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Publication Date

2012

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First-Year Principals' Engagement with Instructional Leadership: The Presence, Pathway,
and Power of Institutional Logics

By

Jessica Goodman Rigby

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor in Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Cynthia Coburn, chair

Professor Judith Warren Little

Professor Todd LaPorte

Spring 2012

Abstract

First-Year Principals' Engagement with Instructional Leadership: The Presence, Pathway, and Power of Institutional Logics

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Jessica Goodman Rigby

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

Professor Cynthia Coburn, Chair

In the current shifting educational landscape, first-year principals encounter multiple messages about what it means to be instructional leaders. While the concept of instructional leadership has been discussed in academic and practice-based literature for over three decades, there is no consensus on what it means. Moreover, the varied approaches to instructional leadership reflect the changes in the broader educational environment, such as the focus on alternative approaches and models in multiple elements of the education sector such as school types, preparation programs, and curricular approaches. The various notions of instructional leadership, then, serve as an opportunity to examine the multiple ways in which conflicting ideas in the institutional environment influence both leadership and, more broadly, education.

We know that what happens in the institutional environment matters for what happens in organizations, and schools in particular. Yet the majority of research that investigates the connections between the environment and schools focuses on teachers. The literature that studies principals mostly investigates school leaders at the school site; there are few studies that examine the role of the principal as the nexus between ideas in the environment and what happens instructionally in schools. This study fills this gap in the research literature, examining the entirety of the phenomena, first identifying the logics of instructional leadership that exist in the institutional environment, tracing the pathways of the logics to principals, and, finally, understanding how principals make sense of and enact them.

In a cross-case qualitative study, I studied six first-year principals who came to their positions through four distinct principal preparation paths. I first conducted an iterative document analysis to identify the institutional logics of instructional leadership in the environment. Then, using data from interviews and observations from the 2010-2011 school year, I mapped out the principals' informal social networks and compared them to the formal organizational structures they were exposed to. Using this analysis, I explored the influence of the formal organizational structures on the principals' informal networks: when they impacted the shape of the networks and when they did not. I also sought to understand the role of social networks as mechanisms for logics to be carried through the environment. Finally, I explored how principals made sense of and enacted the ideas of instructional leadership that they had access to, especially in relationship to the shape of their informal networks.

I define three notions of leadership in the environment, or institutional logics. I term them the prevailing, entrepreneurial, and social justice logics. I present a typology of these

institutional logics of instructional leadership that moves the field towards a stronger conception of what it means for a principal to be an instructional leader. I also found that the institutional logics were carried to individual principals through actors, norms, xx in their informal social networks. When principals received messages imbued with a logic often and from multiple alters, they were both more likely to consider it to be a part of their belief system and to take leadership actions that were associated with the logic.

This research contributes to understanding the relationship between institutional ideas and practice in schools, principal preparation, and professional development by explicating the mechanisms through which the ideas are carried through the institutional environment. It also extends research on social network theory by elucidating the content of interaction in social networks to include beliefs. Finally, this study has practical implications for both the research and implementation of principal preparation programs including the presence, salience, and messaging of distinct notions of instructional leadership.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW	1
INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW	2
THE SHIFTING PRINCIPALSHIP	2
SCHOLARSHIP ON INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP	3
<i>INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP IN PRACTICE</i>	4
FIRST-YEAR PRINCIPALS	5
PRINCIPALS' COGNITIVE PROCESSES AROUND INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP	6
THEORETICAL LITERATURE	7
<i>INSTITUTIONAL THEORY</i>	7
<i>SOCIAL NETWORK THEORY</i>	10
<i>SENSEMAKING THEORY</i>	12
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	14
CHAPTER 3: STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	19
SAMPLING	19
DATA COLLECTION & ANALYSIS	21
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS	22
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS	24
OBSERVATIONS	26
DATA ANALYSIS: INFORMAL INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP NETWORKS	28
DATA ANALYSIS: PRINCIPAL SENSEMAKING AND ENACTMENT	30
VERIFYING FINDINGS	32
A NOTE ON MY SUBJECTIVITY	33
LIMITATIONS	34
CHAPTER 4: THREE CONFLICTING LOGICS OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP	35
THE THREE LOGICS OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP	36
PREVAILING LOGIC	37
ENTREPRENEURIAL LOGIC	41
SOCIAL JUSTICE LOGIC	46
DISCUSSION	51
CHAPTER 5: INTRODUCING THE PRINCIPAL PREPARATION PROGRAMS AND THE PRINCIPALS	53
PRINCIPAL PREPARATION PROGRAMS	53
NEW LEADERS	53
UC BERKELEY'S PRINCIPAL LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE (PLI)	55
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST BAY (CAL STATE)	56
MILLS COLLEGE	58
PRINCIPALS	59
JAMAL	61
KATY	62
SABINA	63
MIGUEL	65
RACHEL	66
AMY	67

<u>CHAPTER 6: NETWORKED FOR INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP: THE SHAPE AND FORMATION OF FIRST-YEAR PRINCIPALS' INFORMAL INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP NETWORKS</u>	69
PRINCIPALS' FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES	71
MADRONE UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT (MUSD)	71
PRINCIPAL PREPARATION PROGRAMS	72
INTERACTION BETWEEN THE FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND INFORMAL NETWORKS	73
OVERVIEW OF NETWORK STRUCTURE	76
NETWORKS IN PRACTICE	78
CONTENT OF INTERACTION IN NETWORKS: CONCEPTIONS OF LEADERSHIP	81
DISCUSSION	84
<u>CHAPTER 7: PRINCIPALS' SENSEMAKING AND ENACTMENT OF MESSAGES OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP</u>	86
TEACHER SUPERVISION	87
MADRONE UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT'S TEACHER EVALUATION PROCESS	89
LOGICS IN TEACHER EVALUATION	90
PRINCIPALS' SENSEMAKING AND ENACTMENT OF TEACHER SUPERVISION	91
JAMAL & MAPLE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	92
KATY & EUCALYPTUS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	95
SABINA & CYPRESS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL [CHECK TABLE 5 FOR ORDER]	98
MIGUEL & BLACK OAK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	100
RACHEL & CHERRY PLUM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	103
AMY & MONTEREY PINE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	106
PRINCIPALS' NETWORKS SHAPED THE MESSAGES THEY DREW ON IN THEIR TEACHER SUPERVISION ACTIVITIES	108
DISCUSSION	112
<u>CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS</u>	113
DEFINING THREE CONFLICTING LOGICS OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP	113
SOCIAL NETWORKS AS CARRIERS OF INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS	115
THE CONNECTION BETWEEN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND INFORMAL SOCIAL NETWORKS	115
AFFORDANCES OF QUALITATIVE METHODS	116
PRINCIPAL PREPARATION PROGRAMS MATTER FOR PRINCIPALS' CONCEPTIONS OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP	117
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	119
<u>APPENDICES</u>	
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS	134
APPENDIX B: SAMPLE MUSD TEACHER EVALUATION FORM	138

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES, AND NETWORKS

TABLES

TABLE 1: PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS	21
TABLE 2: FORMAL INTERVIEWS	26
TABLE 3: EXAMPLES OF OBSERVED PRINCIPAL INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES	28
TABLE 4: DIMENSIONS OF THE PREVAILING LOGIC	38
TABLE 5: THE ISLLC STANDARDS	39
TABLE 6: DIMENSIONS OF THE ENTREPRENEURIAL LOGIC	43
TABLE 7: DIMENSIONS OF THE SOCIAL JUSTICE LOGIC	48
TABLE 8: PLI'S LEADERSHIP ELEMENTS AND OUTCOMES	55
TABLE 9: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION, BY SCHOOL	60
TABLE 10: FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES, EXPERIENCED BY FIRST- YEAR PRINCIPALS	73
TABLE 11: FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES, BY LOCATION AND FREQUENCY	76
TABLE 12: LOGICS IN PRINCIPALS' TALK AND ENACTMENT OF TEACHER SUPERVISION ACTIVITIES	93
TABLE 13: SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL SENSEMAKING AND ENACTMENT	111

FIGURES

FIGURE 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAME	15
FIGURE 2: PRINCIPALS' TIES BY TIE STRENGTH	77
FIGURE 3: TIES BY LOCATION, BY PRINCIPAL	78
FIGURE 4: PRINCIPALS' INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP TIES BY LOGICS	84
FIGURE 5: LOGIC IN INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP NETWORK, BY PRINCIPAL	84

NETWORK MAPS

NETWORK MAP 1: RACHEL	29
NETWORK MAP 1: RACHEL (AGAIN)	79
NETWORK MAP 2: JAMAL	79

Acknowledgements

I could not have started or finished this dissertation without the support and inspiration of many people. At the core of this work is the time, support, and expertise of my committee: Todd LaPorte, Judith Warren Little, and Cynthia Coburn. I was lucky to have encountered Todd's enthusiasm to sit on a committee of a student he had only met for an hour. His deep institutional knowledge of the theories I employ challenged me to think more deeply about both the generation and use of theory. At his pushing, I questioned when theory illuminated my data—and when it did not. I am appreciative that he took his time to urge my thinking and writing in a different direction. Judith guided me through my entire graduate career, starting when she first took me on as her advisee in 2006 and welcomed me into her research group. Her big-picture perspective and comments allowed me to see the forest when I was caught in the trees. Her persistence as my adviser and then as a member of my committee lent not only a consistency in my academic work, but also helped to frame my graduate career. Finally, it is nearly impossible to enumerate the multiple ways Cynthia has guided, really sometimes prodded, and supported my intellectual growth. I have learned so much from her: from her unwillingness to let me answer a question in her courses with imprecision (“tell me more”), to her teaching mentorship when I was a Graduate Student Instructor in her Qualitative Methods course, to her Saturday at midnight emails about my job search, to her final (and fourth) reading of every chapter (with line-edits, I'm sure she'd remove these parenthesis if she had the chance) of this dissertation the week it was due. My thinking, writing, and teaching are grounded in her models. I am not sure how I nudged my way into her research group, and then into her research assistant office, and then onto her advisee list, but I sure am glad I did.

Other professors at the GSE have also provided invaluable teachings and support. Dan Perlstein encouraged me to write about what I see, even if it didn't fit neatly into an existing theoretical frame. Our weekly fireside chats before my oral exam helped push me through the first part of my graduate degree. Bruce Fuller honed my early writing and introduced me to the intersection between the world of urban planning and schools which I continue to draw on in my personal life, if not in my academic one. I only recently tapped into Tina Trujillo's expertise and humor; I regret I didn't find her earlier. Norton Grubb supported my early work in MUSD and modeled how to bring together the fields of practice and academia in meaningful ways. And finally, Lynda Tredway provides me with a model of intellectual rigor paired with deep conviction about doing what is right and just in our world. Her unyielding commitment to social justice and equity for historically marginalized students continues to inspire me in my writing, thinking, and teaching. She also is the small voice that sits on my shoulder reminding me that while I did not address the issues of race that arose in the data collected for this study, they are issues I must take on and learn to write about very soon. Thank you, Lynda, for pulling me out of my head and into my heart.

I am also very lucky to have been blessed with supportive and challenging colleagues at the GSE. Sarah Woulfin, Angeline Spain, and John Hall each read many chapters of this dissertation (along with multiple other documents) and gave me critical yet honest feedback (it's good to hear what's working too) that moved my writing and my thinking. As an added bonus, Sarah's kept me honest by forcing me out on long, hot, and hilly runs every chance she gets, all the while claiming that it's my idea (talk about socially skilled). A big thanks to Huriya Jabar who spent many hours editing this dissertation to APA 6 guidelines. Finally, I can not offer enough appreciation and gratitude for the Policy Implementation Research

Group that has been my intellectual home for the past five years. I learned so much from all of you: about your work, my work, and how we work together.

Outside of graduate school, the universe smiled on me with many friends who continually supported me by forgiving me when I wouldn't come out, celebrating when I did, and consistently encouraging me by believing that my work is both important and good, even when they didn't know that to be so. Meei-Wenn Mao kept me on the straight and narrow, keeping high expectations for me showing up and loving me even when I didn't. Katy Hansen and Rachel Kadzik asked me with genuine interest about my work, provided places to sleep when I was back East, and held me up when I couldn't do it myself. The challah@me crew cooked numerous Friday night dinners, Maggie, Eric & Analbel welcomed me into their home in the dark dark January of Alaska for a week-long writing retreat, Andrea Drugan met me for multiple co-working dates and introduced me to the glory of Urban Flow Yoga (without which I'm sure I couldn't have gotten through my data collection), and to my backpacking friends: Cheryl Sicker, Kelly Vogel, Sarah Harlin, and Rachel Kadzik—please, let's keep going out there.

My family has held me firmly to the earth through this process. Sunday Night Dinners, at first with just my two brothers, has grown to be with two sisters-in-law, the most adorable nephew in the world, and my mom. Those dinners have, for the most part, taken me away from my computer and into the warmth of those that love me, no matter what happened on the screen that day. My East Coast family, Dad and Kathy, have also nourished me—not only through the ongoing gift of the CSA box—but also through both probing and supportive questions about my work.

Finally, I am incredibly lucky to have studied the phenomenal and inspiring individuals who were a part of this dissertation. The MUSD folks welcomed me into the district and were open about their experiences and perspectives. All of the individuals at the principal preparation programs willingly let me sit in on meetings and classes, gave me long interviews, followed up with emails, and continued to send documents throughout the two years. I offer especially huge thanks to the six principals who opened their lives, beliefs, ideas, and challenges to me for an entire very stressful year of their lives. I am incredibly grateful for your ability and willingness to go to the meta space in your brain amidst the very pressing needs of your school. I miss running after you with my clipboard! You all give me great hope for the future of MUSD and public education more broadly. Thank you.

Chapter 1. Introduction & Literature Review

This study examines how first-year principals understand competing messages about instructional leadership within a shifting educational landscape. The last three decades have witnessed a change in the role of the principal. While in the past principals were seen primarily as managers (Wolcott, 1973), now they are also expected to be instructional leaders (Bryk et al., 2010; Louis et al., 2010), focusing not only on running the operations of schools but also ensuring the academic success of students. At the same time, the recent focus on accountability in the education sector has given rise to alternative approaches in education, such as relying on business models or focusing on social justice. These alternatives are reflected in new organizational models in a variety of areas such as teacher training, school forms, and principal preparation. Instructional leadership is one area in education that is marked by multiple and often conflicting messages emanating from these new organizational models. In the midst of this contested environment sit first-year principals: individuals new to their positions and often to their schools. How then do first-year principals make sense of these multiple messages about instructional leadership in the shifting landscape?

Beginning principals serve as a case to explore and understand the multiple and conflicting messages around instructional leadership, the messy and complex process by which individuals hear and make sense of these messages, and how they enact them. I call this the *message-to-enactment* process and use the case of school leadership as a way to learn about it for several reasons. First, recent research argues that, next to teaching, school leadership is a key lever in school reform (Bryk, et al., 2010; Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Leithwood, Louis, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004; Supovitz, Sirinides, & May, 2010; T. Waters, Marzano, & McNulty, 2003). School leaders play a critical role in developing and sustaining effective urban schools (Leithwood, et al., 2004; Louis, et al., 2010). Evidence of principals' impact has been steadily accumulating since the "effective schools" research of the 1980s. These findings stand in marked contrast to recent research highlighting the insufficient preparation of most principals (Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Levine, 2005). Second, in their first years on the job, principals undergo a process of socialization (Leithwood, Steinbach, & Begley, 1992) and formation of their practices as school leaders. This inchoate state makes for a good case to see the message-to-enactment process unfold, as it is likely amplified as the principals first engage with their identities as instructional leaders. Finally, several organizational actors from the broader field of school reform engage in the development of school leaders, in the design of school leadership programs, and in crafting the policies for school leadership, thus placing principals as intermediaries between ideas in the field and implementation of these ideas in schools.

This study aims to yield new understandings of the relationship between principals and the many ideas that exist in the broader context in which their schools sit. Specifically, I elucidate the mechanisms through which principals come to understand, believe, and enact ideas of instructional leadership. I do this by focusing on the message-to-enactment processes of six first-year principals.

In this chapter, I review the literature on the principalship, including the concept of instructional leadership. I also address the literature on novice principals. I then identify the gaps in the literature and explain how I address these using three theories in concert: neo-institutional, social network, and sensemaking theories. I conclude with an overview of the dissertation as a whole.

Literature Review

Principals, their roles, training, and knowledge have been studied for decades. This research has characterized principals as managerial, instructional, and transformational, among others. Typologies of skills, knowledge, characteristics, and actions were developed to understand which combinations lead to improved teacher practices and the highest increases in student outcomes. While the field has recently come to agreement that principals should be instructional leaders, there are multiple and often conflicting messages about what an instructional leader should believe and do. There is an emerging literature on the interaction between school leaders and their context. Previous studies using institutional theory, social network theory, and sensemaking theory explore this relationship; I use these to theoretically inform this dissertation research. This dissertation adds to the current literature by connecting the different pieces and thus filling the gap: defining and characterizing the various messages of instructional leadership in the environment, seeing how these messages are carried through the environment, and finally examining these messages in action by looking at how principals make sense of and enact them.

The Shifting Principalship.

Principals have not always been expected to be instructional leaders. In the past 50 years, the role of the principal shifted from a bureaucratic/managerial frame to one focused on instruction. More than 30 years ago, Henry Wolcott (1973) wrote about Ed, an elementary principal who was mainly focused on managing his school as a means to advance his career. The ethnography painted a picture of a man in the principal's office (the title of the book) following clear goals to run his school while politically maneuvering through the informal structure that was the career ladder in the district. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the research focused on leadership in "effective schools." Leadership styles were defined and compared for efficacy—administrative, transactional, and transformational, as well as an early version of instructional (Bass, 1990; Burns, 1978; Murphy, Hallinger, Peterson, & 1986). Descriptions of principals today differ from Ed tremendously. Not only are they often women, they are in classrooms and walking the halls, not in their office. And while it is certain that they must manage their school as well as the politics of the district, the concentration of their work, at least rhetorically, is on teachers, students, and instruction (Fink & Resnick, 2001; Stein & Nelson, 2003). Both Leithwood et al. (2004) and Bryk et al. (2010) posit that school leaders have two main objectives: 1) helping to set organizational direction, and 2) influencing members to move in that direction. In a climate that Hallinger (2008) refers to as a "global love affair with accountability" (p. 2), the organizational direction must lead to increases in student achievement, as measured by standardized tests.

The spotlight on accountability leads to responsibilities for principals tied to but not directly focused on instructional leadership. No Child Left Behind, as well as the long series of preceding reforms, calls for higher levels of transparency and the public sharing of achievement results. These reforms significantly increase the management responsibilities of principals. In addition, as school reforms increasingly emphasize data-driven instruction, principals are required to use quantitative skills to analyze results, share findings with teachers and school communities, and react to the results with innovative programs. Principals must spend much more time receiving, understanding, analyzing, and sharing results with all levels of their community (Adams, 1999; Whitaker, 2003; Yerkes & Guaglianone, 1998). Further, principals must know how to support their teachers' pedagogical content knowledge and instruction, as well as how to use data to inform this

work (R. F. Elmore, 2000; Fink & Resnick, 2001; Stein & Nelson, 2003). Instructional leadership does not only exist in classrooms and in the school building; principals must also create transparency around their practices of instructional leadership tied to accountability measures.

Scholarship on Instructional Leadership.

In the past four decades, research on instructional leadership has largely focused on the relationship between leadership and school success (Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Leithwood, et al., 2004; Louis, et al., 2010; T. Waters, et al., 2003). In a review of the literature from 1980-1995, Hallinger and Heck (1998) chronicled the research on the effects of principals on student outcomes. Early studies unsuccessfully looked for direct effects (e.g., Cheng, 1994; Krug, 1986; O'Day, 1983). This research mostly used bivariate forms of analysis, trying to connect the actions of principals directly to student outcomes without explanation of the mechanisms. The findings from these studies were either not statistically significant or had mixed and weak results. Using more sophisticated methods of analysis, such as multiple regression and path analysis, researchers subsequently conceptualized a mediated-effects model. In this model, a leader impacts student outcomes indirectly through his or her influence on people, structures, and processes in a school over time (Hallinger & Heck, 1996; Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Leithwood, 1994; Louis, et al., 2010). These studies investigated concrete mechanisms through which principals impacted student outcomes and found mostly consistent positive effects. They found larger effects of the impact of school leaders on school outcomes mediated through activities such as coordinating organizational structures that allowed increased time for teacher collaboration, professional-development opportunities, and coaching.

Other literature from the late 1980s and early 1990s on instructional leadership focused not on its impact, but on delineating what instructional leadership is in the first place. Most of the definitions at that time were broad and all-encompassing. In 1987, Hallinger and Murphy began their report, "Today more than ever, principals are called upon to be strong educational leaders" (p. 55). Scholars have written a wide variety of typologies to characterize and research instructional leadership (e.g., Andrews & Soder, 1987; Blank, 1987; Hallinger, 2008; Heck, Larsen, & Marcoulides, 1990; Larsen, 1987). These typologies were similar in that they addressed behavior and beliefs of principals, but there was no one agreed-upon definition of instructional leadership.

The field today continues to lack an agreed-upon, taken-for-granted notion of instructional leadership. In the past two years two significant pieces have been published: the final research findings from the Wallace Foundation's Learning From Leadership Project (Louis, et al., 2010) and Bryk and colleagues' book, *Organizing Schools for Improvement: Lessons from Chicago* (2010). In a national sample of 180 schools from 43 districts from nine states, Louis et al. (2010) conducted surveys, interviews, classroom observations, and analysis of student achievement data and found three principal actions that changed teacher practice: 1) focusing the school on goals and expectations for student achievement; 2) keeping track of teachers' professional development needs; and 3) creating structures and opportunities for teachers to collaborate (p. 73). This study helped to move the field towards more specific and concrete notions of what a principal should do as an instructional leader by defining the focus of attention and the actions of a principal. Yet, its broad sweeps left many possibilities for interpretation and enactment.

The conception of instructional leadership in Bryk et al. (2010) in some ways parallels that of Louis et al.; it includes similar elements but is more elaborated. Based on several sources of quantitative data over a six-year period, the authors' conception of the "instructional dimension" of school leadership includes many elements: knowledge about learning theory and curriculum; analysis and ability to provide feedback to teachers; articulation of high standards for student learning; actions based on data and classroom observations; successful orchestration of people, programs, and extant resources; strategic choice of outside programs and providers; willingness to have and push a vision in the face of opposition; and nurture local ownership and distributed leadership of school reforms (p. 62-63). Both of these studies have a focus on student achievement, the role of teachers, and the importance of organizational structures. Bryk et al. begin to fill the gaps left by the previous study by describing specific leadership moves that constitute instructional leadership. This dissertation continues to illuminate this notion of instructional leadership, although from the perspective of the principals themselves.

It is important to note that while most of the literature takes for granted the notion that principals should be instructional leaders, at least one study demonstrates that principals continue to spend most of their time on management rather than instructional tasks. Horng et al. (2009) observed 65 principals in Miami-Dade Public Schools and tracked how and where they used their time. The authors found that the principals spent 11% of their time on instructional activities, including conducting classroom visits, evaluating the curriculum, and planning professional development. They spent the most time, 30% of the day, on administrative activities like managing student discipline and fulfilling compliance requirements (p. 9).¹ Both Louis et al. (2010) and Bryk et al. (2010) make similar arguments, albeit through redefining instructional leadership from "instructional activities" to broader instructional moves like creating time for meaningful teacher collaboration. The research on the definition and efficacy of instructional leadership has certainly shifted over the last four decades, yet what it means for a principal to be an effective instructional leader remains ambiguous, both from an outcomes-based perspective (increases in student test scores) and from principal's perspectives.

Instructional Leadership in Practice.

The persistent but general and ill-defined messaging about the need for instructional leadership is mirrored in the mainstream field of practice. Instructional leadership is defined broadly and encompasses most aspects of a principal's daily work. For example, in the 2010 Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) Standards, each of the six standards used to guide principal preparation programs begins with the phrase, "A school administrator is an educational leader who promotes the success of all students by..." (2010a). In the January 2009 edition of *Principal Leadership*, a popular magazine for practicing

¹ The authors also correlated these data with student achievement results, staff assessment of the school learning environment, teacher satisfaction, and parent assessment of the school. They found that time spent in the classroom was marginally or not at all related to increases in student performance and even had a negative relationship with teacher and parent assessments of the school (p. 20). This study raises two questions: are principals really instructional leaders, or is the notion simply rhetorical; and what is the efficacy of instructional leadership? While these are certainly related to the topic of my dissertation, I do not directly address them here.

principals, there is a one-page article that details the actions principals can take as instructional leaders ("Instructional Leadership in Action," 2009). Both of these pieces include multiple and overlapping notions of what it means to be an instructional leader with specific mention of school culture, management of the building, and relationships with families and community. The two documents have underlying parallels. The first ISLLC standard is about school vision anchored in learning for all students. It states that school leadership should believe in "the educability of all" and "the inclusion of all members of the school community" (2010a). This broad focus is not mentioned directly in the *Principal Leadership* article, but more specific actions that fall under the notion of an inclusive school vision are. For example, the article states that an action an instructional leader should take under "Student Activities" is to allow students to "participate in sports, music, and plays even if they are not very talented" ("Instructional Leadership in Action," 2009). It is easy to identify practically any action of a school leader as "instructional leadership" in the mainstream messages in both the fields of research and practice. This broad definition leaves a lot of room—too much room—to be of much use for either researchers or practitioners.

First-Year Principals.

First-year principals sit in the context of the multiplicity of definitions of their roles as instructional leaders. The relatively scant literature on novice principals is focused first on the growth of the individual as a principal and second on the interactions between the principals and the school site. This research suggests that first-year principals must negotiate many facets of their new positions. Entering a new occupational role, and often a new organization, new principals face a period of socialization (Leithwood, et al., 1992). Ann Swindler (1986) suggests that people new to a position "formulate, flesh out, and put into practice new habits of action" (p. 279). To do so, individuals select differing pieces from "diverse, often conflicting symbols, rituals, stories, and guides to action" (p. 277) and use these to form a "tool kit" or repertoire to construct a line of action. Beginning principals are in the early stages of forming their repertoires; they do not have established lines of action. It is a process of "learning and reflection that requires socialization into a new community of practice and assumption of a new role identity" (Browne-Ferrigno, 2003, p. 470). While individuals base their new roles on previous experiences, such as their observations and experiences of their principals' work while they were teachers, their own experiences as teachers, and other non-education work experiences (Crow & Glascock, 1995), the development of a new role identity can be a transformative process. Socialization and identity formation are distinct processes; the need of a beginning principal to accomplish both distinguishes the challenge of a first-year principal from a more experienced one.

Second, the literature focuses on the complexities of schools as organizations and the interactions between a new principal and the school site. In order to have a climate and culture in which to create instructional change, the literature argues that first-year principals must understand the "ghosts of principals past" (Draper & McMichael, 2000; Rooney, 2000; Weindling & Dimmock, 2006). Often distinct from their explicit roles as instructional leaders, both the academic research and practice literature signal this element as especially salient for principals as instructional leaders in order to set the organizational direction and influence members to move in that direction (Leithwood, et al., 2004), school leaders need to understand the status quo before working to change it. Teachers, parents, and school communities have taken-for-granted notions about how their individual schools are run, from large organizational plans, such as the schedule, to smaller, seemingly innocuous, things

such as which pictures to hang on the walls. In concert with a more focused scrutiny on a new principal's fit and performance, seemingly simple actions that a new principal takes can have long-lasting impacts on the relationships with the staff and community (Hall & Mani, 1992). Part of the challenge a beginning principal must overcome is understanding her school's culture in order to avoid causing rifts between herself and the staff and school community (Langston, McClain, Stewart, & Walseth, 1998). Langston and her colleagues interviewed and surveyed three beginning elementary-school principals. Based on these two data sources, they surmised the following four implications. Novice principals should 1) develop an extensive network of information sources, 2) access a variety of support sources, 3) be able to distill and articulate the root meaning of culture, and 4) understand that culture is a primary factor in the success of a first-year principal experience (p. 13). In another study, Patrick Meigs (2008) looked at the differences between school types and first-year principals. In a review of five empirical studies, the author argued that principals in low-performing schools had compelling reasons to change instruction, whereas novice principals in high-performing schools faced resistance to change due to the lack of urgency (17).

The literature on novice principals has largely used the same level of analysis: the principal inside of his or her school building. This dissertation opens up this focus to beginning principals in the context of the broader environment, which includes the school sites, the district, and principal preparation programs.

Principals' Cognitive Processes around Instructional Leadership.

Rather than focusing on an organizational level of analysis, there are several studies that look at the cognitive processes of principals as they make decisions around instructional leadership. Two studies argued that principals' tacit assumptions impacted their leadership actions. One qualitative study looked at three principals: first-year, mid-career, and veteran to understand the differences in "mental models" of instructional leadership used. The authors defined mental models as "observation, assessment, design, and implementation" (Ruff & Shoho, 2005, p. 557). They found that the three principals engaged in different mental models, and that the tacit assumptions had the possibility to either support or constrain the leaders' efforts towards increases in student achievement. Another small qualitative study followed four principals, all with more than five years of experience, to gauge principals' level of self-reflection in their leadership practices. The authors found that the principals' actions were based on their assumptions of what would benefit teacher practice and argued that the principals altered their strategies to realize different outcomes, but did not engage in self-reflection (Houchens & Keedy, 2009).

Both of these studies recognized the importance of understanding school leaders' cognitive processes in order to further explain their actions and changes in practice. While the studies illuminated the school leaders' cognitive processes within the context of their school sites, neither looked out beyond the specific context of practice to understand the situated nature of how principals made sense of their role as instructional leaders. This is also true in a handful of other studies that look at the principals and instructional leadership from a cognitive perspective (e.g., Allison & Allison, 1993; Leithwood, 1988; Leithwood & Montgomery, 1986; Leithwood & Stager, 1989). Ruff and Shoho (2005) call for more research, especially in the role of principal preparation programs, to understand the impact of the outside environment on principals' assumptions of instructional leadership.

There are a few studies that have begun to look at principals' cognitive processes

beyond the schools' walls. These studies illustrate that principals' sensemaking is shaped through their previous experiences and is embedded in the social context of both their schools and the broader environment. For example, Slegers et al. (2009) studied two beginning principals in similar schools in the Netherlands. The authors showed that leaders framed similar problems differently because of both their past experiences and the particular social contexts in which they developed their professional values. Three other studies looked at school leaders' sensemaking of policy messages (Coburn, 2005, 2006; Spillane, 2000; Spillane & Callahan, 2000), although the focus of these studies was on the role of the principal in shaping policy messages for teachers, not directly on the school leaders.² This study builds on this current literature to learn more about how principals' sensemaking is shaped with a focus on the institutional environment including the districts, principal preparation programs, and the logics of instructional leadership in the national discourse on school reform and the role of the principal.

In summary, the literature on principals points to the need for new principals to understand the organizations they are entering, including both the tenure of the preceding principal and the culture of the school community. As instructional leaders, understanding the teacher-culture at a school is especially relevant. While the literature clearly points to the importance of the context of the school, there is little research on the interaction between the broader environment and the understandings and actions of individual principals, the role that others play in first-year principals' identity formation, or the cognitive processes through which principals work to understand, and then enact, ideas of instructional leadership. This knowledge may be key for understanding how to better leverage the power of the principalship in affecting student achievement. This study fills the gaps in the literature by relying on three distinct theories: institutional theory, social network theory, and sensemaking theory.

Theoretical Literature.

The message-to-enactment process tracks ideas from the environment to enactment in schools. Each of the three theories—institutional, social network, and sensemaking—illuminates a piece of the process. Institutional theory helps to explain the relationship between ideas in the environment to organizations, social networking highlights the importance of systems and structures for the flow of information and ideas, and sensemaking elucidates the cognitive element of the process.

Institutional Theory.

Institutional theory investigates shared conceptions about the nature of social reality, culture, and ideology. It looks at how elements such as norms, routines, rules, and logics emerge, are implemented, diffused, and adapted over space and time (Colyvas & Powell, 2006; W. R. Scott, 2004). Institutions are configured and reconfigured through social interactions and contestation. Scott (2007) describes them not only as controlling and constraining behavior, but also as supporting and empowering. Earlier formulations of institutional theory understood institutions as stable entities, influenced by rational systems, which included explicit goals, rules, and measurable outcomes (e.g., Taylor, 1915; Weber, 1978). Currently, much of the field views institutions as not only open to change, but also doing so in an

² The literature on principal sensemaking is reviewed in the theoretical literature below.

iterative process. Individual and organizational actors are both influenced by and influence the nature of institutions (e.g., Coburn, 2004; Colyvas & Powell, 2006; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; W. R. Scott, 2000; Vaughan, 1997).

Institutional theory suggests that individual actors, like school principals, are situated in a broader context than their school—their environment. An organization’s environment consists of all significant elements outside the organization that influence its functioning. “The environment can be seen as a store of resources as well as a source of opportunities and constraints, demands and threats” (W. R. Scott & Davis, 2006, pp. 19-20). In this study, the environment includes conflicting messages about instructional leadership. Within the environment is an analytic unit called the organizational field. DiMaggio and Powell (1986) define organizational field as “those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products” (1986, p. 65). For principals, the organizational field might include the school district, local community-based organizations, foundations, textbook companies, federal school policies, and principal preparation programs, among others.

The scholarship around the role of the environment has shifted in the field of institutional theory over the last three decades. Early studies argued that ideas in the organizational field, like messages about instructional leadership, were decoupled from schools’ core work, such as a principal’s actions of instructional leadership, in order to either buffer the technical core from scrutiny or allow the school’s core work to meet multiple and conflicting demands (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Early institutional theory therefore suggests that the environment does not matter for the technical core of schooling. More recent scholars of institutional theory, conversely, argue why and how the environment does matter for the nature of work in organizations.

Scott (2007) explores how the nature of social reality in the environment impacts how organizations function through cognitive influences. Scott posits that the nature of social reality consists of shared conceptions that are shaped by external cultural frameworks. Routines are taken for granted, or are the “way we do things” (p. 57). Roles are differentiated due to localized contexts, although they rely on broader socially manufactured scripts (S. R. Barley, 1986) and common beliefs (Kunda, 2006). For example, a first-year principal may not enter her position with a blank slate; she likely carries with her the routines of a “principal,” scripts of how she relates to teachers and parents, and common beliefs about what it means to be a principal. Scott (2000) refers to this set of ideas as *institutional logics*, or “belief systems and associated practices that predominate in an organizational field” (170). Logics are bundles of ideas that come together at particular periods of time that authorize certain kinds of actions and not others. The environment may have more than one logic in play at a given moment. Scholars have traced the process of institutional change (e.g., Colyvas & Powell, 2006; W. R. Scott, 2000); in the process of institutionalization, a dominant logic can be challenged by a periphery logic (or multiple periphery logics). In the moment of contestation, then, multiple logics exist. This suggests that, if the notion of instructional leadership exists in a time of contestation, there may be several conflicting logics that a first-year principal may interact with.

Institutional theory suggests that the environment is significant to understanding

organizational fields, organizations, actors in the organizations, and the actions of organizations. Further, institutional theorists argue that what goes on in the environment and in the field matters for what happens in schools in particular. Two studies highlight this importance, although with different explanations of the mechanisms of the process. In his study of the implementation of a state reading policy in two districts, Spillane (1998) posits that, among other factors, the links district professional specialists had to different professional organizations in the environment impacted their implementation of district policy. People thought about the nature of instruction in different ways depending on their instructional focus, such as special education, English Language Learners, or reading, or on an individual connection to a reform movement, such as “effective schools.” These deep differences in ideas were sustained by their external connections to professional organizations and influenced their behavior. He also found that individuals at school sites, such as principals, teachers, and learning specialists, had similar connections to professional organizations that also influenced their implementation of the state reading policy.

Coburn (2004) argues in her study of the relationship between the environment and teachers’ classroom practice that, contrary to earlier theory, the environment influences teachers’ practice, although it is mediated through their preexisting practices and beliefs. She found that teachers responded to encounters with policy messages along a continuum of implementation, from rejection to accommodation. Teachers’ responses were influenced by four factors: congruence of the policy message to previous practice; the intensity of the message, or how long it was sustained; the pervasiveness of the message, or if the message came from many different places; and voluntariness, or if there were both normative and regulative pressures to conform. Of these, the intensity of the message was the factor that was the most influential on teacher practice, and yet it was present least often.

How the environment influences people’s work in schools depends upon the nature of the environment. In particular, when the environment is fragmented, organizations may pick and choose which institutional pressures they respond to (D’Aunno, Sutton, & Price, 1991). For example, a study by D’Aunno and his colleagues (1991) found that drug-abuse treatment units, which sat in contested environments, adopted seemingly conflicting practices in an effort to acquire legitimacy and funding. The drug treatment centers were limited in their ability to respond to all demands of their fragmented environments, and therefore both ranked practices by importance for organizational legitimacy and adopted and combined practices on the basis of visibility (D’Aunno, et al., 1991, p. 642). Rather than making organizational decisions based on the day-to-day goal of helping their patient population, the organizations made decisions based on environmental pressures in order to maintain legitimacy and funding. Further, as there were multiple and conflicting pressures, they chose and combined practices that best matched the desires of many pressures in the environment.

While the extant research is pivotal in understanding the connection between the environment and schools, institutional theory does not account for why some ideas in the environment matter and others do not. The theory helps us understand the macro environment rather than either the meso or micro levels of analysis. Further, it does not provide insight into the mechanism by which ideas move through the environment and into schools. For that, I turn to social network theory.

Social Network Theory.

Social network theory offers a way to understand how individuals are connected to some ideas and not others. It helps to explain which ideas in the environment become salient to individuals and which do not in the message-to-enactment process.

A social network represents the mapping of actors and the connections among them. Social network scholars posit that depending on a person's location in a social network, he or she has access to different information and sets of ideas (e.g., Adler & Kwon, 2002; Ahuja, 2000; W. R. Penuel, Riel, Krause, & Frank, 2009; Small, 2009; Uzzi, 1996). Networks can be used to analyze the flow of information across individuals, inter-organizationally, intra-organizationally, or across organizational ecologies. One of the main elements of social network theory is the structure of the network. Seminal work by Granovetter in 1973 visualized networks as a series of ties, or relationships, that connect nodes, or the people, interunits, and organizations that compose the network. Ties are conceptualized as "weak" or "strong." The weak-tie theory (Granovetter, 1974) claims that distant and infrequent relationships are efficient. Nodes with weak ties can quickly transfer knowledge, do not have expectations of reciprocal responsibility, and avoid bargaining and coordination in exchanges. Strong ties, or "embedded ties"³ (Uzzi, 1996), include trust and allow for both the transfer of complex or fine-grained information and joint problem solving. An alternative hypothesis proposed by Burt (1992) argued that the strength of ties are not the most important element in network structures, rather networks are better explained by looking at structural holes, or disconnections between partner nodes. Structural holes point to a lack of connectivity between partner nodes, an indication that both nodes have access to different information and therefore share more distinct information with the search node. Social networks may illuminate the mechanism of the flow of logics from the institutional field (such as messages of instructional leadership) to either a set of nodes or a specific node (such as a group of principals or an individual principal).

The configuration of a person's informal social network influences their access to information (Coburn, Choi, & Mata, 2010; Morrison, 2002; Small, 2009; Sparrowe, Liden, Wayne, & Kraimer, 2001). Coburn & Russell (2008) investigate the pathways of ideas from the environment to shaping individual thought and action specifically in schools. They studied the influence of district math policy on teachers' social networks in eight elementary schools in two school districts. The authors identified four dimensions of teachers' social networks: structures of ties (tie span and strength), access to expertise, trust, and content of interaction (depth and congruence). They found that district policy does influence the nature and quality of teachers' social networks, but not always in ways anticipated by district leaders. The district-developed routines of interaction were diffused through social networks. Routines as well as information flowed through network ties, and school leaders mediated district policy by shaping the structure of teacher communication. The main difference between the networks was due to different routines of interaction and levels of expertise.

³ Uzzi (2003) explains that "a social embeddedness framework... treats the quality of informal ties as varying in the degree to which commercial ties are embedded in social attachments" (p. 383) and later delineates between embedded or arms-length ties. While there are distinctions that can be drawn between strong ties and embedded ties, for the purpose of bounding this study I use both to signify the same type of tie.

This study points to the importance of social networks as a pathway of ideas from the environment to individuals, showing that routines and information flow through network ties. Coburn and Russell's study builds on and complicates Granovetter's (1973) work on the importance of the structure of a network; it signals that ideas about practice from the organizational field have more or less influence depending on routines of interaction and levels of expertise found in the informal social network.

While most of the literature on social networks focuses on the informal networks, or "lived" social structure, recent scholarship shows that in schools the formal organizational structures interact with and shape the informal network. This broadens what is important to pay attention to in social networks. It is not only the informal ties that matter, but also in what ways the formal structure overlaps or is incongruent from those ties. Current social network research has begun to search for moments of intersection between the two to understand when and under what conditions formal organizational structures impact the lived practices of individuals and their informal social networks (Daly, 2010; W.R. Penuel, et al., 2010; Small, 2009).

This study adds to the current literature by attending to the interrelationship between informal social networks and formal structures for individual principals in their first year in the role. If formal structures shape informal social networks, they may also help determine first, what information is available in the networks, and second, inform the practice of individuals in the networks. Coburn et al. (2010) argue, "Researchers tend to emphasize the emergent character of social networks, focusing on the choices individuals make as they seek out others with whom to interact. But they often neglect the social arrangements and organizational conditions that shape individual choice" (p. 46). By describing the instructional leadership networks of first-year principals, this dissertation shifts our attention from discrete organizational forms, such as principal preparation programs and the central district office, to the multiple and complex interchanges between new principals and the people that support their work, with an explicit focus on understanding the influence of the formal organizational structures on individual choice. The case of first-year principals is especially useful to understand the role and level of influence of principal preparation programs, as the individuals are chronologically more closely tied to their programs than other people in their role. A close look at the influence of principal preparation programs allows us to see the ways in which the messages, experiences, and connections to the programs come to be reinforced, extended, challenged, or diminished through their encounters with both the formal school and district organization and their affiliation and participation in informal networks. Social network theory helps to untangle these messages and elucidate how the principals are connected to some ideas and not to others.

Social network theory illuminates the importance of systems and structures, both formal and informal. It downplays, however, the cognitive aspects of individual actors. People hear and make sense of messages in the environment not only due to the factors that social network theory suggests, but also based on their own cognition (Coburn, 2001a; Spillane, 2000). Thus, social network theory highlights only part of the process of the pathway of logics to individual thought and action. To understand the final piece of the message-to-enactment process, I rely on sensemaking theory.

Sensemaking Theory.

Sensemaking theory posits that understanding is developed through the interaction of prior knowledge, the social context of the work, and connection with ideas from the environment (Coburn, 2001a; Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002). Sensemaking theorists posit that individuals utilize prior knowledge, or schema, to make sense of new ideas.⁴ Each learner has a distinct lens that will determine which aspect of a new idea he or she notices and takes up in practice (Spillane, et al., 2002). In concert with individual cognition, sensemaking theorists argue that meaning is “constituted in the interaction” (Spillane, et al., 2002, p. 412). It is concomitantly an individual and collective process in an embedded context. A policy or reform message is encountered and engaged in a collective process of meaning making in a particular space or moment. This “enactment zone” (Spillane, et al., 2002) is also an elemental piece of the sensemaking of the message. Collectively, a group of actors, each with their distinct schema, engage in a process through which they notice, construct, and operationalize a message in a particular space or moment (Coburn, 2001a; Spillane, et al., 2002; Stein & Coburn, 2008). Further, Slegers et al. (2009) remind us that the social context is a complex construct that includes both macro and micro aspects, “ranging from thought communities, to organizational structures, local workplace norms and rules, and informal and formal social interactions with colleagues in school” (p. 155). Organizations, then, also have schema that play a role in the sensemaking process.

There is a growing literature on sensemaking of instructional reforms and the role of principals in this process. Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge (2007) found in their study of school change that in response to school sanctioning policies, principals’ preexisting schema was important to both their individual policy interpretation and enactment. Importantly, the authors saw schema as a dynamic force. First, principals carried their previous experiences, thoughts, and beliefs into their understandings of new policy. Second, their actions depended on their unique contexts, or enactment zone, in this case the resources available for them to gain and maintain power. Coburn (2005) also examined the role of school leaders and their sensemaking; she looked at the role of school leaders in shaping teacher sensemaking around reading policy. She found that school leaders had their own understandings about reading instruction and teacher learning. These schemas influenced the decisions they made about access to policy ideas, their participation in the collective process of meaning making and adaptation, and the conditions they designed for teacher learning in their schools. These studies are useful guides to understanding the potential roles principals play as instructional leaders in the context of their schools. There is no research, however, that looks at the relationship between conflicting environmental logics and principals’ sensemaking or the relationship between sensemaking and social networks. This study fills this gap by investigating the process by which principals receive, collectively engage with, make sense of, and enact messages of instructional leadership.

⁴ Much of the sensemaking literature in education focuses on policy implementation. While the messages in this study are not all necessarily “policy,” the theories apply in that I am looking at logics in the environment that are transferred to principals as messages of belief and action. Some of the messages are policies, such as a district-mandated policy around intervention or a program’s expectations of student-achievement growth shown. Others are less directive, such as the value of spending time in classrooms.

To understand this message-to-enactment process, the following research questions will guide my study:

- 1) *What are the logics in the field of the principalship?*
- 2) *What are the nature and characteristics of informal social networks of beginning principals?*
- 3) *How do beginning principals engage in sensemaking around the logics of instructional leadership?*
- 4) *How do the logics of the field, as mediated by networks and via sensemaking, influence beginning principals' practices?*

In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I develop a theoretical argument for studying the message-to-enactment process relying on the three theories described above, institutional, social network, and sensemaking. Chapter 3 outlines the study design and methodology employed in this dissertation, including the data collection, analysis, and verification. An introduction to the district is also included in this chapter. Chapter 4 describes the logics identified in the broader environment. Through an iterative document analysis that moved between the national and local environments, I argue that there are currently three salient logics of instructional leadership in the environment: what I call the “prevailing logic,” the “entrepreneurial logic,” and the “social justice logic.” Chapter 5 introduces the principal preparation programs and situates them in the local environment and the logics they are associated with. Additionally, in this chapter I introduce the six focal principals and their schools, describing their specific micro-local contexts.

The next two chapters present the findings from the analyses using social network and sensemaking theories. In Chapter 6, I describe both the informal instructional leadership networks of the six principals and the formal organizational structures they encountered. I compare the two and find that principals' informal networks, while influenced by the formal structures, did not map on to the formal structures. I found that the shape of different networks carried distinct messages of instructional leadership. These findings help explain what messages principals encountered and the ones they did not have access to. In Chapter 7, I explore new principals' engagement with the messages of instructional leadership: how they made sense of and enacted them. I do this through individual narratives of each principal, describing their interactions, particularly around messages about teacher supervision (as a way to bound the analysis). I show that messages the principals received about instructional leadership, shaped by their informal instructional leadership networks, in conjunction with their schema and specific school contexts, mattered for their teacher supervision practices.

I conclude the dissertation with a consideration of the consequences of the definitional work of the institutional logics and how and under what circumstances they are carried through the environment to individual principals. I also discuss the study's implications for potential future research in the content of interaction in informal social networks, as well as the practical implications of this study for principal preparation programs and school districts.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

This study investigates the relationship between new principals and the ideas about instructional leadership that exist in the environment. Specifically, I elucidate the mechanisms through which principals come to understand, believe, and enact ideas of instructional leadership. To uncover this message-to-enactment process, I rely on three theories: institutional, social network, and sensemaking. *Institutional theory* helps me understand how ideas in the environment, like contested ideas about leadership, influence individual action in an organization. I draw on *social network theory* to understand how ideas about instructional leadership are carried through the environment to the first-year principals. To address how individual actors make sense of the ideas they receive, I rely on *sensemaking theory*. Presently, sensemaking and social network theories are used in the literature relatively independently to explain distinct elements of the flow of information between the environment, organizations, and individuals. This dissertation examines how the pieces are connected: how the shape of one's social network determines access to information and the social cognitive process of making meaning, how one's social cognitive process of meaning making influences the shape of one's social network, and how both of these processes are part of a larger development of a shifting institutional environment and concomitant change in the institutionalization of instructional leadership. In this chapter I specify how I use these three theories in this study. Figure 1 below illustrates this conceptual framework.

Institutional Logics

Entrepreneurial
Logic

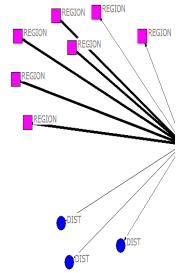
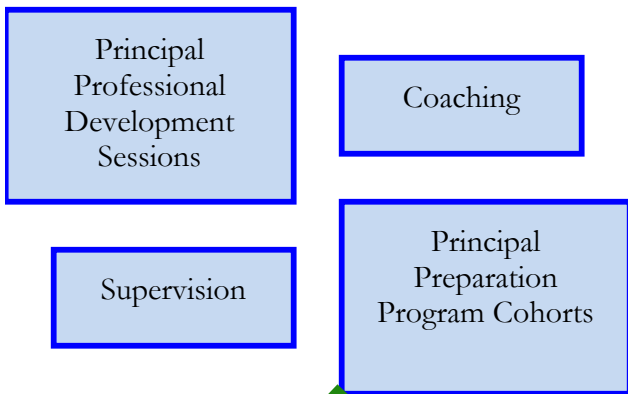
Prevailing Logic

Social Justice Logic

Messages of Instructional Leadership

Formal Organizational Structures

*Informal Instructional
Leadership Networks*



Sensemaking

Sensemaking

Principals

Sensemaking

Instructional Leadership Actions

Figure 1: Conceptual Frame

Since we know that what happens in the environment matters for what happens in schools (Coburn, 2001b; Spillane, 1998), it is important to first identify what ideas exist in the institutional environment. This study begins with naming and characterizing the ideas in the broader institutional environment, as seen at the top of Figure 1. Institutional theory scholars call the sets of ideas in the environment *institutional logics*. Logics, as defined by Scott (2007), are “belief systems and associated practices that predominate in an organizational field” (170). They are bundles of ideas and associated beliefs and practices that come together at particular periods of time that enable certain kinds of actions and not others. Logics are dynamic; they are built and rebuilt as actors carry them in the field, and they are codified into routines and organizational structures (W. R. Scott, 2007) and governance structures (Meyer, Scott, & Strang, 1987; W. R. Scott, 2007). Based on a document analysis, interviews, and observations, I identify three logics of instructional leadership that are present in the environment: the prevailing logic, the entrepreneurial logic, and the social justice logic. The *prevailing logic* aims to shift the attention of principals to the teaching and learning in the school building from a simple managerial role. The logic, however, remains agnostic on both the content and the process of the teaching and learning itself (Hallinger & Heck, 1997; Leithwood & Duke, 1998). The *entrepreneurial logic* seeks to define instructional leadership through activities, beliefs, and mechanisms borrowed from the private sector. In this logic, school leaders aim to “drive breakthrough gains” in their schools (New Leaders, 2011); these are measured through standardized test scores. Finally, the *social justice logic* foregrounds the connection of social justice with academic achievement, critical consciousness, and inclusive practices in the actions of school leaders (McKenzie, et al., 2008). The figure above depicts how three institutional logics fit into the theoretical frame of this study. The logics conflict and overlap; the prevailing logic is larger than the others because it is likely more prevalent.

The distinct theories of action of the three logics are experienced by school leaders through messages and practices that exist and flow through the environment. In this study, I define a message as a concrete and tangible manifestation of a logic (Coburn, 2004). Examples of messages include: *artifacts*, such as course syllabi and leadership standards (Spillane, et al., 2002); *advice*, perhaps given by a coach or a mentor; *directives*, given by the school district or principal manager; *policies*, seen through district documents and agreements with the teachers’ union; and *practices*, like the daily routines of a principal such as classroom walkthroughs or an approach to school-based professional development. These messages are likely carried through the environment through formal organizational structures, such as professional development sessions, principal managers, coaching sessions, and principal preparation program cohort meetings. They are also likely carried through the environment by informal social networks. In Figure 1, messages are represented by the green arrows. Messages are present in the broader environment, make their way through the principals’ organizational field, and finally are present in each principal’s sensemaking process.

I use social network theory to explore the relationship between the formal organizational structures and the informal social networks. The principals are the nexus between the shifting institutional logics and enactments of instructional leadership in schools. The networks likely transmit some messages and not others. Social network theory illuminates the connection between the institutional logics in the environment and the principals by highlighting how messages made it through the environment, which were salient, and which were backgrounded. I measured the instructional leadership networks

along three dimensions: *size*, simply an actor's number of ties; *strength of ties*, if ties are weak or strong (Granovetter, 1973); and *range*, the degree to which ties span different knowledge pools, such as to the district central office, within the school site, or to principal preparation program (Reagans & McEvily, 2003). The size of an individual's network is important in terms of access to information, especially if the ties are non-redundant, or are not connected to each other (Burt, 1992). Beyond the sheer number of ties, network scholars argue that a network with multiple weak ties, or those that require infrequent interactions and low intimacy, are sources of a broader array of information than a network that consists of fewer and denser, or interconnected, ties (Granovetter, 1973). To understand the principals' potential to get access to different types of information, I looked at the range across the informal instructional leadership networks. In the networks of the focal principals, individuals in various locations in the network, such as the central district office or a school site, have different types of knowledge. For example, a central office budget analyst can help a principal make decisions about where to concentrate resources for particular educational outcomes, whereas a site-based literacy coach can give specific feedback on what type of professional development a particular teacher needs to improve her teaching of comprehension skills to second-grade students. Both types of ties may be important for a first-year principal working to understand his or her role as an instructional leader. Concurrently, if a principal doesn't have a tie to a particular location in the network, he or she may not have access to important information. The nature of principals' social networks, then, can both constrain and enable their access to information.

While principals may receive messages about instructional leadership, it is likely that an individual principal will not pay attention to every message he or she receives. Instead, sensemaking theory suggests that individuals will make sense of the message, or come to a particular understanding about what the message means, and how and if he or she will choose to actualize the message. They do this by using their prior knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes, the social context of the work, and the connection with the message. In this study, I look at this process of how principals use the messages they receive in the formal organizational structures and informal social networks, and how they make sense of these messages in the context of their school site and with their background knowledge. Finally, I document the enactment of the principals' sensemaking. In Figure 1, this process is seen in the bottom third of the diagram. To understand how principals make sense of the multiple messages they received, I relied on Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer's (2002) sensemaking typology of the three concomitant elements:

Prior knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes. First-year principals start their jobs with many models of the principalship from when they were students, from when they were teachers,⁵ and, for some, from when they were assistant principals. These models, in addition to their beliefs about schooling in general, impact their cognitive structures and influence which aspect of a new idea they take up in practice (Spillane, et al., 2002). In a presentation at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), Spillane and Anderson referred to this element as an individual's "biography." The principals' intellectual, professional, and cultural biographies likely influence their engagement with institutional logics.

⁵ All principals in CA are required to teach for at least three years prior to the principalship.

The social context of the work. Spillane et al. (2002) argue that an individual's social context of work is not simply a backdrop in the sensemaking process—it is a constituting element (p. 389). This is especially true for principals who enter into schools with extant structures, cultures, and individuals. Further, principals have multiple social contexts—their school-sites, district professional-development sessions, the district writ large, and their principal preparation programs. It is likely that individuals from each of these social contexts will be a part of a principal's informal instructional leadership network, another location of collective sensemaking.

Connection with the message. In their typology, Spillane and his colleagues (2002) argue that messages enable or constrain actors' sensemaking ability by presenting only pieces of the broader picture. Depending on specific actor's prior understanding of the representation's content, it will be more or less likely to be implemented. The authors state, "external representations are interpretations, only partial depictions of social reality, reflecting choices made by individuals creating the representations about what to include, what to exclude, and what problems have been targeted" (p. 416). This suggests that the messages encountered by principals about instructional leadership are likely only partial depictions of social reality—a reality that has multiple and competing notions. The authors go on to explain that the full meanings of external representations only exist after the process of decision making and enactment, "based on what has been actively interpreted and constructed as a result of interacting with the artifact" (p. 416).

The enactment of the messages is depicted in Figure 1 at the very bottom of the diagram. Principals may enact practices that combine multiple messages from multiple logics, thus illustrating an emergence of a shifting institutional environment (Colyvas & Powell, 2006). Further, as the logics carry different notions of how things should be done, or the processes of leadership action, the process of enactment may also exemplify one or more logic(s). The principals' enactments of particular messages are the outcome of the message-to-enactment process and therefore may highlight different dimensions of the entire process, thus bringing to the foreground which institutional logics the principals paid attention to and which they backgrounded. In summary, the conceptual framework I develop to investigate the message-to-enactment process emphasizes the presence of multiple institutional logics of instructional leadership, the role of informal social networks that carry messages through the environment, and how principals make sense of and enact the multiple messages.

Chapter 3: Study design and methodology

To understand how messages of instructional leadership made it through the environment and into practice, what I term the message-to-enactment process, I spent the 2010-2011 school year both identifying messages in the environment and shadowing six first-year principals in their daily work to illuminate how they received, made sense of, and enacted these messages. To investigate the message-to-enactment process, I examined three elements: 1) the messages present in the environment, 2) the formal and informal connections that the principals made to others related to instructional leadership, and how this was shaped by their principal preparation programs, and 3) the cognitive processes through which they made sense of and enacted the messages in their daily practice as elementary-school administrators. I addressed the following research questions:

- 1) *What are the logics in the field of the principalship?*
- 2) *What are the nature and characteristics of informal social networks of beginning principals?*
- 3) *How do beginning principals engage in sensemaking around the logics of instructional leadership?*
- 4) *How do the logics of the field, as mediated by networks and via sensemaking, influence beginning principals' practices?*

I employed a qualitative cross-case study (Crotty, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994), a design that is useful to understand how multiple cases are impacted by local conditions, in this case the influence of distinct notions of instructional leadership (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 172). Additionally, a cross-case study is a good research strategy when the connections between the context and the phenomenon being studied are unknown and important to understand (Yin, 2003). In this study, the relationship between the environment—both the broad institutional environment and the principal preparation programs in particular—and the understanding of instructional leadership is largely unknown.

I approached this study from a constructivist epistemology. I assume that knowledge is constructed, not discovered. Knowledge is not neutral; it is always value-laden. This perspective informed my research approach: using observations and interviews; my analysis: using iterative and on-going processes; and the verification of my findings: checking for my subjective bias throughout the data collection, analysis, and writing stages. Below I outline my reasoning and procedures for sampling, data collection, and data analysis.

Sampling

To investigate the differences between messages of instructional leadership present across principal preparation programs, while holding the context constant, I conducted my study in Madrone Unified School District (MUSD), an urban school district in Northern California.⁶ The district as an organization, the individuals that worked at the district, and the interactions between the principals, teachers, parents, and the district were all important parts of the experiences of the first-year principals. While this study is focused on the focal principals as the unit of analysis, a brief description of the setting and the situation (Peshkin, 1993) is important to understand the context within which the principals worked.

⁶ The name of the school district, principals, and schools (but not preparation programs) have been changed to protect confidentiality. They are named after all of my favorite Northern California trees.

I chose MUSD as the focal district in my study because it is urban, serves a majority of poor students of color,⁷ and because it is the only district in the local area that has both significant numbers of principals trained in a variety of principal preparation programs and a large enough turnover in principal positions to allow me to study at least six new principals who attended several of the different programs in the area.

MUSD is a midsized urban school district in Northern California. In the 2010-2011 school year, there were over 45,000 students served by around 100 MUSD schools. The majority of the students were Latino and African American, around a quarter of the students were identified as English Language Learners, and almost three-quarters qualified for Free and Reduced Lunch (a proxy for socioeconomic status measures). The district's base API⁸ in 2010 was 718 (the statewide average was 768) and it had around a 60% graduation rate (California Department of Education, 2012a). The teachers' union had a strong presence in the district and at many school sites.

In the decade prior to my study, the district faced fiscal difficulties: it went into state receivership from 2003-2009 ostensibly to put the district's finances in order.⁹ In the year of study, the district continued to face financial challenges that included paying back a debt to the state incurred during the state takeover, a fiscally precarious organizational system with few students in many schools,¹⁰ and a state economic crisis that led to significant cuts to schools across California.¹¹ These challenges impacted the first-year experiences of the focal principals in several ways: several schools gave pink slips to a significant percentage of their staff,¹² schools' budgets were significantly decreased, and school site support from the

⁷ See "A Note about my Subjectivity" for further discussion on my larger research interests.

⁸ API, or Academic Performance Index, is California's primary ranking system for schools. It is based on a scale from 200 to 1000; the 2012 statewide API performance target for all schools is 800. It is largely based on the CST, but also includes graduation and attendance rates.

⁹ In 2002, MUSD projected that it would run out of money by spring of 2003. At this time the state removed all rights, duties, and powers of the district's governing board and put in place a state administrator to oversee both the financials and the general oversight of the district. There is ongoing debate over the true purpose of the takeover; none of the three state administrators had experience in fiscal matters, and all three implemented wide-ranging program and instructional reform. Organizational and instructional practices from those reforms were evident in the year of the study. For example, many teachers continued to teach a scripted reading curriculum with fidelity even though the district had rescinded the mandate to do so.

¹⁰ In the 2010-2011 school year, MUSD served 45,000 children in about 100 schools. Most districts with similar student enrollment have between 40-50 schools. This ratio increases administrative and facility costs in proportion to instructional expenditures. This situation was due to a confluence of factors: overall declining enrollment, the introduction of a small autonomous schools movement in the early part of the decade, and an increased number of charter schools (around 30% of the schools in MUSD are charters).

¹¹ See, for example: http://idea.gseis.ucla.edu/educational-opportunity-report/california-state-report/2011%20EOR_state_webversion.pdf

district was also cut. Every principal also received a pink slip in March 2011. The district (and state) environment constantly shifted for the principals; throughout the year there was no financial certainty, job security, or the ability to predict district policies, reforms, or actions. This type of turmoil, unfortunately, is not uncommon in urban school districts that serve large populations of poor students of color.

To minimize variation between the new principals in the study, I limited my sample to elementary schools. MUSD hired eight new elementary-school principals who began their tenure during the study year. From this group of eight, I used criterion sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to select six principals who were trained in principal preparation programs that had distinct visions and goals for their graduates. Holding the context (the school district) and participant experience (first year) constant allowed me to investigate the similarities and differences in the principals' experiences. Table 1 provides demographic information on the six principals in the study, including their region assignment in the district. MUSD had three regions, each with a different principal manager who oversaw between 20 and 25 elementary and middle schools.

Table 1: Principal Characteristics

Principal	Preparation Program	Years in Education	Ethnicity	Gender	MUSD Region
Jamal	New Leaders	14	African American	M	Region B
Katy	New Leaders	6	African American	F	Region C
Miguel	Principal Leadership Institute at UC Berkeley	12	Hispanic (White)	M	Region B
Sabina	Principal Leadership Institute at UC Berkeley	12	Latina	F	Region A
Rachel	California State University East Bay	10	White	F	Region B
Amy	Mills College	15	Southeast Asian	F	Region C

Data Collection & Analysis

During Spring 2010, the semester before my year of data collection, I conducted two days of pilot observation during which I shadowed principals. These days permitted me to learn about what kind of information and tasks would be readily observable and which would not

¹² A pink slip indicates to a teacher that there is a possibility that he or she will be laid off, but it is not a layoff notice. MUSD issued pink slips to 37% of its teaching force, including to tenured teachers. While the actual percentage of teachers noticed was much smaller, the fear caused by the uncertainty between March 15th and May 15th was difficult for both teachers and principals.

be observable, necessitating probing on my part. The pilot observation days also allowed me to make practical decisions about note-taking. Drawing insight from this experience, I used three qualitative data-collection strategies to investigate the messages-to-enactment process: document analysis (Altheide, Coyle, DeVriese, & Schneider, 2010), in-depth interviews (Spradley, 1979), and sustained observations (S. R. Barley, 1990).

Document Analysis.

A portion of my data collection was devoted to charting the logics of instructional leadership in the environment in order to answer the following research question: RQ1: What are the logics in the field of the principalship? This process was exploratory, while also conceptually informed and systematic, and spanned two years of data collection, analysis, and writing. Altheide et al. (2010) describe the process, which they term Emergent Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA): “It entails being flexible to nuances, surprises, and confusion” (p. 127). In other words, I did not go into my data collection with a set definition of the extant logics. Rather, I had ideas and examples, but was open to those notions being challenged and changed. As the process between data collection and analysis was intertwined and iterative, rather than describing each process on its own, I describe the collection and analyses processes together below.

I began by creating tentative definitions of logics as part of my dissertation proposal. To do so, I scanned the concept in both academia and practice. I started with a simple Google search using the term “instructional leadership.” From the more than 2,000,000 hits, I relied on Google scholar to select 23 academic articles. I first chose articles and reports based on high citations and prominent authors in the field, and then did a snowball sampling from research cited in those articles. I also read an equal amount of reports from leadership associations (e.g., ASCD), principal preparation programs (e.g., the New York City Leadership Academy), and government documents (e.g., <http://www.sedl.org/pubs/reading100/RF-NB-2005-Spring.pdf>). I selected these reports based on prominence in the field and similarity in purpose to those in my study (training urban school leaders). I took notes from my scans, including how the concept of instructional leadership was defined and what was highlighted in the document. This scan identified what I later called the prevailing logic. From my previous experience working in MUSD and with several principal preparation programs in the local environment, however, I knew that there were alternative notions of what it meant to be an instructional leader in this region.

To investigate the presence of additional logics in the local environment, I searched the websites and associated white papers, news articles, and research papers of the local principal preparation programs that train the majority of the principals in the region, including New Leaders, PLI, San Francisco State University, Mills College, and California State University, East Bay. To dig more deeply into the individual programs, I contacted the program directors. From these contacts I received copies of syllabi for instructional leadership courses, as well as other documents the program directors and professors directed me to, including textbooks. To analyze logics of instructional leadership present in the documents, I first identified key terms common in each of the documents, or those that were repeated across documents. For example, both the terms “data” and “teacher supervision” were raised many times across the documents. I then wrote memos about how the terms were used in different documents, relying on the techniques outlined by Strauss

and Corbin (1990), which include word analysis and systematic comparison of phenomena. These memos uncovered distinct approaches to the terms, and to instructional leadership more broadly. From my experience teaching and researching in the national field of education reform, I had a hunch that these logics also existed outside of the San Francisco Bay Area. I used the emergent conceptions of leadership gleaned from the local environment and returned to the national environment with refined search terms and a more fine-grained notion of the distinctions between logics.

I first focused subsequent scans of documents discussing instructional leadership in the environment on the notions of social justice and entrepreneurialism. I searched for academic and practice-based articles using search terms like “social justice leadership” and “entrepreneurial instructional leadership.” The search for the notion of social justice in instructional leadership was simple: there are a few prominent contemporary authors in the field (e.g., Theoharis, Cambron-McCabe, and McCarthy), and their citations led me to other literature through which I established the current state of the field. The entrepreneurial logic was more difficult; there is less written in scholarly literature and the practices are relatively nascent. I started with the academic literature written about the organizations in the local environment that promulgated the entrepreneurial logic, such as Teach For America and New Leaders, and followed their citations on the core notions out to other literature (e.g., Lahann & Reagan, 2011; Martorell, Heaton, Gates, & Hamilton, 2010; J. T. Scott, 2011; J. T. Scott & Trujillo, 2011). I also searched for a practice and policy-based understanding of the concepts and practices by reading newspaper articles and websites of those organizations and individuals connected to them, such as Michelle Rhee, Teach For America, The New Teacher Project, and New Leaders.

After the third scan, I wrote memos about each logic and created a meta-matrix of all three logics, a strategy known as *stacked comparable cases* (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 176), with each logic as a case. This process involves first establishing a standard set of variables across several cases, using matrices and other displays to analyze individual cases, and finally “stacking” the case-level displays in a meta-matrix. This method allows for systematic cross-case comparison. Based on other literature that analyzed logics in the environment (Coburn, 2001b; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), I compared the logics along the following dimensions: goals of instructional leadership, focus of attention, theory of change, modes of assessment, instructional practices, leadership practices, role of principal, and role of teacher. The content for the dimensions was derived from a review of current literature, reports, and news articles in the field of education broadly and instructional leadership specifically, and from websites and publications from organizations that promote particular logics. Throughout this process I continued to look for additional literature to deepen my understanding of the logics; I did this until the categories were saturated, or I did not encounter additional new information (Glaser, 1978). From this meta-matrix, I was able to see the dimensions that best encapsulated and illustrated the similarities among and differences between the logics, and compared them along three dimensions: goals, role of data, and role of teachers.

Finally, I searched for documents that were representative of the distinct logics that could serve as comparative artifacts in the analysis, or documents that served similar purposes for principals used in each logic. Through the various scans, several textbooks, authors, and documents frequently arose as prominent and representative of each logic. I

relied on these in my analysis. Further, principal standards and associated rubrics emerged as instantiations of the logics in practice. Each of the principal preparation programs in the study had specific standards and rubric that guided the instruction of the principals: two (Cal State and Mills) relied on one that is broadly used across the nation, the ISLCC Standards; both PLI and New Leaders had their own standards and rubrics. These documents, in addition to the primary texts used in the programs, served as ideal artifacts both to more deeply understand the instantiation of the logic and to compare the various logics in practice.

The process of inductively defining the logics was ongoing throughout the year of data collection and preliminary analysis, and the following year of further analysis and writing. During those two years I attended several public presentations given by the various organizations, including a celebratory program for PLI's 15th anniversary and a fundraiser for New Leaders at a local art studio. Additionally, I was a participant on MUSD's Leadership Taskforce, a small group charged with planning the district's leadership evaluation and support rubric. The taskforce included representatives from PLI, New Leaders, Cal State, and the district itself. Individuals at all of these events and meetings shared their conceptions of instructional leadership in a variety of formats and depth. Depending on the situation I either took notes during the meetings (like at the taskforce meetings) or wrote down my observations directly after. The data from these observations were not included in the analyses for this dissertation, but the experiences did inform my overall understanding of the context in which the focal principals worked. These informal and intermittent events, in concert with the formal observations and interviews of the focal principals and the program directors of the principal preparation programs, allowed me the opportunity to continually ask questions of my data, and guided my understanding and discussion of the logics and the corresponding coding scheme used in the subsequent analyses.

Semi-Structured Interviews.

Formal interviews were used to answer RQ2: What are the nature and characteristics of informal social networks of beginning principals?; RQ3: How do beginning principals engage in sensemaking around the logics of instructional leadership?; and RQ4: How do the logics of the field, as mediated by networks and via sensemaking, influence beginning principals' practices? In particular, the data to answer RQ2 were largely drawn from an interview specifically focused on principals' informal instructional leadership networks. Each principal was formally interviewed three times, once at the beginning of the school year, prior to any observations, once at the end of the school year, and once about their informal instructional leadership network during the third three-day observation session, held between March and May 2011.

The interviews at the beginning and end of the year lasted between 45 minutes to 90 minutes; they averaged 60 minutes. The interview in the beginning of the year began with descriptive questions designed to build rapport, get the principals to talk broadly about themselves, and to get sufficient material to follow up on (Spradley, 1979), such as: "Can you tell me about how you became a principal?" and "What do you think the job of the principal should be?" I then followed with structural questions about instructional leadership to understand how the principals themselves defined the boundaries of the concept. At the end of the year, I began the interview with structural questions about particular instances of instructional leadership (teacher supervision) to enable comparison on a particular

experience across all six principals. I then followed with broader descriptive questions such as: “Thinking across this year, did you have any big Ahas around instructional leadership?” followed by probing questions such as: “Can you tell me how you came to that aha?” and “Were there any key people involved in that process?”

The social network interview was distinct in its protocol and process; I therefore describe it in further detail. The social network interview ranged between two and six hours over the three-day period, depending on each principal’s availability. These interviews were different than the other two formal interviews in that I asked the same six questions for each of the individuals the principals included in their networks, and they were designed to capture information found salient in previous social network studies, such as frequency in interaction, level of trust, perception of expertise, and content of interaction (Coburn, 2005; Coburn & Russell, 2008; Daly, 2010; Granovetter, 1983). Since the number of questions depended on the number of individuals the principals identified in their informal social networks, and the principals elaborated to different degrees, the interviews took different amounts of time. Further, I did not have a set interview time for this protocol; I fit in the questions when there was “downtime” for each principal. For example, I interviewed Jamal for two hours on one day, and continued the following day for another hour and a half. I interviewed Rachel for two hours each of the three days.

Before the social network interview, based on my observations and interviews, I drafted an egocentric network map (Marsden, 1990) of each principal’s instructional leadership network (Spradley, 1979). In the interview, the principal first edited his or her egocentric map: he or she added new people, moved others from one location to another, and crossed others out. Surprisingly, this map-editing process continued through the three days of interviews. For example, after an evening meeting the second day, one principal came in the next morning and told me that he had two more people to add to his network that he had not thought of before. Another began to answer the questions on the protocol for an individual and, part of the way through, decided that she really didn’t interact with that person around instructional leadership. For each person on a principal’s map, he or she responded to six questions that asked for both descriptive details about their relationship, like how often they interact and what they talk about, and for characterizations of the relationship, like levels of trust and influence and perceptions of expertise. The final question asked the principals to identify which of ten instructional leadership topics they discussed with each tie (Pitts & Spillane, 2009).

I also formally interviewed individuals in leadership positions in the school district (N=4) and in four local principal preparation programs (N=7). At the school district I interviewed the three principal managers for each of my focal principals’ regions and the district curriculum administrator, who had a role in the design and implementation of the district’s biweekly principal professional development sessions. I interviewed the directors of the principal preparation programs. The program director at New Leaders also encouraged me to interview an instructional staff member and the residency coach. These were the people who gave the principals direct messages about instructional leadership. Through interviews I was able to capture their beliefs about the role of principals as instructional leaders (through questions such as: “When I go observe principals as instructional leaders, what should I be looking for?”) and his or her perception of the kind of support given to principals. Specifically, I interviewed the program directors at the Principal Leadership

Institute (PLI) and New Leaders, two professors at California State University, East Bay (Cal State), and one professor/program director at Mills. Additionally, I interviewed the residency coach at New Leaders and one of the instructional staff members. All formal interviews were recorded and transcribed. See Appendix A for the protocols.

Table 2: Formal Interviews

Data collection		Number
Interviews	Principal Beginning and End-of-Year Interviews	12
	Principal Social Network Interviews	6
	Principal Preparation Program Director & Staff/Faculty Interviews	7
	District Administrator Interviews	4
Total		29 Interviews

Observations.

I shadowed the six focal principals over a three-day period, three separate times during the 2010-2011 school year, for a total of 54 days and approximately 500 hours. I strategically chose the beginning, middle, and end of the year to get a broad set of data because instructional activities in schools change depending on the time of year. For example, in the spring there is often a stronger focus on standardized testing than in the fall because most state exams take place in May. By sampling my observations at the different time periods, I was able to see distinct instructional decisions and processes. Further, while it was not a part of my original study design, the timing of my observations allowed me to see the teacher-supervision process unfold because the formal evaluations take place throughout the year. I used these data as the basis of the analysis to address the principals’ sensemaking and enactment, or RQ3 and RQ4. The data from the interviews were also used to inform the other two research questions.

I shadowed the principals from the time they arrived at school until the time they left. In general, the principals were extremely open with their practices and welcomed me into typical and difficult situations, after which they shared their thoughts and emotions about their practices. However, every principal asked me to step out of a meeting at some point over the year. Examples included meetings with an irate parent, with a volatile teacher, and, in one case, for a confidential special-education meeting.

In addition to the core observations, I also sat in on the principals’ bimonthly day-long district professional-development sessions held on Thursdays, led by the district’s Director of Curriculum and Instruction and the principal managers (N=15 meetings; approximately 105 hours). These meetings switched between being held by the region and by the district. If the session was district-wide, the morning was often spent with all 100 principals in a large auditorium, and broke into regions in the afternoon. To provide content for purposeful probing questions about messages received from both formal and informal means during the meetings, I stayed with the principal I shadowed earlier in the week. If I hadn’t been in a school that week, I shadowed the principal who I was going to observe the following week. The district also held Superintendent Sessions five times throughout the second semester. These were early-morning “emergency” meetings held by the Superintendent to inform the principals and other district leadership about the budget crisis and concurrent events such as teacher layoffs and school closures. I accompanied whichever

focal principal I was shadowing to those meetings. As illustrated in Table 1, the six principals overlapped by regions, so while I shadowed one principal I often collected data on two or more principals at the same meetings.

Based on my practice observations in the spring 2010, I took all field notes by hand. This allowed me to both keep pace with the focal principals, who were generally on the move, and to maintain a low profile in meetings. Within 24 hours of my observation session, I went through my handwritten notes and added details, further explanations, and remaining questions. I either asked these questions the next day (if I was in the middle of the observation), or revisited the questions in my next visit or interview. I typed up all field notes at a later date. Occasionally I asked to audio record a conversation, such as between a principal and her coach. I did this when I thought the conversation was particularly relevant to instructional leadership, if the pace of the conversation was too fast for me to keep up with hand-written notes, and if I felt the individuals in the room were comfortable with the process. These recordings were selectively transcribed; one meeting was transcribed in its entirety, while others were transcribed only for particular pieces of the conversation relevant to the data analysis.

Table 3 below lists examples of instructional leadership activities I observed, by principal. This list is not exhaustive; it is meant to capture the main types of activities I observed with the different principals. They are organized into three categories: teacher interaction, including both informal and formal relations; meetings, including regularly scheduled meetings like the Instructional Leadership Team and one-off meetings like meeting with a funder; and coaching, with the principal as the focus of the work. There are many more activities that I observed, including many administrative duties. These three main categories capture most of the principals' activities that focused on instructional leadership, both as defined by the literature and by the principals themselves.

Several of the principals reported experiencing some of the categories that are not checked in their formal and informal interviews with me; the checkmarks in Table 3 indicate only what I observed, not what was reported to have happened. For example, Sabina reported getting leadership coaching from her mentor, but since I did not observe the activity, there is not a check in that cell. Additionally, with all but one principal (Sabina) I left the school site for an off-campus meeting or event. For example, I accompanied Amy to the district office to meet with her principal manager for her end-of-year evaluation meeting. I went with Jamal and three students to an all-day visit to his high school alma mater where he spoke at an assembly about New Leaders. Other off-campus meetings were more administrative. Rachel and I went to turn in her school's standardized tests, met with the individuals in charge of contracts at the district office, and dropped off forms at the student assignment office. These observations lent insight into the broader activities that the principals engaged in and allowed me time to ask probing questions without interruption.

Table 3: Examples of observed principal instructional leadership activities

Principal		Jamal	Katy	Miguel	Sabina	Rachel	Amy
Teacher Interaction	Informal Classroom Observations	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
	Formal Teacher Evaluations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Informal Teacher Conversations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Meetings	With School Staff (office staff, counselors, after school staff, etc.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Instructional Leadership Team/ Faculty Council/ School Site Council	✓		✓	✓		✓
	With Outside Entities (other sites, funders, school board members, etc.)	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
	With Parents/ Guardians	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	With District Support (i.e.: budget analyst, operations, state and federal administrator)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Coaching	Leadership Coaching	✓	✓	✓			
	Teacher Supervision Coaching	✓		✓			
	District Coaching (content specific, district policy implementation)	✓		✓	✓		

Data Analysis: Informal Instructional Leadership Networks

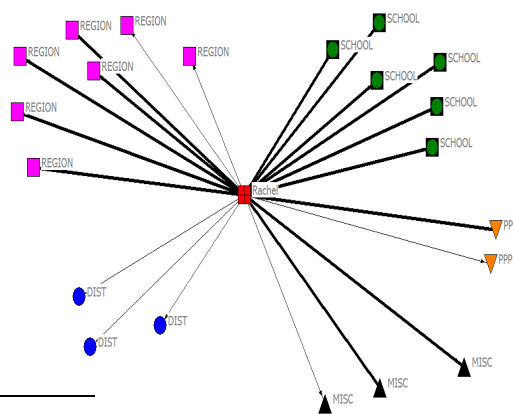
To analyze the data for RQ2: What are the nature and characteristics of informal social networks of beginning principals? and the emergent subquestion, What accounts for the differences in the principals’ networks?, I began by mapping new principals’ social networks. Based on the maps that were created during the interviews (described above), the information about the role of each actor, and iterative memo writing (Miles & Huberman, 1994), I created an Excel spreadsheet with each tie as a row. The row included characteristics of each tie, including the alter’s job position (the individual he or she was connected to), location in network, topics of conversation discussed, and the strength. I analyzed the size of the networks and the ties along the other two dimensions: strength and range.

To analyze size, I counted how many alters each principal included in his or her network. Tie strength is a function of frequency of interaction and level of social and emotional closeness (Coburn & Russell, 2008). I defined weak ties as infrequent relationships with low social/emotional closeness (Granovetter, 1983; Hansen, 1999). An example of a weak tie is the budget analyst that a principal called only during specific times of the year. Theoretical work suggests that weak ties can quickly transfer knowledge, but do not have expectations of reciprocal responsibility, and avoid bargaining and coordination in exchanges (Granovetter, 1973; Uzzi, 1996). I defined strong ties as relationships or interactions that were frequent and involved trust (Uzzi, 1996). For example, one principal described her relationship with her supervisor as: "...warm—usually trusting. She sees the work I'm capable of... It's professional, we occasionally talk about our kids, being moms, being working moms. She's a good thought partner." She described the frequency of their interactions as "a couple of times a week." According to theory, strong ties allow for both the transfer of complex or fine-grained information and joint problem solving (Granovetter, 1973; Uzzi, 1996).

The range of a tie is dependent on where in the organization, or outside of the organization, an alter is located. Each location has a particular set of knowledge. In this study, the various locations that emerged from the data included: district office, region, school site, principal preparation program, family, neighborhood, other organization, and county. Due to the small number of nodes located in family (3), neighborhood (1), other organizations (1), and county (1), I consolidated those categories into one "miscellaneous" location.

The first data display I created to understand the informal instructional leadership networks were the networks themselves. I used UCINET (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 1999) to create the networks: I did simple egocentric mapping and used the program to create clear visual representations of the networks, representing network size, tie strength, and location.¹³ The figure below, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, illustrates an egocentric map created using the UCINET software.

Network Map 1: Rachel



¹³ UCINET has the capacity to do complex functions with tie strength, multiple connections, and other algorithmic tasks. I hope to learn more about this going forward in my career and research in social networking.

Each line represents a tie. The darker lines indicate strong ties; the lighter lines are weak ties. The range locations are indicated by the symbol of the node.

Next, I developed a simple descriptive matrix illustrating the various formal structures each principal was exposed to (see Table 10 in Chapter 6). I defined a formal organizational structure as a structure that was part of the official practice of an organization, such as biweekly meetings, mandated partnerships, or specified relationships. I considered a principal to be “exposed” to the structure if I observed him or her participating in the structure and/or if he or she described participating in it to me. I charted the formal organizational structures of each region in the district, the school-sites, and each preparation program. Finally, I created a comparative meta-matrix of the formal structures each principal was exposed to, which included the frequency with which the individual principals engaged in the structures. This technique enabled me to see the configuration of each principal’s exposure to various formal organizational structures in their environment and how often they engaged with those structures (see Table 11 in Chapter 6). While creating these matrices, it became evident that frequency of interaction was an important dimension in the comparison between the formal organizational structures and the informal social networks. To do this comparison, I defined high frequency as once a week or more, medium frequency as less than once a week but at least once a month, and low frequency as less than once a month. Finally, I created a partially ordered meta-matrix (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 177) to compare the formal structures individual principals were exposed to in one column and if they included individuals from those structures in their informal networks in the next.

Data Analysis: Principal Sensemaking and Enactment

My final analysis was to understand RQ3: How do beginning principals engage in sensemaking around the logics of instructional leadership? and RQ4: How do the logics of the field, as mediated by networks and via sensemaking, influence beginning principals’ practices? Throughout my year of observations, I accompanied six principals on many classroom observations, walk-throughs,¹⁴ and conversations with teachers around these processes. These were important moments in my observations that allowed me to see how each principal understood and thought about instruction. After each observation, even if it was 30 seconds long, I’d ask, “What did you see?” I asked as many probing questions as time allowed, including if he got an idea from another individual or preparation program, if he collaborated about an idea with others, his reasoning behind decisions, etc. These conversations provided insight into each principal’s understanding about what it meant for him to be an instructional leader, how he came to that understanding, and how he went about that role.

I began by using NVivo to code all of the field notes (from each three-day session; 54 days) and interviews (12 interviews) for any interaction between principals and teachers. This included formal evaluation sessions, observations of classroom teaching, or conversations, either about instruction or something else, such as student behavior, systems,

¹⁴ A walk-through is an informal, unannounced, and quick observation. Generally, principals went into classrooms, stayed between three and six minutes, and moved on to another classroom. They often did not take notes or give feedback.

or personal matters. I then coded these data using descriptive codes for the type of principal-teacher interaction: evaluation, observation, conversation, or reflection (used to capture conversations that I had with the principals about their interactions with teachers that were not directly related to evaluation, observation, or conversation). Finally, I coded these data using deductive theoretical codes from sensemaking theory (subcodes in parentheses), including: connection with message, extracted cues (ideas, practices),¹⁵ schema (principles of action, scripts),¹⁶ and social context; and inductive subcodes that emerged from the data as subcodes for social context: coaching, principal preparation program, and level of teacher experience.

The data in this analysis were based on evidence of the principals' sensemaking centered on events and stories. I therefore used what Miles & Huberman (1994) call *interactive synthesis*. This process involved moving between case synopses and "general condensations" (p. 176). A general condensation is a synthesis or summary of an analysis, such as a matrix or a narrative. I went through many iterations, writing case synopses of events and stories, creating matrices that looked at the data across logics, across the various codes and subcodes described above, ones that looked across principals, chronologically based matrices that looked across individual principals over the course of the year, and matrices based on principal preparation programs to compare principals' interactions with messages by experience in program. During the analytic process, I cycled back and forth between the matrices and the narratives to see if and how the condensations fit the individual cases, what trends I could see across the six cases, as well as disconfirming evidence.

Through the interactive synthesis, a convenient and rich unit of analysis emerged: teacher evaluation. The teacher evaluation process was mandated by the district and was either an activity or topic of conversation that came up with all six of my focal principals. Further, for some it was the focus of their teacher supervision and thus central to their sensemaking. I decided to use teacher evaluation as a strategic site to understand principal sensemaking more deeply. As the initial focus of the data collection was not on teacher supervision broadly, or teacher evaluation specifically, I only observed parts of the formal teacher evaluation for five of the six principals. The frequency of formal evaluations also depended on how many each principal was contractually required to do (or, in one case, how many he actually decided to do). For most of the focal principals, the formal evaluation

¹⁵ In this study, extracted cues are ideas, seen through words and descriptions, or practices, seen through specific actions, which are taken from a particular message of instructional leadership. For example, an explicit goal of New Leaders, seen in both the literature from the organization and in interviews with the program director, staff, and coach, is for principals to have schools reach "double-digit gains" in their standardized test scores. When Katy mentioned that her goal for her school was to get "double-digit gains," it was coded as "extracted cue – idea."

¹⁶ The code "schema" represents the prior knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes of the principals. In this study, I identified the principals' schema based on two things: first, principles of action, or what they thought was the right thing to do based on their prior knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes; and second, based on scripts, or the processes or routines that they acted on based on their prior knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes.

process was not the focus of their teacher supervision, however. Therefore, I also analyzed the additional teacher supervision activities they chose to engage in.

After I identified teacher supervision as the unit of analysis, I revisited the previous analyses looking only at those interactions, specifically paying attention to the presence of particular logics of leadership and the shape of the individual principal's sensemaking. Rather than relying on matrices at this point in the analysis, I wrote narratives that told the story of each principal's sensemaking. The initial narratives were not necessarily parallel, and the key factors in the each principal's sensemaking emerged inductively at the end. I then outlined each narrative, synthesizing the key elements of their sensemaking process, and emerged with six similar outlines: the shape of the individual principal's networks influenced the messages they received about instructional leadership. Those messages carried particular logics. Reflecting this learning, I rewrote and reorganized each principal's narrative to reflect his or her unique experience within this emergent structure.

Verifying findings

To verify my findings, I employed several techniques. My primary method of verification was to triangulate my data across multiple sources: documents, interviews, and observations. Often, these three types of data came from a variety of sources as well. The example of Katy and teacher data conferences illustrates this point. I first observed her regional Thursday professional development session during which the principal manager encouraged all of the principals in the region to do one-on-one data conferences with their teachers when the benchmark data came back. One of the other principals verbally explained her process, and the principal manager gave a handout. When the benchmark data came the next week, I was observing Katy at her school. During that three-day observation, Katy had a session with her New Leaders coach. Katy asked her coach for advice on the one-on-one sessions. In addition to her interaction with the coach, on her desk, Katy kept a copy of one of the main texts used in New Leaders that explicitly outlines the data-conference process (*Driven By Data*). After that coaching session, I asked Katy what she thought about the data conferences, about the differences between the messages from her principal manager and from her New Leaders coach, and about her plan going forward. Finally, I observed Katy's actions around using the data. I had multiple data sources on this topic: documents from the district and New Leaders, field notes from a district meeting and from a New Leaders coaching session, and notes from my informal interview questions. Triangulating across these multiple kinds and sources of data enabled me to see similarities and differences and search for disconfirming evidence. (In this case, Katy did not conduct any one-on-one sessions).

Second, I was both open to and searched for disconfirming evidence at all phases of the research process, from data collection to writing. During the data collection, I chose to observe in a systematic way that would give me the broadest view of the principals' experiences (see "observations"). When I saw or heard something that was easily classified into one of the conceptions of leadership, I asked probing questions to look for disconfirming evidence. For example, after a conversation with an irate parent, Miguel stated, "that was the perfect PLI conversation." I questioned him further, asking him to explain why, how else the conversation could have gone, and why he made the decisions he did. Because this was a cross-case study, the data provided contrast and variance. I was able to see patterns across the sites, including when and under what conditions outliers arose.

Finally, I used outliers as learning moments to challenge both my data and the extant theory. Several times the data pointed in a divergent direction than that expected based on theory and previous studies. When I identified surprises or outliers during the analysis, I followed up on them. In addition to these three systematic techniques, I also had many conversations about my data with “friendly skeptics” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 273), including other principals in the district, my graduate school colleagues, colleagues at field-level conferences (University Council for Educational Administration, or UCEA, and AERA), and my dissertation advisers. These individuals challenged me to explore and identify my assumptions and be explicit about alternative explanations. Finally, my role as a researcher and my own biases and perspectives as an educator came into play throughout the entire research process. I address these concerns in the section that follows.

A Note on my Subjectivity

I approached this study from a constructivist epistemology. I believe that we collectively build understandings from information and situations, and that the understanding process is dynamic and ever changing. I do not believe that there is one right way to be a principal, to be an instructional leader, to assess achievement, or to teach children. As such, I went into the year of study searching only to first describe what I saw—and to be open to seeing the unexpected. There were moments, though, when I felt myself shut down, when my openness was shadowed by my personal values around race, bias, and by what I felt was injustice. In these times, when as Peshkin (1988) describes, “my subjectivity had been evoked” (p. 18), I took note. For example, one day after a particularly tense meeting between the teachers’ union, one of the focal principals, and several teachers, I came home to write a memo titled, “Today I hate the teachers’ union.” Another day I wrote a memo about what I perceived as a focal principal’s racist actions towards African American boys at her school. I also noted in my field notes when the little voice that Peshkin (1988) describes as his “Pedagogical-Meliorist” emerged. Peshkin talks about this as when he moved from being an observer to wanting to “redress pedagogical wrongs” (p. 20). I put brackets around these thoughts to signal to myself that I was stepping outside of my observer space; writing them down allowed me to move beyond that space and to look more closely at the field notes in my analysis and around those times when I went back over the notes to challenge what I saw (and did not see). These subjectivity checks helped me to attend to what I saw, what I did not see, and the orientation with which I approached each day of principal observation and interviews.

It is also important to note that I have a long history with both alternative logics I examine and with several of the organizations I studied in this dissertation. I started my teaching career with Teach For America in 1998. Since then I have worked with a number of organizations that promote the “entrepreneurial logic,” including New Leaders. I also worked as a Graduate Student Researcher for PLI for two years of my graduate work at UC Berkeley, including the year I collected data for this dissertation.¹⁷ Further, I conducted two previous research projects in the MUSD before the year of study; I interviewed, observed,

¹⁷ I worked on a project that provided professional development for veteran principals in many districts across the Bay Area, and therefore did not engage with the principal preparation program in a professional manner. The director of PLI was also spearheading the project I worked on, however, and I worked with her closely for two years.

and personally knew a number of the principals and district administrators before I started this project (although none of my focal principals). I was deeply embedded in my study before data collection. I believe that my knowledge, experience, and relationships gave me access to information that I otherwise would not have had; I had already established a trusted role in the district and people opened up to me more easily. As my connections were spread across the environment and not just with one organization or one perspective on instructional leadership, I had a unique inside-outside perspective.

Finally, I want to acknowledge that my initial interest and ongoing drive in education is firmly rooted in the belief that not all children have equitable access to a high-quality education, and black and brown children are those that most often are not given those opportunities. My work is aimed at changing this status quo. While I believe that there are lessons to be learned from the business sector, from paying attention to data, and from innovating outside of schools of education, the social justice logic is foundational to my beliefs in and approaches to education and education reform. Following other researchers' lead (Anyon, 1995; Au, 2007) I both recognize my political commitments and attempt to put them aside in order to observe and analyze the phenomena of interest.

Limitations

The findings in this study are not meant to be generalizable. This is a study of six first-year principals in a particular district during a distinct moment in time. There are also several factors that arose as possibly salient in the focal principals' role in the message-to-enactment process that I did not explore. They include: the principals' race, their previous experience in the district, their gender, their family status (single, parents, etc.), and the experience level of the teachers at their school. All of these factors may have also been important in how the principals decided to make connections in their informal instructional leadership networks, how they made sense of the messages they received, and how they enacted them. Further, each individual chose his or her principal preparation program. There could be selection bias. Jamal's understanding of instructional leadership is inherently distinct from Miguel's, and it could be for those reasons that they chose New Leaders and PLL. The programs, then, may not have impacted their understandings of instructional leadership as much as reified their preexisting beliefs.

Despite these limitations, this study identifies and characterizes logics of instructional leadership in the national and local education environments, traces these logics through formal organizational structures and informal social networks, and finally examines individuals' sensemaking processes around the often multiple and conflicting logics. This study is a story not of six individuals, but of the experience of first-year principals in a moment in time with conflicted notions of instructional leadership.

Chapter 4. Three Conflicting Logics of Instructional Leadership

Each focal principal considered themselves an instructional leader. However, they differed significantly both in how they conceptualized that goal and their processes for getting there. Institutional theory broadly, and research on the relationship between the environment and organizations specifically, helps us understand these differences from an organizational sociological perspective. Research has shown that what happens in the environment matters for what happens inside of schools (Coburn, 2004; Spillane, 1998). In this study, the environment consists of all significant elements outside the organization that influence its functioning. “The environment can be seen as a store of resources as well as a source of opportunities and constraints, demands and threats” (W. R. Scott & Davis, 2006, pp. 19-20). Ideas are carried through the environment by actors and governance structures. As the focal principals were engaged in a process of figuring out their identities as instructional leaders (Browne-Ferrigno, 2003; Leithwood, et al., 1992), they were exposed to multiple demands in the environment and tacit understandings of and beliefs about what it means to be an instructional leader.

In this chapter I draw on institutional theory to outline the beliefs, norms, and routines around instructional leadership that are present in the environment by identifying and describing the logics of instructional leadership. Logics are “belief systems and associated practices that predominate in an organizational field” (W. R. Scott, 2007, p. 170). These bundles of ideas come together at particular periods of time and enable certain kinds of actions and not others. By establishing what is appropriate, logics encourage actions that are in line with what is acceptable at that given time and place; concurrently, they discourage actions that are misaligned with what is considered to be proper (March & Olsen, 2004). Principals, then, are both connected and exposed to multiple logics that enable and constrain particular beliefs and actions. I argue that the first-year principals interacted with multiple and often conflicting logics in the environment, which mattered for their conception of instructional leadership and their leadership practices. In this chapter, I lay the groundwork for this claim by documenting the presence of multiple and conflicting logics of instructional leadership in the environment. More specifically, I identify three logics of instructional leadership:

- *Prevailing Logic*: the now-ubiquitous set of beliefs that the role of the principal is to be both an instructional leader and manager of the school site. There is no single goal or direction in this logic; it is broad and flexible and able to be implemented across a wide variety of school settings.
- *Entrepreneurial Logic*: this logic argues that the focus of instructional leadership is to alter inequitable outcomes through innovation and mechanisms from the private sector. It rejects the traditional training of education schools and a model that includes multiple and flexible approaches; rather, it emphasizes specific actionable practices that, when implemented, lead to increases in student achievement as measured by standardized test scores.
- *Social Justice Logic*: focused on the experiences and inequitable outcomes of marginalized groups, this logic challenges the current “neutral” systems that

engender the reproduction of inequality in our society. It puts forth a set of instructional leadership practices for raising the academic achievement of all students, preparing students as critical citizens, and ensuring heterogeneous, inclusive classrooms (Furman, 2012).

In this chapter, I first describe the environment in which norms, routines, and beliefs around instructional leadership are in flux. I then describe each logic in depth to answer my first research question: *What are the logics of instructional leadership in the field of the principalship?*

The Three Logics of Instructional Leadership

There is no one taken for granted definition of the concept “instructional leadership.” While there is the assumption that the primary role of the principal is that of instructional leader, how that is conceptualized and what that looks like in practice varies. Each of the three logics shares several dimensions: epistemological stance, or the perspective on what knowledge is and how it is acquired; goals, as seen through the attention to student achievement, especially how data is used in the current culture of accountability, and a definition of good teaching and learning; and the role of teachers as agents in promoting student achievement. But they differ in how they define what these elements mean in practice. For example, “student achievement” and the role of teachers are conceptualized radically different in the entrepreneurial and social justice logics.

The notion of instructional leadership as the primary role of the principal has been present for over three decades. The research literature around instructional leadership shows an ongoing quest for definition, as seen by the multiple typologies created starting in the late 1980s through current-day efforts at leadership evaluation rubrics (e.g., Andrews & Soder, 1987; Blank, 1987; Hallinger, 2008; Heck, et al., 1990; Larsen, 1987; 2009; 2009).¹⁸ Early typologies and several of the widely used rubrics today define instructional leadership in general ways that are easily amenable to varied contexts. However, the persistent failure of our schools to educate many children despite increases in funding¹⁹ has both engendered and made room for alternative sets of ideas to emerge and take root in the environment.²⁰

For each of the three logics, I first describe how I define the logic through three dimensions: epistemological stance, goals, and the role of teachers. I derived these

¹⁸ Additionally, the following rubrics are used in principal preparation programs in this study: New Leaders uses the Principal Leadership Actions Rubric (<http://www.newleaders.org/newsreports/publications/evaluating-principals/principal-leadership-actions-rubric/>); and the Principal Leadership Institute at UC Berkeley uses the Leadership Connection for Justice in Education Leadership Rubric.

¹⁹ See <http://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/fed/10facts/index.html> for a review on the increases in funding in public education from all sources (local, state, and federal).

²⁰ Instructional leadership is one small slice of the larger field of public education. While I do not present evidence of the presence of these logics in the broader field, a similar argument has been made for their existence using different terminology and content. See J. T. Scott (2011) for a discussion regarding what I term the entrepreneurial logic and Ladson-Billings and Tate IV (1995) for an argument around social justice in education writ large.

dimensions from an analysis of current literature, reports, and news articles in the field of education broadly, and instructional leadership specifically, and websites and publications from organizations that promote particular logics.

Prevailing Logic.

The prevailing logic was based on the notion that principals were both instructional leaders and managers of their school sites. Their goals as instructional leaders were broad: to increase student achievement and build or maintain teacher satisfaction. This logic was embedded in the curriculum in most principal preparation programs, state-adopted administrative standards, and national conversations about school leaders. Overall, the logic called for principals to be instructional leaders, to focus on learning and instruction, to establish relationships with teachers, and to guide them to improve instruction to lead towards increased student achievement, but both the definitions of those terms (learning, instruction, improved instruction, and student achievement) and the mechanisms through which these outcomes emerge were left undefined and open for interpretation.

The prevailing logic represented a shift from the traditional role of a school-site principal two decades ago. Rather than a focus purely on management of the school as an organization, principals' foci were now on teaching and learning. This logic was instantiated in a governance structure that illustrated the ambiguity present in the logic, the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium's (ISLLC) Standards for School Leaders. The ISLLC standards are a nation-wide set of standards that are most often used in both principal preparation programs and principal evaluation standards in school districts (Glenwinkel, 2011). They were developed in 1994 by the National Policy Board for Educational Administration, a consortium of 24 states and other key stakeholder groups, including the National Alliance of Business. The goal was to create a set of standards and to direct action in academic, policy, and practice domains for school site leadership, and to both influence the skills of existing leaders and to shape the preparation programs of future leaders (Murphy, 2005). By 2005, more than 40 states had adopted the standards or a variation of them (Davis, Darling-Hammond, LaPointe, & Meyerson, 2005). In 2008, the standards were updated and "retain the footprint" of the original standards (Machado & Cline, 2010, p. 10) but are less prescriptive and more global.

These standards are pervasive. A 2010 study surveyed 222 school leadership preparation programs across the nation to understand the extent of their use. The authors found that all of the programs were either directly or indirectly aligned with the ISLLC standards (Machado & Cline, 2010). This study confirms that the standards are firmly rooted in schools of education across the nation. Some states simply use the ISLLC standards as their leadership standards, while others use them to build their own. For example, California's Professional Standards for Educational Leaders (CPSEL), which guide the state's principal preparation programs' curricula (California School Leadership Academy, 2004), are based on ISLLC standards. State-based licensure exams are also aligned to the standards. The broadly used licensure exam managed by Educational Testing Service (ETS), the School Leaders Licensure Assessment (SLLA), is based on ISLLC standards, as is California's version of the exam, the California Preliminary Administrative Credential Examination (CPACE) (Commission on Teacher Credentialing, 2010). The standards have been used even outside of the US; a model was copied in England and Australia and may be used in

Canada in the future (Bedard & Aitken, 2004). Table 4 below depicts eight dimensions of the logic:

Table 4: Dimensions of the Prevailing Logic

Dimensions	Prevailing Logic
Goals of Instructional Leadership	Broad: student achievement, teacher satisfaction
Focus of Attention	Relationship between principal and teacher
Theory of Change	The principal is the manager and instructional leader of the school
Modes of Assessment	Standardized test scores; individual (and dissimilar) teacher assessments
Instructional Practices	Teacher-by-teacher
Leadership Practices	School-by-school
Role of Principal	Lead teachers towards a common vision of student achievement, broadly defined
Role of Teacher	Lead all students towards achievement

Epistemological Stance: The prevailing logic was characterized by a lack of specificity in its epistemological stance. It does not posit a single understanding about how knowledge is acquired or how it comes to be known. Instead, instantiations of the logic represented a variety of epistemological stances and still work towards the expansive goals of increasing student achievement and building teacher satisfaction. For example, “student achievement” can be defined, understood, and therefore sought after, in multiple ways. This ambiguity was seen in a key textbook on instructional leadership, *Instructional Leadership: A Research-Based Guide to Learning in Schools* (Hoy & Hoy, 2009).²¹ The text presented “both sides of the story” through research citations and “Point/Counterpoint” sections in the book. These set-asides addressed key issues in instructional leadership, such as the effect of No Child Left Behind, gender differences in learning, whether tracking was an effective strategy, what was good teaching, and if tests should be used to hold teachers accountable. Each of these topics (and others) has broad sets of research supporting either angle; this text presented both sides as plausible. The lack of specified epistemology is further evidenced in the goals of the prevailing logic.

²¹ This text emerged as one of the most commonly used text books in instructional leadership courses through the Emergent Qualitative Document Analysis (EQDA) approach, including at the following colleges and universities: the University of Maryland, University of Vermont, Breyer State (Los Angeles), Jackson State (Mississippi), University of the Rio Grande (TX), Lamar University (TX), Argosy University (national and online), and Shaw University (NC). A Google search result, and many more examples, can be found at this link: <http://tinyurl.com/dxuwp5h>.

Goals: While the focus of principals' work had shifted towards teaching and learning in the prevailing logic, there was no single goal or definition of good teaching and learning, or of student achievement. Those promoting the prevailing logic aimed to shift the attention of principals to the teaching and learning in the school building, but the logic remained agnostic on both the content and the process of the teaching and learning itself.

The ISLLC standards were the most prevalent instantiation of the prevailing logic. In response to the shift in the role of the principal from manager to instructional leader, Murphy (2005) argues that the standards also represented the widespread change in the institution of schooling. Focused on learning rather than teaching, the standards acknowledged the cultural and social dimensions of learning, had a constructive, grounded pedagogical perspective, and changed the focus in school management to one that was smaller, flatter, knowledge-shaped, and used distributed leadership (Murphy, 2005). The current (2008) standards are listed below:

Table 5: The ISLLC Standards

Standard	Description
Standard 1	An education leader promotes the success of every student by facilitating the development, articulation, implementation, and stewardship of a vision of learning that is shared and supported by all stakeholders.
Standard 2	An education leader promotes the success of every student by advocating, nurturing, and sustaining a school culture and instructional program conducive to student learning and staff professional growth.
Standard 3	An education leader promotes the success of every student by ensuring management of the organization, operation, and resources for a safe, efficient, and effective learning environment.
Standard 4	An education leader promotes the success of every student by collaborating with faculty and community members, responding to diverse community interests and needs, and mobilizing community resources.
Standard 5	An education leader promotes the success of every student by acting with integrity, fairness, and in an ethical manner.
Standard 6	An education leader promotes the success of every student by understanding, responding to, and influencing the political, social, economic, legal, and cultural context.

And so, while a principal preparation program or a textbook may address ISLLC *Standard 5: An education leader promotes the success of every student by acting with integrity, fairness, and in an ethical manner*, a definition does not exist for the expression: “integrity, fairness, and in an ethical manner.” One principal may interpret fairness for educational opportunity as offering tracked classrooms so that lower achieving students (or students who are learning English, have learning disabilities, or are otherwise not at grade level) can have access to remedial curriculum while “gifted and talented” students have advanced classes (i.e., Loveless, 1999); another principal may interpret fairness to mean full inclusion of all students with push-in support (i.e., Oakes & Wells, 1998). The standards therefore allowed for any number of implementation strategies and beliefs, and they had the ability to maintain the status quo. The prevailing logic was not specific to any particular segment of schools or districts, such as urban schools, schools that serve a majority of students of color, or schools

working with English Language Learners. As such, the mechanisms through which the logic was evident must be flexible and agile. The broad goals evident in the logic, such as student achievement and teacher satisfaction, were equally accommodating.

Role of Data: Data played a key role in the prevailing logic since the growth of the accountability movement. “Data” can mean many things, including standardized test data, attendance, suspensions and detentions, scores on teacher-generated assessments, number of instructional minutes, etc. In the prevailing logic, however, “data” was most often equivalent to results on standardized test scores. This is not surprising as schools, districts, and states are evaluated based on these particular outputs. Hanushek and Raymond (2002) reinforce this notion: “[A] focus on student outcomes will lead to behavioral changes by students, teachers, and schools to align with the performance goals of the system” (p. 81). It is clear under current federal education regulations that principals must be aware of, react to, and guide their schools with standardized test scores in mind.²²

This set of ideas is promoted through ample literature on instructional leadership that describes how principals must spend much more time receiving, understanding, analyzing, and sharing results with all levels of their community (Adams, 1999; Whitaker, 2003; Yerkes & Guaglianone, 1998). Principals must also know how to support their teachers’ pedagogical content knowledge and instruction, and how to use data to inform this work (R. F. Elmore, 2000; Fink & Resnick, 2001; Stein & Nelson, 2003). Further, student achievement data, in the form of standardized test scores, is used throughout the educational system: in states and school districts that disaggregate the data for schools’ use, by companies who create systems to both warehouse and report on data, by district- and school-hired consultants to teach people how to understand the data, and with resource allocation for school reform plans and packaged curricula that are coordinated with state standardized tests (Halverson, Grigg, Pritchett, & Thomas, 2007).

Role of Teachers: For school leaders, teachers are the primary focus of teaching and learning in the prevailing logic. In the Hoy & Hoy (2009) textbook on instructional leadership, the authors posit that “teachers are at the center of the instructional improvement; in the end, only the teachers can change and improve their instructional practice in the classroom...” (p. 3). Principals, then, must shift classroom practice through the will and skill of the teachers. There are many reports of teachers’ rejection of value of standardized tests;²³ concomitantly, the increasing link between policy and funding to standardized test results increases the legitimacy of the tests. The role of principals is

²² Research shows a large increase in both testing and collection of standardized test data since the implementation of No Child Left Behind in 2002 (Cambron-McCabe & McCarthy, 2005; Sawchuk, 2009).

²³ Teachers’ negative reactions to standardized tests, both in terms of influence on instruction and use in evaluation, have been widely documented. See, for example, United Teachers of Los Angeles’ boycott of “periodic” or benchmark tests that are not mandated by law (<http://www.utla.net/pab>), and the New York Supreme Court’s decision, with pressure from the New York State United Teachers, to overturn the New York State Board of Regents’ decision to base 40% of teachers’ salaries on standardized test scores, a law passed in an effort to win a Race to the Top grant (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/25/education/25teacher.html>).

twofold: 1) helping set organizational direction and 2) influencing members to move in that direction (Bryk et al., 2010; Leithwood et al., 2004). While the test scores must be a part of the goal in the current political and financial environment, there are no particular preordained goals and no one way dictated for principals to engage with and support teachers.

Entrepreneurial Logic.

The entrepreneurial logic promoted education reform through activities, beliefs, and mechanisms borrowed from the private sector. Rather than relying on the public sector to ameliorate the problems in public education, the premise of the entrepreneurial logic was that the marketplace could provide more efficient solutions. The logic was more complex than simple market-based solutions, however. First, there was the shared belief in the assumption that “public education, as it is currently constituted, reinforces social inequities by failing to provide an excellent education to all students” (Lahann & Reagan, 2011, p. 13). The entrepreneurial logic addressed this failure by using solutions from outside of the traditional education sector. The logic existed as a bundle of ideas embraced by a “movement,” often termed neoliberal, but also as the “new sector” or even “progressive neoliberal.” I refer to movement as the new sector for the duration of the dissertation.

Lahann & Reagan (2011) delineate two other assumptions about the nature of public education and education reform in the new sector. First, they argue that deregulating market reforms will result in more efficiency and innovation in public education. Secondly, the authors posit that the “logic, technology, and strategy of business” will benefit public education (p. 14). Reliance on the business sector is traceable in the education sector since the Reagan years and the emergence of the accountability movement with the 1983 release of the U.S. Department of Education report *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education). This was especially true in both education policies around teachers (including compensation, preparation, tenure, and evaluation) and schools as organizations (including charter schools, charter management organizations, vouchers, for-profit schools, supplementary education companies, ratings, and evaluations). A brief history locates the logic in the current national education environment.

The beginning of the new sector is often marked by the founding of Teach For America (TFA) in 1990. TFA offered an alternate route into teaching in under-resourced public-school classrooms; rather than earning a teaching credential and completing student teaching before becoming a teacher of record, TFA corps members went through a highly selective admission process (in 2011, the organization accepted 5,200 incoming corps member out of a pool of 48,000 applications, or a 11% acceptance rate), a five-week training program during the summer, and were then placed in classrooms. While they received ongoing support from local offices of the organization and, in most states, must work towards their teaching credential while also teaching, the model operates on the assumption that the status quo—majoring in education in college, spending a semester or a year as a student teacher—was better replaced with recent graduates from elite universities (applicants in 2011 included 12% of all Ivy League university seniors) without formal training in schools of education. The wild success of the organization (in terms of prestige, federal and foundation funding, applicants, and political power) spawned many organizations, often led by TFA alumni, similarly seeking to challenge the status quo in a multitude of areas in the field of education, including charter management organizations and the alternative principal

preparation path included in this study, New Leaders. Additionally, several large foundations placed stake behind these organizations, including the Gates, Broad, Dell, and Walton Foundations.

While the new sector had limited impact in terms of numbers (in 2010, 0.2% of teachers were affiliated with TFA: <http://www.good.is/post/teach-for-america-should-involve-a-five-year-commitment/>, and approximately .003% of school administrators were affiliated with New Leaders), the impact of the entrepreneurial logic promoted by the new sector was disproportionately strong (J. T. Scott, 2011; J. T. Scott & Trujillo, 2011). This was due in part to the financial support of foundations and the government, as well as the prominent role of organizational leaders in the national conversation about education reform. For example, Michelle Rhee, a TFA alumna, first started The New Teacher Project (TNTP) and later was the divisive chancellor of Washington, D.C. public schools. Her challenges to the teachers' union and work to tie student test scores to teacher pay and employment polarized the education community in Washington, D.C. and, it can be argued, the nation (i.e., Rice, 2011).

Until the beginning of this century, there was less attention paid to school leadership by the new sector. This changed with the founding of the organization New Leaders for New Schools (now "New Leaders") by Jonathan Schnur, and only continued to grow with the Obama administration. Schnur "sits informally at the center of a network of self-styled reformers dedicated to overhauling public education in the United States" (Brill, 2010). He joined the 2008 Obama campaign as a policy adviser, and later became a counselor to Secretary of Education Arne Duncan. Schnur was instrumental in the design of Race to the Top, a policy-based federal grant program that was, in large part, given to states who guaranteed that they would enact neoliberal education policies such as tying student test scores to individual teachers. Schnur stepped down from New Leaders in the beginning of 2011 to work with New York City Public Schools. As an example of his entrepreneurial perspective, Schnur commented that he would address the question, "What's the highest value-add that the non-profit and philanthropic sector can provide' to improve whole systems of schools?" (Klein, 2011). In this quote, it is evident from his language, "value-add," that Schnur saw school improvement through a business lens. New Leaders also approached the role of school site leadership in education reform from this perspective: leaders "drive breakthrough gains" in their schools (New Leaders, 2011). This entrepreneurial language is evident in documents and quotes from Schnur, Race to the Top, and New Leaders. The differences between the dimensions of the entrepreneurial logic and the prevailing logic are seen in Table 6 below:

Table 6: Dimensions of Entrepreneurial Logic

Dimensions	Prevailing Logic	Entrepreneurial Logic
Goals of Instructional Leadership	Broad: student achievement, teacher satisfaction	Double-digit gains
Focus of Attention	Relationship between principal and teacher	Relationship between principal and score Outcomes-focused
Theory of Change	Principal is the manager and instructional leader of the school	Principal is the critical lever in driving school and student success
Modes of Assessment	Standardized test scores; individual (and dissimilar) teacher assessments	Double-digit growth
Instructional Practices	Teacher-by-teacher	Research-based; technology; “teacher-proof”
Leadership Practices	School-by-school	Data conferences; calendared common assessments; consistent classroom observations
Role of Principal	Lead teachers towards a common vision of student achievement, broadly defined	Bring outcomes-focused curricula to teachers; enforce/support/monitor use of such curricula
Role of Teacher	Lead all students towards achievement	Implement outcomes-focused curricula

Epistemological Stance: There was an embedded positivist epistemology in the entrepreneurial logic, an underlying assumption that there was an objective, reliable truth. Knowledge was separated from value, context was not important, and findings were replicable. There was a belief that high-leverage activities work no matter the context. It was a foregone conclusion that if principals used data-driven decision making and held teachers accountable for data-driven instruction, student test scores, equivalent to student achievement, would increase (Bambrick-Santoyo, 2010; Farr, 2010; Lemov, 2010).

Goals: Unlike the prevailing logic, the entrepreneurial logic was not codified in governance structures; there was no direct equivalent to the ISLLC standards that illustrated the goals rooted in the logic. Instead, the goals of the logic were evident in practice-based

books written by prominent individuals from organizations in the new sector (like TFA, New Leaders, Uncommon Schools, etc.), the organizations' websites, publications from the organizations, and research done on the organizations. In these documents, success of both teachers and school leaders was defined as increases in student academic gains. This sentiment was expressed in multiple ways, but the fundamental goal was the same: success is equivalent to increases in student test scores. Below are four examples from the document analysis chosen to illustrate the breadth and the foundational nature of the common goal.

- TFA had a collaboration with Harvard Graduate School of Education and Chicago Public Schools to create a principal leadership pipeline. In a press release to attract candidates, it was stated that candidates must demonstrate several things, including: "Success in urban education environment as demonstrated by academic gains of students taught" (<http://www.teachforamerica.org/assets/documents/HGSE.CPS.Overview.pdf>).
- On the Uncommon Schools website page, "Results," the entire page was dedicated to state test results. The results were led by the question, "How are our students doing on the path to college?" This question was followed by 10 bar graphs that illustrated the schools' "significant gains" over a two-year period (<http://www.uncommonschools.org/results>). The only metric of success illustrated was the standardized test scores.
- The New Leaders website page on results included diverse metrics, including the heterogeneity of their leaders in terms of region, school type, school level, and ethnic background. Highlighted at the top, however, was the statement, "Students in elementary and middle schools led by New Leader Principals are achieving at significantly higher levels than their peers in other schools" (<http://www.newleaders.org/impact/results/>). There were also links for student test results, principal effectiveness, and evaluation.
- TFA explained its approach to success in a 2010 i3 grant: "We measure the success of our teachers by the degree to which their students achieve academic gains, with the expectation that they will lead their students forward at least 1.5 years in one academic year" (Teach for America, 2010, pp. 4-5).

One of the key dimensions of the entrepreneurial logic was its move away from traditional schools of education.²⁴ The traditional path to the principalship was, after at least three years of teaching, getting a master's degree and administrative credential in a school of education. Rick Hess, a conservative educator, political scientist, and author, argued that not only was this process too much of a burden for driven and smart individuals, but it was also not clear if the skills that were taught in principal credentialing programs, or those they

²⁴ Harvard, along with a handful of other schools of education such as the University of Pennsylvania, have started programs in conjunction with Teach For America and other new sector organizations in the past five years. While this is a subject for future study, the argument I make in this dissertation is that the new sector moves away from traditional programs in most of schools of education, where the majority of leaders are trained.

learned as teachers, were those they need to be successful school leaders (2003). Similar to TFA, New Leaders and other non-traditional principal preparation paths exemplified this belief in their program design. New Leaders, for example, recruited and selected an elite group of residents (7% acceptance rate) who demonstrated seven selection criteria: belief that all students will achieve college success, relentless drive to achieve results, adult leadership, student achievement results, personal improvement, project management, and interpersonal leadership (New Leaders, 2011). The residents spent a year working as apprentices to mentor school leaders and then moved into leadership positions themselves. This process was similar to several alternative teacher-training programs like the Boston Teacher Residency and the Aspire Public Schools Teacher Residency programs, and was modeled after Teach For America.

Role of Data: Data, most often standardized test results, were the metric through which organizations, individuals, and systems in the entrepreneurial logic measured success. At the school level (rather than the student level), New Leaders' mantra was "double-digit gains." The mechanism through which New Leader principals achieved double-digit gains was through data-driven instruction. The terms "data-driven instruction" and "data-driven decision making" were the slogans of instructional leadership in the entrepreneurial logic. Principals were encouraged to make instructional leadership moves based on data; teachers were required to make classroom instructional decisions also based on data. In contrast to the prevailing logic, where teachers made instructional decisions based on what they felt their students needed in a given context or moment, data-driven instruction was driven less by intuition and experience and more by rational, research-based "evidence." Based on data, a principal or a teacher knew what appropriate instruction was for any individual child (Bambrick-Santoyo, 2010; Farr, 2010). The entrepreneurial logic moved instructional practices from a teacher-by-teacher model to those that were research-based, often driven by technology-based programs and other "teacher-proof" packaged curriculum.

The role of data was promoted as central to the daily work of the principal in the entrepreneurial logic. Data had two key roles: 1) the principal was encouraged to use data as the focal metric for resource allocation, scheduling, professional development, and human-capital management; and 2) data was supposed to be the focus of the principal's engagement in teaching and learning (Bambrick-Santoyo, 2010). That is, those promoting this logic encouraged principals to focus either on data explicitly or actions that lead to higher outcomes in standardized tests during classroom walkthroughs, teacher observations, conferences with teachers, and conversations with families and children. The focus on data in the entrepreneurial logic was intense and all encompassing.

Role of Teachers: Similar to the prevailing logic, teachers were essential in the process of achieving the goals set out by the entrepreneurial logic—they were in the classrooms enacting instruction. However, in the entrepreneurial logic, instruction was directed by data. Where teachers were once able to shut their doors (Lortie, 2002), the entrepreneurial logic opened those doors, at least in terms of outcomes. One of the selection criteria for New Leaders was that the individual "cultivates leadership in other adults and holds them accountable through formal and informal authority" (<http://www.newleaders.org/apply-now/selection-criteria/>). In practice, the Los Angeles (LA) Times' action to publish an "effectiveness score" of 11,500 elementary school teachers based on a value-added formula that used seven years of test scores in math and English ([45](http://projects.latimes.com/value-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

added/) in 2010 is illustrative of how the logic pervaded the metaphorical closed door and disrobed at least part of what was happening in classrooms. As the LA Times project highlights, however, while there may have been many other ways to assess instruction and teacher effectiveness (which is to say nothing of student learning), in the entrepreneurial logic the key role of the teacher was to improve test scores.

One of the key texts in instructional leadership in the new sector was Paul Bambrick-Santoyo's (2010) *Driven By Data*.²⁵ It served as a useful example of how the entrepreneurial logic was carried to principals. In the chapter on building a culture around data-based instruction, Bambrick-Santoyo stated that: "Initial faculty buy-in is not a prerequisite for starting to implement data-driven instruction... Rather than hope that teachers enjoy the process from the very beginning, school leaders should anticipate that it will take various phases for everyone to see the value of data-driven instruction" (p. 107). As indicated in the dimensions in Table 6, it was the responsibility of the principal to bring outcomes-focused curricula to teachers and to enforce, support, and monitor the use of such curricula. In turn, it was the role of the teachers to implement these curricula. Teacher understanding, sensemaking, or collective buy-in was not important to effective implementation; teachers simply needed to do it.

In a comparison between the traditional and data-driven systems, Bambrick-Santoyo explained what teacher evaluation should look like. He set the context by saying, "In traditional school systems, the focus of quality is on how the teacher teaches. In a data-driven culture, the focus shifts to how the students are learning" (2010, p. 227). In the traditional system he included items such as: "how dynamic the lesson appeared to be," "how well the teacher controlled the kids," and "what the teacher taught and how good this pedagogical choice was" (p. 228). He compared this to "Drivers of Data-Driven Culture" which included elements like: an active leadership team that maintains focus on data analysis; professional development for teachers on how to do assessments, analyze the results, and plan action; creating a school calendar with built-in time for assessment, analysis, and action; and to identify and implement best practices from high-achieving teachers and schools (p. 228). It was clear that the entrepreneurial logic conceptualized itself as distinct from the prevailing logic in its positivist approach, goals, and teaching and leadership practices.

Social Justice Logic.

The central role of the principal in the social justice logic was not only to facilitate action, but also to change beliefs. The broad notion of social justice in education reform was not new. Historically, it was rooted in the ideas of John Dewey (e.g., 1899), and more recently taken up by critical theorists such as Paolo Freire (e.g., 1970). Only recently, however, did scholars of this ilk turn their attention to issues of leadership. In 2005 (Cambron-McCabe &

²⁵ This text was used in a number of charter management organizations for principal professional development and was one of the main texts used at New Leaders to guide the work of their graduates. At New Leaders, it served as the main text to guide professional development, teacher hiring, resource allocation, teacher observation, and teacher conferences. In addition to using the text, New Leaders hired Bambrick-Santoya to give a multiple-day workshop at the five-week summer induction for all new residents. He also followed up with shorter workshops in the individual regions.

McCarthy) and 2012 (Furman) scholars described research on social justice leadership as “emergent.” Much like the term “instructional leadership,” there were many definitions of social justice. Furman (2012) argued that the multiplicity of definitions allowed different groups to work in opposition of one another all under the same auspices of “social justice” (p. 3). McKenzie et al. (2008) similarly argued that there was a complex and contested definition of social justice, and rather than search for one singular definition, a better conception is a “nonessentialized” definition, or one that can not be universally applied (114).

Despite a lack of a single taken for granted notion of what it meant to be a social justice leader, since the beginning of this century a number of scholars have conceptualized the notion. Brown (2004) broadly defined the work of social justice leaders to “foster successful, equitable, and socially responsible learning and accountability practices for all students” (p. 80). Bogotch (2002) posited that social justice leadership required “the moral use of power...[to] challenge structures built upon the so-called neutrality of objective reality and acknowledge that the systems we have in place represent and, subsequently, reproduce the dominant culture and values in society” (p. 140). McKenzie et al. (2008) identified three goals for social justice leaders: 1) raise the academic achievement of all the students in their school as shown by standardized test scores; 2) prepare their students to live as critical citizens in society; and 3) ensure that students learn in heterogeneous, inclusive classrooms (p. 116). More simply, Furman (2012) posited that despite many differences in definitions, a “common understanding among many leadership scholars is that social justice focuses on the experiences of marginalized groups and inequities in educational opportunities and outcomes” (p. 4). Through a literature review of thirteen books and journal articles written about social-justice leaders, Furman surfaced a set of six consistent themes about the nature of social-justice leadership in schools. She found that social-justice leadership was: action oriented and transformative; committed and persistent; inclusive and democratic; relational and caring; reflective; and oriented toward a socially just pedagogy (p. 5). In this dissertation, I draw heavily on Furman’s (2012) definition while relying on the refinements of other scholars as a way to distinguish between the social justice logic and other logics in the field. Table 7 below illustrates the dimensions of the social justice logic in comparison with the others outlined above:

Table 7: Dimensions of the Social Justice Logic

Dimensions	Prevailing Logic	Entrepreneurial Logic	Social Justice Logic
Goals of Instructional Leadership	Broad: student achievement, teacher satisfaction	Double-digit gains	Students have access to rich and engaging curriculum; historically marginalized students achieve
Focus of Attention	Relationship between principal and teacher	Relationship between principal and score Outcomes-focused	Relationship between teacher and student Process-focused
Theory of Change	Principal is the manager and instructional leader of the school	Principal is the critical lever in driving school and student success	Principal creates space for teachers to drive student success
Modes of Assessment	Standardized test scores; individual (and dissimilar) teacher assessments	Double-digit growth	Multiple; responsive to individual student learning styles; includes standardized test scores
Instructional Practices	Teacher-by-teacher	Research-based; technology; “teacher-proof”	Inclusive (no tracking or pull-out); Culturally Relevant Pedagogy
Leadership Practices	School-by-school	Data conferences; calendared common assessments; consistent classroom observations	Structures that create and support inclusive classrooms; time, space and support for teachers to collectively construct equity-based beliefs and pedagogy
Role of Principal	Lead teachers towards a common vision of student achievement, broadly defined	Bring outcomes-focused curricula to teachers; enforce/support/monitor use of such curricula	Support and hold teachers accountable for equity-based practices; create equitable school structures (inclusion)
Role of Teacher	Lead all students towards achievement	Implement outcomes-focused curricula	Implement equity-focused curricula; collectively construct beliefs in equity and social justice

Epistemological Stance: The social justice logic had a constructivist epistemology. There was an assumption that knowledge was constructed, not discovered; knowledge was not neutral, it was always value-laden. From this epistemological perspective, it was impossible to simply give teachers a single method of instruction and assume that they would either know how to teach it or teach it well. Instead, a social-justice instructional leader must engage teachers in a process through which they make meaning of a particular pedagogy. It was assumed that “leaders will engage with teachers in discussions about instruction; hold difficult, even ‘courageous’ conversations (Johnson, 2000; Singleton & Linton, 2006) regarding academic success for all students; and facilitate classroom observations. It also

means that we have to offer them critical, constructive feedback to help them develop the skills and strategies they must have to lead for social justice” (McKenzie, et al., 2008, p. 126).

It is difficult to imagine the notion of teaching, seeing, and evaluating for a set of beliefs, such as critical consciousness or antiracism. How do you teach someone to not be racist? How do you evaluate someone on a set of values and beliefs? These ideas are contrary to the positivist epistemology, which relied on standardized tests and evidence-based research. And yet, the social justice logic openly called for this work to happen and had the expectation that school leaders would take action according to these beliefs. Brown (2004) called for the field to weave together critical reflection, rational discourse, and policy praxis²⁶ to increase awareness, acknowledgement, and action. She relied on well-known cultural/critical theorists to frame this process, including Freire’s (1970) use of cultural autobiographies, or using self-awareness as a way to gain critical consciousness, and Delpit’s (1995) argument that individuals must understand how their own viewpoint filters their perception of the dominant culture. This constructivist epistemology stands in stark contrast to the positivist perspective of the entrepreneurial logic and the agnostic stance of the prevailing logic.

Goals: The social justice logic was a full departure from the prevailing logic in terms of instruction, culture, and climate. Theoharis (2007) argued that social justice leadership focuses on creating different opportunities for students who had been historically marginalized. Social justice principals “kept at the center of their practice and vision issues of race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and other historically marginalizing factors in the United States” (Theoharis, 2007, p. 11). Additionally, rather than a set of dimensions of what school leaders should know and be able to do, a foundational belief in the need for a more equitable society was central to the social justice logic. In their framework for principal preparation programs focused on social justice, Capper et al. (2006) title one set of dimensions “what leaders must *believe*, know and do to lead just schools” (p. 212) (emphasis added).

The social justice logic also had a goal to shift traditional leadership practices to those that resulted in a more equitable society. The prevailing norms, routines, and beliefs in schools historically met the needs of those from the dominant culture. These dimensions were seen through traditional leadership practices, organizational structures, resources, and pedagogy. The individuals served by these features, however, already existed in the sphere of success. The social justice logic sought to shift these beliefs and actions to instead serve the student population who was historically marginalized. The social justice logic called for rethinking and reconstructing roles and relationships “around a vibrant core purpose focused on social justice and directed at improving student learning” (Cambron-McCabe & McCarthy, 2005, p. 215). Included in the groups of students historically marginalized were students with special needs or learning disabilities. There was an essential connection between student inclusion and social justice; a school could not be socially just and tracked. Principals must know how to create organizational structures to support learning for all students in an inclusive setting, and create a culture in the school community, including parents, that supports heterogeneous classrooms (McKenzie, et al., 2008).

²⁶ *Praxis* is the enactment of a theory, lesson, skill, or, in this case, policy.

The social justice logic was firmly rooted in schools of education, the goals were mostly evident in academic articles and books used in schools of education like *Other People's Children* (Delpit, 1995) and *Courageous Conversations About Race* (Singleton & Linton, 2006). In a review of rubrics or frameworks focused on social justice, I found two academic articles that argued for and put forth beginning frameworks guided by social justice (Brown, 2004; Capper, et al., 2006), and only one set of leadership standards that overtly addressed social justice values throughout all standards (University of California, 2011). The social justice frameworks addressed “skill and development” rather than specific content; they aimed to change school leaders’ belief systems instead of providing explicit actions for principals to take (Brown, 2004, p. 81). While there are actions and routines a social justice leader can take and follow, such as eliminating all tracking from his school site, the movement of a leader towards social justice is less about specific routines and more about a capacity to reflect and act towards the beliefs of social justice based on those reflections, or praxis (Freire, 1970). Social justice leaders must first “honestly confront [their] biases and shortcomings [in order] for the external work in the school community to be authentic and effective” (Brown, 2004, p. 88), and then they must lead their teachers through the same process.

The business of how to shift adults’ belief systems towards equity and social justice was written about in both scholarly works and documents of practice. Theoharis’ (2007) first strategy (of five) to improve the core learning curriculum was to address issues of race (p. 50). He argued that instructional leaders needed to provide a language for their teachers to talk about race in order to go beyond the discomfort often felt in conversations on the topic. McKenzie et al. (2008) suggested that principal preparation programs focused on social justice use Singleton and Linton’s (2006) book, *Courageous Conversations About Race*, to help their aspiring administrators both develop a critical consciousness themselves and learn how to do the same for their future teaching staff. Relying on the current literature, Brown (2004) provided an extensive list and description of activities also meant for aspiring administrators and their future staff, including life histories, prejudice-reduction workshops, reflective-analysis journals, diversity panels, cross-cultural interviews, and cultural autobiographies (pp. 99-102). Other authors described neighborhood walks, home visits (McKenzie, et al., 2008), equity audits, and school-wide cultural-competence observation checklists (Furman, 2012). The social justice focus of these actions and approaches was distinct from both the prevailing and entrepreneurial logics in its epistemological stance, spotlight on shifting historic inequities, and work to engender a collective shift in the beliefs of all stakeholders in schooling.

Role of Data: In the current environment of the accountability movement, it is impossible to escape a focus on data. In the social justice logic, however, raising student achievement on standardized tests in and of itself was not social justice work (Theoharis, 2007). Data were used as part of the process to enact social justice, but were not by themselves evidence of social justice work. For example, the closing of the achievement gap between Black/Latino students and White/Asian students was not evidence of increased social justice. Rather, “political commitment to fairness and equal educational opportunity” (Cambron-McCabe & McCarthy, 2005, p. 202) with a concurrent closing of the achievement gap was using data through a social justice lens.

In the enactment of the social justice logic, data were used to guide instructional leadership. Social-justice leaders used a wide variety of data, including standardized tests but

not exclusively standardized tests, to guide instruction and curriculum. Benchmarks and other data were used for “accountability not punitively but in a formative way” (Theoharis, 2007, p. 43). Rather than the singular goal or the main focus, data were a part of what Theoharis (2007) calls the “three legged approach to social justice school reform,” which includes: 1) increased access to core learning, 2) improvement in core learning, and 3) creation of a climate of belonging (p. 85). The theory of action rooted in the social justice logic posited that with all of these student achievement increased. It was not the achievement in and of itself that generated justice, it was the process through which, and the environment in which, student achievement happened that moved towards a more socially just society.

Role of Teachers: In the social justice logic, instructional leaders viewed their teachers in a dual role: as teachers of students and as learners themselves. First, they needed to know how to teach towards social justice; second, they were considered to be knowing, learning, and growing beings that had to be empowered to work towards social justice. These two aspects played out in the norms and routines around teachers and in the structures created to support them.

The social justice logic assumed that most teachers did not necessarily know how to teach for social justice. It was the responsibility of social-justice leaders, then, to provide professional development opportunities for their teachers, both in terms of time and resources (Theoharis, 2007). In order for this to happen, social-justice leaders also needed to know how to teach for social justice, and how to recognize good teaching for social justice. The norms of the social justice logic assumed that “teachers have their own racial, social, sexual, gendered, and intellectual identities...” (McKenzie, et al., 2008, p. 125) and that it was the responsibility of the social justice leader to lead his or her teachers towards providing equitable opportunities for all students. Rather than using scripted curriculum, or “teacher-proof” curriculum, it was the responsibility of the social-justice leader to provide space, resources, and time for teachers to learn, grow, and become social-justice teachers. Theoharis (2007) stated that “To supervise with an equity lens means to value and trust the staff and also hold a tight line; be straightforward and blunt while also providing meaningful support” (p. 55). Like the entrepreneurial logic, the social justice logic took a strong stance on both goals and processes.

Discussion

The three logics of instructional leadership presented in this chapter promoted distinct norms, routines, and beliefs. While the prevailing logic was dominant in the institutional environment, the two periphery logics were also present and occupied space in the national and local conversation around instructional leadership. The prevailing logic was effectively agnostic about norms, routines, and beliefs. It was also the most widespread logic, as evidenced by the extensive implementation of the ISLLC standards. The entrepreneurial logic was manifested through a focus on specific outcomes: increases in student test scores, and leadership actions that led to that outcome. This logic emerged from the new sector, and while it did not have a strong presence in terms of numbers of individuals on the ground, it had a growing presence in the national discussion of school reform broadly, and the role of school leaders specifically (J. T. Scott & Trujillo, 2011). Finally, the social justice logic, rooted in historical notions of the whole child (Dewey, 1899) and critical race theory (Freire, 1970), also garnered space in the institutional environment by resisting a laser-like focus on test

scores and a one-best-answer approach and by paying particular attention to the current systems that perpetuate historical inequities and injustice in society.

What does the presence of multiple logics in the environment mean for a first-year principal? The focal principals in this study were trained in four different principal preparation programs. In the following chapter I argue that the programs embodied and educated using different logics. In Chapter 5 I look at and beyond principal preparation programs to the school district of study, MUSD, using social network theory to explore how and when the organizations carried logics through evaluation systems, professional development, expectations, and support of principals.

Chapter 5. Introducing the Principal Preparation Programs and the Principals

Each principal in this study was trained at a principal preparation program in the local Bay Area. As I am interested in understanding what messages of instructional leadership first-year principals had access to, it was important to know what messages they received from those programs. In this chapter I describe each of the programs, drawing on their promotional literature, websites, and the data I collected through interviews with program directors and faculty. I include the programs' designs for social networks to illuminate the formal organizational structures that the principals encountered in their preparation programs. Through these descriptions, I show how the programs were connected with some institutional logics of instructional leadership and not others. I argue that two of the programs, New Leaders and the Principal Leadership Institute each strongly promoted one logic. The other two programs, Cal State and Mills, both presented two logics. I then introduce each of the six focal principals, describing their personal journeys to the principalship, the nature of their school sites, and how they characterized instructional leadership at the outset of the school year of study to provide a deeper depiction of their distinct contexts.

Principal Preparation Programs

The six focal principals attended four different principal preparation programs. Two attended New Leaders, an alternative preparation program located outside of a school of education; two attended the Principal Leadership Institute at University of California, Berkeley, an elite public university; one attended California State University, East Bay, a large public university that trained the most principal candidates in the Bay Area, and one attended Mills College, a small private college.

New Leaders.

A team of five graduate students in business and education conceived of New Leaders (NL) in 2000 to provide an alternative pathway to the principalship based on the medical residency model. "Residents" were placed with mentor school administrators for a one-year period, usually in an assistant-principal position.²⁷ During their residency year, participants were given extensive one-on-one coaching (provided by a coach employed full-time by NL) and professional development sessions with the other residents in the area, or the "cohort." After their residency year, participants "owed" the school district three years of service. In their first year of principalship, New Leaders were given ongoing support and coaching by the organization, although less intensively than during their residency year. NL provided ongoing alumni support on an as-needed basis and hosted alumni activities, both social and professional, indefinitely. In its first year, 2001, the organization placed 13 individuals in NYC and Chicago public schools. Since then, it has grown both in numbers of participants (each national cohort averages 90 residents per year) and partner districts (12 districts in 2011, including MUSD beginning in 2002) (New Leaders, 2011).

²⁷ Residents' full-time administrative salaries are split between NL and the partnership district.

Logic of Program. It was clear from documents, reports, textbooks, standards, and interviews with program directors and coaches that NL promoted the entrepreneurial logic. Remember that this logic took a positivist approach to improving schools: principals led teachers with specific actionable practices that led to increases in student achievement as measured by standardized test scores. First, a central document—the Urban Excellence Framework (UEF)—illustrated the presence of the logic in the materials. NL based its instruction, ongoing coaching, and evaluation of principals on the document. The UEF contended that its foci lead to “breakthrough student achievement gains.” A report on the UEF from the organization stated that what makes the UEF distinct “is its focus on breakthrough gains in schools and the specificity with which it details the actions taken by highly effective principals” (2009, p. 18). In short, the UEF prescribed specific actions for all principals to take to achieve the specific goal of higher test scores; other than the urbanicity of a school, the context was irrelevant.

The prevalence of the entrepreneurial logic in New Leaders was further evidenced through the texts the program used in its training program. One text, *Driven By Data* (Bambrick-Santoyo, 2010), was discussed in detail in the previous chapter outlining the logics in the environment. The book presented clear activities for principals to enact in order to obtain higher student test scores. The theory of change is that the principals were critical levers in driving school and student success; teachers were actors necessary to implement outcomes-focused curricula. Another text used in New Leaders was *The Skillful Leader: Confronting Mediocre Teaching* (Platt, Tripp, Ogden, & Fraser, 2000). This text is a “tool kit” for principals to identify and improve mediocre teaching; it included steps and strategies for improvement plans, model classroom observation tools, and leader-self-assessments. The text itself does not necessarily promote the entrepreneurial logic; the main purpose of the book is to improve teacher practice. However, in an interview with the Bay Area residency coach, it was clear that the book was used in New Leaders to provide a specific way for principals to identify teacher practices that are either “mediocre” or not. She explained that it was a very cut and dry method and provided a clear way for principals to figure out who was teaching well and who was not. In short, the positivist perspective that there were measurable teaching practices that will causally lead to improvement in student achievement was evident.

It is important to note that New Leaders’ mission was “To ensure high academic achievement for all children, especially students in poverty and students of color, by developing transformational school leaders and advancing the policies and practices that allow great leaders to succeed” (<http://www.newleaders.org/>). Evident in the mission statement was a focus on historically marginalized populations, the foundation of the social justice logic. I argue that while the end goal was rhetorically similar to the social justice logic, how the organization defined that goal (double-digit gains in standardized test scores) and the practices it promoted to achieve that goal (set teacher and leader practices) were inherently grounded in the entrepreneurial logic.

Social network of the program. NL was a cohort-based model. Residents moved through the program with a small group of local colleagues (from 8-12). The organization provided formal structures for the residents to learn, interact, and connect, primarily during the residency year, but after as well. The organization started a Cross-Cohort Advisory Board in the 2009-2010 school year. This was a group of New Leaders, including current residents,

who focused on what they can do to bring the NL community together. Further, the organization provided coaching sessions twice a month for their first-year principals, and more if they requested it.

UC Berkeley’s Principal Leadership Institute (PLI).

PLI was established at University of California, Berkeley’s Graduate School of Education in 2000 to “prepare leaders for San Francisco Bay Area urban schools” (2010b). Students completed two summers and one school year and received an M.A. in Education and a recommendation toward a Tier I Administrative Services Credential (ASC).²⁸ Most students had full-time positions in local schools, either as teachers or in teacher-leadership positions (such as literacy coaches, Instructional Reform Facilitators, department heads, etc.). PLI established relationships with Bay Area school districts to “facilitate field experiences, receive feedback on the program, and ensure that there is a strong link between university coursework and urban school reality” (2010b). PLI graduates entered into a wide variety of leadership positions in school districts around the Bay Area, including principals and assistant principals, coaches, district-level administrators and teacher leaders.

Logic of Program. The logic of instruction for PLI had a solid foundation in the social justice logic, focused on providing equitable educational opportunities for urban students. This was illustrated in the leadership elements and outcomes for urban school leaders outlined in the table below, taken from the instructional leadership course syllabus:

Table 8: PLI's Leadership Elements and Outcomes

Leadership Element	Outcomes for Urban School Leaders
1. Presence and Attitude	Communicate a compelling presence and a steadfast belief in the power of the possible.
2. Identity and Relationships	Demonstrate personal and professional self-awareness and nourish trusting relationships in a culturally and racially diverse learning organization.
3. Advocacy and Equity	Advocate for equitable academic and social-emotional outcomes for students who have been historically underserved by schools and society.
4. Curriculum and Instruction	Cultivate expectations and ensure durable academic and social-emotional learning outcomes for students and adults.
5. Organization and Systems	Align systems, structures, and resources that build organizational capacity and sustain a productive environment in the service of equitable student learning outcomes
6. Change and Coherence	Engage all adults in change efforts that respond collectively and coherently to the assets and challenges in schools and communities.
7. Assessment and Accountability	Exhibit a persistent focus on teacher and student learning outcomes by developing, aligning, and monitoring an equity-driven assessment system.

²⁸ The Administrative Services Credential (ASC) authorizes service as a superintendent, associate superintendent, deputy superintendent, principal, assistant principal, dean, supervisor, consultant, coordinator, or in an equivalent or intermediate-level administrative position.

Several of the leadership elements include direct references to equity. Numbers four and seven are particularly salient for this analysis: curriculum and instruction is focused on “durable academic and social-emotional learning outcomes” rather than on data-based outcomes; assessment and accountability are exhibited through “an equity-driven assessment system,” likely one that is not tied solely to the standardized tests. The social justice logic was further seen in many elements of the program, from the required books and topics of classroom discussions to the constructive, social, and process-oriented approach to learning.

The program director described PLI’s vision of instructional leadership as having a very strong equity lens, both globally and granularly. Rather than expecting teachers to practice in a particular way, the program taught its leaders to take an asset mindset, or to look at what is working rather than what is not. She explained, “we use a Freirian tool—we as a community can answer our own questions of practice if we go about it in a more cooperative inquiry, using appreciative inquiry.” This approach was echoed in the syllabus for the instructional leadership course. It began with an outline of the course instructors’ approach: “In general we foster learner-centered and constructivist pedagogy that is framed with equitable participation in mind...As with all learners, we believe in the notion that conversation between and among learners (termed intersubjectivity by Vygotsky) is essential in fully formulating and encoding knowledge” (Principal Leadership Institute, 2010). The texts used in this course further illustrated the preparation program’s deep roots in the social justice logic, they included readings from authors like: Paolo Freire, Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot, Beverly Tatum, Luis Rodriguez, Claude Steel, and Glenn Singleton.²⁹

Social network of the program. Like NL, PLI had a cohort model. Students (between 30 and 35 per year) spent two summers and one school year in coursework while also maintaining full-time jobs in local urban districts. PLI provided ongoing professional development and coaching for graduates in administrative positions.

California State University, East Bay (Cal State).

Cal State offered a Tier I administrative credential in a one-year program, and a master’s in education in a second year. About half of the students spent two years in the program, receiving both degrees; the other half already had a master’s degree upon entry. The program was designed for working adults; about two-thirds of the participants were teachers. The other third were already in administrative roles, had a district office job, were Teachers on Special Assignment,³⁰ or worked at a job outside of public schools (such as a coach at a non-profit organization). The students took two courses per quarter, one of which was focused on instructional leadership. Students received instructional coaching during their fieldwork course to help translate the academic learning to the field. After the first year of the program, about half of the students moved into administrative positions (although this

²⁹ These authors are well known in the field of education for researching and/or writing about historically marginalized student populations. The syllabus includes many more readings by authors who address similar issues.

³⁰ A Teacher on Special Assignment, or TSA, is an administrative-level position for a teacher who may not have an administrative credential, such as an instructional coach or a position similar to an assistant principal.

number was dropping as the number of positions in the region decreased during the year of study). The other students either were not seeking administrative positions or were waiting for one to open in their school or district.

Logics of the Program. Cal State promoted both the prevailing and social justice logics. It focused on all of the following: equity, data, curriculum, supervision, and coaching. Their leadership standards rubric had five sections, illustrating the broad and multiple foci of the program:

- 1) Teaching and Learning for Equity and High Achievement
- 2) Systems Thinking and Strategic Approaches to Developing a Learning Community
- 3) Building Organizational Capacity through Resource Coherence
- 4) Ethical, Caring, and Reflective Practice
- 5) Engaging and Influencing Forces within the Larger Context

In an interview with a professor in the program, I asked how the program conceptualized instructional leadership for principals. The professor laughed and then answered, “There isn’t a universal definition. It completely depends on the faculty you are talking to. Part of it is personality and part of it is professional commitment. The answer for the program is really going to shift depending on who is there [current faculty]” (Knaus, 2011). According to this professor, a consequence of broad foci is lack of depth in any single focus. While one professor may focus on equity in one class, another may focus on the importance of classroom observations in another.

The syllabus for the instructional leadership course, *Supervision and Staff Development*³¹ began with focal questions that were grounded in the social justice logic. The first question addressed the role of personal beliefs in teacher supervision, the second addressed establishing collective responsibility at the school-site to achieve equity in learning, and the final question asked: “How do bold, socially responsible leaders develop effective, collaborative professional learning communities?” These questions, in concert with several of the course objectives, presented a stance in line with the social justice logic. However, the texts used in the (online) course promoted the prevailing logic. The main required text was *The Basic Guide to Supervision and Instructional Leadership, 2nd Edition* (Glickman, Gordon, & Ross-Gordan, 2008). Other texts addressed Professional Learning Communities, how to use test results to achieve school improvement, and how to run professional development sessions. The contrast in the goals and the means to reach them indicated the presence of multiple logics, reiterated by the professor quoted above. This points to the presence of multiple messages of instructional leadership.

Social network of the program. Cal State had several region-based cohorts. In one local district, the students accepted into the cohort were jointly selected by the district and the university. In another region, students came from a larger number of districts in close proximity to each other. Students took courses with their cohort for at least the first year,

³¹ I emailed the director of the program asking for the syllabus used in the course for instructional leadership; this was the syllabus that I received in response.

and some for a second. There was no formal ongoing coaching or support offered through the program.

Mills College.

Similar to Cal State, Mills offered a Tier I administrative credential in a yearlong program with an option for a master's degree with a second year of coursework. The program's goals were focused on self-reflection and grounded in knowledge and teaching (2011). It was a very small program, with approximately six students a year, mostly from three local districts (including MUSD). About half of the graduates went on to the principalship, the others went into positions like Teachers on Special Assignment, program specialists, or assistant principalships. The Tier I administrative credential program did not have a coaching component.

Logics of the program. Similar to Cal State, Mills's program did not fit neatly into one logic of instructional leadership. Instead, it had elements of both the prevailing and social justice logics. Mills distinguished itself from other local programs with a focus on the socio-emotional dimensions of the individual pre-service principals. In an interview, the program director said: "If we had measures, we'd look for empathy, self-regulation, and listening." They taught leadership as a reflective practice, an inquiry process about self-knowing. The program had three stated goals that all focused on collaboration:

- 1) A thoughtful, reflective model of leadership in which candidates use a variety of research tools; apply inquiry methods and change theory to strategic planning, implementation, and assessment; and collaborate with constituencies, in order to create optimal conditions for teaching and learning.
- 2) A collaborative model of leadership that values inclusiveness, collaboration, and information sharing.
- 3) A leadership model grounded in knowledge of teaching and learning, administrative guidance in curriculum development, use of change theories and strategies in meeting the legal, ethical, social and fiscal demands that leaders will inevitably confront (2011).

This description highlights the process emphasized in the program, restated by the program director: collaborative and inquiry-based. This approach had a constructivist epistemology, and therefore sat within the social justice logic, yet there was not the laser focus on working towards equitable opportunities for all children that was foundational in the social justice logic like that seen in PLI.

The program had an aversion to a focus on data-based instruction, thus separating itself from the entrepreneurial logic. The program director explained the program's perspective: "The biggest contrast [with other programs] is the focus on so much data-driven practice, we're much more focused on teaching and learning. The principal needs to understand the curriculum and standards, but most of all be able to see what's going on in her school. We discourage the idea that there are easy fixes embedded in data." In contrast to the very specific foci of the social justice and entrepreneurial logics, Mills embodies a more general perspective that "ties curriculum to various educational philosophies" with a constructivist process approach. The lack of a focus on historically marginalized populations separates the logic of the program from the social justice logic. Its focus and content—on

teaching and learning—was representative of prevailing logic while its approach was based in the social justice logic. Mills, then, similar to Cal State, propagated two logics of instructional leadership.

Social network of the program. Mills maintained a very small and intimate (the director called it “boutique”) program; the students took courses together through the yearlong program in a cohort-model. After graduation, Mills did not have formal organizational structures to promote ongoing connections between the students. According the program director, however, many of the graduates worked together in their districts and maintained ties through frequent contact through that context.

Principals

In this section I describe the principals and their schools. While this dissertation largely pays attention to phenomena at the institutional and organizational levels, it is the principals themselves who experienced, engaged with, and enacted the phenomena. Therefore, briefly telling their stories and rendering them as people is essential to the research. As individuals, some engaged more fully with me than others; thus my depiction of each is uneven. As much as possible, I try to depict them authentically and with deep respect. The accounts begin with a description of the principal and his or her personal and career trajectory, then describe the context of the school, and end with the principal’s description of instructional leadership as told to me during the first interview of the study (conducted from September-October, 2010).

The demographic data in Table 9 below is provided to give context for the six schools in this study. These data are useful for understanding the nature of the schools, at least as represented by quantitative data, and for comparing across the schools. I include the number of students and teachers to give a sense of the size of the schools and the number of people each principal managed. The average number of students was 354, relatively small as compared to an average of 479 in the United States and 600 in other California public elementary schools (2012). The API score and Similar Schools’ Rank are how schools are ranked according to standardized test score. The API is based only on the raw test score, whereas the Similar Schools’ Rank compares each school to 100 statistically matched “similar schools,” or those that are similar in size, ethnic breakdown, socioeconomic status, and other student characteristics. A similar schools rank of 1 means that a school’s performance on the standardized test is comparable to the lowest performing 10 percent of the 100 similar schools. In contrast, a rank of 10 means that the school’s performance on the standardized test is better than at least 90 percent of 100 similar schools (California Department of Education, 2012b). MUSD’s schools were often characterized by where they were in the city: in the flats, the slopes, or the hills. The flats were largely populated with poor African American and Latino communities. The hills were largely White and wealthy. The slopes often had a mixture of both populations. Finally, I include the dominant racial groups. When there was a significant population of more than one group, I included multiple groups. Socially Disadvantaged (SD) was calculated by the percentage of families who qualify for Free and Reduced Lunch, a federal proxy for poverty. English Learners (EL) were classified by scores on the California English Development Test (CELDT).

Table 9: Demographic information, by school

Principal	PPP	School	Students (#)	Teachers (#)	API	Similar Schools Rank	MUSD Location	Key Demographics
Jamal	NL	Eucalyptus ES	273	15	714	1	Flats	95% Latino; 82% SD; 89% EL
Katy	NL	Maple ES	380	20	812	8	Slope	30% African American; 20% White; 18% Latino; 42% SD; 24% EL
Miguel	PLI	Black Oak ES	305	16	741	2	Flats	86% Latino; 76% SD; 88% EL
Sabina	PLI	Cypress ES	366	18	692	1	Flats	65% Latino; 78% SD; 65% EL
Amy	Mills	Monterey Pine ES	360	17	918	6	Slope	60% Asian; 55% SD; 56% EL
Rachel	CSUEB	Cherry Plum ES	440	22	887	3	Slope	24% African American, 23% White; 35% SD; 21% EL

Jamal

Jamal grew up in a nearby city known for its poverty and violence. He was selected as A Better Chance scholarship recipient, a program that connects and funds successful children of color in poor communities with elite private high schools.³² He then went to a private college out of state. He came back to the area as a Teach For America corps member in MUSD, and continued to teach in the district for 15 years. He spoke Spanish and taught for several years in bilingual classrooms. Jamal was a man with a large presence: when he talked, people listened. He was an eloquent and soulful public speaker. Jamal was in the 2010 NL Cohort. He was very emotionally close with his cohort members. They often talked on the phone, emailed, texted, talked at district regional meetings, and got together as friends.

Eucalyptus Elementary School was located in the flatlands³³ of MUSD; it serves a mostly poor, Latino population (95% Latino; 82% Socioeconomically disadvantaged). Many of the students were learning English as their second language (89%); the school had a bilingual track from kindergarten through third grade. In 2010, the school had an API score of 687 (the district average was 719), down from 709 the year before. Its similar schools ranking³⁴ in the three years prior to Jamal's arrival was either a 1 or a 2, depending on the year (the lowest possible). In the year of study, the school was in Program Improvement level 5.³⁵ In 2011, under Jamal's leadership, the school's API increased to 714, or by 27 points. Jamal was also publically recognized both by the school district and by NL in newsletters, newspaper reports, and at public events.

The 14 teachers at Eucalyptus were veteran teachers; most had more than 10 years of experience. There were three from Spain who taught the bilingual classes. Jamal said that all of the teachers at Eucalyptus were consolidated there; in other words, they were pushed out of other schools and landed at Eucalyptus. The teachers were strongly connected to the union; several often referred to the contract in casual conversations with Jamal around scheduling, professional development sessions, and formal evaluations. He described his staff as having PTSD from the previous two years. The principal before him had a very challenging experience (she was also a first-year principal when she started). Jamal described her as being at war with both the teachers and the parents.³⁶ At one point in the spring

³² See <http://www.abetterchance.org/> for more details about the program.

³³ Recall that the flatlands were populated with a largely poor, African American, and Latino population while the slopes had a more diverse population in terms of race and socio-economic class.

³⁴ The similar schools ranking is based on the school's API score compared to 100 other schools of the same type with a mix of similar demographic characteristics (<http://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/ac/ap/glossary11f.asp>).

³⁵ A school enters into Program Improvement if it does not make its expected AYP score, as set by the state. Program Improvement 5 signifies that the school did not make its expected AYP five years in a row; there are a series of actions a school must take due to this classification that can include reconstitution, significantly changing the academic program (like switching to bilingual or away from bilingual), or even school closure.

³⁶ In addition to Jamal's description, I interviewed her for another research project in her second, and final, year at the school in which she described her experience similarly.

before Jamal became principal, after feeling like their demands for a teacher's dismissal went unheard, the parents went on strike and kept their children out of school for a day. The relationship between the teachers, parents, and administration was vitriolic and seeped into the school year of study. Jamal pushed one teacher out before the school year started, and he took the principalship with the understanding that "if three teachers say that I'm not serving the students of this school by the end of my first year, I'm outta here." He felt that "The situation is so critical, so dire, they can't... Double-digit growth for us, CST score³⁷ or whatever you want to measure, is not even gonna begin to satisfy the need of these students to overcome what they've been through recently. They've got to do three years in one year, or two years in one year, now... So the urgency of it is pressing."

Jamal described instructional leadership as knowing "what good teaching and pedagogy looks like." He elaborated on what that looks like in action: "You have to be... knowledgeable and conversant in the different aspects of helping proper, effective pedagogy. You have to be willing to model when necessary, and to shield your staff from initiatives that are doomed to fail because of their poor design." According to Jamal, one of his high leverage leadership actions was getting into classrooms on a "reliably unreliable" schedule. He explained that he did not want his teachers to think that because he visited in the morning, they could show a movie in the afternoon. This was an effort to extend his sense of urgency to the staff; he wanted to see instruction at all times of the day and week. He had a vision for what pedagogy would look like to serve the school's population: "They would re-teach, check for understanding. Right now they do not talk in complete sentences, don't speak in academic language, teachers are not used to structures like pacing guides. In CA, teachers used to be able to teach what, when, and how they wanted. Now, it's just how. We dictate what and when—that transition is huge."

Katy

Katy grew up in the area. She entered into teaching as a second career and taught for four years in a flatland MUSD school under the direction of a NL principal. A friend recommended NL as her next career move, and she applied. She was a member of the 2009 cohort and placed in a charter school located in MUSD, but separate from the district. She was upset about being placed in a charter school because she wanted to stay in a district school, and the placement negatively impacted her relationship with NL.³⁸ After her residency year, she applied and interviewed for principalships in MUSD, but did not get an appointment. Instead, she got an offer as an Assistant Principal at an MUSD middle school that she took for one year. At the end of the year, she again applied for principalship positions in the district, and again did not get a position. She described questioning her career path at this point, but then two weeks before the beginning of the school year was placed as the interim principal at Maple Elementary School.³⁹

³⁷ The CST is the California Standardized Test, the high-stakes test given in the spring of each year. The scores from this test determine a school's API, AYP, and similar schools ranking.

³⁸ She explained later that her reasons for wanting to stay in MUSD were largely about money—the district paid more than the charter school.

³⁹ The principal selection process in MUSD includes a school-based committee consisting of parents and teachers. They interview candidates accepted into the district-wide principal pool and then make a request/recommendation to the principal manager in charge of the region. That person makes the

Maple Elementary School was located in the slopes of MUSD, it served a diverse group of students both in terms of socio-economic status and ethnicity. In 2010, the school had an 857 API. This was an increase from the year before (819) and from 2008 (783). While there was an achievement gap between African American students (32% of the student population) and others, the African American API (801) was still significantly higher than the district average. Under Katy's leadership, Maple's API went down 45 points to 812, the second largest loss in the district's elementary schools.

At the time of the study, teachers at Maple were mostly veterans, many of whom only taught at the one school their entire career. The least experienced teacher was in his 5th year and did his student teaching there; most teachers were there 15 or more years, and several were there for more than 25 years. The teachers at Maple, like those at Eucalyptus, were also very tied to the teachers' union. Most wore their union t-shirts on Wednesdays, several threatened grievances towards Katy through the year, and there were several occasions when the head of the teachers' union was called in to address an issue the teachers raised with Katy. The previous principal was at Maple for five years. She left during the summer to take an administrative job at the district level; she was well liked by the students, teachers, and parent community. In the middle of the spring of 2011, the parent committee, along with several teachers, elected to run a search for a new principal. While this was the formal indication that the school community did not want to have Katy as their principal in the next school year, there were many more informal incidents and relationships (or lack of) that were evident as early as my first observation in December 2010. The tension between Katy and the teachers was the primary focus of her conversations and daily activities.

In the first interview with Katy, she explained the multiple pieces of effective instructional leadership: "I think that to really be an effective instructional leader, I think you have to look beyond the standards on paper. You need to have a physical presence in the classroom. Not only as an observer, but also offering assistance to the teacher. Whether it's an academic lead, or dealing with a kid who has behavioral issues. And then also just having like systems in place so they can actually move through their lessons." When I asked what I should look for in my observations of her as an instructional leader, she told me that I "should see [her] having difficult conversations with teachers." Her approach to offering assistance, then, was about pushing and challenging her teachers' current practices.

Sabina

Sabina also grew up in the Bay Area and went to a local university. She was raised speaking both Spanish and English, and taught in bilingual classrooms for eight years in a number of districts throughout the Bay Area. A good friend and alumnae recommended PLI, which Sabina completed in 2007. She started as an assistant principal at a school in a different district, and after a semester of a challenging relationship with the principal, she was offered the assistant principalship at Cypress Elementary School through a PLI connection. The principal at the time was also a PLI graduate. The school was in its first year; it was a part of a district-based small-schools movement that broke down larger campuses into small schools with specific foci. Cypress Elementary's focus was bilingual instruction. After three years in

final decision. If a principal is placed as an interim, at the end of the interim's first year, the school has the choice to form a search committee or move the interim to permanent.

the assistant-principal position, Sabina received a phone call in late July. The previous principal decided to move out of the state, and tapped Sabina on the shoulder to take the interim principal position (similar to Katy and others). She took the job, and, based on recommendations of the PLI program director, hired an assistant principal who was also a PLI alumnus.

Cypress Elementary was in the flatlands and served a predominantly Latino population (65%), 26% were African American, 78% were Socioeconomically disadvantaged, and 65% were identified as English Learners. Eight of the fourteen teachers were in their first year of teaching; most of these individuals were career changers, and many participated in MUSD's alternative entry into teaching program.⁴⁰ There was one teacher who had taught for more than 10 years; the others all had less than 10 years of experience. While there was a union representative on the faculty, she was not very involved, nor did she garner widespread support or action on behalf of the teachers. Seventeen out of eighteen teachers at Cypress received pink slips in March. All but one was rescinded; he did not have the correct teaching credential. The teachers at Cypress were very involved in the instructional decision-making in the school. There were numerous committees who made decisions about professional development, the work of the professional learning communities, and grade-level peer mentoring. The school also had the most administrative staffing out of any of the others in this study. It was the only school with an assistant principal, and Sabina hired a family-school coordinator, a secretary, and an office assistant. She also employed a battery of instructional coaches, some of whom worked part-time.

Cypress was a low performing school; its similar school rank was a 1. Sabina “felt a sense of urgency” around the lack of student success and the reasons she felt were used to explain their failure: “not everyone is on the same page with that sense of urgency, it’s just like well, it can’t be done. Or oh, you know, these kids can’t do it. Or the parents don’t help.” In the first interview, she talked about using the standardized test data (both the CST and the district benchmarks) to move the staff towards the immediate needs of the students, “we can’t deny like this data, this evidence that’s in our face. It’s saying that the kids are not where they need to be.”

Sabina was also an interim principal, and in a surprising turn of events, there were a couple of weeks in the spring when the teachers raised the question if she should be moved to permanent. She had many conversations with the faculty, staff, parents, and her principal supervisor about the teachers’ concerns and the process through which they were raised. In the end, the teachers asked her to stay, but, as Sabina worried: “I hope we can recover from this. I lost a lot of trust [in my teachers].”

In the first interview, Sabina described instructional leadership as a collaborative process, “for me it’s really involving the teachers in the process, like it’s not just the principal or—one thing that’s really helped us that we started last year was doing the instructional leadership team... it’s not just the coaches or a principal planning the PDs, it’s also the teachers with their expertise.” She envisioned her role as an instructional leader to organize

⁴⁰ Participation in this program meant that the teachers received mentorship and coaching from an outside organization in addition to Sabina’s support.

spaces for teachers to take ownership of instruction. She also explained her role in the process was to “name” the practices she saw in classroom instruction: “What really makes a difference [in changing teacher practice] is going into classrooms and ... scripting what you’re seeing, and then naming the practice in the classroom. And then using that information to have conversations with the teachers.” In the beginning of the year, Sabina’s conception of instructional leadership was focused on seeing where students and teachers were—evidenced by test data and teacher practices—and using that data to push teachers forward in a collaborative process.

Miguel

Miguel was born and raised in Spain and began his teaching career there. He taught high school for four years in England and Spain before coming to MUSD to teach in an elementary bilingual classroom.⁴¹ He taught for three years before working at the district as an English Learner coach. He continued in that position for two years, and during the last year he went to PLI to get his administrative credential and master’s degree. He graduated in May of 2010, right before he accepted the position at Black Oak Elementary. While he was in PLI, one of his primary professors was the woman who would become his principal manager as a principal at Black Oak Elementary School. During the year of the study, Miguel was continuing his studies at PLI to get his Tier II credential. To complete this he attended courses two evenings a month with his cohort and met weekly with his PLI-based leadership coach.

Black Oak Elementary, like Cypress, was a part of the small schools movement in MUSD that began in 2000. Also like Cypress, Black Oak focused on Spanish-speaking English Learners. During the year of the study, 86% of the students were Latino and 88% were English Learners. Many of the teachers at Black Oak had been teaching at the school since its inception in 2001. With the exception of two teachers from Spain, the teachers all had more than five years of experience, and many of them more. There was a moderate union presence at the school. Miguel felt that the school’s history of principal-turnover caused division between himself and his staff: the school had five administrators in its ten years. Coupled with the enduring teacher population, there was a sense of hesitance and lack of trust towards Miguel. His relationship with the parents, on the other hand, was very positive. The previous principal did not speak Spanish, and most of the parents only spoke Spanish. They appreciated Miguel’s ability and eagerness to communicate and include them in the daily workings of the school.

Black Oak Elementary had a secretary and a clerk who did a lot of the administrative work, including contracts and budgeting. There was also a parent coordinator. Miguel mentioned several times, however, how he wished he had an assistant principal. He did have a number of coaches, including the one from PLI, a district-based coach to help implement a district reform mandate, and another leadership coach who came on board in the middle of the year.

⁴¹ In response to a shortage of Spanish-speaking teachers, MUSD, and many other urban California school districts, recruited Spanish teachers to come and teach in bilingual classrooms. Miguel was on the early end of this policy, but it still continues—Miguel, Jamal, and Sabina all had teachers who were part of the same type of program teaching during the year of the study.

In the first interview, Miguel explained what it would look like if he were an excellent instructional leader: “When evaluation is not as stressful. When evaluation doesn’t catch people by surprise. When people are collaborating, when there is a very specific subject matter when professional conversations happen.” I asked him how he could achieve this, he responded: “First of all, you’ve got to be in the classroom, you’ve got to observe. To the extent that it is not evaluative, or not necessarily pressure, but actually with the will to help. I mean be critical, but at the same time thinking, assuming that people can get better to begin with.” Miguel mentions both collaboration and intent. With the phrase “assuming that people can get better” he implies that he views instructional leadership with a growth perspective.

Rachel

Rachel grew up in the same nearby city as Jamal in a family of educators. She went to Catholic schools for her own education, and went right into a career of teaching in her same diocese. She taught for a handful of years before becoming a principal at her school. While she was a principal at her first school, she went to Cal State to get her administrative credential. She left the Catholic school system to manage instruction at a regional office of Sylvan Learning, a nation-wide for-profit tutoring center, where she worked for two years.⁴² While at Sylvan, Rachel went back to Cal State to get her Tier II credential and graduated in May of 2010. After encouragement from a professor there (who was also a former MUSD administrator), Rachel applied for principal positions in MUSD and got placed at Cherry Plum Elementary School. The previous principal was at Cherry Plum for 12 years, and a Teacher on Special Assignment at the school before that. While Rachel was not in her first year of the principalship, it was her first year as a principal in the public school system. She often described her experience as something completely novel; while she relied on her previous experience instructionally, most elements of her job were new to her in terms of standard operating procedures, beliefs, content, structures, and scale at the school site and the district.

Cherry Plum Elementary School, like Maple, was in the slopes. It was the most diverse and the least socioeconomically disadvantaged school in my study with a quarter African American students, a quarter White, and the other half split between Asian, Latino, and mixed-race children. A unique characteristic of Cherry Plum was the prevalence of gay and lesbian families; the school had become a sort of “oasis of acceptance” for that community in MUSD. While non-traditional family structures may have been more accepted at Cherry Plum than other schools, issues of bullying emerged throughout the year. Another distinction of this school was the vision-impaired program it housed. There were special classrooms for some students, but many of the vision-impaired students were mainstreamed through the classrooms across all grade levels. The teachers at Cherry Plum were veteran; the least experienced teacher had more than 10 years of experience. Further, most of the teachers had been at that school for more than a decade.

⁴² Sylvan provides in- and out-of school tutoring and is often hired by schools to work with low performing students. Both Rachel and Jamal brought in Sylvan during the year of study to work with small groups of students on reading skills.

Rachel repeatedly stated that building relationships was at the core of her work as an instructional leader. In the beginning of the year, she said that cultivating relationships allowed her to put her finger on the pulse of what was happening in classrooms, and therefore drive change. She addressed the school's diversity and the challenges that she perceived occurring in the classrooms, stating that the teachers (in which she included herself) needed to be: "widening our perception of what compliant behavior looks like." She continued:

We have a narrow scope of what school-appropriate compliance can look like. And so we have a disproportionate group of students kind of being asked to leave class, because they have what are traditionally non-compliant behaviors. But that echoes their excitement about learning, but they don't fall into that box of school-appropriate response to learning. And so I think that that's an area where the diversity creates a tension around kids just being in the classroom to access the material, if they're getting kicked out all the time. And then how are we adjusting our teaching strategies to engage those learners.

I asked her how she would go about creating those kinds of changes, and she said that she needed to be in classrooms everyday. Extensive exposure to what is happening in classrooms would allow her to be "keyed in to the living and breathing process of instruction." Further, she described her interactions with teachers as coaching rather than either directive or collaborative: "supporting teachers growing in their own capacity through problem solving with them. So not putting in solutions, but working to have them grow their own intuition or sense, or kind of tool belt around it."

Amy

Amy had a varied career in education that began with teaching in local school districts for five years and for two in a private school in Columbia. She continued to teach in a neighboring district on her return from Columbia, and simultaneously got her administrative credential from Mills College. While getting her credential, she had an administrative internship in an MUSD elementary. After graduating, she worked at a local non-profit that provided coaching in school reform in MUSD before working as an assistant principal in an MUSD elementary school. Similar to Katy and Sabina, Amy was brought into the principalship as an interim at Monterey Pine Elementary in the summer after the previous principal moved into a principal manager position at the district central office. The previous principal was at the school for five years and was widely liked by the staff and parent community. She became Amy's principal manager.

The school was on the slope, and while not as diverse as Maple Elementary, Monterey Pine Elementary served the second highest percentage of Asian students in the district: 60%. African American students were 18% of the students, 6% Latino, and 10% White. A little more than half of the students were classified as English Learners, and about the same amount were socioeconomically disadvantaged. Monterey Pine had one of the highest API scores in the district, 918 in the year of study. There was an achievement gap between the Asian (942), White (969) and African American (821) and Latino (847) students. Even with the gap, African Americans and Latino students scored much higher at Monterey

Pine than they did in other schools in the district and in the state.⁴³ The 17 teachers were very experienced; the least experienced teacher was in her fifth year. Two teachers retired at the end of the year. The school had a secretary who had worked in the front office for over 15 years, a part-time psychologist, and the “school mom” who worked with students with behavior issues, called parents regarding attendance, took care of CUM files,⁴⁴ and led instructional intervention. Amy, like Miguel and others, often expressed desire for an assistant principal. She did not have any coaches at the school focused on either instructional content or leadership.

When I asked Amy about instructional leadership in the beginning of the year, she explained her perspective in the context of formal teacher evaluations:

I’m very hands-on being in the classroom. I use, I love evaluation, because I use it as a coaching time, you know. And I want to make sure teachers are very comfortable, you know, like it’s a huge chit-chat moment for us, when we go through evaluation time... So I want to inspire teachers, I want them to see my intentions for you to be better. If you don’t want to be a better teacher, that’s on you. But I’m gonna meet you assuming that you want to do better in your work, and I’m gonna approach it that way.

Like Miguel, Amy included intent in her understanding of her role as an instructional leader—she was going to assume that her teachers want to improve. She went on to explain that her teacher-focused perspective helped to establish strong relationships with teachers, but that instructional leadership also required creating structures: “So I come into a school, like structure, trying to streamline things, you know.”

In summary, while many characteristics of the principals and their contexts were similar, the six focal principals also had distinct personal and intellectual biographies and worked in idiosyncratic schools. They had a number of similarities: they were all in their first-year, they were all in elementary schools that served a majority of poor, traditionally underserved children, they all operated under the same organizational structures of the same school district, and they all attended preparation programs in the San Francisco Bay Area. And yet the differences are also striking: they had various levels of experience in the district; their schools had varying levels of teacher experience and distinct cultures; they were brought into the principalship through different pathways (interim or permanent); and, their preparation programs promoted varying logics of leadership. The obvious question is: Which of these characteristics was important for how the principals made sense of their role as an instructional leadership? The next two chapters explore this question, first by sketching and analyzing their informal instructional leadership networks to explore what messages they got about instructional leadership, and second by using sensemaking theory to understand how they heard, made sense of, and enacted these messages in their roles as instructional leaders.

⁴³ The state averages in 2011 were as follows: African American: 696; Asian: 898; Latino: 729; White: 845.

⁴⁴ A CUM file is short for “cumulative file” that includes a student’s grades, attendance, discipline, standardized assessment scores, and other information from a student’s educational career.

Chapter 6. Networked for Instructional Leadership:

The shape and formation of first-year principals' informal instructional leadership networks

This chapter examines the nature and characteristics of the informal instructional leadership networks of the six focal first-year elementary school principals, especially the presence of logics as promoted by both the principal preparation programs and the school district. In Chapter 4, I used a macro level of analysis by sketching the three logics in the environment. The analysis in this chapter investigates the meso level by tracing how the logics moved into schools. To do so I describe both the formal organizational structures and the informal instructional leadership networks of the six focal first-year principals and explore the reasons for the network formation.

To influence the outcomes of practice, organizations create formal structures or roles; these are represented in organization charts or in the formal practice of an organization. For example, some principal preparation programs provide coaches to influence the ongoing and in situ practice of new and in-training principals. School districts have principal meetings to inform and train individuals. They also mandate school-based structures such as parent and teacher groups to ensure that those actors have a space to influence school-site practices. While the underlying theory of action of these formal organizational structures is to influence practice, we know that structures can change without a concurrent shift in practice (R. F. Elmore, Peterson, & McCarthy, 1996). Messages carrying particular logics of instructional leadership may be promoted through the formal organizational structures, then, but may not account for how an individual principal makes sense of his or her role.

To account for the lack of synchronicity between formal organizational structures and the lived practice of actors, social network theory looks at the informal social networks of individuals, how they are connected to others, and what information they have access to. As Warren Little (2010) puts it, with social network theory “we find a shift in gaze from formal organizational entities—the school, the district, the intermediary organization—to the network of actors engaged with one another in various ways and degrees” (p. xi). Studies in multiple disciplines have used social network theory to indicate that the shape of a person’s informal social network influences what information he or she has access to (Coburn, et al., 2010; Morrison, 2002; Small, 2009; Sparrowe, et al., 2001). For this reason, until recently, social network scholars primarily looked at the informal to see what information people had access to and how that information led to changes in practice, not at the formal organizational structures. But do formal organizational structures impact the formation or structure of informal social networks? Current social network research has begun to search for moments of intersection between the two to understand when and under what conditions formal organizational structures impact the lived practices of individuals and their informal social networks (Daly, 2010; W.R. Penuel, et al., 2010; Small, 2009). This research suggests that looking at both the formal organizational structures and informal social networks may highlight the mechanisms of the meso level of the message-to-enactment process.

This study adds to the current literature by attending to the interrelationship between informal social networks and formal structures for principals in their first year in the role. If formal structures shape informal social networks, they may also help influence what

information is available in the networks, and via that information, inform the practice of individuals in the networks. Coburn et al. (2010) argue, “Researchers tend to emphasize the emergent character of social networks, focusing on the choices individuals make as they seek out others with whom to interact. But they often neglect the social arrangements and organizational conditions that shape individual choice” (p. 46). By describing the instructional leadership networks of first-year principals, this chapter shifts our attention from discrete organizational structures such as principal preparation programs and the central district office to the multiple and complex interchanges between new principals and the people that support their work, with an explicit focus on understanding the influence of the formal organizational structures on informal social exchanges. The case of first-year principals is especially useful to understand the role and level of influence of principal preparation programs, as the individuals are chronologically more closely tied to their programs than other people in their role. A close look at the influence of principal preparation programs on principals’ exposure to institutional logics allows us to see the ways in which the messages, experiences, and connections to these programs come to be reinforced, extended, challenged, or diminished through their encounters with the formal school and district organization and their affiliation and participation in informal networks. Social network theory helps to untangle these messages and elucidate how the principals are connected to some ideas and not to others.

I examine the configuration of six first-year principals’ informal instructional leadership networks: the individuals the focal principals in the study say they talk to about issues of instructional leadership. In this chapter, instructional leadership is defined by the conceptualizations of the individual principals. To understand their informal instructional leadership networks, I asked the principals to define the term and to describe who they talked to about instructional leadership as they understood it. It is through their definitions and descriptions of instructional leadership, those that influenced their notions of the concept, and what they expressed as important that the institutional logics were apparent. As explored in other chapters, this approach adds insight into how first-year principals understand and interpret the concept, building on the research on this fundamental element of a principal’s role.

The analysis in this chapter provides answers for the following questions: What do the instructional leadership networks look like for first-year principals? What role do the formal organizational structures play in shaping principals’ networks? What accounts for the differences in the principals’ networks? I argue that the formation of the instructional leadership networks was influenced by formal organizational structures, yet the networks were very different from one another in spite of the fact that principals experienced similar formal organizational structures. I first compare the networks and describe how the formal structures influence the networks. I then argue that the differences in the principals’ networks are due, in part, to the contrasting conceptions of leadership in the principal preparation programs. I then argue that the differences in their social networks mattered in the working lives of the first-year principals: distinct network formulations provided differential access to information that informed their work. Understanding the influence of formal structures on informal networks, what the informal instructional leadership networks look like, and what accounts for the differences is essential to knowing the circumstances under which principals make choices around instruction. To make this argument, I first discuss the nature of formal organizational structures that the novice principals in this study

were exposed to, including the school district and the principal preparation programs. I then describe the interactions between the formal structures and informal instructional leadership networks and describe what the networks looked like, illustrating the interactions. Finally, I describe how the different networks carried distinct logics of instructional leadership.

Principals' Formal Organizational Structures

The six principals in this study were situated within at least two organizations: the school district and their principal preparation program. In this section I briefly outline the structures that were found in organization charts or were part of the formal practice of the district and the preparation programs.

Madrone Unified School District.

In the year of this study, Madrone Unified School District (MUSD) organized its elementary and middle schools into three “regions.” The six principals in this study were distributed across all three regions. Each region consisted of approximately 25 elementary and middle schools and had a manager who evaluated and supported principals of those schools.⁴⁵ The three regions were also assigned one “regional coach”; the principal manager had the authority to deploy this coach to assist individual schools and principals as she saw fit.

All principals were mandated to attend biweekly daylong professional development meetings by region throughout the year. The principal managers designed the content and organization of the meetings; they addressed content such as academic literacy, developing professional development sessions for teachers, and using data to inform instruction. The purposes of the regional meetings included engendering community amongst principals, sharing knowledge across the region, and creating individual connections between the principals through which they could access information and support (Personal Interview, October 5, 2010). The regional managers went about these goals using different organizational structures. For example, two of the three regions matched the new principals with a veteran principal mentor. One region did this through “sister schools” and mandated visits to the other person’s school; the other assigned mentors.

The school district as a whole mandated three other structures for all school sites, two teacher-based and one for parents. To encourage teacher voice and participation, schools had Instructional Leadership Teams (ILT) and Faculty Councils (FC). The ILT consisted of teachers and the principal (and sometimes a coach) and met weekly. The topics addressed by the ILT were not mandated, although many discussed and planned the content of weekly teacher professional development sessions and grade-level team meetings. The FC was an elected body of teachers that met with the larger faculty and reported back to the principal on the thoughts and issues of the faculty. The FC met with the principal monthly. The parents were organized into a School Site Council (SSC), comprising parents, teachers, and the principal. SSCs had decision-making power over schools’ budgets and significant influence over principal selection. This group met once a month.

⁴⁵ I use the term “principal manager” to describe this role. There are many terms used in districts across the nation, including assistant superintendent, principal manager, network executive officer, etc.

Principal Preparation Programs.

New Leaders (NL) and the Principal Leadership Institute (PLI) had formal organizational structures associated with both initial preparation and with induction⁴⁶ (two focal principals attended each of these programs). NL had a cohort model during the training year that included an intense six-week training over the summer (called Foundations) and weekly meetings during the school year with a coach. In addition, NL principals were provided with a leadership coach during induction, in this case their first year of principalship. PLI’s cohort model persisted through the initial 16 months of training. PLI’s induction model was a three-year model, including two years of individual coaching. PLI also had a listserv; the director of the program sent out a monthly newsletter with current research, success stories, and other topics she deemed relevant for the alumni of the program. The other two preparation programs attended by the new principals in the study, California State University, East Bay (Cal State) and Mills College, did not provide formal organizational structures for their graduates (such as coaching). Mills used a cohort model during coursework; Cal State had a partial cohort model: students had to take about half of their coursework together and complete a collaborative research project. Table 10 provides a list of the formal organizational structures that the six principals experienced during the study year.

Table 10: Formal Organizational Structures, experienced by first-year principals

Location	Organizational Structure
Region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biweekly Regional Meetings • Veteran Mentor Principals
School Site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instructional Leadership Team (ILT) • Faculty Council (FC) • School Site Council (SSC)
Preparation Program: NL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohort model • First-year principal leadership coach
Preparation Program: PLI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohort-model • Leadership coach
Preparation Program: CSUEB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial cohort model
Preparation Program: Mills College	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohort model

Based on interviews with the people who coordinated the formal structures (the principal managers and the directors of the principal preparation programs), the purpose of the formal organizational structures was to create a network of resources and supportive colleagues for all members of the organization. The structures particular to beginning principals were meant to help them navigate the role of the principalship. Yet, a comparative analysis of principals’ formal organizational structures and their informal social networks shows that the two do not neatly overlap. To explore this disparity, I first explain the interactions and differences between the formal and informal, and then I examine the

⁴⁶ “Induction” is a term used to describe a principal’s (or teacher’s) first few years in that role. Some programs/districts define the time period to be one year, others up to three.

structure of the six informal instructional leadership social networks. I unpack and compare two principals' networks to exemplify the impact of the networks. These findings illustrate how the shape of principals' networks influenced their access to information for their roles as instructional leaders.

Interaction between the Formal Structures and Informal Networks

Twice a month, all principals spent the day with the other principals in their region. Two of the six focal principals, Rachel and Jamal, were in the same region, Region B. Both principals experienced the same formal organizational structure of the region, yet the connections they made and the information they accessed varied tremendously. The brief vignette below, taken from field notes throughout the year of study, illustrates the differences in their experiences of the regional professional development sessions.⁴⁷

When Rachel came into the meetings in the morning she made her rounds, said hello to most other people, gave numerous hugs, asked how people were doing and about their families, and often joked about a recent event in the district or a local sports team. She sat at her assigned table during the activities (principals were assigned to specific table groups by the principal manager), but made sure to walk around the room and check in with others whenever there was a break in the day. She participated in conversations often and usually led her table group through the assigned activities. Jamal, on the other hand, walked in quietly and sat at his table. He often texted on his phone or did paperwork. He was not timid or a recluse, however, and people wanted to talk with and connect to him. Rachel made sure to give him a hug and ask him about his kids; she checked in about the “loonyboo” teachers at his school. While others made an effort to reach out to him, Jamal’s focus was more inner facing. Over the course of any given professional development day, he did talk with several of his colleagues, including his mentor from his NL residency year who was in the same region. But he did not actively connect with his colleagues, one of the primary purposes of the professional development sessions. He told me that he “tries to get through [the sessions]” and talked about more productive ways the district could use the principals’ time.

Jamal and Rachel’s experiences with their site-based Instructional Leadership Teams also contrasted sharply. Jamal’s ILT met weekly. He was deeply engaged in their work, and the group had real decision-making power around instruction in the school. Rachel’s ILT, on the other hand, rarely met and had very little say in the functioning of the school or in her understanding of instructional leadership. She mentioned her “informal ILT” towards the end of the year, but did not use the formal organizational structure to influence instructional decision-making at her school.

These two principals thus experienced both their regional meetings and the instantiation of the ILT very differently, although the formal organizational structures they were embedded in were similar. Looking only at the formal structures illustrates a limited picture of the lived experience of the principals; yet the structures themselves created a space

⁴⁷ While the three principal managers reported to cover the same content in their bi-weekly regional meetings, I did not find that to be the case. For the sake of this analysis, I do not explore how the differences across the regions impacted the individual principals, although this is a topic for future analysis.

and time for the principals to engage and interact. For this reason, formal and informal structures must be looked at in tandem. What role do the formal organizational structures play in the formation of the first-year principals' informal instructional leadership networks?

Formal organizational structures are the foundation of the principals' informal instructional leadership networks, generating many of the ties principals included in their social networks. However, as depicted above, in many cases all six principals were exposed to the same structures but their experiences and interactions through those structures varied. There are therefore two parts of the relationship between the formal organizational structures and the lived practices of the principals to unpack: the differences between the principals' formal organizational structures (due to principal preparation program, region, and school site norms), and a comparison of their engagement in the structures. Table 11 lists the formal structures each principal experienced at the different locations of his or her instructional leadership network and the frequency with which they engaged in the different structures. The table indicates if the principals' interaction had a high frequency (once a week or more); medium frequency (less than once a week but at least once a month); or low frequency (less than once a month).

Table 11: Formal Organizational Structures, by location and frequency

Frequency	Preparation Program	District & Region	School Site
Jamal (NL)			
High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NL Cohort NL Residency Coach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Leadership Coach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Instructional Leadership Team (ILT)
Medium		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Biweekly daylong Principal Professional Development Sessions Principal Manager 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School Site Council (SSC)
Low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NL First-year Coach 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Faculty Council (FC)
Katy (NL)			
High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NL Cohort NL Residency Coach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Principal Manager 	
Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NL First-year Coach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Biweekly daylong Principal Professional Development Sessions 	
Low		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sister School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ILT SSC FC
Miguel (PLI)			
High		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focal Fifteen Coach Principal Manager 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ILT SSC
Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PLI/LSP Coach LSP course 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Biweekly daylong Principal Professional Development Sessions 	
Low			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> FC
Sabina (PLI)			
High		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Region mentor Principal Manager Coaches (Math/Literacy) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ILT Coach (English/Language Arts)
Medium		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Biweekly daylong Principal Professional Development Sessions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SSC FC
Low			
Rachel (Cal State)			
High			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School counselor (at site)
Medium		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Principal Manager Biweekly daylong Principal Professional Development Sessions Leadership Task Force 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ILT SSC PTA (Parent/Teacher Association)
Low			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> FC
Amy (Mills)			
High			
Medium		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Biweekly daylong Principal Professional Development Sessions Principal Manager 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ILT SSC FC School counselor
Low		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sister school 	

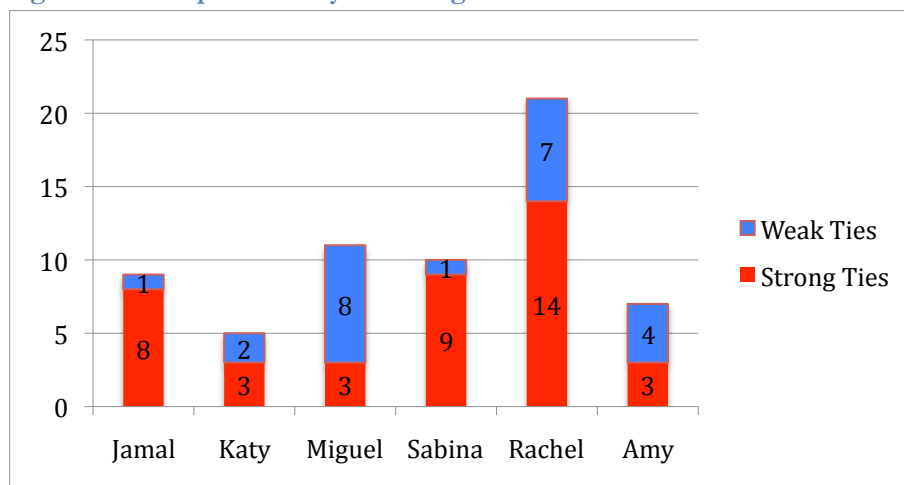
Social network theory predicts that frequency in interaction leads to strong ties (Granovetter, 1983). Using this theory, the individuals the principals included in their informal instructional leadership networks should match up to those with that met with high frequency in Table 7. And, the formal organizational structures did account for the majority of the ties that were included in the principals' informal instructional leadership networks. Only six of the 63 ties (10%) were connected to alters that were not part of some formal organizational structure. Yet while the formal organizational structures supplied the majority of the ties, the frequency in interaction was not a good indicator of inclusion in the principals' informal networks. For example, while Jamal met with his ILT at least once a week, he did not include that group in his instructional leadership network. He included among his strong ties members of his principal preparation program cohort, but did not include either of his coaches from NL in his network. This pattern is true with every principal: some individuals who are interacted frequently in formal settings were included as strong ties in principals' networks, while others were either included as weak ties or not incorporated at all. Inclusion in the principals' informal instructional leadership network, then, required more than frequency or direction from organizations. A closer look at the actual structure of the networks adds insight to how and why the networks were structured the way they were.

Overview of Network Structure

In this section I give a brief overview of the size, tie strength, and range of the focal principals' networks. I then profile two principals to illuminate how these dimensions were instantiated in the lived networks of the principals. Altogether, the principals identified a total of 63 ties in their instructional leadership networks, the individual networks varied in size tremendously. Rachel identified the largest number of ties around instructional leadership: 21. Katy listed the smallest number of ties: five. Most principals had between seven and eleven ties.

As suggested by Granovetter (1973), it is important to not only look at the number of ties, but also the strength of the ties in order to understand what kind of information is likely to flow along the tie. The figure below shows each principal's ties according to strength.

Figure 2: Principals' ties by tie strength



The ratio of strong to weak ties in the principals' instructional leadership networks, as measured by frequency of interaction and level of social and emotional closeness (Coburn & Russell, 2008), span the spectrum: three had many more strong ties than weak ties (between 90% and 66% strong ties); Katy and Amy were more or less evenly split between strong and weak (60% and 43% strong ties, respectively), and Miguel had many more weak than strong ties (17% strong ties). Based on tie strength alone, research suggests that Rachel had the most access to different kinds of information through her weak ties, and to tacit, hard-to-communicate information through her strong ties. Jamal's network, on the other hand, was primarily composed of strong ties and only included one weak tie. Tie strength research suggests that while Jamal had strong relationships with trust that allowed for the transfer of complex information, he may not have had access to a wide variety of information. While tie strength points to the type of knowledge principals had access to, the range illustrates the multiplicity of knowledge present in their networks.

Range refers to the diversity of locations that a principal's ties were linked to. People from different locations often have access to substantively different kinds of knowledge. For example, the district central office houses a number of departments such as Human Resources, Finance, and Compliance. Those departments have particular expertise that principals need both for the daily management of their school sites and to make broad systemic decisions about instruction, such as resource allocation. The information pool available in different departments in the district central office is distinct from the information that principals get at their school sites, which is more focused on particulars of classrooms, students, and teachers. To advance our understanding of the nature of the principals' relationships around instructional leadership and information they have access to, it is essential to know the range of their ties. Below, Figure 3 shows the ties by location, by principal:

Figure 3: Ties by location, by principal

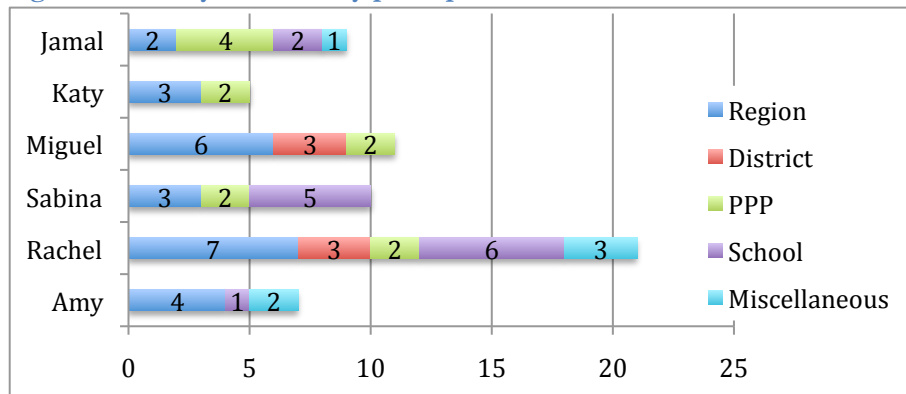
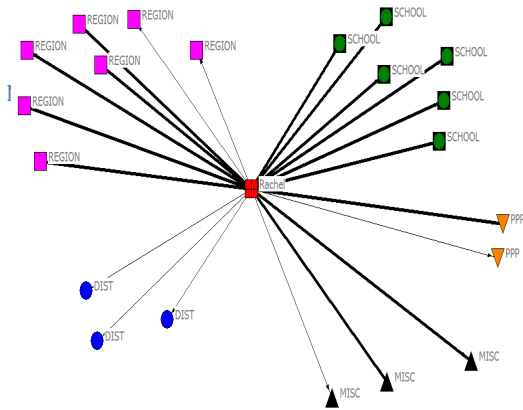


Figure 3 illustrates both the diversity of the information each principal had access to and the variety in the principals' ranges. Rachel's range was spread across the different locations in the network, while Katy's network only reached two locations (to her region and her principal preparation program). While Sabina and Jamal only had one weak tie each, both of their networks reached multiple locations in the network. These three data points: size, tie strength, and range suggest that Rachel had access to the most diverse information as well different types of information (both complex and simple). In contrast, Katy has access to mostly complex information and only from two different locations.

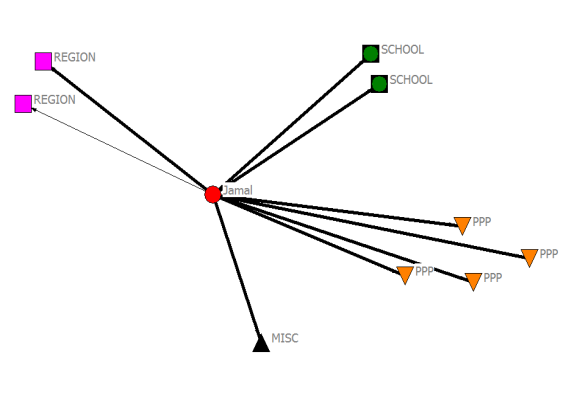
Networks in Practice

To further illustrate what networks of different size and configuration look like in practice, I unpack two cases: Rachel and Jamal. Rachel has the largest and most diverse network; hers illuminated the type of wide-ranging network that was potentially available to all of the principals. Jamal's case illustrates a more typical network, showing what principals tended to do rather than what they could have done. Below are two egocentric network images, Jamal's and Rachel's, created using UCINET (Borgatti, et al., 1999).

Network Map 1: Rachel



Network Map 2: Jamal



Each line represents a tie. The darker lines indicate strong ties; the lighter lines are weak ties. The range locations are indicated by the symbol of the node. Both network maps show that the principal's network reaches to the school site, region, principal preparation program, and "miscellaneous." However, in Jamal's network we see that he does not have ties to the district central office. It is also apparent that Rachel has many more ties overall and more variety in tie strength than Jamal. Almost all of the ties in both networks were facilitated through formal organizational structures, such as regional meetings, school-based structures, principal preparation program cohorts, or professors. Three of their ties were not formed through formal organizational structures. For Rachel, her two strong miscellaneous ties were her mother and an old colleague. In Jamal's network, his one strong miscellaneous tie was his wife, who he refers to as his "home coach."⁴⁸

Rachel's instructional leadership network maps onto the formal organizational structures most neatly out of all six principals. She made connections with other principals at the professional development sessions, she maintained relationships with her professors from her principal preparation program, she reached out to the district central office departments for help with content-specific questions, and she relied on the teachers and other actors at her school site to help her make instructional decisions for students, teachers, and classrooms. Jamal's network, on the other hand, is more typical of the study's sample and does not map directly onto the formal structures. He includes some people from the formal organizational structures and not others. To flesh out what these networks looked

⁴⁸ All three of these ties had extensive experience and careers in education.

like in practice, I use data from interviews and describe how each principal talked about his or her ties.⁴⁹

Rachel's conversations with her alters hit a wide range of topics: dealing with difficult parents, the mission/vision of the district, politics in the district, instructional challenges, equity, science walks, managerial tasks, staffing issues, and more. She had a conversation with the compliance administrator about how to word her budget and arrange contracts in the most effective way to "support families who are outside of the sphere of success." Her conversations with her professor from her principal preparation program were focused around equity:

He affirms that part of the work that I do—ways to get around those challenges. He modeled learning himself and active engagement. It helps me to go back and do the work myself, to do the work around adults with different personalities—bring people from all different places together—and how to navigate that path.

She engaged her ties to get access to different types of information at multiple depths, from wording on a contract to how to bring faculty together toward equitable outcomes.

Rachel included many people in her instructional leadership network, including Jamal. She explained, "We check in at every meeting. We look for each other." She also included the other first-year principals who sat at her assigned table at the biweekly principal professional development sessions (neither of those individuals was a part of this study). She interacted with them with a medium level of frequency—every other week—and the topics of their conversations were based on the guided discussion of the regional professional development session. Yet she considered them a part of her informal instructional leadership network, or people who she interacted with about instructional leadership. When considering her conceptualization of what it meant to be an instructional leader, Rachel included the information she received from each of the alters in her network.

Compared to Rachel, Jamal had a higher threshold for who he considered to be a part of his network and he had a narrower conception when he considered which individuals and what information he regarded as having to do with instructional leadership. Jamal did not include Rachel in his network. He included only three colleagues from his region, two of whom he worked with previously in the district and one who was in his NL cohort.

What is most interesting about Jamal's network is not who he included, but who he did not include. There are a number of significant relationships that were a part of the formal organizational structures of the district, his school site, and his principal preparation program (NL) that he did not include. For example, he left out his principal manager, members of his ILT, and all teachers at his school site. The only people he included from his

⁴⁹ Social network research only recently has begun to look at the content of interaction within ties (see Coburn et al., 2010, for example). While beyond the scope of this chapter, these data suggest that, in concert with the current analysis, what flows through the ties is also important for how and why principals engage with some ties and not others.

school were his district-based leadership coach and the director of the after-school program, whom he took on as his mentee: “I try to build her professionally. Trying to convince her to go to school again. I’ve been building her leadership and developing her throughout the year.” He also did not include his NL leadership coach. While the formal organizational structure of NL included a monthly coach meeting, Jamal only met with her once in the very beginning of the year. He explained:

Her work [the district-based leadership coach] and that of my New Leaders coach overlapped. I had to choose between them. Why double-dip in the same thing? I was over-coached. She [the district-based leadership coach] was around more, let her come. She’s more familiar with the site... I run things by her and she gives me insights that she has. She maintains confidentiality of myself and the staff. She has their trust and mine. She’s cultivated relationships with them. She was here last year too. She’s an essential part of what I do.

In this case, frequency and context-based expertise were the reasons Jamal chose to include the district-based leadership coach in his instructional leadership network and to exclude his NL coach. He was strategic about who he could leverage as an instructional leader.

The differences in Rachel and Jamal’s networks had a tangible impact on their work as principals. One instance illustrates the different nature and type of information that Rachel and Jamal had access to: creating and turning in the school budget. MUSD had a school-based budgeting policy; each school was allotted money based on student attendance. Some schools also got Title I funding. The process was both laborious and contentious: there were many pieces of the budget that had to be approved by separate individuals and entities, including the school’s SSC, the Compliance and Finance departments at the district central office, and the principal manager. In addition to the managerial challenges associated with creating a school’s budget, it also had major instructional implications (Grubb, 2009; Grubb, Huerta, & Goe, 2006). Among the principals’ budget-based decisions were: how many teachers to employ; whether or not to hire coaches (both instructional and leadership focused); the purchase of instructional materials, including technology-based programs; and what kind of instructional support to provide for low-performing students.

Rachel had weak ties to three departments in the district office: Compliance, Finance, and Human Resources. She had strong ties to her manager, the union representative at her school, her office manager, and several principal colleagues. She used all of these ties when she constructed her budget. Her weak ties provided easy-to-transfer information, such as reports, data, and advice on laying out the budget. Her strong ties provided complex and fine-grained information. For example, before she made the decision to cut the librarian position she had a conversation with the union representative at her school:

We have confidential conversations—and I have her frontloading. I get her very candid perceptions, too. If she told me the staff would raise hell about the librarian, I wouldn’t have done it.

She also asked a more veteran principal colleague about his experience working with the staff to prioritize budget expenditures. Rachel used the different types of information from her various alters to inform the multiple processes involved in creating a school-based budget. She garnered her school community's buy-in for the budget, turned it in on time, and did not have to revise it.

Jamal's experience with his budget was very different. He used his strong ties to explore the more complex elements of the budget. For example, he met with his district-based leadership coach to create systems to build buy-in with his staff and parent communities around budgeting money for technology-based instructional programs. He also relied on practices he learned from his mentor principal the year before to best leverage federal funding for his students who were English Learners. Jamal was missing information from the weak ties, however. He did not set up the budget correctly in the system and he forgot to turn in an entire section of the budget. This resulted in hours of additional work: phone calls with people in the district central office departments, reaching out to the former principal for previous versions of budgets, and re-doing a number of documents.

Both principals experienced the same formal organizational structures around budgeting, yet their practices were clearly distinct. The differences in their practice can be linked to their networks: they were unlike in size, and their ties had different strengths and ranges. These distinctions illuminate the distinct kind of information they had access to and the implications of those differences. While this analysis exemplifies the importance of network formation, it does not explain why the differences in networks exist. A surprising finding emerged from the data: principals' conceptions of leadership, tied to the logics explored in Chapter 4, explain, at least in part, why principals chose to connect with some ties and not others. While the networks were the carriers of the three logics—and each principal was exposed to individuals who carried messages promoting the three logics—individual principals considered those who had a similar logic of instructional leadership to be a part of their network, while others were not.

Content of Interaction in Networks: Conceptions of Leadership

An emergent finding arose from the above analyses of the network data: principals invoked conceptions of leadership in their talk about their network ties. To further explore how conceptions of leadership arose as the content of the principals' interactions with their alters, I used the previous analysis of logics of instructional leadership discussed in Chapter 4. Each principal was connected to multiple logics. In a contested environment, it is expected that several logics will be present. They talked about their interactions with their network ties using language that was common in a particular logic, such as "double-digit gains" or "focus on equity." Patterns in the invocations of logics emerged by principal and principal preparation program. In their descriptions of their interactions with the individuals they included in their networks, principals who were trained through NL invoked the entrepreneurial logic, those trained through PLI and Mills invoked the social justice logic, and the principal trained at CSUEB most often invoked the prevailing logic. The following analysis illustrates how I identified the logics in the principals' talk of their network ties, and shows the competing nature of the logics in the environment. Finally, I argue that principals were both connected to logics aligned with their principal preparation program and that they formed their informal instructional leadership network based on individuals' similar logic of instructional leadership.

Principals invoked logics when they described what they talked about with others in their social networks. This suggests that the networks were a mechanism by which principals were connected to logics. The logics emerged particularly when answering the questions, “What are your conversations usually about?” “Can you describe your relationship with him/her?” and “Do you generally ask for or give advice from/to this person? About what?”⁵⁰ The prevailing logic was evident when principals talked about leadership practices with their alters in a general way. For example, Amy explained what she talked about with her old principal:

“Her vision focused on different PD topics—how she wanted to move teachers in a certain direction, the resources needed for teachers to move in that direction—we talked about that a lot.”

Amy describes a leadership move: using professional development to move teachers towards a common goal. This embodies the prevailing logic. It is the role of the principal to lead teachers towards student achievement; the principal is the manager and instructional leader of the school. It does not exemplify an indication towards either alternative logic, however. Amy was connected to the prevailing logic through her tie to her old principal.

Evidence of the entrepreneurial logic in principal talk is illustrated by Katy when she explained who she relied on for instructional support, and what that instructional support looked like:

“[My NL coach] is the only one who falls into that [being particularly helpful]. Focusing on data. I didn't get much information from anyone on coaching teachers up. [My principal manager] helped with teachers, but not about instruction.”

In this quote, Katy associates a focus on data with instruction. By contrasting the two alters and the support they gave, she equates instruction with data. The only person in her network she found particularly helpful was her NL coach who focused on data with her. Her conception of leadership was around using data to improve outcomes, and she was connected to this idea through her tie to her NL coach.

Finally, as evidence of the social justice logic, Sabina describes the influence of the program director at PLI, her principal preparation program:

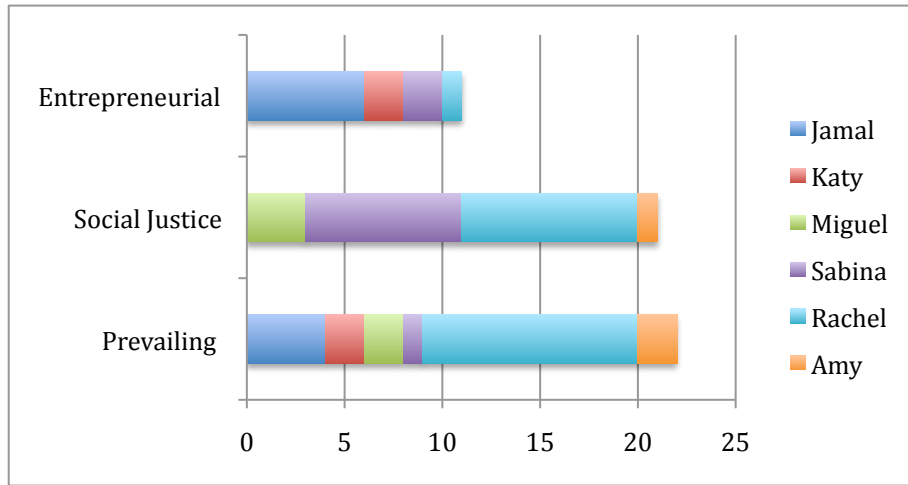
She shaped me as a leader. She brought equity to the forefront. She made sure that people's voices are heard; and how to have courageous conversations with people.

Sabina invokes three key notions of the social justice logic in this description: equity, democratic voice, and confronting difficult issues head-on. It is clear that her relationship with the program director centered on these issues. Social justice messages were carried by the program director directly to Sabina.

⁵⁰ See Appendix A for the entire interview protocol.

In their descriptions of the content of interaction with their alters, all six principals invoked the prevailing logic most often. Figure 4 below shows all of the principals' connections around logics via their social network ties:

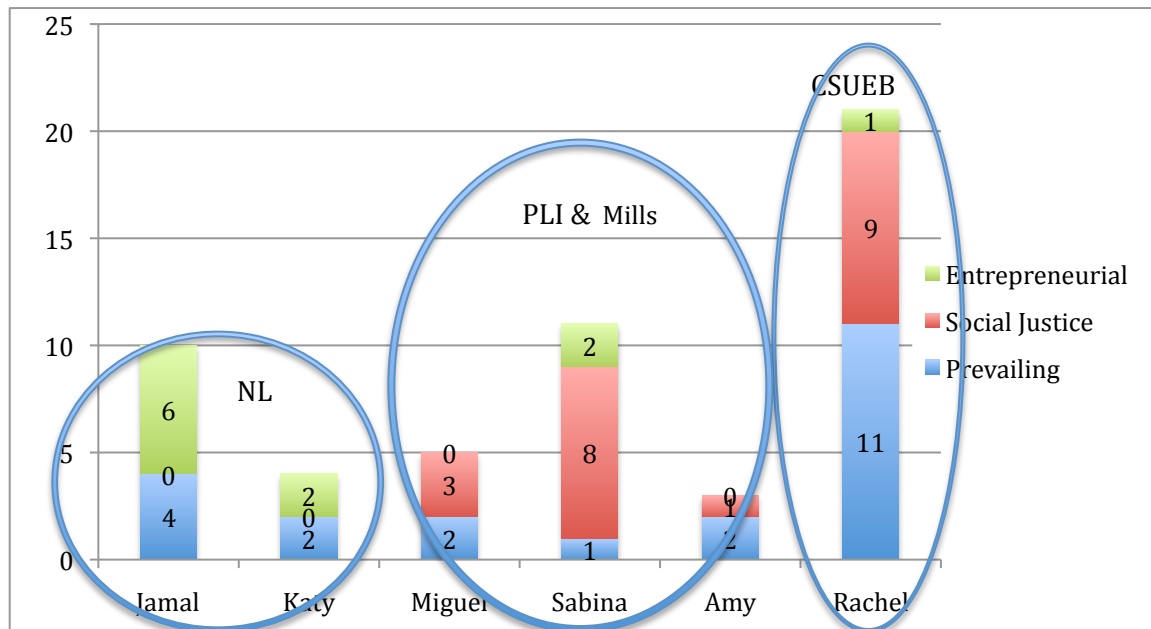
Figure 4: Principals' instructional leadership ties by logics



While the social justice logic emerged almost as often as the prevailing logic, only four of the six principals invoked it, while all six principals invoked the prevailing logic.

Principal preparation programs mattered for the content of principals' informal instructional leadership network. Figure 5 below, using the same data as Figure 4, is organized by principal rather than by logic:

Figure 5: Logic in instructional leadership network, by principal



Both Jamal and Katy, the principals who were trained by New Leaders, invoked the prevailing and entrepreneurial logics when talking about interactions with others in their networks. Miguel, Sabina, and Amy, the principals who went to PLI and Mills, invoked the prevailing and social justice logics. Sabina additionally alluded to the entrepreneurial logic, which is not surprising as her principal manager is a NL alumnus and gave her several directives that embodied the entrepreneurial logic.⁵¹ Finally, Rachel invoked all three logics when she described the content of interaction with her network alters, although the prevailing logic was dominant.

Importantly, the predominant logic in each of the principal's networks paralleled the logics of their principal preparation programs. This is not surprising as most of the principals included individuals from their preparation program in their network: cohort peers, directors, professors, or coaches. The only principal that did not include anyone in her network from her preparation program is Amy. Nonetheless, she invoked both the prevailing and social justice logics, the two logics promoted by her program. This raises another question, then: as principals chose who they included in and excluded from their networks, to what degree did they elect individuals who had a similar logic of leadership to themselves?

From the shared formal MUSD organizational structures principals experienced, it is clear that all six were exposed to a common set of individuals with whom they could have potentially created ties around instructional leadership, and a set of universal messages about instructional leadership. And yet even within this set group of potential alters, the principals made distinct choices about who to include and exclude from their networks. It appears that they chose individuals who had similar logics of leadership as both their principal preparation program and as themselves. For example, Jamal had the opportunity to connect with many different people around instructional leadership. In fact, I observed him interacting with many people on the topic. But he only included a select few in his instructional leadership network. For example, while he may have discussed instructional leadership topics with Rachel, he did not consider her (or those conversations) to be a part of his social network for instructional leadership. Instead, Jamal chose to form ties in his network with people that mostly had an entrepreneurial logic perspective. This analysis helps further explicate the reasons the differences exist between the principals' networks. Rachel and Jamal were exposed to similar formal network structures, yet Jamal mainly included people with a similar logic of leadership in his network, whereas Rachel included people with a wider variety of logics of leadership. This pattern held true across all of the principals.

Discussion

Examining the structure of informal instructional leadership networks allows us to understand the variable sources and types of information and advice available to principals as they engage in decision making. In the context of the current shift in principal professional development, evaluation systems, and preparation programs, it is essential to explore the relationship between these formal organizational structures and the lived experiences of principals. This chapter describes the formal structures that principals were exposed to and mapped those onto the informal instructional leadership networks the

⁵¹ This situation is explored further in the next chapter.

principals experienced. The principals in this study drew on the people they encountered in formal structures to varying degrees as they sought out others as part of their informal networks. Consequently, the principals' networks were diverse in size, tie strength, and range. These differences were important to the type and diversity of information they had access to. In this study, a concurrent understanding of both formal organizational structures and informal social networks is essential to understand the context of first-year principals' decisions around instructional leadership.

Further, the analyses of the principals' instructional leadership networks explicate how and why they were connected to some logics and not to others. Their social networks were mechanisms through which they connected to ideas from the environment about instructional leadership. The findings also suggest that the principals made connections with alters who shared a common logic of instructional leadership; they included people in their network who reified their own notion of what it meant to be an instructional leader. Perhaps for this reason, when they talked with others in their networks, they tended to talk about ideas about instructional leadership that were representative of some logics and not others. The content of interaction in the individual principal's networks was focused around the logic or logics promoted by their principal preparation program. This finding suggests that principal preparation program matters for the shape and content of principals' informal instructional leadership networks. First, principals included individuals from their preparation program in their networks. Second, those who were in strong-mission programs, New Leaders and PLI, included individuals not affiliated with the program but with whom the content of interaction was focused on the associated logic. This connection is further explicated through a sensemaking analysis that allows for a deeper uncovering of the principals' cognitive processes. The next chapter explores how they made sense of the messages of instructional leadership they received through their networks and what it looked like in practice, the final step in the message to enactment process.

Chapter 7. Principals' Sensemaking and Enactment of Messages of Instructional Leadership

The new principals engaged with numerous messages around instructional leadership through their informal instructional leadership networks and formal organizational structures, such as principal preparation programs, district region assignments, and school sites. Sensemaking theory suggests that as they engaged with these messages, the principals brought with them their previous experience and beliefs. Further, research in sensemaking provides evidence that both the particular context and the interaction with the message itself play a role in how a principal makes sense of a particular message—which part she hears, grasps onto, or rejects (Coburn, 2001a; Spillane, et al., 2002). These three elements—prior knowledge, the social context of the work, and connection with the message—are the core elements of sensemaking theory.

Sensemaking theory is useful because it illuminates the cognitive processes through which the principals in this study engaged with, understood, and enacted messages about instructional leadership. For this study, understanding principals' sensemaking processes is essential to make meaning of the messages around instructional leadership broadly. What does it matter what the messages are in the environment, or how they make their way through informal social networks and formal organizational structures, if we do not understand how they are understood and enacted? It is crucial to unpack this socio-cognitive process in order to understand how messages of instructional leadership play out in schools and in classrooms.

The logics of instructional leadership from the environment were embedded in all three parts of sensemaking: in the message itself, in the context in which the principal engaged with the message, and in the previous experiences and beliefs that she brought to the interaction. This chapter seeks to understand how principals made sense of and responded to messages about instructional leadership, with a specific focus on teacher supervision. Teacher supervision, including evaluation, observation, and teacher-principal conferences, is a useful case to see when and under what conditions the different elements of the sensemaking process emerge, are highlighted, or are backgrounded. The concept of instructional leadership is polysemous, and while the differences in definitions are useful for highlighting the differences between the logics carried in messages of instructional leadership, there are an infinite number of relevant cases in any one set of observations of a principal's day. I focus on teacher supervision, one component of instructional leadership, because of the multiple messages and widespread presence of the tasks associated with the responsibility. Using teacher supervision as the case allows a deeper analysis of the data as well as the ability to compare the socio-cognitive processes across the six focal principals in this study who were trained in four distinct principal preparation programs and exposed to the three different logics in the environment. This casing, or theoretically structuring the phenomena in which sensemaking occurs (Ragin, 1992), simultaneously allows for an analytical narrowing and theoretical breadth.

This chapter looks across the six principals in my study to investigate their engagement with specific messages of instructional leadership around teacher supervision and the ways in which they made sense of the messages. I use sensemaking theory to uncover and understand the process. The principals' sensemaking is best explored and

understood through narrative rather than quantifiable counts, especially given the uneven data on particular teacher supervision activities across the six principals. The data were uneven at least in part because their practices were distinct—and these differences are important.⁵² After a brief review of the literature on teacher supervision, I investigate the complex sensemaking processes of the six first-year principals, principal by principal. I then look across all six principals, highlighting the differences and similarities in their access to messages, and their sensemaking and enactment of some messages and not others. I argue that the shape of the principals' informal instructional leadership network mattered for their access to messages about teacher supervision, and that the persistence of the messages is essential to their subsequent sensemaking process and the nature of their enactment of teacher supervision.

Teacher Supervision

All principals must evaluate their teachers. Tension ensues when principals are also expected to improve teacher practice (Darling-Hammond, Wise, & Pease, 1983; Glanz, 2005; Ovando & Ramirez, 2007; Zepeda, 2007). Most school districts have a formal policy for teacher evaluation, yet research on policy implementation in schools suggests that the policy will likely be renegotiated at several levels so that the formal process will look different from the original policy in any one given instantiation (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; R. F. Elmore, 1979). Madrone Unified School District (MUSD) had a policy for teacher evaluation that was agreed upon with the teachers' union. In the beginning of the school year, each principal received a list of teachers to evaluate. The policy required that each teacher be observed at least three times, and required each observation to include a pre-conference, a post-conference, and a written evaluation of the observation, including a rating score of 1–4. The policy required that the post-conference happen within five days of the observation, and permitted the evaluated teacher to write a letter to explain any discrepancies between what was written on the evaluation and what she viewed as truth. The district's singular message around the implementation of this policy was embodied in content of the evaluation form given to the principals. Implementation of the evaluation policy was inherently a collective process—at least between two people, the principal and the teacher. Sensemaking theory suggests that those individuals' sensemaking played a role in how the policy was implemented (Coburn, 2001a; Spillane, et al., 2002).

I drew on the literature on teacher supervision to guide what I paid attention to and considered to be part of the principals' roles as teacher supervisors. Broadly speaking, the literature on teacher supervision covers three main topics: 1) the tension between principal as evaluator and principal as coach, 2) the leadership activities that are included under the umbrella of “teacher supervision,” and 3) the relationship between principals' cognitive approaches and supervision activities. Some of the research is empirical and argues that some supervision activities are more efficacious than others; other articles are teaching pieces meant to inform pre-service administrators about their role as teacher supervisor. I briefly review the research below.

⁵² The data may also be uneven because I did not observe specifically for teacher evaluation or supervision. These activities emerged inductively from the data as a site where varied messages were evident.

Existing research suggests that principals are challenged with the dual role of evaluator and coach. As an evaluator, principals are required to measure teacher competence that informs job status; as a coach, principals are expected to change teacher performance. In an article detailing the tension between these roles, Darling-Hammond and her colleagues (1983) argue that “increasing the prescriptiveness and specificity of evaluation procedures, particularly the need for extensive documentation of all negative findings, generates anxiety among teachers and inhibits the principal’s role as instructional leader or staff developer” (1983, p. 288). As an example of the uncertain relationship between supervisor and instructional leader, Ovando and Ramirez (2007) found in a cross-case qualitative study that school leaders monitored instruction through walkthrough observations; the informal practice was, for the school leaders in the study, a part of the formal evaluative process. Teachers, then, were uncertain if the principal informally came into their room as a coach, or if the visit was a part of their formal evaluation. The principals’ roles were blurred.

Other literature on teacher supervision describes either what should be considered to be part of the role or what research found to be part of the role. For example, in a teaching handbook for instructional leaders, Zepeda (2007) argues that it is possible and necessary for principals to link what he characterizes as the three main roles of instructional leadership: supervision, professional development, and teacher evaluation. Using data from a large survey (N=4,165), Wahlstrom and Louis (2008) argue that specific dimensions in principal-teacher interactions impact teachers’ classroom instructional practices. They found that shared leadership and professional community (such as Professional Learning Communities, or PLCs) explained the presence of what they deemed positive classroom instructional practices. In this case, teacher supervision in practice created space for teachers to interact and take leadership. Other leadership activities that have been considered to be a part of a principal’s role as a teacher supervisor include: professional development (Sergiovanni & Starratt, 2001), informal observations (Leithwood, 1994; Ovando & Ramirez, 2007; Zepeda, 2007), data conferences (Glanz, 2005), professional learning communities (Kruse, Louis, & Bryk, 1995; Little, 2003), and peer-observation systems (Nolan & Hoover, 2010). Finally, recent literature and the national press have addressed the role of test scores in teacher evaluation and pay (e.g., Ewing, 2011).⁵³

In this chapter I argue that what a principal considers to be part of his or her role as teacher supervisor, and how he or she approaches those tasks, is related to his or her conception of instructional leadership. Several scholars have theorized and researched principals’ perceptions of self as they relate to supervision. In a theoretical piece, Darling-Hammond, Wise, and Pease (1983) argue that different conceptions of the work of teachers, and the value placed on the work, imply different ways by which principals collect and assess information about teaching. The authors put forth a typology of four different principal roles based on conceptions of teaching, starting with the principal as supervisor if he or she conceives of teaching as labor, and moving across the spectrum to the principal as leader if he or she conceives of teaching as art (Darling-Hammond, et al., 1983, p. 290). In this typology, depending on the conception of teaching, a school leader will collect evidence of

⁵³ In February 2012, LAUSD announced that they were going to use value-added measures to evaluate and pay their teachers. Many scholars came out against this, including Linda Darling-Hammond and Steve Ball, joined by the popular education-based presses.

teaching quality in a particular way. For example, the principal who conceives of teaching as labor may believe that if a teacher is doing his or her job, it will be evident through a specific set of practices that can be checked off of a checklist. In contrast, a principal who believes that teaching is an art will not look for any one set of practices, but will expect a teacher to shift his or her teaching to the specific needs of the student, the lesson, the day, and the moment. The evidence will be more holistic. The authors argue that teacher supervision will vary with differences in principals' conceptions of teaching.

Leithwood (1994) theorized that leaders' self-perceptions rather than perceptions of teaching were most important for the way they supervised teachers. He argues that there are two types of principals. On the one hand, some leaders focused on motivation and commitment. These leaders look for teachers who are developing, trying out new things, and refining their practice. Alternatively, leaders who focus on control look for teachers who meet agreed-upon goals. Both Darling-Hammond et al. (1983) and Leithwood's (1994) conceptualizations look at a principal's approach to teacher supervision from the sole perspective of the individual actor. Organizational sociology encourages us to broaden our view to include the organization, the field, and the environment. Individuals do not act in isolation. Rather, they are influenced by the normative values, rules and regulations, and actions of others that exist in their environment (W. R. Scott, 2007). This study adds to the literature on principals' roles as teacher supervisors and to the theoretical literature on sensemaking by looking at how messages in the environment related to teacher supervision were encountered, understood, and acted upon by principals.

Madrone Unified School District's Teacher Evaluation Process

All six focal principals received the certificated evaluation form from the school district, Madrone Unified School District (MUSD). The message embedded in this form was that the teacher supervision process was legal, bureaucratic, and possibly adversarial. A short description of the form and associated practices illustrated the presence of the prevailing logic in this instantiation of a message of instructional leadership.

The form was part of the contract the teachers' union signed with the district. It was six pages long in quadruplicate. The first page was a summary page and included a description of the rating codes and instructions for those codes. If a teacher received a rating of "one" or "two" (Unsatisfactory or Developing), the evaluator was required to include specific recommendations. Any rating of a "four" (Exceeds Standards) also required specific commendations. There were additional rules included on the first page, including the number of required observations (a minimum of three, two of which must be scheduled), and that the post-observation conference must occur within five days of observation. These rules were in parenthesis above space for the evaluator to write the date of each observation. Pages 2–4 addressed the six standards and substandards for the teachers. They included:

- I. Standard for Engaging and Supporting All Students in Learning
- II. Standard for Creating and Maintaining Effective Environments for Student Learning
- III. Standard for Understanding and Organizing Subject Matter for Student Learning
- IV. Standard for Planning Instruction and Designing Learning Experiences for All Students
- V. Standard for Assessing Student Learning

VI. Standard for Developing as a Professional Educator (*Evaluated through observations and interviews)

Each standard had between five and six substandards, and boxes for rating each observation (1st–5th), notes, and the “Final April Summary Rating.” Each standard also had a final summative rating. Pages 5–6 were entitled “Commendations and Recommendations” and had space for a summary from the evaluator and the evaluatee’s response (including mitigating circumstances) for each evaluation. (See Appendix B for an image of the part of the form described above.)

Beyond this form, MUSD did not have a common message about how to approach the evaluation process, how to define the ratings, or what to write under “notes.” Principals received different messages from their principal managers and district-based coaches. These messages did not reach across the entire district nor were they district-sanctioned. The form carried the prevailing logic from the district.

Logics in Teacher Evaluation

Messages, carried by actors, structures, and routines are instilled with logics. Principals received multiple messages, in this case about teacher supervision, and engaged with the embedded conceptualizations of what it meant to be an instructional leader. The presence of multiple logics was evident in the messages; the distinctions between the ideas were highlighted in the expected outcomes. The prevailing logic, as seen in MUSD’s teacher evaluation form, was agnostic about outcomes—it could be implemented any number of ways. Depending on the outlook of the principal and the teachers, including the level of commitment to following the exact process on the part of both principals and teachers and the goal for the process, the formal evaluation form melded to fit any of the three logics of instructional leadership outlined in Chapter 4. The prevailing logic of teacher evaluation focused on the principal’s role of instructional leader broadly conceived: observe teachers based on a set and agreed-upon schedule, and give feedback using the union and district-sanctioned form. The entrepreneurial logic of teacher evaluation promoted a positivist outcome: learn what practices were happening in the classroom and what the current results were, as seen by benchmark⁵⁴ or standardized test scores; shift practices to those that were known to be successful; and evaluate the success of the shifts based on student outputs (standardized tests).⁵⁵ The social justice logic of teacher evaluation was process-based and iterative rather than focused on outcomes: meet teachers where they were at, coach them towards more equitable practices, and cycle back to the beginning.

All principals were exposed to a message imbued with the prevailing logic from the district, the teacher evaluation form, and the chronological process. As several of the principals described, the district evaluation form was simple and didactic. Principals were expected to observe teachers in classrooms, give feedback on their teaching practices, and follow the process according to the contractual agreement. It mandated numbers of visits

⁵⁴ Benchmark tests were district-driven tests given three times during the school year. They resemble the state-based exam; results from the benchmarks were considered to be good predictors for the high-stakes state exam, the CST.

⁵⁵ This is a common “data-driven instruction” cycle.

and teaching standards, but it did not provide examples of what the standards looked like in practice or distinguish between the different levels of practice. In this way, the district-mandated evaluation process was open for variable interpretation and implementation.

In the chapter that follows, I argue that the principals' enactments of their roles as teacher supervisors were influenced by their access to messages related to teacher supervision. This access depended on the shape of their informal instructional leadership network, including their principal preparation programs, school sites, and regions in the district. Absent strong messages, principals either succumbed to their context or acted based on prior beliefs. In this analysis, I build on the nature, context, and interaction with messages of teacher supervision to answer the following research questions:

- 3) *How do beginning principals engage in sensemaking around the logics of instructional leadership?*
- 4) *How do the logics of the field, as mediated by networks and via sensemaking, influence beginning principals' practices?*

I found each principal received and engaged with the logics embedded in messages in distinct ways. First, informal networks connected individual principals to different messages. This, then, influenced how the principals enacted teacher evaluation practices in their work at their school sites. Principals relied on their previous knowledge to different degrees, depending on the frequency of messages they received from their informal networks and the pressures of their school sites.

Principals' Sensemaking and Enactment of Teacher Supervision

The six principals engaged with teacher supervision in a variety of ways, ranging from following the district process with fidelity to rejecting the process outright.⁵⁶ The variance was evident in their daily routines, in how they approached conversations with teachers, in the tools they used to gather evidence of teachers' work and to give feedback, as well as in how much time they spent in classrooms rather than on other leadership activities. Embedded in each of these leadership actions were the three institutional logics of instructional leadership. Table 12, below, illustrates the different logics evident in each principal's talk and enactment of teacher supervision. To explain the differences, I argue that principals had access to dissimilar messages, with distinct logics, depending on the shape of their informal networks. Coupled with their school contexts and their previous beliefs, principals made sense of the multiple messages in divergent ways. Through narratives, I illustrate both the principals' sensemaking processes and their enactment of messages of instructional leadership.

⁵⁶ As a reminder, these data are from observations and interviews conducted over the 2010-2011 school year.

Table 12: Logics in principals' talk and enactment of teacher supervision activities

Logic Evident	Jamal	Katy	Miguel	Sabina	Rachel	Amy
Prevailing		◆◆◆	◆	◆	◆◆	◆◆◆
Entrepreneurial	◆◆◆	◆		◆◆		
Social Justice			◆◆	◆◆◆	◆◆	

- ◆ = emerged once or twice in talk and/or enactment
- ◆◆ = emerged regularly in talk and enactment
- ◆◆◆ = was the dominant logic in the principal's talk and enactment (was the main way the principal talked about or acted on teacher supervision)

As the data above suggest, while Jamal and Amy each invoked a single logic in their talk and enactment of teacher supervision, most of the principals engaged with multiple logics. The following narratives depict each principal's experience with teacher supervision and tell the complex story represented by Table 12. I first lay out the principal's informal instructional leadership network as it relates to messages that carry logics of instructional leadership. I then describe the school context in relation to teacher supervision, the principal's goals and process around the formal evaluation, and, finally, if he or she engaged in teacher supervision activities beyond the formal evaluation, I describe what they are and how the principal came to engage in that practice(s). By relying on the three elements of sensemaking—prior beliefs, context, and engagement with a message—the narratives sketch the principals' sensemaking processes around instructional leadership and their subsequent enactment.

Jamal & Maple Elementary School.

Jamal received two conflicting messages about the formal evaluation process, one from New Leaders and one from the district. He rejected the message from the district and instead enacted the message from New Leaders. I argue that he made sense of the conflicting messages by choosing one of the two: the New Leaders message, instilled with the entrepreneurial logic. He did so because he received persistent entrepreneurial messages from his informal network, the beliefs fit with his personal understanding of his role as an instructional leader, and they served him in his particular school context. Jamal's enactment of teacher supervision followed the norms, routines, and beliefs set out by the entrepreneurial logic; this was evident through his use and subsequent rejection of the formal evaluation process, and his reliance on other, less formal supervision activities.

School Context: Remember from Chapter 5, the 14 teachers at Maple Elementary School were mostly veteran teachers, the majority had more than 10 years of experience, and several had taught for more than 25 years. Jamal described the tension in his school community as PTSD—there was mistrust between the parents, teachers, and administration. Additionally, the school was chronically underperforming. Most students scored at below basic or far below basic on the state standardized tests. While Jamal felt an acute sense of urgency, he did not think that his teaching staff embraced that stance. Overall, he felt that the level of teaching was very low. On top of poor teaching, Jamal thought that he was the first person to give the teachers honest feedback. This set the tone for his approach to teacher supervision. He explained an interaction with a 20-year veteran teacher after he gave her a one, the lowest score possible, on her formal evaluation:

When I gave her my evaluation score it was a one for that piece, and it flipped her out. She had never seen a one. No one has ever seen a one. It's always at least threes. So the process for me was eye opening realizing that there is a learning curve in my staff and they are not used to true honest feedback about their practice and where they are. But I figure if you've been in teaching 20 years and you are not doing the basics, you're not developing, which is what a two means. And so a three means you're proficient and four means you're advanced. Two is you're developing, but how can you be developing if you're a 20 year vet and you're not doing the basics? So that is why it worked out to a one and it did. It didn't go over too well, let me put it that way, but it was needed.

Jamal felt that he was up against a formidable challenge of ossification; his teachers were used to closing their doors, teaching how they wanted to, and receiving positive feedback even though, according to his measures of success, the students at the school were not successful. The context of Jamal's sensemaking bolstered his reliance on the entrepreneurial logic. He believed that, as the principal, his role was to open the teachers' doors, bring outcomes-focused curricula into the classrooms, and enforce, support, and monitor the use of the curriculum. Faced with a school site that had dramatically different practices, Jamal engaged in processes that brought the teachers closer to his conception of what teaching and learning should look like: based on research-driven curriculum and measurable success.

Formal Evaluation: Jamal started the year following the district-mandated evaluation process, but abandoned the process by January. His goal with the process was to “communicate expectations, to grow teachers’ practice.” However, he felt that his staff was not in a place to meet those goals through the formal process: “the growing practice wasn’t happening.” Instead, he went through the evaluation process with some of his teachers, but he did not turn them into the district, thus rejecting the formal rules of the district (and teachers’ union). In Jamal’s sensemaking process, a conversation with a consultant brought in by New Leaders had considerable impact:

There were a couple [of teachers] who the evaluation process was necessary to kick, to move them from their spot. It was the hammer needed. When I was training with New Leaders, one thing Kim Marshall⁵⁷ told us when he came to visit was that evaluations do not improve teacher practice...I challenged him on that. We discussed it, and based on that discussion, I made the decision to adjust the evaluations in the middle of the year, once I realized, what is my goal here? Is this working? Okay, I better change then. It's not a gotcha thing. I just want to teach. I get more mileage out of trying to inspire them and encourage them than I do for – but the evaluation process is honest though. So I would rather stop it than half do it and I stopped a few of them. I said, we are just going to do it next year. You're just

⁵⁷ Kim Marshall is the author of *Rethinking Teacher Supervision and Evaluation*. He was brought into the Foundations program during the summer training before Jamal's residency year, and then again to the Bay Area region for trainings. He is also the author of the Marshall Memo, a weekly digest of the current research and happenings in the new sector's vision of education reform.

not ready right now. I said, “You’ve got it in you. You can do better, blah, blah, blah.” One teacher actually told me it has been a long time since I did this, plan a lesson. It’s been a long time.

The message from New Leaders was clear: “evaluations do not improve teacher practice.” Jamal reframed the process to meet his self-defined needs as an instructional leader based in the entrepreneurial logic. His previous beliefs exemplify the entrepreneurial logic: it was his role to “inspire them and encourage them,” to be the critical lever in teacher and student success. He explained that he talked to his supervisor after he changed his process: “It was one of those situations where I would rather beg for forgiveness than ask for permission.” Instead of relying on the formal evaluation process, Jamal enacted many other supervision activities in an attempt to alter student outcomes.

Other Supervision Activities: Jamal had an end goal as an instructional leader that was representative of the entrepreneurial logic: he wanted an increase in student knowledge, as evidenced by success on the standardized tests. He believed that an increase in test scores would signal his success as a principal. To achieve this goal, Jamal crafted alternative routines for supervising teachers, including walkthroughs and a curriculum that he monitored online. Almost every day of my observations, Jamal did walkthroughs of the school. He’d spend between 30 seconds and five minutes in each classroom. During my first observation in November, he explained: “I have to get in classrooms, even if for 5 seconds. Given the tone of what’s going on, I have to get in.” In his classroom visits, especially in the first part of the year, he’d often ask two students: “What are you learning about?” Jamal believed that if students knew the goal of the lesson, teaching was happening. If not, teachers were not working towards outcomes-focused instruction. As he “backed off” on most of his formal evaluations, the walkthroughs became his main teacher supervision activity.

His second teacher supervision focus was on technology use in the classroom. Jamal heavily relied on technology-based curriculum to provide hard skills to the students, especially those in 4th and 5th grades, and to monitor his teachers’ practices. During the year of study, he bought and implemented four different web-based instructional programs to address gaps in student performance in math, reading, and test-taking skills. He did this because, as he said, “Students deserve a shot before middle school...we can’t afford to wait.” Jamal’s sensemaking blended his past experiences and the messages he got from New Leaders. When I asked him about how he chose the programs, he explained that he worked for LeapFrog (the maker of LeapTrack, one of the programs he implemented) when he was a teacher, and that he relied on the Marshall Memo for current research on best practices in instructional technology. His dependence on web-based programs also afforded him another way to supervise teachers—he saw student input from a master site for each program. If a class had multiple inputs from students everyday, he knew that the program was being implemented.

This approach focused on student acquisition of reproducible knowledge that was evidenced on standardized tests. He explained to me that it would take too long to train the teachers how to teach fractions. If he could purchase FractionNation and that would get the students to have the basic skills by the end of the year, why not just do that? The goal of instructional leadership in the entrepreneurial logic was evident: FractionNation could lead to double-digit gains. Further, Jamal explained that the program was research-based. It was,

in effect, teacher-proof. This approach was significantly different than working to shift teacher practice to increase student understanding, a key element in the social justice logic. Jamal's perception of the teachers' low skills at his school lead him to rely on his past work experiences with technology, his own teaching experience, and messages from New Leaders about how to engage with "mediocre" teachers. In this case, he took primary teaching responsibilities off of the teachers (teaching students how to read, math facts, fractions, etc.) and instead relied on technology-based programs. Jamal's sensemaking about his role as an instructional leader, then, showed the importance of all three components: his school site context, his past experience and beliefs about effective instruction and leadership, and multiple and persistent entrepreneurial messages from New Leaders.

Katy & Eucalyptus Elementary School.

Like Jamal, Katy received conflicting messages around teacher supervision from the district and New Leaders. In contrast to Jamal's interaction with the messages, however, Katy had fewer ties in her informal instructional leadership network characterized by the entrepreneurial logic (and fewer ties overall), and faced a different school site context. While there was evidence that she did try to implement some teacher supervision practices encouraged by New Leaders, she felt resistance from the teachers at her school site. After getting pushback, Katy fell back on regulatory means to enact her role as a teacher supervisor: she implemented the teacher evaluation system with fidelity according to the MUSD rules. Her understanding of her role as the principal was exemplified by a description of a woman named Janie, her principal when she was a teacher. When Janie told teachers to do something, they did it. The principal was the leader and supervisor; Katy expected that she would have the decision-making power in the school and command respect as the leader. In terms of instruction, she bemoaned the approach at her school: it was different in every classroom. While she expressed the desire for her teachers to use data in their instructional decisions in conversations with me, her actual teacher supervision actions were by the prevailing-logic book.

School Context: The context of Katy's school was essential to how she understood herself as an instructional leader. As a reminder from Chapter 5, the staff members were mostly veteran teachers, and several had been teaching for more than 25 years. The tension between Katy and the staff was apparent on my first visit in December and continued to build throughout the year. She did not think that most of the teachers were willing to change their practice in response to her feedback:

Some are stuck—they've been doing the same thing for 15 years, they're not going to change. They're still using traditional methods. Just because you tell students to use pair/share doesn't mean that you're changing your practice—it's just something you throw in, not a change in practice.

Overall, the context of Eucalyptus Elementary was rife with conflict and anxiety. Katy told me that she "didn't trust anyone in the school" and wanted to have as little interaction as possible with the teachers, especially if it involved conflict. As much as possible, she stayed out of classrooms. This context was in conflict with her belief of her role as an instructional leader. She wanted to create change in classrooms and command respect. Katy encountered an unfamiliar context, and the teachers did not automatically respect her. Her response to

the conflict was to garner control in any way she could, so she turned to the regulatory nature of teacher supervision.

Katy had four alters in her informal instructional leadership network: two women who worked at the district (her principal manager, and a regional coach who was also the former principal of Eucalyptus), and two coaches from New Leaders. The contention at her school was the main topic of conversation with all four women. The teachers and parents of Eucalyptus often went over Katy's head to report a problem at the school to her principal manager; alternatively, Katy called one of the two district women to ask for advice or assistance with a particular situation. Similarly, Katy discussed urgent and pressing issues with her New Leaders coaches; they rarely discussed instruction or data use. Katy did not receive persistent messages about instructional leadership from any of the three institutional logics.

Formal Evaluation: Katy's teacher supervision was almost fully centered on the formal evaluations. She felt conflicted: as an instructional leader, she felt that she should be in classrooms; in her school context, she felt ineffective and uncomfortable going into classrooms and guiding teachers' practice. The formal evaluations gave her a routine, sanctioned by the district, that allowed her to get into classrooms and maintain the role of "instructional leader" even if she was unable to enact alternative leadership practices encouraged by New Leaders. Despite her inability to enact specific practices taught by New Leaders, the logic promulgated by the program was evident in her approach. Katy had a clear positivist approach in the formal evaluations: she believed that there were practices of good teaching, and they could be seen in a formal evaluation. Below, she described her overall approach to conducting the formal evaluations:

I have 13 teachers who have not been evaluated for over 6–8 years. So I had to decide: Do I evaluate them all? Some? What message does it send if I don't evaluate them all? So I pushed myself to the max to get to all of them. They need to be evaluated. It's district policy. I wouldn't be doing my job if I had the knowledge of teachers not being evaluated. Are they meeting the needs of all students? Who are they teaching to? Do they need development?

[What are you finding?]

Some are good in some areas, some need additional development. But the mindset is "I don't need to be evaluated." So why do I do it? Because it's part of my job, there's a level of accountability on my end to students and to teachers. Everyone has something they can grow in and develop.

The district had rules, and she followed them. The rules allowed her access to classrooms and to teachers' time and attention. In short, conducting the evaluations gave Katy power in the school that she otherwise did not have. She had control over teachers' reputations: two teachers were visibly upset during their final meetings, begging her to both explain and change her final rating; two others wrote letters to the district explaining how and why they disagreed with her evaluation. In these situations, Katy relied on the district message as a source of legitimacy, as "the way it's done." In the face of a difficult context, Katy made sense of her role as an instructional leader by doing what she thought was possible.

Katy received some training in teacher supervision from New Leaders. First, as mentioned above, two of Katy's instructional leadership ties were to New Leaders coaches. While most of their conversations were about putting out fires, on at least one occasion I observed Katy and her coach talking about how to use data to move instruction. Second, Katy did mention the main text used by New Leaders around teacher supervision, a book/program called *The Skillful Leader: Confronting Mediocre Teaching* (Platt, et al., 2000). New Leaders hired Platt as a consultant to train the residents first during their pre-residency summer-long training, and then to travel to the different regions and virtual sessions to conduct more hands-on and ongoing training. Katy's residency coach described the program as: "Very calculated. There are skills to being a good teacher that are not often taught in teacher training. It dissects what good teaching can be, and as a person leading teachers, how to make those better." The logic embedded in how the program is taught—that there are concrete, identifiable, and teachable skills in good teaching mirrors Katy's reliance on rules and regulations for both scripts and legitimacy. While the actual script of the *Skillful Leader* was not a part of Katy's schema, she did mention using it in a discussion we had about the district-based teacher evaluation form:

It's [the formal evaluation form] what the union has agreed on. It's vague, but that's to give the evaluator greater flexibility. In some ways that's good, and in some ways it's not. If someone is not being fairly evaluated, they'd benefit from more information. There's no training on how to use the form. NL taught us the "Skillful Teacher Lady"—CEIJ [Katy struggles to remember this, she gets the CE and J]: Claims, Evidence... Judgment...

[Do you use CEIJ in practice?]
Yes.

[Does it fit with the district form?]
I make it fit.

The "I" in CEIJ, what Katy was not able to remember, was "Interpretation," the moment in the evaluative process where the evaluator recognizes his or her subjectivity and labels how he or she interprets the claims she makes and uses the evidence she has to back it up before moving onto judging the quality of teaching. Katy had a positivist perspective that there was a right way to teach, and that practice was possible to be seen and judged without interpretation. This was the crux of Katy's approach to teacher supervision: she had a routine mandated by the district, and she followed the routine as a practice by documenting what she saw, and by judging it (by scoring the teachers on the seven dimensions on the formal evaluation form). In her explanation of her teacher evaluation process, she did not describe coaching teachers or improving instruction—it was just about the documentation:

My goal, ultimately, was to see if students were learning. How is the material presented to students? And is it being presented in such a way that even the kid who is Far Below Basic can grasp the concept, and challenge the kids who are Proficient?

Katy wanted students to learn, but in the face of a context that included what she perceived as resistant and even angry teachers, she fell back on the standard operating procedures of

the evaluation process. Her sensemaking process, much like the school itself, was conflicted. She wanted to implement the New Leaders messages, but faced a context in which she felt that she was stymied. In the face of failure and absent persistent alternative messages of instructional leadership, she instead embraced the prevailing logic, ideas that were taken for granted and agreed-upon by the teachers at her school site.

Sabina & Cypress Elementary School.

Sabina had a broad informal instructional leadership network that included ties from a variety of locations. She had access to diverse messages about instruction that included all three logics. While she enacted entrepreneurial scripts, the core of her practice was based in social justice: focused on practice, teacher growth and learning, and on the process of learning for her teachers, the students, and herself. She did use the district's routines and rules around the formal evaluations, but the bulk of her actual work as a teacher supervisor, including the work she did in the formal evaluations, went beyond those set out by the district. Her sensemaking around instructional leadership included multiple and conflicting messages. She mainly relied on practices she learned in PLI, including a foundational constructivist approach to learning and change, yet her actions suggested she also incorporated elements of the entrepreneurial logic in her approach to data by layering them on top of her social justice approach.

School Context: As I discussed in Chapter 5, the teachers at Cypress Elementary School were younger and less experienced than any of the five other schools in this study. Eight were in their first year of teaching and therefore had to be evaluated through the probation process, which included a minimum of five formal observations (as compared to three for tenured teachers). As a part of her role as assistant principal the previous year at the same school, Sabina conducted half of the formal evaluations (the previous principal did the other half). Some of the teachers at her school knew her as an evaluator; all but the new teachers already experienced her as a classroom observer. This context was important for Sabina; while she was in the process of figuring out who she was as an instructional leader, she also had previous experience in this specific school with these particular teachers. As her primary role in the previous year was disciplinarian, she also had deep connections with and knowledge of many families, especially those with children who got in trouble often. This experience allowed Sabina to give her teachers specific instructional and behavioral advice for individual, and often challenging, students.

Formal Evaluation: Sabina followed the district mandate because those were the rules that were set before her. Unlike Katy, however, Sabina took the regulatory message and melded it with her own beliefs about teacher supervision. Those beliefs were highly influenced by her principal preparation program, PLI, and the social justice logic. Her beliefs were supported by her strong ties to individuals also connected to PLI through her informal instructional leadership network. Throughout the year, Sabina used practices taught in PLI about teacher supervision, sometimes specifically referencing the teachings. The message of teacher supervision from PLI was asset-focused, based on teachers' extant abilities and areas of growth stemming from existing success. An example of an associated practice of this belief was *selected verbatim*, or scripting a chosen set of pre-selected set of events. Sabina scripted the interaction between teacher and students around a particular topic (examples of topics included teacher praise, types of questions asked, and student responses to questions), and then used that script to engage the teacher in what was happening in her classroom and

to identify areas of success and growth. Sabina therefore had two messages about what her formal evaluations should look like: teacher rating on the one hand (the prevailing logic), and teacher growth on the other (the social justice logic). The following quote illustrates how Sabina integrated the different messages about the evaluation from the district and from PLI:

When I go into the observation, I don't take the district form with me. I do selected verbatim—writing down times, writing down what the student is saying, and then from those notes I transcribe them onto the district evaluation forms. I write a summary and evidence of the things I saw.

Another key social justice logic idea and practice from PLI evidenced in Sabina's teacher supervision processes was the notion that the formal evaluation was a process rather than an outcome. She referenced this idea several times throughout the year, both in conversations with teachers and with me. A first-year teacher was worried about getting a 2 on the evaluation, and Sabina said:

Don't be too stuck on the numbers. The most important thing to take out is the conversations. I'm assessing your growth on your follow-through and feedback. You know, I've tried this and it didn't work. I've been thinking about trying it this way.

For the formal evaluations, her focus was on teachers' growth rather than specific outcomes. While this social justice logic practice guided her work with the formal evaluations, other messages related to other logics influenced other teacher supervision activities.

Other Supervision Activities: In her enactment of other supervision activities, Sabina took those that were based in one logic, in this case the entrepreneurial logic, and created a hybrid approach with the social justice logic. Two of the foci of Sabina's teacher supervision were data conferences and the data wall, both outcomes-focused, data-driven activities based in the entrepreneurial logic. Both of these systems came from her principal manager at the district, a New Leaders alumnus. Her principal manager was a principal in the district for seven years, and in the year of study moved into the principal supervisor position.⁵⁸ In the beginning of the year, Sabina told me that she needed to implement the data conferences and the data wall because her principal manager mandated that everyone in her region do so. They were both outcomes-focused practices. A data wall had each student in the school, by classroom, aligned by test score and change in test score. Walking into Sabina's office, it was possible to see how one third-grade classroom moved on the district benchmark tests through the year, either moving students closer to proficient and advanced, or allowing students to slip or stay in below basic or far below basic. Data conferences were one-on-one meetings with the principal after a benchmark to reposition students on the data wall, analyze the data, and decide on next steps to move students closer to proficient and advanced. On a basic level, these practices are indicative of the entrepreneurial logic, focused on outcomes and test scores.

⁵⁸ Incidentally, Sabina's principal manager was Katy's principal when she was a teacher.

Sabina's principal manager gave her persistent entrepreneurial messages about her role as an instructional leader and bolstered them with practical support. For example, when Sabina explained that she did not have an appropriate bulletin board in her office to make the data wall, her principal manager had the district facilities staff install one the following week. In contrast, Sabina was connected to the social justice logic through her context and her beliefs about process. Her school site was populated with other PLI graduates, the coaches she employed used a collaborative and growth-based adult-learning model, and she fundamentally believed that it was her role to help her teachers grow. She made sense of these multiple messages through a hybrid approach.

On the one hand, Sabina talked about students' test scores in an entrepreneurial way. For example, during one data conference she talked with the teacher about which students to focus on in the two weeks before the CST. They focused on which students were close to moving into a higher category, or "bubble kids." The teacher said that he was working with those students particularly, and Sabina advised him about which students to work with:

My thoughts are that this group—you should have one student working on a challenge packet [she scored 100%]. Don't even put her in a group. These students are just there—at 72—meet with them twice a week to strengthen so that they'll be there [in basic]. Have a group on Friday. The people at 82, meet with one time a week.

This type of conversation repeated itself throughout her data conferences. She congratulated teachers on moving students up in levels, whole grade levels for increasing their scores, and the school overall for moving many students into the Proficient category.

Her approach, however, maintained its center in the process rather than the outcome. For example, in the same conversation as above, Sabina also asked about a particular student who remained in Far Below Basic. She suggested that the student needed an Student Study Team (SST), a support process for students who may be tested for special education or may be given additional other supports (counseling, afterschool program, etc.). Even within the data conversation, Sabina's focus leaned towards the "whole child" rather than simply on the score as representative of the child or the primary goal of teaching. Further, while the data conferences were one-on-one, the bulk of the work around using data to inform instruction happened in grade-level teams. These groups met twice a month with either Sabina or one of the coaches, looked at data, discussed trends, and collectively decided on plans of action to increase student learning. The approach was process-based, relied on teacher knowledge and learning, and it was collective. These key elements are ideas rooted in the social justice logic. Sabina made sense of the conflicting messages by layering some of the entrepreneurial practices, especially those communicated to her through her principal manager, on top of her social justice beliefs and associated practices. Foundationally, however, Sabina maintained her social justice leadership approach.

Miguel & Black Oak Elementary School.

Miguel's informal instructional leadership network included mostly individuals sharing the social justice logic, which was evident through the messages of instructional leadership he received. He interacted regularly with two coaches and with his principal manager about routines for giving teachers feedback; all three of these alters gave him messages imbued

with the social justice logic. In addition, the process through which Miguel received coaching was process-based and constructivist, which was also evident of the social justice logic. These persistent messages reinforced an approach to instructional leadership rooted in his pre-existing beliefs and experience.

School Context: The teachers at Black Oak Elementary were mostly veterans, the majority with more than 10 years of teaching experience. A core group of the teachers were part of the founding of the school in 2001. Miguel thought that, because of this connection, they had an established and inert set of norms and practices that he did not always agree with. He felt like he was up against a strong, immovable group of teachers set in their ways both in terms of instruction and culture. Further, he was the fifth principal in 10 years to move through the school; he worried that teachers thought that they could “wait him out.”

Formal Evaluation: Miguel’s approach to the formal evaluation process was steeped in constructivist practices, scripts, and ideas. The messages he received from his principal preparation program, PLI, in addition to the leadership coaching he received at his school site, were based in the social justice logic and evident in his sensemaking and enactment of the messages. He had two explicit goals for the formal evaluation process: “make the evaluations a learning experience for me to know what was going on in the school. And for it to be as much as a coaching tool feedback experience as possible for the teachers.” He was focused not only on changing teacher practice, but also on himself; he worked to establish his role as a principal and learn about himself as a teacher supervisor.

Like most of the other principals in this study, Miguel approached the formal evaluation process because it was a binding process from the district: “By contract, it [formal observation] is unannounced...” yet his beliefs about how the process was going to create change in teacher practice was based in the social justice logic. He continued the previous statement by saying, “but I don’t want it to be a gotcha situation, but a coaching point where I can get more leverage with them.” Due to the context of the teacher culture, he didn’t always feel like he had the ability to get the leverage he wanted: “But at the same time, the climate in the school, and the teachers are quick to jump and say...it feels like you’re trying to get us out.” Miguel’s school context was a part of his sensemaking of his role as an instructional leader. Instead of pushing his teachers, looking for a “gotcha,” he instead used other supervision activities to create space for collaborative growth, illustrative of the social justice logic. In fact, the bulk of Miguel’s work as a teacher supervisor—including his self-growth work—happened outside of the formal evaluations through other supervision activities.

Other Supervision Activities: Miguel spent a great deal of time in classrooms; everyday I observed him he did at least a quick walkthrough of the school. Notable about his experience was the presence and his interactions with leadership coaches during the walkthroughs. Over my nine days of observation, I accompanied him on three different walkthroughs with three different individuals coaching him on his observation skills: his principal manager, a district-based literacy coach, and his coach from his principal preparation program. All three provided him with ideas on what he saw and specific scripts on how to give feedback to the teachers. Most often the coaches saw similar things as Miguel, and they would help him frame the message to the teacher. The excerpt below is

from a conversation with Sarah, his principal manager, who was looking at the notes on his feedback form from an observation they had just done together:

Sarah: why do you want to know about the students on the carpet?

Miguel: because of the newcomer. I'm curious if she's holding them accountable.

Sarah: that's totally off. Stick with one thing.

Miguel: filter my feedback to focus on one topic?

Sarah: yes. So *she* focuses on one thing. Build on positive feedback. She modeled the use of the dictionary and herself as a model learner. She showed how to use the dictionary and was very specific.

Miguel: so I'll perhaps leave the comment about George, it is also off-topic—get more firm answers at the same time.

Sarah: what do you mean by firm?

Miguel: raise the tone of voice, answer at the same time. Language from the TFS [Teach for Success] thing...It is language from that. Engagement is mandatory.

Sarah: my question is, why are children not firm? Because they do not know? Because they don't understand the concept? If they understand the concept, then they will be more certain.

Miguel: I want to see more student production.

The message coming from the principal manager was firmly based in the social justice logic—she modeled a script of supervision for him to engender teacher growth around what Miguel identified as high leverage instruction: language production. She helped him shape the script so that the feedback was not evaluative, related to student achievement on test scores, or punitive. The purpose of the feedback was to change teacher practice to enhance student learning, especially around use of language.

It is important to note that Miguel's supervisor was new to her position in the year of study; previously, she was one of the directors of PLI, where Miguel got his administrative credential. Before Sarah was his supervisor, she was his professor. The embedded logic in both messages she gave him about teacher supervision and the process by which she gave them represent the social justice logic. They were constructivist, focused on process, and about growth and learning rather than a particular outcome. Further, both Sarah and Miguel had extensive experience with English Language Learners. Before becoming a principal, Miguel was a district-based English Learner coach. His instructional observations were almost always about language production; sensemaking theory reminds us that previous knowledge is one of the key elements in how individuals approach a message. In concert

with the context of the school population and the messages he received from his supervisor, his focus on language production is not surprising.

The other two coaches interacted with Miguel in a similar manner, comparing observations and framing and reframing how to give feedback in ways that the teachers would be able to hear it and grow from it. They too approached their coaching roles and teacher supervision from a social justice lens; they modeled constructivist coaching with Miguel, and they helped him shift teacher practice towards social justice leadership ends. Miguel's network provided him with similar messages promoting the social justice logic from multiple alters. Miguel's sensemaking of his role as an instructional leader, more so than other principals, related to the strong presence of network messages within his school site. His mentors walked with him into classrooms and addressed specific challenges with explicit scripts. Miguel did not have to transfer a broad idea to his specific situation; his mentors did that for him. Further, he relied on his expertise and previous experience in English Language Learners. Similar to Jamal, Miguel's sensemaking was influenced by his previous experience, his specific context, and persistent messages imbued with the social justice logic.

Rachel & Cherry Plum Elementary School.

Rachel had the broadest and most diverse informal instructional leadership network of the six focal principals. She received many messages of teacher supervision that carried both the prevailing and social justice logics. Even though she had many connections and engaged with multiple individuals around teacher supervision, Rachel did not have any persistent common messages that she latched onto. She mentioned learning a social justice-based approach from a professor in her principal preparation program, hearing a message about the formal evaluation process in her regional meeting, and getting ideas about the process from one of her principal peers. The main activity of her network, however, was at her school site with the teachers, staff, and coaches she interacted with on a daily basis. This internal focus, and lack of any particular logic of instructional leadership, was evident in her approach to teacher supervision.

Rachel's central focus was on establishing trusting relationships with her teachers. She had a precise outcome for her work building relationships: to change the student/teacher talk ratio in every classroom. This goal was focused on student engagement, and Rachel created time, space, and support for teachers to collectively construct their beliefs about instruction. This approach to teacher supervision carried a hybrid of logics. The prevailing logic was evident in the types of outcomes she worked towards: building relationships with teachers and a focus on a common goal for the teachers that was not specifically about either equity or data-driven gains. The social justice logic was evident in her approach to creating these changes: she created collaborative structures, relied on teachers to teach other teachers, and used teacher supervision to engender a process-based, constructivist approach rather than looking for one specific outcome. In an absence of consistent messages about instructional leadership, Rachel's sensemaking process was based mainly in her previous experiences and beliefs, as well as her school site context.

School Context: Cherry Plum Elementary School was a high achieving school in MUSD. It had a diverse student population, an 838 API, and a *very* engaged parent community. The teachers were largely veteran; the least experienced teacher had been teaching for more than 10 years. The principal before Rachel had a tenure of 15 years.

Similar to Amy's school, there wasn't urgency around creating change in student outcomes among teachers. But Rachel identified many areas that she felt were inequitable or where she thought instruction was inadequate. Despite its similarity to other schools in this study, the level of teacher experience and sense of complacency did not result in teachers' reticence to Rachel's presence in their classrooms or to her teacher supervision systems. This may be because of her astute focus on the particular context of her school site.

Formal Evaluations: Rachel formally evaluated half of her faculty, or twelve teachers. As it was her first year in the district, and in any public school, it was also her first exposure to the formal evaluation form (most of the principals had experienced the form as a teacher and/or an assistant principal). She said about the process:

It was labor intensive because I had so many, I had 12, and that form is insane. It took a tremendous amount of time. The paperwork side, if I had spent all of that energy on the actual engagement side.

She had multiple goals for the evaluation process, which carried both the prevailing and social justice logics. These goals included establishing herself as a leader, getting to know her staff, and improving teacher practice:

So my goal was really to get to know the tool and to set tone. The process for everyone will be a dialogue to enhance their teaching, not to catch them making a mistake. So I've been trying to use this pilot year simply to establish a tone that I am an instructional leader; to get the affective filter down since the staff is heavy on that piece.

While she went through the regulatory process, her core goals had more to do with establishing relationships than following the rules. Rachel recognized the "affective filter" of her staff. Her practices responded directly to her perception of the context. She took proactive steps to shift the normative culture from its stagnant state; she engaged in several other teacher supervision activities that were based in constructivist processes.

In a conversation about the evaluation process at the end of the year, Rachel explained that one of the main things she learned from the process was how to do it differently in the next year. She explained that she wouldn't start with goals based on standardized tests:

That's the most crucial component. Because those goals are ridiculous. "87% of children at proficient or above." Blah blah blah, it means nothing to them. They will each have individual goals that will be driven from me now knowing them as teachers, so a very focused goal, and then a school-wide goal which is student/teacher talk ratio and engagement. That is a specific goal for many of them, so one that we're all going to do and one that they get to pick.

In this statement two things were clear: first, Rachel placed little value in the outcomes as measured by standardized tests; second, she spent her first year working to know her teachers as teachers. She rejected the message carrying the entrepreneurial logic of a specific

outcomes-based goal and instead embraced a practice that carried a hybridization of the prevailing and social justice logics: the teachers had individual goals, or teacher-by-teacher, but the school also had one focused goal of shifting the student/teacher talk ratio (which, she posited, would lead to increased student engagement). She recognized the state of her staff, and decided to focus on the malleable spaces to gain leverage to change teacher practice:

To me, it speaks to the bigger picture...what can help me help you grow? You effectively shut down a relationship if you move onto PAR.⁵⁹ Where do I hold the most leverage? If I have an 800 API, use the district curriculum—I can help with specifics to be more engaging, rigorous, etc.

Rachel explained that most of this work did not happen through formal evaluations, but through different structures that she put in place.

Other Supervision Activities: In the final observation session in the spring of 2011, Rachel told me: “99% of this job is about establishing relationships.” Her other supervision activities supported this work: knowing her teachers “as teachers,” creating trust, and legitimizing her role as an instructional leader. She had two main approaches to do this: walkthroughs with a “5-minute observation form” and a peer-observation system. Both of these techniques were based in constructivist practices and carried the social justice logic.

Rachel used a form she found from the Oregon Reading First Center (<http://oregonreadingfirst.uoregon.edu/toolbox.html>) to do her walkthroughs. The first section on the form was “what to look for” and included a list of nine positive teaching activities, including “active engagement of all students,” “high expectations,” and “multiple chances to practice tasks.” The following three sections included “positives/glows,” “polisher/grow,” and “next steps” with the positives as the largest box. The form itself focused on the positive elements of teaching, and Rachel echoed this in her description of how she used the form: “I mark what I see, not what I don't see. It allows teachers to see what I don't see. It allows me to build a relationship within an emotional space of teachers.” So if “high expectations” was not checked off, a teacher would know that Rachel didn't see that happening in his or her classroom. Rachel was establishing a new normative culture: listing elements that she wanted to see in the classroom, giving praise for the practices she saw, and gently nudging teachers towards those activities through suggestions termed “polisher/grow.” She explained, “I take notes—I highlight strong pieces, and ask a question. Recommendations shut down conversation instead of recognizing their own growth. It's them owning it instead of me placing it.”

Recognizing the teaching expertise in her school in conjunction with teachers' reticence to change practice, Rachel set up a peer-observation system in the spring. By that time in the year, she felt she knew individual teacher's strengths and weaknesses and had established trusting relationships. She matched up teachers based on their strengths and

⁵⁹ PAR stands for “Peer Assistance and Review,” but is essentially the process through which a principal can put a teacher on probation and work towards evaluating him or her out of the classroom.

weaknesses: “People who lack structure, I’m going to take them to Ms. Alba’s classroom.” Likewise, she sent the teachers who taught the district’s reading program with fidelity to teachers who used the curriculum as a guide rather than a rule, which was her preferred method of implementation because she believed the curriculum highlighted teacher talk and limited student interaction, one of the “ratios” she wanted to change in the classrooms. Rachel created collaborative structures, a practice that was based in the social justice logic. The outcome of these practices, however, was not specifically on working to create more equitable outcomes for historically marginalized students, on creating equity-based beliefs and pedagogy, or changing school structures towards inclusion. Without persistent messages of teacher supervision based in any particular logic, Rachel relied on her previous experience and what she felt would work best in her school context. This resulted in a hybrid implementation of social justice processes with prevailing logic outcomes.

Amy & Monterey Pine Elementary School.

Amy had a small informal instructional leadership network, which included her principal manager, who was also the previous principal of her school. The main message she received from her principal manager for her first year as an instructional leader was to sit back, listen, and learn: the teachers were successful; let them continue to do what they do. Other than that message, Amy did not perceive that she received much information on how to be an instructional leader. The lack of messages, coupled with a veteran staff and a successful school, resulted in her feeling stymied in her ability to create instructional change. Instead, she mostly focused on managerial tasks at her school site. The leadership actions she described taking carried the prevailing logic, focused on building relationships with teachers. Further, Amy had no connection to her principal preparation program. When I specifically asked about the influence of Mills, she replied, “Not much at all.” She was not in contact with anyone from her program. Her sensemaking process was largely influenced by her school site context and the few prevailing logic messages she encountered in her sparse network.

School Context: The teaching staff at Monterey Pine Elementary was very experienced. The experience of the staff, and Amy’s perception of their lack of willingness to change, was a significant element of the context in which Amy made sense of her role as an instructional leader. On three separate occasions she mentioned the difficulty of creating change with a veteran staff:

[Did you see a change in teachers practice because of the evaluation?]
For the teachers that were reflective—the others have been here for 100 years, what’s one evaluation?

[Do teachers ask for curricular assistance?]
No—not at this school. They want to be left alone.

[Were there trends on what people wanted to focus on for professional development?]
Folks don’t want to change, whether it connects to their grade level or not [if what they are teaching connects to other teachers’ work]. Don’t bother us, don’t change what I already have. It goes along with a veteran school—it’s an issue of to push or not to push.

Historically, the school did very well on the CST. In 2010, Monterey Pine had an API of 911, one of the highest in the district (the district average was 719). Amy's perception of the teachers' lack of willingness to change, then, was coming from a place of success, at least as defined by the district and the larger educational community. Unlike Miguel, who had particular ideas about how to change his perception of a detrimental and ossified culture and teacher practices, while Amy felt a general pushback from the teachers, she had little to say in terms of change. For the most part, she stayed in her office or on the playground and out of classrooms. She did conduct five formal evaluations through the year; I did not observe any part of the process for them.⁶⁰

Formal Evaluation: Amy's main goal from the evaluation process was to get to know her staff better. This goal was rooted in the prevailing logic (see Figure 2 in Chapter 4): the principal focuses on the relationship between herself and the teachers. She took a "listen and watch" approach in her first year of her principalship, as recommended by her principal manager (and former principal of the school). She said, "My goal is that they see it as a support system; they felt like there was learning professionally on their part and that kids benefit from any feedback; develop a relationship with them, have 1-1s with those teachers." Rather than pushing for a particular curricular change for either the whole staff or individual teachers, Amy spent "a lot of time listening" and "planting seeds." Again, the prevailing logic was evident through her acceptance of teacher-by-teacher instructional practices.

Another example that Amy's teacher supervision activities carried the prevailing logic was how she led her teachers towards a common, broadly defined vision of student achievement: student engagement. It was one of the "seeds" that she planted with her staff that she hoped to make "full blast" in her second year. I asked what she did to plant the seeds for student engagement:

Listening and learning—assessing on where people are at. Data on who is participating [referring to students]. I teach teachers protocols to get their participation. I use content in professional development—brainstorm what it would look like with their content [modeling practice]. I take more of a coaching role with evaluations. Formally, I will make it full blast next year.

At the same time, Amy fell back on her belief that she had too much to do to both take care of the school and be an instructional leader. She qualified her last idea of going full blast with student engagement with the statement, "I'm not sure being the only person..." in reference to not having an assistant principal or other site-based coach to support her in teacher evaluations. The role of the context in Amy's sensemaking of her role as an instructional leader was a constraint. She believed that her teachers did not want to shift their practice and she felt that she had too much paperwork to attend to. Coupled with a message from her principal manager that encouraged her to "sit back" and let the teachers

⁶⁰ The lack of triangulation of Amy's formal observations (I only heard about them through her description) may limit my analysis: I was not able to hear the conversations she had with the teachers, notice use of particular concepts or words that she may have used but not been aware of to raise the connection in an informal interview, or notice change/lack of change in teacher practice as a result of her suggestions.

continue to successfully teach the students, Amy fell into a role of instructional leader that was imbued with the prevailing logic. This is not surprising as she did not receive messages promoting either the entrepreneurial or social justice logic through her informal network. Her informal supervision activities further illustrate Amy's reliance on the prevailing logic and associated practices.

Other Supervision Activities: One of the routines around teacher supervision that Amy reported that she followed was her "rounds." Every morning, Amy told me, she made rounds of the classrooms. During my nine days of observation, Amy made these rounds twice. One set of rounds I observed was after the parents and staff decided to form a committee to conduct a search for a new principal, indicating that they were not satisfied with Amy's performance. She said, "this is my rounds every day if I don't have a big chunk of papers—apparently it's not enough!" We left the office at 10:30am that morning, walked through one half of the school, and got back to the office by 10:40am.

Beyond the logistics of the rounds, Amy did not observe teachers with an eye towards instruction. After our quick observations of classrooms, I asked what she saw. Her responses never addressed instruction. They mainly addressed student behavior or her personal interactions with the teachers. In turn, those are the things that teachers approached her about. Her big push in the beginning of the year was shifting the recess schedule. This involved purchasing new tables so that more students could fit in the lunchroom at the same time. This was what she planned with the Instructional Leadership Team (ILT) and talked with me about. While this change might theoretically have impacted student behavior on the yard, and therefore calmer transitions into classrooms after lunch, it did not have a clear instructional focus.

Overall, Amy felt ineffective as an instructional leader. Several times she said that the veteran teachers were unwilling to be moved or to change their practice. She also said that she had too much to take care of in the office to get out into the school. And, in my last visit, she said, while cleaning out the basement storage area, "the best thing I'll be able to do for this school is to clean it up. That's how I'll leave it—cleaner than I found it." When asked directly about instruction, Amy answered using broad ideas and concepts about instructional leadership, like "student engagement" and "building relationships" with teachers. Her actions, however, showed little interaction around these types of ideas; what interaction she did have she felt ineffective about. This notion was reinforced by the school's decision to conduct a search for a principal, by the lack of engagement around instruction from the teachers, and the seemingly unending set of administrative tasks that piled up on her desk. In contrast with the other principals in the study, Amy did not express her previous experiences or beliefs with any consistency. Coupled with the lack of consistent messages, Amy's sensemaking around her role as an instructional leader was influenced by what she perceived as a resistant school site.

Principals' networks shaped the messages they drew on in their teacher supervision activities

The shape of the focal principals' informal instructional leadership networks impacted the messages they received about teacher supervision. More specifically, new principals' beliefs and practices included logics other than the prevailing logic if they received more persistent messages and support from their networks. Absent strong messages, principals either

succumbed to their context, like Katy and Amy, or relied mainly on their prior beliefs, like Rachel. Sabina was unique in that she received persistent messages and support from both the entrepreneurial and social justice logics. She responded by layering some entrepreneurial practices on top of social justice processes. Table 13, below, charts summaries of the key elements in each principal's sensemaking and enactment processes: the shape of their networks, the school contexts, the types of messages they received, and their enactment.

Table 13: Summary of principal sensemaking and enactment

Principal	Network Shape	Context	Messages	Enactment
Jamal	Mostly entrepreneurial; medium-sized network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-performing school • Low-will and low-skill veteran teachers⁶¹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Prevailing logic</i>: formal evaluation • <i>Entrepreneurial logic</i>: technology-based instruction; consistent presence in classrooms to enforce outcomes-focused curricula 	Rejected prevailing logic; embraced entrepreneurial logic
Katy	Split between prevailing and entrepreneurial; small network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High-performing school • Discordant relationship with teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Prevailing logic</i>: formal evaluation • <i>Entrepreneurial logic</i>: data-driven decision making; specific and identifiable “good” teaching practices; New Leaders’ CEIJ teacher supervision process 	Enacted prevailing logic; mentioned entrepreneurial logic, but was unable to enact it
Sabina	Mostly social justice, also entrepreneurial (her supervisor); medium-sized network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-performing school • Inexperienced teaching staff, many in their first year 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Prevailing logic</i>: formal evaluation • <i>Social justice logic</i>: growth and process-based approach to teacher supervision; consistent attention to the individual needs of students, teachers, and parents • <i>Entrepreneurial logic</i>: use of data walls and data conferences 	Hybrid implementation of social justice and entrepreneurial logics; foundational approach in social justice logic
Miguel	Mostly social justice; medium-sized network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-performing school • Experienced teachers resistant to change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Prevailing logic</i>: formal evaluation • <i>Social justice logic</i>: growth and process-based approach to teacher supervision; instructional focus on the teaching and learning of English Learners 	Enacted social justice logic
Rachel	Mixture between all three logics; large network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High-performing school • Experienced teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Prevailing logic</i>: formal evaluation 	Enacted mainly prevailing logic; elements of social justice logic including collaborative practices like peer-observations
Amy	All prevailing; small network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High-performing school • Experienced teachers resistant to change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Prevailing logic</i>: formal evaluation; “sit back and watch” for her first year 	Enacted prevailing logic; largely did not have instructional leadership practices at all, rather focused on student discipline and school management

⁶¹ The descriptions of teachers are from the principals’ perspectives.

Looking across all six principals, patterns emerge in their sensemaking and enactment of instructional leadership. Half of the principals—Miguel, Sabina, and Jamal—relied heavily on their informal instructional leadership networks for messages about teacher supervision. These three school leaders were all tightly connected to their principal preparation programs and to individuals from those programs. These connections provided more frequent messages that were based in a logic that was promoted by their training on instructional leadership. The messages validated the principals' approaches to implementation of teacher supervision, and in some cases furthered a principal's understanding of what the implementation looked like. Amy and Rachel were not connected to their preparation programs; they rarely mentioned their program and had no connections with other principals from their cohort. Katy was unique; she was connected to two coaches from New Leaders, and occasionally referenced a leadership practice that reflected a message from the program. But in practice, faced with a conflicted school site, she fell back on the regulatory nature of the formal evaluation to maintain a façade of legitimacy and power in her role as principal. Without multiple and recurring messages about instructional leadership, often coupled with support in implementation, the principals either did what they thought was possible given their situation, like Katy and Amy, or, like Rachel, implemented practices based on their intuition of where they could create change.

The principals' school contexts also influenced their sensemaking about the messages they received. For example, both Katy and Amy faced pushback from their veteran teachers. Both principals felt that their teachers were resistant to change. Without a strong push or support around instruction from others, both women backed off from working towards the change they wanted to see. Katy maintained her presence in the classroom and her power as an evaluator by conducting formal evaluations for over 60% of her teachers; Amy focused instead on the managerial and behavior-monitoring tasks of a principal. Jamal and Miguel faced similar school cultures: both principals felt that the veteran teachers were resistant to change and had a contentious attitude towards administration. In contrast with Katy and Amy, however, Jamal and Miguel maintained a strong focus on teacher supervision activities that carried the logics of their principal preparation program. Jamal implemented several outcomes-focused, technology-based curricular programs through which he could monitor instruction and, he believed, guarantee increased student outcomes on the CST; Miguel conducted constructivist and ongoing informal teacher evaluations focused on increasing language production for English Learners, a historically marginalized population. They did this with consistent messaging from their informal instructional leadership networks.

Sabina and Rachel both made sense of conflicting messages by building multiple logics into their beliefs and practices of instructional leadership. In the context of a new teaching staff, Sabina received messages carrying multiple logics. Sabina's sensemaking about instructional leadership transpired with explicit connections to the broader environment. Surrounded by fellow PLI graduates at her school site and in her informal network, the social justice logic was prevalent. However, she was also exposed to the entrepreneurial logic through her principal manager. She changed some of her practices based on these new messages. In contrast, Rachel lacked persistent messages about instructional leadership in general. Faced with a veteran staff that she initially perceived as being "stuck" in their ways, she approached teacher supervision based on her previous experience and what she believed her teaching staff needed. Surprisingly, given her broad informal network, Rachel's

sensemaking process was nearly devoid of consistent interactions with messages. It is not surprising, then, that Rachel's sensemaking and associated practices carried mostly the prevailing logic as, shown in Chapter 5, that logic was the most prominent in the institutional environment.

Discussion

The analysis of the focal principals' sensemaking illustrates that the content of their informal instructional leadership network mattered for the messages they received about teacher supervision, their subsequent sensemaking process, and enactment of the messages. Each principal was mandated to conduct the evaluations using the mandated MUSD's teacher evaluation form and following contractually agreed-upon practice. Yet, the principals used this approach in different ways, as illustrated by Jamal's rejection of the process versus Katy's didactic implementation. These differences can be explained by the prevalence of messages from their informal instructional leadership networks, sometimes coupled with support. While the school context and the principals' previous experience also influenced their beliefs and actions around teacher supervision, the messages of instructional leadership were the key levers in how they made sense of their roles as instructional leaders.

The salience of the messages can be illustrated by comparing both Katy and Jamal and Miguel and Rachel. The conflict present in Katy's context dominated her sensemaking and enactment of instructional leadership practices. This was in contrast to the impact of Jamal's school context, which was also rife with conflict. What made their experiences different? Jamal had a robust informal social network through which he received persistent entrepreneurial messages while Katy had a strained relationship with New Leaders and a sparse informal network. Essentially, she was on her own in the face of conflict. Jamal was bolstered by the ideas, beliefs, and support of his network. A comparison between Miguel and Rachel also shows the key role of messages in the principals' sensemaking processes. Both principals faced veteran teaching staffs who were used to closing their doors and teaching in isolation. Miguel received very persistent messages imbued with the social justice logic that were paired with one-on-one coaching support. In response, he enacted social-justice based teacher supervision processes. Rachel, on the other hand, received many messages but none with persistence. She enacted a wide variety of teacher supervision activities based mainly on her perception of the schools' needs and her past experiences. Some of her enactments were imbued with the social justice logic, and many more were illustrative of the prevailing logic.

Some principals made sense of and enacted teacher supervision practices imbued with a single logic, like Miguel and Jamal, while others hybridized the logics in their beliefs and/or leadership actions, like Rachel and Sabina. This was not surprising in a conflicted institutional environment. Although both Rachel and Sabina had hybrid understandings of their roles of instructional leadership, they came about those beliefs through different means. Rachel had many network ties with few consistent messages; Sabina had strong ties with consistent messages. The implications of these findings are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 8. Conclusions and Implications

In the current shifting educational landscape, first-year principals encounter multiple messages about what it means to be instructional leaders. While the concept of instructional leadership has been discussed in academic and practice-based literature for over three decades, there is no consensus on what it means. Moreover, the varied approaches to instructional leadership reflect the changes in the broader educational environment, such as the focus on alternative approaches and models in multiple elements of the education sector such as school types, preparation programs, and curricular approaches. The various notions of instructional leadership, then, serve as an opportunity to examine the multiple ways in which conflicting logics in the institutional environment influences both leadership and, more broadly, education. While identifying and characterizing the ways that instructional leadership is promoted in the environment is a start, it is not enough. We know that what happens in the institutional environment matters for what happens in organizations (W. R. Scott, 2000), and schools in particular (Coburn, 2004; Spillane, 1998). Yet the majority of research that investigates the connections between the environment and schools focuses on teachers. The literature that studies principals mostly investigates school leaders at the school site; there are few studies that examine the role of the principal as the nexus between ideas in the environment and what happens instructionally in schools (with the exception of Coburn, 2005). This study fills this gap in the research literature, examining the entirety of the phenomena, first identifying the logics of instructional leadership that exist in the institutional environment, tracing the pathways of the logics to principals, and, finally, understanding how principals make sense of and enact them.

This study provides evidence that there are three contrasting logics of instructional leadership that are salient in the environment at this historical moment. How new principals are connected to these logics depends upon the shape of their informal social networks. What sense the new principals make of these logics further depends upon their individual contexts and previous experiences. Their sensemaking has implications for how they enact instructional leadership practices. These findings both extend how we understand the logics of instructional leadership and are consistent with current sensemaking literature. Further, the interaction between social networks and sensemaking suggests a new research agenda. In this final chapter, I outline five main conclusions and concomitant implications for research in education leadership and for the practical training and professional development of principals.

Defining Three Conflicting Logics of Instructional Leadership

This dissertation contributes to research on instructional leadership by identifying three conflicting logics of instructional leadership in the institutional environment. The current literature on instructional leadership defines the term in multiple ways. Earlier empirical research focused on defining the term and presented typologies of the concept (e.g., Andrews & Soder, 1987; Blank, 1987; Hallinger, 2008; Heck, et al., 1990; Larsen, 1987), yet these studies are not consistent in their definitions, nor do they recognize alternative conceptions in the environment. More recently, research has included the notion of instructional leadership in broader definitions of the principalship as a whole, including specific leadership actions that count as “instructional leadership” (Bryk, et al., 2010; Louis, et al., 2010).

While the field is moving closer to a more descriptive and commonly used definition of instructional leadership, what I term the prevailing logic, the emerging influence of alternative perspectives have been ignored. Concurrent with shifts in educational reform and policy environments, the rhetoric around instructional leadership has also changed but has not been documented. For example, the entrepreneurial logic, focused on changing educational outcomes through innovation and mechanisms from the private sector, has not been defined or described in academic literature. An exception is a nascent literature that describes the impact of the logic on the institutional environment broadly and on teachers (i.e., J. T. Scott, 2011; J. T. Scott & Trujillo, 2011), but scholars have not investigated the role of this developing periphery logic on leadership. Instead, the beliefs and associated practices for leaders imbued with the entrepreneurial logic are found in practice-focused texts, professional development sessions, and by individuals promoted by organizations in the sector (i.e., Bambrick-Santoyo, 2010; Farr, 2010; Lemov, 2010; Marshall, 2012).

Notions of social justice leadership, focused on the experiences and inequitable outcomes of historically marginalized groups, are equally unexplored, although there is significantly more attention paid to these ideas in academia. The extant research includes: two frameworks outlining what social justice leadership looks like in practice (Brown, 2004; Capper, et al., 2006), one key book on the topic that describes the experiences of five different social justice principals and extrapolates to a theory of social justice leadership (Theoharis, 2007), and a handful of articles that also work on providing definitions and examples of social justice leadership theoretically and in practice (i.e., Cambron-McCabe & McCarthy, 2005; Furman, 2012; McKenzie, et al., 2008). While the ideas of social justice leadership are closer to codification in the field, they are not widespread. In short, while there are documents, texts, and journal articles in the environment that both research and promote various conceptions of instructional leadership, there is no one typology that sketches the logics and how they exist together in the institutional environment. This study moves us beyond a polysemous definition of the term by outlining a typology of what I term the prevailing, entrepreneurial, and social justice logics. This typology delineates the multiple ways in which instructional leadership is discussed, promoted, and often tacitly expected.

By identifying this logic, this study contributes to research by providing a language that can help specify what “instructional leadership” looks like in practice and in beliefs, thus explicating the often tacit and ambiguous term. For example, one recent study describes how much time principals actually spend on instructional leadership (Horng, et al., 2009). In this study, instructional leadership was calculated by time spent in classrooms, evaluating curriculum, or planning professional development. As illustrated by the typology in this study, however, those activities could be achieving any number of goals. Therefore, a percentage of time spent on “instructional leadership” is not meaningful. The definitional work done in this study begins to add precision to research done on the principalship broadly, and instructional leadership specifically.

In practice, the typology of logics is useful for principal preparation programs and school districts. While some preparation programs have very explicit approaches in their coursework and outcomes, others are either less precise or tacitly promote a conception, or multiple conceptions, of leadership. This is especially true for school districts that employ many individuals who have a vast array of experience, training, and beliefs. Recent empirical scholarship on school districts calls for a clear and communicated theory of action from the

central district office (Honig, Copland, Rainey, Lorton, & Newton, 2010; J. T. Waters & Marzano, 2006). The definitions of the logics of instructional leadership can be useful for a district or principal preparation program to reflect, identify, and establish a clear theory of action for reform that is aligned with the goals, mission, and vision of the organization.

Social Networks as Carriers of Institutional Logics

Research in institutional theory has suggested that logics in the environment influence practice, but it is not clear about the pathways by which this occurs. This dissertation builds on the research of Coburn and Russell (2008), which shows that differences in routines of interactions and levels of expertise influenced teachers' social networks. Here, I show that social networks play a powerful role in carrying logics from the institutional environment to individual actors in schools. The principals' informal instructional leadership networks were a source of influence and support for how principals made sense of and enacted conceptions of leadership. The focal principals described the content of their interactions with their alters by invoking particular logics. The presence of logics was also evident in my observations of the interactions between the focal principals and their alters, in their practices as instructional leaders, and in their descriptions of their decision-making processes. In short, the messages they received through their social networks, and the persistence of those messages, mattered for how they thought about themselves as instructional leaders as well as their leadership actions. Principals who received messages imbued with a similar logic frequently showed evidence of the logic in their enactment of instructional leadership.

This finding has implications for institutional theory as it adds to extant research that investigates the pathways through which the institutional environment effects what happens in schools: beliefs, norms, and routines are carried by actors. The findings suggest that both persistence and salience in a particular logic influence a principal's level of engagement with the logic and associated practices. Further, there is evidence to suggest that support in making sense of the beliefs, norms, and routines through coaching actions and other assistance made it more likely that an individual principal would grasp onto one logic rather than another. While this study points to the importance of persistence in both messaging and coaching, these are both dimensions for further research.

This finding also has implications for social network theory because it provides new information about the content of the social network exchange. Previous research has identified that the content of interaction as an important dimension for social network research (Coburn, Mata, & Choi, under review). The findings in this study build on this research by identifying sets of beliefs as another type of information that flows through informal social networks, in this case logics of instructional leadership. As social network researchers continue to study and understand the content of interaction within social networks, a focus of attention should be on the role of sets of beliefs.

The Connection between Formal Organizational Structures and Informal Social Networks

Research has shown that the shape of a person's informal social network influences access to information (Coburn, et al., 2010; Morrison, 2002; Small, 2009; Sparrowe, et al., 2001). Only recently have scholars begun to look at the connection between formal organizational structures and individual social networks to understand the information that actors have access to (Daly, 2010; W.R. Penuel, et al., 2010; Small, 2009). This study supports and

extends current research about the relationship between formal organizational structures and informal social networks. Extant studies explain the connection between the two using various dimensions such as expertise, parallel structures, and the importance of subgroups in networks (Coburn, et al., under review; W.R. Penuel, et al., 2010; Spillane, Healey, & Min Kim, 2010). Here, I show that formal structures can be foundational to the formation of informal social networks: around 90% of the principals' ties were made through formal structures. Time, space, and processes to make connections with others were essential for the network formation of first-year principals. Concomitantly, while it was important to understand that formal organizational structures impacted the shape of informal networks, it was also clear that only examining the formal structures was not enough to understand the differences between the six principals' informal networks. Even when the principals had exposure to similar formal structures, their informal instructional leadership networks were distinct. The findings suggest that the school leaders included alters in their informal networks who had similar conceptions of leadership. In this way, I showed that individuals' beliefs may also be an important dimension to pay attention to in the connection between formal organizational structures and informal social networks.

While other research has begun to explore the role of formal organizational structures in influencing informal social networks, this study pushes our understanding further by describing examples of when formal organizational structures were successful in shaping informal social networks and principal instructional decisions, such as the in situ coaching Miguel received. While the findings in this study show that persistence in messages was key in principals' beliefs and enactment of teacher supervision, more analysis is necessary to understand the nature of the persistence that engendered principal action. For example, was coaching the key lever? Or, receiving similar messages from multiple alters? Future research should continue to look at when and under what conditions formal organizational structures impact informal social networks with special attention to the congruence of the cognitive perspectives of individuals.

Affordances of Qualitative Methods

The this study also has methodological implications for social-network researchers. Many of the current social network studies in education rely primarily on quantitative data (Daly, 2010). This literature is useful to understand many elements of social networks, such as the spread of innovation, the distribution of leadership, and bridges for collaboration. Yet, quantitative data, even when accompanied by interviews, provides a limited understanding of the complex decision-making processes of individuals. This dissertation highlights the benefits of a qualitative methodology. Through deep and ongoing observation and interviews, I was able to see principals' engagement with ideas in the networks on a fine-grained scale. For example, after Miguel did classroom walkthroughs with his principal manager, I asked him a number of questions about how he felt about the process. Insight into Miguel's conception of leadership emerged in the way he described how he saw things similarly and differently than his principal manager, how he described his own role in relation to her, and his perception of the process of collaboration with her. These in-depth and contextual descriptions were unlikely to emerge from an interview of survey.

Additionally, I was able to triangulate the data, thus illuminating inconsistencies and contrast. For example, in the beginning of the year, Amy described her role as an instructional leader as engaged in frequent classroom observations and collaborative conversations about

instruction with teachers. Taken on its own, the interview data was coded as demonstrating a constructivist process of leadership. Yet, over nine days of observation and further interviews, the data showed a sharp difference in how Amy described how she acted as an instructional leader and how she actually acted. This phenomena has been shown in previous research on teachers (Cohen, 1990), and while it is not surprising, it does highlight the need for sustained observation. This type of sustained qualitative research is needed to elaborate on and provide explanations for both the content of interactions within social networks and for how individuals make sense of information they have access to.

Principal Preparation Programs Matter for Principals' Conceptions of Instructional Leadership

This study illustrates a new way to think about the impact of principal preparation programs on leadership practice: on school leaders' conceptions of instructional leadership. Current research in the quality of principal preparation programs is inchoate. We know little about the effect of principal preparation programs on the daily work of principals, or on their beliefs about their role as instructional leaders. Recent empirical research has largely been quantitative and broad in the variables studied, ranging from student test scores to time to employment (Braun, Gable, & Kite, 2008, October; Orr, 2011). For example, one study looked at the association between program attributes and quality preparation as measured by behavioral outcomes (Darling-Hammond, LaPointe, Meyerson, Orr, & Cohen, 2007). I extend how we understand the impact of principal preparation programs by showing the importance of conceptions of instructional leadership.

This study shows that first-year principals from strong-mission preparation programs invoked the same logic or logics of instructional leadership that were promulgated by their preparation programs, despite their engagement with the prevailing logic from the school district. The principals who attended New Leaders and PLI all included multiple alters from their programs, and the logic promoted by their program was their prominent logic of instructional leadership. By contrast, the principal who attended Cal State did include two professors from her program in her network, but there were no concrete connections between how she talked about instructional leadership and either those individuals or what she learned through the program. In contrast to all three of the other programs, Amy did not mention Mills at all, either by including anyone in her network or by explicitly or implicitly eliciting teachings from the program. While other factors such as their background and the school context played into the principals' conceptions of instructional leadership, it is clear that the principal preparation programs also were influential.

This finding has implications both for research on principal preparation programs and for the programs themselves. As research on preparation programs continues, we need to study variables beyond topics addressed in courses, employment rates, or student test scores. This study suggests that researchers should also focus on how preparation programs conceive of leadership, including goals, the focus of attention, theory of change, modes of assessment, and the other dimensions outlined in the typology of institutional logics. Beyond identifying these elements, researchers should study when and under what conditions certain dimensions are salient for principal-candidates and which others are backgrounded. This shift in attention will illuminate the socio-cognitive processes of individuals in their pre-service experiences. The ability to distinguish the impact of preparation programs on

principals will also allow researchers to identify other influences, such as that of a school district or school site.

Principal preparation programs also can benefit from the findings in this dissertation. While some programs are intentional about the logics, and even the dimensions of the logics they promote, many are not. Beliefs and associated practices matter for principals as instructional leaders. For example, the six principals in this study used the school district's teacher evaluation form and process in meaningfully distinct manners. The principals that had specific teaching on teacher supervision enacted those practices, such as Sabina's use of selected verbatim and Jamal's use of technology-based programs. Preparation programs can use the typology to engage in analytical and reflective conversations about which conception or conceptions of leadership their program promotes. It can also be used to craft program-wide, agreed-upon practices that promote specific beliefs, norms, and routines. It is inherently harder to craft a cohesive curriculum and set of beliefs with more actors, so this process is especially needed (and difficult) in larger preparation programs that employ many instructors and prepare many principals, such as Cal State.

The three theories used in this study to illuminate the message-to-enactment process highlighted the movement of institutional logics from the environment, through social networks, and to first-year principals. Together, they helped to tell the story of some of the decision-making processes of principals who work in complex environments with multiple demands. This research contributes to understanding the relationship between institutional ideas and practice in schools, principal preparation, and professional development by explicating the mechanisms through which the ideas are carried through the institutional environment. It also extends research on social network theory by elucidating the content of interaction in social networks to include beliefs. Finally, this study has practical implications for both the research and implementation of principal preparation programs including the presence, salience, and messaging of distinct notions of instructional leadership.

Principals are important for what happens in classrooms. The first years of socialization may set them on a course that will persist for the duration of their careers. Given how important principals are for teaching and learning in schools, it is crucial that we understand more about how they learn, develop, and make sense of their positions in these first few years in the profession. This study shows that understanding the development of new principals requires more than understanding their emerging thoughts and practices within the walls of the schools. It requires attention to formal organizational structures, informal social networks, and institutional ideas in the environment. It is only by taking these dimensions into account that we can begin to understand the ways in which new principals develop identities and enact practices that impact what happens in classrooms.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocols

First Principal Interview

1. Can you tell me about how you became a principal?
2. What do you think the job of the principal should be?
 - a. Can you tell me more about instructional leadership? What does that look like?
3. Can you tell me what your preparation program/district tells/told you about instructional leadership?
 - a. What kind of training did you get?
 - b. Do you have any documents or resources that were given to you about instructional leadership?
 - c. Are there any ongoing professional development programs for you (i.e.: coaching)?
4. When you have a question about your role as an instructional leader (give an example), who do you ask?
 - a. Can you describe those interactions?
5. What is one thing that you are really good at as an instructional leader?
 - a. How did you learn that?
 - b. Who has supported you to learn that?
6. What is one thing you want to become better at as an instructional leader?
 - a. How will you go about improving that?
 - b. Who will you ask for help?
7. When I come to observe you as an instructional leader, what should I be looking for?

Social Network Interview Protocol

Give principal a piece of paper with the people in their instructional leadership network that I know about from previous interviews and observations (in a network shape).

Ask:

- 1) These are the people I have seen you interact with or you have told me are important in your network as related to you as an instructional leader. Are there others that I missed? Or others that don't belong? [have them add/take away individuals on the map]

For each alter, ask the following questions:

- 1) How often do you interact with him/her?
- 2) What are your conversations usually about?
- 3) Can you describe your relationship with him/her?
 - a. Make sure to understand what his/her role is.
 - b. Make sure to understand level of trust.
- 4) Do you generally ask for or give advice from/to this person?
 - a. Be sure to understand his/her perception of the person's expertise.
- 5) Does this person influence how you think about instructional leadership? How?
- 6) List instructional leadership activities. Did you discuss, get materials about, get support for or ask advice about any of these activities with this person?
 - a. Are there other activities that I missed that should be included with this person?

Instructional Leadership Activities

1. Use data to inform decision making
2. Work with individual teachers effectively to improve instruction
3. Cultivate a shared vision and common purpose among staff
4. Encourage teachers to be learners
5. Create opportunities for teachers' learning
6. Promote improvement of student outcomes
7. Support the development of adult learning communities
8. Work effectively to develop parent involvement in the school
9. Encourage teachers to be leaders
10. Work effectively to develop community involvement in the school

Finally, ask the principal to rank the top five people in his or her network in relation to his/her growth as an instructional leader.

Final 2010-2011 School Year Principal Interview Protocol

1. I want to ask about both teacher and your evaluation for this year. First, can you tell me about your process for teacher evaluations for this year?
 - a. What was your goal for the evaluations?
 - b. Do you think that teacher practice changed because of the evaluations?
2. Second, can you tell me about your evaluation process?
 - a. Did you learn anything from the process?
 - b. Is there anything you wish had been different?
3. Can you tell me about your experience with the principal PD this year? What worked for you? What do you wish was different?
4. Thinking across this year, did you have any big Ahas around instructional leadership?
 - a. Can you tell me how you came to that aha? Were there any key people involved in the process?
5. What's the thing you did best as an instructional leader this year?
6. What's something you wish you did differently around instructional leadership?
7. Pretend you are walking through the classroom of a challenging teacher at the end of next year. What do you see? How did that change come about?

Staff Protocol

1. Can you tell me about how you interact with the principals?
2. Can you tell me about what you think instructional leadership looks like for principals?
 - a. Can you give me an example of a model scenario of a principal enacting instructional leadership?
3. What does your program/district tell or instruct principals about instructional leadership?
 - a. What kind of training do you offer?
 - b. Do you have any documents or resources that you use for instructional leadership?
 - c. Are there any ongoing professional development programs around instructional leadership (i.e.: coaching)?
4. When I go to observe principals as an instructional leaders, what should I be looking for?

Appendix B: MUSD Teacher Evaluation Form Sample

UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
 CERTIFICATED EVALUATION OBSERVATION FORM A-1
 TEACHER

Name of Evaluatee: _____ Period Covered: _____ to _____

Name of Evaluator: _____ School/Site: _____

Grade/Subject: _____ Permanent Temporary Contract Substitute PAR Participant
 Probationary ___1___2

Completion of interim evaluation by 2nd Friday in December. Completion of final evaluation by last working day in April.

RATING CODES	
1. Does not meet Standards: Unsatisfactory	Any 1 or 2 ratings must have specific recommendations.
2. Does not meet Standards: Developing	
3. Meets Standards	
4. Exceeds Standards	Any 4 ratings must have specific commendations.

Pre-Observation Conferences

Dates: (A minimum of 3 observations must be conducted; 2 of which must be scheduled.)

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th

Observations

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th

Post-Observation Conferences (must occur within 5 days of observation)

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th

III. Standard for Understanding and Organizing Subject Matter for Student Learning

A. Demonstrating knowledge of subject matter content and student development.									
B. Organizing curriculum to support student understanding of subject matter.									
C. Interrelating ideas and information within and across subject matter areas.									
D. Developing student understanding through instructional strategies that are appropriate to the subject matter.									
E. Using materials, resources, and technologies to make subject matter accessible to students.									
Summative Rating for Standard III									<input type="checkbox"/>

IV. Standard for Planning Instruction and Designing Learning Experiences for All Students

A. Drawing on and valuing students' backgrounds, interests, and developmental learning needs.									
B. Establishing and articulating goals for student learning.									
C. Developing and sequencing instructional activities and materials for student learning.									
D. Designing short-term and long-term plans to foster student learning.									
E. Modifying instructional plans to adjust for student needs.									
Summative Rating for Standard IV									<input type="checkbox"/>