

**Learning to Balance
Bureaucracy and Community
as an Educational Administrator**

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It is clear that principals, and vice-principals, play a critical role in schools. It is, however, far less clear how one comes to be an effective educational administrator. In this chapter I will consider a central aspect of that question; developing a foundational worldview conducive to the diverse and challenging task of educational administration. While the discussion will apply equally to vice-principals and district administrators, I will, for simplicity, refer specifically to principals.

A principal is an educational administrator. The educational part of the job description is pivotal, and I take it as a given that a principal must have a sophisticated understanding of both the theory and the practice of education in order to be maximally effective. This would include not only human development, learning theory and teaching methodology, but also an understanding of the history of educational thought and the particular experiment of public education, as well as the meta-narratives which are important to that history and more broadly to human experience, both historically and in the present. As self-evident as this may be, it is also often the case that discussions of educational administration are conducted with scant attention to clarifying the meaning of the pivotal “educational” portion of the task. (Coulter & Wiens, 1999).

My focus for the purpose of this chapter, however, will be on the administrative aspect of the principal’s role. Administration may be thought of as a combination of management and leadership. Much has been written in the last couple of decades about the relationship between these two functions and particularly about the importance of leadership, which has been taken to be the more complex. Leadership is an enigmatic concept which, although it has been discussed and researched at length, defies definition. Moreover, beyond the absence of a general definition, there is no description of how effective leadership can be provided in particular situations.

Hersey and Blanchard (1988, p.12) comment that there cannot be any “clear and unequivocal understanding” when it comes to administration. “Leadership and management, because they involve the complexities of people, almost defy description and understanding. We have all known courageous men and women who have provided the vision and energy to make things happen in very difficult situations. But even after decades of research, we are still unable to identify with certainty the specific causal factors that determine managerial success at a specific time and place ... In the arena of behavioural sciences, there are no rules.”

Thus, while leadership is commonly taken to be essential, it is also seen to be elusive. There is no consensus on how it develops, and thus no consensus on how it can either be reliably taught or inculcated through experience. There is, however, general agreement that

there is a lot of room for improvement in this regard. Warren Bennis, for example, writing about leadership in business organizations, comments as follows. “One of the problems with standard leadership courses is that they focus exclusively on skills and produce managers rather than leaders, if they produce anything at all.” (Bennis, 1997, p. 37)

While the insufficiency of this preparation is important to note, that does not mean that management training is not necessary. Principals must be able to plan and organize, share decision making, communicate effectively, problem-solve and resolve conflicts. These skills are essential to the smooth operation of a school. However, principals are also called upon to provide a level of leadership that goes well beyond effective management. They are asked to represent the noble purposes of the school and to inspire commitment in others to the ideals of public education through subtle but powerful acts of leadership, which are ill-defined but whose effects are clear to see. Managerial skills are essential for a principal, but they are not sufficient for the equally important task of leadership. Inspirational leadership is an elusive quality and an enigmatic process that requires, but is not reducible to, technical and interpersonal skills.

If leadership development is not just about skills, then what is it about? Bennis (1997) echoes many others when he discusses leadership in terms of the ability to articulate a compelling vision, motivate and support individuals and groups, and behave ethically in a complex, dynamic and frequently ambiguous environment. To some this boils down to an inexplicable charisma, but Bennis rejects this notion. “Many leaders ... couldn’t be described as particularly charismatic but nevertheless manage to inspire an enviable trust and loyalty among their followers ... How do they do it? When I ask them, they talk to me about human values: empathy, trust, mutual respect—and courage.” (p. 107) Starratt (1996), writing particularly about educational leadership, stresses that it is a moral endeavour and discusses it in terms of the intellectual work of administering meaning, community and excellence: “how the school will respond to the challenge of dealing with meanings that undergird human life in the twenty-first century, the challenge of building a concern for and an understanding of the demands of community in public life, and the challenge of promoting a broad spectrum of excellences in the private and public lives of young people.” (p. xviii)

Thus we see that leadership is much more creative and conceptual than technical, and requires broad understandings and deep insights rather than merely particular knowledge or specific skills. This is perhaps why it is often remarked that leadership can be learned, but it cannot be taught.

If leadership is enigmatic, elusive and consequently difficult, perhaps impossible, to teach, is there any value in academic training or leadership courses? Must leadership development be left to the accidental convergence of individual potential and evocative circumstance? I do not think so. Although leadership is more a matter of art than science, and individual aptitude is an important factor, I believe that leadership can be intentionally developed and that there are insights which can be shared. Experience is, of course, the best teacher, but there is much that can be done by leaders to prepare themselves for what they will face and to assist them in making the most of their ability and their experience. In what follows I will outline a broad fundamental perspective on educational administration which provides what I believe to be an essential foundation for the development of the knowledge, skills and attitudes—and more importantly, the perspectives, interpretations and dispositions—required by school principals and other educational administrators.

I begin with a consideration of the setting within which educational administration occurs, an institution which is simultaneously a mechanical bureaucracy and a moral community. I will then discuss the central challenge of combining these two valid but contradictory perspectives, and conclude with a discussion of the role of training programs and on-the-job experience in developing the ability to balance one's responsibilities to the bureaucracy and the community with increasing wisdom and grace.

The School as a Bureaucracy

In most communities the educational system is one of the major employers and one of the biggest users of tax dollars. It requires careful management in order to operate efficiently and to utilize those tax dollars effectively. The principal bears a high degree of responsibility in this regard. While it is not fashionable these days to focus on such mundane matters when discussing educational administration, the fact remains that the educational system is a complex institution that requires careful, competent stewardship.

Partly because school systems are in fact big business, and partly because when public schooling was first introduced there was an underlying assumption that a factory model was quite appropriate, schools are fundamentally organized as bureaucracies. Max Weber, a German sociologist, first articulated the principles of bureaucracy—which the dictionary defines as rigid adherence to administrative routine and which Henry Mintzberg (1979, p. 348) describes as “predetermined or predictable, in effect standardized, behaviour”—and proposed it as the most efficient form of organization. Frederick Taylor, an American, added the element of scientific time and motion studies to enhance this inherent efficiency. Practitioners like Henry Ford and Alfred Sloan (at General Motors) applied the ideas to automobile manufacturing, which became a paragon of the form in the years between the wars. Mintzberg (1979) has more recently described this approach to organization, which continues to be a prominent feature of schools and school systems, as “Machine Bureaucracy.”

Since they were originally established, school systems have tended to evolve from “Machine Bureaucracy” into what Mintzberg termed “Professional Bureaucracy,” and more recently there has been an emerging trend to introduce elements of what Mintzberg termed “Adhocracy” for some aspects of school operation. It is worth taking the time to compare and contrast these three organizational forms.

The Machine Bureaucracy is “the structure that Max Weber first described, with standardized responsibilities, qualifications, communication channels, and work rules, as well as a clearly defined hierarchy of authority ... highly specialized, routine operating tasks, very formalized procedures in the operating core, a proliferation of rules, regulations, and formalized communication throughout the organization, large-sized units at the operating level, reliance on the functional basis for grouping tasks, relatively centralized power for decision making, and an elaborate administrative structure with a sharp distinction between line and staff.” (p. 315) Scientific management approaches predominate and thus, “rules and regulations permeate the entire Machine Bureaucracy structure; formal communication is favored at all levels; decision making tends to follow the formal chain of authority.” (pp. 317-319)

As all this suggests, “the Machine Bureaucracy is a structure with an obsession, namely control. A control mentality pervades it from top to bottom.” (p. 319) “The obsession with control reflects two central facts about these structures. First, attempts are made to eliminate all possible uncertainty, so that the bureaucratic machine can run smoothly, without interruption ... Second, by virtue of their design, Machine Bureaucracies are structures ridden with conflict: the control systems are required to contain it.” (p. 320) Just keeping the

machinery running occupies most of the time and attention of management. But “conflict is not resolved in the Machine Bureaucracy; rather it is bottled up so that the work can get done.” (p. 321)

In addition to the automotive giants of mass production, many government agencies are bureaucratic, “not only because their operating work is routine but also because they are accountable to the public for their actions. Everything they do must be seen to be fair, notably their treatment of clients and their hiring and promotion of employees. So they proliferate regulations.” (p. 331) In order to enforce the regulations the structure depends upon direct supervision throughout.

The emphasis on centralization and reporting through the chain of authority creates a fundamental problem for top managers in this structure. “In times of change, when they most need to spend time getting the ‘tangible detail,’ they are overburdened with decisions coming up the hierarchy for resolution. They are, therefore, reduced to acting superficially, with inadequate, abstract information.” (p. 344) Mintzberg concluded that consequently Machine Bureaucracies “are fundamentally nonadaptive structures, ill-suited to changing their strategies.” (p. 346) They are designed with the assumption that a strategy formulated in one place can and will be faithfully implemented later in another place by another person. This may be possible under stable conditions, but when conditions are fluid “either the formulator must implement his own strategy, so that he can reformulate it en route, or else the implementors must take responsibility for the formulation and do it adaptively ...” (p. 346)

School systems in North America were originally designed as Machine Bureaucracies which would deliver a standard product (the curriculum) in a routine way. Peters (1992, p. 453) quotes Ted Sizer as observing that the large American high school “is a product of the so-called efficiency movement, the pre-World War I fantasy that, following [time and motion expert] Frederick Taylor’s industrial principles, saw the school as a place where certain rivets were hammered into the heads of indistinguishable units, each of which was called a child.” However, as the demands placed upon schools have increased in variety and complexity, and as the understanding of teaching and learning has become more sophisticated so that teachers now require higher qualifications, most school systems have evolved into a structure more suited to these conditions, the Professional Bureaucracy.

The Professional Bureaucracy is also designed for work which is standardized but which is complex rather than simple, and so must be controlled by those who are performing it. “Hence, the organization turns to the one coordinating mechanism that allows for standardization and decentralization at the same time, namely the standardization of skills,” which is provided by professionals who have been uniformly trained and indoctrinated into a specialized role. (p. 348) Within this structure the professional is given relative independence from others in the organization but expected to work closely with clients. Universities, school systems, hospitals, public accounting firms and social work agencies are all examples of professional bureaucracies.

“Whereas the Machine Bureaucracy generates its own standards—its technostucture designing the work standards for its operators and its line managers enforcing them—the standards of the Professional Bureaucracy originate largely outside its own structure, in the self-governing associations ... So, whereas the Machine Bureaucracy relies on authority of a

hierarchical nature—the power of the office—the Professional Bureaucracy emphasizes authority of a professional nature—the power of expertise.” (p. 351) Mintzberg suggests that the operating core of a Professional Bureaucracy may be thought of as a repertoire of standard programs which the professionals have been certified to conduct, a process he refers to as “pigeonholing.” “In this regard, the professional has two basic tasks: (1) to categorize the client’s need in terms of a contingency, which indicates which standard program to use, a task known as diagnosis, and (2) to apply, or execute, that program.” (p. 352) “The pigeonholing process does not deny the existence of uncertainty in servicing a client. Rather, it seeks to contain it in the jobs of single professionals,” who are expected to deal personally with that complexity or uncertainty. (p. 353)

“In the pigeonholing process, we see fundamental differences among the Machine Bureaucracy, the Professional Bureaucracy, and the Adhocracy. The Machine Bureaucracy is a single-purpose structure: presented with a stimulus, it executes its one standard sequence of programs, just as we kick when tapped on the knee. No diagnosis is involved. In the Professional Bureaucracy, diagnosis is a fundamental task, but it is circumscribed. The organization seeks to match a predetermined contingency to a standard program. Fully open-ended diagnosis—that which seeks a creative solution to a unique problem—requires a third structural configuration, which we call Adhocracy. No standard contingencies or programs exist in that structure.” (p. 353)

The Professional Bureaucracy is a highly decentralized structure, both vertically and horizontally. This is largely because the professional’s work is not only too complex to be either directly supervised or standardized but also frequently in great demand. “Thus, when the professional does not get the autonomy he feels he requires, he is tempted to pick up his kit bag of skills and move on.” (p. 357) Professionals are also inclined to seek collective control of, or at least significant involvement in, the administrative decisions that affect them. “Because of the power of their operators, Professional Bureaucracies are sometimes called ‘collegial’ organizations. In fact, some professionals like to describe them as inverse pyramids, with the professional operators at the top and the administrators below to serve them ... What frequently emerge in the Professional Bureaucracy are parallel administrative hierarchies, one democratic and bottom up for the professionals, and a second machine bureaucratic and top down for the support staff.” (p. 360)

One of the problems encountered by Professional Bureaucracies is coordination, which is effected by the standardization of skills. “Direct supervision and mutual adjustment are resisted as direct infringements on the professional’s autonomy, in one case by administrators, in the other by peers. And the standardization of work processes and of outputs are ineffective for this complex work with its ill-defined outputs. But the standardization of skills is a loose coordinating mechanism at best, failing to cope with many of the needs that arise in the Professional Bureaucracy ... Unlike Machine Bureaucracies, Professional Bureaucracies are not integrated entities. They are collections of individuals who join to draw on common resources and support services but otherwise want to be left alone.” (p. 372) Unfortunately, this degree and type of coordination is not sufficient. “The world is a continuous intertwined system. Slicing it up, although necessary to comprehend it, inevitably distorts it.” (p. 373) Thus, in a Professional Bureaucracy things do tend to fall between the cracks.

Another significant limitation of the form is that it “is an inflexible structure, well suited to producing its standard outputs but ill-suited to adapting to the production of new ones. All bureaucracies are geared to stable environments; they are performance structures designed to perfect programs for contingencies that can be predicted, not problem solving ones designed to create new programs for needs that have never before been encountered.” (p. 375) The Professional Bureaucracy tends towards convergent thinking through deductive reasoning which sees specific situations in terms of general concepts and attempts to force new problems into old pigeonholes. But, “great art and innovative problem solving require inductive reasoning; that is, the induction of new general concepts or programs from particular experience. That kind of thinking is divergent—it breaks away from old routines or standards rather than perfecting existing ones. And that flies in the face of everything the Professional Bureaucracy is designed to do.” (p. 375)

Thus, Professional Bureaucracies tend to be conservative. Change, when it occurs, “seeps in by the slow process of changing the professionals—changing who can enter the profession, what they learn in its professional schools (ideals as well as skills and knowledge), and thereafter how willing they are to upgrade their skills.” (p. 379). Therefore, in a stable environment the Professional Bureaucracy excels by perfecting its skills and procedures. “But dynamic conditions call for change—new skills, new ways to slot them, and creative, cooperative efforts on the part of multidisciplinary teams of professionals.” (p. 376) These conditions call for another structural configuration, the Adhocracy.

The term “Adhocracy” was coined by Alvin Toffler and subsequently used by Mintzberg to describe the structural configuration which “is able to fuse experts drawn from different disciplines into smoothly functioning ad hoc project teams.” (p. 432). This configuration is a “highly organic structure, with little formalization of behavior; high horizontal job specialization based on formal training; a tendency to group the specialists in functional units for housekeeping purposes but to deploy them in small market-based project teams to do their work; a reliance on the liaison devices to encourage mutual adjustment—the key coordinating mechanism—within and between these teams; and selective decentralization to and within these teams, which are located at various places in the organization and involve various mixtures of line managers and staff and operating experts.” (p. 432)

“Of all the structural configurations, Adhocracy shows the least reverence for the classical principles of management, especially unity of command ... information and decision processes flow flexibly and informally, wherever they must to promote innovation.” (p. 433) The form adapts itself to this primary purpose, innovation. So long as problems are well understood the Professional Bureaucracy works well, even if the tasks it performs are very complex. But, when problems are not well understood and there is a need to develop new solutions rather than apply old ones, particularly when this requires multidisciplinary teams rather than single professionals, the Professional Bureaucracy is pushed toward Adhocracy.

This is just the position in which education has found itself in recent years. Teachers, who have traditionally worked alone, began working in teams for a variety of reasons. In some cases it was to bring coherence to the experience of students by decreasing the number of teachers seen by a student and integrating the separate disciplines into a thematic curriculum. In some cases it was to access the specialized knowledge of other professionals to understand and respond to special student needs. And, for some, collaboration was a way

to create a supportive professional network and generate synergy in response to an increasingly diverse student population and broader public expectations. As they worked together teachers found that collegiality was both a blessing and a burden. It called for new behaviours and skills while surfacing and calling into question some traditional practices and assumptions. This experience can be understood as a transition between Professional Bureaucracy and Adhocracy.

Precisely the same transition, although in a slightly different context, has been found to be necessary in all those organizations and parts of organizations which are engaged in the knowledge work of the Information Age. The postmodern economy calls for innovative responses and the complexity of the situation requires sophisticated programs that require the expertise of multidisciplinary teams. As Mintzberg observed almost two decades ago, “we find Adhocracies wherever the conditions of dynamism and complexity together prevail, in organizations ranging from guerrilla units to space agencies. There is no other way to fight a war in the jungle or put the first man on the moon.” (p. 449) “Even hospitals and universities, ... [which are classic examples of Professional Bureaucracy in terms of] their routine clinical and teaching work, are drawn to Adhocracy when they do innovative research. Their orientation to convergent, deductive thinking in their routine work precludes real innovation. So, while their professionals are often able to work alone when they apply their standard knowledge and skills, they must typically join in organic multidisciplinary teams to create new knowledge and skills.” (p. 450)

Hargreaves (1994) observes that, “The kinds of organizations most likely to prosper in the postindustrial, postmodern world, it is widely argued, are ones characterized by flexibility, adaptability, creativity, opportunism, collaboration, continuous improvement, a positive orientation toward problem solving and commitment to maximizing their capacity to learn about their environment and themselves. In this respect, inbuilt innovativeness and routine unpredictability are the oxymorons of postmodernity.” (p. 63) He also quotes from the description of what Rosabeth Moss Kanter et al in *The challenge of organizational change* (1992) term a “tidal wave” which is becoming “a universal model for organizations, especially large ones.”

This model describes more flexible organizations, adaptable to change, with relatively few levels of formal hierarchy and loose boundaries among functions and units, sensitive and responsive to the environment; concerned with shareholders of all sorts—employees, communities, customers, suppliers and shareholders. ... It recognizes that influences over organizational acts come from many sources and directions and, through many pathways, rather than “down” a “chain of command” ... In such an image of an organization, the bonds between actors are more meaningful and ongoing than those of single market transactions but less rigid and immutable than those of positions in authority structures. (quoted in Hargreaves, 1994, pp. 63-64)

This description closely resembles Mintzberg’s Adhocracy, in which professional expertise is distributed throughout the organization, “So rather than a concentration of power in the operating core, there is a more even distribution of it in all the parts.” (p. 436) This results in decision-making power being “distributed among managers and nonmanagers at all the levels of the hierarchy, according to the nature of the different decisions to be made. No one in the Adhocracy monopolizes the power to innovate.” (p. 436)

Interestingly, in 1979 Mintzberg commented that Adhocracy was clearly the preferred organizational form for the future, and suggested that people, “will no doubt identify Adhocracy as the structural configuration of the last half of the twentieth century.” (p. 460) In 1992 Rosabeth Moss Kanter agreed, but the tidal wave is still coming. Why is it taking so long for such a good idea to take hold?

Clues may be found in Mintzberg’s comments on some of the consequences of adhocratic structures: “in ad hoc project work it is difficult to differentiate the planning and design of the work from its actual execution ... the Operating Adhocracy may not even bother to distinguish its middle levels from its operating core ... And even when distinctions are made, a close rapport must develop between the administrative and operating levels, sometimes to the point where they are able to interchange their roles freely.” (p. 437) This blurs, or even eliminates, the distinction between line and staff. It also alters the traditional process of strategy formation “because strategy in these structures is not so much formulated consciously by individuals as formed implicitly by the decisions they make, one at a time. The concept of the formulation-implementation dichotomy in strategy making—a pillar of the Machine Bureaucracy—loses its meaning in the Adhocracy.” (p. 443) “That is why action planning cannot be extensively relied upon in the Adhocracy. Any process that separates conceptualization from action—planning from execution, formulation from implementation—impedes the flexibility of the organization to respond creatively to its uncertain environment.” (p. 444) Thus, the Adhocracy is “a structure never quite sure what it will do next”—which is both the source of its innovative power and its most significant challenge.

Working together collaboratively on ill-defined problems in a dynamic and ambiguous environment requires professionals to develop new skills, notably the coordinating mechanism which Mintzberg terms “mutual adjustment” and describes as “the simple process of informal communication.” Elaborating on this basic definition he comments:

Because it is such a simple coordinating mechanism, mutual adjustment is naturally used in the very simplest of organizations: for example, by two people in a canoe or a few in a pottery studio. Paradoxically, it is also used in the most complicated, because ... it is the only one that works under extremely difficult circumstances. Consider the organization charged with putting a man on the moon for the first time. Such an activity requires an incredibly elaborate division of labor, with thousands of specialists doing all kinds of specific jobs. But at the outset, no one can be sure exactly what needs to be done. That knowledge develops as the work unfolds. So in the final analysis, despite the use of other coordinating mechanisms, the success of the undertaking depends primarily on the ability of the specialists to adapt to each other along their uncharted route, not altogether unlike the two people in the canoe. (p. 3)

The coordinating mechanism of mutual adjustment, which Mintzberg describes as “simple,” is perhaps “elegant” in its operation but certainly not simple to create. In fact, establishing a norm of mutual adjustment in order to unleash the innovative power of Adhocracy may be seen as the fundamental challenge for administrators of knowledge-work organizations such as schools, particularly with respect to those aspects of school work involving complex tasks and requiring frequent innovation. In attempting to explain how this

might be done, many commentators highlight the importance of articulating visions that bind and creating trust that enables.

The evolution of schools from Machine Bureaucracy to Professional Bureaucracy is broadly evident, at least in certain respects. Their continuing evolution towards Adhocracy is less clear but there are indications that this too is beginning to occur to varying degrees in some aspects of school operation. There are significant implications in such fundamental structural change for the way in which educational administrators conduct themselves.

In a Mechanical Bureaucracy, administration is a matter of command and control to ensure fidelity to assigned roles. In a Professional Bureaucracy administrators must adopt a more collaborative, or at least consultative, approach and delegate significant authority while retaining overall responsibility for the organization. An Adhocracy, however, is not administered in the traditional sense by anyone at all. Everyone has a hand in it, which breeds flexibility, responsiveness and creativity but also results in ambiguity, inefficiency and conflict. It is a messy, “organic” process.

The Adhocracy combines organic working arrangements instead of bureaucratic ones with expert power instead of formal authority. Together these conditions breed aggressiveness and conflict. But the job of the top managers is not to bottle up that aggressiveness, as in the Machine Bureaucracy—that would be impossible in any event—but to channel it to productive ends. Thus, in performing the leader and disturbance handler roles, the top manager of the Adhocracy (as well as those in its middle line) must be a master of human relations, able to use persuasion, negotiation, coalition, reputation, rapport, or whatever to fuse the individualistic experts into smoothly functioning multidisciplinary teams.” (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 447)

Writing in 1979, Mintzberg attributed to “the top manager” the duties of “human relations” in a manner which invites one to think of this individual as a father figure who patiently and benevolently cares for his squabbling children—not quite the dominating figure of leadership in a Machine Bureaucracy but still a highly patriarchal image. On the other hand, he identified the primary coordinating mechanism in Adhocracy as “mutual adaptation,” which sounds far more egalitarian. It is this process which brings coherence to the work of an adhocratic group, not the human relations activities of the administrator, which can at best assist the ongoing process of mutual adaptation but do not replace it. Since informal communication is by definition not something which is channeled or led by anyone, we see that coordination, like planning, is a distributed function for which everyone in the group has some responsibility.

To the extent that schools evolve towards Adhocracy in some aspects of their operation, the basic tenets of bureaucracy must give way to a more fluid and egalitarian approach in which responsibility and authority are broadly distributed. The school begins to function for those operations in a way which is perhaps more appropriately described in terms of community than organization. This moves the role of the principal in these operations dramatically away from a focus on technical and maintenance issues, perhaps in the extreme case even bringing in to question the legitimacy of and/or the need for administrative leadership at all. Starratt (1996, p. xvii), for example, suggests that in the future rather than being administrators, “principals—and by implication other school-based administrators—will be seen as leaders, servants, organizational architects, social architects,

educators, moral agents, and persons in a community.” My more modest suggestion is that educational administrators are already being called upon to function as “persons in a community” for some aspects of their work, which is a significant departure from their role in a Mechanical, or even a Professional, Bureaucracy.

The School as a Community

Communities take many forms and the concept itself, like leadership, is not well defined. Sergiovanni (1994, p. 218) suggests that a community is a collective in which the members are bound not only rationally by organizational structures but also by “felt interdependencies, mutual obligations, and other emotional and normative ties.” The definition which he suggests raises the teamwork found in Adhocracy to new levels of interdependence.

Communities are collections of individuals who are bonded together by natural will and who are together bound to a set of shared ideas and ideals. This bonding and binding is tight enough to transform them from a collection of *Is* into a collective *we*. As a *we*, members are part of a tightly knit web of meaningful relationships. This *we* usually shares a common place and over time comes to share common sentiments and traditions that are sustaining. (p. 218)

Lambert et al (1995) have developed a similar definition of community based on an adaptation of ecological principles.

Community is part of a social ecological construct that might be described as an interdependent and complex web of relationships sustained and informed by their purposeful actions. Complexity is manifested by the diversity of the systems; the more diverse, the more rich and complex. Such communities are flexible and open to information provided through feedback spirals, as well as unexpected fluctuations and surprises that contain possibilities. The coevolution, or shared growth, of the participants in this community is propelled by the joint construction of meaning and knowledge and involves continual creation and adaptation. (p. 161)

These are both appealing ideals, but Starratt (1996) warns against a naive embrace of communal organization. He points out that the Enlightenment was at least in part motivated by the dark side of pre-modern communities.

The modern [i.e., Enlightenment] move toward individualism was a reaction against the smothering of individuality and individual initiative by more traditional communities of the tribe or clan, or of the medieval feudal communities, governed by religiously legitimated orthodoxies and hierarchically arranged systems of power and class ... The fear of this kind of domineering community is still with us. Not a few contemporary scholars in the field of education are wary of introducing the theme of community into schooling for fear that a strong community will stifle dissent, smother creativity, and ostracize difference. They warn about romanticizing the notion of community and the danger of seeing only its potentially beneficent effects. (p. 290)

Irving Janis (1971) identified just such a potential down-side to the group cohesion which proponents of community espouse when she described “groupthink.”

Groupthink involves nondeliberate suppression of critical thoughts as a result of internalization of the group’s norms ... The more cohesive the group, the greater the inner compulsion on the part of each member to avoid creating disunity, which

inclines him to believe in the soundness of whatever proposals are promoted by the leader or by a majority of the group's members.

However, community need not necessarily involve a stifling uniformity. Starratt (1996) imagines a "mature community" which embraces individuality even though it is antithetical to the ideology of individualism. Such a community would be based on coherence and complementarity rather than similarity. It would value diversity and intentionally structure interdependence to build creative energy on the differences between individuals and individual points of view even as it promoted consistent values, thus preserving the ecological complexity envisaged by Lambert et al. Starratt describes such a community in the following dynamic terms: "an environment where the pulls and tugs between [the instinct for self-interest and the instinct for connectedness] provide the very stuff of the social learning agenda, an environment that is noisy, conflicted, filled with ambiguity, muddled by the traditional vices of anger, lust, envy, contentiousness, and greed, and yet an environment that encourages trust, openness, loyalty, integrity, generosity, courage, and love." (Starratt, 1996, p. 96) It takes commitment from all and strong leadership from some to create such a community: "those who administer such a community [cannot] stand above the struggle in paternalistic self-righteousness. They enter the struggle as wounded healers, as humans who experience and openly acknowledge the pulling and tugging of the two instincts in themselves. In concert with teachers, parents, and students, administrators of community engage in the struggle and pain of calling forth the larger, more generous, more mature instincts." (Starratt, 1996, p. 97)

In his discussion of community, M. Scott Peck (1987) describes groups which prize uniformity of thought and action as "communes" and contrasts them with what he describes as true communities by virtue of the fact that the latter embrace diversity. He describes a community as "a group of individuals who have learned how to communicate honestly with each other, whose relationships go deeper than their masks of composure, and who have developed some significant commitment to rejoice together, mourn together, to delight in each other and make others' conditions their own." This suggests a level of bonding well beyond that which one might reasonably expect in a working environment, but the emphasis on caring for each other is important. Even working relationships can involve human concern and regard which goes beyond professional respect. Indeed, they must do so if the metaphor of community is to be a valid one.

Some authors go so far as to discuss the role of 'love' and the importance of 'soul' in leadership. Bolman and Deal (1995, p. 12) contend that, "Heart, hope and faith, rooted in soul and spirit, are necessary for today's managers to become tomorrow's leaders, for today's sterile bureaucracies to become tomorrow's communities of meaning ..." David Whyte (1996, p. 5) observes that, "The field of human creativity has long been a constant battleground between the upper world we inhabit every day and the deeper untrammelled energies alive in every element of life." Thus, as organizations call on employees for greater creativity in the response to the permanent white water of organizational life, "the American corporate world is tiptoeing for the first time in its very short history into the very place from whence that dedication, creativity, and adaptability must come: the turbulent place where the soul of an individual is formed and finds expression." (pp. 5-6) This is foreign territory for traditional organizations and occurs initially only out of necessity. Moving towards community, with all that entails in terms of structure and behaviour, is necessary because,

“Adaptability and native creativity on the part of the workforce come through the door only with their passions. Their passions come only with their souls.” (p. 7) Thus, community-style approaches to administration, and the unfamiliar encounter with passionate human connection which that involves, are necessary if schools are to tap the full creative potential and commitment of teachers and students.

It is unlikely that an idealized mature community can be fully established within a school, at least in the short term. However, the concept points us in necessary directions, for, as Peter Senge (1996, p. 6) reminds us, it is clear that, “None of today’s most pressing societal issues—deterioration of our natural environment, the international arms race, erosion of the public education system, or the breakdown of the family and increasing social anomie and fragmentation—will be resolved through hierarchical authority.” There is widespread agreement on this score outside of education, which is probably what leads Warren Bennis (1993, p. 5), like many others, to suggest that, “The organizations of the future will be networks, clusters, cross-functional teams, temporary systems, ad hoc task forces, lattices, modules, matrices—almost anything but pyramids. We don’t even know yet what to call these new configurations, but we do know that the ones that succeed will be less hierarchical and have more linkages based on common goals rather than traditional reporting relationships.”

Clearly the role of the educational administrator in any one of these environments would be a far cry from the role in a bureaucracy. In an idealized community one might even wonder if there is any need for formally designated leadership at all. Perhaps, building on the organic and ecological character of community, one might imagine a self-organizing system such as recent research has increasingly shown to be common in the natural world. There is no leadership to a colony of termites and yet this complex community exhibits an amazing focus and resilience. Doing away with administration may be going a bit too far, but at the very least a community view of schools suggests a high degree of distributed authority and shared leadership. This theme is evident in a survey of discussions of educational leadership reported by Linda Lambert. (1995, pp. 30-31)

- Peter Senge (1990): *Leaders* design learning processes whereby people throughout the organization deal productively with issues and learn the disciplines. (Michael Fullan uses a definition that is similar to Senge’s.)
- Phillip Schlechty (1990): *Leaders* invite others to share authority. Others are those who accept the invitation and share responsibility.
- Stephen Covey (1991): *Leaders* foster mutual respect and build a complementary team in which strengths are made productive and weaknesses become essentially irrelevant.
- Roland Barth (1992): *Leaders* make happen that in which you believe while working with all in a community of leaders.
- William Foster (1989): *Leadership* is the reciprocal processes among leaders and followers working toward a common purpose.
- John Gardner (1990): *Leadership* is the process of persuasion or example by which an individual (or leadership team) induces a group (followers) to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared with his or her followers. (In 1991, Sergiovanni’s definition was essentially the same as Gardner’s.)

- Joseph Rost (1991): *Leadership* is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes.
- Margaret Wheatley (1992): *Leadership* is context-dependent and relational among leaders and followers, with an emphasis on the concepts of community, dignity, meaning, and love.

“In most of these conceptions, the processes of either the ‘leader’ or of ‘leadership’ are summed up by a single verb: *design, foster, invite, persuade, influence*. Leaders typically do things to or for others—for instance, ‘design learning processes’ (Senge and Fullan), ‘invite others to share authority’ (Schlechy), ‘foster mutual respect’ (Covey), or engage in ‘an influence relationship’ (Rost) or a ‘process of persuasion’ (Gardner and Sergiovanni). The strong implication is that someone is designing for or acting on another or others. This action is directional and hierarchical, the process being applied to a group of followers who may work as individuals or as members of a team. A sharp distinction from this traditional view may be seen in Foster’s (1989) characterization of leadership as ‘reciprocal processes,’ although he does not explain the meaning of these processes.” (Lambert, 1995, p. 31)

Drawing on a constructivist view of teaching and learning, Lambert then proposes her own definition for what she calls “Constructivist Leadership.” “Constructivist leadership involves *the reciprocal processes that enable* participants in an educational community to construct meanings that lead toward a common purpose of schooling.” (Lambert, 1995, p. 33) She comments on this definition as follows.

The reciprocal processes that enable us to construct meaning occur within the context of relationships. The creation and expansion of our possibilities and capacities for reciprocity occur in communities rich in relationships. We need to stop thinking of roles or people as fixed entities and instead view them as relationships, and as patterns of relationships that involve one another ... (p. 34)

Reciprocal relationships, the meanings of which must be discussed and commonly construed in schools, are the basis through which we make sense of our world, continually define ourselves, and “coevolve,” or grow together. (p. 36)

Thus, Lambert sees leadership as a property of relationships, all relationships. It exists in the “spaces, fields, or zones among educators in a professional community. Leadership, like energy, is not finite, not restricted by formal authority and power; it permeates a healthy school culture and is undertaken by whoever sees a need or an opportunity. Occupying these ‘zones,’ leadership is different from an act of leadership, for it can be omnipresent among and within all participants.” (Lambert, 1995, p. 33)

Lambert’s description of leadership as “reciprocal processes that enable” moves towards articulation of a concept of leadership which is distinct from its illustrative examples; that is, towards an understanding of the quality of leadership in terms of its acts. The acts of leadership, which enable others and generate or identify new possibilities, are open to everyone regardless of their role and thus leadership itself is open to everyone, whether or not they are a leader. This “shared,” “distributed” or “embedded” leadership is the ideal in a fully developed Adhocracy or a mature community. Recognizing and encouraging embedded leadership, however, does not necessarily mean that designated leadership is not required for some functions. The two are not antithetical.

Peter Senge (1996, p.146) suggests that both formal and embedded leadership is required even in a relatively traditional organization. He identifies three types of leaders.

- Executive Leaders, who provide support for line leaders, develop learning infrastructures, and lead by example in the gradual process of evolving the norms and behaviours of a learning culture.
- Local Line Leaders, who can undertake meaningful organizational experiments to test whether new learning capabilities lead to improved business results.
- Internal Networkers or Community Builders, the “seed carriers” of the new culture, who can move freely about the organization to find those who are predisposed to bringing about change, help out in organizational experiments, and aid in the diffusion of new learnings.

William Bridges (1996, p.118) extends this idea by suggesting that modern organizations need to spread out leadership even more. “In the traditional organization, we say that everything that needs to be done is somebody’s job. (If it isn’t, we will create a new job and hire somebody to fill it.) Like everything else, leadership was boxed into jobs that were clustered near the top of the pyramid. The task now is to forget jobs and move toward the work that needs doing.” He concludes that the leadership which is required takes three different forms, which closely parallel Senge’s categories.

- The formal leadership that is responsible for integrating, resourcing, and orchestrating the activities of the various project clusters.
- The ad hoc leadership required within each of those project clusters.
- Leadership in every member of every project team that incorporates the initiative, the self management capacity, the readiness to make hard decisions, the embodiment of organizational values, and the sense of business responsibility that in the traditional organization were limited to the top people in the organization. (Bridges, 1996, p. 16)

Bridge’s taxonomy is more radical than Senge’s in that it breaks away from exclusive attention to leaders in its consideration of leadership and identifies instead types of leadership which are independent of position, including that which every member of a project team or a mature community is called upon to provide by virtue of his/her membership. Nonetheless, he continues to recognize that formal leadership will be required for certain functions. At the very least there will always be routine or confidential matters which are liable to be delegated to individuals or sub-groups. Hence, the need for formal leadership and positional authority remains to some degree, albeit radically different from that traditionally exercised in a hierarchical bureaucracy.

And so we come to the end of our brief excursion through the organizational types that exist in schools and school systems and the types of roles which educational administrators are called upon to play. The range is immense, from traditional “boss” in a mechanical bureaucracy to “wounded healer” in a mature community. Table 1 summarizes some of the differences.

Table 1
The School: Two Worldviews

Bureaucracy	Community
<i>Defining Characteristics and Primary Interests</i>	
specific goals	broad purposes
rules	rituals
roles	relationships
focus on tasks	focus on people
efficiency	fecundity
compliance	commitment
predictability/control	responsiveness/creativity
productivity/growth	preservation/sustainability
<i>Administrative Approach/Focus</i>	
positional power	earned influence
power over	power through
hierarchy	networks
success	service
coping	creating
competence	character
instruction	inspiration
controlling	shaping
rationality	meaning
objectivity	subjectivity
uniformity	diversity
dispassionate	passionate
transactional	transformational
management	leadership

Bureaucracy and Community

Given the almost diametrically opposed defining characteristics and primary interests for the school when viewed as a bureaucracy and as a community, it is tempting to feel that one is compelled to choose between them. In fact, it would be nice if this were the case, for one could then concentrate on defining the administrative style which was required in the selected case. Unfortunately, it is not the case. The inescapable truth is that schools are at one and the same time mechanical hierarchical bureaucracies and organic moral communities. Educational administrators must acknowledge and deal with both realities, providing effective management and inspirational leadership simultaneously, drawing the best from both roles while reconciling their contradictions. Fullan (1997, p. 16) notes that, “neither the passive, facilitative leader, who tries to be responsive to others, nor the forceful, charismatic leader is effective. The former leader fails to stand for anything, and the latter dominates the agenda.”

Not only educational administrators, but the entire school community must attend simultaneously to these contradictory aspects of school life. Leithwood (1996) suggests that in the future schools will be expected to blend the best features of high reliability organizations (“providing the *gateway achievements* which all students can master”), learning organizations (“providing the conditions required to continuously improve professional practice and to discover new ways to accomplish the *complex outcomes* expected of schools”), and community (“providing the *social capital* on which to build the student’s academic experience”). Blending bureaucracy and community, in what Leithwood refers to as a “high reliability learning community,” is an enormous challenge, to which I will return shortly. First, however, let us delve a bit more deeply into these two worldviews.

From the perspective of bureaucracy, the school consists of a set of distinct roles based on a rational analysis of the stated goals, which interact within an explicit framework of rules that are designed to maximize productivity and efficiency. Individuals are required to comply with the role description for their position and the rules of the bureaucracy in order to ensure the expected behaviour, which will allow the mechanism to function as intended by the designers and thus to achieve the stated goals without wasteful overlaps or counter-productive cross purposes. The measure of individual success is fulfillment of defined role, which can be determined quite independently of the organization’s success. The measure of organizational success, or “productivity,” is achieving stated goals as quickly and effectively as possible with minimum expenditure of resources. Individual teachers, support staff and students are interchangeable with other similar individuals; for example, new teachers, temporary secretaries, next year’s students. So long as everyone does their job as defined the school functions as intended.

It is the administrator’s job to ensure that this is the case, and for this purpose the office of principal is assigned the necessary positional authority over staff and students through legal statute and local policies. The duties of the office centre around operation and maintenance of the physical plant, provision of necessary resources, and the supervision of staff, including periodic reporting and corrective direction as necessary. Individuals are rewarded for their fidelity and individual productivity by remuneration and occasionally by

promotion. Thus, there is an economic and behavioural transaction of work for pay and prestige. The effective administrator is rational, objective, and consistent, dispassionately treating everyone the same in the interests of equity according to the policies and regulations that apply. Of course, s/he conducts her/himself courteously and in as personable a manner as possible, but fundamentally there is nothing personal about whatever s/he may have to do. The office of the principal is bigger than the person who happens to occupy it. The rules are the rules, and what must be done must be done. The principal's job is to be effective, not popular. What is most important is that there is a competent and reliable hand at the helm so that the school can function smoothly and unanticipated problems do not arise, or are quickly solved if they do. This rational, behaviourist approach to administration, which is what is expected from a bureaucratic perspective, has dominated the principalship in the past and its masculine, take-charge character is no doubt the reason that the vast majority of principals have been men.

From the perspective of community, the school consists of a network of relationships based on caring and a shared commitment to a set of values and a purpose story, or meta-narrative, which brings meaning and coherence to the activities of individual members of the community. The measure of the community's success is the richness and fertility of the activities which it conducts and their success in sustaining the community, preserving its values, achieving its collective purposes and providing a nurturing environment for all of the individuals which comprise it. Individual success is primarily assessed in terms of contribution to the success of the community as a whole. Activities of individuals are overlapped and interwoven in a redundant network of interdependence, with the result that the community is highly adaptive and resilient in the face of change, more like a healthy jungle ecology than a finely tuned mechanism.

The administrator represents and relates the community's purpose story in order to inculcate its values in the members, and invite them into full participation in the community. S/he spends her time in dialogue with individuals and groups as a colleague and co-learner in order to assist them in finding and forming meaning. Individuals are motivated by the understandings they develop as individuals, the support they experience in their relationships and the contributions they are able to make to others. The effective administrator is deeply involved in a wide variety of different relationships which differ according to the unique circumstances, subjective understandings and personal needs of the individual(s). S/he has authority within the community to the degree that s/he has the respect of all its members because of his/her character, passionate involvement and proven ability to encourage (to give heart to) and to inspire (to breathe life into) the community. Through the administrator's work s/he and other members of the community are raised to higher levels of moral engagement and personal insight. This holistic, humanistic approach to administration, which is what is expected from a community perspective, is increasingly understood to be essential but is extremely difficult to operationalize and is, therefore, relatively rare.

In the past, the traditional administrator has adopted the bureaucratic (cognitive, modern, transactional, masculine) style almost exclusively. The present and the future do not require that administrators adopt the community (affective, postmodern, transformational, feminine) style exclusively, but it certainly does require that the community style be learned and utilized in addition to the bureaucratic style. Thomas Sergiovanni contends that, "The management values now considered legitimate are biased toward rationality, logic,

objectivity, the importance of self-interest, explicitness, individuality, and detachment. Emphasizing these values causes us to neglect emotions, the importance of group membership, sense and meaning, morality, self-sacrifice, duty, and obligation as additional values.” (Sergiovanni, 1992, p. xiii) Thus, the adjustment which seems most often to be required is to increase the focus on community and decrease the focus on bureaucracy in order to achieve a healthy balance.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency in academic writing about educational administration over the past decade or more to focus on important new insights about the importance of inspirational leadership to such a degree that the efficient management component is ignored or denigrated. This is an unfortunate error. Leadership is important, indeed essential, but so is management. The school is a moral community, and it is also a mechanical bureaucracy. A principal must “yield unto Caesar what is Caesar’s.” S/he cannot afford an exclusive focus on either dimension. Warren Bennis has described management as doing things right and leadership as doing the right things. Both are important. There is no point in having the trains run on time if you do not know where they are going, but the reverse is equally futile. In many ways efficient management is the necessary foundation for inspirational school leadership, whether provided by one and the same person or collectively by the members of an administrative team.

Kotter (1999) has described management as dealing with complexity and leadership as dealing with change. The former is necessary because schools are large, intricate organizations with complex, multi-faceted objectives, and the latter is necessary because they exist in a dynamic environment which requires them to be constantly reinventing themselves in order to meet changing goals and serve the unique needs of students. In *John P. Kotter on what leaders really do*, he describes the manager/leader in a business context as follows. (Kotter, 1999, pp. 6-7)

- Leadership is different from management, and the primary force behind successful change of any significance is the former, not the latter. Without sufficient leadership, the probability of mistakes increases greatly and the probability of success decreases accordingly. This is true no matter how the change is conceptualized—that is, in terms of new strategies, reengineering, acquisitions, restructuring, quality programs, cultural redesign, and so on.
- Because the rate of change is increasing, leadership is a growing part of managerial work. Far too many people in positions of power still fail to recognize or acknowledge this most important observation.
- Increasingly, those in managerial jobs can be usefully thought of as people who create agendas filled with plans (the management part) and visions (the leadership part), as people who develop implementation capacity networks through a well-organized hierarchy (management) and a complex web of aligned relationships (leadership), and who execute through both controls (management) and inspiration (leadership).
- Because management tends to work through formal hierarchy and leadership does not, as change is breaking down boundaries, creating flatter organizations, more outsourcing, and the demand for more leadership, managerial jobs are placing people in ever more complex webs of relationships.

- Because managerial work is increasingly a leadership task, and because leaders operate through a complex web of dependent relationships, managerial work is increasingly becoming a game of dependence on others instead of just power over others ...
- What a manager/leader does on a minute-by-minute, hour-by-hour basis rarely fits any stereotype of manager, heroic leader, or executive, a fact that can create considerable confusion for those in managerial jobs, especially newcomers. Daily observable behavior is nevertheless understandable if one takes into consideration the diverse tasks (including both leadership and management), the difficult work (including both maintenance and change), and the web of relationships (which goes far beyond formal hierarchy) that come with the territory.

Metaphorically, then, educational administration is “bi-nocular” or “stereo-scopic.” We need to see it from two different perspectives simultaneously in order to fully understand it. In the same way that we only gain depth perception through the use of both eyes, “bi-nocular” vision, so too do we only gain a three-dimensional understanding of educational administration through the combined perspectives of organization and community.

There are many monocular models of administration which promote a particular style or orientation. Many of these are interesting and valuable, but none is sufficient. They provide at best a flat view of the topic. Only by combining multiple perspectives can we appreciate the depth and richness of real-life administration. This requires us to hold simultaneously in mind different, contrasting, at times contradictory, metaphors. Such conceptual plurality can be challenging in that it frequently involves ambiguity and paradox, but that is the nature of the real-life experience of educational administration, and the reality we seek to represent, at least in part, with the “bi-nocular” metaphor.

One “eye” of binocular administration looks out on an organization. Organizations are mechanisms; they prize reductionist, analytic reasoning which breaks complex tasks down into smaller roles that can be accomplished more easily by individuals. Organizational managers provide the command and control which will maintain order and efficiency in the mechanism by ensuring that members comply with its rules and accomplish their individual roles. This administrative style, which is based on behaviourism, is often termed *transactional* since it involves a transaction of work in exchange for payment and loyalty in exchange for security.

The other “eye” of binocular administration looks out on a community. Communities are organic ecologies; they are based on a holistic, synthetic sensitivities which value connections and bind people together on the basis of shared values and purposes. Community leaders represent the values and articulate the vision which will invite voluntary commitment to the community and strengthen relationships between its members. This administrative style, which has been described in many different ways by different authors, was first identified by James McGregor Burns in 1978. He termed it *transformational* in order to contrast its personal character with the purely functional interests of the transactional approach.

As mentioned previously, some would have us dismiss the transactional approach as old-fashioned and unenlightened, and embrace the transformational approach as the way of the future. This, however, would only replace one insufficient model with another. The real world involves people working together in both organizational and community ways at the

same time. It requires administrators, therefore, to be able to blend these points of view and to moderate their own behaviour to acknowledge both roles and relationships, employ both analysis and synthesis, uphold both rules and values in order to ensure compliance and foster commitment, and create both efficiency and fecundity in the organization/community. Organizational and community concerns are the yin and the yang of the full-bodied binocular reality of administration.

The contradictions between these two views make it tempting to try and determine which one is “true” or “superior” and then to utilize it in preference to the other. It is difficult to sustain the tension between them and balance their opposing tendencies, but that is what leadership requires. Perhaps the central challenge of educational administration is in reconciling the simultaneous demands of a multi-faceted reality which embodies ambiguity and paradox. An administrator who shrinks from this challenge, who seeks the ‘comfortable pew’ of certainty in one perspective or the other, may find personal peace of mind, but only by embracing both perspectives can one hope to view real situations in their full three-dimensional complexity. As uncomfortable as it may often be, educational administrators must face this challenge squarely.

The binocular perspective may be applied to any school operation, administrative task, or specific incident. A few illustrative examples of binocular issues follow.

- *Binocular Reasoning:* Problems which arise in a school can often be conquered through rational analysis, identification of possible alternative courses of action, and selection of one of these alternatives on the balance of costs and benefits. The problem is then “solved.” Being a good problem-solver is a powerful asset for a principal. However, not all problems are resolvable. Sometimes they are not problems at all, they are dilemmas. A dilemma arises when two equally-valid interests collide. In a true dilemma there is no true “solution” possible, only accommodations of varying adequacy. Many problematic situations in a community are dilemmas. For example, teachers face the dilemma of being responsible for maintaining consistent standards and covering required material while simultaneously responding to the unique needs of individual students who learn in different ways and at different rates. Principals and teachers face the dilemma of needs that exceed budgetary resources and tasks and expectations that exceed the available time. Recognizing the difference between a problem and a dilemma, and knowing when a solution is possible and when an accommodation is the best or only response is an essential skill for an educational administrator.
- *Binocular Planning:* Responsible management requires forethought and planning in an attempt to predict future needs and opportunities. This must be done, however, without allowing the planning to imprison innovation and the actual implementation of plans must embrace the emergent and unpredictable. Visions are important but they cannot be allowed to blind us. Administrators must push for growth and change while allowing self and community learning to unfold with integrity. A combination of top-down and bottom-up strategies is required to support change, neither being sufficient on its own. Resistance to change must be respected but addressed. Problems must be overcome if possible so that they do not threaten change, but must also be seen as constructive opportunities for reevaluation and adaptation along the way.

- *Binocular Communication:* Sometimes communication can be improved by enhanced clarity. Better presentation of information can improve comprehension. However, since communication occurs in the listener or reader, often improved clarity in the message does nothing to enhance what is understood by the recipient. Often it is more a matter of timing or of establishing a connection which permits the audience to see the source as credible and the information as meaningful so that they will pay attention to it and strive to understand how it affects them. In the absence of some connection with the audience, even the clearest communication will fail, if it is heard at all. Some communication issues are matters of substance and others are matters of symbolism. Educational administrators need to know when they need to work on clarity and when they need to work on connection in order to improve their communication.
- *Binocular Strength:* One form of strength is insistence, the unstoppable force. Another form is persistence, the immovable object. An administrator's power can be a form of strength, and so can resolute adherence to basic principles, even without power and even if it involves occasional detour or delay. Sometimes a "strong" educational administrator will take charge to ensure an outcome, while at other times s/he will have the courage to surrender control and permit others to pursue goals that the administrator may not personally support or fully understand. It is important for administrators to know when strength takes the form of resolve, and when it takes the form of permission. Sometimes soft is strong and hard is weak. Sometimes an administrator needs to utilize assigned power *over* others, and at times s/he needs to build power *through* others
- *Binocular Honesty:* In a rational sense honesty is the absence of deception. However, this passive honesty is not sufficient to sustain a relationship. More active honesty, or self-revelation is required. In a relationship it is necessary to share not only facts but also feelings. Of course, in order to be truly honest such acts of self-disclosure must be genuine rather than contrived, although they are often quite intentional. Depending on the audience and the circumstances, an administrator may choose to emphasize roles or relationships, reason or emotions. Both must be considered at all times, but sometimes a steady, rational focus on the facts is what is called for, while at other times it is important to talk about our dreams, our joys, our fears, and our disappointments. Educational administrators need to know when they must go beyond passive honesty to active honesty in order to build relationships.
- *Binocular Ethics:* On the one hand, schools and school systems are organizations governed by rules and defined by roles. From this perspective, the primary ethical focus for educational administrators is on justice, the impartial assignment of merited rewards and punishments in a manner which upholds the organization's basic policies and principles. On the other hand, schools and school systems are communities defined by relationships, within which the primary value is not abstract principle but situated caring. From this perspective, the primary ethical focus for administrators is compassion, caring for individuals in a manner that reflects human concern and the community's core values. In every instance, educational administrators must concern themselves simultaneously with both justice and compassion.

As these few examples illustrate, the educational administrator must work with the simultaneous perspectives of bureaucracy and community in order to deal with the full

complexity of school life. This balancing and blending requires the ability to work with ambiguity and conceptual pluralism. It is this challenge to which we now return.

The Importance of And

Morgan (1986) notes that it is essential for managers to learn to ‘read’ situations and describes this capacity as follows.

[Those with the ability to ‘read’ a situation] have a capacity to remain open and flexible, suspending immediate judgments whenever possible, until a more comprehensive view of the situation emerges. They are aware of the fact that new insights often arise as one reads a situation from “new angles,” and that a wide and varied reading can create a wide and varied range of action possibilities. Less effective managers and problem solvers, on the other hand, seem to interpret everything from a fixed standpoint. As a result, they frequently hit blocks that they can’t get around; their actions and behaviors are often rigid and inflexible and a source of conflict. (p. 12)

He proposes that our interpretations of organizational situations are based on subconscious theories and metaphors which colour our view. Various metaphors highlight different aspects of a multi-faceted reality and thus direct our attention preferentially to certain features of a situation. In order to obtain a full understanding of organizational dynamics we should actively cultivate a range of metaphors rather than trying to find the one “true” theory or even the “best” theory. In *Images of organization* he discusses the metaphors of organization as machine, organism, brain, culture, political system, and psychic prison (based on Plato’s allegory of the cave). His intent in this analysis is “to foster a kind of critical thinking [about organizations] that encourages us to understand and grasp the multiple meanings of situations and to confront and manage contradiction and paradox, rather than to pretend that they do not exist.” (p. 339)

In *Reframing organizations: artistry, choice and leadership*, Bolman and Deal (1991, p. xix) contend similarly that “the field [of organization studies] has long been too divided and fragmented. There are several distinct traditions, each of which remains isolated from the others. Much existing literature focuses on only one or two traditions and gives the reader a biased and incomplete sense of the state of the field as a whole.” They identify four distinct schools of thought which span the literature on organizational theory. (pp. 9-10)

- *Rational systems theorists* emphasize organizational goals, roles, and technology, and look for ways to develop structures that best fit organizational purposes and environmental demands.
- *Human resource theorists* emphasize the interdependence between people and organizations. They focus on ways to develop a better fit between people’s needs, skills, and values, on the one hand, and their formal roles and relationships, on the other.
- *Political theorists* see power, conflict, and the distribution of scarce resources as the central issues. They argue that organizations are like jungles in which cooperation is achieved by managers who understand the use of power, coalitions, bargaining, and conflict.

- *Symbolic theorists* focus on problems of meaning. They are more likely than other theorists to find virtue in organizational misbehaviour and to emphasize the limited ability of managers to create organizational cohesion through power or rational design. In this view, managers must rely on images, drama, magic, and sometimes even luck or the supernatural to bring some semblance of order to organizations.

Bolman and Deal's framework does not attempt to resolve the differences between these four distinct perspectives. This is unnecessary for them because they do not regret the "conceptual pluralism" of the framework, but rather rejoice in it as providing more potentially valuable perspectives to managers, consultants and policy makers. In fact, they go so far as to find narrow adherence to a single school of thought to be misleading and confining: "Managers who master the hammer and expect all problems to be nails will find organizational life confusing and frustrating." (Bolman & Deal, 1991, p. 11) From their perspective "it can be enormously liberating for managers to realize that there is *always* more than one way to respond to *any* organizational problem or dilemma." (p. 4) Managers need, therefore, not to discover the one "true" theory but to use the full palette of insights which research and experience provide. "The truly effective manager and leader will need multiple tools, the skill to use each of them, and the wisdom to match frames to situations." (p. 12)

This conceptual pluralism and ability to read situations is fundamental to the "full range of leadership" model involving both transactional and transformational administrative modes. Bass and Avolio (1994) suggest that, "Transactional leadership may be appropriate for programd decisions and transformational leadership may be appropriate for non-programd decisions." (p. 63) "Programd decisions" are defined as "routine or repetitive choices ... made according to previously formulated rules, perhaps imposed by the convening authoring. Typically, these decisions concern problems that involve little uncertainty, provide little leeway for team input, and do not address issues of great significance to the organization." (p. 63) "Non-programd decisions, on the other hand, are those "required in novel or uncertain situations of major consequence and which require decision-makers' judgment and creativity." (p. 63)

Sergiovanni (1992) makes a similar point in a different way by talking about the balance of a complete, well-rounded leadership style in terms of the hand, the head and the heart. The *hand of leadership* represents the traditional focus of attention for leadership studies, what to do in various situations and how to do it; the *head of leadership* refers to the more recent focus on mental models and theories of practice; and the *heart of leadership* has to do with the relatively neglected consideration of "what a person believes, values, dreams about, and is committed to—the person's personal vision, to use the popular term. But it is more than vision. It is the person's interior world, which becomes the foundation of her or his reality." (Sergiovanni, 1992, p. 7)

Although leadership behaviour is clearly somewhat situational, it is not simply a matter of rationally selecting transactional or transformational strategies, or of consciously deciding to use a thinking or a feeling approach to an issue. The hand, the head and the heart of a leader are all simultaneously at work. One should not rule the others. They must work together in a human and holistic way. Thus, Sergiovanni's notion is more innovative and insightful than Bass and Avolio's in that it proposes not simply that leaders must at times choose to be directive and at other times collaborative, but that they must at all times blend beliefs, values and dreams with rational analysis. It would, perhaps, be even better to

eliminate the artificial distinction, dating back to Descartes, between intellect and emotion. Leaders must be able to think *and* feel, not think *or* feel. Rational analysis does not preclude passionate engagement with beliefs, values and dreams. Strong feelings and empathic engagement does not impair reason. In fact, as brain research has shown, emotion is crucial to both effective thought and to learning. We need, therefore, both “thoughtful feeling” and “feelingful thought” in order to be complete and fully effective as people or as leaders.

The required mutual infusion of bureaucracy and community is like the wave-particle duality of light. Both contradictory metaphors must co-exist in our description of reality. Mechanical certainty and organic unpredictability must be combined to create a bounded conceptual instability which allows for self-organizing chaotic processes of creation within the intentional confines of planned and purposeful activity. The focus moves back and forth from free-flowing responsiveness to preconceived intention, but both are continuously present in constructive balance, neither dominating the other.

Moving from a selective situational approach to full simultaneous integration of the important concerns and perspectives of bureaucratic management and community leadership is an enormous challenge. It runs contrary to the deep-seated inclination in the Western scientific rational tradition toward polarity and “either-or” thinking. We tend to believe in objective truths which can be determined through disciplined study and thought. Even if we are unable to determine them at a particular time, it is comforting to believe that they exist. Conceptual pluralism in which there are multiple, equally valid perspectives does not sit well, particularly when an administrator is faced with making a decision. It is extremely disquieting to have to live with the knowledge that not only are you a fallible human being who is working with partial knowledge of a situation, but also that those who may see the situation in a different way and come to different conclusions about what should be done may be equally justified in their opinion. It can feel like standing on quick sand.

Nonetheless, it is the case that rational analysis cannot unravel many situations. Patterson, Purkey and Parker (1986) have concluded that the rational assumptions of the past have given way to new “nonrational” realities for schools. They are quick to point out that this term does not imply that school systems are “irrational” but rather that they are so complex as to be unpredictable and largely uncontrollable. They describe the difference between rational and nonrational models for schools systems in this way.

The central difference between the two models lies in their interpretation of reality. Proponents of the rational model believe that a change in procedures will lead to improvement in educational practice. In short, the rational model begins with an “if-then” philosophy. If A happens, then B will logically follow ... Advocates for the nonrational model claim that the “if-then and if-only” model is wishful thinking; organizations do not always behave in a logical, predictable manner. (p. 27)

Peters and Waterman (1982, p. 29) had earlier made similar observations from another perspective in criticizing “the numerative, rationalist approach to management [which] dominates the business schools. It teaches us that well-trained professional managers can manage anything. It seeks detached, analytical justification for all decisions. It is right enough to be dangerously wrong, and it has arguably led us seriously astray.” The problem as they saw it was that “rational has come to have a very narrow definition in business analysis. It is the ‘right’ answer, but it’s missing all of that messy human stuff ...” (p. 31)

Thus, they declared that the old rationalism, “in our opinion, a direct descendant of Frederick Taylor’s school of scientific management” (p. 42) had ceased to be a useful discipline.

The changes which now seem to be necessary strike at the very heart of traditional assumptions. Mere tinkering with familiar forms will not do, and even significant structural change is insufficient. In *Reengineering the corporation* Champy (1993) set out guidelines for what seemed like a complete overhaul of organizational practice, but two years later he was forced to admit that for all the benefits that had been realized by those who had engaged enthusiastically in redesign and reconstruction, it was still not enough. What was required was reengineering of management itself in order to create new leadership; leadership which developed a state of mind he calls “living the question” and describes as follows. (Champy, 1995, p. 31)

- A mind perpetually ready to revolt against its own conclusions.
- A mind prepared not for disbelief but for a constant, graceful skepticism.
- A mind that is open to any possibility, including impossibility.
- A mind of democratic hospitality to other views.
- A mind that is profoundly questioning, but buoyantly hopeful.
- A mind that can bear the light of a new day.

This is a far greater challenge than just redesigning the organization or learning some new skills, and it is not just professional, it is deeply personal. It calls for rethinking some of our innermost assumptions and changing some of our most ingrained, cherished and comforting behaviours. That can be threatening, and it can make us long for a past which we remember as simpler. Bennis, however, reminds us that such facing up to reality necessarily implies complexity.

Life has never been simple and is growing more complex all the time, yet we persist in attempting to reduce it to bumper-sticker dimensions. The advocates of simplicity see reality as mechanical, static, segmented, and rational, when it is, in fact, organic, dynamic, whole, and ambiguous. They see relationships as linear, sequential and serial, discrete, singular and independent, when they are, in fact, parallel and simultaneous, connected, murky, multiple and interdependent. (Bennis, 1989, p. 101)

Neils Bohr has been reported as commenting that, “The opposite of a correct statement is an incorrect statement, but the opposite of a profound truth is another profound truth.” (Postman, 1996) If this is an accurate insight, as I believe it is, then in order to approach the complex matters of educational administration in a clear-eyed and wide-awake fashion we must be prepared to deal with the dilemma of simultaneous, contradictory perspectives and values which must both be served. This balancing and blending, which takes both courage and intellectual agility, is not something that comes naturally to most people. It is to the challenge of developing foundations and habits which will sustain such intellectual courage and conceptual agility that I now turn.

**Learning to Balance and Blend
Management of the Bureaucracy
and Leadership of the Community**

As mentioned at the outset, an educational administrator must be well grounded in a wide range of educational matters which have not been examined in this discussion. On the administrative side s/he will also need a repertoire of management techniques (e.g., analysis, planning, and budgeting) and the broadest possible array of interpersonal skills (e.g., group facilitation, public speaking, and conflict resolution). Such topics have long been the focus of training programs for educational administrators and they continue to be important. However, while they are necessary, they are not sufficient. As an educational administrator one must augment these traditional skills and virtues with a new, complementary focus on inspirational leadership in order to deal effectively with the full range of challenges and opportunities which regularly arise in the life of a school or a school system.

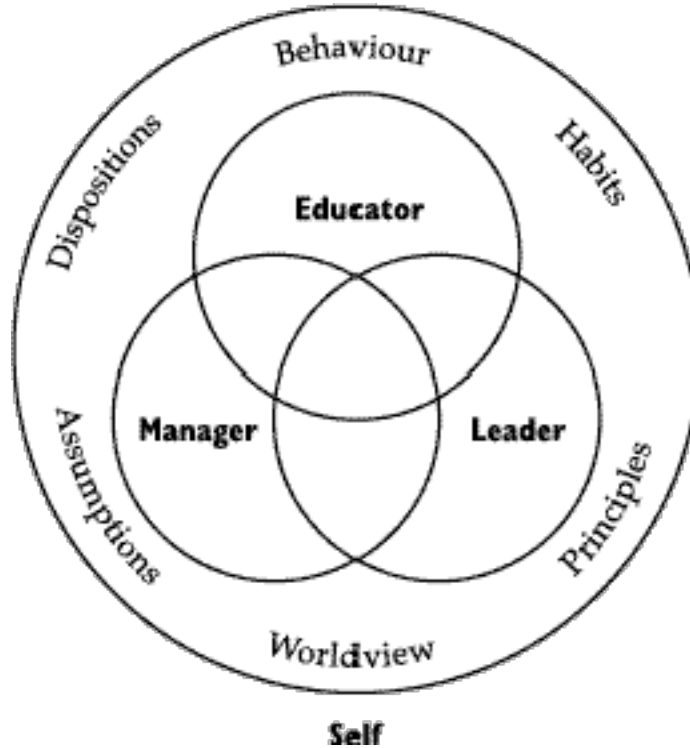


Figure 1
Dimensions of an Educational Administrator
(adapted from Speck, 1999)

The three complementary and inter-dependent aspects of an educational administrator are shown schematically in Figure 1. The administrator cannot be separated from the person, and thus these aspects are shown as contained within the “self” of the individual. A little later we will consider the challenge of making the “self” large enough to contain the complex, dilemma-laden task of educational administration. First, however, we will look at

the issue of developing the management and leadership dimensions. Since the management side is commonly the most developed, I will focus primarily, though not exclusively, on leadership.

In doing so, I will take the position that leadership is not merely a collection of skills, but rather a way of being which is rooted in, and grows out of, a worldview. Developing leadership as an educational administrator requires, in this view, constructing a worldview which will enable one to begin to behave as a leader and also empower one to continue to learn to refine those understandings and habits on the basis of experience. The “permanent white water” of the educational administrator in a postmodern environment is simply too complex and dynamic to be analyzed and controlled through technique. Rather, it must be lived artfully with improvisational intent despite its paradoxical and frequently confusing mixture of organizational and community currents, learning as you go. Thus, while certain understandings and approaches may provide a good foundation, leadership always requires constant relearning and invention. The most important preparation for a leader, therefore, is not a specific insight or skill, but a worldview which will help to clarify the issues and situations which are liable to be encountered and a disposition to learn about and from them.

One of the most basic experiential themes for an educational administrator is dealing with paradox. As Handy (1994, pp. 12-13) comments, “The more turbulent the times, the more complex the world, the more paradoxes there are ... Paradoxes are like the weather, something to be lived with, not solved, the worst aspects mitigated, the best enjoyed and used as clues to the way forward.” An educational administrator’s worldview must prepare him or her to deal with this fundamental reality. Vaill (1991, pp. 83-84) advises that in such a situation, “the best defense against being thrown utterly off stride is to *know* that one is in a situation that will seem to be filled with paradoxes. This means, though, that we have to resist the seductive idea that the concrete world becomes more rational as we invent more and more rational ideas about it. The concrete world is in truth oblivious to our rational ideas about it.” Thus, not only must one be prepared to encounter ambiguous and paradoxical situations, but also to accept that this complexity is often irreducible. It cannot be made simple or tidy no matter how hard we try.

The ability to respond to an ambiguous and turbulent reality with confidence and success is based in a complex of beliefs, understandings and perspectives which I am referring to as a “worldview” and which orient an administrator towards certain productive ways of viewing, interpreting and responding. Of course, skills have a role to play in developing competence but they are only effective if they are rooted in a worldview which will allow them to be applied productively. Fullan (1997, p. 9) notes that, “Techniques, at best, are tools in the service of a mindset.” That is not to denigrate the value of technique, but simply to point out that tools and skills are only effective when embedded within, and used in the service of, a coherent philosophy.

Moreover, even when skills are used in the service of a philosophy, they must be applied strategically. This is not simply a matter of rational analysis. Rational analysis cannot tame the nonrational situations in which educational administration frequently operates, and in fact it can work against the nuance and artistry of leadership. Strategic application of skills depends upon the meaning which a leader makes in a specific situation and this, in turn, depends upon perspective and interpretation. Thus, leadership cannot be reduced to a set of skills which are rationally applied. There is a gestalt which results from the leader’s way of

being in and with a group that transcends reductionist analysis of its constituent parts. That gestalt is the largely unconscious expression of a worldview.

Another way of putting this is to say that an educational administrator must develop a 'personal theory' which will guide him or her in thoughtful response to unpredictable, and frequently ambiguous and paradoxical, events. S/he will be called upon to make uncountable decisions daily. There will be no time to think these all through rationally. Rather, the educational administrator must react instinctively. In doing so, s/he will be making continuous reference, occasionally conscious but usually subconscious, to an internal theory of reality, education and administration. It is the sum total of the multitude of responses, decisions and actions which an administrator makes over time which define his or her leadership and determine his or her success. This net effect will reveal the administrator's personal theory to others much more surely and clearly than what s/he professes about personal beliefs and purposes, or even the few intentionally planned actions which s/he may find time to initiate despite the overwhelming tyranny of the urgent which characterizes the life of a school. It is the comfort, confidence and connection which others draw from what they experience (rather than hear) of an administrator's worldview which largely determines whether they will be willing to establish a relationship with him or her, which is an essential prerequisite for leadership.

The question of "theory" in educational administration is a significant side issue which deserves brief comment at this point. Despite intense wide-spread efforts to establish the discipline of educational administration, no commonly accepted theory has emerged. Evers and Lakomski (1996, p. 4), in their review of the problem, conclude that, "Combining the methodological quest for administrative theory to develop its own law-like generalizations with the very context specific demands of successful practice has been a task that has so far proved to be beyond the resources of traditional science of educational administration." Consequently, there have been many non-scientific 'theories' proposed in the form of metaphors and principles rather than "law-like generalizations." Leadership has been described as analogous to improvisational jazz, sailing, riding the rapids, surfing, and so on. As instructive and insightful as many of these metaphors and analogies have been, they do not constitute general theories in the positivist sense. Neither does the "personal theory" to which I refer. What I mean is more a broad philosophical stance—that is, a worldview—which includes the assumptions, perspectives, values, beliefs and principles that lead to the dispositions and habits that constitute our behaviour. It provides the foundation for learning from our experience and developing our understandings and skills as we continuously construct and reconstruct our educational and organizational theory.

I do not believe that even if there existed an effective and accepted theory of educational administration it could be taught or utilized in the detached impersonal manner which we are led to believe is appropriate to scientific or mathematical theory. However, as it happens, there is no such theory and so we are left with the dual challenge of surviving, and hopefully thriving, in the "white water" of educational administration by utilizing two abilities: the ability to blend the bureaucratic and community perspectives which a full binocular understanding of schools requires, and the ability to continuously deepen understandings and improve effectiveness by being a lifelong learner. We will consider each of these challenges in turn, beginning with developing a binocular worldview.

Developing A Binocular Worldview

So what is this worldview—or mental model, or mindset, or personal theory, or philosophical stance—which sufficiently prepares an educational administrator for the often paradoxical and ambiguous daily realities and meta-narratives of school life? Again ignoring for the purpose of this discussion the essential domain of learning and instructional theory, and concentrating on the issues of management and leadership, I would suggest that the challenge for an educational administrator—and perhaps for any leader—is to develop a well-balanced “binocular” understanding of bureaucracy and community within the organization. (I believe that this binocular view enhances an administrator’s understanding of educational issues as well, but will not explore that idea here.)

These two worldviews have already been discussed but I will now take some time to consider their underlying structures, since understanding these, and how they relate to other aspects of one’s life and belief system, is essential to the task of developing a balanced, and blended, perspective. Table 2 characterizes the two worldviews in terms of underlying perspectives and models.

Table 2
The School: Two Worldviews

Bureaucracy	Community
<i>Underlying Perspectives and Models</i>	
mechanism	organism
reductionism	holism
analysis/distinction	synthesis/connection
determinism	probability
convergent clarity	divergent complexity
classical physics	ecology
modern	postmodern

The belief structure underlying a bureaucratic view of schools is the rational, scientific understanding of the world as a “clockwork,” a mechanism. This reductionist, analytic approach to the complexities of life has predominated in Western culture for several centuries since being launched in the Enlightenment era. From this perspective the world is to be understood in terms of cause and effect, with every effect arising from some potentially identifiable cause. Given enough time it is presumed that the world can become completely known in this deterministic way. Classical physics is the ultimate expression of this logic, which in the past has lead well-known scientists to suggest that they have unraveled the most fundamental mechanisms of the cosmos to the extent that they have been able to “look into the mind of God,” and thus to have provided the means for mastering nature.

The belief structure underlying a community view of schools is organic and holistic. Rather than focusing on distinction and difference, it is primarily concerned with connections. From this perspective, individual effects are best understood in terms of the web of relationships which define the context and cannot be fully understood aside from that context. Patterns of meaning are more important than isolated events and our ability to

predict the future on the basis of the past is limited by irreducible complexity to statements of probability and potential. Ecology, particularly the Gaia hypothesis, represents the ultimate expression of this logic, which is consistent not only with modern physics and our emerging understandings of the mind, but also with a systems view of organizations and the community perspective on schools.

The rational, reductionist perspective has dominated the Western world for centuries and all of us who live in this world have been raised in a society which reflects and values the mechanistic worldview in pervasive and infinitely subtle ways which cannot fail to influence our thinking. Like the proverbial goldfish, however, we are generally unaware of the water in which we live and thus unable to critique our assumptions or to imagine alternatives. We go so far as to define intelligence in terms of the skills of differentiation, classification and linear, causal analysis which underlie mathematical/spatial and verbal/linguistic aptitude. The intuitive, holistic perspective is recognized but little valued, being considered the “soft” stuff of the arts as opposed to the “hard” stuff of the sciences. In the last half of this century, of course, science has changed radically and is no longer so exclusively rooted in a linear, deterministic model of reality but that has done little as yet to change the general societal value structure. In the popular mind the assumptions and prejudices of old science continue to reign.

One particular, and relevant, example is to be found in psychology. Kohn (1993) points out that our everyday practices continue to be based on “pop behaviourism”—which he defines as “Do this and you’ll get that”—arising from Skinner’s work with rats, despite the fact that, “the behaviorist’s conception of humans as passive beings, whose behavior must be elicited by external motivation in the form of incentives is, by any measure, outdated ... [and] Within the discipline of psychology, the passive-organism view has faded along with the influence of behavior theory itself.” (p. 26) We now understand that humans respond not to events themselves but to the meaning they make of those events and that meaning is personally constructed in complex ways. This is an active and self-structured response. Thus, to the extent that we accept the passive mechanistic stimulus-response hypothesis, and Kohn argues that it is the most common assumption about behaviour, “our everyday practices rest on an implicit theory of human behaviour that fails to do us justice.” (p. 26) Nonetheless, most people generally act in a way which suggests subconscious acceptance of a concept of human motivation with the same discredited behaviourist roots, and much that has been written about leadership in the past involves the use of incentives and rewards in a way which betrays the same simplistic behaviourist roots.

The point of this discussion is not to entirely reject rational analysis or mechanistic thinking. Full understanding of the world requires us to be able to appreciate and work with *both* the mechanistic and organic worldviews simultaneously, despite their inherent contradictions. Synthesis is not superior to analysis, it complements it. Modern physics does not refute classical physics, it completes it by extending our understanding into new realms. There is a time for objectivity and a time for subjectivity, or more correctly, there are both objective and subjective elements to everything. Many commentators would have us believe that the “modern” mindset, which underlies the organization view, is now discredited and invalid, having been replaced by a more intelligent and valid “postmodern” mindset. In the ongoing refinement of human understanding there are times to refute and times to reframe, and times simply to broaden our view. Some of our old understandings are, indeed,

disproven. Some were naive. Some were immoral. But this is not a reason to throw the baby out with the bath water. It would be so much simpler if we could adopt one perspective and simply abandon the other, but we cannot.

The world of the school is both mechanistic and organic, requires the administrator to use both analysis and synthesis, presents problems that are soluble and dilemmas that are not, sometimes requires us to focus on isolated events and sometimes can only be appreciated in a systems view. An educational administrator must be able to shift from a *dichotomous* understanding of these two worldviews to a *dialectical* understanding in order to fully appreciate, and be effective within, the complex, ambiguous and paradoxical arena of school life.

Sustaining the tension between these two viewpoints may be contrary to our inclination, but it is essential to do so. Only through continuous inquiry and reconsideration can we continue to learn and develop greater wisdom. Choosing one perspective over another closes the mind and ends the learning. In order to dwell with, and learn from, dilemma, one must cultivate what in Zen philosophy is known as Wu Ji, the empty space of wisdom. “Profound growth and change come when one is willing to let go and settle into the place of not knowing. To sustain this emptiness is to create enormous internal strength and wisdom, so we must take care not to rush in and fill it up.” (Huang & Lynch, 1995, p. 6)

Developing a well-balanced and dialectical worldview which permits “the empty space of wisdom” is enormously challenging. There are two primary reasons. First, there is the pervasive bias in society, and consequently in all of our previous experience, towards an administrative style which is rooted in the rational mechanistic worldview. This means that we begin not with a blank slate but with a strong inclination towards the bureaucratic view of schools. Second, the restructuring of our worldview to accommodate a more balanced approach to educational administration involves not only the development of new understandings and habits of mind, but the suppression of old ones in order to allow the new ones to emerge.

A bias towards the bureaucratic view leads us to assume that educational administrators must be in firm control and that the prerequisite for being given the necessary authority is superior understanding, skill, dedication, and/or experience. This equips the educational administrator to accept the heavy responsibility for the welfare of others which is embodied in the position. Senge (1990, p. 340) describes this popular archetype as follows.

Our traditional views of leaders—as special people who set the direction, make the key decisions, and energize the troops—are deeply rooted in an individualistic and nonsystemic worldview. Especially in the West, leaders are *heroes*—great men (and occasionally women) who “rise to the fore” in times of crises. Our prevailing leadership myths are still captured by the image of the captain of the cavalry leading the charge to rescue the settlers from the attacking Indians. (Senge, 1990, p. 340)

Not only administrators but also teachers, parents and students generally hold the same subconscious heroic view of the principal as the person with ultimate responsibility for everything from safety to clean washrooms to school spirit to student learning. This is, of course, very flattering and can be seductively attractive to the principal, but it is an unrealizable and unhealthy ideal. There is absolutely no way the principal could have the wisdom to understand or the power to control the complex dynamics of a school and all the

individuals and relationships within it, and to the extent that s/he tries to live up to this naive ideal s/he is set up for frustrating failure and s/he reinforces in others the dependence and powerlessness which the myth implies.

That is not to say either that the principal does not bear responsibility for many system functions or that s/he is not an important factor in system success, but only that the heroic image of educational administration is seriously insufficient and thus harmful. As noted earlier, it is right enough to be dangerously wrong. Thus, as we seek to construct a better understanding of educational administration we must at the same time deconstruct our existing assumptions and theories, many of which may be subconscious.

If our existing understandings were purely cognitive, this would be challenging enough, but in many cases the understandings are related to social and emotional constructs and to our self-concept. Thus, we are not simply reexamining what we believe, but also who we are. This is much more complex and threatening than simply learning a new concept or technique. Moreover, what is required is not simply declarative knowledge of a new type of administrative action, but procedural ability, that is, actual change in personal behaviour. This amounts to changing mental habits, and as we know from experience with more superficial habits—for example, eating habits or exercise—such change requires strong motivation, ample support, and lots of time and practice. The half-life for such a change is typically measured in years. Moreover, it will not happen smoothly. There will inevitably be relapses and errors along the way. We need, therefore, to provide support structures which will enable us to persist over the long haul in order to restructure our cognitive understandings and mental habits. Goleman (1998, p. 243) calls this combination of understanding and habitual response in the social domain, an “emotional competence,” and notes that, “The test of this kind of learning—of such rewiring—for an emotional competence lies in how a person automatically reacts in the salient moment.”

Because developing a new administrative style involves such deep change, it is actually too far-reaching to be described as merely a change. Covey (1996) describes it as an “inside-out transformation.” Goss (1996, p. 15) also uses the term transformation rather than change, and describes the difference as follows. “Change is a function of altering what you are *doing*—to improve something that is already possible in your reality (better, different, or more). Transformation is a function of altering the way you are *being*—to create something that is currently not possible in your reality.”

The transformation is difficult for many. Tom Peters (1992, p. 7) describes it as “soul wrenching” for traditional administrators. One of the central issues is control. For some administrators it is the prestige which they perceive to come from being in control which is the primary attraction of the job. For some, their concern with control comes from the belief that they can only discharge their responsibility for outcomes by maintaining control over processes, a view which originates in the scientific/technical worldview and has probably been reinforced by prior experience in a bureaucratic school organization. Some are simply not comfortable with ambiguity and fluidity. Some sense that others are uncomfortable with ambiguity and seek to provide the certainty which is desired. Whatever the source, discomfort with not being “in control” at all times is a serious problem for an educational administrator and will be a constant irritation and impediment if not addressed. Developing comfort with sharing authority and relinquishing control when appropriate takes time and practice. It is both a value and a lifestyle change. It is both intellectual and behavioural.

Even assuming a sincere and significant beginning, it requires ongoing attention and effort through cognitive processes such as study or reflection as well as actual practice over an extended period of time.

Thus, while formal courses and workshops clearly have a role to play, it is the characteristics of daily life in the school which are most critical to the fundamental transformations involved in an evolving worldview. This is the case whether or not we pay conscious attention to them. If we do not set out to intentionally ‘design’ the school as a hospitable environment for reflection, introspection and change then the default design will have its own consequences. Subconscious patterns may be reinforced, or undesirable new patterns generated. We learn from our experience one way or another. The challenge is to take charge of that learning and to make it productive. For an educational administrator, then, it is essential to accurately assess the school situation and determine what can be done to make it more conducive to continuous inquiry and learning, both for him/herself and for others in the school community. There is much that cannot be changed, but there are always things which can be done. A clear understanding of the lifelong learning process is essential to the necessary assessment and planning.

Developing The Habit of Lifelong Learning

In order to understand the type of learning required to develop a binocular view, and thus to become a well-rounded educational administrator, we will need to reconsider the meaning of “learning,” and since this learning occurs over a long period of time we will also need to consider what is really meant by “lifelong learning,” and how one becomes a lifelong learner. Let’s start with learning itself.

“Learning is not an easy phenomenon to define for at least two reasons: it is a process not a state, and it occurs both as overt observable behavior and as an inner condition of attitudes, ideas, and feelings.” (Vaill, 1996, p. 20) The overt consequences, which are the easiest to deal with, are sometimes thought of in terms of a triad of outcomes—knowledge, skills and attitudes—but in many situation it is the knowledge aspect which predominates, and thus learning is essentially reduced to the accumulation of information. However, mere possession of information, or *declarative knowledge*, is in itself of little value. The knowledge must be applied, operationalized, in order to be useful. It must become usable, *procedural knowledge*.

When that knowledge is to be used in new and changing contexts, it is essential for the learner to develop not only procedural knowledge but also *understanding*. Perkins (1993) describes “understanding” as follows: “understanding a topic of study is a matter of being able to perform in a variety of thought-demanding ways with the topic, for instance to: explain, muster evidence, find examples, generalize, apply concepts, analogize, represent in a new way, and so on.” Thus, understanding involves not only procedural knowledge but also *generative knowledge*; that is, the ability to work with novel situations and to extend our understandings on the basis of that experience.

Not only must learning involve understanding, it must also involve the skills necessary to apply the understanding and the attitudes and dispositions which will make that likely. As we move from a consideration of understanding to the dispositions and attitudes which

determine how our understanding will be used, it is important to recognize that learning is not just an additive process, but a reconstructive process of personal growth and development. Considering professional learning in particular, Argyris (1991), comments as follows.

... most people define learning too narrowly as mere “problem solving,” so they focus on identifying and correcting errors in the external environment. Solving problems is important. But if learning is to persist, managers and employees must also look inward. They need to reflect critically on their own behaviour, identify the ways they often inadvertently contribute to the organization’s problems, and then change how they act. In particular, they must learn how the very way they go about defining and solving problems can be a source of problems in its own right.

Argyris has coined the term “single loop” learning to describe the external first order of problem-solving skill, and “double loop” learning to describe the essential second order of internal examination and change in behaviour. This second order of learning is required if one is to make good strategic use of understandings. This level of self-awareness, or metacognition, does not develop simply through direct instruction or even practice. It requires introspection, or reflection, on the part of the learner in order to surface, articulate, and deconstruct subconscious assumptions, and then reconstruct and internalize them as a new worldview.

Much has been written about promoting reflection-on-action and reflection-in action. I will not attempt to summarize it here. However, Leithwood (1994, p. 233) suggests that such a dialectical engagement with experience is liable to be promoted if cues are given to the learner which promote self-questioning, metacognition is explicitly modeled, and the learner is given direct instruction about the value and processes of metacognition. Of course, it still remains for the learner to accept the invitation to introspection and win metacognitive insight through the hard inner work of fundamental rethinking and reframing. Leithwood’s insight is important not only in thinking about how a principal can help others to learn, but also in planning for his or her own learning. It suggests that study and training in metacognition is useful and that a principal should seek out the nurturing company of others who can provide the cues, model the processes and ask the questions that will stimulate his or her own metacognitive learning.

Vaill (1996) comments that many people carry with them an unfortunate residue of their young schooling experience which disinclines them to the “double-loop” learning required for metacognitive development. He points out that the implicit model of what he calls “institutional learning” that is common in schools involves moving from a beginner to an accomplished state, and that we learn to be very uncomfortable about being in the beginner state, which is characterized by an abundance of questions and confusions, because we associate it with a lack of success. We have learned to be answer oriented and to judge our success as learners in terms of the frequency with which we find the “right answer.” Thus, we seek certainty and accuracy in our learning and are uncomfortable with ambiguity and error. Unfortunately, as a lifelong learner one is not primarily engaged in the accurate acquisition of new knowledge but rather in the continuous reconsideration, refinement and restructuring of understandings in the face of relentless novelty and change. This inevitably involves both ambiguity and error. The only way to avoid it is to rest safely within the

comforting domain of the already familiar, which, even if it were possible, would not be lifelong learning.

Senge (1990, p. 14) describes this sort of metacognitive double-loop learning as recreating ourselves, re-perceiving the world and our relationship to it. Such re-perceiving, which is necessarily tentative and ambiguous, is intellectually and emotionally unsettling. Traditional schooling is not generally designed to prepare us for this ‘on-the-edge’ experience, and tends therefore to make us uncomfortable with the feelings of confusion and vulnerability which it causes.

Argyris (1991) identifies this as the source of a commonly observed defensive reasoning by professionals in the face of unfamiliar experiences, and what he calls the “doom loop” for learning, which is based on four ingrained desires: to remain in control, to maximize “winning” and minimize “losing,” to suppress negative feelings of confusion or inadequacy, and to evaluate our behaviour in terms of whether or not we achieve clear prior objectives. “The purpose of these values is to avoid embarrassment or threat, feeling vulnerable or incompetent. In this respect, the master program that most people use is profoundly defensive. Defensive reasoning encourages individuals to keep private the premises, inferences, and conclusions that shape their behaviour, and to avoid testing them in a truly independent, objective fashion.” (Argyris, 1991) He concludes that this master program originates in the very success which most professionals have had in the traditional education system and in successfully applying their professional training in familiar situations, which thus becomes the root of their problem with the continuous self-questioning and restructuring of understandings which is fundamental to lifelong learning in a rapidly changing environment. And yet this is the only way to learn from experience and to develop the insights that will lead to a new, more expansive, worldview. This understanding cannot be given to anyone. It cannot be taught, it can only be learned. As Fullan (1997, p. 9) puts it, “... there are no shortcuts. Leaders for change must immerse themselves in real situations of reform and begin to craft their own theories of change, constantly testing them against new situations and the accounts of others’ experience.”

There being no “silver bullets” or final solutions to the fundamental dilemmas and perplexing challenges of educational administration, this is an unending process. That can be depressing for someone who is seeking the “right answer,” but it can be liberating for someone who is constructing their personal understandings. This is a critical disposition for a lifelong learner. If the goal is “mastery” then the need to constantly reconsider and restructure will be taken as conclusive evidence of failure. If the goal is “understanding,” the same process can be richly rewarding and energizing. Lifelong learning is only about acquisition of knowledge, or even skill, but also about enlarging and completing the self. Whyte (1996, p. 23) describes it as “the soul’s journey” and comments that, “For many of us, it is hard to begin the soul’s journey because the journey begins in a place in which we have been taught to have very little faith—the black, contemplative splendors of self-doubt, something else they don’t teach at Harvard Business School and something we would rather do without. But wanting soul life without the dark, warming intelligence of personal doubt is like expecting an egg without the brooding heat of the mother hen.”

On the basis of more than two decades of his research at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and the Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, Robert Kegan suggests that the lifelong learning which we require goes even further, beyond learning for

understanding, or for meaning, or for self-discovery. In his view, “the demands of work, the hidden curriculum of work, does not require that a new set of skills be ‘put in’ but that a new *threshold of consciousness* be reached.” (Kegan, 1994, p. 164) Kegan proposes a psychological theory in which the self evolves well beyond the teenage years, at which some final state of “adulthood” has traditionally been presumed to have been reached, and that new orders of consciousness remain to be achieved “out of a lifelong process of development: a succession of qualitative differentiations of the self from the world ... successive triumphs of ‘relationship to’ rather than ‘embeddedness in.’” (Kegan, 1982, p. 77) Kegan’s third order of consciousness, which he considers essential to effective living in the “modern” age, is characterized by the ability to hold two contradictory values or goals in mind simultaneously without being frustrated or paralyzed by their inconsistencies. His research indicates, unfortunately, that between one-half and two-thirds of adults never achieve this level of psychological development. Kegan’s fourth order of consciousness, which he considers essential to effective living in the “postmodern” age, is characterized by the ability, indeed the understood necessity, to be self-evaluating and self-correcting, to rise above allegiance to any particular value or purpose and focus on the ongoing “process of originating or inventing what is valuable, a determination that heretofore has been made by the psychosocial surround.” (Kegan, 1994, p. 169) His research indicates that very few people *ever* achieve this level of self-definition, and if they do it is never before mid-life.

It is clear, therefore, that the familiar call for lifelong learning is a much more complex and challenging exhortation than might at first be evident. It would be easy to become despondent at this point. Perhaps the type of learning which one must undergo in order to develop binocular understandings and competence in a dynamic and ambiguous environment is simply too complex and long term to be affected by the types and intensities of influence and support that can realistically be brought to bear. However, such fatalism is neither necessary nor productive. The question is not whether we can control or guarantee learning—and any tendency to frame the problem in that way may itself reveal mechanistic inner constructs—but how we can be a positive force in our own learning and others’. There is always opportunity for enriching our learning, albeit often limited and confounded by many other forces. The challenge, and the opportunity, is to use whatever resources and influence we have in the best possible way.

Vaill (1996, p. 51) offers a useful analysis that can assist us in thinking about how to create environments that support lifelong learning and how to make best personal use of our own experience. He coins the phrase “learning as a way of being” to describe what is required and comments that, “More than just a skill, learning as a way of being is a whole posture toward experience, a way of framing or interpreting all experience as a learning opportunity or learning process.” He identifies seven inherent challenges.

- First, in order to grasp new ideas about human behavior in organizations, we must learn how to surface and examine our assumptions about human beings—assumptions that derive from our past experiences and also assumptions that are built into any specific principles we have already been employing ... To question our assumptions is to shake up our world, filling us with pain and anxiety. Managerial leaders need to learn early the importance of questioning assumptions and methods for doing it.
- Second, the subject matter for learning about human behavior in organizations is a rather confusing mixture of findings from the empirical research of behavioral science,

traditional common sense, and an intermediate body of quasi-scientific theories and hunches that are richly suggestive but possibly of questionable validity ... if the learner is not aware of the need to ask questions about how material came to be known and how much is really known, it is possible to seriously under- or overestimate the value of any particular concept or interpretation ...

- A third challenge, which follows from the epistemological problems defined in the second challenge, is to achieve a personal synthesis about human behavior in organizations that balances and integrates all the kinds of data and concepts that are available ...
- Fourth, a managerial leader presumably has a strong action focus, a concern for getting things done. It is not easy to maintain an action focus when there are so many intriguing ways of talking about human behavior in organizations. The learner needs to discover and recognize the temptations to become a passive speculator and contemplator or a detached critic and skeptic. Neither posture is the frame of mind a managerial leader needs to be in.
- Part of achieving an action focus as a managerial leader is achieving a balance between objectivity and subjectivity, between one's personal perspective—reflecting individual values and priorities—and a more impersonal, objective stance that takes account of other points of view in a situation ...
- Sixth, material about human behavior in organizations exist on a continuum from the deep intrapersonal to the macrosociological. Different learners will have different tastes in and reactions to issues at various points along the continuum ... Managerial leaders, however, need the capacity to range with understanding across the entire spectrum ...
- Finally, a major consequence of learning material about human behavior in organizations should be to grasp the huge variety of contexts to which the basic ideas can be applied. The study of human behavior in organizations has the potential to change our consciousness about all areas of experience ... Beginners in the subject often find that ideas about human behavior in organizations illuminate their family and romantic relationships ... If we permit it, lifelong learning about human behavior in organizations will affect what we know in all categories of experience. (Vaill, 1996, pp. 129-132)

Educational Programs

And what sort of preservice or inservice educational programs might best serve educational administrators in developing the habits and skills of lifelong learning? The answer to this question is not as clear as what will *not* do the job. Traditional university courses and inservice training are useful but not sufficient. Goleman (1998) terms the common misconception that one can cause the sort of deep change required to develop leadership in the same way that one can effectively teach how to create a business plan, the “billion dollar error” of North American industry. Deep change requires significant neurological rewiring as we change our habits of thought, feeling and behaviour. That means that educational programs which aspire to such change must be highly relevant and deeply engaging at the personal level and must provide for supported practice over a long period of time as new intellectual and emotional structures are inculcated. The time frame for this sort of change is

years and if we aspire to lifelong change, to learning as a way of being, it is a continuous experience of being in the midst of reconstructing our understandings, with all of the tentativeness and insecurity which that entails. Well-structured formal programs with clear goals and limited time frames can be very useful, but it requires the individual skills and dispositions of introspection combined with a supportive and motivating environment to enable the continuous cycle of experience, reflection and reconstruction which can truly be called lifelong learning.

Although formal courses and programs are not sufficient to cause and support lifelong learning, well-structured programs do have a useful role to play. “Problem-Based Learning,” for example, has been shown to be an approach that has the potential for deep, meaningful and long-lasting learning that is both procedural and generative. This approach, which is used in over 80% of the medical schools in the United States, has five defining characteristics.

- The starting point for learning is a genuine problem.
 - The problem is one that students are apt to face as future physicians, or administrators.
 - Subject matter is organized around problems rather than discrete disciplines.
 - Students assume a major responsibility for their own learning.
 - Most learning occurs in the context of small working groups rather than lectures.
- (Bridges & Hallinger, 1998, p. 3)

Engagement with genuine, rather than abstracted or idealized, issues is central to this approach. Instead of learning a theory and deducing how it is to be applied to a new situation, participants engage with rich experience in order to build understanding inductively. That is not to say that there is no place for direct instruction in theory followed by guided application of that theory in practice, but only that such an approach is less engaging and generative than problem-based learning.

This process of “learning” is best understood as knowledge creation in the constructivist sense, rather than information acquisition. Bird (1994) describes it as being grounded in an individual’s tacit knowledge base, which originates subconsciously through the interplay of thought and action and is then drawn out, made explicit and labeled with language through a dialogue in which a group negotiates common understandings. “This is usually a dynamic process in which members try out various interpretations and meanings. Through debate and discussion, unity and coherence in meaning and understanding converge in an explicit form which all members ... can understand and assimilate.” (Bird, 1994, p. 332) Of course, introspection may be undertaken alone, but it will be neither as rich nor as sharable as that which occurs in common with others.

Leithwood (1994) describes research on a program of problem-based learning for school principals and concludes that problem-based learning is a more promising approach than on-the-job experience, which is a “relatively slow and unreliable” approach in comparison. This does not mean that on-the-job experience is unimportant, but rather that it is greatly enriched by a well-designed program that promotes meaning making on the basis of that experience, particularly when it occurs with the support of a group of professionals with similar experiences and concerns. Thus, principals who are serious about their personal and

professional growth over the course of a career, are well advised not to depend solely on the “school of hard knocks” for their learning. Intentionally structured dialogue and reflection with others are important in order to ensure that experience leads to learning rather than remaining unexamined or being allowed to reinforce existing assumptions, perspectives and patterns of behaviour without the clarifying light of critical analysis.

It is important that the ideas and influences that will shape this analysis are carefully selected to stimulate the development of capacities and characteristics which the administrator wishes to develop. Not all authors, theories or approaches are equally valid or relevant. Principals should take care to focus their precious time and attention on those ideas and individuals who reflect their value structure. It is not possible to predict precisely what one will learn through the critical encounter with new ideas and the introspective reexamination of experience, but it is possible, and important, to choose one’s professional influences with care. The most recent publication or hottest fad may not be the best or the most important for an individual or group at a particular career and life stage, or in a particular work environment.

The sort of metacognitive reconsideration that is required in order to develop one’s understandings and worldview may also occur in formal courses, but no matter how effective a formal course or inservice program may be, it can, at best, provide short-term stimulus and support. Since the time frame for “recreating” and “reperceiving” is long, and leads only to temporary conclusions that are the launching pad for further inquiry, learning must be a continuous lifelong process. Thus, the working environment of the educational administrator must also be conducive to lifelong inquiry and learning. The conditions and strategies that are required deserve just as much, probably more, careful consideration and resource support as do the formal programs which have traditionally been the focus of attention.

Ruohotie (1994, 1996a, 1996b) has reviewed the literature on self-regulated learning and professional updating, drawing upon the results of the Growth Needs Project in Finland, and earlier chapters by Ruohotie and Leino provide useful discussion of the challenge of developing and maintaining professional competence. Insights into the principal’s roles as an instructional leader and supervisor are also rich sources for consideration. For example, work by Leithwood et al (1996), which examines the role of principals in fostering teacher development, and Grimmett (1996), which examines the importance of connecting professional development programs to the classroom, are useful not only in helping the principal to understand his or her role in supporting teachers but also in understanding his or her own learning. These and other sources contain many important insights and suggestions that support problem-based learning and also suggest ways in which the workplace can become a learning environment, but the development of supportive working environments for educational administrators cannot be reduced to any sort of formula or standard template. While we can identify certain objectives, foundational principles and desirable characteristics, the specific needs and successful strategies for thoughtful practice and continuous growth will be as varied and the individuals involved and the contexts in which they work.

Conclusion

Educational administration is a complex human activity which defies tidy *description*, and the development of educational administrators defies tidy *prescription*.

Because schools are simultaneously bureaucratic organizations and moral communities, educational administrators must be able to both manage and lead. The organizational and community aspects of schools are both complementary and contradictory, which creates an enormous challenge for administrators who must meet the needs of staff, students and parents with full regard for both dimensions.

Traditionally, administrative training has focused on the rational processes of effective management. This continues to be important, but a new, balancing focus on developing inspirational leadership through education, rather than mere training, is required.

Because leadership is enigmatic, and at times antithetical to management, it is very difficult to develop and to practice. It is more a way of being which expresses itself as a gestalt, than a set of identifiable skills that can be learned and applied.

A “binocular” worldview is required in order for an educational administrator to range effectively across the full spectrum of roles and responsibilities that are required. This worldview blends and balances mechanistic and organic perspectives.

Educational programs for administrators can help to establish this foundation, and to inculcate the habits and skills of lifelong learning in order to prepare administrators for the rigours of a challenging job in a dynamic, ambiguous and frequently paradoxical environment. Problem-based learning is one promising approach, but any formal program must be complemented by a working environment that supports continuous inquiry and learning for educational administrators.

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