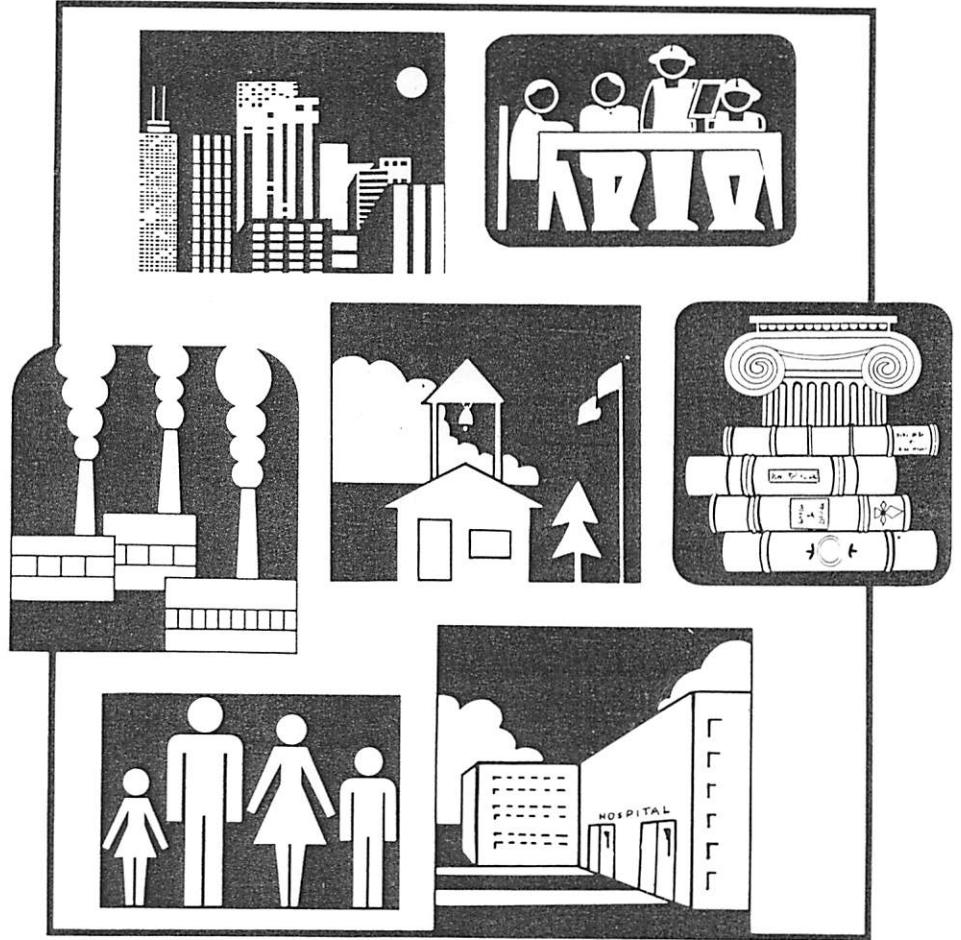


FORUM

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Education and Institutional Democracy

Benjamin

Bluestone

Brown

Craig

Croghan

Hough

Kaplan

Mazany

McCarthy

Parker

Provenzo, Jr.

Raywid

Radebaugh

Wirth

ISSUE EDITORS: Arthur Brown and Byron F. Radebaugh

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Editorial

by Byron F. Radebaugh

Most of us, I suspect, have had personal experience with what we consider to be certain de-humanizing aspects of life in institutions where we work. These experiences may have left us feeling bitter, unappreciated, resentful. Some of us may have decided to withdraw from full participation in the life of the institution thereby reducing the ability of the institution to fully function. Our teaching may have become uninspiring—the quality of the products we produce shoddy—and we no longer care! Can anything be done about this? Can institutions be organized and administered in such a way that they become vital, humane, caring, worthy of our best efforts? One of our

well known historians (William Manchester) once said, “A man wouldn’t sell his life to you, but he will give it to you for a piece of colored ribbon.”

When we add to the above a consideration of the rapidity of change confronting all of us, the demands for ‘reform’ in many areas, the common problems that remain unsolved, and the realization that we are on the threshold of the 21st century, an understanding of how we might make our institutions more functional and humane becomes more imperative.

It was with thoughts such as these in mind that one night over dinner at the Yugo Restaurant in Chicago I proposed to Arthur Brown that we plan an issue of *Thresholds* on the topic **Education and Institutional Democracy**. Arthur has been studying the problems and challenges of institutional democracy

professionally for many years. He agreed. This issue of *Thresholds* is the fruition of this idea.

In the first article, Arthur Brown provides a description of the questions we asked our contributors to respond to, an ‘Overview’ of the articles that follow, and adds some ‘Comments’ of his own. The articles by Wirth, Bluestone, Raywid, Mazany, Benjamin, Craig, Kaplan and McCarthy, Parker, Hough, and Croghan and Provenzo provide, from various perspectives, insights and answers to the questions posed.

I think you will find the ideas expressed by our contributors informative, stimulating, insightful, and reflective. Above all, I hope this issue of *Thresholds* will cause our readers to ask, in the words of Arthur Wirth, “if we are engaged in understanding what must be done, and working to secure it.”



Byron F. Radebaugh is Professor of Education, Foundations of Education Faculty, Department of Leadership and Educational Policy Studies, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, and one of the Issue Editors for this issue of Thresholds.

Overview and Comments

by Arthur Brown

My presidential address to the Midwest Philosophy of Education Society in 1978 was entitled "Institutional Democracy: Problems and Prospects."* I selected the term 'institutional democracy' rather than some other in common use at the time, such as industrial democracy, participatory management, or codetermination because I did not want to limit the concept to business or industry, and I did want to retain the word democracy for its moral as well as its political connotations.

In that address, I defined institutional democracy as

a system which allows for broad participation in decision-making about vital institutional matters by all persons who work within a more or less discrete social institution, such as a school, a university, a business firm, a government agency.

By 'vital' institutional matters, I meant policy matters of greater moment to institutional and individual welfare than job enrichment programs, important as they are.

I justified institutional democracy on philosophic as well as practical grounds. For philosophic justification I argued that participation is a human right in that it allows for the fullest possible development of one's intellectual power and moral sensibilities and, also, in that it offers people some measure of control in decisions which affect their lives. For justification on practical grounds, I argued that institutional democracy would increase organizational efficiency and that elitist views

which rationalize traditional hierarchical management arrangements on the basis of human differences or inequalities are insupportable. (This is not to say that there are no differences between people.)

Two years later, I wrote an article for *Thresholds* (May, 1980) entitled "Democracy and Education Revisited" in which I elaborated on some of those views, paying special attention to the idea that two primary values—freedom and equality—constituted the ethical center of a democratic society, and, further, that though potentially competing, these values can be harmonized and can be realized more fully by democratizing our social institutions. And so I wrote:

What institutional democracy proposes is that democratic structures and processes be put in place in all of our institutions, not just in the larger political community. The work place, the school, the union, the family, the university—all must be democratized if freedom and equality are to be given genuine expression. It is life in these institutions which teaches us the valuing process. It is life in these institutions which is largely responsible for the development in us of certain attitudes, dispositions, skills, and understandings, which inevitably have an impact on the character of the larger political community. If freedom and equality are to serve as unifying values for the larger political community, and if the democratic process is to be the

means by which these values are incorporated into the individual psyche as well as into the social system at large, they must be given expression, as Dewey says, "in every phase of our common life."

A little over a year ago, Byron Radebaugh approached me with the idea of putting out an issue of *Thresholds* which would examine the status of institutional democracy. Although much has been written in the past decade about participatory management in business and industry, and some literature is available on participation in other institutions, a journal issue covering a number of different kinds of institutions seemed an intriguing project.

Hence, we invited contributions from people with a special interest in institutional democracy and with experience in different types of organizations to address the topic. Although we cautioned the contributors not to feel constrained by our guidelines, we did ask that they consider:

1. developments in democratization during the past decade or so;
2. the current state of democratization;
3. democratization in the foreseeable future;
4. forces in the larger society or in that particular type of institution accelerating or inhibiting democratization;
5. the developing relationship between the educational enterprise and other social institutions insofar as democratization is concerned.

*The address was later published with minor revisions in *Educational Theory*, Spring, 1979, vol. 29, no. 2.

Arthur Brown is Professor, Philosophy of Education, Wayne State University. He is president-elect of the Society of Professors of Education and one of the Issue Editors for this issue of *Thresholds*.

The articles in this issue of *Thresholds* are written by people with a great deal of experience in their respective areas of concern. As a consequence, almost all of them offer not only historical accounts or objective analyses but also perceptive and, sometimes, passionate expressions about democratic arrangements in our various social institutions. I should like to offer a brief summary of each of the articles followed by a few of my own perceptions and sentiments.

In his introductory article, *ARTHUR WIRTH* lays out the philosophical background for those which follow. He says that "We are a people with a divided soul—pulled sharply by both the bureaucratic—technocratic control model and by values of a humane democratic tradition." This division manifests itself in both schools and other work places. Wirth's claim is that the bureaucratic—technocratic model is based on the idea of man as a machine; the human democratic model, on the idea of man as *l'homme poeta*, a meaning maker, who realizes his full humanity through democratic life, "a mode of associated living" (to use Dewey's words).

Looking to Hans—George Gadamer and Dewey as guides, Wirth argues for the development and application of a 'post-industrial intelligence' which would enable each of us to understand and have some control over the worlds in which we live.

Noting that "authoritarian management is counter-productive in our fast changing world," *IRVING BLUESTONE* observes that the Taylor variety of scientific management is "neither scientific nor good management." He points to the trends toward participatory management in industry as "even more applicable" to schools because of the level of training that teachers have.

Distinguishing between 'managing the job' and 'managing the enterprise,' Bluestone suggests that in industry, involvement in decision-making in the more limited area of the job (working smarter) has often led to involvement in decision-making in the larger enterprise, an activity usually regarded as the sole responsibility of management. The same could be true for teachers, with attendant benefits in morale and effectiveness. But essential

are top-level commitment to the participatory process, a sincere devotion to democratic values, and the development of a climate of trust.

Following Bluestone's call for the empowerment of teachers that would emulate recent developments in the empowerment of workers in industry, *MARYANNE RAYWID* explores some history in that regard. She notes that "Different decades have related democracy to education in different ways." Through the 1940's, the emphasis was on democracy for students within the classroom. During the 60's, the emphasis was on democracy within the schools and in the relationship between communities and the schools. Currently, the emphasis is on several different forms of community and school relationships as, for example, choice of school by parents and site management, in addition to teacher empowerment. The effectiveness of these new arrangements is not guaranteed. Much will depend, Raywid says, on how they are implemented.

Ironically, Raywid points out, current participatory and democratic arrangements are occurring in an era of increased control of school policy and curriculum by legislatures and governors that is intended to ensure product quality. Whether the participatory arrangements, based as they are on utilitarian grounds rather than grounds of principle, will eventuate in a renewed interest in process as opposed to product, remains to be seen.

To the question, "What's missing from this picture?" *TERRY MAZANY* responds by pointing out that the participatory aspect of the current education reform movement has not included the student. He claims that the student should be accorded the same rights as other stakeholders in the school enterprise, viz., "the right of representation, the right of assembly, the right of veto, and the right to mutual respect." He recommends several school policies and actions which would support the role of students as partners in education reform. The restructuring of the school organization to include students as partners in decision making would enrich the education process by an increase in self-esteem and by the acquisition of an attitude of empowerment, thus making

for a better correspondence between life in the school and the values of a democratic society.

Turning from the schools to higher education, *ERNST BENJAMIN* makes the observation that although the principles of collegiality and democratic governance characterize the university to a far greater extent than most social institutions, a number of forces emerged in the past two decades which have constrained faculty authority and strengthened the authority of the administration. Among these forces are the student movement of the 60's; the economic constraints and government policies of the 70's which eventuated in a greater demand for programs promising marketable skills and a faculty less interested in governance issues; and the recent emphasis on productivity in research and accountability in teaching.

The increased 'managerialism' of the administration has resulted in the unionization of almost a third of university faculty as well as large numbers of other university employees. Yet, Benjamin points out, faculty involvement in governance is still extensive and could well serve as a model for other complex institutions where the requirements for technical competence may necessitate a participatory form of governance in order to maintain a competitive advantage.

According to *ROBERT CRAIG*, the 'ministering' nature of the health facility, its 'caring' purpose for patients implies as well a natural concern for the growth of employees. A democratized work place, "one in which employees develop self-esteem, rationality and responsibility, ought to be integral to management style."

Not only does democracy offer an opportunity for health care institutions to live out their mission, philosophy, and values, but the democratization of health care management is made necessary by social and health care trends, particularly the values which younger employees are bringing to the work place and the higher levels of education they have attained. The younger employees are more concerned about social issues, more desirous of autonomy, and more resistant to certain aspects of the old work ethic, e.g., self-denial and conformity.

Craig goes on to sketch a plan for democratizing the health care system/facility which would include all levels of organization and education and training of employees, and a commitment to the process from the Corporate Executive Team as a first step. Craig cautions, however, that the traditional hierarchical structure of the health care system, including the powerful control exercised by the physician, militates against the implementation of democratic management.

In his second article, **TERRY MAZANY** describes the difficulties involved in institutionalizing work place democracy in the public sector and offers three proposals for successful democratization: 1) participation must be mandatory, not voluntary, for all participants; 2) procedures must be established whereby employee influence can be linked successfully with management and with the authority of the union contract; and 3) safeguards must be designed against recriminations.

In reviewing the research on the relationship between the family and the school, **LEONARD KAPLAN** and **ALICE MCCARTHY** note that the character and structure of the family unit are quite different from what was the case in the past, and that many school personnel fail to recognize those differences and the special needs of today's children. Further, they observe, the "pressures of poverty, work, and cultural and socio-economic change may inhibit the family's involvement in the school environment of their child." However, when parents have participated in school improvement programs and when their participation has had the support of school personnel and the community, research shows that positive results have occurred in student achievement, attendance, and behavior. According to Kaplan and McCarthy, "A key element in the programs' success appears to be appropriate staff training and orientation."

In an iconoclastic piece which puts into question the democratic nature of participation programs, **MIKE PARKER** takes the position that many such programs do not produce a genuine shift in the locus of power. Management still makes the final decision. Further,

he claims, "Despite the rhetoric, most programs actually result in less 'democracy' than before." They compel conformity on the part of workers by requiring consensus in the decision making process and weaken the collective power of the union by, among other policies, pitting workers against one another. In the final analysis, "If we depend on so-called workplace democracy programs as our school of democracy, we are guaranteeing a failure."

More important is an education directed toward the development of commitment to the principles of democracy which undergird the process—in a word, to the formation of character.

The final two articles are concerned with on-going projects designed to democratize schools. In the first of these articles, **WENDELL HOUGH** describes the Collaborative School Improvement Project (C-SIP) which he conceived of 10 years ago. Since then, 150 schools in the southeastern part of Michigan have been at one time or other involved with the project. The purpose of C-SIP is to help teachers, with the support of the administration, solve school problems which they have identified and prioritized.

In his article, Hough lists eleven assumptions about motivation and organizational change which undergird the C-SIP model, and he describes in some detail the six-step process involved. According to Hough, "What distinguishes the C-SIP process from the traditional school improvement system is the equity given to teachers as the practitioners with the knowledge of the educational setting...They are indeed empowered and responsible for their

own professional development." According to independent evaluations, the project has met with considerable success.

In the final article, **JOHN H. CROGHAN** and **EUGENE F. PROVENZO, Jr.**, offer an account of the events leading up to the Dade County, Florida, School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making project.

A concept that had lain dormant since 1971 when first proposed by the state legislature, SBD/SDM began to take shape in 1986 under the leadership of Superintendent of Schools, Joseph Fernandez, and union head Pat Tornillo. As a consequence of the commitment of Fernandez and Tornillo, the School Board voted unanimously to support a pilot program which currently consists of 32 of the 272 schools in Dade County.

Croghan and Provenzo review the process involved in implementing the School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making program and describe in some detail its evolution in one of the schools involved. In that school, participants consist of not only teachers and administrators, but also secretaries and other non-academic personnel, and are engaged in decisions hitherto left to the principals, such as those related to the budget, hiring, and curriculum development.

The authors point out that participants in SBM/SDM are finding that the process exacts much more effort and consumes considerably more time than originally anticipated. But they do seem to feel more professional and have acquired greater sensitivity to the needs and problems of their colleagues and other staff members.

There is a problem which is brought up in many of these articles which I believe especially significant and about which I should like to add a few words of my own.

As some of our contributors point out, the participatory movement is driven largely by the prospect of economic gain or heightened efficiency, rather than by moral considerations or a commitment to democratic principles. Perhaps that should not be of any great concern to those interested in the furtherance of institutional democracy; after all, all's well that ends well. As

economist Hazel White (cited by Wirth) puts it, "For the first time in history morality has become pragmatic." What is troubling about the utilitarian argument as the principal, if not exclusive, justification for institutional democracy is that democratic principles become hostage to profit or efficiency, and when profit or efficiency suffer because of, say, a recession or social changes or poor execution of the participatory process, the tendency is to reject democratic principles as applicable to social institutions. This seems to have been the case, to some extent, in higher education, as Ernst Benjamin points out. It certainly is the case with much of the reform movement in the public schools which has been characterized by attempts to make education more 'efficient' through the use of state man-

dated curricula and accountability measures.

It seems to me, then, that the first commitment of those who espouse institutional democracy and who attempt to implement it must be to democratic principles as moral principles, as goods in themselves. If I am right, education toward that end must become a primary concern. A number of contributors to this issue of *Thresholds* do, in fact, make mention of the necessity for education in the participatory process. But, I am afraid, too often the education or training is addressed only to the mechanical or organizational aspects of the process. That, of course, is necessary, but it is not sufficient. More important is an education directed toward the development of commitment to the principles of democracy which undergird the process—in a word, to the for-

mation of character. If that is done, there would be less reason to be wary of administrative manipulation or union busting or recrimination or pressure to conform that Parker makes much of and which are discussed to a greater or lesser degree by many of our other authors.

Perhaps in a culture accustomed to judging by short-term, concrete results, what I am suggesting is too much to expect. But if institutional democracy is to become pervasive in our society, and if it is to become strong enough to withstand economic, political, and social pressures and changes, required will be an education for commitment to democratic principles carried on in the classroom, in the boardroom, on the shop floor, and in the family. It means no less than a fundamental change in our culture.



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Towards a Post-Industrial Intelligence: Gadamer and Dewey as Guides

by Arthur G. Wirth

There is general recognition that the American institutions of work and schooling are in trouble. For the past fifteen years, educational policy makers have assumed that they could cure 'productivity' problems in schools by introducing scientific-efficiency techniques from industry. In *Productive Work in Industry and Schools: Becoming Persons Again* (1983), I argued that while the educational policy makers were hell-bent on turning education into a technical production function, intelligent leaders in industry and labor were arguing that the scientific management rationale was itself the cause of productivity problems. In this paper, I want to argue that an underlying issue for both American industry and schools is what type of post-industrial intelligence will be brought to bear on the design and management of these key institutions.

For purposes of short-cut, I want to suggest that the schizophrenia present in the so-called educational reform debate provides us with two models which point to the major choices: (1) the standardized test-driven accountability model guaranteed to get quantifiable bottom-line results so that we can 'beat the Japanese,' and (2) the recent, more muted call for local school autonomy with teacher participation and initiatives.

My argument is that the first model which may be called the technocratic control model is doing us in, in both industry and schools. Since it is so well-entrenched and taken-for-granted, we need powerful insights to reveal its fatal flaws and to project ideas for alterna-

tives. I shall argue that we can get such insights from the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer and our own John Dewey; then I'll point to examples in work and education.

First, Gadamer. He is among those, like Michel Foucault, who see an underlying threat in our present historical situation, deriving from the influence of positivist science and rationality which arose from the Enlightenment. Gadamer sees modern life as one in which there is the constant threat and danger of the domination of society by technology based on positivist science, a false ideology of the expert, a manipulation of public opinion by powerful techniques, growing self-estrangement, a loss of moral and political orientation, and an undermining of the type of practical and political reason required for citizens to make responsible decisions (Gadamer, 1981). All of this in a world being transformed by the computer electronic revolution and global interdependence.

This points toward a dualist kind of society. The majority have their behaviors programmed by scientific-technocratic elites, who secure maximum efficiency over systems by the engineering model of quantifiable measurements of inputs to outputs. In primitive form, as we came into the twentieth century, it was the scientific management control model of Frederick W. Taylor. By the 1980's we already have in place the forerunner of new, more sophisticated micro-second technical control of people at work. We find a dramatic example in a transcript of a Ted Koppel television program on the monitoring of airline representatives (ABC News, 1987).

One of the agents told how she worked under a demerit system monitored by a computer. If she spends

an average of more than 109 seconds talking to a customer she gets one demerit. If she spends more than 11 seconds in between customers she gets two demerits. After 12 seconds, a light flashes on the supervisor's board who then comes in with "Anything wrong? May I help you?" Six demerits earns a warning; thirty-six, dismissal. Another agent reported the monitoring of her time between calls, when she was heard saying a swear word to herself. It was evaluated as 'evidence of a bad attitude.' Six million clerical workers are now being watched by the unblinking gaze. Another four million technical managerial people are about to be electronically evaluated in the next few years.

In schooling, we find a diluted counterpart in the accountability model of sweet reasonableness which says, "If you are a reading teacher, be kind enough to demonstrate your competence by 'showing the scores'." And not so sweetly, "And nothing else counts." In a culture enamored of quantifiable bottom line results, it is not easy to combat this reductionist model. Yet, there is something both functionally and morally wrong about it that corrupts the learning process for both students and teachers. We need to be able to articulate what it is.

Gadamer's hermeneutic philosophy helps. He shows us that the technocratic control model is based on a distorted image of who we are. In Gadamer's view, our distinctive human characteristic is that we are conversational or dialogical beings. We are 'thrown into a world' as beings with a deep need to understand and interpret our experience. This quest for understanding or meaning is our 'primordial mode of being what we most essentially are' (Gadamer, 1981). It underlies all

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human activity and it proceeds through the process of free conversation and dialogue. This reaching for understanding and the truth of things is the source of human dignity; it is our vocation, our calling as human beings. If institutions like work or school fail to support this primordial source of human strength, they weaken themselves and the people in them. But when we design institutions that honor that central characteristic, we tap the best that is in us and help people live with self-respect. Through dialogue with 'texts,' traditions, and other humans we help people to progressively extend their 'horizons of understanding' about the world and themselves (Gadamer, 1975).

Dewey argued for a democratic 'industrial intelligence' that would not only help people solve problems at work, but would help them understand the scientific principles behind the transformation of work. They had a right to understand.

Ernest Becker (1968) in *The Structure of Evil* gave us a phrase to capture the essence of Gadamer's image of humans. We are, Becker says, *homo poeta*, humans as meaning makers, constructors of understanding who can make choices based on understanding. Or, in Becker's words, as *homo poeta* our need is "to stage the world so that we can act in it creatively." Institutions which deny or impede that opportunity and treat us as *l'homme machine* need to be called what they are—'structures of evil.'

Gadamer tells us that to confront the rational control challenges of modernism, we need to understand the strands of our history since the Enlightenment—to understand what can help or hinder our human project. Two powerful contending traditions are: the tradition of democratic participation and communication, and the tradition of corporate technocratic control.

The contention becomes sharper as computer electronics multiplies the power to control. We either drift towards more technocracy, or become creative in shaping technology to serve the values of *homo poeta* and our democratic tradition.

Reference to the democratic brings me to my argument that Dewey, as well as Gadamer, can help us curb the technocratic drift. The reference to Dewey may seem strange. Was it not Dewey who wearied us to death with his assurances that science was the cure for all of our problems? It is true, of course, that Dewey was part of a generation moved by the challenge of naturalistic evolution as a counter to pre-scientific traditionalism. And Dewey shared a turn-of-the-century over-optimism regarding the positive potential of science. He did not see the full extent of the ominous linkage of science to technology. We need to remember, however, that he also deplored the perversion of science and technology to serve war and what he quaintly called 'pecuniary gain.'

My contention, however, is that Dewey's interest in science, at base, was at sharp variance with main-line positivist science, and that there is considerable overlap with Gadamer's perspective. The rich details of philosophical hermeneutics are lacking, but Dewey had the right hunch that the essence of humans doing science authentically is their acting as a dialogical community of inquirers.

In *Problems of Men*, Dewey (1946) argued that a more fundamental meaning of science transcends its technical aspects. In its broad sense, it may be seen as a moral ideal and a liberating form of social relationship. Our disillusionment with science is so great it is hard to listen to such an argument. But to clarify the idea, we may note that he made an important distinction between

what he called 'the scientific temper'—a general style of inquiry and learning, and 'scientific technique,' his term for science in its functioning in specific disciplines and in technological applications.

It was 'the scientific temper' that he turned to as a model for effective human learning and ethical guidance. In its broad sense, Dewey saw the evolutionary emergence of man's capacity to do science as exemplifying our most effective form of human learning to date.

Gadamer and Dewey made the moral case for a form of post-industrial intelligence that honors us as homo poeta, meaning makers, and honors the dialogical-inquiry style of learning that supports it.

It exemplified our capacity to free our intelligence; to extend our understanding of the world and our condition. It demonstrates, as method, that mind is not an entity, but a form of action in the world. It shows our capacity to get in touch with unsatisfying problematic situations and to create ideas as plans of action that can be tested, tried and evaluated in dialogue. The 'inherent promise' of the movement of science, Dewey said, "looks forward to a time when all individuals may share in the discoveries and thoughts of others, to the liberation and enrichment of their own experience" (Dewey, 1962). So Dewey argued for a democratic 'industrial intelligence' that would not only help people solve problems at work, but would help them understand the scientific principles behind the transformation of work. They had a right to understand (Dewey, 1940).

Beyond that, humans doing science authentically reveal the type of human relations required for creative learning. By looking at the emergence of science as an evolutionary development, it would be seen, Dewey argued, as providing an organic union between the needs of freedom and individuality on the one hand, and community and collective authority on the other. "Science," he said, "has made its way by releasing...the elements of invention and innovation, of novel creation in individuals...who freed themselves from the bonds of tradition" (Dewey, 1939). At the same time, the authority of scientific findings depends on its being collectively tested and developed and cooperatively confirmed in the deliberations of free inquiry.

These qualities of 'the scientific temper,' individuality and dialogic community were the values of a way of living—democratic living—which supported what Dewey called "the dominant vocation of all human beings...intellectual and moral growth" (Dewey, 1916). "Democracy," Dewey said in one of his most famous statements, "is a name for a life of free and enriching communion...[It] is more than a form of government, it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated living" (Dewey, 1916). The moral function of institutions was to support that form of living.

In the final analysis, institutions like schools and industries cannot become 'good work' places until they support the power of people to learn through 'conjoint communicated living' at the work site itself. That means having the chance to be engaged in authentic interpersonal relations. It requires taking seriously the need to create smallness within bigness. In Dewey's words

The final actuality is accomplished in face-to-face relationships by means of direct give and take. Logic in its fulfillment recurs to the primitive sense of the word: dialogue. Ideas which are not communicated, shared, and reborn in expression are but soliloquy, and soliloquy is but broken and imperfect thought (Dewey, 1954).

Thus, Gadamer and Dewey made the moral case for a form of post-industrial intelligence that honors us as *homo poeta*, meaning makers, and honors the dialogical-inquiry style of learning that supports it.

Some leaders of labor and industry are calling for the recasting of work in schools along principles of the democratic socio-technical model.

We are fortunate, however, that beyond the moral case, there is a practical functional reason for turning toward the dialogical inquiry mode of learning and working. In the words of maverick economist, Hazel Henderson (1977), "For the first time in history morality has become pragmatic." We have entered a new era in human experience—an era that Emery and Trist, in *Towards a Social Ecology*, call an era of turbulent change. Turbulent change is change that is rapid and unpredictable. It is present in the great challenges we face at the close of this century: the electronic computer revolution, competition in the one world market, ecological damage to natural and social systems, the diminution of our power as we have become the world's greatest debtor nation, and our condition as a shrinking white minority in a growing majority of impoverished people of color determined to take control of their own destiny and to free themselves from the ruling elites with whom we often are allied.

In U.S. industry, able people in labor and management who are engaged in work reform recognize that turbulent change requires tapping the brains of people at work. To cope with the new reality requires humans who are learning at their best with insight, understanding and eventually with moral sen-

sitivity. (In Norway, for example, a 1977 law requires full consultation between management and labor on the human consequences of new technology before it is introduced (Norman, 1981).) We crush this capacity for shared reflection by technocratic control models which, in Gadamer's view, "undermine the type of practical and political reason required for citizens to make responsible decisions" (Gadamer, 1981).

In *Productive Work in Industry and Schools* (1983), I reported on the emerging theory of work which challenges the manipulative scientific management model: democratic socio-technical work theory. Its spokesmen charge the mainline model with being guilty of 'the technological fix' error: the tendency to assume that all problems will yield to expert-designed technical solutions. By ignoring the socio dimension, which refers to the communicative, creative capacities of people—the mainline model denies us access to the distinctive human strength we need to confront turbulent change.

Some leaders of labor and industry are calling for the recasting of work in schools along principles of the democratic socio-technical model. A major formal effort along those lines is now under way in the disaster area of Detroit schools. Such a liberalizing form of education can be appropriate for meeting turbulent change because it requires taking seriously both sides of the hyphen—the technical and the 'socio'—skill and conceptual learning, and personal involvement and moral sensitivity.

Teachers cannot model that kind of learning if they and their students are reduced to giving true and false answers. This trivializing of learning kills their creativity and capacity for constructing understanding and meaning.

So where does that leave us as we get ready to decide what kind of people we want to be for entering the third millennium? We are a people with a divided soul—pulled sharply by both the bureaucratic-technocratic control model and by values of a humane democratic tradition. The conflict will touch us at many points. It already is

present in a great educational debate now shaping up for the 1990s: which set of values will guide use of the powerful tool of computer-assisted instruction?

The Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) in its important 1988 report *Technology and the American Economic Transition* (1988) is recommending a major research effort to explore how the power of computer enhanced instruction might help us become more effective with stubborn problems of skill and conceptual training—especially with low performing students. It sees two major policy choices emerging. One, which it warns against, is to arm for a uniform national curriculum and testing system to which teachers everywhere will be made accountable. A major computer company is now moving to what could become statewide or even nationwide main frames through which uniform instructional material could be piped. Electronic monitoring of scores could 'keep book' on teachers and schools everywhere.

An alternative proposal renounces the illusion of 'the one right way.'

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- Apple, Inc., for example, in anticipating the near universal availability of computers ten years from now, has created 'computer-saturated' classrooms in seven different school communities throughout the U.S., e.g., a Black urban school in Memphis, a rural school in Minnesota, and a Cupertino, California school in Silicon Valley. Students and teachers are provided with individual Macintosh computers at home as well as school. Apple operates on the assumption that each school culture is different, and that teachers in each setting should be free to experiment with usages to help meet their own educational goals. In those seven different schools, seven different strategies and designs are emerging. I could feel excitement and commitment in the setting at West High School in Columbus, Ohio, which I visited.
- We see in this issue another version of the two models of school reform that we began with: standardized technocratic accountability versus local school autonomy with teacher participation, dialogue and initiative. Strong forces push us toward creating new forms of 'structures of evil.' We also can get glimpses of a post-industrial intelligence, informed by insights like those of Gadamer and Dewey, which could challenge the presently dominant technocratic control model. It would be a model of 'good work' for industries and schools that would be functionally appropriate for meeting the order of turbulent change. It would be morally right in that it would be congruent with the values of a high democratic culture and our deep personal needs as homo poeta.
- What are the chances? Michael Harrington in (1983) *Politics at God's Funeral* might be right: "If one were to calculate odds, the chances are that the dominant consciousness of the next historic era will be technocratic, elitist and manipulative." But because we are *homo poeta*, our task is not to fixate on what are the chances? Our task is to ask if we are engaged in understanding what must be done, and working to secure it. We will be acting then as *homo viator*, people on the way—on the way to retaining our humanity in a fearsomely new post-industrial electronic era.
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What Education Can Learn from Industry

by Irving Bluestone

A few years ago, I was invited by the superintendent of schools in an urban center to meet with and address the school system's administrative staff. The purpose of the day-long staff meeting was to discuss the issue of school system governance and explore ways to improve the quality of the education program. I am not a trained educator and certainly not an expert in the field of education. My task was to describe the concept of and the ongoing activities in participatory management and employee involvement in decision making that are being introduced in the field of labor-management relations in the private sector, and to relate these developments to similar possibilities in the K through 12 educational system. The audience listened politely and with apparent interest to my discourse. Then came the customary question and answer session. Immediately, one of the staff rose and admonished me: "Your remarks are interesting, but indicate you really do not appreciate the most important problem we face in maintaining quality in education." "Well," I replied, "I must admit I am not involved directly in the school system. What, indeed, is the most urgent problem as you see it?" The prompt and, to me, startling reply was: "Getting our teachers to abide by a proper dress code!" Honestly, this is a true story!

Assuredly, the 'dress code' remark does not reflect the sentiment of many, if, indeed, any, in the administrative offices of our educational system. It appears to me, however, to impart a mental attitude reminiscent of Frederic Taylor's concept of 'scientific management,' in this case applied to profes-

sional people rather than to production employees. The precepts of wise, competent, effective human resource management, which are increasingly being given recognition in the industrialized private sector of the nation's economy, are surely equally and vitally applicable in the inter-relationship between administrators and teachers in the public schools, colleges, and universities. Underlying these new developments in labor/management relations is a wider understanding that authoritarian management is counterproductive in our fast changing world, and that affording wide-ranging opportunities for employees to utilize their knowledge, experience, intelligence, training, and creativity in helping to manage the work place, and even the enterprise, is essential to the successful fulfillment of an organization's purpose and goals. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, in its 1986 report, called for a "profession of well-educated teachers prepared to assume new powers and responsibilities to redesign schools for the future." Inherent in this admonition is that teachers in their professional capacity are to assume a meaningful role in helping to set policy for and to reconstruct public education, just as in the private industrial sector employees are being involved in deciding the methods, means and processes of manufacture and/or providing service and even are beginning to participate significantly in decisions which commonly have been the sole domain of management.

It is well known that, over many decades, school systems, with rare exception, have been managed in the traditional authoritarian style. Despite the greater freedom enjoyed by the teacher in the classroom, as compared with the blue collar worker, the general precepts of 'scientific management' (which, if I

may add, is neither scientific nor good management) have dominated the boss-employee relationship in the schools just as it has in the factories. This, moreover, despite the fact that 'scientific management' as prescribed by Taylor was designed primarily to maintain managerial control over the blue collar worker and not necessarily the technician or professional. And, yet, it must certainly be recognized and accepted that current trends toward affording decision-making authority to the factory or clerical employees are even more applicable to the trained, certificated professional. It seems only natural, even compelling, therefore, that teachers should be able to exercise managerial judgment in improving the quality of their school, not only in the act of teaching, but also in the determination of a host of other facets of the educational system.

In many instances, the positive results in enhanced job satisfaction, improved quality and efficiency, reduced cost and increased competitiveness have been nothing short of remarkable.

In the private sector in recent years, examples abound of employee involvement processes which are planned, designed and implemented jointly by management and the union. The types

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of activities in which employees make or help make decisions cover a wide range of subjects which in the past have been guarded by management as its sole prerogative to determine. In many instances, the positive results in enhanced job satisfaction, improved quality and efficiency, reduced cost and increased competitiveness have been nothing short of remarkable. The democratization process in the workplace represents a change in the culture of the organization which, over time and in the spirit of labor/management joint effort, becomes institutionalized.

Democratization falls essentially into two categories of participation in decision making by employees. One may properly be described as 'managing the workplace'; the other as 'managing the enterprise.' The introduction of the participatory process is gradual but continuous, expanding into an ever larger arena of activities as successful involvement in one area of decision-making leads to similar involvement in other areas.

A mere listing of the various activities falling within the category of 'managing the job' as they relate to the manufacturing sector serves to describe this democratization process. In its initial stages, employee work groups established jointly by the union and the management will usually tackle problems relating to basic 'creature comforts,' determining among themselves the issues to discuss, prioritizing them and moving to solve them. Before long, they become involved in issues that have to do with methods and processes of performing tasks, with emphasis on 'working smarter,' keying in on quality, efficiency and ease of performance. The production issues with which they deal provide a blueprint of the extent to which involvement in the decision-making process moves into areas historically reserved for management's sole discretion. They will receive information concerning the firm and its operations which previously was given only to supervision. They will become involved in activities such as: production scheduling, product routing, inventory maintenance, material handling, selection and use of tools, design of tools, preventive maintenance, job layout and sequence of

operations, inspection of incoming materials, quality maintenance, job redesign, health and safety issues, and other subjects directly related to the methods, means and processes of production.

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The aspects of 'managing the job' in the industrialized sector of the economy have their counterparts in the human resource relationships at the school. Just as workers in the private sector are insisting through their unions in exercising a more meaningful role in management of their workplace, so are teachers demanding a more substantial voice in the management of their schools. While teachers generally may derive satisfaction from their positive influence over the day-to-day teaching process in the classroom (as compared with the factory worker who, under the precepts of 'scientific management,' has little freedom to determine how to perform the job and is treated more as an adjunct to the tool), they have little or no input or control over other significant aspects of 'managing the job.' They seldom, if at all, participate significantly in determining curriculum. Decisions regarding student rights, grading policies, adoption of textbooks, teaching assignments, assignment of students to classes, rules governing student discipline, selection of in-service

staff, format of faculty meetings, procedures for teacher evaluation, etc., remain essentially and, for the most part, exclusively the prerogative of the administration. A labor/management jointly conceived and implemented system of teacher involvement in these kinds of administrative functions would serve to heighten morale and enhance the quality and effectiveness of the educational system just as it serves similar purposes in the private sector when employees are afforded the opportunity to use their knowledge, experience, creativity and intelligence as direct participants in the decision-making process.

Beyond those subjects which relate directly to work place issues, it is interesting to note that the concept of jointness in decision making is, in more advanced organizational cultures, being applied to workplace issues which are more closely defined with the task of 'managing the enterprise' than simply 'managing the job.' For example, employees and their unions are becoming involved in decisions concerning such matters as: the introduction of new technology and equipment, transfers and job assignments, selection of 'facilitators' whose functions include working closely with employee participation groups (EPG), overtime scheduling and maintenance of records to insure equalization in overtime assignments, vacation scheduling, environmental issues, energy saving, matters involving unwarranted absenteeism, and plant layout.

In like fashion and at this level of administration, the teacher involvement process should open opportunities for participation in the determination of class size, creation of an evaluation procedure for certificated employees, establishment of procedures for evaluating their peers for promotion positions and in the selection process, the creation and allocation of staff development funds, school budget items, such as the allocation of funds as between overhead and classroom expenditures, the establishment of school policy, and problems concerning building maintenance, to name a few.

A fascinating, innovative initiative is taking shape in some few organizations in the private sector which extends

even into joint decision making as to matters that involve 'managing the enterprise' at the top most level of the firm. There are several instances in which one or more union representatives serve on the Board of Directors, participating in all major decisions of the firm. And there exist examples of union involvement, without necessarily serving on the Board of Directors, in which people designated by the union participate with top-level management in making vital decisions such as: managing capital spending on the plant and its equipment, planning and designing the organizational structure of new or remodeled facilities, determining marketing policies, purchasing supplies, preparing contract bids, contacting customers, managing budgets, improving community relations, outsourcing products, selecting management personnel, and even developing new products and new markets.

In an educational system, similar participation by teachers and their representatives in making top-level decisions would have the virtue of input by those with hands-on professional experience and the advantage of teacher acceptance of responsibility in helping to determine how the educational system operates. This measure of participation would require vastly expanded sharing of vital information and a broad-gauged system of communication. The development of a streamlined administrative hierarchy from the superintendent of education to the school principals; development of a network of information exchange among the schools in the same and other districts (for instance, among primary and

secondary school teachers); and development of special roles of leadership for selected teachers to manage self-development workshops are just a few of the joint labor/management undertakings which would advance the cause of quality education. Then, of course, direct input in the allocation of school system funds in order, to use an old cliché, to get more bang for the buck represents further fulfillment of the democratizing process at the various levels of the educational system.

Experience has proven that top-level commitment to the process by the union and the school system administration must be visible and tangible. Mere rhetoric is inadequate to the basic purpose.

Certain caveats are in order as the concept of jointness and involvement takes shape and substance. Experience has proven that top-level commitment to the process by the union and the school system administration must be visible and tangible. Mere rhetoric is inadequate to the basic purpose. There

must be developed a climate of trust between the administrators and the teachers, together with their representatives, that overrides any attempt at gimmickry or manipulation. And fundamental to the introduction and implementation of the participative process is, in all the activities, the existence of a sincere devotion to the democratic values inherent in the activity of 'working together.'

There is no universal, foolproof, top-down blueprint which will formalize procedure, structure, and content. However, in its essence, 'working together' requires the voluntary empowerment of teachers in areas of decision making which have normally been reserved exclusively for the administrator role without the opportunity for meaningful involvement by the employees who are directly or indirectly affected by the ultimate decisions. It is proving its value in the private sector among employees who do not hold advanced degrees or professional status. More reason to observe that its success is even more likely when the very qualities required of the participative process reside so markedly among the cadre of trained, professional teachers.

The choice is clear. Either continue to manage our educational systems, adhering to the traditional authoritarian mode, or move to a higher level of partnership in education with shared objectives aimed at better quality, a deeper sense of job satisfaction and, in the final analysis, a superior education for the children to the benefit of the community and the nation.



Institutional Democracy in Schools

by *Mary Anne Raywid*

Different decades have related democracy to education in quite different ways. At various times, we have emphasized democracy within the classroom for students (from the early century into the 1940s with Progressive Education), democracy within the school for students (in the 1960s), and democracy for communities in relation to schools (also in the 1960s). Currently, attention seems focused on democracy for parents, community, and teachers, but in rather different ways and under several different auspices. This article features present applications, but a bit of the history is also examined as it becomes relevant to illuminating how democracy is being pressed today, for and by community, parents and teachers.

One way to see the Excellence Movement of the last decade, of course, is as a re-assertion of the rights of the citizenry at large to control public education. The events constituting the movement, as well as its rhetoric, express the stake of the community (both local and national) in the success of education. In state after state, legislatures and governors have simply taken leadership away from educators and school officials. They have done so with laws imposing new curricula, accountability measures, discipline and attendance policies, etc. Those aware of the long-felt concerns about democracy's viability within the expert society, and those who have feared the triumph of the technocracy, have strongly re-asserted the right of political leaders to intervene and assume control of public schools. In state after state, they have thus imposed a new balance (or reversed

the imbalance, as some would say) between professional and lay control of this particular public institution.

A number of states have now adopted explicit provisions to the effect that they will take over 'academically bankrupt' school districts, removing them from local control altogether. One way to understand the Excellence Movement is to say that in metaphorical terms this is actually what it has sought to do regarding most districts—albeit indirectly—in perhaps most states. As the rhetoric shows, there have been two reasons. One is a very real and substantial concern about the quality of education. But a second has been about the right of the public, as opposed to the professionals, to run public institutions.

The idea of choice among public schools is not a new one, but it is only within the past decade that it has come to be taken very seriously by large numbers as a way to articulate school systems.

The assertion of democracy for parents, as contrasted with democracy for the citizenry, generally has taken quite different form. Although some still seek fuller representation in the councils where school policy is set, others have despaired of the possibility that involvement and participation can

get very far and have turned to other means instead. One feature of the site management proposal to be discussed below is that all schools have School Advisory Councils which include parent representatives. Some envision such an arrangement as a democratization of the policy process, while others are convinced that the Councils themselves may remain peripheral to the major decisions, with trivialized agendas, and involvement without real influence.

This had led a number of people to look instead to quite a different sort of way to re-assert democracy for parents and to allocate authority appropriately between parents and school officials. This is the proposal that public schools diversify and that families be given the right to choose among them. This way, advocates claim, the advantages of professional judgment and insight can be retained, while acknowledging appropriate parent prerogatives as well (Raywid, 1987).

The idea of choice among public schools is not a new one, but it is only within the past decade that it has come to be taken very seriously by large numbers as a way to articulate school systems. Last year's Gallup Poll showed that 71% of those questioned believe public school parents should be able to choose their children's schools (Gallup & Clark, 1987). Indeed, there was more agreement as to the desirability of this arrangement than there was on anything else the pollsters asked about schools! Thus, choice now appears a widely accepted means of democratizing school control. Approximately half the states now have choice provisions of one kind or another, and they are under consideration in other states as well (Nathan, 1988).

The extent of both of these departures from traditional arrangements—the heightened state control, and the

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new choice opportunities—suggest considerable dissatisfaction with the way in which schools are externally controlled and rendered accountable to their publics. These certainly are moves representing one sort of institutional democratization attempt.

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But, perhaps the most novel developments with respect to institutional democracy for schools are taking place within them. These relate to the insistence that schools need 'restructuring' and that teachers must be 'empowered.' Often (but not always) asserted in tandem, both are extraordinary sorts of proposals. The demand that schools be restructured is frequently a demand that we start all over with respect to organizing them, changing, for example such fundamental 'givens' as the way youngsters are grouped into grades, the way teachers work and are assigned, and the way subject matter and time are apportioned. But at least equally often, the demand that schools be restructured is a demand for a re-distribution of school authority, so that individual schools have more control over the instruction offered within them and a wider number of individuals share in exercising that control. Only two models for accomplishing this purpose have so far been elaborated. One is

school-based or site management; the other is the choice arrangement.

The site management proposal seeks to shift power (if not always authority) from state and district levels to individual schools. Within the school, a School Advisory Council deliberates school policy. Its members include teachers, parents, and sometimes other community members, as well as students. Certainly, the idea has the democratic flavor of returning power to its grass roots, and it reflects the participatory democrat's conviction that those to be affected by a decision should participate in shaping it.

'Restructuring' is the dominant theme of the current phase of the reform movement, and site management is perhaps its most popular and dramatic embodiment. We hear exciting reports of what is happening in Dade County and Rochester and Toledo and Hammond, Indiana. It remains to be seen, however, just how much authority will devolve to individual schools (or how much power district officials are willing to delegate to them), and the extent to which newly acquired power and authority will actually be shared. A lot hinges on the School Advisory Councils, the way they are constituted, and the details of their role. Where they are elected bodies involving teachers and parents, and are responsible for policy decisions including the naming of the principal, those interested in institutional democracy might find much to celebrate. On the other hand, where School Advisory Councils are appointed by the principal, sit at his/her pleasure, and are advisory only, institutional democracy advocates may be very disappointed in the outcomes (Raywid, 1988).

The choice idea holds promise, but it is not a 'fail-safe' proposal either. (Would that there were one!) Certainly, the opportunity to choose one's school—and the opportunity to leave one—represents substantial *prima facie* empowerment for parents and students, and for teachers as well in districts where they, too, have such power. Moreover, choice entails school-to-school diversification, and the sustenance of uniqueness requires decentralization of authority. Furthermore, the need to establish unique programs calls for the involvement of

teachers in program design and implementation.

But not all choice plans have honored these logical necessities. For instance, some have overlooked diversification and have been no more than 'open enrollment' plans—denying real choice, in effect, by failing to provide genuine alternatives among which to choose. Others have attempted to diversify but have done so by imposing district-designed programs on unwilling schools and teachers. So with the choice plan, as with the site management plan, whether it will mean an enhancement of institutional democracy depends finally on the implementation details.

There is currently a great deal of talk about 'teacher empowerment' and this is perhaps the most dramatic current move toward institutional democracy.

There is currently a great deal of talk about 'teacher empowerment' and this is perhaps the most dramatic current move toward institutional democracy. But it is interestingly devoid of assertions of that connection. The need to empower teachers is not being argued in the name of democratizing the workplace—but rather to the purpose of enhancing the general organizational effectiveness of schools, or more specifically of increasing teacher efficacy and thus student accomplishment (Conley et al., 1988; Maeroff, 1988; Rosenholtz, 1987). The case is being made, then, primarily on pragmatic grounds, not grounds of principle. For our time, at least, perhaps it will prove a stronger, more persuasive case.

An argument for teacher empowerment constructed from principle would appear a rather strange anomaly for today—and this for several reasons. In

the first place, little attention has ever been paid to institutional democracy for teachers. The matter was apparently settled in the 19th century with the adoption of the business model for running schools; just as the boss has the right to run his/her business, the administrator acquired the right to run the school. The talk of 'industrial democracy' in the early 20th century seems to have had little impact on within-school governance. Indeed, even John Dewey, who was an active member of the League for Industrial Democracy, seems barely to have addressed its implications for schools. His sole direct discussion of the matter, "Democracy and Educational Administration," did not appear until 1937. In it, he noted that democracy for students seemed to have made considerably more progress than democracy for the teaching staff (Dewey, 1971). And, although there was some subsequent interest in democratizing the practice of school administration (largely in the 1940s and 1950s), it was generally understood that this should involve administrator comportment and delegation, not actual changes in the locus of authority (Hoy & Miskel, 1987).

So we have never had a tradition of applying the ideas of institutional democracy to teachers. But even had we had one in the past, the 1980s have hardly been an era of democratization for anyone. (Of course, there are those who would insist that the deregulation, re-assertion of employer rights and expansion of the prerogatives of the powerful do indeed represent democratization. Obviously, a somewhat different conception of democracy is represented here.) Those who can remember the 1960s must see the two ensuing decades as a period of retreat from the democratic emphases of that era—the protests and revolts and the demands for empowerment, the talk of participatory democracy, and the search for new social forms free from the rigidity and oppression of the old ones. Such sentiments were often addressed explicitly at schools, and they were paralleled and strengthened by the broader civil rights thrust in government and society. The result was that by the end of the decade, even many of those schools with little direct sympathy for participatory

democracy had taken a more empathetic look at the plight of their students and responded with new found concern and compassion. Civil rights legislation had, of course, forced some of this by emphasizing the entitlements of specific groups— racial minorities, women, the handicapped. And it was a period when we were generally forced to become much more conscious of the rights of individuals and groups—as underscored by legislatures and courts as well as by philosophers, social theorists, and leaders.

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The tide turned in the 1970s, however, and students have fared less well for more than a decade now. There are currently few indications of a reversal in the offing that would enhance institutional democracy from their perspective. Indeed, current protagonists in the ongoing educational debate who agree on little else often share the conviction that the empowering of students in the 1960s and the 'democratization' of the curriculum permitting them to choose their own, were the precursors to serious difficulties. If so, we have now amended the situation with many states not only curtailing the number of electives, but also increasing the total number of courses required for graduation. New dress and attendance and discipline codes have also led to a narrowing of the range of all kinds of choices for youngsters in schools. And while school officials and legislatures narrowed the scope of student rights and prerogatives, the courts sustained and legitimized such moves.

A succession of cases has re-asserted the role of schools in exercising authority over the young and in viewing students as charges to be imbued with 'the shared values of a civilized social order,' rather than as young citizens enjoying constitutional rights and protections. (The phrase is that of Justice Byron White in his opinion on one of the more recent and important such cases, *Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier*, 1988.) And even though they may deplore the Excellence Movement's 'get tough' stance, many educators share the idea that the rights orientation has been ill-advised for handling the student-school relation, and welcome a return to a greater emphasis on student responsibilities than on their rights (Grant, 1981).

This is the orientation which began to appear prevalent as of the mid 1970s and it continues today. There have been voices, of course, that would challenge it, but in recent decades, they have not often prevailed in the setting of education policy. Nevertheless, their role in maintaining the theme of institutional democracy for schools has been important. Two such leaders are represented in this issue of *Thresholds*. Arthur Wirth is widely recognized as the nation's most sustained and prolific contributor to the cause of workplace democracy for educators (1983; 1988), and its challenge has been a recurring focus of Arthur Brown as well (1979; 1980). At least one scholar, George Wood, is also working even more directly to empower teachers and students, through an active Institute for Democracy in Education he has established at Ohio University. Moreover, positions and projects pursued by the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers have involved both of these organizations quite directly in efforts to restructure schools and to have teachers share leadership within them—a significant departure from the industrial union model which both seem to have pursued in the recent past. Thus, despite the fact that institutional democracy concerns have claimed little direct mention in the educational debates of recent years, they have not been missing. It is quite possible that they are about to assume increasing prominence as we hear fresh proposals for some of the arrange-

ments institutional democracy would recommend.

We in education have a habit of returning to earlier arrangements and practices years later, and re-inventing them in the name of new goals and concerns. Thus, we have just re-summoned 'houses' or 'schools within schools' as ways to personalize school, or ways to generate innovation, and we are even re-discovering interest and motivation as the key to greater educational accomplishment—even though we are likely to refer to it instead as 'engagement.' Skeptics dismiss such revisitings as notions tried, failed, and hence doomed. But a proposal's chances for success may improve when suffused with new and different purposes, and placed in a new temporal and cultural context, and perhaps even endowed with a bit of new knowledge.

The term 'industrial democracy' is rarely heard today. Yet one hears much of 'restructuring' and 'teacher empowerment' and 'participatory decisionmaking' and 'decentralization' and 'school-based management.' Although not all the advocates of each of these proposals embrace the goals of industrial or institutional democracy, some apparently do. While examination of the current scene probably would not sustain Carl Becker's optimism that history marks the evolutionary expansion of democracy, there is certainly evidence of a current press in schools for arrangements and practices that would accord with the development of institutional democracy there.

As the foregoing also suggests, there is evidence of cycles or pendular swings in educational fashion such that the strong humanistic impulses of one

period are likely to be overwhelmed if not explicitly repudiated and reversed by the next. We seem to move back and forth between a product or outcomes focus and a process preoccupation concerned with the quality of the arrangements and practices constituting school. Institutional democracy has been more likely to get attention in the latter, process periods. Yet, as I have tried to show, it has recently proved of interest, even during the current decade's intense product orientation, as a way to enhance product quality. Just possibly, the developments mentioned here may yield a renewed interest in process, where the ideas of teacher empowerment and industrial democracy are viewed desirable in their own right, not simply as means to other ends.

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What's Missing from this Picture?: Defining a Legitimate Role for Students as Partners in Education Reform*

by Terry Mazany

EEmbedded within education-driven school reform is an inherent contradiction that renders many such efforts ineffective and, in fact, may prevent the achievement of the fundamental goals of educational improvement and human enrichment. On the one hand, education reform has borrowed the postulate that "persons affected by a decision should have input into that decision." On the other hand, the prevalent bias in our traditional approach to education is to define students as passive receivers of knowledge. Both views cannot co-exist. If education reform is to succeed, our definition of the role of the student in the education process must change at the onset of reform.

A More Complete Definition of Education Reform

A major subset of approaches to education reform involves the structural redesign of organizational management processes. Current models have either built on pioneering work in business or government, or they represent cases of independent, but parallel invention. All of these models can be classified according to three basic dimensions:

- **Empowerment.** Delegating decision making authority to the school, principal, the teachers, or some other position. Empowerment represents a

vertical push of decision making downward in the organization.

- **Shared Decision Making.** Opening channels for involvement in decision making outward or horizontally within the organization. Shared decision making implies increasing access to and input in decision making, but not a sharing or delegating of the authority to make decisions.
- **Planning.** A proactive response to change which involves the need to restructure and redefine instructional time to accommodate this activity—otherwise this activity is carried out by staff offices.

Each component can and has been instituted independent of the others, but all three components must be incorporated in order to realize the full measure of potential benefits of reform.

Students as Legitimate Stakeholders

Proceeding from the assumption that "persons affected by a decision must have input into that decision," the basic design imperatives for education reform require revision. An analysis of the school as the basic unit of change indicates the existence of at least five primary stakeholders: students, parents/community, non-instructional staff, instructional staff, administration.

The optimal design of school reform would include all five stakeholders in the basic partnership for reform.

The inclusion of teachers in reform projects is a natural first step, and may be an essential step prior to the inclusion of the other stakeholders. Student involvement, on the other hand, is more problematical. First, teachers must experience sufficient control over their work to feel secure and empowered to initiate change in the classroom. Second, parents must be informed and supportive of new approaches to classroom learning and management practices.

In addition, specific mindsets defining students in our schools and society may need to be changed. These mindsets include the belief that students are not interested in learning, that students must be controlled, and that student initiated ideas are a challenge to adult authority and infallibility (leading to a loss of control and the unraveling of the entire social framework on which a school depends—thus student involvement will be seen by some as a very high risk proposition).

Student Rights in the Design of Educational Reform

If participants in a reform project determine initially that their efforts will be enhanced by student involvement, the design of that involvement requires serious consideration to insure that the students can successfully carry out their roles in the project. It is not sufficient to grant students rights to membership in the reform process; they must be accorded the full set of rights granted the

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other stakeholders. Namely, the right of representation, the right of assembly, the right of veto, and the right to mutual respect.

Students must have the right to select their own representatives, those representatives must have the right to meet with their constituents, and they must have veto rights equal to the other parties in the shared decision making process. Finally, they must be accorded equal respect by virtue of being fellow human beings, and not treated as second class citizens whose voices do not count because they are 'kids' or 'there to learn, and not to tell adults what to do.'

The involvement of students in a project also requires support from adult participants in terms of both patience and the freedom to fail. Students, accustomed to being controlled, will require months—if not years—to assert self-control. As they progress through this transition, they will make mistakes. The adults play a critical role in supporting mistake making and the ability to learn from mistakes.

Redefining Student Leadership

Education reform and student participation in that reform is hindered by a traditional view of leadership. This model defines the ideal leader as either a paternalistic, take charge person who has all the answers and is infallible, or as a maternal guardian who protects but creates dependency. These models can account for a significant proportion of the leadership behavior displayed by some classroom teachers and school principals. The negative consequences of these styles are that they create dependency and disempower those being led. Followers of this leader assume no responsibility for the actions and outcomes in their lives.

Over the past two decades, a new model of leadership has emerged within our society and particularly within the context of participative management. This model is better suited for participatory approaches to decision making, and is, in fact, essential for the

successful institutionalization of participative management. This 'empowering leader' is one who follows the Lao Tzu dictum, "The best of all leaders is the one who helps people so that eventually they don't need him." The very nature of shared decision making demands this style of leadership, and the goals of education improvement and human enrichment can best be furthered in this manner.

What Does this Legitimate Role Look Like?

The legitimization of the role of students as partners in education reform requires both the commitment to grant students the same rights accorded to the other partners, and the initiation of support practices within the schools to guarantee these rights. These supportive practices include:

- the school's commitment to student leadership and rights as a priority—this translates into recruiting the best teachers for sponsorship, gaining school-wide support for this activity from the entire faculty, converting student government into a regularly scheduled class, and supplying student government with the resources required to bring about school improvement;
- a curriculum for all students which includes development of the qualities of good student leadership and representation;
- student government practices based on win/win negotiation techniques and consensus building, instead of the win/lose strategies of parliamentary procedure;
- the use of cooperative learning strategies in the classroom;

- skills training in the homeroom setting for conflict resolution, facilitation, effective meetings, problem solving, consensus, and presentation techniques;
- involvement of the parents of student leaders so that support for these changes and activities is better understood and broadened.

The Bottom Line: Social and Human Enrichment

Three primary benefits emerge from this restructuring of the process of education reform. First, the education process for the students is enriched, and they are better able to acquire increased self-esteem and an attitude of empowerment. Second, this approach creates a better fit between the student and the society and the work he or she will undertake in the future. Finally, this approach affords a better opportunity for developing leadership capable of meeting the challenges of the future.

Experience in the private and public sectors can bring clarity to the means and ends of education reform. A basic policy goal for worker involvement has been the enhancement of human dignity and the enrichment of society by reconciling the practices of the workplace with the values of our democracy.

Experience has shown that change reaching into the work site requires at least five to ten years of an organization's involvement. We in education cannot afford to replicate models that require that many years for the impact to be felt in the classroom. Our challenge is to experiment with the known and take risks with the unknown to pioneer reform that reaches directly into the classroom and empowers young people so that they become true partners in their education.



Democracy in the University

by Ernst Benjamin

The fabled 'community of scholars' joining students and faculty in learning through cooperative inquiry and the free communication of ideas exemplifies the identity of democracy and education. The contemporary academic community often seems to exemplify the contradictions, principled as well as practical, between democracy and education. Yet, the essential commitment to free and cooperative learning in academe continues. It is embodied in and recurrently enhanced through procedures for institutional governance which provide substantially greater democratic participation and representation than characterize corporations, bureaucracies, or most large voluntary associations.

The educational mission of the university constrains its democratic governance in two respects. The governing boards reasonably claim 'final institutional authority' from their (often democratic) representation of the external publics, associations, and sustainers who define the educational purposes of the institution. The faculty reasonably claim "primary responsibility for such fundamental areas as curriculum, subject matter and methods of instruction, research faculty status, and those aspects of student life which relate to the educational process." The faculty premise their claim on the grounds of knowledge and experience which lay boards and students lack.

The academic administration is responsible not only for the effective implementation of board and faculty policies, but for "the maintenance of existing institutional resources and the creation of new resources." As a practi-

cal consequence, the administration increasingly seeks to achieve managerial control of policy direction to assure that its responsibilities will not exceed its capacity.

In 1966, following the massive postwar expansion of higher education, which had substantially strengthened respect for academic values and academics themselves, these respective claims were formally recognized, as quoted above, by the American Association of University Professors, the Association of Governing Boards and the American Council on Education (AAUP, 1984). This information delineated a constitutional framework primarily allocating responsibilities between board, faculty and president but envisioned a broader concept of cooperative participation in university affairs:

The variety and complexity of the tasks performed by institutions of higher education produce an inescapable interdependence among governing board, administration, faculty, students and others. The relationship calls for adequate communication among these components, and full opportunity for appropriate joint planning and effort.

The Statement also more specifically acknowledged the benefits of "student participation within the limits of attainable effectiveness," but left detailed delineation of student rights and responsibilities to a subsequent document to be formulated with student participation. The student rebellion which emerged at this time, and which also reflected in substantial part the effects of massive expansion of enrollments, was the first of a series of events which have substantially impaired the authority of the faculty as defined in the 1966 Statement.

The students did succeed in substantially reducing university oversight of student personal life and conduct. They also achieved greater participation in some areas of academic decision-making through student evaluation of teaching, participation on some departmental, college and university-wide committees and councils, and enhanced influence on the formulation and application of rules of student academic conduct.

This enhanced participation in decision-making, by relatively small numbers of students, diminished the influence of faculty and enhanced that of administrators who could more easily legitimate rejection of faculty views as either opposed to students or, conversely but not infrequently, tainted by students—as in "sure that's what the committee voted, but the committee was half students so what would you expect." Students, with faculty allies, were seemingly most academically effective in curricular reform where distribution requirements were minimized and electives expanded and revised for 'relevance.'

After the rebellion, economic constraint and political reaction have shaped the university, especially curriculum, in ways the student rebellion neither foresaw nor desired. Prior to the fiscal constraints of the 70s, students sought socially relevant and humane studies; thereafter, marketable skills. Arts curricula and faculty have been widely superseded by vocational curricula and faculty. This shift was not merely the product of economic constraint, but of government policy which replaced social expenditures (and jobs) with private sector expenditures (and jobs).

These political and economic forces have strengthened university management, which argues the need for accommodation, and weakened faculty

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control of a curriculum which is increasingly driven by student demand. Moreover, many of the faculty employed to teach vocationally oriented programs have less interest in university affairs and, advantaged by their current marketability, less concern than the dwindling liberal arts faculty for governing the allocation of scarce academic resources.

Economic constraint has further enhanced the role of academic administration because university authority is allocated toward the faculty in academic matters and the administration in budget matters which tend to color all decisions as economic constraint increases. Ironically, the continuing student and public dissatisfaction with undergraduate education furthers this administration dominance. The alleged decline in student learning, fostered by massive enrollments and broader participation, then compounded by the shift in public funding from four-year undergraduate education to two-year and graduate education, then exacerbated by increasing reliance on part-time faculty to teach part-time students a partially collegiate curriculum, has been neatly channeled into demands for increased faculty teaching, accountability, and productivity.

Current prospects for new resources to meet 'the challenge of competitiveness' may worsen the situation by intensifying the shift toward vocational education and applied research which lessen the university commitment to fundamental educational values and diminish the role of faculty as proponents of these values. Universities may increasingly become managed bureaucracies of instructors and technicians rather than collegial communities of scholars.

Nearly a third of university faculty have responded by seeking the industrial democracy of trade union rep-

resentation to support, or, in extreme instances, to replace traditional procedures for shared governance. Legal obstacles have curtailed the spread of faculty bargaining in the private sector and many public jurisdictions. Many faculty have also rejected bargaining as unprofessional and preferred to rely on the market and traditional governance, though no faculty, having once achieved bargaining, has voluntarily abandoned it.

...university governance may suggest a practical model for other enterprises, especially those with large staffs of professional, technical or experientially skilled employees.

The increasing managerialism of university administration has also led to increased bargaining by other university employees; not only among blue collar employees, but also technical, administrative and clerical personnel. Although clerical unions at Yale and Harvard, as well as most faculty representatives, have advocated bargaining as a mechanism for increased participation in university affairs, it has primarily served to protect individual rights through grievance procedures and to secure economic protection; not, substantially, to enhance policy participation.

Despite these many short-term problems, faculty participation in

university governance through committees, which not only recommend but often decide academic program and personnel, continues and represents a unique form of employee participation in institutional governance. The fact that the system persists in spite of increasing size, complexity, external dependence and, even, enhanced participation by non-faculty groups, suggests that broad democratic involvement in policy formulation and implementation can be sustained even in large, complex organizations.

The faculty share in university governance does not, however, rest on democratic principles, but precisely on the very base of Weberian bureaucracy: technical competence. The current national need to educate highly skilled technical and professional employees and to maintain a lessening comparative advantage in basic research may ultimately strengthen these claims to participation in governance based on expertise. As other employees advance similar claims, university governance may suggest a practical model for other enterprises, especially those with large staffs of professional, technical or experientially skilled employees.

Spread of a university model of large scale organization based on collegial rather than bureaucratic structures to protect and encourage expert judgment would provide a broader societal recognition of the university approach to governance and a broader foundation for its preservation and enhancement. Indeed, as more and more professionals work in large-scale organizations, collegial governance may prove the only practical way to protect the quality of expert judgment. Dependence on knowledge may encourage organizational participation and democracy as it has societal participation and democracy.

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Institutional Democracy in Health Care: A Plan

By Robert P. Craig

In recent years, health care centers have been taking a number of steps toward democratic arrangements. One example of this is the movement toward establishing ethics committees. One of the primary purposes of an ethics committee is interdisciplinary dialogue in regard to policy development and case consultation. Many health care centers have mission or values steering committees which also are interdisciplinary and develop programmatic modes of mission-values integration and implementation. Moreover, most health care centers have physician-nurse support groups, town forums with the administrator, and various other ways to heighten communication, decision-making, and democratization.

The aim of health care is healing and growth, both for the patients and employees.

The aim of health care is healing and growth, both for the patients and employees. There can even be much healing, in the emotional and spiritual sense, for a patient going through the process of dying. Since employee growth (personal, professional, and institutional) is one of the primary aims of a health care center, a democratized work place, one in which employees develop self-esteem, relationality, and

responsibility, ought to be integral to management style.

Further, health care is referred to as a ministry, but not in a 'religious' sense. 'Ministry' implies reaching out to employees and patients, helping them grow, and treating them with respect and dignity. Institutional democracy as the concept is developed in this article, can be (and ought to be) the modus operandi of a health care center's operations, decision making, and management style.

Yet the mission, philosophy, and values of a health care system/facility do not exist in isolation. Hence, a consideration of future trends in health care delivery must be made in relationship to trends within the general society. It would be irresponsible for health care leaders to be blind to general social trends since the health care industry is, in an important sense, a reflection of the dynamics of the larger society—not that health care systems should merely accept and be dominated by current social values and practice, but health care systems do participate in a larger social realm.

Although it is certainly the case that one wave of the future in health care is the trend toward unionization (unionization will necessitate cost containment since it tends to raise salary expenses approximately 6% for professionals, 10% for nonprofessionals, and 1-8% for nonunion employees), there are other trends that will affect the future course of events in health care and will necessitate specific strategies for health care management.

What we want to note in what follows is that institutional democracy as both a theory and practice of health care management style, from the corporate level to the facility level, is necessary for two reasons: 1) as a legitimate and realistic response to future social and health care trends, and 2) as the living

out of mission, philosophy, and values.

Social and Health Care Trends

Hand in hand with such changes as an increasing interest in unionization and its implementation, there is a value change. Although the health care industry is in the midst of a values revolution (from an environment of abundance to one of scarcity, for many reasons we will not expand on), recent health care employees are either part of the 'Baby Boom,' those born between the end of World War II and the beginning of the 1960s, or part of the so-called 'Me' generation of the 1970s. In either case, their values differ from those of our current executives and administrators. Although there has been a scarcity of material goods and services to some extent, it has not drastically affected most people's life-style. While there is a scarcity of health care resources primarily, although not exclusively, due to different delivery systems and government policy, this scarcity is not reflected in the general consumer goods and the services of the society—upon which the more recent health care employees were weaned. (We are not arguing that there is no scarcity of services/consumer goods. We are arguing that there is not a 'perceived' scarcity by the general population.)

By way of contrast, those in positions of leadership in many health care systems/facilities tend to precede the 'Baby Boom' and reflect a different work ethic. In a somewhat oversimplified way, this ethic maintains that upward mobility and achievement are accomplished through the following:

- self denial
- delayed gratification
- conformity

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- and, hard work
- likewise, materialism (production, efficiency, and other forms) is valued, and is a criterion of goodness (McGregor, 1973).

It almost goes without saying that the above values are not as uniformly prized today as they were in the past. The employee entering the workforce today values self-gratification, self-expression, leisure time, autonomy, personal opportunity, and rapid advancement (Yankelovich, 1983).

The single most significant response we in health care can make to this future forecast with its multiple dimensions is to be found in our style of leadership.

Along with a radical change in the value of work, today's health care employees are more educated. Thus, it is predicted they will be more concerned with social issues, such as human rights, resource depletion, pollution, and nuclear war. Although the reasons for such a concern may not be entirely altruistic, they do exhibit a marked concern for the quality of life. The rapid rate of social change, mobility, and social complexity will certainly change the type and degree of commitments to social relationships—there will be an increased desire to control one's destiny, which will fly in the face of the rapidity of technological change.

To give but one example, just ten years ago personal computers were only on the drawing board. Today we all are aware of their multiplicity of uses. Almost a million units are sold every year. And a 53% growth rate in the next five years is projected.

The single most significant response we in health care can make to this future forecast with its multiple dimensions is to be found in our style of leadership. The preceding insight into the attitudes and values of the merging work force impels us to discover and implement an administrative stance that will unequivocally demonstrate our awareness and desire to meet the legitimate concerns of those we direct in the work place.

The traditional understanding of management's role will not exactly be the same. Historically, the role of the manager was simply getting things done, with and through people. While it is still important to achieve objectives, the health care manager will be successful to the extent that he/she can maintain the desired outcome while engaging the work force in a sense of co-operative venture. It is clear that achievement will be closely tied to the establishment and maintenance of the worker's commitment in both thought and feeling to a shared objective. As Terrance Deal and Allen Kennedy (1982) emphasize:

...one of the strongest influences on people is the influence of their personal ties with others. Sharing is a sign of belonging to a culture, and few individuals in any culture want to stand alone for long. As a result, consensus-building processes based on this natural peer-bonding relationship are a major way to induce change in organizations.

Living Out of Mission, Philosophy and Values

Put differently, the basic task ahead for the health care manager is the management of values, for in situations where participation and sharing are emphasized, value priorities must be maintained (Peters & Waterman, 1982). The term we choose to use for this activity is institutional democracy. This is the management strategy of the future, necessitated both by the mission, philosophy, and values of a health care system/facility and by the climate ahead. Institutional democracy incorporates collegiality, subsidiarity, and accountability as necessary principles.

Many not-for-profit health care systems/facilities which value behaviors such as team spirit, caring, quality, commitment, growth, concern, and collaboration demand as much. And the health care manager who attempts this style neither gives up his/her responsibility for directing and leading nor his/her authority.

Although the basic principles operative in the theory and practice of institutional democracy, viz., collegiality, subsidiarity and accountability, cannot be expanded upon at length in an article of this size, they do need some elaboration. Collegiality deals with the quality of relationships that are intended to exist among those involved in governance and management of a health care system/facility. This means, among other things, that management values opinions from persons of all positions and status—thus, mutual trust is demonstrated.

Subsidiarity calls for vesting decision-making authority and responsibility as close as possible to the point in the organization where the impact of the decision will be felt and at the point where the people most competent to do so make the decision. This means that a decentralized approach to both governance and management is practiced, and that a broad base of responsible persons has been developed to carry out governance. Finally, accountability requires that individuals and groups be answerable for how authority has been exercised and responsibilities discharged.

Yet, a note of realism. Institutional democracy is not a process which can eliminate all the difficulties of management and it should not be judged in regard to whether it settles all organization problems. "Participation is good for some things; it is not addressed to every management problem" (Kanter, 1979).

Implementation

To implement a process of institutional democracy within a health care system/facility will take approximately 3-5 years and ought to involve all levels of organization including the corporate office, administration, management, and employees. The education and training ought to include both didactic

or skill development processes and leadership assessment tools.

Corporate Office Level

The first step would be a commitment by the Corporate Executive Team to institutional democracy followed by orientation and training that would include the purpose and meaning of institutional democracy and techniques for implementation. Subsequent sessions would develop skills in leadership style assessment, conflict resolution, and team building.

Facility Administration Team Level

The administrative teams of health care facilities would need the same type of education and training as stated above. This could be built into a forum such as administrative retreats. Small group processes for evaluating progress and giving feedback regarding areas for further growth will need to be developed.

Management Level

As in the above two levels, the training would begin with a focus on the mission, philosophy, and the values. Skill building sessions would focus on quality facilitation of meetings, handling grievances, effectively utilizing employee conflict, motivation, and team building.

Employee Level

A level often overlooked in institutional democracy programs is the effective orientation and training of employees regarding the meaning and purpose of institutional democracy. An extensive training session, with follow-up, would be needed to focus on the employee's role in building up the department, how to communicate one's feelings to the manager and one's peers, and how to utilize effectively present channels of communication to voice concerns and share ideas.

Human Resources and Education

Health facility departments of personnel and education will have to provide leadership for implementation on the local level by training the trainers, updating job descriptions, performance appraisals, exit interviews, review of rewards and incentives, outplacement processes, and grievance procedures. An on-going orientation and training program for new managers and employees will have to be developed and implemented.

Institutional democracy is consistent with current management theory and practice, but, most importantly, it is demanded by the healing ministry of health care.

Conclusion

To implement institutional democracy effectively in a health care setting will call for the involvement of the Departments of Human Resources, Education and Values, and Ethics and Ministry, particularly at the Corporate Level. The future of health care will depend upon effective and quality relationships between management and employees. Institutional democracy is consistent with current management theory and practice, but, most importantly, it is demanded by the healing ministry of health care.

However, there are constraints and limitations on employees and on the structure of a health care center which

weigh against the development of modes of institutional democracy. Health care centers are traditionally hierarchically structured, with the administrator at the top, followed by the members of the administrative team (associate and assistant administrators), department directors, associate directors, supervisors, and finally line employees.

Also, because of the hierarchical structure, accountability and productivity standards, and short term and long term incentive objectives, among other factors, a health care center usually displays an ethic of control from above. This is why there are many more managers than leaders in health care centers. Managers are mostly technicians who follow the conventional and prescribed way of doing things. This minimizes risk and reinforces the status quo, which makes creative leadership and risk-taking difficult at best. These conditions also make institutional democracy a difficult concept and process to implement, since implementation necessitates the giving up of control (not authority).

Finally, physicians exercise a powerful degree of control over health care centers. Most physicians are not facility employees and thus are not responsible nor accountable for a facility's operations in the same way employees are. Physicians admit patients and the patients are the physicians', not the health care center's. Institutional democracy would lose much of its attractiveness and plausibility without the participation of physicians. Without a radical change in the corporate culture of health care centers and without a realistic altering of the structural components, institutional democracy in its full sense would be difficult, if not impossible, to implement.

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The Heart of the Matter: Fundamental Issues Confronting Joint Efforts at Employee Involvement in the Public Sector

by Terry Mazany

In the past fifteen years, only a handful of cities, counties, and states have actively pursued a comprehensive approach to labor-management cooperation, participative management, and employee involvement, compared to the hundreds of private sector organizations that have embraced these concepts. Three reasons generally account for this lag. First, efforts at labor-management cooperation and employee involvement have, until recently, been viewed as experiments and high-risk propositions. Because change in a public sector setting is very visible, risk taking is not readily embraced. Second, in times of tight budgets, training and development programs are frequently the first to be cut. And third, public sector organizations have not faced the explicit threat of competition to pressure them into alternative ways of working together. Yet, this competition is very real. It is experienced in the form of declining tax revenues, privatization of services, and changing demands for services.

The first major experiments in labor-management cooperation occurring in the mid-1970s encountered obstacles in the form of training and time. The need for adequate training was unknown, and participants were expected to participate in committees on their own time. From our current perspectives, the results are obvious: ineffective committees which resulted in disillusionment, and participant burn-out resulting in dropout. These outcomes, whether separately or in com-

ination, typically led to committee failure and abandonment of the process.

As other organizations built on these experiments, the probability of success increased with the addition of more training opportunities and the incorporation of employee involvement time into normal working hours. Even so, most attempts at employee involvement still ran into trouble after two or three years because the practices of participation were at odds with the existing policies and procedures of the organization. These practices were generally strengthened with the signing of formal agreements, the addition of project facilitators, and the development of incentive programs.

Those organizations which have experienced success over the long-run have been those that actively sought to modify and redesign existing policies and procedures to support participative practices. This requires an assessment and redefinition of the relationship between employee involvement, management prerogative, and collective bargaining. The narrative that follows examines critical aspects of this changing relationship based on actual experiences in two organizations which recently signed agreements for cooperation. In the course of the negotiations leading to these agreements, participants in both organizations sought to reshape the policies that determine decision making so that employee involvement would become a part of the way work is done.

Item: Members of several worksites and their managers agree to start a flextime schedule and come in to work one hour early. Because not all supervisors will arrive that early, the employees agree to 'clock in' at the security gate. The Field Representative of the union sees the agreement and

stops the change in schedule, stating that schedule changes are a matter for Meet and Confer, and the security gate 'clock in' represents a give back of previously negotiated rights not to have time clocks. Management points a finger at the union and tells the employees that the union kept them from receiving the benefit of flextime.

Item: Members of another worksite meet with their supervisor and discuss a four-day work week. The worksite decides that this is a decision their supervisor can make, and they agree to the schedule change. They begin this schedule and continue for two months until one day (on their new day off) the City Manager calls down to the worksite for a special project. The worksite is mandated to return to the five-day work week schedule and the manager is reprimanded. The Field Representative holds a special meeting with stewards to halt any other scheduling changes without first going through a Meet and Confer process.

Item: The middle managers of a department are informed that employee involvement will form a portion of their performance review and directly affect their ability to get a raise. Managers with less than 100% participation from their employees will be downgraded. The employee union, however, negotiated an agreement insuring that participation for its members was voluntary. Many employees do not feel that participation is in their best interest and decline to attend meetings.

Item: The members of a worksite bring an issue of crew scheduling on Saturdays to their joint committee. They work on a new policy and present the plan to their manager. The manager blocks consensus and says that this issue

Terry Mazany is a third party neutral assisting unions and management to build cooperative programs leading to increased employee involvement in decision making. He is currently working in school settings to apply these principles and expand them to include students, parents, and the community as partners in this process.

is reserved for management prerogative.

Item: An employee becomes very active on joint committees and spends a visible amount of time away from his work assignment. His Department Head begins to track his productivity and insists that the employee log every minute of his time. Another employee who is also very involved in committee work is assigned additional job duties.

...the long-run success of employee involvement in decision making requires that participation become mandatory for all participants.

Examples such as these are duplicated in perhaps every organization which is establishing a legitimate joint effort to involve employees in decision making. Pushing aside design issues (such as how many committees to establish, who can become involved, and how people are selected), and training and implementation issues, the heart of the matter of increasing employee involvement in decision making will invariably be defined by three primary questions:

1. *Is participation voluntary or mandatory?*
2. *What is the relationship between the decision making prerogative of management and collective bargaining, and the decision making in the participative process?*
3. *What safeguards do participants have to protect themselves from recriminations?*

The failure to address and resolve these issues will result in the stagnation, if not the destruction, of the participative process. On the other hand, successful resolution of these issues will result in the realization of positive changes but dimly envisioned during the early rush

of hoopla launching a new era of cooperation.

Voluntary or Mandatory

Until recently, the nature of employee involvement in decision making has been defined primarily by experiments in pioneering organizations. As such, the predominant strategy for involvement has been, by necessity, based on the philosophy of volunteerism. The program is expected to 'sell itself' while top management and the union are insulated from accountability for making employee involvement successful.

The primary participants held accountable are the middle managers who must participate for employee involvement in decision making to occur. This places the middle managers in an untenable position. Their participation is mandated from the top, yet they receive little of the prerequisite support from the top; and they are expected to cultivate involvement from the rank and file with no enhanced ability to make decisions to deliver on the changes proposed by the workforce. Middle management resistance is inevitable; so why are organizations continually surprised by this resistance and why do they refuse to initiate design changes that would eliminate the problem? Why do organizations sidestep this issue and resort to the usual remedy of throwing more training at the middle managers?

The actual remedy for this type of problem is a bitter pill for most organizations and unions to swallow, and clearly separates those which are serious about workplace democratization and those which are after a few quick fixes to their productivity and quality blues. Simply put, the long-run success of employee involvement in decision making requires that participation become mandatory for all participants.

The Management Prerogative/Collective Bargaining/Employee Involvement Relationship

In a traditional union-management setting, both parties have negotiated and defined rights, responsibilities, and

limitations regarding the decision making discretion each may exercise. Frequently, these agreements are supported by a larger legal framework. The introduction of formalized employee involvement in decision making places these practices in jeopardy and generates enormous confusion. A new decision making arena is defined (in terms of worksite and joint committees) and a new set of players are suddenly enfranchised with decision making opportunities. When the employee involvement process is ill-conceived, two negative outcomes will predictably occur. Opportunistic individuals will leap into this vacuum to pursue self-interest, or a new interest group, namely the rank and file, will arise and challenge the role of the union to deliver in their interest.

The intuitive and automatic response by both managers and union officers to prevent the occurrence of either of these negative outcomes is to immediately remove management prerogative and collective bargaining decisions from the arena of employee involvement. This, in turn, has a negative impact on employee involvement by eliminating significant issues from the process and strangling employee interest.

The more substantial and significant challenge is to institutionalize these participative practices into the day-to-day management of the organization.

The key to avoiding these negative outcomes is to understand the two types of power brought to bear on decision making in the employee involvement process. Management prerogative and the contract define decision making authority invested in specific positions within the organization. Employee in-

volvement, on the other hand, formalizes influence as a right employees can exercise during the process of making certain decisions. A successful employee involvement process must link together both authority and influence.

The solution to this problem requires the upfront allocation of decision making authority and a commitment to increasing this allocation (by both union and management) as employees become more skillful in their participation in decision making. The initial guidelines for this allocation are as follows:

1. Every employee involvement committee established contains a manager with the necessary and appropriate decision making authority for that group of employees;

2. The manager is expected to relinquish resort to management prerogative when employees surface issues; and

3. The contract remains inviolate and employees cannot make decisions about issues covered in the contract. When contract related issues surface, the committee members must notify the appropriate union and management representatives. With guidance from those representatives, an employee involvement committee may discuss solutions and develop proposals (after all, the committee members are key stakeholders affected by the decision), but decision making is reserved for the collective bargaining process.

The long-run growth of employee involvement requires commitment to the following directions:

1. Top management accords greater and greater authority to middle managers and supervisors, who, in turn, are expected to involve employees in these new management prerogatives (gradually empowering the committees); and

2. Union and management restructure contract language in each of the successive negotiations to increase the latitude of worksite decision making while preserving key rights.

The adoption of these directions will insure that the capacity of the

employee involvement process will keep pace with the demands the employees will place on the process.

Safeguarding Against Recriminations

A well designed system of employee involvement will define a set of expected and appropriate behaviors. Typically, however, neither party is willing to commit to a process for enforcing or reinforcing these behaviors. This lack of safeguard, however, does little to engender confidence and risk taking in the rank and file and middle managers. As a result, change is slow or non-existent, and one rumor or recrimination can wipe out years of committee development. Successful employee involvement requires that a mechanism be established to hold participants accountable for their actions in the employee involvement process.

This mechanism can take five general forms:

First, the job duties of the employee involvement support staff (coordinators or facilitators) can be expanded to include participant counseling. Frequently, participants simply require an outlet to vent their frustrations and feelings. In addition, skilled counseling can assist the participants to develop responsible strategies to confront and resolve an issue.

Second, higher level committees can be assigned the responsibility for hearing and resolving cases of reported recrimination. The creation of such a mechanism contributes significantly to the confidence employees place in the participative process, while instances of actual use are rare.

Third, performance appraisals can be restructured to include employee input into a supervisor's or manager's evaluation, and an employee's evaluation can be broadened to include sections on participation. If this alternative is pursued, it is critical that the design of this evaluation be conducted with involvement by those who will ultimately be evaluated in this new manner.

Fourth, an independent 'judiciary' committee can be established to address

reports of recrimination. This committee would consist of key union and management participants who have the authority to act. Their role is as much symbolic as it is functional to openly address tough issues.

Finally, reports of recrimination can be channeled through established procedures for resolving grievances. The virtue of this approach is that both parties understand how this process works and when it is to be utilized. The principal drawback is that actions in the cooperative arena can be clouded and confused with the adversarial nature of the grievance process.

Conclusions

Over the past fifteen years, hundreds of organizations have ventured down the path of employee involvement and labor-management cooperation. Some have proceeded with an agenda of union busting, while others have sought to make significant gains in workplace democracy. Most have more focused aims of improving service and productivity, and boosting morale.

The route to quality service and worklife improvements is, in the short run, relatively straight forward. Committees are formed, committees are trained, and committees meet and problem solve. The members feel good, and changes occur. Then the committees disappear.

The more substantial and significant challenge is to institutionalize these participative practices into the day-to-day management of the organization. The achievement of this goal requires a fundamental restructuring of the attitudes, culture, behaviors, and policies, and procedures that shape the organization. This restructuring hinges on movement in three directions: 1) the shift from voluntary to mandatory participation, 2) the opening up of decision making prerogatives to involve employees, and 3) the joint administration of safeguards to address recriminations.



Education and the Family

by Leonard Kaplan and Alice McCarthy

The purpose of this article is basically to focus in on two aspects of the American family. First, we hope to show how the family has changed, particularly in the last 20 years, and, second, to identify how the family may play a significant role in the education process. In an article of this length, much will be left out. However, the extensive bibliography will permit the reader to continue to read and gain insight into an extremely important arena.

The Nature of the Family

Scholars and laymen have voiced the opinion that the American family is disintegrating. Reports from conferences, panels, and the media portray a belief that in the 'good-old days' families were warm...comfortable and benign—always there to provide the young with a harmonious and affectionate environment (Katz, 1979). In general, however, historical reviews of families suggest that 'the good old days' were awful (Wishy, 1973; Stone, 1975; Stone, 1977), reflecting a record of hunger and disease, and physical and psychological abuse. Margaret Bubolz, Professor of Family and Child Ecology at Michigan State University, has said that illness, early death, poverty, physical discomfort, hard work, isolation, and thwarted goals were the lot of many families in the past.

Child rearing problems, observed Lillian Katz (1979), are often attributed to change which has always been with us and ideally always will be. She believes the rapid rate at which patterns

have changed, within generations rather than between generations, and lack of synchronization of change in meeting family needs are sources of upheaval.

School personnel may not meet the needs of children in today's families because they fail to understand the structural and emotional changes which are occurring to members of these family units. The pressures of poverty, work, and cultural and socio-economic change may inhibit the family's involvement in the school environment of their child.

What changes are occurring in American families as of 1986? Briefly:

- Marriage is on the decline and is at its lowest rate since 1977. Median age for first marriage is at an all time high, 23 for women, 25.5 for men.
- The divorce rate has risen again. Each marriage today has a 50% chance of dissolving.
- Projections by Norton and Glick (1986) show that 60% of all children born in 1986 will live for some period in a one-parent home.
- The 'typical family' with husband as sole bread winner and wife as a full-time homemaker and two children now stands at 5.7% of the total population. The image persists that the 'typical family' is the dominant type.
- Nearly 67% of all women are in the civilian work force. Sixty-one percent are mothers with children;

fifty-two percent are mothers with preschoolers.

- Forty-six percent of women workers must work; they are single, widowed, divorced, or married to a spouse in a low paying job.
- Twenty-two percent of American children live in families headed by women, and more than one-half of all poor children live in such households. Daniel Moynihan states in *Family and Nation*, that in 1984, almost half of American black children and one-third of its Hispanic children were poor.
- Thirty-three percent of the children of this nation, born in the 1980's, will spend some time on welfare.
- In 1986, the average U.S. child will view 250 war cartoons and 800 war toy ads, the equivalent of twenty-two days of classroom instruction in pro-war behavior.

What Does Research Say About Families and Schools?

Most educators do not need research to know that parents strongly influence their children's learning and behavior in school. Research can, however, provide an understanding of the ways families affect children's schooling and can help educators understand the implications of the family's role for their own policies and practice.

- Although there is a broad

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consensus on the importance of the family's role in education, the studies are scarce. Researchers have tended to concentrate on schools (what teachers do and what resources they have), to the neglect of families (what parents do to teach their children and to encourage and support their school progress).

- Most research on schools and families has examined these two worlds as if they were independent entities, largely unrelated to each other. There has been little systematic study of the ways in which schools and families influence one another and the child who daily shuttles between them. Even the many national school reform reports released over the past few years have almost totally ignored the family's role in student achievement and parent involvement in school improvement (see Note 1).
- The research that has been conducted on the topic has not, on the whole, produced findings useful to educators. While there are a number of reasons for this, the most important is that the major national studies concerning family influence in education (e.g., Coleman, 1966; Jencks, 1972) have focused on associations between fixed socioeconomic variables (such as race, income, and family structure), and school failure or success. Such statistical correlations do not necessarily help disentangle cause and effect. Although we have learned in the aggregate that children from poor families, and children from single parent households

are somewhat less likely to succeed in school, these studies do not help us understand why a particular child may be doing poorly or well.

- Three recent streams of research have taken a more inductive approach, relying more on qualitative methods such as personal interviews and observations. In contrast to the prior emphasis on static variables, they have identified variables that can be modified with positive effects.
- One cluster of studies which has become known as the 'effective schools' research, has examined the processes, interactions and practices that are found in effective schools. In general, the key characteristics of schools in which children perform well are: strong instructional leadership, focus on basic skills, orderly school climate, high expectations of students, and frequent monitoring of pupil progress (Zerchykov, 1984). A few of these studies have included parent participation as one of the key factors essential to effective schools (Gauthier, 1983; Zerchykov, 1984). Other researchers have been investigating family processes—expectations, beliefs, attitudes, and communication patterns—to identify those which occur in families where children do well in school.
- Another promising area of inquiry has examined the relationship between families and schools: to look at the pattern of communication, contact, and mutual support between

school personnel and parents, and to discover how they influence each other. The primary purpose of what has been termed the 'family-school interaction' research is to assess how family-school interactions affect children's learning and school success. The assumption here is that the efforts of schools and families are linked, that they can either support and reinforce each other or they can compete with and undermine each other.

What Effect Does Parent Involvement in Schools and Education Have on Student Achievement and Behavior?

Reviews of the research have found that parent involvement of almost any kind improves student achievement, especially in minority and low-income schools (Henderson, 1981; Moles, 1982; Linney and Verberg, 1982; Zerchykov, 1984). Although the findings are important, this research does have a few limitations. It is mostly confined to the earliest years of schooling and to public schools, and each study uses a different definition of involvement. Thus, it is difficult to conduct comparisons across programs, or to identify the kinds of involvement activities that produce the most positive results.

Variations in Parent Involvement

Parent involvement is tremendously varied and diverse. One useful contribution of these studies is a more elaborated definition of the broad term 'parent involvement.' Some have begun to classify the range of home and school-based activities in which parents participate (Zerchykov, 1984; Collins et al., 1982; Williams & Stallworth, 1983-84).

Whatever the categories chosen, a two-part distinction emerges between a) those parent activities aimed primarily at strengthening the overall school program and only indirectly toward

helping the parent's own child (e.g., advisory, volunteering, fundraising and advocacy activities), and b) those parent activities directly aimed at assisting one's own child (e.g., helping with homework, meeting with teachers, and attending school events). Most assessments of parent involvement have focused on these activities.

Several smaller studies provide rich descriptions of parent activities (Comer, 1980; Epstein & Becker, 1982; Lyons, 1983). They have found that the level of parent participation varies enormously from school to school, that participation of all kinds peaks in elementary school and drops off substantially at the secondary level, and that very few parents are involved in leadership or shared governance activities (Epstein & Becker, 1982). Parents and school personnel have different opinions about what parent involvement activities actually take place and which ones are desirable. Educators typically do not welcome parent involvement in advisory or governance roles, while parents indicate a strong interest in these activities (Williams & Stallworth, 1983-84; Docknevich, 1984; Ahlemius, 1983).

While private schools are generally considered to have higher levels of parent participation, there are no studies to document this impression. In a first large scale attempt to quantify the level of parent involvement in Catholic high schools, researchers found that on the average, one-fifth of the parents contribute substantial amounts of time to school activities, but most of it is spent fundraising and chaperoning.

What Are Schools Doing to Encourage a Stronger Family-School Partnership?

Intervention programs, such as Head Start, which were designed in part to increase the participation of a particular group of parents, have flourished for over two decades. Similarly, we now have 20 years of experience with parent participation in advisory and governance roles (Foster, 1984). Teachers and principals throughout the country have also made their own efforts to work collaboratively with parents, but most of these efforts are not studied or

documented. The series of studies conducted in the state of Maryland by Epstein and her colleagues, however, provide rich documentation of a number of creative and specific techniques that elementary teachers use to request and reinforce parents' assistance in home-based activities related to children's schoolwork (Epstein & Becker, 1982).

...a key element in the programs' success appears to be appropriate staff training and orientation...

Teachers all over the country may be undertaking similar activities, and practice on this topic may be far ahead of teacher training curriculum, research, and publications.

Recent Parent Involvement Efforts

It is only quite recently that parent involvement has been an integral and deliberate part of an intensive school improvement process. One of the best known of these efforts is the ten-year demonstration program in two inner-city low achieving elementary schools in New Haven, described in Comer's (1980) book, *School Power*. While the program has a number of unique features, the concept of sharing power with parents and involving them in every aspect of the school program in both paid and volunteer capacities has been a critical element to its success in greatly increasing minority student achievement. Several of its central features are now being replicated in other New Haven schools.

It is worth noting that some of the recent efforts of the school effectiveness movement have also involved parents in the initial assessment and implementation of the changes (Gauthier, 1983).

A 1981 study sponsored by NIE described 28 home-school collabora-

tion programs at the upper grade levels in the 24 most populous cities in the U.S. (Collins et al., 1982). The programs described involve parents in improving student performance and behavior at upper elementary and secondary school levels. The report presents a synthesis of the findings, includes a profile of each program, and describes seven programs in detail. Over half of these programs have a special emphasis on minority or disadvantaged students. Parents are contacted through individual conferences, home visits, the telephone, and workshops and classes. All the programs have strong active support of the school district leadership, parents, and every other major segment of the community. Finally, a key element in the programs' success appears to be appropriate staff training and orientation, especially in areas with large numbers of low income and racial minority families (Collins et al., 1982). The positive results reported by these programs include reduced absenteeism, higher achievement scores, improved student behavior, and restored parent confidence. However, since the study was completed, a number of these special programs have been terminated when federal funding was consolidated and reduced.

Conclusions

Even though the nature of the family continues to change, the relationship between home and school continues at about the same rate. As noted in this article, much is being written about the changing family. Teacher educators, who above all should be noting these changes and thereby modifying what teachers need to know to teach, basically ignore this research. It is clear, and supported through the literature, that when the family, such as it is, and the school work in concert, the cognitive behavior of the learner increases. At this time in our nation's history, the urgent need for improvement implies that the community, the home, and the school commit to a stronger and fuller partnership. We are keenly aware that we are witnessing a revolution in family structure which has come so rapidly that education cannot keep pace.

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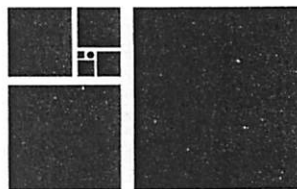
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A Dissenting Voice

by Mike Parker

When Jane Q. Worker enters the plant gate or office door, she is supposed to stow her brains and her rights in her locker along with her street clothes. At the end of the work day, Jane reassumes the identity of democratic citizen: intelligent, responsible, and involved in making important decisions about her home, community, nation, and world.

But at work, the expectations are the opposite. If Jane thinks at all, she must be figuring out how to shirk and undermine management's carefully laid plans. Management is organized accordingly.

The world of work is not just hard. For most workers, it is also the experience of dictatorship, authoritarianism, and paternalism. Management's role is to manage. Workers are there to carry out management decisions. Period. The common place expressions tell the story. "Who paid you to think?" "You do it the way I tell you cause it's my way or the high-way." And the worker counterpart: "There are two ways to do the job: the right way and the Chrysler way."

But finally, business, academic, and labor leaders tell us, the authoritarian way is history. Management simply can no longer afford to waste the valuable resource of the worker's brain. Management is embracing workplace democracy not out of some abstract agreement with democracy, but out of self-interest which puts the commitment on a firm basis. Management needs worker involvement and workplace democracy in order to meet intense global competition. "Everybody wins," they argue. As a result, virtually every industry has its

Quality of Work Life, Employee Involvement, Quality Circles, or other form of worker participation.

Unfortunately, most of the claims of spreading democracy in the work place are frauds. It turns out that management does need a certain kind of participation from the workforce to meet the global challenge, but it has nothing to do with democracy. Despite the rhetoric most programs actually result in less 'democracy' than before.

A Question of Power

At the core of democracy are notions of power: that power belongs to the people, majority rule, rule by the ruled, equal power. While these features can cover a lot, they also provide a certain clarity.

In feudal political systems, for example, the kings and nobility held power. While some kings were very wicked and arbitrary, others were wiser. One way to find out what was really happening was to allow the peasants to present petitions or seek out the views of the peasantry before making decisions.

If you have to have kings, a wise king may be better. (Unfortunately, it was often the wise kings who used their information channels to discover and ruthlessly destroy opposition.)

But wise king or wicked, feudal rule is not democracy.

What is being widely touted as workplace democracy is a shift to a more sophisticated and paternalistic dictatorship—not a qualitative change in the distribution of power within the corporation.

Most participation programs are explicit. Decision making power resides solely with management. A General Motors' policy statement is typical and emphatic:

The participative problem solving system is a two-part process:

1. Development of alternatives to current practices that can originate from the involved worker.
2. Decision to act and commit resources resides with management.

The system makes it possible for employees at all levels of the organization to develop alternatives to the current practice. However, the decision to select among the alternatives and to commit resources to implement changes is solely that of management at the appropriate levels (General Motors, 1983).

Willis Easter (1988), a consultant to a number of major corporations, ticks off what participation programs do not mean:

1. *Management gives up right to manage.*
2. *Easy and permissive atmosphere.*
3. *Decisions made by popular vote.*

In perhaps a few cases, employee 'ownership' does translate into real power for the employees (Labor Research Review, 1985). But the highly publicized cases of workers or their unions getting representation on the corporate board of directors reveal how little power this actually gives workers. Four unions served on Eastern Air Lines' board; they had no knowledge of initial discussions on the sale of the airline (Labor Notes, 1987). Although UAW President Owen Bieber was on the Chrysler Board of Directors, the union was taken by surprise when Chrysler's attempt to sell off its Acustar parts division went public in 1988. The union was able to stop the sale, not through its board representation, but by threatening work stoppages and other forms of non-cooperation.

Mike Parker is an industrial electrician and co-author with Jane Slaughter of *Choosing Sides: Unions and the Team Concept*. (See Note 1.)

United Auto Workers Vice President Mark Stepp attaches the 'industrial democracy' label to the 'team concept' or 'Modern Operating Agreements' with Chrysler (Kertesz, 1987). But these agreements carefully spell out that "The Corporation shall have and reserves the exclusive right to manage the plant and direct its affairs and working force" (UAW, 1986).

Effect on Democracy

Arthur Brown makes the vital connection in an earlier issue of *Thresholds* (1980):

It is life in these institutions which teaches us the valuing process. It is life in these institutions which is largely responsible for the development in us of certain attitudes, dispositions, skills, and understandings which inevitably have an impact on the larger political community.

So what does it mean for the larger political community when major institutions teach that democracy is not about decision making, power, and equality; that democracy is the right to whisper suggestions in the ear of the king; that democracy can be determined by whether the plant manager and machine operator eat in the same cafeteria for lunch (forgetting where they go home to eat dinner, or what actual control they have over their common institution)?

In fact, some of the essential ideas critical to democracy are openly and systematically attacked in labor-management participation programs. For example, consensus can be a very useful approach in most group situations. But it sometimes happens after full discussion that everybody still does not agree. The obvious democratic procedure would be to vote—majority rule. In the Orwellian world of 'workplace democracy' voting is an evil. Elaborate procedures are designed to avoid votes. In one version of group decision making (taught to union members in participation program) a single individual has to either agree to a '70% comfort level' or 'block' the decision in the group. Claiming 70% comfort 'means 100% commit-

ment to the decision' (Brooke, 1984–85). If the person chooses to 'block,' all attention is focused on her and the rules require her to justify her block in terms of the group's shared goals.

Thus, the process substitutes a subtle but powerful pressure on individuals to conform. The majority is not simply allowed to rule. Minorities are either absorbed, driven out, or made to pledge allegiance. Typically, 'workplace democracy' has no place for concepts of loyal opposition or minorities organizing to become majorities.

...within the corporation, the union itself is the main instrument of worker power and therefore worker democracy.

Similarly, the concept of democratic representation rarely exists in participation schemes. Most programs and consultants strongly oppose the idea of elections for positions the programs create (Herrick, 1983).

If we depend on the so-called workplace democracy programs as our school of democracy, we are guaranteeing a failure. Democracy cannot exist without its citizens having a clear understanding of what it is all about. We cannot allow its meaning to be distorted because management would like to put a flashy, popular label on its programs.

Underneath the Label

Besides the use of the label, there is also a substantive issue of democracy in the modern workplace participation programs. Within a large corporate structure, the only real power that a worker has is a part of collective power—the union. It is this union power which has succeeded over the years in winning for workers some modest improvements in conditions or work. These include certain rights such as

seniority and systems for fair transfer and advancement to new jobs. While not perfect, these rights are far superior to arbitrary management decisions.

Thus, within the corporation, the union itself is the main instrument of worker power and therefore worker democracy. Despite all the talk about 'non-adversary relations,' during the last ten years, employers have been waging an offensive against unions through outsourcing, exporting jobs, down-sizing, new technology, shifting work to non-union plants, and general demands for union concessions.

In principle, participation programs do not have to threaten workers or their unions. But the particular participation schemes that employers are pushing as a part of the drive for union concessions typically reduce what few rights and little control workers do have at the workplace.

Many of the arguments about how work rules limit management flexibility are the same arguments that we hear against any democratic rights. Isn't it 'inefficient' to require police to have a search warrant before they break into your house? In society, we understand that democracy has no meaning if individual rights are not protected. But virtually every participation program in U.S. industry begins with reducing or abolishing individual rights in the workplace.

Most importantly, these participation programs weaken the unions themselves. The programs seek to pit worker against worker, undermine worker unity and union ideology and fence off and coopt the unions as institutions (Parker & Slaughter, 1985).

When the democratic facade of these participation programs is challenged the justification always shifts to the current gods: efficiency, productivity and competition. Several academic studies put into question whether the programs actually meet these management goals. But it is more important to recognize that workers and democracy require a different set of goals altogether. Mussolini may have made 'the trains run on time.' But Italian fascism wasn't democracy and it wasn't good.

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Note 1: The publication Choosing sides: Unions and the team concept by Parker and Slaughter is available from Labor Notes, 7435 Michigan Ave., Detroit, MI 48210.



Participatory Democracy at the School Building Level: A Project

by *Wendell M. Hough*

There is general agreement now that the school building is the largest single unit in which significant change for improvement can occur. The Collaborative School Improvement model (C-SIP) was conceptualized within that scope and context. Serving as guiding principles are the concepts of equity and collaboration among the participants.

The C-SIP model for school improvement is fundamentally an uncomplicated, straightforward, problem solving system. It begins with the identification of a concern, which is subject to an analysis of its positive and negative elements. Those results are used to establish a diagnosis. Subsequently, a set of action alternatives is determined.

Over 150 schools in southeastern Michigan have been involved in the collaborative project in the decade of its existence. C-SIP, with a decade of experience, is acknowledged by teachers and principals as a highly successful means of empowering them with responsibility and support for their own professional development.

Several assumptions and principles about change and school improvement underlie the 6-step C-SIP model. These have been refined during its 10-year history, since concepts grow old and must be revised anew. In addition to the basic principles of equity and collaboration, the following assumptions also guide the employment of the model.

1. Meaningful change occurs as a process, not as an event.

2. Individuals behave the way they do because it makes sense to them. Every person is logical in his/her own context.

3. Individuals affected by decisions must be involved in making them. Shared decision making builds personal ownership and collective commitment for those involved.

4. The most critical variable in effective teaching/leading is the extent to which one can interact with and release the potential of others.

5. Effective change is a human process, involving the individual's thoughts, feelings and actions which can cause disequilibrium, thus necessitating various support systems.

6. The top administrators alone cannot create effective change, but they can and must be an integral part as they facilitate change.

7. Leadership skills cannot be presumed; any change model must provide for leadership development.

8. For significant change to occur in behavior, formalized outside intervention is necessary; continuous communication is essential to incorporate behavioral change.

9. Participants should incorporate current literature, research, and practice in their deliberations.

10. Although external consultant help is necessary and important, direction for change must come from local sources.

11. An organization's fundamental beliefs are the driving forces and the ultimate 'whys' behind every action.

With this conceptual system, C-SIP is exercised through a series of steps. The steps of the C-SIP process are six-fold. A preliminary step precedes all others. Prior to initiating a building-level project, the university

C-SIP Director meets with the superintendent of schools to explain the program and to get approval for an interested school to participate. This done, the procedure begins.

Step I: Awareness—Readiness—Commitment

An orientation session (or sessions), conducted by a university facilitator (the professor who will work with the school for the duration of the project), seeks to explain and discuss the six steps of the C-SIP process and its relevance to school improvement. The discussion may be brief or lengthy depending on the faculty's needs. Topics are identified by the school's personnel, and may include research on effective schools, effective teachers, change processes, or the demographics of the school and its population, as these are related to school improvement.

On completion of the orientation, the facilitator polls the teachers by secret ballot as to their willingness and commitment to undertake the process for themselves. A total staff commitment score of 70% or more takes the process to the second step.

Step II: Interactive Needs Assessment

A 2-hour interactive needs assessment is conducted by a university facilitator to establish the staff's priority goal. Examples of priority goals are school climate, communication, classroom management, reading instruction, or any area of need that aims at school improvement in that school.

Once the goal is determined, a force field analysis is performed to identify impinging forces that are per-

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ceived to facilitate and inhibit the attainment of the desired goal.

When the goal is set, the building's union representative is asked to conduct an election of a **building leadership team** consisting of from three to seven teachers. The principal, and possibly one or two parents round out the team's membership. It is this nucleus leadership group that develops the C-SIP plan.

In addition to the teachers, principal, and university facilitator all functioning collaboratively, at least two other agents are typically involved. First is the superintendent of schools, and second, a staff district person to serve as a **district facilitator** to assist building personnel to accomplish their goal. This latter person becomes even more important in the later stages of the process, with the task of institutionalization of C-SIP within the building and relating to others in the district.

Step III: The School Improvement Plan: Development, Approval, Funding

The elected team must develop a **school improvement plan** in collaboration with the university facilitator. A plan includes a major (priority) goal, enabling objectives, activities to accomplish objectives, a schedule, specification of consultants and other resources, evaluation methods to be used, and a budget. The completed plan is reviewed by the entire school staff for comment, modification, and approval. If approved, the plan is submitted to the C-SIP Director at the university, who, together with the university-based project staff, decides upon its acceptability for funding.

An approved project is funded for three years, with an allocation of \$3,000 the first year, \$2,500 the second year, and \$1,500 the third. A fourth year allocation of \$500 is available, however, on a matching basis with the district.

Step IV: Implementation and Tailoring

The university facilitator assists the school staff as it implements the process, by meeting with the school team and standing by as major activities

begin. If changes occur that necessitate revision of the plan, modifications are effected.

Step V: Monitoring and Evaluation

Meetings of the building leadership team, held at least semi-monthly, are required to assure the program's continuity and impetus. Evaluation by way of feedback forms collected regularly provides additional guidance. A project-wide evaluation is conducted annually by an external evaluator. Separate survey forms have been completed each year by teachers, and the professional members of the **building leadership team**.

Step VI: Reassessment of Needs

At the end of the academic year, the facilitator reviews the program's results with the staff to determine whether a new needs assessment may be needed or whether more effort is required within the existing plan. Efforts are made to institutionalize the process.

Southeastern Michigan contains the three largest counties in the state. Within the boundary of each is an intermediate school district (ISD), i.e., a regional educational agency, that serves its respective constituent local school districts. These agencies employ large staffs of consultants to serve their locals. They have played a significant role with C-SIP project schools. One of the ISD's collaborates, pursuant to Michigan statutes, with Wayne State University in the dissemination of C-SIP.

This then is the C-SIP process, simple, straightforward, equitable, inclusive, collaborative. Powerful, effective, respected.

The project has been evaluated each year through a sub-contract with private consultants. Teacher and administrative perceptions of satisfaction with the model and of school improvement have been the central thrusts of the evaluations.

Thirty-one schools participated in the project during 1987-88. At the end of the school year, a 16-item questionnaire was administered to principals, members of the BLT's, and all teachers. Participants responded on a six-point

scale ranging from agree to disagree. The results showed the following percentages for the combined positive levels of agree, moderately agree, and slightly agree for all questions:

Principals	92%
BLT	81%
Teachers	79%

Similar levels of acceptance with a different instrument were evidenced in earlier evaluations.

The most successful schools have several characteristics in common. These include:

1. The BLT is committed and communicates frequently with staff members.
2. The BLT meets frequently and on a regular schedule throughout the year.
3. The principal is strongly supportive.
4. The principal, a member of the BLT, serves as a team member and does not attempt to impose a point of view.
5. The district facilitator truly facilitates.

The literature is clear on the importance of the principal as the instructional leader. Three years ago the C-SIP evaluator interviewed teachers in highly successful schools. Not only did the teachers emphasize the principal's role but indicated that they systematically identified and nurtured teacher leadership.

What distinguishes the C-SIP process from traditional school improvement systems is the equity given to teachers as the practitioners with the knowledge of the educational setting. Their knowledge is valued as highly in the school improvement process as that of the outside consultant or the central office consultant who may have more expertise in research, curricular innovations, and new instructional strategies. They are indeed empowered and responsible for their own professional development. An anonymous school bureaucracy can no longer continue to alienate itself from the teaching force; C-SIP is an avenue for re-alliance.



Democracy in the Schoolhouse: School-based Management/Shared Decision Making in the Dade County Public Schools*

by John H. Croghan and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.

Background

Centralized administrative control of schools has dominated urban education since the end of the nineteenth century (Tyack & Hansot, 1982). Over the years, this model has been criticized for its failure to provide teachers and school-site administrators with a significant role in decisions affecting their schools. As part of the recent reform movement in education, a number of interesting experiments have been undertaken which have attempted to place greater power and control in the hands of teachers and school-site administrators (Maeroff, 1988). Among the most interesting of these experiments has been the Dade County Public Schools' School-based Management/Shared Decision Making Program (SBM/SDM).

SBM/SDM dates back to 1971 when Governor Reuben Askew appointed a Citizen's Committee on Public Education which had as its purpose the development of recommendations on how to improve public education in Florida. After extensive meetings, the committee concluded that the reform of the educational system would have the greatest likelihood of success

if it was undertaken at the school-site level. Specifically, the committee suggested that:

1. funds be awarded to the schools based on the needs of students;
2. the educational objectives for a school be set by the individuals most immediately connected with the school;
3. the decision of how the funds are to be spent be made in each school rather than the central office;
4. the organization of instruction be made at the school level; and
5. parents become involved in decisions involving the school (Dade County Public Schools, 1986).

The recommendations of the Committee were acted on by the Legislature and eventually became the core of what is now known as School-Based Management. Yet, despite the passage of legislation that established School-Based Management on a statewide basis, only limited efforts were made to implement the program. In effect, the program remained 'on the books' while failing to be fully funded and encouraged.

While the passage of legislation supporting the implementation of School-Based Management was extremely important, its successful implementation has only begun to be realized because of the combined efforts of the local teachers union, the United Teachers of Dade, and the school system's administration. Until relatively recently, the relationship between the

teachers' union and the school system has been one involving confrontation rather than collaboration. In 1968, a statewide strike demanding increased salaries and the right to collective bargaining seriously disrupted the school system, leading to the arrest and jailing of key union leaders and a great deal of bitterness between teachers and the local community.

In January of 1975, a collective bargaining bill for teachers was finally made into law by the state legislature. Since the union has been granted collective bargaining rights for the state's teachers, the relationship between the school system has systematically and steadily evolved into one emphasizing collaboration rather than confrontation. The current implementation of the SBM/SDM program is largely a result of this evolving cooperative relationship between the school system and the teachers' union and in particular the individual efforts of Superintendent Joseph Fernandez and union head Pat Tornillo. Tornillo has headed the teachers union since the early 1960s. Fernandez worked his way through the system, first as a mathematics teacher and then as a principal at Miami's Central High School during the early 1970s.

Fernandez's involvement with SBM/SDM goes back to his work in the schools. While a principal at Miami Central, Fernandez was involved with a program called CASAS (Computer As-

*Data included in this essay was collected as part of a formative evaluation study on School-based Management/Shared Decision Making for the Office of Policy Research and Improvement, Florida Department of Education. For additional background on the Dade County Public Schools' School-based Management/Shared Decision Making program see Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.'s essay "Professionalization in the Dade County Public Schools: School-based management and shared decision making," included in the forthcoming work in American Institute book edited by Jill Casner-Lotto entitled *The teacher: Ally in educational reform*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989.

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sisted School Allocation System) which gave principals much more control over the expenditure of funds within their schools. The program was eventually dropped by the system. In 1985, Fernandez, then Deputy Superintendent, got in touch with Gerald Dreyfuss who had been involved in managing the CASAS program and suggested the possibility of resurrecting it. With the approval of Leonard Britton who was then superintendent, Fernandez got together a committee of principals and other administrators to develop a new program for the schools that would provide the teachers and administrators who worked in them greater autonomy and freedom. While encouraging greater control at the school level, Fernandez also felt that there was a need to reduce the distance between teachers and administrators at the school level and what went on at the school system's central office. As he explained in an interview with one of the researchers in February of 1988:

I have always felt that there should be very few people between a principal and the superintendent and in a sense our areas have been smaller school districts. I think we've lost touch. The central office has lost touch with what's really going on out there and I don't know, it just seems to me that when I was principal, and I still hear this from my colleagues out there, support service people forget what they were put in their positions for and that was to help the schools. They've created layers and layers and the schools can't get to them (Provenzo & Fernandez, 1988).

Decentralization was seen by Fernandez as providing a means by which people at the school site level could take greater control of their work and day-to-day lives. As Fernandez explained:

You talk to your principals out there now and ask them how to get something done in maintenance, they can't get it done. They have to go through one, two, three, five, six people... That's one of the main

reasons I'm pushing to zone the county and decentralize (Provenzo & Fernandez, 1988).

Working closely with Tornillo, sections were incorporated into the new teacher's contract that was being negotiated at the time which emphasized teacher involvement and the expansion of faculty councils. Under the 'Tentative Agreement' negotiated during the summer of 1986, it was concluded that:

No one is more knowledgeable than teachers about the educational programs and other aspects of the teaching learning process. The teacher's view in these matters is therefore critical. Shared-Decision Making at the school site, including such models as Quality Circles, with an expanded role for Faculty Councils, can significantly improve the quality of education and morale of teachers (Dade County Public Schools, 1986).

Recent Developments

In July of 1986, the School Board unanimously voted to support the development of an SBM/SDM pilot program. The pilot program was designed to include 32 schools (elementary through high school) of the approximately 272 schools in the system. During the 1986-87 school year, a Professionalization of Teaching Task Force was set up to review and make recommendations for the pilot program. Union and school system representation was included on the Task Force, which was co-chaired by Fernandez and Tornillo.

On January 13, 1987, a memorandum from Fernandez and Tornillo (as co-chairs of the Professionalization of Teaching Task Force) was sent to all of the principals and union stewards in the school district. The memorandum asked interested principals and faculties to submit proposals for participation in the School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making Pilot Program. Basically, schools were asked to generate plans for undertaking innovative programs that focused on shared decision making among administration,

faculty, staff and parents, on the development of structures for greater collegiality, and on increased community involvement, as well as on ways to improve curriculum and instruction. Applications and program proposals paralleled the format of the Quality Incentive Merit Pay Program (a school-based merit pay program) that was then operating throughout the county.

Training was seen as playing a crucial role in whether or not this model would succeed.

Fifty-three proposals were eventually received and a total of 32 schools were selected for participation in the program. This number included 17 elementary schools, 10 junior high schools, and one vocational technical center.

After schools submitted proposals to participate in the School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making program, a series of centralized training meetings were held during the spring of 1987. Teams sent from each school received instruction in group process, conflict management, decision making, communication, the conducting of effective meetings, and process observation. In addition to attending lecture/demonstrations, school teams practiced skills with one another and discussed applications that would be suitable for use in their schools.

Several schools contracted with consultants to help them in the implementation of the SBM/SDM programs. In some cases, consultants worked only with selected leadership groups in the schools, while others worked with the entire staff. In general, this type of consultation was conducted during the preschool/teacher workdays in August of 1987. In addition, special consultants were brought in to work with specific schools that were experiencing difficulty initiating their programs during the fall of 1987.

Under the guidelines set up by the school system, the SBM/SDM program assumed that all of the schools participating in the program would operate with a shared decision making model. In most schools 'leadership cadres' were established following guidelines defined by the school district. Participation of the principal and the UTD steward was required for these cadres. Within a very short period of time, schools began to modify the model to suit their own needs. This was clearly part of an evolutionary process, which in some schools is still being refined.

A Specific Example of SBM/SDM at Work in the Schools

An example of how the leadership cadre evolved can be seen in the case of one of the elementary schools participating in the program. This school chose as its model for shared decision making the use of Quality Circles. Training was seen as playing a crucial role in whether or not this model would succeed. Initially, attempts to have staff informally learn how to participate in Quality Circles proved a failure. As the principal explained:

Old mentalities, old ways of thinking and carrying on business were so ingrained that without a good understanding of what the new way was, and the tools and the specific guidelines of how to use those tools, we engineered failure.

Selected staff were eventually sent to be trained to train other staff members in the use of Quality Circle methods.

During the first year, two classroom circles or teams developed at the primary and intermediate levels, as well as an overview team, which replaced the 'leadership cadre.' The overview team or circle included people from the teaching and clerical staff, the maintenance and food services, and the school's administration. In addition, a special Quality Circle was set up to handle office issues.

The purpose of the teams or circles was to identify and solve problems. Looking for root causes rather than at symptoms was emphasized. Thus the

members of the circles tried not to personalize issues, but to deal with them from a diagnostic point of view. The circles as much as possible tried to draw together those individuals most concerned with a particular problem or area, had them identify what needed to be dealt with, and then proposed a suitable solution or prescription.

The leadership role assumed by the circle did not seem to pose a threat to the principal. As he explained: "They are coming up with better solutions than I could come up with."

Significantly, the principal, although technically a member of the 'leadership cadre' or 'circle,' did not attend its meetings. According to him, he did not do so because he was afraid he would dominate the meetings.

Teachers and other staff members became involved with budget decisions, hiring, and questions related to curriculum development, which up until this time had been traditionally left in the hands of the principal. Recommendations made by the leadership circle were reviewed by the principal who implemented them. Although technically the principal had veto power over the decision of the leadership circle, all of its recommendations were implemented. Careful collaboration between the principal and the leadership group has become almost automatic. The principal reviewed all recommendations, commenting when something did not conform with district or union guidelines. On the rare occasions that there were problems, the leadership circle reconsidered but did not necessarily change its decision in light of the principal's expert knowledge.

The leadership role assumed by the circle did not seem to pose a threat to the principal. As he explained: "They are coming up with better solutions than I could come up with." It is important to note that the implementation of the above program, while clearly well thought-out in its initial phases, took considerable modification. Even though the school originally proposed to adopt Quality Circles as a model for governance, it was not until participants actually started using this model that they realized the necessity for much more detailed and comprehensive training than they had originally anticipated.

Emerging Issues

The above description is simply one example of the types of programs implemented in the various schools participating in SBM/SDM. Despite their different approaches, certain problems emerged consistently with the program. Not having enough time to participate in SBM/SDM related meetings is an ongoing problem. New types of paperwork, long planning meetings, and strained interpersonal relationships placed a new set of demands on many teachers. As one elementary school teacher explained:

The lack of time and the lack of expertise. For example, waivers need to be written, proposals developed, paperwork for retreats or consultants attended to, contracts written, and the like. We're working from the bottom up.

In addition, preliminary evidence suggests that SBM/SDM may be easier to implement at the elementary and middle school level than at the larger and more complex secondary school level. This may be partly due to the traditional autonomy of high school teachers who may not feel the need to collaborate and perhaps lose some of their independence.

The implementation of the SBM/SDM model, by definition, represents the establishment of new models of collaboration and interaction between teachers and administrators and teachers and their colleagues. In addition, support staff such as custodians, secretaries, and cafeteria workers are in-

volved with the teaching staff and administrative staff in new ways as well. It is clear that through the implementation of SBM/SDM, teachers at all levels of the school system are being forced into becoming more sensitive about the problems and needs of not only their colleagues, but other members of the school's staff as well. In doing so, they are clearly overcoming the widely noted tendency of teachers to become isolated in their day-to-day work in the classroom (Lortie, 1975). As one high school teacher explained:

We certainly have more in common. We are forced with SDM to interact together. Com-

munication has improved drastically.

In addition to becoming more sensitive to other staff members' needs, the increased interaction on issues in which teachers are more expert has resulted in enhanced feelings of professionalism. Teachers have begun to feel good about having 'a piece of the action,' especially about issues which directly concern their work.

Conclusion

SBM/SDM represents an interesting model of workplace democracy for schools. Studies currently underway by

the school system are addressing issues such as whether or not teachers are more satisfied with their work and whether or not students achieve more academically and achieve more in terms of their personal development in schools where School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making is in operation. The extent to which SBM/SDM is a model that should be extended to other school systems is still open to debate. At the very least, SBM/SDM represents a promising experiment in democratizing the work of teachers, administrators, and school staff members.

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