do in schools.

This type of writing about schools connects with a broader reexamination of the fundamental organizing features of contemporary society. The last two decades have witnessed enormous changes in the structure of community and family life, with the shrinkage or disappearance of traditional supports available for socializing children into adult roles.[6] More and more, schools are being forced to consider how they should reorganize themselves to draw in and support both students and parents around the educative and socializing tasks of schooling.

THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

This review is structured around a conceptual model of secondary school organization as it influences teachers and students (see Figure 1). There is certainly debate about the appropriate criteria for defining "effectiveness." We have skirted this debate by operationalizing our definition around the outcomes we have chosen to investigate: students' achievement and engagement and teachers' commitment. The internal organization of schools, the central feature in the model, contains several subunits: (a) *the organization of authority,* which includes constructs tapping the structure of governance; the nature of administration; the underlying beliefs, values, and explicit goals of the school (what we call the "cultural system"); and teacher empowerment; (b) *the organization of teachers' and students' work;* and (c) *the social organization of schools* (i.e., the structure of social relations). The major relationships summarized in this review involve the effects of the multiple aspects of the school's internal organization on teacher and student outcomes. We recognize, however, that each school is embedded in a larger environment

FIGURE 1
Heuristic Model of the Organization of Secondary Schools



that shapes its internal organization in important ways. Consequently, we also consider selected aspects of the external environment of schools, including the types of students who attend, how many students attend (i.e., school size), and the nature of parental involvement. All of these elements are influential in determining a school's internal operations and also have some direct effects on teachers and students.

Two strands of research—on teacher professionalism and student learning—have helped us define the outcomes we wish to consider. Teacher outcomes discussed here include satisfaction with teaching, teachers' sense of efficacy in accomplishing instructional goals with their students, staff morale as a collective property of adult work within a school, and teachers' commitment of effort. This latter concept is indicated by such measures as time spent in school-related activities, intensity of professional development efforts, and the amount of absences from school.

In terms of student outcomes, an obvious and principal concern is academic achievement, measured by student performance on standardized achievement tests.[7] Besides achievement, we also consider the degree to which students are engaged with the life of the school. Although the construct of engagement could include such notions as personal motivation

(the desire to succeed) and educational aspirations, here we focus on such positive behavioral manifestations as participation, connection, attachment, and integration into the school setting and its educative tasks.[8] In a related vein, we also consider behaviors related to disengagement: alienation, isolation, separation, and detachment. Incidences of disciplinary problems and general misconduct, including cutting class and chronic absenteeism, are also manifestations of disengagement. These behaviors are generally seen as precursors of the ultimate act of disengagement: dropping out. Most of the existing research on this topic has sought to identify characteristics of individuals at risk of dropping out, with less attention paid to the role of school organization in this process.

Although individual studies seldom combine them, teacher and student outcomes are actually interrelated. For example, teachers' ability to draw psychic rewards from their teaching depends largely on the academic progress and engagement of the students they teach. Thus, one of our aims is to synthesize patterns that appear in common from these largely separate literatures.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Our review encompasses four distinct categories of scholarship. The first is the analytic essay form, consisting of theoretical expositions from sociology, social psychology, and historical accounts of American schooling. Although the authors of these essays often refer to a variety of existing empirical evidence, the writings nonetheless have the character of logical arguments whose validity depends on their internal structure. While proper judgments about such matters are invariably subjective, many of these writings are also thoughtful and useful.

Field studies, in addition to in-depth ethnographic investigations of individual school sites, constitute the second category of research reviewed. Recently, we have seen an increase in this genre of empirical-descriptive evidence, the difficulty of which is its largely private character.[9] Given the inevitable problem of limited external validity with this type of research, we found it difficult to decide about including such studies in a literature review. Even if we accept the authors' inferences in the instances studied, the proper range for further generalization remains unspecified. Thus, much like the analytic essays in the first category, we exercised a fair degree of personal judgment in deciding which of these studies to include in the review.

Quantitative research studies make up the third category, which encompasses studies that range from small-scale formal experiments to causal models using large-scale survey data. In principle, such studies represent our strongest evidence base, and this type of study is traditionally the only one included in meta-analyses. There are, however, sev-

eral reasons for concern even here. Given the large amount of research we have reviewed, we have found that the quality of research in this category (as well as the other two) varies considerably. In addition, such studies typically lack the depth of understanding possible in analytic and case study research. The latter constitutes the price extracted for specificity in measurement, large samples that support sophisticated multivariate statistical methods, and potential gains in generalizability. Even more problematic are the fundamental methodological difficulties encountered in past research on school effects, well described by Lee Cronbach (1976):

> The majority of studies of educational effects—whether classroom experiments or evaluation of programs or surveys—have collected and analyzed data in ways that conceal more than they reveal. The established methods have generated false conclusions in many studies. (p. 1)[10]

Two fundamental characteristics of any research on school effects are the source of many of these difficulties: (a) Children's learning is typically the object of inquiry, and (b) such learning occurs in formal organizational settings. The first difficulty centers on the fact that children's learning is a process occurring over time. While this logically implies a need for longitudinal data, most inferences about school effects are based on a single cross section of information.

The second difficulty is more complicated. While learning occurs in individuals, teaching typically occurs in groups. Most studies of school effects, as Bidwell and Kasarda (1980) have noted, fail to make a critical distinction between the school *as an organization* and the instructional *process of schooling*. Organizational characteristics are frequently (and inappropriately) measured as aggregate measures from individuals. To compound this problem, such measures are then used as proxies for organizational characteristics in analyses of student outcomes. Because of this misconceptualization of the meaning of organizational effects, school effects research has systematically underestimated their influence. That is, substantive conclusions from such research that "schools don't matter much" are flawed by a misconception of the process through which schools actually affect student learning.

The work of both students and teachers actually occurs within settings that deliberately differentiate the experience of these individuals (e.g., honors and remedial sections, ability groups, curriculum tracks). However, school means of individual experiences completely ignore this differentiation. Therefore, school effects may actually be manifest not only in mean differences between schools, but also in dispersion and distributional effects captured in the idea of "slopes-as-outcomes."[11] Despite

the existence of a few notable examples in which research design and analysis have been deliberately organized to study distributive effects, school research continues to be dominated by analyses searching for mean differences.[12] As such, some of the most interesting and important effects occurring as a result of school policies and processes are hidden.

We do not intend to use this review as a venue for a full discussion of these methodological issues or of the new statistical methods that provide more appropriate techniques for the analysis of school effects.[13] We do wish to express a serious concern, however, over potential limitations of the extant empirical literature in some serious and unknown ways. As a safeguard against overrecognition of potentially flawed quantitative research, we have chosen to concentrate on broad findings and to focus on areas where there is agreement between quantitative studies and case study research. However, we have not attempted to reconcile conflicts, to evaluate differences among individual studies, or to be exhaustive. Rather, we have focused on major findings that we believe are also sturdy.

The final category of literature considered here involves syntheses such as those that occur in this volume—previously published literature reviews. When useful syntheses were identified, we have relied on their general findings on particular topics. As with the other categories, this decision also required some judgment, as the vast majority of these reviews are not meta-analyses or formal research syntheses.

As stated, the main focus is on the organization of secondary schools, although in a few instances we have considered some relevant literature from elementary schools. In general, the internal organization of elementary and secondary schools is quite different, a distinction that is clear in the organization of this volume. The majority of early research on effective schools (and thus on school effects) focused on elementary schools. But much of the recent case study and quantitative research considers high schools. This shift in research focus was not based on a shift in interest of organizational levels. Rather, the current interest in high schools derives from important policy concerns raised in reports such as *A Nation at Risk,* as well as the availability of the High School and Beyond (HS&B) survey data.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

We focus in this section on a small number of the vast array of external factors that can influence the internal organization of schools. Our review does not consider several larger issues in the politics of education that document external influence on schools from many formal and informal groups or agencies. Rather, we concentrate on externalities that are closely linked to the school site and are identified in the literature as important for school operations. The first topic we consider here is the

type of students a school is responsible for educating. Quite simply, school organization is responsive to student composition. The particular characteristics on which we focus are students' academic and social backgrounds. From a production function perspective, student background constitutes a major resource in the educational process. Second, we consider the number of students a school is responsible for educating (i.e., school size). High schools range from small facilities with less than 300 students to very large institutions with enrollments of several thousand. School size has important consequences for the array of programs that a school may offer and the nature of social interactions that occur there. Third, we consider the ways in which a school's internal operations are shaped by how (and how much) parents and the larger community are involved. This is a central concern in some recent school improvement plans in urban districts such as Chicago.

Most research has focused on the direct linkage between these external factors (i.e., student body composition, size, or parental involvement) and student outcomes. This approach has certainly underestimated the impact of these factors, since the actual mechanism by which such effects occur is indirect—mediated largely through the impact of these externalities on internal school organization. That is, external characteristics influence the internal organization of schools, which in turn affects student and teacher outcomes.[14] We refer readers again to Figure 1, where we have indicated both direct and indirect relationships between external factors and teacher and student outcomes.

Types of Students

A fundamental organizational dilemma for schools, especially high schools, is how to respond to students' diverse backgrounds, abilities, and interests. There is a huge body of research on the relationship between individual characteristics of students and academic outcomes. Much less is known about the consequences of student body composition on school organization (often called "context effects"). Our discussion is focused on three specific compositional factors: racial composition, social class composition, and the distribution of student ability.

Why should "who attends" matter? While empirical research on the effects of student body composition on the internal organization of schools is thin, the theoretical literature on schooling has often dealt with this topic (e.g., see Bidwell, 1972; Bidwell & Kasarda, 1980; Brown & Saks, 1985; Haller & Woelfel, 1972). Some of these arguments have focused on the consequences of elementary school classroom composition for how teachers organize instruction. Barr and Dreeben (1983) provide an excellent empirical example of this in their research on reading in first-grade classrooms. A key aspect of their study focused on how the ability dis-

tribution of students within classrooms (what they consider a major resource for learning) influences teachers' formation of ability groups and the pacing of instruction. Their research and subsequent investigations have demonstrated that the characteristics of a student group significantly influence teachers' work. A related argument draws on the observation that classroom composition (in terms of students' background, abilities, and interests) represents a direct resource for student learning. This feature of composition is particularly important for such instructional techniques as cooperative learning and peer tutoring.[15]

Extrapolating this notion to secondary schools shifts the focus from classrooms to schools. What are the effects of school composition on institutional structure and functioning? The overall distribution of student characteristics may again be seen as a resource that shapes a school's curricular offerings and the policies and practices through which students are mapped into courses (e.g., see the subsequent discussion on vacancy theory; Sorensen, 1987). Important implications also accrue in the social domain. High concentrations of disadvantaged students can adversely affect the school's ability to maintain the social order and can foment peer cultures that act in opposition to the school's academic aims.[16]

As stated, past research on this topic has suffered from imprecise measurement of these important organizational properties (Bidwell & Kasarda, 1980). In principle, other elements besides mean levels may be of interest; the distribution of student attributes includes their variability and skewness as well as their means. Barr and Dreeben (1983), for example, found that classrooms with high proportions of students with low ability (i.e., a low mean and a positive skewness) were especially difficult environments in which to organize effective reading instruction. It is unfortunate that so few investigations have conceived of and measured organizational variables this carefully. Another weakness here is that much of the research we cite in this section concentrates on the direct link between student aggregate characteristics and outcomes, ignoring the possible organizational mechanisms involved. Nonetheless, this research provides sufficient evidence for us to conclude that aspects of student composition influence organizational operations and these features, in turn, affect both teachers and students.

Racial Composition

One finding from J. S. Coleman et al.'s (1966) *Equality of Educational Opportunity Report* received considerable attention: that the achievement of minority students was higher in racially integrated schools. That finding initiated interest in the relationship between a school's racial composition and student achievement. Research on this topic has been most salient in the milieu of school desegregation. The basic findings are summarized

in two major reviews. Most of the studies included in these reviews, unfortunately, did not investigate organizational differences in schools that may result from changes in racial composition. Some recent case studies, however, offer some evidence on this account.

Research on the effect of desegregation on student achievement was summarized by Mahard and Crain (1983). A few of the studies were methodologically rigorous, including some with randomized designs. Desegregation was shown to raise the IQ of first- and second-grade minority students by as much as 4 points in a single year in studies with the strongest designs. Student gains did not increase thereafter, even with more time spent in a desegregated environment. However, the positive effects were sustained. Desegregation plans that included entire metropolitan areas as compared with those restricted to smaller areas showed larger positive effects. In general, the achievement of minority students was highest in schools with the largest proportions of Whites. The authors speculated that certain characteristics of mostly White schools—high expectations and an internalized locus of control, where students are made to feel responsible for their own behavior and progress—were important in explaining the positive effects of desegregation on minority student achievement. Investigation of school organizational arrangements was not considered in this review.

In comparison with the achievement focus of the Mahard and Crain (1983) review, Schofield and Sagar (1983) reviewed research focusing on the dynamics of human relations within desegregated schools. In contrast to the findings documenting the highest achievement of minority students in schools with the smallest concentrations of minorities, these researchers concluded that intergroup relations were better in schools with higher proportions of minorities (20% to 60%). Since minority students tended to feel isolated in mostly White schools, they often withdrew into protective cliques. Taken together, the results from these two reviews suggest that school racial composition affects the academic and social progress of students somewhat differently.

These research reviews on the effects of desegregation should be considered in light of several case studies in newly desegregated schools in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These books describe a serious deterioration in the learning environment in large public secondary schools of this period. Cusick (1983) noted that "biracialism" (i.e., forced integration) was a strong contributor to serious conflicts among students, impeding the formation of a consensual basis for resolving these conflicts. Both Cusick (1983) and Metz (1978) point out that keeping order in the biracial schools of this period—at any price—became the paramount goal for school authorities. Schools tried to use such specific "professional activities" as teacher workshops, multiethnic materials, and sensitivity

training to compensate for the breakdown of community in these contexts. Real learning was not a priority in such schools during that period.

Eyler, Cook, and Ward (1983) made an important point, noting that desegregating schools did not ensure that students of different races actually experienced schooling together. In fact, case studies document that the typical bureaucratic response to the increased student diversity (and conflict) accompanying integration was to initiate specialized programming that resulted in resegregating students within schools.[17] Both G. Grant (1988) and Cusick (1983) have chronicled an expansion in the number of nondemanding curricular offerings in such schools, allowing students' engagement in the academic life of the school to take very different forms. Thus, although students of different races actually attended the same school, rode the same bus, and ate in the same lunchroom, their experiences in the same schools, both social and academic, were highly differentiated.

The consequences of desegregation on school organization, seen from an institutional perspective, were thus profound. These case studies document the significant changes that occurred in organizational structure (such as curricular expansion), internal functioning (such as a newly laissez-faire attitude regarding advice given to students about the courses they should take), and a general deterioration of adult moral authority as a result of school integration.

Direct policy intervention thus proved to be an ineffectual means to obtain the positive effects reported by J. S. Coleman et al. (1966), which occurred in schools that were naturally rather than forcibly integrated. In an important sense, the communitarian ethos typical of the smaller and more homogeneous public high schools of the 1950s, albeit often discriminatory and intolerant as a result of closure to outsiders, was shattered by legal desegregation efforts. The resultant increase in student diversity and the problems arising from it in individual schools was accommodated by a variety of bureaucratic mechanisms. The restructuring of curriculum and related efforts to repair social relations within the school, however, resulted in a systemic departure from previous strong institutional norms promoting academic achievement for all students.

Social Class Composition

Schools vary considerably by the average social class of their students. The topic received some research attention in the late 1970s, in several studies of educational and occupational aspirations based on a status attainment model (see Alexander & Eckland, 1978; Buell & Brisben, 1982; Cusick, 1983; Metz, 1978, 1986). Alexander, McDill, Fennessy, and D'Amico (1979) and Alwin and Otto (1977) found that student achievement was only weakly related to the average social class level, compared with

the much stronger relationship with individual measures of students' social class. Using HS&B data, however, Lee and Bryk (1989) found school social class to be strongly associated with average student achievement in mathematics; average social class was also positively related to the relationship between student social class and achievement. Furthermore, the structure of these relationships is quite different in public and Catholic schools. Generally, average social class plays a much more powerful role in public than Catholic schools. The most socially differentiating environments are affluent public schools, considerably more so than comparable Catholic schools.

Effective schools research has also identified important influences accruing from average social class. The distinctive characteristics of school effectiveness (e.g., opportunity to learn, instructional leadership, clear school mission, high expectations), according to Hallinger and Murphy (1983, 1986), are not identical in schools enrolling low and high social class students. Effective principals in low social class schools were found to exercise more direct control and authority over school operations, particularly with respect to expectations and achievement, than effective principals in high social class schools.

A logical perspective on social class composition is to view it as a proxy for fiscal and human resources. Production-function analyses of schooling make this implicit assumption. In contrast to the economic interpretation of this construct, in the communitarian view our attention is directed to the differences in beliefs, values, and expectations that students, parents, and staff bring to the school, and how such cultural features influence organizational behavior. Of course, the cultural aspects mentioned here are likely to be related to social class composition. While student social class is a common element of survey research on schooling, the role that teachers' social class background may play in shaping institutional norms is virtually uninvestigated. Furthermore, it seems likely that there is some correlation between the social class composition of students and the social class background of the school staff (given local recruiting of teachers). If so, then at least some of the effects typically ascribed to student background may actually accrue from staff composition.[18]

Ability Composition

Schools need a nucleus of motivated and academically able students to provide a stable institutional base, according to Rutter and his colleagues in a study of 12 lower-class London secondary schools. Schools with high levels of academic achievement and other student behaviors positively related to academic progress were characterized by a particular ethos, according to M. Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Outson, and Smith (1979). An "academic balance in the intakes to the schools" played an

important role in achieving these effects. A substantial nucleus of children of at least average intellectual ability was an important characteristic of schools showing better examination success and lower delinquency rates (M. Rutter et al., 1979, p. 178). This finding is very similar to that in the work cited earlier from Barr and Dreeben (1983), who found that teachers of classes with large numbers of low-ability children have special problems and are constrained in ways that teachers with more favorable class compositions are not.

Vacancy theory offers a theoretical explanation for the relationship between a school's ability composition and a student's opportunity to learn there. According to Sorensen (1987), the students with whom an individual student must compete determine, to some extent, his or her access to an active educational environment. The number of instructional groups in a school is limited by the available resources (i.e., teachers, materials, and time), and is largely independent of the characteristics of the pool of students who might be assigned to them. The number of places in each of these instructional groups (e.g., a particular ability group in a single class or places in advanced math courses in a high school tracking system) is similarly limited. For these reasons, the structure of the curriculum in a school does not necessarily match the distribution of student ability. Consistent with this view, Hallinan and Sorensen (1983) found that the size and number of ability groups were quite stable in upper-grade elementary school classes, regardless of the actual ability distribution within a class.

High schools evidence a similar phenomenon, where prerequisites and course sequencing limit students' academic opportunities. Garet and Delaney (1988) found that the probability of enrolling in advanced science and mathematics courses varied systematically among the four California high schools they studied. The basic structure of these schools' curriculum—the number of levels of differentiated ability and the number of course sections at each level—directly influenced students' exposure to subject matter. Lee and Bryk (1988), who also investigated the role of the school curriculum in providing learning opportunities to students of varying abilities, showed that Catholic high school students' greater preparation in terms of academic courses resulted in large part from the constrained curricular offerings in these schools, coupled with a proactive stance by adults encouraging academic pursuits for all students regardless of their abilities or aspirations.

This line of research demonstrates that high schools with varying organizational structures respond differently to students with similar entry characteristics. In particular, the academic structure of the organization and its underlying belief system about students' capabilities to learn shape students' academic experiences and subsequent outcomes. A central tenet

of the bureaucratic perspective is that differences in students' academic background and interests constitute a major constraint on the work of schools. This perspective is based largely on a psychology of individual differences. This argument is offered as a theoretical justification for specialization of instruction for different groups, a specialization that often results in increased social stratification of educational outcomes by race and class.[19]

The communitarian perspective, on the other hand, places greater emphasis on fostering a common experience for all students. Under this view, only extreme differences among students merit an institutional response. The rationalizing function of a psychology of individual differences is, thus, less salient. It seems reasonable that a high school's curricular offerings would be differentiated and aligned, to some degree, with the proficiencies, interests, and aspirations students bring to the school. The degree of differentiation required to efficiently and effectively educate is largely a function of educators' theoretical views about the aims of education. The extant research, from both field studies and survey analyses, suggests that high schools have responded to increasing diversity by differentiating themselves internally more than can be justified on scientific grounds.

Number of Students

Two important and quite conflicting perspectives characterize the research on school size.[20] The first is based on an efficiency argument, arguing in favor of economy of scale. Research in this stream is concerned with the available resource strength of the school and the possibilities for specialization of instructional programs. The second perspective directs attention to the influences of size on increasing the formality of social interactions within the school and investigates the consequences that flow from this formalization. These two perspectives on school size lead in opposite directions. While the economies of scale argument implies that increased academic learning should accrue as a result of the consolidation of effort in larger schools, a focus on social interactions suggests that "small is beautiful." More informal social interactions and higher levels of social engagement are more likely to occur in smaller settings.

Economies of Scale

Conceived from a bureaucratic perspective, much of the research examining the effects of school size rests on an assumption that larger schools are more cost-efficient operations.[21] This research argues that financial savings accrue as core costs are spread over a larger pupil base. These savings, in principle, create marginal residual resources that may

be applied to strengthening a school's academic offerings. It is unclear, however, whether or not the cost benefits projected by proponents of school consolidation have ever materialized.

Two proposed sources of savings from consolidation are described in a major review by Chambers (1981): (a) decreased administrative and support staff and (b) greater efficiency in procuring materials. In fact, the evidence suggests that large schools (as well as large districts) actually *increase* support and administrative staff to handle the greater bureaucratic demands accompanying their larger size, a layer of bureaucracy unnecessary in smaller units. In rural areas, furthermore, the greater costs of distributing materials and transporting students to more distant schools tend to offset savings from consolidation. Chambers thus finds little empirical support for the benefits of economies of scale that supposedly accrue from increasing school size.

Greater resource strength, it has been argued, accompanies increased school size.[22] Some studies find that as the numbers of students served by either a school or a district increase, more fiscal resources become available for teachers' salaries, instructional materials, and support for professional development.[23] Frequently, more students also means more financial support from the state and greater political support for the school from the local community.[24] Specifically, numerical strength of the school system can be used to build a stronger political base from which to procure more resources. This is particularly the case if more students means a higher proportion of families with children in school, since this increases direct community ties to the school.[25]

While it is evident that size affects organizational structure, the academic consequences of economies of scale and greater resource strength are far less clear.[26] Some evidence of an indirect relationship between the availability of resources to a high school and increased student achievement is offered by Bidwell and Kasarda (1975). This link is forged through the hiring of better-trained teachers and greater numbers of support staff to serve students' needs. More recent research suggests that the relationship between school system size and the availability of resources is not constant across communities but is contingent upon the socioeconomic background of the community itself.[27] While larger districts in lower-income areas may access greater resources than do small districts, those resources are not necessarily devoted to the instructional program. Rather, the higher incidence of "exceptional problems" (e.g., delinquency, drug abuse, learning disabilities) in such contexts absorbs resources, introduces constraints, and contributes to reduced organizational performance.

Equity is an additional issue in the distribution of resources. While school resources are generally measured in terms of average per-pupil

expenditure, some researchers have suggested that, in larger systems, the distribution of resources among schools and students within schools must also be considered.[28] Although the average level of resources may be high in larger districts, greater stratification among schools in access to resources is also likely to occur. A similar argument applies within schools. While larger schools may have more aggregate resources to support instruction, the educational opportunities resulting from the expenditure of these resources may be distributed to students in highly differentiated ways. A related dimension of the economies of scale argument focuses on the relationship between organizational size and the program specialization. Since larger schools have larger numbers of students with similar needs, in principle they are better able to create specialized services to address those needs.[29] In contrast, smaller schools must focus their resources on core programs, with the consequence that marginal students are either excluded or absorbed into more general programs that may not meet their needs.[30] The latter "constraint" against meeting specialized needs may in practice actually benefit students, especially those at the lower end of the ability distribution.

The consequences of increasing specialization in curricular programs are complex. Specifically, Lee and Bryk (1989) found that the greater curriculum specialization in larger schools amplifies initial differences in how student background maps to their achievement. Although unrelated to average achievement, both school size and curriculum differentiation were positively associated with achievement stratification in terms of students' social class and academic background.[31] Interestingly, these organizational characteristics affected the distribution but not the mean achievement in schools.[32] These findings amplify the large body of more general empirical work linking differences in students' academic experiences to social stratification in academic outcomes.[33] Thus, while economies of scale resulting from larger school size facilitate more diversity in academic offerings to meet specialized student needs, it is far from clear that the aggregate consequences are actually beneficial.

Formalized Social Interactions

Forecasting the rise of bureaucratic structures resulting from organizational growth, Weber (1947) noted that such structures are predicated on hierarchical positions and roles. In bureaucratic organizations, there is little room for the personal ties that characterize a community. In Weber's view, expanding organizational size and the resulting rationalization process is in many ways the antithesis of community (for a further theoretical elaboration of this argument, see Driscoll, 1989). Although Weber's writing was not directed at schools, such observations are particularly salient in these settings. Teachers' work requires considerable individual

judgment and commitment, both of which are ill suited to a rigid bureaucratic environment driven by rules and roles.[34] Educational theorists have argued that the bureaucratic organization common to large comprehensive high schools produces negative social consequences for both students and faculty. Recent HS&B analyses support these contentions.[35]

Research on school climate has viewed size as an "ecological" variable—part of the physical or material environment that determines the nature and structure of social interactions. Climate research has produced findings similar to those reported above. Certain components of social interaction are related to size: frequency of communication between members of the organization, group cohesion, role specialization, and group management.[36] Several consequences result from increasing the number of individuals in the school. First, a static set of roles for individuals at every level in an organization results from the more formal division of labor accompanying large size. The resulting specialization and exclusivity of roles turns individuals away from an overall organizational focus to loyalty to some subunit (often, in high schools, this is the academic department), a process that often fosters organizational alienation.[37] Second, information transmission requires more communication links, increasing the distance between any one person and a source of information and necessitating more formalized communication systems.[38] Third, cultural beliefs are more likely to be formalized in large organizations, to counteract the effects of large numbers of people holding conflicting goals. Such formalization can negatively influence group cohesion, since individuals' tacit beliefs are not officially engaged and, therefore, do not become integrated in the school's organizational life. Instead, such disagreements reside beneath the surface and become a potential oppositional force.[39]

The social consequences on students and teachers resulting from increased school size ultimately depend on the link between the structure of social relationships within a school and educational outcomes. The outcomes most strongly influenced are, unsurprisingly, social or affective in nature, such as "isolation," "alienation," or "social engagement."[40] While size clearly influences the structure of interactions within a school, there have been some attempts on the margin of the organization to mitigate the effect of size on communication, cohesion, roles, and management organization (e.g., establishing schools within schools or house systems). These efforts have been only partially successful.[41]

Based on bureaucratic assumptions about the benefits for greater efficiency, greater resource strength, and the ability to offer more specialized programs, this educational philosophy has supported the development of large comprehensive high schools. Research evidence, however, lends little support for claims about economies of scale. While greater

resource strength and specialized programs are more common in larger contexts, it is unclear that the aggregate consequences of these developments have been desirable. In general, the negative effects associated with large schools that would be predictable from a communitarian perspective have materialized, reported recently from both case study reports and survey analyses. Large high schools are characterized by socially stratified learning opportunities and the resulting academic outcomes, as well as by some increase in the alienation and detachment of students and teachers from the school and its aims.

In our view, research findings about school size need to be seen with a balanced eye: Schools should be neither too large to inhibit a strong sense of community nor too small to offer a full curriculum and adequate instructional facilities. In comparison with the current state of affairs in large city schools, smaller seems better. Our interpretation of the evidence is consistent with the advice offered by Goodlad (1984), who suggested that the ideal high school enrolls between 500 and 600 students.

Parental Involvement

Three broad aspects of parent involvement with schooling dictate the organization of this section. The first highlights the role of parents in aiding their children's school learning with help at home. This perspective leads naturally to a focus on "parent education." The second focuses on efforts among school staff and parents to form a functional community around the school, one where concerns of both educators and parents are addressed.[42] This directs our attention to the socialization functions of schooling and to a cultural view of the school. The third consists of political reform movements to incorporate parents in school decision making, sometimes referred to as "parent empowerment."

Parental Involvement in Learning

The central role of parents in their children's development is the topic of substantial psychological research, and specific types of parental behavior and attitudes have been identified that have positive effects on children's learning (for a review of these studies, see Henderson, 1987, and Kagan, 1984). Social and cultural attributes of families have been shown to affect parental engagement in such activities (e.g., see Epstein, 1985; C. A. Grant & Sleeter, 1988; Jenkins, 1989; Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum, & Aubey, 1986; or Snodgrass, 1991). These studies have found strong relationships between social class, in particular parents' educational levels, and children's home experiences. These findings, in turn, have engendered prescriptive activities for parents to provide more stimulating home learning environments (see Amato, 1989; Henderson,

1987; McKey et al., 1985; or Topping, 1991). While much of this research focuses on the elementary grades, researchers are finding much the same pattern occurring for adolescents.[43]

The major influences of parents on their children's learning involve enforcing normative standards concerning education and exhibiting specific behaviors directly connected to learning.[44] The more active parents are in monitoring and planning the educational experiences of their children, the more children gain from those experiences (see Becker & Epstein, 1982; C. A. Grant & Sleeter, 1988; Jenkins, 1989; Keith et al., 1986). In particular, parental expectations for their children's achievement and the importance that parents place on education are positively and strongly related to academic performance.[45] Even in high school, parents' beliefs, goals, and values concerning education and achievement strongly influence adolescents, who tend to incorporate these standards into their own. Of course, such influence may also be negative, when parents do not value education or do not regularly enforce standards.[46]

Many studies have demonstrated that specific parental behaviors—monitoring homework, tutoring (or hiring a tutor), minimizing distractions from schoolwork, and engaging in active choices concerning children's educational programs—strongly and positively influence educational progress (e.g., see Biddle, Bank, & Marlin, 1980; Keith et al., 1986; Raywid, 1985). Although the relatively large body of empirical research on this topic has been conducted mostly on preschool and elementary school children,[47] the general findings are relevant at all levels: (a) Parental participation in children's home learning is positively related to family social class, with the parents' level of education the prime consideration; (b) the amount of involvement appears directly related to the extent to which the parent feels informed and able to contribute to the child's learning; (c) parental participation appears to decrease as the child progresses through school, although parents continue to express interest in being involved in their child's schoolwork through the secondary level; (d) the amount of parental involvement in homework and curriculum decision making is positively related to children's achievement and pursuit of academic course work, even after taking social class into account; and (e) parents desire more involvement than they have in their children's education.[48]

Over the last two decades, these research findings have been used widely to train parents to become better home educators.[49] In general, most of this attention has been focused on young children.[50] While much less effort has been devoted to developing parent education programs at the high school level, the contention that parental involvement continues to be an important consideration in secondary schools is supported by correlational studies (e.g., see Keith et al., 1986; Phillips, Smith, & Witte,

1985; or Wagenaar, 1977). Such interactions, however, are seldom seen as falling within the formal responsibilities of high school teachers. Either additional support staff (whose function would be to provide such parental training) or a restructuring of the teacher's role would seem to be required, were this to be seriously pursued in high schools.[51]

Strengthening School-Family Ties

The need to strengthen the school as a communal and/or community institution constitutes a very different type of scholarship on parent involvement. Germane here are James Coleman's recent theories about the effects of functional and value communities on the work of schools.[52] Coleman and Hoffer (1987) hypothesized that functional communities organized around churches bring parents and students together, an argument they proposed to explain the particular effectiveness of Catholic schools. Such functional communities constitute a form of "social capital" that facilitates the work of the school, in that they promote greater face-to-face social interactions across generations.[53] Although the theory of social capital is appealing in an educational context, Coleman and Hoffer provide no direct empirical evidence that such social relations among schools and families actually characterize modern Catholic high schools.

At a more instrumental level, substantial research documents that when parents volunteer in their children's schools and classrooms, positive consequences accrue for both students and teachers.[54] The positive association between parental involvement of this type and children's achievement is supported in a research synthesis by Henderson (1987). This review includes several empirical studies that link involvement of parents in school to their children's academic success, for all levels of schooling. Moles (1987) cautions that such parental involvement depends on a variety of social attributes, with women, Whites, and higher social class parents much more likely to engage in such behaviors. He also argues that too much of the impetus for seeking involvement is left to parents. Secondary school parents (especially those in the inner city) report being contacted by the school only when there is bad news, and also report that they would like more contact with the school than they have. These parents, however, are the least likely to initiate contact.[55]

One recent study claims that important organizational influences in secondary schools result from positive parent-school relations. Chubb (1988) states that "all other things being equal, schools in which parents are highly involved, cooperative, and well-informed are more likely to develop effective organizations than schools in which parents do not possess these qualities" (p. 40). Parents of children in these "organizationally effective" high schools visited classrooms, were involved in parent-school activities, and had regular consultations with teachers. Consistent

with Coleman's theories, both studies conclude that good schools benefit from positive social relations between the school and its families.

Concern about strengthening school-family ties under the rubric of "community schools" actually has a long history. Wayland (1958) describes attempts starting a century ago to use schools as a vehicle to build social ties within (predominantly urban) communities as part of a larger concern for assimilating immigrants into American culture. These community schools provided social service programs for both students and parents in school facilities (for reviews of these programs, see Fisher, 1984; Hatton, 1979). Efforts by the C. S. Mott Foundation marked a revitalization of this approach during the Depression,[56] directed toward assisting poor and working-class Americans who had suffered a loss of both income and social support networks.

These community school movements have been seen by some historians as efforts to shape the attitudes of the working class toward obedient citizenship and docile adherence to group norms (for further discussion of class issues embedded in community reform efforts, see Katz, 1973; Spring, 1972; Violas, 1978). They have expressed particular concern over how professional values and aims took precedence in such efforts over the concerns and needs of the communities being served. This scholarship also notes how community education was used, in some instances, to reinforce segregated schools and racist values.[57] It is generally unclear whether these earlier efforts succeeded in providing "functional communities" that reflect the democratic values that are generally espoused for American schooling.

Current attention on community schools addresses the deinstitutionalization of urban neighborhoods and their declining capacity to support healthy family life (for a full development of these ideas, see W. J. Wilson, 1987). Churches have diminished in membership and number, good child care is increasingly problematic, and practical finances have increased the necessity of parents spending much of their time outside the home.[58] Many urban families move frequently in a search for adequate housing and employment, and this high level of transience weakens the social ties necessary to bind neighborhoods together. To counteract this loss of "social capital," it is argued that schools must take on increased responsibility to strengthen the social connections among parents around the school itself.[59]

Concerns about the mismatch between school and home for disadvantaged children are raised by John Ogbu in his research examining minority parents' and teachers' perceptions of one another.[60] Ogbu suggests that an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion permeates the values and goals of each group. Teachers describe parents' goals and values as destructive to students' academic accomplishments. Parents, in turn, be-

lieve that teachers are antagonistic toward the home culture of the child, discounting the experiences and knowledge to be gained from it. This concern, characterized by Comer (1980) as a social misalignment of values between home and school, directs attention to reshaping the relationship between schools and parents around the best interests of children.[61] Comer's school-based efforts have sought to build an alliance between the family and the school staff in order to provide a consistent set of social experiences promoting both children's sense of personal well-being and a constructive environment for learning. These reformers have criticized the bureaucratic ethos of social services organizations, which seeks to segment authority over children.[62] Instead, strengthening the social ties among *all* of the adults responsible for children is their aim. Schools participating in Comer's New Haven project worked to develop a functional community among children, staff, parents, and other caretakers around the education of children.

Political Action and Community Control of Schools

Local control of schools is a fundamental tenet in American education. This concept is reaffirmed, in varying ways, by recent moves toward school-site management, community control, and the parent-school partnerships described above. Despite the difference in structure of site-based governance plans, they share some commitment to the aim of fostering greater collaborative decision making between parents and school-based professionals.[63] It is claimed that by altering the basic decision-making relationships, schools will become more responsive to their clients and, ultimately, learning will improve. "The problem to be solved" is seen as some combination of factors external to the individual school site and insensitive to local needs: bloated and nonresponsive central office bureaucracies, entrenched professional interests, or external policy-making bodies at the state and federal level. Greater parental involvement is seen as a solution.[64]

The research in this area consists primarily of case studies describing efforts to introduce greater community control in schools.[65] Because these efforts are highly contextualized, it is difficult to generalize this research. We summarize the major findings from two important studies and consider their implications for the larger question of community control.[66]

Although community control is a currently salient issue in school reform, such efforts have been active for several decades.[67] The decentralization of the New York City schools in the late 1960s has been studied extensively.[68] New York's reform was spawned out of a long-standing frustration with the nonresponsive public school bureaucracy. Particular complaints centered around the issue of race. The system had failed to

effect either significant racial desegregation and or to improve educational outcomes for minority students, especially Blacks.

Set in the highly charged context of an emerging Black power movement, the idea of "community control" received strained support in New York City. Since this movement represented a direct attack on the control of professionals over public schooling, the opposition of the bureaucracy was not surprising. At a more fundamental level, community control raised questions about the basic goals of public schooling. The universalistic norms of the professionals conflicted with the particularism of community consciousness advanced by at least some proponents of local control.[69] Therefore, the conflict was not solely over administrative strategies to effect more positive academic outcomes, but was in part also a confrontation over aims.

A 10-year follow-up assessment of New York City's school decentralization effort is provided by Rogers and Chung (1983) in *110 Livingston Street Revisited.* The book is important because an organizational reform as expansive as systemwide decentralization can be judged adequately only through a long-term study. The authors report several positive consequences of decentralization. Many schools and districts are now seen as more legitimate among their clientele than in the 1960s, particularly those in minority areas. Principals tend to be more sensitive to local needs than they were before decentralization, when they "took orders from above." Many new educational programs emerged, culturally relevant curricula have become commonplace, and linkages with outside agencies were established.

In terms of the academic outcomes for students, however, the evidence is less positive. Although reading test scores may have improved somewhat over the decade, many alternative explanations exist for the limited data presented. Rogers and Chung (1983) are cautious in interpreting these results. They conclude:

> Despite the many positive developments under decentralization, there remain many unresolved problems [relating to district governance, program administration, and district-school system relations]. . . . [These problems] will have to be addressed more systematically in the future if the New York City school system is to realize the potential that the best of the decentralized districts have demonstrated. (p. 216)

Thus, although community control positively changed some aspects of some schools, decentralization did not result in the broad-based improvement in student learning that was one of its major aims.

In a similar tone, the conclusions offered by Gittell (Gittell, Berube, Gottfried, Guttentag, & Spier, 1972), in her evaluation of the New York City demonstration school districts that preceded the systemwide reform, echo those of Rogers and Chung. While decentralization held much prom-

ise, according to Gittell, the task was considerably more complex than most imagined at the outset, and the full potential was never realized in the demonstration sites.

A critical test of school-based governance in Salt Lake City yielded similar conclusions, according to Malen and Ogawa (1988). A number of features deemed essential to school-site governance were included in the Salt Lake plan. Parent-professional councils located at each school were charged with broad policy-making responsibilities. Protections were introduced to ensure real power to parents in these activities, and training was provided to help parents exercise power. Helpful here was the fact that the Salt Lake community was much more homogeneous than urban contexts such as New York, where the cultural gap between professional staff and minority families was vast. Results from this 15-year effort at collaborative decision making were nonetheless disappointing: "Despite the presence of these highly favorable conditions, teachers and parents did not wield significant influence on significant issues in site-council arenas" (Malen & Ogawa, 1988, p. 266). Cautioning against overgeneralization from this one case, the authors suggest a number of adjustments in the design of future school-site governance plans that might help produce more positive results.

In both the New York and Salt Lake City efforts at local control of schools, enough time has passed since the inception of these reforms that some evaluation of their effectiveness is possible. Such evaluation is not yet possible for the most visible and fundamental current reform effort in this vein, in Chicago. In late 1988, the State of Illinois mandated the restructuring of the Chicago Public Schools in Public Act 85-1418. As with the cases described above, the Chicago reform is seen as a response to unrepresentative bureaucratic systems (the Chicago Board of Education and the Chicago Teachers' Union). The response is primarily in the direction of empowering parents.

The framework of the Chicago reform plan is described by Hess (1991) and Moore (1990), both of whom have been actively involved in developing and implementing the reform. While the plan mandates change at every level of the bureaucracy, its intent is to restructure the school system through changes in its governance system. The central element of the reform is the establishment of local school councils (LSCs) that have major responsibility for operating Chicago's public schools. Each LSC consists of six parents, two community residents, two teachers, and the principal. Members are elected by the constituencies they represent, and they receive some training for their jobs. Each LSC is empowered to create and implement a school improvement plan (including curriculum development), to appoint the principal, and to develop and control the school's budget. Principal tenure is abolished. While teachers may apply

to teach at any school in the system with a position open, they may also remain at their current schools. As the curriculum is developed locally at each school through the LSC's school improvement plan, teachers play an increased role in planning what they do.

It is certainly too early to assess the effectiveness of this major reform effort. However, a first survey of teachers after a year provides some reason for optimism.[70] In general, teachers are positive about the reform and report that the negative consequences some anticipated have not occurred. However, their opinions are evenly divided about whether positive instructional practices have emerged since the inception of the reform. Teachers in a modest number of schools describe the reform as "really working." Following a plan for continuous assessment, principals are the next to be surveyed.

Although researchers and policymakers remain optimistic about parent empowerment and local control as a means of school reform, it is quite clear that the desired ends of decentralization were not attained in the case of either New York or Salt Lake. In both instances, bureaucratic authority held sway, and the promise of parent involvement in important decisions has simply not materialized. At the other extreme, if we look back to the turn of the century, we find ample evidence of the excesses of local control created through ward-based political involvement in schools—hardly a model for a better way. Evaluation of the success of the Chicago reform is clearly several years away.

Reflections on Parent Involvement

In looking across the various efforts to promote parental involvement in schools discussed above, it is evident that forging a successful collaboration among the community, parents, and the school staff is elusive. Moreover, such collaborations are, in one sense, inherently problematic. Parents and children have both rights and responsibilities in the educational process. While schooling is a public (or common) good, and as such essential to a vital democratic society, it is also a private benefit increasingly essential to individual economic well-being. These dual aims suggest the need to recognize both broad societal concerns and individual interests. In terms of actual school operations, since the professional knowledge, pedagogic skill, and personal commitment of teachers are critical to the successful operation of any school, they must also be ensured. Identifying the specific contributions that each group can bring to the enterprise and structuring a process that both secures these strengths and protects against arbitrary uses of power are difficult but essential tasks that must be undertaken in the course of building a true community-school collaboration.

Each of the three strategies we have described for promoting parental

involvement attempts, in its own way, to respond to the problematic socialization function of schools, particularly those in poor communities. Under the first approach, parent education is necessary to facilitate the real work of schools. This approach is firmly rooted in a bureaucratic view of the school that sees the home environment as the problem to be solved through appropriate training of parents. By adding this extra service, schools would expect students to come to school able to respond to existing classroom demands. Under this view, since control over education remains with the professionals, concerns about possible social misalignment of values between home and school may never be directly addressed.

Developing functional communities around the school, the second option, represents a blend of bureaucratic and communitarian views. Stressing the importance of productive social relations among all connected with the school, it provides legitimacy for all school members—children, caretakers, and professional staff. Furthermore, these relationships are based on trust rather than contracts. On balance, this approach also recognizes that while each group has something important and necessary to contribute, these are not relationships among equals. The school is a limited community focused on educational aims. As such, professional expertise of school staff continues to be accorded a special role, and structuring schools to promote student learning remains the central consideration. Clearly, developing functional communities of this type is much easier among groups that share a common set of values. However, it is also important to attend to *which* values drive the enterprise.

If disadvantaged children are to be given the opportunities to move into mainstream American life, then socialization toward that end must occur. Negotiating this function of schooling between parents and school staff is critical. Advocates of community control—the third option—see parents taking control of schools as the solution. In its most extreme form, this represents a communitarian response that "only we can educate our children."[71] The appropriate role for educational expertise (and with it socialization into the middle class) in such contexts, however, is unclear.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS

We now turn to the topic of the internal organization of schools and its influence on outcomes for both teachers and students. We have organized this section around three broad considerations. First, we consider how authority is organized in the school. This topic considers several manifestations of authority. The first concern is how schools are governed (i.e., are they subject to political control as in the public sector, or do they respond to market forces as in the private sector?). Closely coupled with the governance structure are several specific school features: selec-

tivity of students, control over the entry and exit of faculty, and decision-making autonomy. These features combine to determine the degree to which a school is open or closed to its external environment. A second lens for examining the organization of authority is administration. While one aspect of school administration emphasizes the outward reach into the school's external environment, our primary focus is on the major functions of administration inside the school—mediation, management, and leadership. A third manifestation of authority is how the school is organized as a cultural entity. We examine the belief systems in schools (including their climate or ethos), the goals that schools set for themselves, and the distribution of these cultural beliefs and goals among staff and students. A fourth lens we use to examine the organization of authority is the degree to which teachers are empowered to make decisions in the school.

A second consideration within the internal organization of secondary schools is how they are organized as workplaces for teachers and students. Are teachers seen as subject matter specialists, or do they have opportunities to interact with students through a varied set of organizational roles? From the perspective of students, how is the curriculum structured and how are individuals mapped into it? Above and beyond the question of "who takes what" and how this is influenced by the overall structure of the curriculum, we also consider the process by which students and teachers are assigned to (or choose) curricular tracks and courses within those tracks. The organization of work in secondary schools constitutes the most critical element in our review of internal organization.

Our third focus examines the structure of social relations among the various participants in secondary schools. How do teachers interact with one another? What relationships do they maintain with students? What is the nature of the relationships students develop with one another? How do these sets of relations affect how schools work and how teachers and students work within them? Peer group formation and functioning, extracurricular activities, personal counseling, and social and academic collegiality among faculty are all considered in this examination of social relations within schools.

The Organization of Authority

School Governance

A wide range of controls determines how individual schools operate, a set that we call its governance structure. J. S. Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore's (1981) report, *Public and Private Schools,* initiated much of the current interest in school governance and its effects. The authors of this

widely publicized study concluded that private secondary schools produced superior academic achievement compared with public schools. Moreover, these advantages were exaggerated for disadvantaged youth. Coleman and colleagues used statistical evidence generated from the first analyses of the newly available HS&B base-year data to advance an argument supporting tuition tax credits for private schools. The findings were very controversial, and the original research was criticized extensively on methodological grounds. However, the basic findings have withstood a spate of reanalyses, including subsequent (and much stronger) investigations with longitudinal data.[72] Coleman and his colleagues had again catalyzed a major educational policy debate—this time on public and private schooling—that has endured through the 1980s and continues to this day.

Researchers have subsequently sought to explain why private high schools are especially effective in promoting student achievement for disadvantaged and minority students. The early responses to the Coleman et al. work could be characterized as vehement defenses and apologies for public schools. These works isolated a host of conditions affecting public high schools with which private schools were not forced to contend. From a spirited defense of public schools, these responses to Coleman et al.'s findings soon developed into a more useful dialogue about the role of aspects of the external environment of schools in shaping their internal operations. Some writings have focused on the effects of such specific policy differences between public and private schools as control over the entry and exit of faculty and students or the autonomy of decision making at the local school site. Other arguments have been broader in scope, emphasizing how differences in control mechanisms can have pervasive effects on schools' internal organization. While still lively, the debate about the relative effectiveness of public and private schools has developed from a posture that could be characterized as defensive, offensive, and vituperative into a genuine dialogue about organizational features important in the operation of all schools.

Control Over the Entry and Exit of Students

The proposition that student selection is an integral feature of private schooling constituted a major early objection to the work of Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore. Critics maintained that statistical adjustments for differences in student backgrounds are incapable of completely parceling out this "selectivity bias" (e.g., see McPartland & McDill, 1982; Murnane, 1981; Salignik & Karweit, 1982). These critics claim that the processes enabled through a school's selection of students, and through the choice exercised by parents and students in seeking admission, fundamentally alter and facilitate subsequent organizational life in private

schools. In particular, the selection and self-selection process facilitates a value consensus between parents and the school, legitimates teachers' moral authority, and secures a high level of commitment among the school's clients. At a more instrumental level, having a student body composed primarily of individuals who want to be there (and pay for the privilege) can foster students' commitment to the school and engagement with academic work. Since such students are likely to be easier to teach and require less discipline, teachers' sense of efficacy and satisfaction should be greater. Students' progress—the major source of these intrinsic rewards for teachers—will be more readily manifest under these conditions.

These arguments, whose face validity is strong, have not been subjected to extensive empirical examination. As part of an investigation of communal school organization, Bryk and Driscoll (1988) constructed a composite measure of school selectivity.[73] Including statistical controls for many aspects of student background, their analyses demonstrated significant residual relationships between school selectivity and student absenteeism, interest in academics, and gains in achievement. While teacher absenteeism was also lower in more selective schools, there was no indication that school selectivity influences teacher efficacy and satisfaction, enjoyment of work, or staff morale.

Selectivity was not the major focus of the Bryk and Driscoll work; thus, the evidence from that study is somewhat limited. As an organizational property of schools, it appears that selectivity nevertheless has an effect on students' academic outcomes over and above the individual student background characteristics on which students are presumably selected (e.g., academic ability and the ability and willingness of their parents to pay tuition). The hypothesized impact on teachers, however, produces less conclusive evidence.

Besides the selection issue, the original responses to Coleman et al. also argued that private schools have more flexibility in removing troublesome students. This has not been (and cannot be) explored systematically with HS&B data, since the study provides no detailed information about either the alternatives available to school principals in removing disruptive students or the difficulties involved in exercising these options. Although we know that the actual number of expulsions in private schools is quite low, data are currently unavailable allowing for direct assessment of the organizational consequences of any differences in expulsion policies and procedures among schools in the public and private sectors.[74]

The most direct field study evidence in this regard is presented in G. Grant's account of Hamilton High (1988). The author describes the overly legalistic environment that developed in one newly desegregated comprehensive public high school in the 1970s. Concerns about due process

produced complex procedures for collecting evidence, assembling witnesses, and conducting formal hearings before the school could undertake an expulsion (or in some cases even a suspension). Teachers were hesitant in this environment to institute proceedings, a hesitancy that further emboldened students' disruptive behavior. While the confrontational environment of the late 1960s and 1970s has abated somewhat, Grant argues that the legalism surrounding adult responses to student misbehavior remains part of the "negotiated peace" in today's public high schools. Furthermore, the causes for expelling students are limited almost entirely to misbehavior. The idea of "flunking out" is almost unheard of in public schools today.

Control Over the Entry and Exit of Faculty

Detailed descriptive comparisons of public and private schools in terms of principals' authority to control faculty membership are provided by Chubb and Moe (1988, 1990).[75] Although over 80% of public high schools are unionized and over 80% of the teachers have tenure, both practices are rare in private schools. Public school principals are much more likely to report problems attracting the staff they want because of excessive control from the central office, including forced transfers of desirable teachers. Similar to the difficulties of removing a troublesome student, complex administrative procedures and union rules have resulted in cumbersome and time-consuming procedures to remove an incompetent teacher from a public school.

Bridges (1986) offers a detailed account of the slow and difficult process that public schools must confront when dealing with incompetent teachers—a frightening picture of incompetence tolerated far too long. Teacher problems typically emerge around issues of maintaining discipline, and school administrators must first attempt to reform the incompetent teacher before considering removal. The teacher is usually in a state of "performance collapse" by the time administrators resign themselves to the failure of these salvage efforts and institute procedures for administrative dismissal. Over this period, several cohorts of students may have been adversely affected by exposure to a teacher in a deteriorating state of competence. In contrast, private school teachers typically work under 1-year contracts, with the principal's conscience the primary constraint on teacher removal (see Chubb & Moe, 1987). Intuitively, these strong differences in organizational constraints are likely to have significant consequences both on a school's staff and on student learning. This link, however, is as yet unexplored in quantitative investigations of school organization.

Control Mechanisms: Politics and Markets

While this review is not the proper venue for a full discussion of the current policy debate about parental choice of schooling, the reform effort is sufficiently important to warrant a brief summary of the arguments and relevant empirical evidence relating to them. One argument that contrasts the effects of government control of schools in the public sector with the consequences of voluntarism in the private sector can be traced to a paper by Salganik and Karweit (1982).[76] Whereas the authority for public schools, according to these authors, rests on a rational-legal base within a bureaucratic mode of organization, private schools continue to rely on more traditional forms of hierarchical authority. Over the past two decades, increasing rationalization of public schooling has narrowed the authority of teachers, demeaned their personal role, and diminished the autonomy of school staff relative to external forces.[77] Increasing bureaucratization has also made public schools more complex organizations with less internal integration. Such complexity, it is argued, reduces the coherence of a school's programs and is thereby detrimental to school operations. Considerable evidence supports this characterization of organizational life in public schools and clearly differentiates them from schools in the private sector.[78]

A second argument is offered by Chubb and Moe (1988),[79] who claim that

> the influence on learning does not depend on any particular educational practice, on how [schools] test or assign homework or evaluate teaching, but rather on their organization as a whole, on their goals, leadership, fellowship, and climate. What is more, their institutional structure and character is shaped by their environments. (p. 29)

They further state that positive parental relations and decision-making autonomy at the individual school site are critical for an "effectively organized high school."

A fundamental dilemma for public schools is, however, inherent in these claims. To achieve greater authority to individual school sites, it seems likely that schools must submit themselves to extensive monitoring systems to ensure accountability. The threat is that these systems may be overly prescriptive and ultimately counterproductive. Chubb and Moe argue that the mechanism of the market offers a greater potential for promoting schools that are responsive to their clients than do the bureaucratic controls typically employed by modern democratic institutions.

We discuss here the relationship of available evidence to the general propositions advanced by Chubb and Moe (1987, 1990), although we have commented elsewhere (Bryk & Lee, 1992) on the limitations of their statistical analyses offered in *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*. On

the one hand, some systematic evidence supporting the efficacy of such important features of classroom instruction as curriculum articulation, maximizing student learning time, and monitoring instructional impact on student outcomes has emerged from syntheses of the effective schools literature, although the conclusions are somewhat suspect for methodological reasons.[80] On the other hand, considerable evidence exists documenting important differences between public and private schools across a range of organizational characteristics.[81] These data support the claim that the internal operations of a school are influenced by the nature of its governance arrangements.

The evidence connecting the specific organizational features considered by Chubb and Moe to teacher behavior and attitudes is less clear. In a recent study, Newmann, Rutter, and Smith (1989) found no evidence supporting the hypothesis that principal leadership or teacher influence in decision making had direct effects on teacher efficacy or sense of community. Similarly, Rutter (1986) reports very weak effects for principal leadership and teacher collaboration on teacher engagement. On the other hand, Lee, Dedrick, and Smith (1991) offer more supporting evidence, as they found teachers' sense of school community and perceptions of strong principal leadership to be positively related to teacher satisfaction and self-efficacy.[82] Bryk and Lee (in press) found large differences favoring Catholic over public school teachers' efficacy, enjoyment of work, and staff morale. However, once differences in the communal organization of schools in the two sectors were statistically controlled, the between-sector differences in teacher outcomes were largely explained.

In terms of the link to student outcomes, we find the analyses in Chubb and Moe (1990) unconvincing for several reasons. While we present our arguments in detail elsewhere (Bryk & Lee, 1992), we briefly summarize some of them here. Chubb and Moe's argument rests on analyses that show that secondary schools that are classified as high and low performance (in terms of achievement) vary considerably on a central measure in their analysis, the "school organization index," with high-performance schools much more likely also to be high in "organizational effectiveness" as measured by the index. We found the organizational index weak in its theoretical conceptionalization, which resulted in their including in the composite two measures that are generally considered as outcomes rather than predictors of school effectiveness (teacher efficacy and teacher absenteeism) and excluding an available and important dimension, teacher collegiality.

Equally important, Chubb and Moe (1990) underrepresented the important impact of a school's academic organization in their analyses—students' experience with course work—data that exist in HS&B and were thus available to them. By underadjusting for this important element

of the internal organization of schools (discussed in more detail below), the explanatory power of their model tilts toward the more general factors external to the school, elements that form the basis of their argument supporting the importance of choice. The substantial research on high school curricular organization actually raises serious doubts about their conclusions. These studies consistently document powerful effects of students' academic experience on achievement and the significant role of curricular organization in determining the opportunities to learn afforded different kinds of students. To telescope a subsequent section on the organization of students' work, in which academic achievement is the primary concern, interest must focus on core features of instruction (course taking, curricular materials, teaching efficiency, homework) and how they are influenced by the organization of schools. Global school characteristics such as those on which Chubb and Moe have focused are likely to have only modest, and primarily indirect, effects on students' academic outcomes, primarily through fostering teacher and student effort. However, if attention shifts to social outcomes, such as teachers' satisfaction, morale, and efficacy, or such student alienation behaviors as cutting class, being absent without excuse, and dropping out, the influence of organizational variation of the type they focus on may be much greater.[83]

Administration

There is a substantial body of literature on the role of administration in school organization. Over 200 articles, reports, and other reviews, all written since 1970, were included in a review by Murphy (1988). Bridges (1982) reviewed 322 research reports drawn from dissertation abstracts and published journals between 1967 and 1980. Only a modest portion of this literature consists of actual research reports, however, and only a small number were published in scholarly journals.[84]

Typical is the research reviewed by Bridges (1982), which involved predominantly descriptive surveys using questionnaires. These "studies" suffer from significant methodological problems, including low external validity, lack of causal design, and the need for multilevel analysis given the research design (for a more complete analysis of the existing problems in this literature, see Murphy, 1988). The singular focus of this research on the administration of public schools (especially "effective" public schools) and the relative absence of detailed ethnographic investigations represent other basic flaws.[85] Any synthesis of results from existing research on this topic must be qualified within this context.[86]

We summarize the research on school administration in terms of three functional roles: (a) management—allocating resources, developing and enforcing rules, and supervising staff development and evaluation; (b)

mediation—facilitating communication within the school and its external constituencies, buffering the technical core from disruptive influences, and communicating policy decisions and problems across the organization; and (c) leadership—shaping and defining the official and operative goals of the school and providing guidance and supervision in instruction.[87]

The Management Role of School Administration

A number of related functions compose this role: (a) coordinating activities and allocating resources, (b) establishing and enforcing rules, and (c) supervising staff development and evaluation programs.[88] We describe each briefly.

Communication of information and resource allocation. This research, which is mostly in the form of case studies of high school administrators, indicates that the primary management role involves communicating information and allocating resources.[89] A major responsibility of the school principal is to coordinate the flow of resources and information to teachers as they are needed for school operations. In practice, this function depends on the context. In particular, school size affects the amount of contact teachers have with the principal and influences how formalized the procedures for obtaining resources, communicating problems, or gaining access to information become.[90] Because both the efficiency and informality of managerial action positively influence teacher satisfaction, this takes on some importance.[91]

Rule administration. A range of positive outcomes for both teachers and students is influenced by management strategies that decrease school disruption and increase the safety of students.[92] The general disciplinary climate of the school is improved by clear and consistent school rules and policies, which also contribute to improved staff and student morale.[93]

The process through which the principal uses rules to improve the social order is complex. By clearly and consistently enforcing rules, the disciplinary climate is improved, and this in turn tends to improve academic achievement.[94] More than just systematic rule enforcement, this process involves basic human understandings about issues of justice and responsibility. For example, students' perceptions that disciplinary matters are handled unfairly and ineffectively are associated with dropping out of school.[95] Grant's account of Hamilton High poignantly reflects the subtle aspects of rule administration, where adult moral authority collapsed during the 1960s and early 1970s. "Doing the right thing" was supplanted by doing the "procedurally correct thing." The rigid legalism of explicitly formulated rules that were impersonally and neutrally enforced became more important than students' learning about the social issues of fairness,

justice, and personal responsibility. The managerial role has an important instructional function here, as social teaching occurs in adult responses to student misbehavior.

Teacher outcomes are also associated with rule administration. Caldwell and Lutz (1978) found that clearly established and consistently enforced rules were more important factors in inducing teacher satisfaction than was teachers' actual personal involvement in enforcing the rules.[96] Similarly, Rosenholtz (1985) and Rosenholtz, Bassler, and Hoover-Dempsey (1986) concluded that formal rules play a part in reducing teachers' role ambiguity and uncertainty, factors that are in turn related to teacher satisfaction.

We again suggest caution in interpreting this evidence. Teachers prefer an explicit and systematic statement of rules against which their behaviors will be judged, especially when their efforts are subject to external accountability. That is, in a highly bureaucratized school environment, expressions of "Just tell me exactly what you want me to do" are a reasonable response. Ironically but understandably, such behaviors on the part of teachers are counterproductive to advancing good teaching and good schooling.[97] D. K. Cohen (1988) details this argument well, noting that the inherent ambiguity and uncertainty in teaching induces teachers to depend strongly on students' effort in order for them to feel successful. Taking risks in such an environment requires social support, from both internal (colleagues) and external (parent communities) sources. Without this trust, teachers become rational and risk averse, falling back on clear, explicit standards by which they will be judged as safeguards against capricious administrative action. This is another instance in which a communitarian perspective on the school, as reflected in ideas about social collegiality and parental trust, offers a distinctly different interpretation of the educational context from the rational-bureaucratic norm of formal rules of conduct.

Staff development and monitoring. The responsibility of administrators to implement staff development programs, to encourage ongoing training and retraining of teachers, and to supervise monitoring programs has received heavy emphasis in the research on school improvement.[98] Some research indicates that teachers' knowledge about teaching and subject matter increases as a consequence of staff development programs.[99] Somewhat more sanguine on this topic, other research concludes that unless teachers are involved in the planning of thoughtfully executed programs, teacher dissatisfaction and alienation may result.[100] The critical factors predicting success, according to Rosenholtz (1987), include the amount of intrusive administrative operations (e.g., filling out forms, interrupting classrooms), the extent to which the goals of the development

programs coincide with existing operative goals of teachers, and the collegial atmosphere already in operation in the school.

The Mediator Role of School Administration

Bidwell (1965), in his discussion of the school as a formal organization, describes "buffering" as a critical administrative function. The principal has three essential mediating functions: (a) representing the needs and concerns of the external constituency to the internal organization, (b) protecting the technical core (instruction) from disruptions that could hinder teachers' productivity, and (c) facilitating interpersonal interactions and mediating problems as they occur within the organizational hierarchy.

Relations with external constituencies. The governance structure of public schooling dictates the focus of most of the research on this topic: on school superintendents. A primary function here involves communicating between the school and its constituency (e.g., see Chubb, 1988; McGuire, 1984; Pitner & Ogawa, 1981). Unless a school communicates its successes to the community, it may lose support for its operations. The nature of this communication function depends on parental and community involvement in the school, which in turn is influenced by the school governance structure.[101] Interactions are less formal, and greater consensus between school and community is likely to result from parents staying in regular communication with the school. In this regard, the amount and type of interactions of external individuals and groups with the school, and the recourse available if the school is unresponsive, are shaped by the school's governance structure.[102]

Buffering the technical core. The effective school research reflects a somewhat different perspective, where protecting the technical core is viewed as an important function of the principal.[103] Many of the external efforts to intervene in schools, it is presumed, are actually dysfunctional. From this perspective, the loosely coupled nature of schools—with central administrators having limited direct authority over classroom operations—is something to be preserved.[104]

Facilitating informal social interactions. Another mediating function of the administrator is couched in the extensive amount of time principals spend in informal social interactions.[105] Firestone and Wilson (1985) describe principals' increasing use of cultural mechanisms to influence school operations, in addition to standard bureaucratic procedures. Bureaucratic procedures alone (the roles, rules, and authority relations formally regulating the behavior of organization members), they argue, are insufficient to control the organization, and must be supplemented with cultural strategies (drawing on the subjective personal relations among school members). Cultural linkages are particularly helpful in mediating

disputes, contributing to collegiality, and promoting a cooperative working environment.

The Leadership Role of School Administration

Prevailing ideology, tradition, and the rituals embedded in the daily routine shape school life, according to the research on leadership.[106,107] Making use of such symbolic expressions, the school's central mission can be shaped by its leader. The role, then, is to articulate and "stand for" the school's purpose, both inside and outside the organization.

The formulation of clear educational goals is a critical bureaucratic expression of school leadership (for a more elaborate discussion of school administration in a goal framework, see Brookover, Beady, Flook, Schweitzer, & Wisenbaker, 1979; Edmonds, 1979; Hoy & Ferguson, 1985; M. Rutter et al., 1979). The effective schools literature argues that such goals are fostered by strong school-site leadership, although the causal direction of this relationship is unclear (e.g., see Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Clark, Lotto, & Astuto, 1984; Hoy & Ferguson, 1985; Wellisch, MacQueen, Carriere, & Duck, 1978). Some claim that effective leadership may derive from rather than cause schools' effectiveness. That is, the job of a school administrator may be facilitated by a strong central purpose, simply by identifying the administrator's function in the organization. Such a clear definition is likely to elucidate the principal's role and to make him or her appear "effective." Case studies provide the best available evidence on this issue, describing important institutional changes occurring as a result of educational leadership (e.g., see the case study on Carver High in Atlanta described by Lightfoot, 1983). The latter supports the contention that individual school leaders have the power to effect significant change in their institutions.

The "personality" of school leaders is the focus of much research, particularly highlighting the manner in which leaders use charismatic qualities as a source of authority.[108] Charismatic qualities are particularly salient in loosely coupled schools, since administrators exercise little direct authority in influencing instructional operations in such settings.[109] On the contrary, other studies have noted that at least some administrators use forms of rational-technical authority to develop a shared sense of purpose for the school (for a review of literature relating to this argument, see K. D. Peterson, 1989). Principals can, over time, shape organizational goals by hiring teachers with similar beliefs, by monitoring instruction, and by encouraging both formal and informal communication about the school's educational mission.

From a communitarian perspective, research on administration generally emphasizes its cultural dimensions: the importance of the school head's personal actions and how these actions influence the relations

within the institution. This framework locates leadership in context-specific terms. The bureaucratic perspective, in contrast, focuses on the management aspects of administration: rules, policies, and procedures compared with situations, personalities, and a set of norms and understandings built up over time.

The Cultural System

Psychologically based studies of school climate constitute some of the earliest empirical work on school culture (for a comprehensive review of this research, see Anderson, 1982). Topics considered in this research stream include teacher commitment; peer norms; academic expectations and emphasis; consistency, clarity, and consensus of goals; and teachers' use of rewards and praise. Besides the cultural aspects of climate, ecological characteristics of schools (such as building size), milieu descriptors (such as teacher and student morale), and social system variables (such as administrative organization and ability grouping) are also considered in this research.

Although research on school climate has a strong empirical bent, its theoretical base is weak (for a discussion of this research paradigm, see Shulman, 1986). Typically, a study would identify a variety of climate measures and then seek to relate them to an important outcome such as students' academic achievement. Climate research rarely addresses the complex relationships among the sociological, social psychological, and psychological phenomena inherent in these constructs. Anderson (1982), in a thorough review of this literature, notes that a variety of (sometimes inconsistent) causal modalities are used, research designs and statistical analyses are often inadequate, and statistical results are frequently misinterpreted.

In a different genre of research, the idea of a school culture has been advanced recently by educational anthropologists. This type of research focuses on the values of organization members and the practices and activities derived from these beliefs, including their symbolic representation in traditions and rituals.[110] Rather than implying a particular configuration of beliefs, the term *school culture* may describe any collection of values and related activities. In fact, research on school culture typically emphasizes the unique aspects of each school (e.g., see Rossman, Corbett, & Firestone, 1988).

Effective school research has directed particular attention to one aspect of school culture: the presence of shared values among a school's staff. These include norms for instruction (which affect the way teachers' work is conducted and student learning takes place) and norms for civility (which affect the relations among individuals in the institution) (for a full discussion of norms for instruction and civility, see Bird & Little, 1986).

Norms for instruction include beliefs about students' abilities to learn, beliefs about appropriate classroom conduct on the part of teachers and students, and expectations about the futures toward which students' education is directed. When a school has a specific purpose or charter, as in military academies and elite private schools, such norms are easily developed. They are also likely to accrue from a cohesive faculty culture (for a further discussion of these ideas, including supporting literature on these various points, see Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Driscoll, 1989). Norms for civility, on the other hand, involve the routine expression of feelings about the welfare of others as part of the daily routine. A good example of this is found in Lesko's (1988) ethnographic account of St. Anne's Catholic High School, which is described as a caring community. Another is St. Madeline's all-Black girls' Catholic high school described in the prologue of Bryk and Lee's (in press) book about Catholic secondary schools. In general, positive affective consequences for both teachers and students result from these norms for civility, consequences that can both enhance the academic efforts of the school[111] and promote psychic rewards for teachers (for studies specifically concerning effects of such norms on teachers, see Devaney, 1987; McLaughlin, 1990; and McLaughlin, Pfeifer, Swanson-Owens, & Yee, 1986).

The literature on organizational goals treats these ideas within a bureaucratic perspective.[112] This research focuses on three types of goals for schools: official, operative, and operational. Official goals are formal statements of purpose concerning the mission of the school, which are usually abstract and vague, primarily meant to secure legitimacy and support from the constituency. A sharp contrast is the notion of operative goals, meant to represent the actual intentions of individuals within the organization. Operative goals, which are not always even articulated, may or may not reflect official goals. Neither are operative goals always internally consistent, nor are they necessarily connected directly to the technical core of instruction. Operational goals are the most specific, since these are criteria and procedures used for evaluation. In principle, operational goals should be linked closely to official goals, in that they reflect specific evaluations conducted for public consumption. Actually, for a school to function well, all three types of goals should coincide.

Effective schools research typically uses a goal framework to examine administrative activity.[113] Hoy and Ferguson (1985) describe such a model, where "rational decision makers in the organization are guided by a specific set of goals, and these goals are both few enough in number and defined clearly enough to be understood and taken on by participants" (p. 118). While a goal model of this type is reasonable to characterize elementary schools, it is less appropriate for secondary schools, since

they are generally more complex institutions with multiple and sometimes conflicting goals.[114]

Research that focuses on official school goals would generally underemphasize the influence of more tacit operative goals, since they are most often undocumented. Operative goals, however, can have important influences on the shape of a school's social relations. Furthermore, if the operative goals of individuals conflict with expressed official goals (or with the operative goals of others), social cleavages are likely to develop within the institution. Such a school, rather than being characterized by a single effective ethos, may possess distinct subgroups, each with its own ethos (e.g., see the research by M. Rutter et al., 1979, and, more recently, by Bolin, 1989; Mortimore, Sammons, Stoll, Lewis, & Ecob, 1988).

Past research using a goal framework is replete with difficulties, including a lack of attention to the actual content of organizational beliefs. Here again, we find the communitarian perspective helpful. Bryk and Driscoll (1988) point out that it is not just consistency of goals that counts, and that shared beliefs may not necessarily be consistent with common descriptions of good schools. In a classic study of medical education, for example, Becker, Geer, and Hughes (1961) found that although medical students shared many common activities, an institutional emphasis on individual competition discouraged cooperation. Supportive personal relations did not occur because the staff did not see personal ties and cooperative behavior as central to organizational life. Although a set of shared values impelled organizational life, the lack of community and the degree of cut-throat competition that resulted in this environment was inconsistent with the social aims typically espoused for public schooling. Another example of this problem comes from a description of a fundamentalist academy, where an intolerance to alternative life views rests side by side with a set of clear and consistent institutional goals. Since these goals seem to conflict with core democratic values, they are not particularly desirable in public institutions (for further elaboration of this argument, see Peshkin, 1986).

Teacher Power and Empowerment

Another source of authority within a school rests in the faculty. The degree to which teachers perceive that they control their day-to-day activities in the classroom is an important source of satisfaction with their profession. Three theoretical orientations characterize the literature on teacher control or power. While broadly considered, the literature on teacher empowerment fits into one orientation, what we call *motivational power*. The more traditional literature on this topic is consistent with a second orientation, *relational power*. A third orientation in this literature

sees power not as a fixed quantity in limited supply, but rather as an *expanding pie*.[115]

The notion that power results from dependence between parties is fundamental to both the relational and expanding pie concepts. In the former, one party has power over another, or has the ability to make a person do something he or she would not otherwise do. This conception of power is the classic "zero-sum gain," where one person gains power at the expense of another. The expanding pie concept suggests that power can be shared. When power is shared, the total amount of power increases and the individual who shares power does not lose in the process. A third view sees power as motivational rather than relational. This motivation orientation is the predominant view in the concept of teacher empowerment. The concern here is with *feeling* powerful (i.e., perception), not necessarily *being* powerful. Empowerment in this view is meant to lead to behaviors in teachers that would not have occurred otherwise. The felt power results in an expectation that a particular action or goal may be accomplished. In this motivational sense, power refers to an individual's intrinsic need for self-determination or belief in personal efficacy (see Bandura, 1986; Bolin, 1989; Conger & Kanumgo, 1988; Deci, 1975).

Research on teacher self-efficacy focuses on both the sources and the consequences of empowerment. The primary source of teacher power comes from within the classroom—the ability to control the curriculum and management practices that teachers use each day.[116] Examining the organizational factors influencing teachers' self-efficacy and satisfaction, Lee et al. (1991) found that teachers who experience more control over classroom conditions consider themselves more efficacious.[117] Another study that reported on in-depth interviews with teachers confirmed that teachers' perceptions of their power over classroom conditions were more important to them than control over school policies (Imber & Neidt, 1990).

While, in general, teachers feel they have less power over decisions affecting the entire school, they would like to have influence over decision making and policy-making as well as control over their classrooms (Barnett, 1984). This type of empowerment is more important in a communal conception of a school organization.[118] At least two vehicles through which teachers may influence what happens in their school capture the theoretical concepts of power described above. In a power structure that has teachers working in schools that allow them to contribute, through authority delegated to them from the administration, teachers are experiencing an "expanded pie" notion of power.[119] In a school where teachers are empowered through a cultural system that encourages staff participation, they are experiencing motivational power (see Duke, Showers, & Imber, 1980; Imber & Duke, 1985; Lipham, 1981). In general, research focusing on teacher participation in school decisions does not

consider these alternative theoretical perspectives. This work finds generally positive consequences for teachers in experimental programs, but it is difficult to generalize from these findings without considering how the entire authority system of schools must change as well.[120]

Formal Organization of Work

The Function of Departments

Some of the best combinations of theoretical argument and empirical research on school organization, as we noted at the beginning, have focused on elementary schools, and in particular on the organization of classroom instruction in different subjects (e.g., see Barr & Dreeben, 1983; Stodolsky, 1988). A new organizational subunit emerges in high schools: the academic department. The existing research, although limited, suggests that departments play an important role in teachers' professional lives. High school teachers most often describe themselves as subject-matter specialists, seeing their social ties primarily to their departments rather than to the school. Important curricular decisions occur here, and significant consequences may accrue in terms of teachers' efficacy and staff morale.[121] Specifically, case studies suggest that it is in the departments that key decisions are made about the courses to be offered, the assignment of students to classes, and who will teach them. Furthermore, much of teachers' sense of efficacy and satisfaction is closely connected to the consequences of these decisions (i.e., the courses offered and the types of students taught), since teachers depend largely on their students' success for their psychic rewards.[122] There is also evidence that teachers in different departments hold substantially different views about the organization of their high schools, with social studies teachers more positive than their counterparts in mathematics, science, and English departments.[123] These results support the notion that departmental loyalties exert a substantial pull away from teachers' allegiance to the school as a functional unit.

How departments function and how their operation may be shaped by broader institutional forces has not been systematically investigated, even though the literature has established their salience in the organization of high schools. The bureaucratic perspective would view the department as a device to efficiently organize teachers' work within the complexity of a modern high school. Since the department could focus attention on teachers' development of pedagogical skills and strengthen their commitment to teaching, in principle it could enhance academic collegiality among faculty (at least among departmental colleagues). Under bureaucratic theory, departmentalization may thus be seen as a deliberate organizational device to enhance academic learning.

The possible social consequences that may also follow from this aspect of school organization, however, are unknown. Rowan, Raudenbush, and Kang (1991) have demonstrated that there are significant differences among departments in the same school in terms of teachers' beliefs, work commitments, and social relations. Furthermore, it seems plausible that such differentiation both within and between departments may be amplified by stratification with regard to such teacher attributes as race, gender, and seniority. Both consensus on goals and coherence within programs may be difficult to achieve when such stratification occurs. It is not difficult to envision, for example, that within a large comprehensive high school a highly fragmented social structure would consist of several relatively closed social networks organized around departments. Overall, such networks could foster a school work environment characterized by distrust, detachment, and, perhaps, anomie.

Because research is beginning to link teacher alienation and lack of engagement to the absence of a sense of community among teachers, the possibility of networks within schools that might detract from loyalty to the school itself is important (see Newman et al., 1989; R. Rutter, 1986). Bryk and Driscoll (1988) have unpacked the idea of a "sense of community" into a detailed set of specific features of high school organization that act to create such environments, rather than relying only on teachers' perceptions.[124] Using HS&B data, they found that teachers in communally organized schools are more likely to report satisfaction with their work, to be seen by students as enjoying their teaching, and to share a high level of staff morale than are teachers in schools not so organized. In terms of consequences for students, various forms of social misbehavior (class cutting, absenteeism, and classroom disorder) were all less prevalent, and school dropout rates were lower. This work was extended by Bryk and Lee (in press), who demonstrated that if public schools had the same high level of communal organization as Catholic high schools, the majority of the substantial differences between these two sectors in the areas of student engagement and teacher commitment would be explained.[125]

Unfortunately, neither of these studies was able to investigate the social structure and functioning of departments, as HS&B did not collect such data. The effect of school size was investigated, however. Not surprisingly, communal organization is much less common in large schools. The case studies discussed above suggest that rigid departmentalization is a characteristic of middle-sized and larger high schools, so it seems plausible that there is a causal link between departmentalization and a lack of community. Specifically, if departmentalization acts to foment subgroup closure, the research on communal organization suggests that

negative social consequences may occur across the whole school for both teachers and students. This linkage awaits empirical validation.

Teacher Role

A central component of any bureaucratic organization is the functional division of labor within it.[126] In schools, departmentalization is a key element in this division. Another is faculty role, and in particular work specialization. The earliest form of the specialization of teachers' work was the organization of instruction by age and grade level. Accelerated in the late 1960s and fueled by federal and state categorical programs, the movement toward work specialization in schools has continued to grow. Increasing numbers of government programs drew attention to a wide range of special needs, resulting in an expansion of school activities, including the introduction of health and social services.[127] As a result, the staff in today's comprehensive high school is considerably differentiated, having specialized responsibilities beyond the instructional core according to students' special needs (e.g., compensatory education, bilingual education, special education), special programming areas (e.g., drug and alcohol abuse, dropout prevention, teenage pregnancy, and suicide prevention), and special functions (e.g., college counseling, job placement). Besides the obvious specialization in subject areas, the vertical curriculum, with multiple distinctions among nominally equivalent courses tailored to students' abilities and interests, offers further opportunities for specialization in teachers' work.

Bureaucratic organizational theory holds that staff specialization enhances a school system's efficiency in delivering its educational services.[128] Whether benefits actually accrue to students from such specialization, however, is a complex question that has received little empirical scrutiny. To examine this question, the research design would require a careful assessment of not only the direct effects of each specialized program or activity but also the possible indirect effects on the overall school organization that may result from the more complex structure required to maintain this enterprise.

As part of a larger essay on how high schools contribute to student alienation, Newmann (1981) takes up the topic of work specialization (for a more philosophical treatment of this topic, see Bowers, 1985, and Seeman, 1975). Adolescence and youth, he reminds us, are critical developmental periods that require a delicate balance of individuality and integration in a community. Yet little attention has been directed to questions about how school structure, activities, policies, and procedures might foster social integration for students.[129] Importantly, society has routinely defined its concerns about youth disorder—dropping out, suicide, teenage pregnancy, and substance abuse—as problems of the in-

dividual; the possible contribution of school organization in these problems is seldom considered.[130] It is clear that from the communitarian perspective, staff specialization is problematic, as it typically fosters transient interactions between teachers and students and creates barriers to more generalized affiliative adult-student relationships.

Newmann articulates an alternative role for teachers in response to concerns about student detachment and fragmentation of experiences. Under this role, staff would have broader responsibilities that extend beyond specific classroom duties and a correspondingly less limited focus on a particular subject area.[131] This extended or diffuse adult role recognizes that schools seek to influence students' social and personal development, as well as their intellectual development.[132] Influence of this type requires a pervasive ethic of caring throughout the school. Furthermore, this role concept is based on the premise that to attain these ends requires that a few adults maintain continuous and sustained contact with students, and that they respond to the students as whole persons rather than as clients in need of a particular service.[133]

There is some ethnographic evidence that a more diffuse teacher role can also facilitate classroom instruction (e.g., see Schwartz, Merten, & Bursik, 1987). Teachers can make use of the understandings they develop through informal interactions with students as they address academic tasks. Such understandings can help faculty link current subject matter to experiences that are meaningful in students' lives. Furthermore, the personal relationships that teachers establish with students outside of class can provide the human connections needed to catalyze students' engagement in class. Besides the obvious benefits to students, such personal relations also benefit teachers, as this type of interaction provides a source of the intrinsic rewards that teachers find important in their work.[134]

Both departmentalization and staff specialization thus reflect the tension present between bureaucratic and communitarian conceptions of a school in terms of the organization's effect on teachers. While these organizational devices are meant to promote academic efficiency, negative social consequences may also result. Furthermore, these negative consequences may be inequitably distributed, with the alienating effects of environments typical in large comprehensive high schools especially salient for disadvantaged youth.[135]

Curricular Organization and Students' Academic Work

Students' academic learning is influenced primarily through what we have called "the technical core"—the process of instruction and the school structures, policies, and routines that influence how this instruction occurs.[136] Field investigations and ethnographic accounts charac-

terize most of the recent research on instruction at the secondary level.[137] In general, these writings decry the "flat" character of school life, where students are passive recipients of teaching that is often routinized and deadening. In a finding equally as important as the unstimulating nature of instruction, these field accounts also characterize the nature of classroom instruction as highly stratified. Top-track students' classes are much more likely to be small and to evidence stimulating and engaging teaching. Some exceptions to the general pattern of social and intellectual stratification have been reported, however, particularly in field accounts of Catholic high schools.[138]

The mechanisms through which students are mapped to courses, the relationship of students' social background to such decisions, how these processes affect student outcomes, and how these effects are distributed with regard to such characteristics as social class and race/ethnicity have been the subject of a much larger volume of theoretical and empirical research.[139] The overall pattern may be termed the social distribution of student outcomes.[140]

A particular organizational feature of high schools, tracking, has been the focus of a substantial portion of this research, particularly scrutinizing how schools control students' "opportunities to learn" through this type of curriculum organization.[141] However, the traditional characterization of this process, which describes a small number of well-defined tracks for students of different abilities and interests, does not adequately capture how students are mapped to courses in contemporary public high schools. The high school curriculum has expanded enormously over the last two decades, so that the typical student now confronts extensive curricular options in planning his or her course of study. The wide variety of options has produced great diversity in what students study, even in the same high school.[142] Actual course enrollments rather than nominal track designations, therefore, have begun to receive empirical scrutiny from researchers interested in how social differences in educational outcomes actually develop. We recognize that the latter represents an important clarification for research purposes. Nevertheless, since research on tracking and studies on course taking both investigate the same basic concern—the differential exposure to academic subject matter and the consequences that derive from this exposure—we have chosen to summarize the results of these two research streams together.

A clear and strong finding emerges from the recent spate of analyses using HS&B data: Student course taking and tracking are the most powerful predictors of academic achievement, far stronger than the effects of either personal background or a wide range of student attitudes and behaviors.[143] This finding is especially remarkable given the modest psychometric properties of the independent measures. For example, course

taking is typically measured from student self-reports, with little or no information about the differential content and instructional quality that certainly characterize courses with similar titles. These research results have clear implications for policy: Efforts to improve academic achievement in secondary schools must center on the policies and practices through which students are exposed to subject matter.[144]

Related to this topic, the differential learning opportunities provided to students within schools and the role that these opportunities play in structuring the social distribution of achievement have received close empirical scrutiny in recent years. This line of research builds on an important distinction we noted early in this review—between the school as a context for learning and the instructional processes of schooling through which learning actually occurs. From a bureaucratic organizational perspective, an explicit function of high schools is to create differential learning opportunities. This is the "student side" of the arguments on specialization of labor in teaching discussed in the previous section.

Several recent studies focus specifically on the topic of differential learning opportunities. Lee and Bryk (1988) examined differences in the academic experiences of students in public and Catholic high schools. Even after adjusting for social background and academic achievement at the sophomore year, they found that a much larger proportion of students in the Catholic sector were in an academic track. More important, students' background characteristics were found to be less strongly related to track placement in Catholic than public schools. The largest public-Catholic differences in academic course enrollments were in the nonacademic tracks. In general, there was less differentiation inside schools in course taking and track placements in the Catholic sector. While Lee and Bryk concede that a portion of these differences is related to the types of students who attend public and Catholic schools, the assembled evidence indicates strong independent effects of school organization (see Alexander & Pallas, 1985, for an alternate interpretation of the same findings).

Garet and Delaney (1988) reported on a detailed investigation of mathematics and science course taking in the same issue of *Sociology of Education,* using data from the transcripts of an entire cohort of students from four high schools. They found substantial school-by-school differences in the probability of taking advanced courses, after controlling for student background characteristics. While, again, the latter can be explained in part by variation in the composition of students across schools, differences in curricular organization among the four schools also played an important role. The authors concluded that stratification in students' opportunities to learn resulted, at least partially, from decisions made by the schools about which courses and sections to offer.

Research on the role of guidance counselors in channeling high school students into tracks and courses is relevant. Although it has been advocated that guidance counselors take a proactive stance in being "attentive to the process by which students make educational choices [about courses] to eliminate the impact of sex, race, and class socialization on such choices" (National Coalition of Advocates for Children, 1985, p. 115), the process seems to occur in reverse. In a study examining social differences in access to counseling about curricular programs and courses, Lee and Ekstrom (1987) found that social class, ethnicity, and educational aspirations were all associated with such access. Although certain types of students were most likely to need counseling—because they were least likely to have access to good advice from other sources (i.e., students of low socioeconomic status, minority students, and students with lower aspirations)—these students were least likely actually to get help from counselors in making these important decisions. These empirical findings are consistent with field accounts that describe a process in which students are allowed extensive choice over their programs of study, with the social consequences of their choices not deemed a school matter (e.g., see Cusick, 1983; G. Grant, 1988; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985).

Lee and Bryk (1989) conducted an empirical investigation that addressed directly the role of curricular organization in effecting the social distribution of academic achievement. The "common school" effect, originally reported by Coleman et al. (1981), could be explained largely by taking into account organizational differences in the curriculum of Catholic and public schools, they found.[145] In particular, the academic structure of Catholic secondary schools, where all students follow almost the same course of study (which is largely academic in nature), acts to minimize the differentiation in outcomes that normally results from providing students wide latitude in choosing their courses. The smaller size of schools in the Catholic sector is an organizational "accomplice" in this process. Quite simply, a more internally differentiated academic structure is an efficient mechanism for dealing with diversity in a larger school.

In principle, subsequent school experiences may either magnify or ameliorate initial differences among students relating to their social background. While the magnification effect is more pronounced in the public sector, Lee and Bryk's analyses suggest that a similar mechanism operates in both contexts.[146] This means that the nature of governance in schools (i.e., whether they are public or private) has no residual effect on the social distribution of academic achievement, once properties of the academic organization of schools in the two sectors are taken into account.

Lee and Bryk (1989) provide additional evidence that academic outcomes are influenced by schools' normative properties. For example, the

degree of staff problems (indicated by principals' reports about teachers' absenteeism and lack of commitment) was associated with the social distribution of achievement. In schools with orderly and safe environments, achievement was higher, particularly for minorities (this included adjustment for student background and academic organization). Also linked to less differentiated student outcomes were students' perceptions of how fairly and effectively adults handled disciplinary problems.

In our opinion, this recent research has important methodological implications. Increasingly, attention focuses on the effects of school structure. Such a focus includes the processes through which aspects of school governance, external environments, and school-based policies affect not only mean levels of learning but also socially differentiated opportunities to learn within schools. In terms of statistical modeling, these concerns represent hypotheses about the effects of school and context variables on within-school structural relationships or regression slopes. Simply adding school variables to student or school-level linear models—the major analytic design for school effects research until quite recently—allows estimations of the influence of school variables only on mean differences between schools, rather than differentiating effects within them. As we noted earlier, the misconception of such analyses is that they inherently assume that school variables affect all students within the school equally. In short, the assumptions embedded in the statistical models routinely used in research on school effects conflict in fundamental ways with the basic phenomena under study. Such research requires a multilevel formulation for proper estimation and inference.[147]

School Social Organization

Observations first offered by Waller (1932)—that the school is not only a formal organization, but also a small society where the contour of social relations significantly influences the overall operations of the "society"—are reflected in recent accounts of the influence of normative aspects of school life. Waller's major focus was on the fundamental conflicts embedded in the role of teachers. Affective bonds between teachers and students are crucial in engaging and motivating students to learn. Basic bureaucratic notions about professional behavior, such as an emphasis on standard procedures administered in an affectively neutral fashion, are antithetical to the development of such bonds (for a further elaboration of this argument, see Bidwell, 1965).

The writings of John Dewey, who saw education as a social process and the school as a form of communal life deliberately designed to promote it, echo a strong theme in Waller's observations:

> The school must itself be a community life in all which that implies. Social perceptions and interests can be developed only in a genuinely social medium—one where there is give and take in the building up of common experience. (Dewey, 1966, p. 358)

And elsewhere:

> Much of present education fails because it neglects this fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life. It conceives of the school as a place where certain information is to be given, where certain lessons are to be learned, and where certain habits are to be formed. (Dewey, 1966, p. 238)[148]

The modern dilemma of school organization, where the intensely personal nature of education coexists with expectations that it be conducted within formal structures that sharply constrain such action, thus has a distinguished history. We could view the current predicament of the overbureaucratization of schools as a logical, albeit extreme, manifestation of this tension.[149]

The small society of the school involves two distinct social groupings, as Bidwell (1965) noted—collegial ties among staff and peer relations among students—and also a set of human connections between staff and students across these groupings. The engagement of students and teachers in school life may be strongly affected by these human connections, and the academic efforts of the school may be either supported or inhibited by such engagement. The research on this topic is sparce, consisting primarily of theoretical arguments and field accounts, with only a few relevant quantitative studies.

Faculty Colleagueship

A major theme in both the effective schools literature[150] and the literature on innovations and school change[151] involves collegial relations among faculty. From the perspective of bureaucracies, collegiality serves as a mechanism for promoting horizontal communication within an organization, where such communication is meant to focus a faculty's collective technical expertise on specific problems within the school.[152] Attention focuses on formal strategies that promote professional relationships within a school, under this perspective, with the aim of directly enhancing the academic work of the school. Effective schools have cooperative work ethics under this view, and they promote collaborative organizational processes.[153]

There is, however, an important and informal social component to collegiality. Spending time with colleagues in academic and nonacademic activities induces teachers to perceive a friendly atmosphere in their school and to derive satisfaction from working there. Academic and social

purposes are, in fact, routinely intertwined. Even if formal control structures and hierarchies typify effective schools, these organizational elements coexist with more informal social networks that provide both professional assistance and personal support. Personal connections with colleagues can reduce teachers' sense of isolation and vulnerability and provide encouragement.[154]

In short, the centrality of collegiality to effective school operations is documented in research. Accomplishing the academic work of the school is facilitated by cooperative relations among faculty. There is also an important personal dimension to faculty relations. Genuine face-to-face relationships with colleagues can ameliorate the sense of isolation and vulnerability encompassed in the basic structure of teaching. This possibility suggests the important instrumental need for schools to attend to the personal relations that effectively tie members to one another. Furthermore, two reasons suggest that these personal connections may be more salient now than ever. First, a decline in public perceptions of teachers' social status has undermined the moral authority necessary for teaching.[155] As a result, in the context of an unfriendly external world, social support from colleagues becomes a more important motivational force. Second, general features of modern life, in which the influences of traditional sources of personal support—community, church, and extended family—have been weakened, further amplify such needs. Under these circumstances, individuals look toward professional relations to fill personal voids.

Influences of Peers

Research suggests important effects of peer influences on a range of educational outcomes.[156] The causal direction of such effects is not clear, however. Adolescent peer interactions outside and inside the school, according to J. S. Coleman (1961), fostered a student culture that is nonacademic or even antiacademic in character. More recently, Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1984) reported negative academic consequences of peer interactions; in particular, the amount of time spent with peers had negative consequences on academic achievement. A similar theme appears in the writings of John Ogbu, who describes the competing pressures on Black adolescents to avoid "acting White," which translates into working hard and succeeding in school.[157]

Increasingly, researchers are addressing how the compositional and contextual features of peer groups influence academic and social outcomes. Epstein (1983) found that students who had low-achieving friends, regardless of their own ability, had significantly lower achievement scores than students who had high-achieving friends 1 year after the initial assessment of peer group membership. This finding suggests that academic

outcomes are mitigated by the types of peer groups involved (high or low achieving). Similarly, results from studies involving peer influence on misconduct suggest that while perceived pressures toward misconduct tend to increase with age, the degree of pressure is also related to the type of peers ("toughs," "jocks," "populars"; see Clasen & Brown, 1985; Eckert, 1989; Epstein, 1986; Epstein & Karweit, 1983; Karweit, 1983; Lamborn, Brown, Mounts, & Steinberg, 1992; Maliphant, 1979; Salmon, 1979; and Schunk & Hanson, 1983).

In general, it appears that during adolescence peer influences operate strongly to either promote or inhibit positive educational outcomes, depending on the student's position in the peer group, whether the group approves or disapproves of academic effort, and the amount of time devoted to peer social activities that detract from academic outcomes.[158] In addition, the social structure of student interaction may operate either in synchronization with or in opposition to the orientation of the school. School features that seem to interact with peer effects include curriculum organization, general cultural environment, and the types of interactions students have with teachers.[159]

Activities Promoting Positive Adult-Student Relations

Shared activity in school settings plays an important role in sustaining positive social relations between teachers and students. School rituals, for example, initiate students and teachers into the organization and bind them symbolically to it. Rituals help foster the coherence of organizational life. When ritual activities are an important facet of school life, they manifest the shared values of the school, bring members of the school together, and logically connect current activities to expressed institutional norms. These rituals may involve the school's academic programs, but they also may center on athletic, religious, or other communal activities.

Historically, the symbolic value of common activity has been underscored by such social theorists as Emile Durkheim (1956, 1961). More recently, the "ritualistic significance" of activities and how this "maintains appearance and validates an organization" has been remarked on by Meyer and Rowan (1978). No matter how symbolic the events, they note, such occasions can have powerful effects by encouraging participants to give their best efforts in situations in which reasons for such commitments might otherwise be questioned. There are many possible forms for rituals that unite students and teachers. High schools are not infrequently united around athletics (e.g., J. S. Coleman, 1961). In British "public" schools, according to Wilkinson (1964), chapel ceremonies serve a unifying function. I. Weinberg (1967) also notes that these ceremonies communicate a school's message to both students and faculty.

Some shared activities physically assemble participants in a single place

at a given time, although a round of activities participated in by all students at some time can also provide a unifying experience. For example, different cohorts of students who attend the classes of a particularly memorable teacher may share an important experience. The personality of the individual teacher may, in these cases, take on mythic proportions. Special classroom activities organized by such individuals become major events in students' academic lives (e.g., see the descriptive accounts offered in Jackson, 1968).

The academic life of the institution can itself become a special kind of ritual in schools where students have little choice in their educational program and electives are few. In such schools, one individual's course of study does not differ substantially from the "average" academic experience. This effect is magnified if the curriculum remains essentially unchanged from year to year, so that students share the bulk of their academic experiences with their colleagues from previous cohorts. A stable curriculum that varies little over time or over students not only provides opportunities for students of different backgrounds to get to know one another, but also has symbolic value in that it links each student's personal experiences to a school's tradition.

The actual research on the role and function of rituals in school life, while sparse, is replete with compelling theoretical and ethnographic accounts such as those summarized above. Much in this literature is likely to align with personal reflections about education and with basic notions about the positive aspects of the view of schools as small societies. At the very least, the appealing nature of these texts suggests a closer scrutiny of such matters in future studies. In short, empirical validation of compelling anecdotal accounts is needed.

The Consequences of Overly Bureaucratic Social Relations: Alienation and Disengagement

The context of current problems in urban education has increased attention to the social relations within schools. High dropout rates, poor attendance, and conflicts between students and teachers and among students are all seen as indicators of the strong alienation of adolescents from schooling.[160] Complaints about teacher absenteeism, lack of commitment, and problems of "burnout" also abound (e.g., see Dworkin, 1987; Farber, 1984; LeCompte & Dworkin, 1991; Schwab & Iwaniki, 1982). Firestone and Rosenblum (1988), reporting on a multischool case study, suggest that these diverse problems result from a more general condition, namely the alienating quality of contemporary school life that fails to promote both students and teachers to attach themselves effectively to school work.

Firestone and Rosenblum, using basic theoretical constructs about the

small society of the school, noted that teachers and students form two distinct but mutually dependent social groups. They stressed the importance of teacher affect. For example, teachers' expectations can strongly influence students' academic achievement (for a review of the research on teacher expectations, see Brophy, 1983). Conversely, the absence of teacher caring is reported routinely by high school dropouts (e.g., see Calabrese & Poe, 1990; Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, & Fernandez, 1989). Reversing roles, we know that teachers derive few rewards from teaching apathetic students and that students' academic ability is strongly related to teachers' sense of efficacy.[161] Problems with student misconduct are also influential on teachers. In some urban schools, these destructive interrelationships form a vicious cycle, in which teacher burnout contributes to student alienation, and vice versa. Firestone and Rosenblum suggest several factors that can be changed to interrupt this cycle: students' perceptions of the relevance of what they are learning, students' and teachers' sense that they respect one another and are respected by the school's administration, high expectations for student achievement, and faculty influence over school decisions that affect their lives. LeCompte and Dworkin (1991) offer similar conclusions and suggestions.

It is surprising, given increasing interest in student alienation, that there is so little empirical research linking the specific school features considered by Firestone and Rosenblum to students' experiences. For example, researchers exploring dropping out have only recently considered the possible effects of schools on students' subjective experiences within these contexts and the decisions that may flow from these.[162] Similarly, there has been little research interest in the interrelationships between teacher and student commitment and the factors that might jointly affect the engagement of both teachers and students.[163] An exception is the study by Bryk and Driscoll (1988), discussed earlier, that found that a range of teacher outcomes (including satisfaction, staff morale, and absenteeism) and student misbehavior (including class cutting, absenteeism, and dropping out) were strongly associated with communal school organization.[164]

In concluding our discussion of school social organization, we note that the contrast of the bureaucratic and communitarian perspectives is particularly relevant in this context, as these two orientations take distinctly different views of the structure of social relations within schools. The bureaucratic focus is instrumental. Efficiently organized social relations facilitate the attainment of formally stated, primarily academic ends. Social interactions inside schools are simply another organizational feature to be managed. The communitarian perspective stands in sharp contrast, where the quality of human relationships is seen as a central feature and

a desirable end of schooling rather than only a means to manage other aspects of education.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our aim in this review has been to impose a framework on the substantial body of literature on school organization and its effects housed in two differing views of schools, as formal organizations and as small societies. To simplify the discussion, we have termed these perspectives bureaucratic and communitarian, respectively. Research and policy efforts have been dominated by the bureaucratic perspective for several decades. Recently, the communitarian alternative has received renewed interest, however, primarily as a potential response to serious dissatisfaction with American schools. We conclude this review with a short summary of these two perspectives. We also offer an assessment of the implications of these two organizational alternatives for current efforts at school reform.

Consequences of the Bureaucratization of Schooling

James Bryant Conant, in his influential book *The American High School Today* (1959), planted the seeds of many of the current difficulties in school organization. Conant advocated school consolidation as a response to what he saw as a need to enhance the academic offerings of secondary schools. His arguments about the efficiency necessary to achieve universal secondary schooling have a long history. However, as part of a larger societal embrace of the modern public bureaucracy, these ideas achieved new vitality in the 1960s. Increased technological and human resources, coupled with modern management techniques, were predicted to produce rapid gains in learning. Equally as hopeful, the modern school bureaucracy was meant to ensure equal educational opportunities to the poor, minorities, and other disadvantaged groups. The high school was to become a universal institution by expanding its curricular offerings and specializing its teachers' work.

Obviously, these aims have not been realized. Alienation has increased, exemplified by an actual increase in the incidence of dropping out in the 1970s and a current rate that is depressingly high (dropout rates over 50% are not uncommon in urban schools).[165] Neither are there indications of broad improvements in academic achievement, although minorities have registered some relative gains.[166] Moreover, as summarized in the section on organization of work, a highly differentiated intellectual environment characterizes the modern comprehensive high school, with both educational opportunities and academic outcomes stratified by race and social class.

Recent field accounts of high schools provide poignant chronicles of how an expanded school bureaucracy over the last two decades has contributed to pervasive student passivity and teacher alienation, despite its original worthy aims.[167] A breakdown in human commitment has resulted from the processes of specialization and centralization that undergird our system of mass education. Transient relationships, a disintegration of common bonds, and a retreat from shared responsibility have developed from organizational mechanisms originally meant to foster efficiency and equity. "That's not my job!" is a mantra describing the work ethic of the modern school.

Larger schools with more complex curricula, coupled with a dense external policy network with conflicting accountability demands, have fostered organizational environments marked by distrust, social conflict, and a lack of personal regard for the individuals who teach and learn in these institutions. In large urban districts, these forces appear especially disruptive, since everything tends to be more extreme in those settings: larger schools, more programs, greater proportions of students with special needs, greater density of conflicting political demands, and more severe resource constraints.

The Communitarian Critique

Some writers predicted the current situation. Newmann and Oliver (1967), in an essay on "Education and Community," noted that large numbers of individuals were feeling a sense of loss even during the initial hopefulness about social transformation in the Great Society. Missing in modern society are life experiences in which people know and are concerned about each other, depend on one another, and share responsibility for problem solving (March, 1965, pp. 972–1019). Newmann and Oliver's comments seem prescient. Ironically, the cornerstones of the modern public bureaucracy (and the Great Society)—rationality, technology, and legalism—are now seen as major problems for achieving the very social transformation they were intended to facilitate. Instead, as basic notions about "good" or "effective" institutions are redefined, places "with a sense of community" are now seen as lighthouses for the future.

Such elements of community as cooperative work, effective communication, and shared goals have been identified as crucial for all types of successful organizations, not only schools, in a current search for "nonbureaucratic" possibilities.[168] There is, however, a somewhat troublesome instrumentality about this call. The social elements of community, as Newmann and Oliver pointed out, should be seen not as instruments toward another end but rather as ends in themselves. The personal value of our lives, as social beings, is largely defined by the interactions that occur in the communities in which we participate.[169] From this perspec-

tive, using features of community as instruments for social control takes on Orwellian dimensions. Added to individual avarice and a desire to avoid pain, a need for social connectedness becomes just another part of the basic incentives available to the modern manager. This view fails to recognize that personal identity or meaning is not intrinsic in social behavior. Rather, participation in affairs of perceived value gives rise to meaning as an interpretive phenomenon. We thus remain wary of attempts to extract particular social elements that naturally give rise to meaning in some contexts, and then to use these as means of control in other contexts that routinely strip social interaction of any intrinsic meaning.

This perspective resonates strongly in the comments from John Dewey quoted earlier. The social interactions of schooling are not simply a mechanism for accomplishing some other aim, but rather *are* education itself (for a more contemporary discussion of these ideas, see Bryk, 1988; Gutmann, 1987). In the distinctive workplace of a school, social relations among adults and students are much more than just a factor to be manipulated in the pursuit of academic production.

The idea of a communal school that emphasizes the engagement of adults and students in a coherent school life epitomizes this point. Participation in such an organization literally "makes sense to its members." The activities in a communally organized school provide ample opportunities for informal, sincere, face-to-face interactions among adults and students. An ethic of caring conveyed through such interactions nurtures a social bonding among individual members. Locating the current social group within a larger heritage through the vehicle of school symbols and active rituals can provide an important source of personal identity. Importantly, the underlying values of the institution, shared by its members, provide the animating force for the entire enterprise.[170]

Academic Organization and the Technical Core of Instruction

The communitarian perspective, which we have reinforced throughout this review, is directed more to the affective than the cognitive dimensions of schooling—specifically, the engagement and commitment of students and teachers. Other organizational elements that we have highlighted are more important in directly affecting students' intellectual development. It is clear to us that "good" or "effective" schools must couple concern for social relations with an appreciation for the structural and functional aspects that instrumentally affect instruction and academic learning. The research on tracking and academic course taking is especially relevant in this regard. Both quantitative investigations and field studies provide solid empirical verification that important components of curricular organization have powerful effects on student achievement. For example, after controlling for the types of students enrolled, most of the differences in

achievement between public and Catholic schools can be explained through the different academic opportunities afforded by schools in the two sectors.

The extant research strongly supports the importance of the academic organization of high schools (including course-taking requirements, guidance functions, and policies affecting the assignment of students and teachers to schools and classes within schools). In fact, academic organization is the primary mechanism influencing both the average level of student achievement and how that achievement is distributed with regard to such background characteristics as race and class. These statistical relationships are by far the strongest links between any aspect of school organization, either internal or external, and student achievement. Very simply stated, course taking is the principal determinant of academic achievement. The influence of academic organization on these critical schooling behaviors constitutes the major mechanism through which the structural effects of schools influence students' academic outcomes.

Likewise, although the literature on classroom instructional practices at the secondary level is spare, it would be a mistake to assume that such features are not central to students' academic achievement. Available survey data such as HS&B were not designed to assess classroom effects, and the basic methodology of effective schools research is similarly flawed. The few carefully designed studies of classroom practice, however, have demonstrated powerful statistical relations.[171]

Given the strength and clarity of empirical findings in regard to school academic organization, it seems unfortunate that many current school reform efforts do not take curricular organization as a principal focus. To be sure, the emphasis in these reforms on the nature of social relations within the school and how these are influenced by externalities is justified in terms of the consequences on student engagement and teacher commitment that we have discussed. Quite simply, increased academic achievement is unlikely to occur without directly addressing some reform of the technical core of instruction.

While we support a movement away from what we see as the current overbureaucratization of American secondary schooling, some words of caution are in order. Any embrace of the vision of a school as a community (or "small society") must be integrated with a view of the school as a formal organization that seeks to rationally, effectively, and efficiently promote student learning. The point is that while each perspective illuminates distinctive features of effective schools and would lead us toward different reform emphases, neither is sufficient. Rather, it is only by giving serious attention to both perspectives that the true depth of effective schooling can be discerned.

The Importance of Educational Values and Normative Understandings

Another observation concerns the autonomous character of good schools. There is a strong particularist bent to descriptions of effective schools as places where faculty have a "sense of ownership" and adults and students share an "organizational saga." That is, in an earlier time the conditions that are now described as breeding organizational excellence were seen as promoting intolerance and exclusivity. In our opinion, it is very important to attend scrupulously to the actual content of the shared values that are operative in effective schools and the consequences that derive from them.

A brief consideration of the research on private schools is here again instructive. For example, although they share similar degrees of organizational autonomy, many of the positive effects associated with Catholic schools are not characteristic of non-Catholic private schools. There are several examples of such differences. For one, the more equitable social distribution of achievement, the so-called "common school" effect, is unique to schools in the Catholic sector and not found in other private schools. For another, the reduced dropout rates and unusual effectiveness of Catholic high schools for disadvantaged youth are not characteristic of private schools in general (J. S. Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). In yet a third example, emerging evidence suggests that the special effectiveness of Catholic girls' schools may not generalize across the private sector as a whole.[172]

Many "effective organizational practices" linked to school autonomy are actually more prevalent among non-Catholic private schools, which makes this pattern of differential outcomes among different types of private schools important. Interestingly, the positive student outcomes described above do not occur in non-Catholic private schools, results that challenge notions that a move toward greater privatization of schooling will ensure a better set of aggregate student outcomes. In our view, it is not simply a matter of private versus public, political-bureaucratic versus market mechanisms, or school-based accountability versus centralized control. Rather, it is critical to also consider the actual values operative in each school context, how these values are manifest in the school's organizational structure and function, and the consequences that emerge as a result.

In the case of Catholic schools, field research describes strong institutional norms that are linked directly to and motivated by basic religious beliefs about the dignity of each person and a shared responsibility for advancing a just and caring society.[173] Not surprisingly, these ideals energize an educational philosophy that is well aligned with social equity

aims. We suggest that when such understandings meld to a coherent organizational structure, desirable academic and social consequences accrue as a result.

In a real sense, an important feature of the communitarian critique of contemporary schooling is that it draws our attention to the importance of individual commitment. Moreover, such commitment is grounded by those specific beliefs, values, and normative understandings. It is our contention that efforts to reform schools—whether "community control," "school choice," "school-site autonomy," "restructuring," or any other such proposals that might emerge in the future—will continue to disappoint us until we seriously engage these concerns.

NOTES

[1] Dreeben (1988) provides an excellent historical account of American efforts in sociology of education in this century. We are indebted to him for the arguments presented in this section. Related material can also be found in Bidwell and Friedkin (1988). A classic example of a status attainment study is Sewell, Haller, and Portes (1967).

[2] The concept of a "social distribution in achievement" is discussed in Lee and Bryk (1988, 1989). It refers to how students' social background (e.g., social class, race/ethnicity) is related to individual achievement.

[3] See, for example, M. Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Outson, and Smith (1979); Brookover, Beady, Flook, Schweitzer, and Wisenbaker (1979); Edmonds (1979); and Pink (1984). This was followed by a descriptive case study literature on the internal workings of good (Lightfoot, 1983) and not-so-good schools (e.g., Cusick, 1983; G. Grant, 1988; Powell, Farrer, & Cohen, 1985). A useful precursor to that work is found in Sorensen and Hallinan (1977).

[4] Major contributions here include Bidwell (1965), Bidwell and Kasarda (1980), Brown and Saks (1975, 1981), and Barr and Dreeben (1983). Sorensen and Hallinan (1977) is also relevant, as is Meyer and Scott (1983).

[5] Useful references here include Ravitch (1983), Hampel (1986), and the "Origins" chapter in Powell, Farrer, and Cohen (1985). For a historical account of the changing character of an individual high school from 1953 to present, see G. Grant (1988). For a more general treatment of the intellectual and social forces that have shaped American schools in this century, see Cremin (1988).

[6] This argument can be found more completely in Newmann and Oliver (1967) and more recently in Bellah, Tipton, Swidler, and Sullivan (1991) and Hodgkinson (1991). The effects of communitarian structures on student learning have been explored empirically by Bryk and Driscoll (1988) and Newmann, Rutter, and Smith (1989). The role of schools in supplying children with increased social support is not without its critics, however. Oliver (1976) argues that extending institutional functions, particularly schools, to take over functions of community and family is unlikely to be effective in building support networks for children.

[7] In 1938, John Dewey pointed out that while all genuine education comes about through experience, not all experiences students have in school are genuinely educative (Dewey, 1981). In fact, many of students' experiences with school environments, and particularly with standardized performance assessments, have the effect of arresting or distorting further growth. This concern has contributed to growing debate over appropriate criteria for assessing "authentic" student

performance (Bliss, Firestone, & Richards, 1991; Newmann, 1992; Porter, 1983; Resnick & Resnick, 1985). While we support fully the notion that schools must be assessed on student performances that demonstrate enhancing rather than deadening experiences, the large body of research on school effectiveness is based on students' performance on standardized tests. As the research on assessing thinking skills grows (e.g., see Newmann, 1992; Schrag, 1989), we would expect the definition of a "successful" school to reflect these better measures of students' genuine educational experiences.

[8] We subscribe to the definition of engagement provided by Newmann (1992, pp. 22–23): "the student's psychological investment in and effort directed toward learning, understanding, or mastering knowledge, skills, or crafts that academic work is intended to promote."

[9] By this, we refer to the fact that enormous amounts of textual information are gathered in such studies. The choice of what will be considered as evidence in the data collection process, and the subset of which will be presented to the reader, is exclusively determined by the individual researcher and is not open to public scrutiny to the same degree as in quantitative research. Similarly, to the extent that the author suggests conclusions/implications, proper methods for validity assessment are usually unspecified.

[10] Rousseau (1985) offers a similar pessimistic assessment in a more recent review of organizational research.

[11] Burstein (1980) provides both a good review of the methodological issues raised in research on school effects research and a full discussion of the relevance of "slopes-as-outcomes" to school effects research.

[12] In the context of classroom research, the work by Barr and Dreeben (1983) on the effects of ability grouping stands out as exemplary. In research on the effects of high school curriculum, see Garet and Delaney (1988) and Lee and Bryk (1989).

[13] For a further discussion of the methodological issues raised here and why the new developments in hierarchical linear models provide a promising response, see Raudenbush and Bryk (1986) and Bryk and Raudenbush (1992). For a detailed statistical treatment, see Raudenbush (1988). The edited text by Bock (1989) is also a useful reference.

[14] While it is clear that much theoretical and empirical research on nonschool organizations (i.e., the corporate sector) is relevant in an educational context, we have chosen to exclude this literature in our review. One exception is the contribution of Weick (1976). He describes schools as having a loosely coupled organizational structure, mostly to protect themselves from much of the impact of external influences. The degree to which public schools' bureaucratic structures are *un*responsive to external concerns has been used as an argument favoring privatizing education and providing parents (the principal external actors) more leverage in effecting change in schools (e.g., see Chubb & Moe, 1990).

[15] Slavin (1983, 1985) provides good examples of this line of work. For additional discussion of cooperative learning, see Natasi and Clements (1991); Sherman (1989); Stevens, Slavin, and Farnish (1991); Turkildsen (1991); and Watson (1991). Most of this research involves younger children.

[16] There is a long history of research and scholarship on this topic, beginning with Waller (1932) and revived in Gordon (1957) and J. S. Coleman (1961).

[17] We know, for example, that minority students are more likely to be found in low-ability groups and nonacademic tracks. See, for example, Barr and Dreeben (1983); J. S. Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore (1982); Heyns (1974); Lee and Bryk

(1988); McKenna and Ortiz (1988); Meier, Stewart, and England (1989); Oakes (1985); and Rock, Ekstrom, Goertz, Hilton, and Pollack (1984).

[18] This result is a major conclusion of the research of Meier, Stewart, and England (1989).

[19] This perspective is nicely described by Oakes (1985) in summarizing the basic argument from G. Stanley Hall (1905).

[20] Strictly speaking, size is a structural feature of a school and not a true externality. We have included it in this section of our review, however, because the effects of size on teacher and student outcomes are indirect. Size both facilitates and constrains the internal operations of schools in ways that have important impacts on teachers and students. In this sense, it shares a common feature with the other topics considered in this section—their effects occur through influencing the internal structure and functioning of the school.

[21] Guthrie (1979) reviews the efficiency arguments that have been used to justify efforts toward school consolidation since the end of World War II. These developments are detailed in Callahan (1962) and Tyack (1974). Guthrie also discusses current movements toward consolidation to increase the volume of school "production" in the face of decreasing or stable enrollments, also discussed by Brown and Saks (1983).

[22] Guthrie's (1979) distinction among the roles played by district, school, and class size becomes important in this regard. The size of a school district, which functions primarily as a financial and political unit, is not likely to influence the instructional outcomes within specific schools. School size can influence instruction, but, as Guthrie notes, this variable is less associated with either financial or political conditions. Walberg and Fowler (1987) confirm these findings. Finally, class size would presumably have the strongest influence on instruction but is only distantly related to the district-level finance and politics at issue. See Odden (1990) for further detail on the effects of class size.

[23] Bidwell and Kasarda (1975), for example, observed this result as an indirect effect of structural characteristics of a school on student outcomes. Chambers (1981) suggests that by increasing the size of a school, one gains quality in terms of "specialization of personnel and more effective use of particular kinds of capital equipment (not only school buildings but also audiovisual equipment, tape recorders, and other such instructional equipment)" (p. 31). For a similar discussion, see also Daft and Becker (1980), Fox (1981), Morgan and Alwin (1980), and Riew (1986).

[24] This perspective was reflected in a historical movement away from small schools that took place in the mid-20th century. For reviews, see Tyack (1974) and Cremin (1988). The argument for consolidation as it specifically relates to high schools, however, was probably best articulated by Conant (1959).

[25] See Michelson (1972) for a further discussion of the sources of school resources, as well as their distribution within and across districts.

[26] J. S. Coleman et al. (1966) originally looked for strong effects of resource availability, as measured by items such as the number of books in the library, on student outcomes as part of the tide of concern over segregation of public schools. That they did not find these effects generated a flood of research examining the effects of schools on student outcomes. The same argument was articulated by Jencks et al. (1972) and in the reanalyses of the data used by J. S. Coleman et al. (1966) that appeared in Mosteller and Moynihan (1972).

[27] This result is suggested in the work of Friedkin and Necochea (1988) on the size and socioeconomic level of school districts. To our knowledge, the rela-

tionship between community socioeconomic status and actual school size has not been rigorously and empirically examined. Such an examination may prove problematic, as it becomes necessary to examine and compare both funding structures of districts and allocation procedures within districts across communities.

[28] Jencks et al. (1972) allude to this problem in their discussion of inequality. In claiming that the effects of "schooling" may not be the same for all students, Bidwell and Kasarda (1980) offer a theoretical position on this question. However, empirical examinations have been weak because of data limitations and other methodological reasons suggested by Bidwell and Kasarda (1980).

[29] Both Oakes (1985) and Powell, Farrer, and Cohen (1985) describe the response of schools, in perceiving diverse student needs, toward greater specialization and diversification of course offerings. Both offer historical overviews of this development. Empirical evidence is provided by Monk (1987) and Haller, Monk, Spotted Bear, Griffith, and Moss (1990).

[30] This was the argument used by Conant (1959) advocating school consolidation. His arguments, as well as others, in favor of school consolidation are reviewed by Tyack (1974).

[31] Along a related line, research on special education suggests that mentally impaired as well as physically impaired students are served better in "mainstream" general academic programs than through placements in specialized programs (e.g., see Hart, 1981). For a further elaboration of this argument for the general student population, see the subsequent section on formal organization of work.

[32] In recent research on middle-grade schools, Lee and Smith (1992) found that eighth-grade size was related to a more inequitable distribution of achievement by student social class.

[33] This is the general conclusion of recent research on tracking (cf. Alexander, Cook, & McDill, 1978; Garet & Delaney, 1988; Heyns, 1974; Lee & Bryk, 1988), as well as more general treatments of course taking and social stratification of learning opportunities. Sorensen (1987) supplies a useful theoretical argument. Empirical validation of these ideas can be found in the case study work by Powell, Farrer, and Cohen (1985), as well as more quantitative investigations such as that by Lee and Bryk (1989).

[34] Bidwell (1965) suggests the need for a "small society" character in the human interactions between teachers and students to support the academic endeavors of teaching, expanded on in Bidwell (1972). More recently, examinations of teachers' satisfaction and efficacy in teaching (Ashton & Webb, 1986; Lee, Dedrick, & Smith, 1991; Lortie, 1975; Miskel, Fevurly, & Stewart, 1979; Newmann, Rutter, & Smith, 1989) suggest that frequent informal social interactions with students are related to teachers' feelings of success in their teaching.

[35] Bryk and Driscoll (1988) found that school size had a strong negative effect on the social attitudes and behavior of both teachers and students. Lee and Smith (1992) found eighth-grade size to be associated with a more inequitable distribution of achievement and engagement.

[36] The role of social systems in the organization of work within a school is reviewed in Anderson (1982) as part of studies on "school climate." Other research related to these results can be found in Bryk and Driscoll (1988), in Newmann (1981), and in Pallas (1988).

[37] Newmann (1981) discusses the social consequence for students of teachers' role specialization. Barker and Gump (1964) describe the relatively static number of roles available for student and teacher participation, which suggests that as

enrollment size increases, the relative representation of students or teachers in those roles diminishes. Additional research concerning the operation of specialization in school organization can be found in studies by Gottfredson and Daiger (1979) and Neufeld (1984).

[38] The research done by Bridges and Hallinan (1978) points specifically to a central role played by the communication of information in the formalization of social organization in schools. Related research is reviewed by Anderson (1982) and Soar and Soar (1979).

[39] Much research suggests that group size acts as a significant constraint on achieving goal consensus within the organization. See, for example, Fuller, Wood, Rapoport, and Dornbusch (1982); Forsyth and Hoy (1978); March and Olsen (1976); and M. Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Outson, and Smith (1979).

[40] Chambers (1981) reviews the evidence that suggests that larger size may be associated with a decrease in affective and behavioral outcomes. Most of this evidence echoes Newmann's (1981) description of lowered frequency of interaction, more bureaucracy, and consequent alienation of larger, more bureaucratic schools. Chambers supports the relationship posed by Barker and Gump (1964), arguing that the increase in diversity in educational offerings tends to be offset by a decrease in student engagement and involvement. This is also supported by Fowler and Walberg (1991) and Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, and Fernandez (1989).

[41] This evidence is reviewed by Goodlad (1984) and by Newmann (1981). Both suggest that the bureaucratic processes introduced by large schools to counteract the problems encountered therein do not address the central problems involved in loss of community within the school.

[42] We recognize that the issue of parental choice of schooling, a hotly debated political reform in contemporary education circles, could be seen as a facet of parental involvement, especially of functional or value communities. Recognizing that this issue is too important to ignore, we have chosen instead to address it elsewhere in this review, within our discussion of the internal organization of schools (specifically, in the section on the organization of authority).

[43] For example, Steinberg, Elman, and Mounts (1989) found that parent attitudes and behaviors have important impacts on learning for adolescents. See also Block (1984); Dornbush, Ritter, Leiderman, Robert, and Fraleigh (1987); Hill (1980); and Lamborn, Brown, Mounts, and Steinberg (1992).

[44] Berger (1981, p. 95) suggests that parents operate in essentially six main roles with respect to their children's learning: that of spectator, teacher, "accessory volunteer," educational volunteer, employee of the school, and policymaker. Baker and Stevenson (1986) specifically investigated parents' use of both expectations and modeling in contributing to academic achievement in their children. However, because this study was correlational, the causal directionality remains uncertain. For an ethnographic description of these relationships, see P. Johnson and Ransom (1983).

[45] These outcomes include such dependent measures as achievement, educational aspirations, and participation in more challenging course work on the part of the child. For relevant studies, see Baker and Stevenson (1986); Biddle, Bank, and Marlin (1980); and Epstein (1985).

[46] This relationship may not be strictly linear. There is some evidence to suggest that extremely high parental expectations may actually inhibit student performance. See, for example, Biddle, Bank, and Marlin (1980) and Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum, and Aubey (1986).

[47] See Epstein (1985, 1987). However, Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum, and Aubey (1986) provide some evidence to suggest that continued parental participation and involvement is important for positive student outcomes through high school.

[48] For reviews concerning parental involvement for elementary school students, see Epstein (1985, 1987). For specific discussion of the role of parental supervision for high school students, see studies done by Baker and Stevenson (1986); Dornbush and Ritter (1988); C. A. Grant and Sleeter (1988); P. Johnson and Ransom (1983); Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum, and Aubey (1986); and Lee and Ekstrom (1987).

[49] Epstein (1985, 1987) provides a set of analyses that explore the effects of this type of teacher encouragement on parents and the relationships that develop between parents and teachers as such programs are implemented.

[50] Elementary school teachers and preschool coordinators have been encouraged to actively engage parents in activities that will increase their child's learning. In general, studies of these intervention programs report positive consequences for both parents and children. Mowry (1972) and McKey et al. (1985) document that parent education efforts in Head Start programs have significant and long-lasting effects. Similarly, Becher (1984) and Bell-Nathaniel (1979) report significant improvement in elementary student learning when parents were trained by the school to engage in supportive academic activities.

[51] The argument made by B. L. Wilson, Herriott, and Firestone (1988) suggests that institutional beliefs about students at the secondary level support a division of authority between parents and teachers, reinforcing a distance between these two groups.

[52] For an overview of this argument, see J. S. Coleman (1987, 1989). He argues that schools that operate around the shared values of both parents and a broader community are quite effective.

[53] Variants on this theme are advanced by D. K. Cohen (1988), J. S. Coleman (1989), and J. S. Coleman and Hoffer (1987).

[54] In a comprehensive synthesis of research on Head Start, McKey et al. (1985) concluded that the extent to which parents operate as volunteers or as staff members in Head Start was positively associated with cognitive gains for disadvantaged preschoolers. Similarly, in a review of research on home and elementary school relationships, Epstein (1985) found that parental activity in the school was positively related to efforts by teachers to use more home-learning activities.

[55] Comer (1980) and Ogbu (1974) also support this point.

[56] The first of these experiments took place in Flint, Michigan, under the supervision of Frank J. Manley. Additional attempts took place in Brockton, Massachusetts; Springfield, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri; and the Comal Independent School District in New Braunfels, Texas. For a review as well as problems encountered in these efforts, see Minzey (1981).

[57] See, for example, A. Meier and Rudwick's (1973) discussion of community organization in Springfield, Ohio, which was dominated by the Ku Klux Klan. Williams (1989) offers an overview of this issue.

[58] See the introduction to Comer (1980) for a more thorough articulation of this argument. It should be noted, however, that theorists remain divided about this conceptualization of community in urban neighborhoods. For a discussion of two conflicting views—"community lost" and "community saved"—see Z. L. Miller (1981) and Williams (1989).

[59] Newmann and Oliver (1967) describe the loss of social capital in American

society as part of the rise of the industrial society and a consequence of widespread urbanization. Parts of this theory harken back to Durkheim's concern over social dislocation and the disruption of controls by traditional standards. This topic has received little empirical attention in educational studies.

[60] These ideas were initially articulated in Ogbu (1974) and have been thoroughly developed in Ogbu (1986, 1988).

[61] The work by James Comer in two New Haven elementary schools is an excellent example of the approach. Comer's efforts were based in part on the observation that many minority and low-income parents transmit conflicting signals to their children about education and learning. Actual parental behavior often contradicts a spoken emphasis on going to school and getting an education. Specifically, he argues that low-income and minority parents feel a sense of exclusion, low self-esteem, and hopelessness concerning formal education, and they are likely to convey these attitudes to their children (Comer, 1980, 1988).

[62] The problem of service coordination in urban communities has been extensively discussed. For an elaboration of these ideas in the particular context of schools, see Heath and McLaughlin (1987).

[63] The introduction to Malen and Ogawa (1988) provides a succinct discussion of such plans and an extensive set of references on this topic. See also Williams (1989), Levine and Leibert (1987), and Lieberman and Miller (1984).

[64] Such descriptions can be found, for example, in Rogers's (1968) discussion of the situation in New York City, in M. Weinberg's (1983) description of the problems in Crystal City, Texas, and in Malen and Ogawa's (1988) description of the issues in Salt Lake City.

[65] A historical model for community control of public schools is found in what Michael Katz (1987) calls "democratic localism." This movement, quite popular in New York City and Massachusetts in the 1830s and 1840s, was developed in opposition to paternalistic voluntarism on the one hand, and bureaucracy or centralization on the other. Advocates of democratic localism encouraged control of schools by "families interested in it" and stressed responsiveness, close public control, and local involvement. See Katz (1987, p. 32) for an exposition of this educational model.

[66] We recognize that the issue of community control is relevant in other settings, usually urban areas (e.g., Dade County, Florida). Rather than document several cases, we chose to provide a more thorough discussion of the three cities described here.

[67] These issues, of course, have a much longer history. The current system of centralized professional control of schools was introduced early in this century as a progressive reform of patronage-ridden local schools, which had been operating on a decentralized ward basis. For a further discussion, see Cronin (1973) and Cremin (1988).

[68] See Gittell, Berube, Gottfried, Guttentag, and Spier (1972) for an evaluation of three demonstration projects in local school control that began in 1966. The politics leading up to the system decentralization in 1970 are chronicled in Rogers (1968) and evaluated in Rogers and Chung (1983). Levin (1970) is a major reference work on the general topic of community control of schools.

[69] This argument is further detailed in Fein (1970). On the development of the secular paideia and its relationship to progressivism, see Cremin (1988).

[70] The Consortium on Chicago School Research surveyed 12,708 Chicago public elementary school teachers in the spring of 1991. The report, *Charting Reform: The Teacher's Turn,* was released by the consortium in late 1991. They plan continuing assessment of the implementation and results of the reform effort.

[71] Of course, the motivation of local parents to control their schools could also be quite divisive, since the utilitarian ends they advocate might undermine and violate communitarian principles. The degree of divisiveness or community of parental control would depend, at least in part, on the social homogeneity of the parent body.

[72] Whole issues of journals, such as the *Harvard Educational Review* (November 1981) and *Sociology of Education* (Spring 1982), were dedicated to the debate. Most of the scientific arguments concerned a number of methodological limitations associated with the HS&B data set used by J. S. Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore (1982) and in related research by Greeley (1982). In particular, the initial data from HS&B consisted of a single cross section of sophomores and seniors. Without longitudinal data that track experiences and progress over time, it is very difficult to draw clear inferences about school effects on learning. Even in the absence of a controversial political debate over tuition tax credits (the policy issues raised by Coleman et al.), scientific arguments about the findings were inevitable.

After a brief hiatus, the debate resumed with the release of the first longitudinal information from HS&B (see *Sociology of Education,* Spring 1985). While all participants agreed that this was a far better source of information for examining questions comparing Catholic and public school effects, beyond this the consensus quickly broke down. Even when the researchers agreed about the likely size of the Catholic school effects, they disagreed about their significance. In our judgment, Jencks (1985) offers the most balanced summary. The accumulated evidence indicates that the average achievement is somewhat higher in Catholic high schools than in public high schools, and suggests that Catholic high schools may be especially helpful for initially disadvantaged students.

[73] The composite measure assessed the degree to which a school exercises some control over its student membership. It is based on principal reports from HS&B about the percentage of students who apply and are admitted, whether the school has a waiting list, whether students must meet any special or academic requirements for admission, and whether any other criteria are applied for determining student admission to high school.

[74] Catholic high school principals report expelling an average of less than two students per school per year (NCEA, 1985a, 1985b). Moreover, substantial proportions of these principals also reported admitting students who had been forced out of public schools for either disciplinary or academic reasons. However, there is considerable transfer from Catholic to public schools in the last 2 years of high school (Lee & Burkam, 1992).

[75] Additional supporting evidence on this account can be found in Driscoll (1989).

[76] Talbert (1988) further details this argument. It is also extended in a related paper by W. R. Scott and Meyer (1988) in the same volume.

[77] The basic argument here is laid out in Wise (1979) and further detailed in W. R. Scott and Meyer (1988).

[78] See references in the two previous notes, as well as Chubb and Moe (1987, 1988, 1990).

[79] The basic descriptive comparison of public and private school organization can be found in Chubb and Moe (1987, 1988). Chubb (1988) presents the policy argument summarized here, and the empirical evidence to support the arguments is presented in Chubb and Moe (1990). Our own analysis of the empirical results presented in *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* is available in Bryk and Lee (1992).

[80] Reviews of this literature include Purkey and Smith (1983, 1985), Corcoran (1985), Rosenholtz (1987), Sweeney (1982), and Stevenson (1987a). We note that interpreting the evidence on effective instructional practices is particularly problematic because such practices may be quite varied within a school and even within a classroom, a concern also shared by Rowan, Bossert, and Dwyer (1983) and Zirkel and Greenwood (1987). In this regard, the effective schools paradigm, because it takes the school as the primary unit of analysis, may be badly biased against detecting the effects of instructional practices. That is, there is a critical disjuncture between the locus of effects (classroom) and the primary unit of research (the school). Firestone and Herriott (1982) also raise serious doubts about the relevance of much of the effective schools literature in discussions about secondary schools.

[81] Descriptive differences are presented in Chubb and Moe (1987) and Talbert (1988). Multivariate analyses comparing the effects of major differences in the academic and communal organizational structures of public and Catholic schools appear in Chapters 10 and 11 of Bryk and Lee (in press).

[82] The difference between the Lee, Dedrick, and Smith (1991) study and the other two studies is primarily methodological. The studies by Newmann, Rutter, and Smith and by Rutter both use aggregate measures to predict individual outcomes, which can underestimate their impact. The study by Lee, Dedrick, and Smith uses hierarchical linear modeling that considers effects at both the teacher and school level. In general, survey research on the topic is troubled by issues of reciprocal causation. Both the organizational properties and the teacher behaviors tend to be measured through teacher perceptions and self-reports. As a result, some may question the validity of any structural relations estimated with such data.

[83] For a further elaboration of this argument, including a rationale for connecting the social organization of schools to academic outcomes, see Bryk and Driscoll (1988). The statistical evidence assembled on the effects of a communal school organization provides strong support for the hypothesis of extensive social consequences from internal features of such organization.

[84] Both Ralph and Fennessey (1983) and Murphy (1988) note that a large portion of the literature on this topic consists of "prescriptive advice."

[85] Only very recently, in contrasting differences in governance structures, has administration in the private sector been considered (Chubb, 1988; Chubb & Moe, 1987). These studies focus on cross-sector comparisons rather than on a careful investigation of administration in each sector. An alternative approach to studying school administration is ethnographic in nature (Barth, 1980; McPhee, 1966; Pitner & Ogawa, 1981; Wolcott, 1973). Studies such as McPhee's portrait of Frank Boydon, the headmaster of Deerfield Academy for almost 40 years, highlight the power of a charismatic personality in defining and unifying a particular school.

[86] The present analysis relies primarily on material from three sources: (a) reviews of research on school administration, (b) reviews of material concerning the role of leadership in the literature on effective schools and on school improvement, and (c) selected formal quantitative and case studies that have been considered critical in these reviews. As such, it is representative, but far from exhaustive, of the material on school administration currently available.

[87] For example, in a review of the correlational studies, Glasman (1984) identified two main roles a principal performs: educational and administrative. Within the educational role, activities were categorized as instructional, political, buffering, and change agent. Within the administrative role, the subcategories in-

cluded institutional authority, planning and evaluation, and management. Such distinctions, however, are not uniformly held. For example, in his review of "instructional leadership," Murphy (1988) includes articles that other reviewers characterize as management functions rather than instruction, such as the study by Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, and Lee (1982). Among other things, the focus of the research tends to influence the way researchers define administrative roles. For example, effective schools research tends to describe school administration in terms of "instructional leadership" (see descriptions of administration provided by Brookover, Beady, Flook, Schweitzer, & Wisenbaker, 1979; Rosenholtz, 1985). On the other hand, the school improvement literature tends to focus more on the role of school administration as a change agent for innovation (see descriptions of administration provided by Stallings & Mohlman, 1981, and by Pitner, 1986).

[88] These three functions are consistently identified by researchers as central to the basic task of administration in schools. See, for example, Gersten, Carnine, and Green (1982); Herriott and Firestone (1984); Murphy (1988); and Purkey and Smith (1983).

[89] Methodological concerns must be raised, however. Such case studies tend to focus attention almost exclusively on perceived daily behaviors, ignoring more subtle aspects of these relationships. For examples of research on this area, see Hannaway (1988), Martin and Willover (1981), and Pitner and Ogawa (1981).

[90] The role of organizational context in the operation of this function is suggested by the work of Bridges and Hallinan (1978), Fuller and Izu (1986), and Godding and Wagner (1985).

[91] For quantitative evidence relating the character of social relations to aspects of organizational community, see Bryk and Driscoll (1988). For evidence on specific consequences for teachers, see Newmann, Rutter, and Smith (1989) and Lee, Dedrick, and Smith (1991).

[92] The case study provided by Metz (1978) is particularly compelling in this regard. See also Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, and Lee (1982) and Edmonds (1979).

[93] The study by Caldwell and Lutz (1978) makes explicit a link between rule administration and teacher morale. See also Stallings and Mohlman (1981).

[94] See, for example, Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore (1982) and Di Prete (1981). The most extensive HS&B analysis and literature review can be found in Myers, Bhoer, Milne, and Ginsburg (1987).

[95] See Wehlage and Rutter (1986) and Wehlage, Stone, and Kleibard (1980). Bryk and Thum (1989) provide some corroborating evidence in terms of effects on student absenteeism.

[96] This argument is also made by Firestone and Rosenblum (1988) in their multisite case studies on building commitment in urban high schools.

[97] This is certainly antithetical to a diffuse teacher role, which is linked to student engagement (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; G. Grant, 1988; Lightfoot, 1983; Newmann, 1981). See also related agreements about classroom effect in McNeil (1988b).

[98] For a more general discussion of the operation of staff development in school improvement programs, see Doherty (1989), Guskey (1988), McLaughlin and Marsh (1978), and L. Miller and Wolf (1978).

[99] See previous note. This issue is also discussed in Clark, Lotto, and Astuto (1984).

[100] This argument is supported by evidence provided by Rosenholtz (1987) and Stark and Lowther (1984).

[101] This argument is made by Chubb (1988) and is also found in Chubb and Moe (1987). A slightly different relationship is described by Meyer, Scott, and Deal (1983), who suggest that communication may operate as part of the technical complexity of a school's links with its outside constituency. These links may be political or communal in nature.

[102] As Chubb and Moe (1987) note, private school parents always have the option of removing their child from the school should a serious disagreement arise. Such options are not as readily available in the public sector. Furthermore, because the "exit" option exists in private schools, it is often possible to negotiate a satisfactory resolution at the school site. In the public sector, serious disputes require political action "downtown."

[103] This argument is the essence of the concept of "loosely coupled" systems (Bidwell, 1965; Weick, 1976). Little (1982b) and Rosenholtz (1985) both suggest links between this activity and effective school management.

[104] See references in note above. See also Meyer and Rowan (1983) and Gersten, Carnine, and Green (1982).

[105] Martin and Willover (1981) provide case study evidence for this point.

[106] Issues of leadership are especially complex in secondary schools because of the larger school size and diverse academic purposes often present in a single school. How the leadership function is actually addressed at this level has been little studied. Most of the recent research on this function has focused on instructional leadership in elementary school. High schools are larger, more complex organizations, and instructional quality is more dependent on specific subject matter knowledge. Furthermore, others such as the department head or a "master teacher" may share this leadership function within a high school. Firestone and Herriott (1982) provide more elaborate discussion of this issue, as does the work of Murphy (1988), Purkey and Smith (1983), and Sizer (1984).

[107] This argument is made by Meyer (1977) and elaborated in Meyer, Scott, and Deal (1983). See also Firestone and Wilson (1985).

[108] Both Bryk and Driscoll (1988) and Newmann, Rutter, and Smith (1989) address this point. See also the argument by Firestone and Rosenblum (1988).

[109] This relationship between charismatic leadership and the operation of indirect management in loosely coupled schools is suggested by Scott (1978), Scott and Meyer (1988), and K. D. Peterson (1989).

[110] This idea is delineated in a number of places, including Rossman, Corbett, and Firestone (1988); Schein (1985); Deal and Kennedy (1982); Corbett, Dawson, and Firestone (1984); Kottkamp (1984); and Sarason (1971).

[111] Such results have been reported in the school effectiveness synthesis by Murphy, Weil, Hallinger, and Mitman (1985). See also Griffin (1983). On the value of informal teacher-student contact, see Csikszentmihalyi and McCormick (1986). For a more general discussion of the ethic of caring and its function in contemporary schools, see Noddings (1988).

[112] This discussion draws on ideas elaborated in Hoy and Ferguson (1985), who articulate a theoretical framework for organizational effectiveness of schools from a goal model perspective. Closely related ideas also appear in Herriott and Firestone (1984), Shectman (1989), and Vancouver and Schmitt (1991).

[113] A review of these studies is provided by Purkey and Smith (1983), and also by Anderson (1982). In general, one aspect of an effective school that emerged from the studies such as Edmonds (1979) was a "consensus of school purpose," since measured by a nonparametric ordering coefficient called "Kendal's coefficient of concordance." While it is true that this measure has been significantly

correlated with other measures of effectiveness in schools (e.g., see Herriott & Firestone, 1984), it remains unclear exactly what it tells us about school organizations.

[114] This point is argued by Firestone and Herriott (1982). See also Herriott and Firestone (1984) and empirical evidence given by Wilson, Herriott, and Firestone (1988).

[115] Cartwright (1959) explains the concept of relational, or zero-sum, power. The notion of expanding pie power is described by Tannenbaum (1968). Motivational power, especially as it compares with the other forms, is explained by Conger and Kanungo (1988). These writings deal with organizations, but not with schools or teachers.

[116] Raudenbush, Rowan, and Cheong (1992) provide compelling evidence that teachers' self-efficacy is also related to institutional characteristics of high schools—tracking, specialization by subject matter, and age grading. Imber and Neidt (1990) and Lortie (1975) support the more general notion of classroom-level sources of power.

[117] An interesting finding of this study, which used hierarchical linear modeling methodology, was the fact that the majority of the variability in teacher control over classroom conditions was within schools rather than between them. While it seems logical that such control would come to teachers as a direct school policy, this did not seem to be the case. Moreover, it is likely that teachers' perceptions of their power and control were not quite the same as the actual power they possessed.

[118] Shedd and Bacharach (1991) present empirical data supporting the desires of teachers for more input into decisions affecting the school as a whole. While their call joins a growing chorus clamoring for more autonomy for teachers, they examine the question within a wholly bureaucratic framework. Under their conception, the way to increase teachers' power is by bringing in outside consultants (which they themselves are), working through unions, and using other bureaucratic and "top-down" methods. They ignore the essentially communal underpinnings of increased collegiality among adults in a school.

[119] Lee, Dedrick, and Smith (1991) examine these differences among high schools in the public, private, and Catholic sectors.

[120] For a more general discussion of teachers' professional experiences in schools, see McLaughlin, Talbert, and Bascia (1990). Regarding implications of teachers' participation in school decisions, see Cistone, Fernandez, and Tornillo (1989); Imber and Neidt (1990); Lipham (1981); Lawler (1985); Maeroff (1988); and Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978) for descriptions of experimental programs.

[121] This topic is taken up directly in the work of Neufeld (1984), S. M. Johnson (1990), and McLaughlin (in press). It is also alluded to in the case studies of Cusick (1983) and Powell, Farrer, and Cohen (1985).

[122] This argument is advanced in both Jackson (1968) and Lortie (1975). See also Rosenholtz (1985) and McLaughlin, Pfeifer, Swanson-Owens, and Yee (1986).

[123] In one of the first empirical studies to address the question of departmental effects, Rowan, Raudenbush, and Kang (1991) used multilevel methods to investigate their effects on teachers' perceptions of certain organizational properties: leadership by the principal, staff cooperation, and teachers' control over their classrooms. Because the body of research on departmentalization is otherwise lacking in generalizability, this paper represents an important empirical con-

tribution. Further work by these authors (Raudenbush, Rowan, & Cheong, 1992) supports this.

[124] Unlike previous research that has viewed "sense of community" as a climate characteristic, Bryk and Driscoll (1988) developed the concept of a communal school organization. Specifically, based on a review of research on effective schools and more general theoretical literature on the structure and function of communities, they argued that three core concepts constitute a communal school organization: (a) a system of shared values among the members of the organization, reflected primarily in beliefs and purposes of the institution, about what the students should learn, about how adults and students should behave, and about what kinds of people students are capable of becoming; (b) a common agenda of activities designed to foster meaningful social interactions among school members and link them to the school's traditions; and (c) a distinctive pattern of social relations embodying an ethos of caring that is visibly manifest in collegial relations among the adults of the institution and in an extended teacher role.

They created a set of 23 indicators of these three core concepts from HS&B data and combined them into a single continuous index of communal school organization. In communally organized schools, teachers were much more likely to report satisfaction with their work, to be seen by students as enjoying their teaching, and to share a high level of staff morale. Teacher absenteeism was also lower. In terms of consequences for students, various forms of social misbehavior (class cutting, absenteeism, and classroom disorder) were all less prevalent in schools with a communal organization. The dropout rate was also lower, students' interest in schooling higher, and the gains in mathematics achievement from sophomore to senior year greater.

[125] Lee and Smith (1992) investigated the effect of departmentalization on the achievement and engagement of eighth graders using data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988. In a multilevel analysis, they found that students in less departmentalized middle schools demonstrated significantly higher achievement but also more at-risk behaviors. Equally important, the achievement of students in less departmentalized middle-grade schools was less differentiated by social class.

[126] The theory of bureaucratic organization as it applies to schools is laid out by Bidwell (1965). The functional division of labor and definition of staff roles are the first two criteria he establishes. Bidwell and Quiroz (1991) further refine this theoretical framework, cataloging the effects of school size and relative client power on the trend toward specialization of labor. While they suggest future theoretical development on the consequences of these trends, their paper is a useful addition to the theory of labor specialization in schools.

[127] For a historical account of the forces contributing to the rapid expansion of high school activities in the 1960s and 1970s, see the "Origins" chapter in Powell, Farrer, and Cohen (1985).

[128] Another benefit of specialization, although perhaps unintended, is that it has afforded teachers greater freedom to determine the courses they will offer and the activities in which they will engage. The latter is the teacher side of individualism and choice that characterizes the "shopping mall high school" (Powell, Farrer, & Cohen, 1985). See also Cusick (1983) on the latter point.

[129] A new empirical study by Lee and Smith (1992) examines the effects of various elements of school structure (or restructuring) on students' achievement and engagement. Results generally support the communal orientation of this review.

[130] Only recently, for example, has research focused on possible school effects on students' decisions to drop out (see Bryk & Thum, 1989; J. S. Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Hammack, 1986; Wehlage & Rutter, 1986). While other work has explored interrelationships among different types of disorder (see Windle, 1989), little work has explored the contribution of schools to adolescent alienation, with the exception of the Lee and Smith (1992) study mentioned above.

[131] A similar concept of a diffuse teacher role has been described by Parsons (1960).

[132] Bryk and Lee (in press) expand on this concept in describing the relationships between students and teachers in Catholic high schools. In fact, this diffuse teacher role is a major component of the strongly communal organization evidenced by these schools. Moreover, they demonstrate a considerable set of positive outcomes for teachers and students from being organized in this way.

[133] See Berlak and Berlak (1981), Wehlage (1982), and Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, and Fernandez (1989). For a more general discussion of the ethic of caring and its implications for school organization, see Noddings (1988).

[134] This is a well-established theme in the literature on the teaching profession. See, for example, Jackson (1968), Lortie (1975), and Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986).

[135] J. S. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) report that the probability of dropping out is substantially less in Catholic than in public schools, with the most pronounced differences existing for students from troubled families and students who have a history of discipline problems in their first years in high school. Bryk and Thum (1989) provide some statistical evidence linking school organization characteristics to the social distribution of dropping out (in terms of the student's social class and at-risk behavior). Lee and Burkam (1992) suggest that some of the positive effects of Catholic schools on dropping out may be explainable by the higher transfer rates from these schools (suggesting a "dropping down" alternative).

[136] Theoretical details for this argument are advanced in a number of places, including Parsons (1960), Barr and Dreeben (1983), and Gamoran (1986).

[137] Notable field studies here include Goodlad (1984); Lightfoot (1983); Powell, Farrer, and Cohen (1985); Oakes (1985); and Sizer (1984). More in-depth studies of high school instruction include Rosenbaum (1976), Cusick (1983), Page (1987), the studies included in Page and Valli (1990), and McNeil (1988a, 1988b).

[138] See Valli (1986). Supporting evidence is also reported in Bryk, Holland, Lee, and Carriedo (1984) and in Chapters 3 and 4 of Bryk and Lee (in press).

[139] This topic has been treated by Alexander, Cook, and McDill (1978); Bowles and Gintis (1976); Circourel and Kitsuse (1963); Heyns (1974); Jencks and Brown (1975); Oakes (1985); Rosenbaum (1976, 1980); Shafer and Olexa (1971); Sorensen and Hallinan (1986); and many others.

[140] For a further discussion of this idea, see Bryk and Raudenbush (1988). For a detailed empirical application of the concept, see Lee and Bryk (1989).

[141] The arguments about opportunity to learn are spelled out by Hallinan and Sorensen (1983), Sorensen (1970), and, most recently, by Sorensen (1987). In the context of school organization, closely related ideas are expressed by "vacancy theory," discussed earlier in this chapter (see also the empirical study by Garet & Delaney, 1988). The basic idea is that schools control access to learning by expanding or contracting the numbers of places in various learning environments (e.g., the top ability group, the college-preparatory track, or honors or advanced placement courses). Thus, access to these learning environments is an interactive

process involving both specific school policies and student characteristics such as ability and motivation.

[142] Recent work by Powell, Farrar, and Cohen (1985), Cusick (1983), and G. Grant (1988) has described a "vertical curriculum" consisting of a large number of courses with similar titles that are taught at different ability levels. See also Monk (1987) and Haller, Monk, Spotted Bear, Griffith, and Moss (1990).

[143] The simple correlation between advanced mathematics course taking and senior year achievement is about .65, which rivals the strength of the sophomore-senior achievement correlation of .78 (see Lee & Bryk, 1988). Course taking and tracking have been shown to account for a large portion of the positive Catholic school effect on academic achievement (Hoffer, Greeley, & Coleman, 1985; Lee & Bryk, 1988) and to have moderate structural effects in more detailed models of academic achievement (e.g., see Bryk, Holland, Lee, & Carriedo, 1984; Gamoran, 1987; Lee & Bryk, 1988). Results reported in Alexander, Cook, and McDill (1978); Alexander and Cook (1982); and Vanfossen, Jones, and Spade (1987) also support this conclusion.

[144] This argument is made in a variety of places, including Sebring (1987). For detailed discussions of the possible effects of heightened course-taking requirements for graduation, see McDill, Natriello, and Pallas (1986), as well as a recent field study on this topic by Clune, White, and Patterson (1989).

[145] This is the claim that student achievement in Catholic schools is less dependent on family background than is student achievement in the public sector.

[146] The statistical evidence consists of a hierarchical linear model relating school organizational characteristics to differentiation by class, race, and academic background. Although they fit a combined model for public and Catholic schools, this single model accounts for a similar proportion of the variance in the two sectors. This is an unlikely result if the structural mechanisms were different in the two sectors.

[147] For a further discussion of multilevel models and their applications in educational research, see Bryk and Raudenbush (1992) or Raudenbush and Bryk (1988). The basic statistical theory for these models is reviewed in Raudenbush (1988).

[148] For a further discussion of Dewey's writings as they bear on this idea of the small society of the school, see Driscoll (1989).

[149] We refer here to the work documenting the hyperrationalization of schooling such as described by Wise (1979) and McNeil (1988b).

[150] See, for example, the interpretative review by Purkey and Smith (1983); see also Stevenson (1987b) and Corcoran (1985).

[151] The classic reference here is Berman and McLaughlin (1978). See also Goodlad (1975) and Papagiannis, Klees, and Bickel (1982).

[152] See Clune (1988) for a synthesis of the research on school effectiveness, school improvement, and staff development in terms of models for school communication.

[153] See, for example, Eisenhart and Borko (1991); Murphy, Weil, Hallinger, and Mitman (1985); and Seyfarth and Bost (1986). For a multilevel treatment of teacher collaboration, see Rowan, Raudenbush, and Kang (1991). According to Huberman (1990), there are some negative consequences to collegiality forced on teachers for bureaucratic purposes. Activities such as "collaborative goal-setting and planning . . . can eat up the time which teachers need to get on top" of new instructional materials (p. 15). Hargreaves (1990) also offers caution on this point.

[154] These arguments are advanced principally in the research syntheses offered

by Rosenholtz (1985, 1987), and also in work by Lee, Dedrick, and Smith (1991), Little (1982a), and Bird and Little (1986). See also P. Campbell and Southworth (1990), Fullan (1985), Hargreaves and Dawe (1990), Huberman (1990), Stevenson (1987a), and Zahorik (1987).

[155] This is a major theme in G. Grant's (1988) account of *The World We Created at Hamilton High.*

[156] Recent studies on peer groups make an important distinction between the development of peer groups and the interaction that takes place between peers (Epstein, 1983). Studies on the development of peer groups have generally focused on the selection of friends. The studies involving schools are specifically concerned with organizational practices that might influence friendship selection, such as ability grouping within classrooms (Hallinan & Sorensen, 1985), tracking within schools (Hansell & Karweit, 1983), or the segregation/desegregation of racial groups in schools (Hallinan & Williams, 1989, 1990). Interaction between peers, on the other hand, involves the influences peers have over each other's attitudes, values, and behaviors. Researchers examining the influence of peers on various outcomes (both educational and social) focus more on the mechanisms of social interaction and how these contribute to individual outcomes (e.g., see Biddle, Bank, & Marlin, 1980; Epstein, 1983; Ishiyama & Chabassol, 1985).

However, an examination of peer influence must take selection processes into account. Correlational studies attempt to demonstrate influence by examining similarities among peers, similarities that may have led to friendship selection initially. This methodological problem can lead to a considerable overestimation of the effects of peer groups on one's behaviors and attitudes. See, for additional discussion of this problem, J. Cohen (1983a) and Kandel (1978).

[157] See Ogbu (1985, 1986, 1988), who describes the process by which Black students "following standard school practices that lead to academic success [are] perceived as adopting a White culture," thereby losing their Black identity (1988, p. 177). These students are thus forced to choose between academic success and peer acceptance.

[158] In addition to studying the impact of peer groups, recent research has also focused on the ways in which these effects occur. The primary mechanism for peer influence appears to be through the modeling of behavior, but there may be indirect influences of normative expectations that have yet to be adequately captured in quantitative research. The personal orientation of the individual toward the group and the nonrecursive nature of peer interaction makes the direction of causal inferences (i.e., from groups to individuals?) conceptually and methodologically difficult to establish. See Biddle, Bank, and Marlin (1980) and Epstein (1983) for examination of specific influences.

[159] The research by Hallinan (1983), Hallinan and Sorensen (1983, 1985), and Hallinan and Williams (1989) on the formation of peer groups provides evidence on this point.

[160] For an excellent theoretical exposition on the contribution of school organization to student alienation, see Newmann (1981). For recent statistical data supporting this concern, see Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, and Rock (1987).

[161] Firestone and Rosenblum (1988) provide citations on these findings. Lee, Dedrick, and Smith (1991) provide evidence on the strong link between teacher's self-efficacy and teaching high-ability students.

[162] J. S. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) reported substantial differences in adjusted dropout rates between Catholic and public schools. Wehlage and Rutter (1986) provide early published research that approaches the problem of dropping out

from an organizational perspective. See also Bryk and Thum (1989). Lee and Burkam (1992) determined that students who choose to transfer from one high school to another exhibit many of the social and academic characteristics of students who drop out.

[163] Newmann (1989a, 1989b) offers an interesting theoretical argument concerning students' engagement and the authenticity of students' academic experiences. He suggests that students become alienated from their academic environment when the "work" of schooling does not have much meaning in terms of other social or psychological characteristics of an adolescent's role in society.

[164] Bryk and Lee (in press), building on the earlier research by Bryk and Driscoll (1988), examined the effects of communal school organization of student engagement and teacher commitment in Catholic and public high schools. They found that if public high schools were to be organized as communally as their Catholic counterparts, enormous improvement in these effective outcomes would result.

[165] The edited volume by Natriello (1986) provides a broad discussion of the patterns of school dropouts and the school policies that may contribute to this. See also the introductory and concluding chapters in Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, and Fernandez (1989).

[166] In a comparison of high school seniors in 1972 and 1980, Rock, Ekstrom, Goertz, Hilton, and Pollack (1984) reported that average achievement declined in reading and mathematics, although slight gains were registered for Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Conflicting evidence, however, appears in NAEP (1984), which reported general increases in reading ability between 1971 and 1984, especially for minority students. Since these increases were not sustained in the 1986 assessment, however, some doubts are raised about the significance of the earlier report.

[167] It is important to note that although such problems are particularly acute in disadvantaged urban schools, this phenomenon is pervasive among all types of high schools. For a summary discussion of the research on this point, see Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin, and Cusik (1986).

[168] See the essay by Willis Hawley (1976) titled "The Possibility of Nonbureaucratic Organizations." The term *nonbureaucratic* is itself interesting in that it defines the alternative by what it is not rather than a positive, active vision of what it should be. In this very choice of words, Hawley demonstrates the liberal dilemma of how public institutions accommodate the more subjective, personal, and particularistic aspects of pluralistic paideia.

[169] This is the classic Aristotelian perspective on human nature. For a contemporary discussion of this topic from a humanitarian perspective, see MacIntyre (1981).

[170] This description of a communally organized school is developed in more detail in Bryk and Driscoll (1988) and Driscoll (1989). They also present a review of related research and the HS&B analyses on the effects of a communal organization on teacher commitment and student engagement. Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, and Fernandez (1989) offer a similar conceptualization in describing successful high schools for at-risk youth. Bryk and Lee (in press) use a similar framework in describing Catholic high schools.

[171] The recent research on the structural effects of ability grouping in reading instruction is illustrative of this point. See, for example, Barr and Dreeben (1983).

[172] Lee and Bryk (1986), using HS&B data, report positive effects for Catholic girls' schools on academic achievement, educational aspirations, locus of control,

sex role stereotyping, and academic attitudes and behaviors. Riordan (1985, 1990), using data from the National Longitudinal Study of 1972, also found positive effects on achievement for girls' schools. A report on recent field research in progress, however (Lee & Marks, 1990, 1992), suggests that this pattern may not be generally characteristic of other non-Catholic schools. Should these findings be sustained by further analyses, they would confirm other evidence that private schools as a set are a very diverse enterprise, with few generalizations appropriate for the entire set.

[173] Brief descriptions of life within Catholic schools appear in a number of places (Benson & Guerra, 1985; Bryk, Holland, Lee, & Carriedo, 1984; Bryk & Lee, in press, NCEA, 1986). Lesko (1988) offers an ethnographic account of Catholic schools that deepens this perspective. A summary of this research can be found in Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, and Fernandez (1989).

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