THEORY DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
FROM 1947 TO 1995

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by
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(ABSTRACT)

The purpose of this study was to trace the history of theory development in educational administration in the United States during the second half of the twentieth century. While this study deals with the history of theory development in educational administration in the United States, it should not be seen as an attempt to deny or minimize the developments in educational administration that were occurring in other countries. Each successive decade since the 1950s has witnessed an influx of new generations of theorists who have had a significant influence upon theory development in educational administration. During the past two decades especially, the introduction of alternative approaches to theory development and an unwillingness by some theorists to accept what they perceive to be a provincial definition of theory have contributed to the current state of theory development while raising questions about the direction of future theory development in educational administration.

A central thesis of this study is that forty years after the adoption of a theoretical foundation (which was intended to eliminate confusion and achieve agreement among
professors, practitioners, and theorists), there is as much confusion and lack of agreement surrounding theory development in educational administration as there was at the inception of the Theory Movement. The author of this study has concluded that the history of theory development in educational administration supports that thesis.

A second thesis of this study is that theory development in educational administration could be enhanced by taking advantage of what Laudan (1977) referred to as a research tradition, which was imported into educational administration from the social sciences. In the author’s opinion, the study provides sufficient support for this thesis.

The third thesis of this study is that scientific inquiry does not exist in isolation from cultural influences. While the study seemed to confirm the thesis, the author has acknowledged that much more research would need to be done before this thesis could be accepted.
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CHAPTER 1

Theories, Paradigms, and Research Traditions

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to trace the history of theory development in educational administration in the United States during the second half of the twentieth century. While this study deals with the history of theory development in educational administration in the United States, it should not be seen as an attempt to deny or minimize the developments in educational administration that were occurring in other countries. A central thesis of this study is that forty years after the adoption of a theoretical foundation (which was intended to eliminate confusion and achieve agreement among professors, practitioners, and researchers in educational administration), there is as much confusion and lack of agreement surrounding theory development in educational administration as there was at the inception of the Theory Movement. A second thesis of this study is that theory development in educational administration could be enhanced by taking advantage of what Laudan (1977) referred to as a research tradition, which was imported into educational administration from the social sciences. A third thesis of this study is that scientific inquiry does not exist in isolation from cultural influences. To the
contrary, this study will seek to trace parallels between trends in society and trends in theory development in educational administration over the past forty years. As Carr (1961) expressed this relationship, "The men whose actions the historian studies were not isolated individuals acting in a vacuum: they acted in the context, and under the impulse of a past society" (pp. 41-42).

An integral part of this study is attempting to understand what has been meant by the term "theory," as used by theorists in educational administration. Also crucial to this study is an understanding of the period of time in educational administration known as the Theory Movement. According to Culbertson (1988), "CPEA [Cooperative Program in Educational Administration] professors played leading roles in transmitting simplified versions of logical positivism to the field [of educational administration] and in the process activated the 'theory movement,' whose goal was to build an 'administrative science'" (p. 15).

Theory in Educational Administration

The use of the term Theory Movement was not restricted to Culbertson (1988). Included among the many theorists, professors, and authors who have used that term to describe the initial period of theory development in educational administration are Foster (1986), Willower (1975); Iannaccone (1973); Griffiths (1975); and, Greenfield (1976).
(Both Griffiths and Greenfield figure prominently in this study of theory development in educational administration.)

Andrew Halpin was a leader in the Theory Movement, which he termed simply the New Movement. In his article entitled "Administrative Theory: The Fumbled Torch," Halpin (1970) declared:

Chronologically, we can divide the life span of the 'New Movement' to date into three periods. Obviously, all chronological classifications are arbitrary; social and historical change never takes place along a clean-cut line of either development or decay....With the aforesaid qualifications, I now use my pegs to demarcate the following three periods: 1947 to 1954; 1954 to 1964; and 1964 to 1969. (p. 158)

The dates established by Halpin (1970) are the ones which will be used in this study to describe time periods within the Theory Movement.

Before the Theory Movement there was no agreed upon definition of theory; the term had various and sundry meanings. Subsequent to the inception of the Theory Movement, the hoped-for precision of the meaning of theory was never fully realized. However, Griffiths (1977) shed light on this initial period in educational administration in which theories and theory development were recognized as necessary and beneficial. In his article titled "The Individual in Organization: A Theoretical Perspective," Griffiths (1977) described the guiding paradigm of the Theory Movement as having consisted of the Getzels-Guba social systems model, role theory, decision theory, bureaucracy, and
systems theory (p. 1). The theories that comprised the paradigm held common assumptions. According to Griffiths (1977):

They [the theories] assumed that organizations have goals that the members strive to attain, that there are roles, sets of expectations for the members that are agreed upon (the nomothetic dimension), that behavior is more or less governed by a set of rules (bureaucratic structure), that decision making is a systematic process, that only legitimate power is employed, and that merit is superior to politics. (p. 2)

Prior to 1954 educational administration lacked a theoretical foundation upon which to base research and practice. That was to change during the period that Halpin (1970) termed the second phase of the Theory Movement in educational administration (1954 to 1964). Beginning with the “conversion” of some educational administrators and professors of educational administration to the central role of theory development in educational administration, many of the theories that have come to play a prominent role have been borrowed from business and industry or have been developed in social and psychological research, while others have grown out of political and ideological thought (e.g., Marxism, critical theory, feminist theory). Regardless of their origins, these theories do not constitute original thought within educational administration (Griffiths, 1975); however, attempts to adapt and apply these theories within the parameters of educational administration have often been innovative.
The remainder of this chapter is intended to provide a backdrop against which the events of the past forty years touching upon theory development in educational administration will stand out in relief. Included will be a discussion of theory, the preferred definition of theory arising out of the Theory Movement, Kuhn's (1962/1970) ideas of paradigm and disciplinary matrix (1970), and Laudan's (1977) research tradition and reticulated model of scientific rationality (1984). There is an inherent vagueness in each of these terms as will be elucidated in this study.

A Need For Clearly Defined Theory

The term "theory" as used in educational administration prior to the Theory Movement and during its early years was frequently either misused or used in ways that demonstrated an inconsistent connotation. Often what was being described as theory was actually a concept, a principle, a taxonomy, or an eclectic grouping of ideas. This confusion of terminology within educational administration served to impede the development of a strong research base from which sound theory could be drawn. As Griffiths (1957) pointed out:

A good theory exists when there has been established a set of principles upon which action may be predicted. These principles give form to observations and constitute a logical and consistent whole built about a single theme or a
small number of themes. These principles constitute a very great challenge. As yet, there is no theory of administrative behavior which satisfies this definition. (pp. 359-360).

More than twenty years later, Griffiths (1979) was still lamenting the lack of a cogent definition of the term “theory,” stemming from a more serious absence of intellectual cohesion and direction. He stated that the parent of educational administration, organizational theory, was in a state of intellectual turmoil and if educational administration was not in a similar state, it should be (p. 43).

The intellectual turmoil harkened back to the early days of the Theory Movement. During the August 1954 annual meeting of the NCPEA, professors of educational administration met with behavioral scientists for the first time and received what amounts to a rebuke for sloppy, a-theoretical research (Halpin, 1970, p. 161). The educational administrators found that they did not even speak the same language as the behavioral scientists and that effectual communication was severely restricted as a result. Since that time, much energy and attention has been devoted to the development of administrative theory, as will become apparent in chapter three.

However, some important questions come to mind in response to this flurry of activity. Halpin, Griffiths, and others have asked if the majority of work in administrative theory was actually dealing with theory? And, was energy being expended on theory development or on talking about theory, with little or no actual work in theory
development occurring? Furthermore, what effect did this activity have, or was it likely to have, on educational administration? The responses to these questions were not encouraging, except in the sense that they provoked further critical examination of the state of research in educational administration.

Although a dominant definition of theory was developed in educational administration during the early years of the Theory Movement, there has never been a universally accepted definition (Kimbrough & Nunnery, 1976). Halpin (1958) wrote “The crux of the problem is that the term ‘theory’ carries the burden of too many different meanings” (p. 6). Sears (1950) used the terms theory and concept interchangeably, while Lane, Corwin, and Monahan (1967) saw concepts as crucial elements in theory construction.

Coladarci and Getzels (1955) wrote, “The term ‘theory’ is often used to mean general principles which seem to predict or account for events with an accuracy so much better than chance that we may say that the principles are ‘true’” (p. 5). Silver (1983) saw theory as “an integrated set of propositional statements, each of which is an integration of constructs representing clusters of concepts pertinent to the world of human experience” (p. 6). However, in looking at the historical development of theories in educational administration, it is important to present the definition of theory used by those who are considered to have been instrumental in the formation and direction of the Theory Movement within educational administration.
Both Halpin (1958, p. 6) and Griffiths (1959, p. 28) accepted Feigl’s (1951) use of the term “theory” and recommended that researchers and theoreticians restrict the use of the term accordingly. This definition of theory provided direction for an entire movement within educational administration, although it no longer holds sway as the sole, dominant force in theory development among theorists in educational administration (Hoy & Miskel, 1991, p. 2). Feigl (1951) defined theory as:

...a set of assumptions from which can be derived by purely logico-mathematical procedures a larger set of empirical laws. The theory thereby furnishes an explanation of these empirical laws and unifies the originally relatively heterogeneous areas of subject matter characterized by those empirical laws. (p. 182)

This brief definition of theory was to provide the direction of theory development in educational administration. As reflected in Feigl’s definition, an underlying hope, never to be realized, was that it would lead to the development of a grand unification theory in educational administration.

Logical Positivism

Logical positivism can be traced to what became known as the Vienna Circle, founded by M. Schlick. The logical positivists assume that there is one coherent system to
which all branches of science belong. Herda (1978) stated that a chief concern of logical positivists is the logical structure of scientific knowledge. Furthermore, in Herda's (1978) words:

Members of the Vienna Circle were adamantly opposed to the introduction of metaphysical entities into the realms of philosophy and science. In science, metaphysical entities were avoided by correspondence rules. Metaphysical entities are not phenomenal or observational entities, consequently, they must be theoretical terms....Theoretical entities, on the other hand, do not prove troublesome. Terms such as "mass" and "force", for example, can be introduced because their very nature admits of explicit phenomenal observational definition. (pp. 22-23)

In logical positivism, much emphasis is placed upon "logically perfect or ideal language" (Herda, 1978). The verification theory of meaning presupposes the meaning of words or word groupings based upon a set of rules which serve to regulate the way in which those words are used. For example, only that which can be described qualifies as a fact for the logical positivist; and, all facts are logical possibilities (Herda, 1978). In addition, logical positivists demonstrate a reliance on operational definitions (Garrison, 1986).

Feigl's definition reflects the logical positivist position, which became the guiding light for theory development in educational administration. Griffiths (1983) recalled:
"There is little question that the mode of scientific inquiry that dominated the period that coincided with the beginning years of the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) was logical positivism" (p. 202). Logical positivism recognized two forms of research—empirical research (scientific) and the logical analysis of science (philosophical). As Hempel (1959) stated, "The fundamental tenet of modern empiricism is the view that all non-analytic knowledge is based on experience. Let us call this thesis the principle of empiricism" (p. 108).

For logical positivists, only that which is based upon experience (the basic units of which are facts) is genuine (Brown, 1977). This position further states that facts are value-free, that ethical statements are void of content (i.e., they cannot be verified), and that empirical facts exist independent of explanatory theories and laws (Garrison, Parks, & Connelly, 1991). This is in contradistinction to the postpositivist position which states that neither fact and theory nor fact and value can be separated. As Evers and Lakomski (1991) observed:

In it [logical empiricism] may be found the bases for separating fact from value and observation from theory, for employing the methodological constraint of operational definitions, and for seeing administration theory as a classical hypothetico-deductive structure with laws at the top and facts at the bottom (Feigl 1953). (p. 3)
Logical positivism relies heavily upon the verification theory of meaning. The verification theory states that a proposition has meaning if and only if it can be empirically verified. Critics point out that a fundamental problem facing the logical positivists is "that scientific laws which are formulated as universal propositions cannot be conclusively verified by any finite set of observation statements" (Brown, 1977, p. 23).

As Garrison (1986) pointed out, logical positivism has been severely challenged by postpositivistic philosophy on several fronts. The first deals with "the fallacy of affirming the consequent" or drawing a false conclusion from two true premises. To illustrate this point, Garrison (1986) explained:

Premises one and two (P₁ and P₂) may be true and the conclusion (C) nonetheless false. This means that even a well-confirmed theory may still prove to be fallacious....To circumvent this problem, positivists have developed a number of powerful statistical methods and techniques. Nonetheless, as we all know from our first course in statistics, correlation does not imply causation" (p. 13).

The concept of underdetermination of theory either by logic, experience (experiment), or methodology presents another challenge to the positivist position. Underdetermination refers to the idea that a theory claiming to account for unobservable features in the world will always encounter rival theories that are not compatible with the first theory, but which also claim to account for those same unobservable features when all the data is taken into account (Audi, 1995). So, logic may be used to determine a theory
that will account for some phenomena. However, logic cannot determine a theory to the exclusion of all other possible theories; thus, the theory is said to be underdetermined.

Laudan (1984) presented a brief explanation of underdetermination of theories:

Probably more important than either of the previous nudges toward a focus on disagreement was a family of arguments concerning underdetermination. In brief, they amount to the claim that the rules or evaluative criteria of science do not pick out one theory uniquely or unambiguously to the exclusion of all its contraries.

(p. 15)

In other words, although the hierarchical view states that one factual claim excludes all rival claims, the concept of underdetermination would deny such an exclusive claim. The hierarchical view will be addressed later in this chapter under the reticulated model of scientific rationality.

The concept of underdetermination of theory by logic, experience, or methodology explains to some extent the conflicts that arose within the ranks of theorists within educational administration toward the end of the Theory Movement. That conflict focused on the fact that no theory then current could explain any aspect of the nature of organizations or of educational administration to the exclusion of other competing theories. Underdetermination of theory was a major challenge brought against positivism by postpositivist writers in organization science and educational administration.
Another problem faced by logical positivists is the “Quine-Duhem” thesis, which “says that no scientific proposition, including explanatory hypotheses, can be tested in isolation” (Garrison, 1986, p. 14). The reason for this is the logical interconnections between all statements in science (e.g., propositions, hypotheses, theories). For example, when one theoretical statement is reevaluated, other statements must also be reevaluated, because they are logically interconnected.

The theory-ladenness of experience deals with the objectivity of experience. Garrison used the term concept-ladenness interchangeably with theory-ladenness. “Concept-ladenness contends that there are no concept (or theory) independent facts, observations, or O-reports, as the empirical base of science is sometimes called....theory-ladenness challenges the very meaningfulness of facts independent of theory” (1986, p. 15). Facts are partially constituted by the theory that structures them and theories themselves are social constructions. Objectivity of experience must be understood in the context of theory-ladenness, which would indicate that such an objectivity is, indeed, at least partially subjective. Regarding observations in education, Evers and Lakomski (1991) explained:

However, interpretation is a theory laden exercise and can be expected to draw on, among other things, theories concerning the aims of education, what schools should be doing, and a host of other value-laden matters that are embedded in the
antecedent global perspective we bring to every act of interpretation. Our perspective on values thus appears to figure in, and be inseparable from, our empirical inquiry into an organization’s real goals. (p. 71)

Kuhn’s Paradigms

In his book entitled The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Kuhn (1962) presented the concept of paradigm, which was hailed as “an important step in a movement away from the positivistic empiricism that has held sway, among both philosophers and working scientists, for well over two decades” (Shapere, 1971, p. 172). However, critics charged that Kuhn’s (1962) paradigm was a highly ambiguous term, reportedly used in at least 22 different ways (Masterman, 1970) and “ultimately appears...to cover anything and everything that allows a scientist to do anything” (Shapere, 1971, p. 172).

Since the introduction of the paradigm concept by Kuhn in 1962, the term has been adopted as an integral part of the English vocabulary. Rarely a day goes by without the mention of a paradigm or a paradigm shift on radio or television, or in a newspaper or magazine article. And, although the term, as used by Kuhn (1962) was ambiguous, there are important aspects of definition which are germane to the study of theory development in educational administration.
Kuhn (1962, pp. 17-18) described a paradigm as a theory that seems to work better than competing theories, yet without being able to explain all the facts with which it is confronted. Furthermore, paradigms all share two common characteristics. As Kuhn (1962) stated, these paradigms were able to define the legitimate problems and methods of a research field because:

Their achievement was sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity. Simultaneously, it was sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve....I mean to suggest that some accepted examples of actual scientific practice--examples which include law, theory, application, and instrumentation together--provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research. (p. 10)

In his evaluation of the book in the "Postscript 1969" chapter of the second edition, Kuhn (1972) discussed the ambiguous nature of the term paradigm and responded to criticisms of that ambiguity by stating that paradigm was used in two different senses throughout much of the book. He used paradigm in one sense to represent "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (p. 175). The other sense in which Kuhn used paradigm was as a "sort of element in that constellation, the concrete puzzle-solutions which, employed as models or
examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles or normal science” (p. 175).

Kuhn (1970) discussed the process of paradigm selection as involving accepting one paradigm while simultaneously rejecting another, competing paradigm. Often, older theories may be rejected in favor of a newer theories because the newer theories seemingly are able to account for anomalies which could not be explained by the older theories. Yet, the process of paradigm selection is made more difficult because the battle between competing paradigms cannot be resolved by proofs. Instead, Kuhn likened the paradigm selection process to a conversion experience. Rather than the new paradigm leading scientists closer to the truth, the paradigm is chosen for its ability to explain a given phenomenon or a group of phenomena more adequately than its predecessor.

The difficulty for theorists in educational administration is that there is no articulated set of beliefs, values, and techniques which are held in common. Neither do those paradigms or models to which various theorists subscribe provide concrete puzzle-solutions for educational administration generally. Indeed, the sense in which the term paradigm seems to be most universally used within education (and more particularly educational administration) is as an area in which one develops theories and conducts research. However, what is meant by the term paradigm is rarely articulated; in fact, it is not clear that theorists in educational administration mean the same thing when they use the term paradigm. And, as Kendell and Byrne (1977) warned:
The lack of epistemological clarity in the field suggests two possible reasons that choosing a “paradigm” would be unwise. First, we do not know enough, and second, it would be capricious to assume that our field of study approximates those fields which Kuhn analyzes with his model. Our past history of making intuitive leaps for the sake of establishing “scientific” respectability have left us lacking rationales for using one conception of science as opposed to others. (p. 7)

Kuhn’s Incommensurability

Garrison (1986) pointed out that incommensurability is a result of theory-ladenness, which “means that no common ground or proportion can be found between two (or more) competing theories” (p. 16). Kuhn (1970) described incommensurability as a breakdown in communication between members of different language communities whose respective members have no recourse to a neutral language which can be used in the same way to state their individual theories. In the history of the development of scientific theories, Kuhn (1970) further argued that debates over theory-choice occurred between parties who may all have had recourse to the same information resulting from experimental or observational situations. The participants in those debates may even use the same vocabularies, yet may not be communicating. Rather than demonstrating the superiority of one theory over the other, each participant in the debate must attempt to use
persuasion to convert the other participants. The frequency with which this situation occurred convinced Kuhn (1970) that each party to such a debate "must be attaching some of those terms to nature differently, and their communication is inevitably only partial" (p. 198).

Such breakdowns in communication are comparable to the difficulties experienced by people speaking languages which are only apparently intelligible to one another. Kuhn (1970) explained this difficulty as an aspect of incommensurability:

Briefly put, what the participants in a communication breakdown can do is recognize each other as members of different language communities and then become translators....Since translation, if pursued, allows the participants in a communication breakdown to experience vicariously something of the merits and defects of each other's points of view, it is a potent tool both for persuasion and for conversion. But even persuasion need not succeed, and, if it does, it need not be accompanied or followed by conversion. (p. 203)

Kuhn (1970) extended his analogy beyond the idea of simply translating terms from one language to another. As with language acquisition, merely translating a theory into one's native language is not enough to "make it one's own" (p. 204). To do that, one must think and work in the previously foreign language (theory). However, when this occurs, an individual has moved from a situation of incommensurability to conversion.
And, according to Kuhn (1970) "The conversion experience that I have likened to a
gestalt switch remains, therefore, at the heart of the revolutionary process" (p. 204).
This idea of incommensurability versus conversion will be discussed in chapter four in
connection with the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy.

Kuhn’s Disciplinary Matrix

Although we are about to look at Laudan’s (1977) critique of Kuhn (1970), the
disciplinary matrix provides criteria that will be valuable in this study. In The Structure of
Scientific Revolutions, Thomas Kuhn (1962) offered an alternative to the logical positivist
philosophy. His response was rooted in the concept of paradigms which, unfortunately,
seemed to add as much in the way of ambiguity and confusion to the discussion as it
clarified. However, in the second edition of his book, Kuhn (1970) added a postscript
chapter in which he attempted to remedy criticisms of the first edition by introducing his
concept of disciplinary matrix: "...‘disciplinary’ because it refers to the common
possession of the practitioners of a particular discipline; ‘matrix’ because it is composed
of ordered elements of various sorts, each requiring further specification" (1970, p.
182).

The components of Kuhn’s disciplinary matrix include shared symbolic
generalizations, shared commitments to particular models, shared values, shared
exemplars, and journal publication. A cursory examination of the components of the
disciplinary matrix reveals a sharp departure from logical positivism, which stated that
facts are value-free. Also, Kuhn’s matrix and his explanation of it disclose a much deeper
understanding of the inherent vagueness of theories and paradigms. The logical positivist
position is much more convenient in that assumptions are clearly stipulated, definitions are
provincial, and the research results are much easier to compartmentalize. In commenting
on Kuhn’s (1970) disciplinary matrix, Griffiths (1977) said that “disciplinary matrix is no
improvement at all, and those who pervert the term theory will have a field day with
disciplinary matrix” (p. 9).

Laudan (1977) was careful to note that there was much that was valuable in
Kuhn’s work. However, Laudan pointed out what he considered to be the five most
significant flaws in Kuhn’s approach. According to Laudan (1977) those five flaws
include:

1. Kuhn’s failure to see the role of conceptual problems in scientific debate and
in paradigm evaluation.

2. Kuhn never really resolves the crucial question of the relationship between a
paradigm and its constituent theories.

3. Kuhn’s paradigms have a rigidity of structure which precludes them from
 evolving through the course of time in response to the weaknesses and anomalies
 which they generate.
4. Kuhn’s paradigms, or “disciplinary matrices,” are always implicit, never fully articulated.

5. Because paradigms are so implicit and can only be identified by pointing to their “exemplars” (basically an archetypal application of a mathematical formulation to an experimental problem), it follows that whenever two scientists utilize the same exemplars, they are, for Kuhn, *ipso facto* committed to the same paradigm (pp. 74-75).

Laudan (1977) attempted to correct the flaws in Kuhn’s paradigms and disciplinary matrices through a more universal concept known as a research tradition. Laudan’s (1977) depiction of research traditions would later be complemented by Laudan’s (1984) reticulated model of scientific rationality.

Research Traditions

The history of theory development within educational administration during the past fifty years fits well with, and is clarified by, Laudan’s (1977) definition of a research tradition as “a set of general assumptions about the entities and processes in a domain of study, and about the appropriate methods to be used for investigating the problems and constructing the theories in that domain” (p. 81). Laudan’s research tradition is inherently vague, yet such vagueness fits well with theory development in educational administration.
However, in considering the possibility of a research tradition in educational administration, a caveat is in order. Given the relatively short period of time in which educational administration has had theorists who have worked at theory development, the only way in which a research tradition could be considered is through the importing of a tradition from elsewhere. That tradition comes from the social sciences, which took educational administration under its wing in the early 1950s. More will be said about that in chapter two.

According to Laudan (1977), research traditions are neither explanatory nor predictive. The function of a research tradition is to provide the necessary tools for empirical and conceptual problem solving. So then, within any evolving research tradition, there will be “mutually inconsistent rivals” among developing theories, as successive theories attempt to correct and extend the work of earlier theories. And, although each successive theory may rival established theories, each does so through the application of the appropriate methods of the research tradition within which the theorist works.

An evaluation of the effectiveness of any given theory must then be carried out with two questions always in view: (1) Can a theory’s weaknesses be attributed to the application of inappropriate methodology—a departure from the research tradition? (2) Is the problem-solving effectiveness of the research tradition flawed, which, in turn, leads to weaknesses in one or more theories within that tradition? Asking the first question may lead to the rejection of a theory or to the correction and strengthening of that theory:
whereas asking the second may contribute to the evolution or growth of a research tradition through the modification or elimination of flawed methodology within that tradition. In either case, the end result of addressing those questions would be a stronger research tradition within which one finds more effective theories. Laudan (1977) explained how a research tradition may evolve:

During the evolution of any active research tradition, scientists learn more about the conceptual dependence and autonomy of its various elements; when it can be shown that certain elements, previously regarded as essential to the whole enterprise, can be jettisoned without compromising the problem-solving success of the tradition itself, these elements cease to be a part of the "unrejectable core" of the research tradition. (p. 100)

From the late 1940s through the early 1950s, the idea that a scientific, theoretical foundation was essential for the future health and development of educational administration found meager support among practicing administrators and professors of educational administration. Writing about those early years of the Theory Movement, Halpin (1966) essentially outlined the need for a research tradition within educational administration:

In our efforts to develop theory in educational administration, we have been impeded by three substantive problems: (1) We have not been clear about the meaning of theory. (2) We have tended to be preoccupied with taxonomies and
have confused these with theories. (3) We have not been sure of the precise
domain of the theory we are seeking to devise. (p. 6)

An interesting issue pertaining to the discussion of research tradition concerns Halpin’s
use of the definite article with the term theory in number three above (i.e., “the theory”).
Whether or not it was intentional, Halpin’s reference to “the theory” reflects a viewpoint,
implicit for the most part during the past fifty years, that, given enough investment of time,
energy, and financial support, it is possible to achieve one supreme theory to explain and
govern educational administration (a grand unification theory).

Griffiths’ (1959) writings also seem to provide implicit agreement with Laudan’s
description of a research tradition. In his chapter entitled “The Theory Problem”, Griffiths
discussed the finite nature of theories. He characterized theory building as a “pyramiding
task” whereby present theories are built upon the theories of the past. In Griffiths’ view,
the primary purpose of theories is the identification and clarification of problems, with
theories of increasing sophistication replacing earlier theories over time. The pyramiding
nature of theory development and evolution described by Griffiths reflects the hierarchical
structure of the positivist philosophy which was to shape and direct the Theory
Movement.

A major difficulty for theorists in educational administration that has arisen in the
past twenty years has been in the procedural realm. For much of the past fifty years,
theory development in educational administration has been characterized as rigid and
inflexible. The effect of such rigidity has been to discourage innovation and creativity in some areas of research. Laudan (1977) characterized this problem as one in which the research tradition stipulates “certain modes of procedure which constitute the legitimate methods of inquiry open to a researcher within that tradition” (p. 79). Should a researcher go beyond that which is considered legitimate modes of procedure, that individual steps outside the boundaries of the research tradition. In Laudan’s (1977) words:

Put simplistically, a research tradition is thus a set of ontological and methodological “do’s” and “don’ts.” To attempt what is forbidden by the metaphysics and methodology of a research tradition is to put oneself outside that tradition and to repudiate it. If, for instance, a Cartesian physicist starts talking about forces acting-at-a-distance, if a behaviorist starts talking about subconscious drives, if a Marxist begins speculating about ideas which do not arise in response to the economic substructure; in each of these cases, the activity puts the scientist in question beyond the pale. (p. 80)

Applying Laudan’s (1977) comments to theory development in educational administration may help to clarify what he was saying. Take for an example the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy. As will be explained in some detail in chapter four, the controversy was at first glance a classic example of Kuhn’s (1970) incommensurability. However, this situation was complicated by the fact that Greenfield (1978) “questioned not only a dominating theory in the study of organizations [but]....at the heart of the paper
were long-standing questions about the meaning of science in a subjectively construed world" (p. 2). Greenfield had, in Laudan's (1977) words, attempted what would be forbidden in a research tradition. Greenfield didn’t simply question a the idea of a dominant theory in educational administration or organization science, he questioned whether there could even be any legitimate organization theory. In such a situation two choices are available to theorists: either maintain certain methods of inquiry as the only legitimate methods within the research tradition or allow the research tradition to evolve to include other methods of inquiry hitherto considered illegitimate or outside the research tradition.

Laudan’s Reticulated Model of Scientific Rationality

Laudan (1977) discussed the research tradition as an alternative to Kuhn’s paradigms. While both models are in the postpositivist approach, there is a significant difference between research traditions on the one hand and paradigms on the other. That difference was more fully explicated by Laudan (1984) in his discussion of the reticulated model of scientific rationality. In his chapter entitled “Closing The Evaluative Circle: Resolving Disagreements About Cognitive Values,” Laudan (1984) presented the reticulated model of scientific rationality as a more adequate alternative to the hierarchical model, “perhaps more commonly known as the theory of instrumental rationality” (p. 23).
Laudan’s (1984) model of reticulation allows for interaction among factual, methodological, and axiological claims, whereas Kuhn’s (1962/1970) paradigms employed the classical hierarchical model which sees each successive level as superior to the one(s) below it. According to Laudan (1984):

Where the reticulational picture differs most fundamentally from the hierarchical one is in the insistence that there is a complex process of mutual adjustment and mutual justification going on among all three levels of scientific commitment. Justification flows upward as well as downward in the hierarchy, linking aims, methods, and factual claims. No longer should we regard any one of these levels as privileged or primary or more fundamental than the others. (pp. 62-63)

Laudan’s reticulated model reflects his argument that theories and methods change and values shift in science. When viewed in juxtaposition with the hierarchical model of justification, this is an important point in the study of theory development in educational administration. Within educational administration during the past fifty years, there has been an interesting dichotomy which has been the source of much contention. This dichotomy deals with the relationship between theory and practice, and mirrors, to some degree, the two models discussed by Laudan (1984).

During the last forty to fifty years, when theorists in educational administration have discussed theory, the underlying model has been the hierarchical model of justification. However, research and practice often have been conducted more along the
lines of Laudan's reticulated model of justification. The dichotomy between theory and practice reflects an almost irrational commitment to a parochial view of science (logical positivism) and what constitutes scientific inquiry. And, while theorists in educational administration have given lip service to changing theories, changing methods, and shifting values, their writings more often than not demonstrate that they still cling to the safe harbor of logical positivism, Feigl, and the hierarchical model of justification.

The remainder of this study will examine theory development in educational administration from 1947 to 1995. Many of the arguments for or against logical positivism, phenomenology, critical theory, feminist theory and other views are either-or arguments. Most theorists argue for a particular theory or group of theories to the exclusion of others; few theorists call for a synthesis. Perhaps Laudan's (1984) argument for a research tradition within which competing theories and paradigms could coexist and compensate one another would provide for a more inclusive, a more effective body of knowledge within educational administration. This author believes that such an approach would enhance theory development within educational administration and would lead to a greater application of theory to practice.
CHAPTER 2

The Theory Movement in Educational Administration: 1947 to 1957

Introduction

Any success that can attributed to the Theory Movement in educational administration was due in large measure to the contributions of researchers carrying out studies in various fields during the first half of this century. Educational administration prior to the Theory Movement focused primarily on the principles and practice of administration (Halpin, 1958; Halpin, 1966), while theory development in the social sciences and business was concerned with the nature of organizations, organizational behavior, and leadership. Many of the resulting theories were eventually incorporated into the Theory Movement, with some theorists (Griffiths, 1956; Bass, 1960; Petruzzo and Bass, 1961; Fiedler, 1967; Argyris, 1976; Hunt & Larson, 1979; Misumi, 1985) continuing to concentrate on leadership theory through the 1950s into the 1960s and beyond.

As in other areas of theory development, there has been an eclectic aspect to theory development in educational administration, in which theorists have borrowed
concepts from earlier theories to incorporate into their present work. Petrullo and Bass (1961) put it this way:

Each such theory seems to have stressed some factor at the expense of others. In doing so, concepts were developed which are the necessary bases of our current theories. What was at one time the crux of some major theory—such as leadership resulted from some personality trait, or was determined situationally, or was dependent upon culture, or arose from interaction of peculiar forces—today seems to be but one of the many items considered in the complicated leadership equation.

(p. xii)

A brief look at some of the theories developed and employed throughout the 20th century may help to illustrate what Petrullo and Bass (1961) were saying. The next section will provide a few categories of leadership theories that have been influential at some point during this century.

Leadership Theories

Leadership theories in the 20th century may be divided roughly into two categories. Prior to World War II, leadership research focused heavily upon psychological traits. Following World War II, the focus of research shifted to "sociological factors of groups" (Hanson, 1991, p. 183). Petrullo and Bass (1961), Stogdill (1974), Hanson
(1991), and Bass (1990) all give similar accounts of the historical progression of leadership research from the study of inherent personality traits common to leaders to the study of group factors that lead to the emergence of leaders. Most research into group factors prior to the mid- to late-1940s was seminal in comparison to later developments.

As Bass (1990) stated:

The pure trait theory fell into disfavor. Stogdill's (1948) critique....concluded that both person and situation had to be included to explain the emergence of leadership. But as will be seen....traits of leadership, as such, still are of paramount importance to the subject. (p. 38)

**Great Man Theories**

Many variants of this theory were popular in the early decades of this century. The basis for these theories was the idea that heredity played a major determining role in the formation of leaders. In other words, leaders are born, not made. The Great Man theories gained prominence as a result of studies of national and cultural crises of ages past. Throughout history, great men have risen to the challenge of grave crises and have successfully led their people or nation through storm to sanctuary of one form or another. Examples of these great men from history include Moses, Luther, Napoleon, Churchill, and Ghandi.
Darwinism has been used by some to explain this string of great men through the ages. Stogdill (1974) cited Wiggam (1931) as one proponent of the view that the "survival of the fittest and intermarriage among them produces an aristocratic class differing biologically from the lower classes. Thus, an adequate supply of superior leaders depends upon a proportionately high birth rate among the abler classes."

**Trait Theories**

The Great Man theories led some to consider what it was about these great men of history that catapulted them to prominence. If there were common characteristics among great men, it might be possible to identify those characteristics in men living in contemporary society. This line of inquiry led to the development of the Trait Theories of Leadership.

According to trait theorists—L. L. Bernard (1926), Bingham (1927), Tead (1929), Page (1935), and others—leaders are a distinct group separated from the general population by traits or attributes that uniquely qualify them for leadership roles. As in the Great Man Theories of Leadership, Trait Theories promoted the belief that leaders are born, not made. Freud's view that an individual's personality is completely formed within the first few years of life lent further support to the writings of trait theorists. Thus, the focus of trait theories was not upon leader development but upon leader identification.
Situational Leadership

Earlier versions of Situational Leadership, known as Environmental Leadership, saw the environment as the key factor in producing leaders in times of crises. This is basically the same view espoused under the rubric Situational Leadership. Bass (1990) wrote the following about Situational Leadership: "In direct opposition to trait theorists, situational theorists suggested that leadership is all a matter of situational demands, that is, situational factors determine who will emerge as leader. According to situationalism, the leader is the product of the situation...." (p. 38).

The work of Mumford (1909), Bogardus (1918), Hocking (1932), and Person (1928), to name a just a few early researchers, successively proposed and enhanced the role of the environment or situation (including group dynamics) in the emergence of individuals to fill the role of leader. Later researchers (e.g., Bennis, 1963) began to perceive more complex interactions among factors in a given situation. One of the more recent theories about Situational Leadership is that of Hersey and Blanchard (1988). Hersey, Angelini, and Carakushansky (1982) explained the value of this model:

According to Situational Leadership, there is no single best method of influencing the behavior of subordinates. Rather, the task-relevant maturity levels of individuals or groups in a given situation tends to determine which leadership styles are likely to achieve the highest results.
The Situational Leadership Model...provides leaders with a diagnostic procedure for assessing the maturity of followers regarding specific tasks; it is a prescriptive tool for selecting the leadership style with the highest probability of success.

(p. 217)

As mentioned in the above quoted passage, a distinguishing feature of Situational Leadership is the emphasis that is placed on the followers, rather than on the leader. In this theory, as the followers' maturity level increases, less structure and emotional support is required of the leader.

Personal-Situational Theories

These theories sought to provide an explanation for multiple sets of forces that interact and influence leadership; those forces are the individual and situational factors. Bass (1990) cited Westburgh's (1931) suggestion "...that the study of leadership must include the affective, intellectual, and action traits of the individual, as well as the specific conditions under which the individual operates" (p. 40). In line with this suggestion, theorists investigating the relationship between individual and situational factors attempted to compensate for inadequacies in both trait and situational theories to account for the unknown forces that influence leadership and cause effective leaders to emerge. By looking at the interactions between factors, theorists hoped to provide a more
sophisticated theory to explain the dynamics of leadership than either Trait or Situational theories could do by themselves. In Kuhnian terms this would have been considered a paradigm shift.

Personal-Situational Theories were expanded following World War II as research led to further theory development. Gerth & Mills (1952), Gibb (1954), and Stogdill and Shartle (1955) all contributed to the refinement of personal-situational theories by including motives, public perceptions, multiple publics' perceptions, status, and intra-group interactions as factors to be considered in the study of leadership.

The Eager and the Reluctant: 1947 to 1954

National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration

In October of 1947 a small group of professors of educational administration and school administrators met for ten days in Endicott, New York. This group formed the organization known as the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA). The significance of that first meeting is not so much what was discussed as that for the first time there was a forum for discussion which opened the door to future meetings of greater breadth and depth of issues. Developing Leaders for
Education, as quoted in *The Elementary School Journal* (December, 1949), provided a glimpse into some of those issues:

The direction of progress during the next decade for the educational system appears to be toward relating education with contemporary and emerging society. Three factors—the task to be accomplished for the welfare of mankind, the psychology of how people learn, and the philosophy of democratic means—indicate that the basic method and purpose of education must become that of *improving the quality of daily living in communities*. (p. 196)

Not only did the NCPEA outline an ambitious agenda, it also framed that agenda in terms that would strike a responsive chord in those individuals who read their statement on desirable educational leadership. The use of terms such as “the welfare of mankind” and “improving the quality of daily living in communities” would have a definite, even reassuring, impact on an audience who, only two years before, had witnessed the terrific devastation caused by atomic weapons. During the ensuing two years, there were weekly, and sometimes daily, reminders—through discussions, editorials, and report in newspapers, magazines, and radio—of the horrors resulting from the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the terror inspired by predictions of a tenuous future for citizens of an atomic society. At the same time, a second message was being disseminated—namely, that science held the keys to the future. In such a setting, the NCPEA agenda was not only ambitious in its scope, it also was bold in its implicit optimism.
The NCPEA met for the second time in September 1948 in Madison, Wisconsin. In attendance were representatives from sixty-one institutions of higher learning. According to the December 1948 issue of The Elementary School Journal, steps were taken to constitute the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration as a permanent organization. The Elementary School Journal reported that the 1948 conference focused upon three questions which they considered to be crucial to the improvement of leadership in education:

1. What is involved in education for the improvement of community living?
2. What should be the nature of the leadership process?
3. How can we assist in the identification, preparation, and emergence of educational leadership? (p. 196)

Support from the Kellogg Foundation

During this same year of 1948, the American Association of School Administrators announced its sponsorship of five regional conferences during 1948-1949 as the initial phase of a project designed to ascertain the main problems of school administration, identify resources within each region to be used to solve those problems, including input from universities and other public resources. Expenses for the five conferences were underwritten by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation (The Elementary School Journal,
December, 1949, p. 197). This was the first step in a project being developed jointly by the American Association of School Administrators and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, through Hugh B. Masters, educational director of the Kellogg Foundation. This joint venture eventually was to become known as the Kellogg Project, with initial funding of $3,352,167 (The Nation's Schools, November, 1950, pp. 31-34).

Clear Lake Camp, near Battle Creek, Michigan, hosted the third annual conference of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration from August 29 to September 3, 1949. This conference was attended by over 100 professors of education and school administrators. For the first time, an NCPEA conference was underwritten by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, which by that time was involved with both the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration and the American Association of School Administrators.

During the annual conference of 1949, three of the seven conference committees discussed topics which would help further the cause of theory development in educational administration, although each of the seven committees was dealing with concepts and principles which would contribute to later theory development. By now it was also becoming a conference tradition to set up a project to be completed by the following year's annual meeting. The major project for 1949-1950 sought information on ways for each institution to improve its program of leadership preparation and development in educational administration. According to The School Executive for October 1949:
The major areas for study are: (1) Philosophies which undergird programs for the preparation of educational leaders; (2) Qualities of leadership; (3) The organization and operation of the program; (4) Programs for the preparation of educational administrators; (5) Faculty and student personnel policies; and (6) Evaluation of programs for the preparation of administrative leaders. (p. 67)

A historical note of interest in education concerns a news item appearing in the same issue of The School Executive (October, 1949), in which it was reported that the Veteran's Administration had recently taken steps to "suppress the flourishing development of educational institutions which it charges are being created to attract veterans who are more interested in the subsistence provisions of the G. I. Bill than they are in education" (p. 68).

The Veterans' Administration further reported that approximately 100,000 veterans were preparing to enter the teaching profession. And, as reported in The School Executive, some private vocational and technical institutions were charging that the Veterans' Administration was usurping authority that rightly belonged to state departments of education.

During this same period, when the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration was in its infancy, professional journals were publishing research articles. However, the research was not theory oriented; rather, the research dealt with such topics as improved standards and qualifications in the selection and
preparation of administrative leaders. Research often focused on issues such as personal traits of school administrators, job analysis of school administrators, tenure of administrators, and salaries of administrators. This research was often based upon surveys and status studies (Hagman & Schwartz, October, 1952, pp. 277-284). At times, the findings were presented with no conclusions being drawn and no recommendations for further study (Reusser & Bemis, 1949, pp. 291-297).

From 1947 to 1949, the groundwork was being laid for the introduction of theory development in educational administration primarily through the establishment of professional organizations. These organizations held annual meetings and, in cooperation with the Kellogg Foundation, worked toward funding of programs which would eventually culminate in a concerted effort aimed at theory development in educational administration. Yet, an interesting theme that runs concurrently with the formative stages of theory development is the frequent criticism of theory in educational administration. This situation can be illustrated through the comments made by two professors of educational administration in an article appearing in the January 1950 issue of The School Executive. Bascom H. Story, associate professor of education at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, stated that one of the competencies which would be demanded of educational leadership was “the knowledge of and dedication to the use of the scientific method in the solution of educational problems...” (p. 23).
Later in the same article, H. L. Caswell, dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, was quoted in the following context: "Another problem which Caswell declares 'merits increased attention is providing a balance of practical work and theoretical study. The school administrator must be able to do things, not just talk about them'" (Caswell, 1950, p. 24). Although Dean Caswell spoke of theory, his use of the term appears to have been more as a generic term covering all ideas about educational administration that had no practical bearing upon the "real world" faced daily by school administrators, or ideas that had no immediate practical application.

This disparaging view of theory was a dominant one during the late 'forties and through the 'fifties in educational administration. Looking back at his experiences during this period, Andrew Halpin (1970) described the situation in his "somewhat off-beat fashion":

The courses at that time were essentially how-to-do-it affairs. Many of the professors in the field were ex-superintendents of schools who, it would seem, had chosen the professorship as a form of early retirement. Instruction was based upon neither theory nor empirical research... We witnessed, to a discomforting degree, instruction by anecdote, often given by men in their anecdotage. (pp. 159-160)

During the early years of the Theory Movement the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration made great strides in increasing membership and
establishing cooperative efforts among institutions which had programs designed to prepare administrative leaders. Early NCPEA projects included research in the areas of educational philosophy, community relations, cooperative action with other service agencies, evaluation, personnel policies, and administrative practice. Still, support of theory development in educational administration was tenuous, at best, and often lacking altogether.

Much of the groundwork for the education of practicing administrators and professors of administration in the area of theory development was laid by professional journals. The School Executive was instrumental in that regard. This was not surprising, because the chairman of the Board of Editors of The School Executive, Walter D. Cocking, was a co-founder, member, and ardent supporter of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, as well as the contact person for those seeking information about the NCPEA and its publications (The Elementary School Journal, December, 1949, p. 196).

The School Executive published detailed accounts of the annual meetings of the NCPEA as well as other features—including a progress report in July of 1950 entitled “Educational Planning.” This issue of The School Executive reflected the theme of the upcoming annual meeting to be held from August 27 to September 2 in Ithaca, New York. The theme of the 1950 annual meeting of the NCPEA was “Preparing Administrators.” So, the July issue of The School Executive served a dual purpose—to bring to the attention
of its readers the work of the NCPEA and to advertise the upcoming annual meeting, where readers could learn more about what they had read.

In addition to professors and deans from seventy-two institutions of higher learning, there also were representatives from the National Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Education Association, the National School Boards Association, and the National Citizens Commission for Public Schools, as well as many others (Miller, 1951, p. v). According to Miller (1951), one purpose of the work of the NCPEA was "to synthesize the research of related fields for use where it is applicable to our own" (p. iii). There was no elaboration on what was meant by that statement, but at the very least it was a foreshadowing of the radical shift in attitude toward the role of theory in educational administration that would occur over the next few years.

The Kellogg Project

Possibly the most significant event of the Ithaca Conference meeting was "the announcement of institutions selected as developmental centers in School Administration for grants from the Kellogg Foundation" (Miller, 1951, p. v). This announcement was significant for two reasons. First, this was the beginning of a ten-year period of funding through foundation grants by the Kellogg Foundation for research in school administration. Second, the grant by the Kellogg Foundation led to the initiation of the
Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA). As Griffiths (1959) recalled, "The interest created, the funds and facilities provided, and the talent recruited have in the past few years moved the field farther along than it had moved in the preceding half-century" (p. 5).

The CPEA was a cooperative effort between the American Association of School Administrators, the CSSO (Chief State School Officers), and the division of county and rural area superintendents of the National Education Association—which were responsible for obtaining the grant from the Kellogg Foundation—and the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (The School Executive, February, 1952, p. 71).

The Kellogg Project initially designated six regional research centers and later expanded the number to nine. The regions organized around universities which served as the administrative centers for their respective regions: Harvard University; Teachers College, Columbia; Peabody College for Teachers; University of Chicago; The Ohio State University; Stanford University; University of Texas; Leland Stanford University; and University of Oregon (Virginia Journal of Education, April, 1953, p. 29). Each regional center had specific research areas for which it was responsible. "The C.P.E.A. in New England has been entered upon with the purpose of advancing school-community administration" (The Nation's Schools, December, 1951, p. 46). The CPEA in the Middle Atlantic Region studied questions such as "What is and what should be the role of
the educational administrator?” (The Nation’s Schools, January, 1951, p. 48). In the Midwest Region of the CPEA, the problem of school district reorganization was given high priority (The Nation’s Schools, May, 1951, p. 44).

It has already been mentioned that recognition of the need for research in the area of theory development in educational administration was beginning to take shape within the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration in 1950. Recognition of that need was also coming from other quarters. For instance, in his book The Nature of the Administrative Process, Sears (1950) mentioned that there was “scant” literature devoted solely to the study of the theory of administration. Furthermore, the study of the theory of administration was a recent phenomenon and the field was not well organized. Whatever theory of administration was developed would come from a study of the practice of administration (pp. 19-20).

Charters (1952) echoed Sears’ (1950) use of the term “scant” in his article “The School as a Social System”:

We find that research on the school as a social institution is scanty; educational research has been directed primarily toward describing practices and technics of school personnel rather than inquiring into the entire system of interrelationships among them and the social consequences of these relationships. As a result, many of the researches which we shall discuss were conducted outside of education [emphasis added]. Our selection of these researches was made on the basis of their
implications, both substantive and methodological, for the investigation of the
social structure of the school (1952, pp. 41-42).

This excerpt from Charters (1952) provides crucial insight into the direction that
the Theory Movement in educational administration was to take. If the Fourth Report of
the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (Miller, 1951)
foreshadowed the shift in attitude toward the role of theory and theory development, then
Charters' (1952) article defined the way in which theory development in educational
administration would be approached. Because there was scant research available within
education, researchers would have to go outside of education to appropriate the results of
research in other fields. Furthermore, the traditional emphasis upon practices and
techniques was wearing thin—it was proving to be inadequate as an answer to some of the
questions that researchers were beginning to ask.

By the winter of 1952, the investment of time, energy, expertise, and money began
to pay off. In February of that year, the American Association of School Administrators
hosted its first regional conference, the theme of which was “Leadership for an American
Education.” The conference, held in St. Louis, attracted over 9,000 educators (The
School Executive, April, 1952, p. 75).

The early years of the Theory Movement in educational administration was a
period in which new ideas were proposed and traditional ways of approaching the
identification and preparation of administrative leaders were challenged. While little effort
was expended in developing either a definition of theory or actual theory development, progress was made in laying the ground work for the next phase of the Theory Movement.

In the same issue of The School Executive, an article entitled “The Training of Educational Leaders” inadvertently provided a reminder that, in the midst of a period in which speeches and writings were punctuated with phrases such as “Democratic Leadership” and “Education in a Democracy”, drastic changes were still needed:

The county system is composed of four high schools, two junior high schools, and 33 white elementary schools. There are six Negro elementary schools in the county system. The city system of Athens is composed of three white and one Negro school [emphasis added] (The School Executive, April, 1952, p. 49).

While a detailed review of the segregated educational system in America may not be germane to this study, the existing conditions during the early years of the Theory Movement would prove to be significant in light of the landmark decision in 1954 by the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. In that decision, the Supreme Court ruled that “separate” is not “equal” in education, creating the need for a shift in the preparation of administrative leaders in education. Coincidentally, this same year (1954) was cited by Halpin (1970) as “perhaps the single most important date in the history of the ‘New Movement’...” (p. 161). The “New Movement” was the name by which Halpin referred to the Theory Movement.
During the first seven years of the Theory Movement (1947 to 1954), research in other fields was progressing. Many of the theories developed by behavioral scientists would be appropriated by researchers and theorists in educational administration over the next few decades. As Campbell et al. (1987) reported:

The problems of postwar readjustment gave the social sciences new status in American universities. Sociologists and psychologists, for example, were recognized as never before for their knowledge of societal change and their ability to help understand and resolve social problems. (p. 12)

As will be demonstrated, much of the energy and direction for the Theory Movement in educational administration, from 1954 onward, would come from researchers trained in academic disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and management (e.g., Parsons, 1956; Thompson, 1956). An early contribution to this trend was Getzels' (1952) article, "A Psycho-Sociological Framework for the Study of Educational Administration (pp. 235-246).
Moving In and Setting Up House: 1954 to 1957

The Social Sciences Invaginate Educational Administration

The NCPEA annual meeting of 1954 was held in Denver, Colorado—an event cited by Halpin (1970) as “perhaps the single most important date in the history of the ‘New Movement’” (p. 161). The tone of the meeting was confrontational, at least on the part of the social scientists present who took an active part in the discussions. As Boyan (1988) recalled:

Several social scientists were sent by these [CPEA] centers to Denver for the 1954 NCPEA meeting. They were highly articulate and, in many cases, charismatic individuals who had a message to give....They were also deeply critical of the substance of educational administration and that the body of knowledge within educational administration was not established upon a theoretical foundation. (p. 28)

Boyan’s phrase “deeply critical” is a euphemistic appraisal of the comments made by the behavioral scientists to the professors of educational administration at the 1954 NCPEA annual meeting. During that conference, the professors of educational administration received from the behavioral scientists what amounted to a rebuke for sloppy, atheoretical research (Halpin, 1970, p. 161). The professors of educational administration

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found that they did not even speak the same language as the behavioral scientists and that communication was severely restricted as a result. What occurred at that meeting and at subsequent meetings for a period of time was what Kuhn (1962) would later refer to as “talking past one another” (p. 147).

The social scientists stated the need for better research into educational administration, that the research must be theory based, that social science was to be the source of those theories, and that they [social scientists] were the ones who could provide guidance for the professors of educational administration (Boyan. p. 28). Admittedly, it is difficult to read an account of this 1954 NCPEA conference meeting without sensing at least a hint of condescension on the part of the social scientists toward the educational administrators. Indeed, Halpin’s (1970) recollection of that meeting strongly suggests a relationship reminiscent of that of teacher to student.

Although Boyan (1988) and Halpin (1970) are in essential agreement concerning the general details and results of the 1954 NCPEA conference meeting, Halpin, one of the three social scientists who had a major impact upon the meeting, identifies the social scientists present at that meeting as the leaders of the “New Movement”. Furthermore, Halpin (1970) established three points that are crucial to the study of theory development in educational administration within the larger framework of a research tradition.

Now what did the leaders of the “New Movement” emphasize? In short, three things:
1. That the role of theory be recognized and that "nakedly empirical research" be rejected in favor of hypothetico-deductive research rooted in theory.

2. That educational administration not be viewed provincially, and especially as distinct from other kinds of administration. That administration, as administration, without adjectival qualifiers, is a proper subject for study and research.

3. That, because education can be construed best as a social system, educational administration must, in turn, draw heavily from insights furnished by the behavioral sciences.

In retrospect, these three recommendations certainly do not appear momentous. Yet the very fact that these three objectives had to be declared speaks eloquently about what had been "the state of the art" in educational administration prior to 1954 (Halpin, 1970, pp. 162-163).

Halpin’s (1970) article raises several points that must be considered if the Theory Movement, and subsequent work in theory development, is to be placed in a historical perspective. First, consider Halpin’s statement that the three objectives spoke eloquently of "the state of the art" in educational administration. In Halpin’s opinion, and in the opinion of the other social scientists present at the 1954 NCPEA conference who were to become the "leaders" of the Theory Movement, "the state of the art" of educational administration prior to 1954 was neither artful nor scientific.
The social scientists in attendance at the 1954 NCPEA conference meeting had come prepared for confrontation; they brought with them an agenda that included a new direction for educational administration. These social scientists had been working with regional centers of the CPEA for the past few years, ostensibly as consultants (Boyan, 1988). Yet, at least three of the social scientists provided more than consulting services; they had been conducting research at various CPEA centers, most notably at the Midwest Administration Center at the University of Chicago.

Thus, over a period of a few years leading up to the August 1954 meeting, social scientists, through their relationship with the CPEA, had been gaining influence at the regional centers with which they were associated. This relationship provided the impetus for change that, slowly but surely, would revolutionize thought about what constituted research and theory in educational administration. The August 1954 NCPEA conference provided a platform by which the social scientists could reach a large and influential audience gathered at one location; they did not fail to take advantage of the opportunity. In Boyan's (1988) words: “They [social scientists] were extremely effective in spreading “the word,” and converting virtually everyone in attendance” (p. 28).

The second point that must be considered from Halpin’s (1970) article is the insistence by the social scientists that researchers in educational administration employ “hypothetico-deductive research rooted in theory” (p. 162) to the exclusion of “nakedly empirical research” (p. 162) (i.e., relying on practical experience and lacking in theory or
system). This strong opinion about the nature of research had its origins in Feigl’s (1951) definition of theory and formed the basis of theory development in educational administration that reflected “the logical positivist mode” (Griffiths, 1983, p. 202), and that has dominated theory and research in educational administration for the past forty years. Ironically, the proponents of this position on what constituted theory never seemed to conform to their own stringent definition of theory. Griffiths’ (1983) evaluation of the research done by some of the leaders of the Theory Movement provides an interesting insight:

The first striking conclusion that results from a study of Halpin’s work is the almost complete lack of theory in any of it....Although the prevalent scientific philosophy in the rhetoric of the day was logical positivism, no study or line of studies was done completely in the positivist mode. Getzels and Guba, and Gross, Mason, and McEachern came the closest, but still fell far short. Halpin, and Hemphill, Griffiths, and Frederiksen did not even try. (pp. 205, 207)

A third point raised by Halpin (1970) that deserves consideration is that administration “without adjetival qualifiers” (p. 163) should be the focus of study and research. Litchfield (1956) made a similar plea. “We seem to be saying that there is business administration and hospital administration...and school administration. But there is no administration” (p. 7). This has been a point of contention for the past several decades with researchers on both sides of the debate. So far, there has been no acceptable
compromise or resolution. However, the point here is that the issue of whether educational administration should be considered a distinct entity or as one of several forms of administration has significantly influenced researchers in their approach to theory development.

The fourth point to be considered from Halpin’s (1970) article is the depiction of education “as a social system” (p. 163). In an article entitled “Categories of the Orientation and Organization of Action”, Parsons and Shils (1962) described a system as follows:

The most general and fundamental property of a system is the interdependence of parts or variables. Interdependence consists of the existence of determinate relationships among the parts or variables contrasted with randomness of variability. In other words, interdependence is the order in the relationship among the components which enter into a system (p. 107).

In other words, systems theory attempts to describe the relationship between the components of an organization and its environment (internal and external). There are two types of systems—open (including the external environment) and closed (excluding the external environment). These two types are used to categorize theorists and their theories. Thus, the closed system would describe such theorists as Taylor and Weber. The theories developed by these two men are considered closed systems because interaction between the organization and the external environment is not taken into
consideration. Open systems theories have been developed relatively more recently and see the role of the external environment as crucial to understanding the way in which organizations function.

A comment on a systems approach to organizations by Foster (1986) is crucial to developing a historical understanding of theory development in educational administration:

A systems approach to organizational analysis is the dominant framework, yet one that is not entirely successful for reasons to be developed later. For now, however, we can state that the transition from organism to organization results in reifying the organization, treating it as a thing or as an organism itself. As a result these conceptions lose any theory of action: what people do is secondary to how the system functions. In the end we lose sight of the organization as a constructed endeavor that reflects human intention and action (p. 124).

On the Road to Respectability and Credibility

The systems approach to organizations was being established in the 1950s and became the dominant theory within the Theory Movement, out of which all other theories would develop. Foster’s comment was made in hindsight at a time when systems theory was no longer king in educational administration. However, from the mid-1950s through much of the 1970s, the idea of the organization as organism held sway and was not open
to question or challenge. That this was the case would be demonstrated in grand style through the position taken by T. Barr Greenfield beginning in 1974 that the organization was not an organism with its own personality, preferences, and goals, and that the organization did not exist as a socially distinct reality. But that was still twenty years away.

The leaders of the Theory Movement emphasized that education could be construed best as a social system. Thus, anyone questioning systems theory as it applied to education by implication was challenging the movement and its leaders. It is important to understand that the three things emphasized by the leaders of the "New Movement" as recalled by Halpin (1970) determined the direction that theory and research in educational administration were to take for the next two decades and beyond.

The leaders of the Theory Movement charted a course that was designed to bring theory in educational administration to a new level of respectability and scientific credibility. However, by limiting theory to that which conformed to Feigl's definition, they were also seriously restricting the very thing they were attempting to promote. The charge of provincialism in educational administration prior to 1954 made by leaders of the Theory Movement was to come home to roost in later years. Within a decade, the Theory Movement would begin to petrify, in part as a result of a provincial view of what constituted theory in educational administration.
Yet, in 1954 the future of theory development in educational administration appeared bright and limitless to the architects of the Theory Movement. And, the Theory Movement had more than just the zeal of its founders in its favor. The founders, along with those who were to become leaders in the movement within a short period of time, were prolific and articulate writers. Thus, as the earlier quote by Griffiths (1983) attests, while the leaders of the Theory Movement may not have followed their own prescription for conducting research, they were expert at promoting that prescription.

The 1954 conference of the NCPEA would prove to be a catalyst for theory development within educational administration. Through the financial support of the Kellogg Foundation, the NCPEA according to Halpin (1970) sponsored the book, *Administrative Behavior in Education*, and elected as the editors Campbell and Gregg (1957). Significantly, this book contained one chapter, by Griffiths, entitled “Toward A Theory of Administrative Behavior.” Furthermore, for the first time in a book on educational administration, a chapter written by a behavioral scientist was included. (p. 161)

In the chapter referred to by Halpin (1970), Griffiths made an explicit statement about what constitutes theory. This clarification by Griffiths would be seen again and again through the next several decades in various articles and books. Even as early as 1957, Daniel Griffiths was viewed as an authority on theory development in educational administration. Griffiths’ (1957) view of what constituted a good theory is as follows:
A good theory exists when there has been established *a set of principles upon which action may be predicted*. These principles give form to observations and constitute a logical and consistent whole built about a single theme or a small number of themes.... These principles constitute a very great challenge. As yet, there is no theory of administrative behavior which satisfies this definition....

(pp. 359-360)

Another book was written in response to the 1954 conference, *The Use of Theory in Educational Administration* by Coladarci and Getzels (1955). In Griffiths’ (1959) words, “The volume marked the beginning of a devastatingly critical analysis of educational administration as a field of study” (p. 3). At the NCPEA conference the following year (1955), the educational administrators present were made aware that their profession emphasized form rather than substance. This initial attempt at inoculation against “sloppy, a-theoretical research” (p. 161) was to be followed up at irregular intervals by booster shots.

Those booster shots would not be provided solely by the NCPEA. The American Association of School Administrators was also taking an active interest in shoring up the foundations of educational administration. A special meeting was sponsored by the AASA in February 1956. This meeting was attended by representatives from institutions of higher learning who had been approached at the August 1956 meeting of the NCPEA and had responded favorably to the idea of cooperation among universities for the purpose of

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studying educational administration. A grant had been made by the Kellogg Foundation earlier in 1956 to support the initiation of such an organization. As a result of the February meeting, a recommendation to proceed with planning was made. Further organizational planning was carried out at a meeting in November 1956. Representatives from thirty-two institutions worked to develop “the basic organizational framework of the University Council for Educational Administration” (Griffiths, 1959, p. 6).

The UCEA wasted little time in making itself useful. On November 11, 12, and 13, 1957, the University Council for Educational Administration cosponsored, with the University of Chicago, a seminar entitled “Toward the Development of a Theory of Educational Administration”. The eight major papers presented at that seminar were compiled into a volume entitled Administrative Theory in Education, edited by Andrew Halpin (1958). Within ten short years, educational administration had moved from a small group of professors of educational administration and school administrators meeting in Endicott, New York, to a National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration and the University Council for Educational Administration.

From the seminal stages of theories reflected in the questions considered at the 1948 NCPEA conference, to the idea for synthesizing the research of related fields, to the establishment of developmental centers for research in school administration, to the substantial grants from the Kellogg Foundation, to the ascendancy of the articulate behavioral scientists newly arrived in educational administration and the adoption of
systems theory as the best way to construe education, educational administration was getting more than a new coat of paint. It was being completely remodeled.

Along with the remarkable strides made in educational administration from the standpoint of professional organizations established to address concerns for the advancement of education and the improvement of administration, another significant, but perhaps less noticed, landmark had been achieved. Recall Laudan’s (1977) definition of research tradition as “a set of general assumptions about the entities and processes in a domain of study, and about the appropriate methods to be used for investigating the problems and constructing the theories in that domain” (p. 81). In accordance with that definition, then, by the end of 1957 educational administration had moved from “sloppy, atheoretical research” to having a working definition of theory and a de facto research tradition.
CHAPTER 3

From Innovation to Introversion: 1957 to 1970

Introduction

Prior to the mid-1950s few, if any, theory courses were taught nationwide in colleges of education to students of educational administration; theory in educational administration was all but non-existent. During the early 1950s, theory development was conducted primarily by psychologists and sociologists in the area of leader behavior and organization dynamics. Indeed, theory was seen as something to be avoided as much as possible by the bulk of educational administrators. In a chapter entitled "Toward a Theory of Administrative Behavior," Griffiths (1957) described the situation:

There is prevalent the attitude that theory is impractical, ephemeral, and, in fact, just plain nonsense in which no self-respecting teacher or administrator would ever put any stock. To talk theory is to talk dangerously! In fact, those brave enough to discuss theory do so in camouflaged terms—they talk about concepts and principles and generalizations. (p. 355)
Griffiths went on to state that, while there was a reluctance among educational administrators to discuss theory, paradoxically, there was a growing interest in theory construction. So, while attitudes were slow to change, there were some hopeful signs along the way to provide glimpses of what possibly lay ahead. This chapter will examine some of the changes that occurred in theory development in educational administration concurrent with events and changes that took place within society in general.

Change in the Wind

Griffiths' view that interest in theory construction was on the rise coincided with Halpin's (1958) opinion that new views and new information would take time to sink in. "This important monograph [Coladarci and Getzels, 1955] has not yet had much time to "take"; it will require a few years to appreciate its full impact" (Halpin, 1958, p. 3). Around this same time, Belisle and Sargent (1957) wrote an insightful article in which they posed a problem which they called the polar orientations of administration.

The polar orientation represented the fundamental "is" vs. "ought" argument that would be raised loudly and frequently twenty years later by Greenfield (1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c). Simply stated, the "is-ought" problem revolves around the issue of whether a science of administration should be concerned with what ought to be, or simply reflect what is (how things are). The logical positivist position promoted a value-free
scientific definition of theory, which left no room for what ought to be. The “ought” implied a values orientation and had no place in scientific formulations.

What Belisle and Sargent (1957) pointed out was that there can be no such thing as a value-free orientation in science:

Whatever may be the ultimate theoretical solution of the value problem presented by the great increase in “is” statements, the new conditions arising out of this activity pose immediate and rapidly growing problems for administration. One of these problems is to absorb and integrate the rich abundance of “is” statements into an outlook and activity—administration—which cannot but influence values in some direction in the very process of operating in social organizations and governing systems. Some choice of value directions—whether toward one or the other of the polar orientations, or toward a purely adventitious adjustment to the administrator’s own perceptions of “is” factors in the immediate local situation—is inescapable in administration. (p. 114)

While little attention was given to this argument at the time (it was only a small section contained in a larger discussion of administrative concepts), within a score of years it would take center stage in discussions of theory development in educational administration. During the time in which Belisle and Sargent’s (1957) was written, the Theory Movement was in the midst of a transition from its first phase to the second phase.
The first phase of the Theory Movement had witnessed a shift in emphasis in educational administration programs from what Halpin (1970) referred to as "essentially how-to-do-it affairs" to programs which stressed theoretical research and "the development of rigorously defined high-order abstractions and a language and terminology adequate for and denotive of the concepts involved and the methodological problems under consideration" (Coladarci and Getzels, 1955, pp. 12-13). The idea was that theory development would lead to the solution of many of the day-to-day problems facing administrators. To garner support among skeptical and reluctant school administrators, many proponents of theory development in educational administration stressed in their writings that the dichotomy between theory and practice was a false dichotomy. In fact, no less an authority than John Dewey (1929) was quoted frequently as having said that theory was the most practical of all things.

Yet, the problem for school administrators was how to make a connection between the abstractions found in educational theories and the concrete situations which confronted them daily in the school environment. Willower (1963) described the problem in the following way:

Certain difficulties face the practitioner who attempts to utilize theory as a guide to action. One of these is the problem of identification or the problem inherent in the task of recognizing the conditions of appropriate application. Assuming that an educator is well versed in the theoretical generalizations of his field and is familiar
with the lower level generalizations implied by them, he must still recognize that a
given situation calls for their application. (p. 49)

This problem was central to the Theory Movement and, in fact, the resolution of the
dichotomy between theory and practice was a goal of theorists in educational
administration. Once the role of theory was accepted by educational administrators and
professors of educational administration, they would then understand the simplicity of the
relationship between theory and practice; the relationship would be seen not as
confrontational, but as complementary.

However, it would soon become evident that the problem of a theory-starved
administrative practice could not be easily resolved. One of the strong selling points of the
Theory Movement would prove to be one of its greatest weaknesses. Theory, so it was
said, would enhance practice, and practitioners who were reluctant to accept the need for
theory in educational administration would see that their concerns were for naught. Yet,
within a few short years, one of the leaders of the Theory Movement would himself make
the charge that there was a chasm separating theory from practice and both the
theoreticians and the practitioners would have to work together to find a way to bridge
the chasm.
The Change Process

Having established that educational administration changed from “myth, emotion, lore and recipes” (Willower, 1963) to theory-governed practice, the question remains as to how that change was accomplished. In large measure, the door to change had been opened by the establishment of the NCPEA, the CPEA, and the UCEA. The professional associations and research centers enhanced educational administration and cultivated an attitude among professors and practitioners of educational administration that was more open to change. The importance of group membership upon individual attitudes was, in Homan’s (1950) view, “perhaps the central topic of social psychology” (p. 108). Group membership certainly played a crucial role within the field of educational administration.

Perhaps the process of change within educational administration during the early years of the Theory Movement can be better understood using the concept of diffusion, a part of Mort and Ross’ (1957) explanation of the spread of educational change among schools. “According to the theory of diffusion, an invention starts in one system and then spreads to other systems in the vicinity or elsewhere” (p. 184). The theoretical foundation of educational administration was diffused from the social sciences, which in turn had borrowed concepts from the physical and biological sciences. Through the application of this diffusion theory, educational administrators and professors of
educational administration were confronted with theory development in educational administration as a solution to the practical problems that faced school administrators.

The essence of the first thrust of the Theory Movement, then, was to convince administrators and professors of educational administration of the value of theory development to daily life, the applicability of theory to practice. However, the process of change was gaining momentum and would not be satisfied with persuading practitioners and professors of educational administration of the value of theory development within the field. This emphasis upon the need for theory to enhance and direct practice would not last; further change was in the wind. As Foster (1986) pointed out:

By the late 1950s, however, the second thrust became evident. The research in educational administration became less oriented to solving the day-to-day problems of the system than to accumulating data that would lead to the development of explanatory theories of administration. (p. 47)

The idea of a science of administration "without adjectival qualifiers" (Halpin, 1970), or administration-qua-administration, was gaining support from many quarters, not the least of which was from theorists in educational administration. But as Miklos (1972) observed, there can be no successful common training programs in administration until more effective analyses of similarities and differences are found. Until such time, there will be a continuing fear that unique aspects of each type of administration will be overshadowed by an emphasis upon similarities (Miklos, 1972, p. 41).
Still there was an ongoing search for the elusive grand unification theory which would provide for prediction and interpretation of events within administration, regardless of which area of administration was being specified. Scoffing at such an idea, Levine (1975) felt that “in light of developments in philosophy—analytic, phenomenological, and existential—over the last sixty years, only an unreconstructed German Idealist would insist on a single and sufficient theoretical system” (p. 19). Yet in 1956 the fact that no grand theory had been discovered was seen, not as an acknowledgment that no such theory was achievable, but as an indictment of the narrow isolationism existing among various types of administration. As Litchfield (1956) lamented:

We seem to be saying that there is business administration and hospital administration and public administration; that there is military administration, hotel administration, and school administration. But there is no administration. We buttress this conclusion and make a general theory more difficult of attainment by developing separate schools in these fields in our universities. We organize ourselves into separate professional societies, and we have developed separate bodies of literature which speak to one another infrequently. (p. 7)

Litchfield (1956) went on to present three “urgent reasons” for the development of a general theory of administration: (1) to provide a conceptual framework which would enable existing knowledge to be codified; (2) to serve as a guide to research; and, (3) to guide administrative behavior. His “urgent reasons” were echoed in Thomspson’s (1956)
article “On Building an Administrative Science.” Thompson believed that knowledge within administration must be transferrable from one area of administration to another, that the disorganized nature of knowledge within administration was due to the lack of a comprehensive theory, and that research needed a renewed emphasis and redirection.

Even Campbell (1958) found it difficult to write about the peculiarities of educational administration. At several junctures in his article, Campbell (1958) reminded his readers that he was writing in response to a request for an article that would show educational administration as unique among various types of administration. In Campbell’s (1958) words:

The request that I examine the peculiarities of educational administration that purportedly make it a special case came as something of a shock to me. Ten years ago I would have embarked upon such a task forthwith. More recently, I have been much impressed with the common elements found in all administration. Whether one looks at administration from the standpoint of its purpose, its task, its situational milieu, or its process, he will find much that is common in the management of business, government, education, and other organizations. But the development of this position is not my assignment; rather, I am to suggest what there is about educational administration that is unique. (p. 166)
Catalysts of Change

Theory development in educational administration is not conducted in a stress-free, value-free environment. Scientists in general and social scientists in particular are not the objective individuals they so often claim to be. Their worldviews, beliefs, and opinions all influence how scientists approach theory development. So, theories in educational administration to varying degrees are products of societal influences and events. Indeed, a growing number of theorists in the past twenty years have been arguing in support of the role of subjectivity in theory development in educational administration. This section examines some of the major catalysts of change during the 1950s and 1960s.

Sputnik I and the National Defense Education Act

A momentous event occurred on October 4, 1957 that stunned America and had a lasting impact upon education in this country. On that day the Soviet Union became the first nation in history to launch an artificial Earth satellite, which became known as Sputnik I. The ramifications of this event would be far-reaching, as evidenced by President Eisenhower's 1958 State of the Union Address. In that message, President Eisenhower stated that "Trade, economic development, military power, arts, science,
education, the whole world of ideas—all are harnessed to this same chariot of expansion. The Soviets are, in short, waging total cold war.” (Britannica Online, 1995, 96.1)

Reaction to Sputnik included the enactment of the National Defense Education Act on September 2, 1958. The purpose of this Act was to bolster education in America, especially in the areas of math, science, and foreign languages. As stated in U.S. Statutes at Large (1958), Title I, section 101 of this act:

The Congress hereby finds and declares that the security of the Nation requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women. The present emergency demands that additional and more adequate educational opportunities be made available. The defense of this Nation depends upon the mastery of modern techniques developed from complex scientific principles. It depends as well upon the discovery and development of new principles, new techniques, and new knowledge. (p. 1581)

The enactment of this legislation was a fortuitous occurrence for theorists in educational administration. During the ten years leading up to the National Defense Education Act, leaders of the Theory Movement were stressing the need for a scientific approach to educational administration in general and theory development in particular. Their position was reinforced by the Congress of the United States stating in United States Statutes at Large (1958) that the “defense of this Nation depends upon the mastery of modern techniques developed from complex scientific principles” (p. 1581)
The National Defense Education Act of 1958 established funding for loans to students attending institutions of higher education. This Act was revised in 1962, 1963, 1964, and again in 1967 (Good and Teller, 1973, p. 531). Among other benefits of the 1964 amendments, funding was made available for professors preparation programs, which provided fellowships for doctoral students who were preparing for careers in higher education. Many professors of educational administration received their doctoral training under provisions of the National Defense Education Act and became the first generation of professors of educational administration to benefit from the emphasis on theory which resulted from the Theory Movement.

However, a question needs to be asked concerning the benefit bestowed upon theory development in educational administration as a result of Sputnik and the National Defense Education Act. While it cannot be denied that federal funding of education through the NDEA did have a positive influence on theory development in educational administration, there was at least a hint that theory development was becoming a marketable commodity. Halpin (1970) implied as much when he said, "Yet, even now, as I look at the panoply of education programs sponsored by 'The Great Society,' I hear the hollow noises of the pitchmen, and I hear many promises that scarcely can be fulfilled" (p. 169). Writing about education in general subsequent to the enactment of the NDEA, Stoke (1959) attempted to explain "the new character of the national interest in education" as a national necessity. He made a distinction between federal aid to
education and federal education for purposes distinctively national. Stoke's (1959) assessment was at odds with Halpin's (1970), but he did reveal an underlying agreement when he stated:

This doctrine of national necessity, developing as swiftly as it has, has placed the habits and ideals of higher education and of educators under great strain. Our preferences are that we be undirected, that principles of the free market operate in our own choices and in those of our students. The intrusion of national necessity makes us restive .... We are uneasy about finding that education which has always been a means to the enlargement of life can contribute so powerfully to its constriction. To say the least, the state of mind of higher education is one of discomfort if not outright agitation. (p. 269)

Mr. Stoke's comments, while useful in pointing out some of the elements which may render the motives of researchers less than pure, should not be viewed as reflective of the general opinion within higher education at that time. To the contrary, apparently, Stoke's (1959) article sparked at least a modicum of controversy, if only among the readers of Phi Delta Kappan. In a reply to Stoke's comments, Phenix (1959) rejected the specter of a galloping federal domination. According to Phenix (1959), the American people and higher education in America never had been and never would be mastered by the federal government. In fact, the government was and is the servant of the people.

And, "Since the central task of education is intellectual and ethical cultivation, it follows
that the welfare of the nation—and of the world—depends on education pursued in accordance with its own intrinsic imperatives” (Phenix, 1959, p. 271).

Were there negative influences working upon researchers in theory development in educational administration as a result of the influx of federal moneys? The answer most likely would be yes, especially if one accepts Halpin’s (1970) critique of the spirit in which the money was given:

In education we are all trying to do so much. Nor can we complain about a lack of financial support; the U. S. Office of Education has opened a cornucopia from which all blessings seem to flow. But the distribution of this largess seems to be based upon four tacit assumptions:

1. That planned change can be engineered, and engineered on a big scale and a long-range one.

2. That change can be effected quickly and, indeed, dramatically.

3. That money will buy anything.

4. That noble intentions and hard work, especially when coupled with enough money, will achieve the results that we desire. (pp. 174-175)

But, there were also positive influences at work in the wake of Sputnik and the National Defense Education Act. It will be recalled that in the late 1940s and early 1950s, there was a strong, general resistance to theory in educational administration in particular and to varying degrees within other areas of education. In the spring of 1959, the
American Educational Research Association sponsored a Council for Research in Education, comprised of 20 different organizations, while Phi Delta Kappa sponsored a National Research Symposium. Prior to those meetings, Clymer (1959) presented five broad areas of study that were top priority for educational research. Clymer (1959) listed those areas as:

1. The need to evaluate present status of research findings. What has research really uncovered thus far?

2. The need to develop a theoretical framework into which our present knowledge will fit. What are the theoretical principles that serve to unify this knowledge?

3. The need to improve certain characteristics of educational research. What statistical and design factors of research need improvement?

4. The need to stimulate research production. What procedures will result in more and better research?

5. The need to put research findings into practice. How should the bridge from research to classroom practice be made? (p. 253)

These five areas of study reflected a growing recognition of and appreciation for the need for theory development in education, including educational administration. In one of his evaluations of the Theory Movement, Halpin (1966) specifically targeted this period of time (1954-1964) in theory development in educational administration for criticism. In short, the need to bridge the chasm between theory and practice had not been met. Thus,
Clymer’s (1959) fifth area for study would still be valid six years hence, as indeed would the other four areas he listed.

**Vietnam**

Along with the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the beginning of the cold war era, there was another catalyst of change that would alter American culture in ways that could not have been foreseen during the late 1950s. Following its defeat at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the French government requested and received American assistance in Vietnam in the form of air support. During this same period, the Geneva Accords were established requiring free elections to be held in 1956, which would lead to the unification of North and South Vietnam. However, the prime minister of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, refused to hold the elections and was supported in his decision by the United States. (Britannica Online, 1995, 96.1)

With the aim of preventing the spread of communism in southeast Asia, the United States began supplying South Vietnam with economic and military assistance. American personnel were sent to Vietnam as military advisors serving as noncombatants. By 1958, several hundred United States personnel were stationed in Vietnam. This number would increase to over 11,000 by 1962 and by 1965 would swell to over 50,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam serving as combat personnel. (Britannica Online, 1995, 96.1)
An interesting footnote to this discussion centers around theories, models, and paradigms. At that time in the 1950s, educational administration was experiencing growing pains, grappling with theory development, trying to establish working models which would incorporate theories, or pieces of theories, from various aspects of educational administration to allow for greater interpretive and predictive power, and the integration of these models into a working paradigm, all of which would occur within the constraints of a research tradition. Concurrent with these developments in educational administration was the escalation of American involvement in southeast Asia that would soon embroil the United States in a military and political conflict from which it has yet fully to recover. Some authors attribute the American debacle in Vietnam to a failure to apply the correct model to the situation, and to a complete lack of a paradigm within which to evaluate various models. In discussing the lack of adequate models and paradigms, Strauss and Ober (1990) wrote:

Rather than rely on common sense, we suggest that policymakers and strategists should develop working models (explanations of how and why things happen) and build these models into a flexible paradigm (a coherent and self-consciously formulated decision-making system) that will be the basis of strategic decision making. The paradigm must be not only flexible but multifaceted. It must take into account social, cultural, political, and economic factors—in both one’s own and in one’s enemies’ societies. The ideal strategist is thus a master not only of
maneuver and logistics but of the human sciences. (p. 7)

In a specific discussion later in their introduction, Strauss and Ober (1990) charged that American policymakers applied the wrong model to the Vietnam situation. Coming as it did rather close on the heels of World War II, American policymakers applied the Munich model to the situation in Vietnam. The Munich model taught that appeasement of the enemy led to further aggressive acts. While the Munich model was not the only model applied to Vietnam, even with other lesser models thrown in there was no flexible paradigm within which the various models could be evaluated. And, although there can be no way of knowing if such a paradigm would have changed the outcome of the Vietnam conflict, “it seems fair to say that American leaders on the eve of Vietnam [late 1950s to early 1960s] would have done better if they had cast their nets more widely and not leaned so hard on the model of Munich” (Strauss and Ober, 1990, p. 12).

There was a lesson to be learned here for theorists in educational administration. Rather than leaning hard on one theory, one model, or one paradigm (e.g., Getzels-Guba Model, social systems theory), perhaps it would be better for those theorists to “cast their nets more widely” and to be more willing to allow for the evolution of the research tradition within which they work. Such an approach to theory development would allow for a greater acquisition of knowledge and an increased ability of theories to interpret and predict. And, although it was coincidental to, rather than a consequence of lessons
learned from U.S. involvement in Vietnam, it would be fair to say that by the end of the Vietnam conflict, some theorists at any rate would be giving a wider cast to their nets.

Miscellaneous Catalysts

At this point, it may be instructive to recall some of the political and military events of the sixties that contributed in varying measure to the change in the way Americans viewed the world. The first incident was the invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs on April 17, 1961. Although planned by the Central Intelligence Agency under the Eisenhower presidency, it was approved by President Kennedy shortly after his inauguration. Charges of indecision on the part of the president, along with faulty intelligence reports and betrayal of the invasion force created a situation which led to the next event: the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962.

The Cuban missile crisis was precipitated by Khrushchev's promise in 1960 that the Soviet Union would defend Cuba and his decision to send Soviet medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles to Cuba, assuming that the United States would not challenge the installation of those weapons. On October 14, 1962, the presence of a ballistic missile on a launching site was reported. President Kennedy delivered an ultimatum to Khrushchev on October 22nd, along with the establishment of a naval blockade, and the world held its collective breath for the next six days while nuclear war
seemed imminent. Khrushchev was the first to blink and, on October 28th, with the aid of secret negotiations and concessions by the United States, the Soviet Union withdrew the missiles from Cuba. (Britannica Online, 1995, 96.1)

Slightly more than a year later, in November 1963, President Kennedy was in political hot water. The democratic party was fragmented and his support was dwindling, especially in the south. As part of a political fence-mending trip, President Kennedy stopped off in Dallas where he was assassinated on November 22, 1963. Of course, the nation was stunned by the news of the assassination; in less than four years America had gone from Camelot to catastrophe. And, in less than five years America would again be shaken by two more assassinations. Civil rights leader Martin Luther King was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968. Within sixty-three days presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy (the late president’s brother) was gunned down in a Los Angeles hotel. In the wake of riots in Watts, Newark, Detroit, and elsewhere, along with the mounting body counts in Vietnam, which Americans viewed each night on the news as they ate their dinner, these assassinations seemed to envelope the country in moral despair. Traditional solutions and ways of seeing the world were viewed with skepticism by many people who began to seek out new solutions, new answers, new ways of looking at the world.
The Challenge of Change

By the late 1950s the world as Americans had known it was slipping away.

Advances in science and technology had enabled the Soviet Union to launch the world’s first artificial satellite, with the United States striving to catch up. Political and military tactics and strategies were changing. Solutions to problems nationally and internationally, while never black and white, had seemed more clear cut, and now the old solutions did not seem to fit the current problems. Educational administration programs that only a decade before had been “based upon neither theory nor empirical research” (Halpin, 1970, p. 159) were now being transformed by theory and research.

In educational administration the welcomed change carried with it an inherent challenge: to reflect in its research and theory development an understanding of educational problems and potential solutions while not sacrificing relevance in the process. In other words, in its journey toward intellectual and scientific respectability theory development in educational administration could suffer as a result of trying to do too much too quickly, of becoming enamored with short-term prestige at the cost of long-term direction and development. As Hall (1963) observed:

What we need in school administration is preparation to deal with problems not yet defined, work in relationships so far unknown, utilization of resources not yet pooled, and designation of school programs to teach subjects beyond present
conceptions....There is danger in our enthusiastic haste to get the job done, to make ourselves and our field academically respectable, and to prove that there is a science of administration....A review of the research and development in school administration indicates that there is a definite tendency toward closure which, if allowed to continue, may crystallize our thinking prematurely. (pp. 20-21)

Some theorists would disagree with Hall’s view, seeing problems arising from doing too much too quickly as preferable to doing nothing at all in the realm of theory development. Not all problems stemmed from the rate of change, just as not all change could be controlled by the pace of theory development. As alluded to in the previous section, the way in which people view the world is dictated, in part, by the forces acting upon the society of which those people are members. And the way in which theorists view the world affects the research tradition within which they work. Laudan (1977) proposed, “A highly successful research tradition will lead to the abandonment of that worldview which is incompatible with it, and to the elaboration of a new worldview compatible with the research tradition” [emphasis in original] (p. 101). At first glance Laudan’s statement seems to reflect Kuhn’s (1962/1970) view of a paradigm shift. However, Laudan (1977) was discussing a successful research tradition that dictates the choice of worldview, whereas Kuhn was discussing the idea of rejecting an inadequate paradigm in favor of one which seems more capable of addressing anomalies.
The way in which the world is viewed can also affect relevance in theory development in educational administration. Halpin (1966) recognized the challenge of change, of the need for those engaging in theory development to be cognizant of the danger inherent in the “how” of theory development. At that time Halpin (1966) wrote:

The increasing federal and foundation aid to social science and educational research that has stimulated the research scene since World War II has been accompanied by several attendant evils, not the least of which is the virulent, contagious disease that now ravages many of our campuses: “projectitis.”...We sometimes are in such a hurry to count things that we fail to take enough time to decide whether or not what we do count is, indeed, worth counting. This defect arises out of a misguided effort in education and the behavioral sciences to mimic the more prestigious physical and biological sciences. But the prestige of these older sciences has been earned not so much by the use of quantitative methods as through insightful, patient observation. (pp. 301-302)

That Halpin, one of the founders of the Theory Movement, would write to warn researchers to be on their guard lest their research succumb to irrelevance is in itself a matter of some significance. The import of this warning can perhaps be better understood as an extension of the discussion about the role of theory that Halpin (1966) presented in his chapter entitled “Ways of Knowing,” which immediately preceded the above quoted discussion on the attendant evils of research. In “Ways of Knowing” Halpin
(1966) mentioned the distrust by superintendents of the “tidiness” of administrative theory, that the superintendents sense “intuitively that the theoretical-analytical approach has ignored much that is reality” (p. 284). He concluded that there was a need within educational administration for a more judicious distribution of the intellectual load.

Halpin’s (1966) ruminations on developments within educational administration during the previous ten or twelve years reflected the strength and integrity necessary for the growth of any movement: the ability to engage in critical reflection. And, the fact that the Theory Movement as such did not long survive does not in any way diminish the contributions made to theory development in educational administration. To the contrary, had the Theory Movement survived and flourished, it is possible that theory research in educational administration would have become parochial and meaningless. As it was, the Theory Movement was more a period of time than a blueprint for all future work in theory development; it served its purpose and eventually wound down.

Critics of the Theory Movement, as well as leaders of the movement, charged that the momentum and direction of theory development in educational administration was supplied by an elite group of behavioral scientists, one of whom was Andrew Halpin. Often blunt and sometimes caustic, Halpin nevertheless provided keen insights for and about the Theory Movement, not the least of which was his realization that educational administration had moved from one extreme of emphasis to another since the historic 1954 NCPEA meeting in Denver. At that meeting, professors of educational
administration and educational administrators received the brunt of a scathing indictment directed at their lack of interest in and application of theory. They were more concerned with, even consumed by, the role of the practitioner and gave no thought to the need for a theoretical foundation as a guide for practice. Ten years later, Halpin (1966) brought the discussion full circle when he wrote:

There are some social science research findings which can prove useful to the practitioner. There are also a few ways of thinking about some social and organizational phenomena which will help him discern the similarities and differences between day-to-day administrative situations, and thus will enable him to make wiser decisions. And there are ways, too, by which the practitioner and the scientist can each freshen the other’s observations. An exchange of ideas in these domains should prove exceedingly fruitful. We should examine together the chasm which now separates administrative theory from actual practice. We should examine how deep and how wide the chasm is, and determine where it can be bridged safely. (p. 285)

The failure (if there was a failure) of the Theory Movement was not its insistence upon a logico-deductive approach to theory development, nor was it a result of a seemingly rigid adherence to an ideal to which no one could attain (Griffiths, 1983). Rather, in seeking to establish educational administration upon a sound theoretical foundation, to use theory to enhance practice, the Theory Movement realized the fears of
many educational administrators of the early 1950s who resisted the introduction of theory into educational administration because it had no practical value. Rather than prove the skeptics wrong, the Theory Movement reinforced the notion of the theory-practice dichotomy. In Halpin's (1966) words:

The fault is that the scientist's theoretical models of administration are too rational, too tidy, too aseptic. They remind us of the photographs in magazines devoted to home decorating—the glossy pictures of dramatic and pristine living room interiors. (The rooms are beautiful, but they have never been lived in. Nor are the rooms pictured as inhabited by human beings, except perhaps for a vacuous but poised fashion model.) (p. 284)

Yet, the shortcomings of the Theory Movement did not cancel out its contributions: the theories and models which laid the foundation for future theory development. Halpin himself acknowledged both the strengths and the weaknesses of the Theory Movement. But in considering the weaknesses of the Theory Movement, it is important to stress that Halpin was not calling for what would be known in current parlance as a paradigm shift. Indeed, there was no need to shift paradigms. What was needed was an adjustment in approach to theory development and in the application of models that would better reflect the relationship between theory and practice.

In chapter one of this study, it was pointed out that Laudan's (1977) concept of a research tradition could be of value in educational administration, as an effective
framework within which to evaluate theories, paradigms, and ideas developed by theoretical researchers. One aspect of a research tradition that has particular benefit for educational administration is its ability to evolve more through synthesis of new knowledge gained from what often may be rival theories, than through the outright rejection of one theory or paradigm in favor of another at any given time.

A notable strength of a research tradition that lends itself to Halpin’s (1966) discussion of the chasm “separating administrative theory from actual practice” (p. 285) is the flexibility of the research tradition to deal successfully with conflict and contradiction. As Laudan (1977) explained:

The core assumptions of any given research tradition are continuously undergoing conceptual scrutiny. Some of those assumptions will, at any given time, be found to be strong, and unproblematic. Others will be regarded as less clear, less well-founded. As new arguments emerge which buttress, or cast doubt on, different elements of the research tradition, the relative degree of entrenchment of the different components will shift. During the evolution of any active research tradition, scientists learn more about the conceptual dependence and autonomy of its various elements.... (p. 100)

Approaching theory development from the perspective of a research tradition would allow for much greater latitude for research and for the application of research findings. Even radical elements within educational administration could find a niche and
their ideas could be evaluated in a dispassionate manner. The ideas of those individuals who were viewed as rebels or worse, as was T. Barr Greenfield in the early 1970s, would not necessarily be seen as a threat to theory development in educational administration and to the gains achieved through the hard work of many people in the 1950s and 1960s. A research tradition could accommodate a greater range of ideas and research directions than could an individual model or paradigm.

The Productive Years: Important Early Studies

Depending upon whose opinion was sought, one would receive a variety of answers about which dates constitute the productive years. Halpin (1970) would give the dates as beginning in 1954 and ending in 1964. Greenfield (1993) would say the productive years were from 1958 to 1968, although his definition of "productive" would differ markedly from Halpin's definition. Campbell's (1972) dates of 1957 to 1967 were more in line with Greenfield's, but all three men had different reasons for fixing the time frame as they did. However, providing an exact time frame is not as important as understanding what occurred during those years. If one accepts 1954 as the watershed year in educational administration, when theory development was introduced, then the differing opinions as to exact times and dates become less important than the progression of events in the Theory Movement itself. For, as Griffiths (1983) pointed out, the
importance of the productive years in the Theory Movement was that “one decade saw theoretical production of the quantity and quality not seen before or since, and this literature was dominated by logical positivism” (p. 203).

Many studies were conducted during the productive years, although not all of them could be construed as theoretical studies. Campbell (1972) sought to illustrate the shift from field to discipline orientation that accompanied the Theory Movement by quoting Haller’s (1971) rather tongue-in-cheek observation:

Over a ten-year period (1957-1967) students’ conceptions of what constitutes research almost certainly have shifted. If I could characterize the pre-1960 dissertation with a hypothetical title, it would be something like, “The role of the elementary school principal in selected school districts in the state of Nebraska.” Currently a characteristic title might be something like, “The effect of school desegregation on pupils’ self-concept.” The point is that earlier research consisted overwhelmingly of status studies of one sort or another, in which the student’s findings consisted of reporting marginals derived from questionnaires. Currently, dissertations are more likely to concern relationships among constructs, and are much more likely to be explanatory in nature. (p. 10)

Although there were many efforts at theory development during the period 1957 to 1967, only three of the research studies of that period will be mentioned here for the purpose of demonstrating the direction and emphasis of research by individuals who were considered
to be leaders in the Theory Movement. The studies selected reflect areas of agreement between Halpin's (1970) and Griffiths' (1983) choices of prominent studies of the period.

**Leadership Behavior of School Superintendents—Halpin (1954)**

This study was mentioned by both Halpin (1970) and Griffiths (1983) and reflects the ongoing concern with leader behaviors in organizations. In conducting his research, Halpin (1954) used the Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) which had been developed at Ohio State University and was used to study the leadership behavior of aircraft commanders. In the present study, Halpin administered the LBDQ to fifty superintendents who described their own behavior, then used the same instrument with teachers and board members to compare their descriptions of their superintendent's behavior with the superintendent's own description.

Halpin (1970) characterized the significance of the study by concluding that "the empirical findings of this study and of related studies were less important than their effect in opening the path for a fresh conceptualization of leadership behavior, especially in respect to the consideration and initiating structure dimensions of behavior" (p. 164). Griffiths (1983) view was slightly less flattering. While Halpin included two of his own studies in his list of the five most significant studies of the period 1954 to 1964, Griffiths mentioned both studies in passing and then proceeded to critique Halpin's research
technique, in particular the relationship between logical positivism and Halpin's own studies. True to form, Griffiths (1983) did not sugar-coat his conclusions:

What can be said of the research methodology of Andrew Halpin, the most prominent disciple of logical positivism?...The first striking conclusion that results from a study of Halpin's work is the almost complete lack of theory in any of it. The LBDQ and OCDQ [Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire] have no theoretical bases at all. They come as close to the naked empiricism that Halpin derided as is possible....Halpin's research reflected little of the influence of logical positivism except for his use of operational definitions. (pp. 206-207)

Social Systems Model--Getzels and Guba

The work of Getzels and Guba (1957) was cited by both Halpin (1970) and Griffiths (1983), but both cited different articles for their discussion. Griffiths made two important comments about the work of Getzels and Guba (1957): (1) the hypotheses were arrived at by reason and, possibly, by intuition rather than through a logico-mathematical process; and, (2) their early work was a closed system model, although they later transformed it into an open system model. In commenting on the scientific method employed by Getzels and Guba, Griffiths stated that "this, in fact, set the mode of operation in educational administration" (p. 204).
Getzels and Guba (1957) had clear intentions for designing the model in the way they did. According to Getzels (1958/1967):

The model was constructed with three specific criteria in mind: (1) the model must provide a set of integrated concepts and relations capable not only of answering questions already asked in administration but of posing questions that still need to be asked; (2) the concepts and relations must be operational in that they not only give direction to our understanding but simultaneously provide blueprints for investigation; (3) the model must be able to handle as many of the commonplaces or familiar issues in administration as possible within a single set of concepts and relations. (pp. 150-151)

And, while Getzels admitted that they were not altogether successful, he also felt that the attempt could prove to be of value in subsequent theory development. Furthermore, the social systems model contributed to research and practice in administration. One of the more important contributions of the Getzels-Guba model to theory development in educational administration was the development of two dimensions of behavior: the nomothetic dimension (organizational roles and expectations) and the ideographic dimension (personalities and need-dispositions). Observed behavior must be understood in terms of the relationship between the nomothetic and ideographic dimensions (Getzels, 1958, p. 152).
Administrative Performance and Personality—Hemphill, Griffiths, and Fredericksen

Described by Halpin (1970) as "the most monumental single study ever conducted within the field of educational administration" (p. 164), this study provided data on specialized administrative styles of principals, implemented valuable simulation techniques for evaluating on-the-job behaviors, and provided a set of criteria for evaluating principal performance. Griffiths' own description of the study was more reserved than Halpin's. In Griffiths' (1983) recollection:

The researchers were convinced that all the theories being used in educational administration were inadequate and could not support a major inquiry such as that which was contemplated. While there were few and inadequate theories, there were also few facts with which to work. The researchers, therefore, designed a study to make observations of administrator behavior and relate these observations to as many variables as possible in order to gain a greater understanding of the observations. (p. 206).

The researchers used an open-system model and attempted to develop operational definitions. The latter, according to Griffiths, was the only direct relationship of the study to logical positivism.
The Productive Years and Beyond: Further Studies

The purpose of this section is to illustrate the kinds of theories that were being developed during the later years of the Theory Movement. While it is acknowledged that there was much work ongoing in the area of theory development in organization science and administration science, this scope of this study does not allow for an in-depth presentation of those theories. Instead, a few of the more prominent theories of the period are included to exemplify the kind of work that was being done at the time.

Contingency Theories

The most famous of the Contingency Theories is that proposed by Fiedler (1967). In explaining what a Contingency Theory is Fiedler (1974) wrote:

The theory holds that the effectiveness of a task group or of an organization depends on two main factors: the personality of the leader and the degree to which the situation gives the leader power, control and influence over the situation or, conversely, the degree to which the situation confronts the leader with uncertainty.

(p. 65)

Fiedler further stated that a task-oriented leader is usually more effective in easy and difficult situations, while the relations-oriented leader tends to be more effective in
moderately difficult situations. Leaders are assessed as either task-oriented or relations-oriented by the way they judge their least-preferred co-worker. And, since a leader’s style is relatively stable, the challenge is to come up with a way to make the job fit the leadership style. In other words, Fiedler’s theory emphasized the need to place people in the situations for which they are best suited.

The effectiveness of a leader in any given situation is contingent upon the demands that are specific to that situation. Ineffective leaders are those who have a set leadership style that does not vary to meet changing environmental needs. Contingency Theories stress that the effective leader always has more than one contingency plan or considered response for any given situation or set of circumstances. This is analogous to a master chess player who is always several moves ahead of an opponent. Regardless of the move made by the opponent, the chess master has several responses available.

Path-Goal Theory

The Path-Goal Theory is a Contingency Theory of Leadership that grew out of the expectancy theory of motivation. Hanson (1991) described the difference between Path-Goal Theory and Fiedler’s Contingency Theory:

Contrary to Fiedler’s orientation toward leadership, Path-Goal Theory argues that the leadership style of an individual varies as situations within an organization
change. In other words, as a leader faces different problems or circumstances in
the organization, that individual adjusts his or her leadership style accordingly
(e.g., from directive to participative). (p. 201)

In the Path-Goal Model, the leader can enter at any point to bring about an increase in
worker motivation. One problem with the Path-Goal Theory, however, is the emphasis
on leader behavior in influencing the behavior of followers. In order for this theory to be
successfully implemented, the leader must be focusing constantly on the needs of the
subordinates. Additionally, there is an implicit assumption that a leader’s behavior will be
a positive motivating factor for followers, rather than a negative factor that inhibits worker
motivation and productivity.

Humanistic Theories

The theories of Argyris (1957, 1962, 1964, 1970), Likert (1961, 1967), and
McGregor (1960, 1966), are concerned with the development of effective and cohesive
organizations. The human being is by nature a motivated organism. The organization is
by nature structured and controlled. It is the function of leadership to modify the
organization in order to provide freedom for the individual to realize his own potential for
fulfillment of his own needs and at the same time contribute toward the accomplishment of
organizational goals. (Stogdill, 1974, pp. 21-22)
The key to the Humanist Theories can be summarized by stating that human beings are inherently motivated. Thus, if a worker is not motivated and is inefficient, something has happened to diminish or destroy that inherent motivation. The burden for change is upon the organization, not the individual. The leader, therefore, must do a balancing act between the individual’s self-actualization process and the attainment of organizational goals.

Argyris (1957, 1962, 1964, 1970) saw the relationship between the organization and the individual as one of conflict. The nature of the organization is to impose structure and to place the goals of the organization ahead of the needs of the individual. The individual, on the other hand, is fulfilled through creativity, responsibility, and exercising initiative. In order for the organization to function most effectively, its leaders must address the needs of the individual worker and provide for individual fulfillment.

Likert (1961, 1967) saw a tension between management structures and employee groups. According to Likert, the greater the proliferation of rules to govern behavior and production, the lower the group norms will be. Also, any group member who wants to exceed group norms for productivity can be controlled by the group. However, through Likert’s plan (System 4 Organization) the group leader can increase motivation and productivity by increasing workers’ freedom for responsible decision making and initiative.

McGregor (1960, 1966) devised two theories of organizational leadership: Theory X and Theory Y. Theory X was based upon the assumptions that people are passive and
that they resist organizational needs. Through Theory X, then, the leader attempts to
direct and motivate workers to meet the needs of the organization. Theory Y, on the
other hand, assumes that people are motivated and responsible. This aim of this theory is
to attempt to mold organizational conditions to enhance and fulfill workers’ needs, while
at the same time achieving the goals of the organization.

The Theory Movement Fades Out

The period of time from 1947 to 1970 was characterized by rapid and often mind-
numbing change in American society. Political, military, economic, and social changes
exerted tremendous influence and stress upon education in America. As with all other
areas of education, administration was not exempt from cultural pressures. Subsequent to
World War II, professors of educational administration, along with concerned social
scientists, grew restive and dissatisfied with the status quo of educational administration.
The old methods were out-dated and could not be substantiated by theoretical research
(which was non-existent).

Within a few short years, educational administration became the step-child of the
social sciences, having been adopted into a new home complete with a concise definition
of what constituted theory, a theoretical storehouse complete with paradigms from which
to draw provisions for research, and a research tradition within which to dabble. There
were even some rich uncles who wanted to provide money (in the form of federal aid and foundation grants) for theory development. The future appeared bright and limitless in the mid-fifties. But, the very things which provided such a grand hope contained the seeds of destruction for the Theory Movement.

Halpin's (1970) eloquent assessment of the demise of the movement contained several cogent points which included: (1) a lack of depth in talent, which came about because the leaders in theory development in educational administration did not train enough doctoral students to replace those men when they retired—"What we soon discovered was that there was no fresh blood in Transylvania" (p. 171); (2) an unequal geographical distribution of theory-oriented research centers; (3) loss of talent and momentum due to attrition among the leaders of the movement through success and promotion; (4) the lure of foundation money and federal grants with the inevitable conditions for performance; and, (5) the danger of promotionalism and the resulting prostitution of the integrity of the program and the researchers involved.

The demise of the Theory Movement represented the end of an era, of hopes and dreams unfulfilled. However, theory development did not grind to a halt during the late 1960s to early 1970s. Indeed, theory development has continued apace throughout the twenty-five years since Halpin (1970) wrote of the "fumbled torch." It is interesting to speculate on what the past two and a half decades would have been like for educational administration had there been no Theory Movement, or had the Theory Movement
continued to gain momentum. Did the Theory Movement advance or retard theory
development in educational administration? Would the controversies and the
accommodations of the 1970s and 1980s have occurred? Would they have come sooner?
Would they have come up at all? Although these and other questions could provide
interesting material for contemplation and lively discussion, the past can not be changed.
Theory development in educational administration has benefited from the successes of the
Theory Movement, but has it gained from the failures of that movement? As Strauss and
Ober (1990) said, “It is easy to second-guess failure, harder to learn from it” (p. 12).
CHAPTER 4

The Griffiths-Greenfield Controversy: 1974 to 1985

Introduction

Theory development in educational administration was only about twenty years old in the early 1970s. Although it did not have a long tradition of theory development, educational administration did have what was considered traditional theories, those that at least gave an appearance of conforming to Feigl’s (1951) definition. However, by the early 1970s traditional theories and the logical positivism upon which those theories rested began to be challenged. Probably the most well-known challenge came from the late Thomas B. Greenfield, but there were challenges coming from other quarters as well. Critical theory, feminist theory, and postmodern theory exemplify the various perspectives that would influence theory development beginning in the 1970s.

This chapter will begin with a brief review of the history of theory development in educational administration leading up to the 1970s. The Griffiths-Greenfield controversy will then be introduced and discussed at length. As will be seen, the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy was important not only for the views expressed by the two main participants, but also as a metaphor for general challenges to a traditional view of educational
administration and of the theories which were being developed. Furthermore, this author will be presenting what he believes to be a plausible alternative to the conventional interpretation of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy as a traditional, less tolerant theorist being confronted by an individual who was much more tolerant and willing to explore alternative approaches to theory in educational administration.

Theory Development Prior to Greenfield

When behavioral scientists challenged administrators and professors of educational administration at the 1954 NCPEA meeting in Denver, a traditional approach to educational administration was challenged. A new tradition was imported from the social sciences that purported to be scientific and theoretically based and which developed into a research tradition that included a strict definition of what constituted theory, a research methodology, and, eventually, several theories which operated within the research tradition to explain how various aspects of administration (e.g., organization, leadership, management) functioned and to predict the outcomes resulting from the interactions of those functions.

Coladari and Getzels (1955), Halpin (1958), Griffiths (1959) and other writers wrote about the need for strict adherence to a definition of theory based upon Feigl’s
(1951) writings. Yet, Griffiths (1983) acknowledged that Feigl's (1951) definition of theory was an impossibly lofty ideal. Willower (1975) concluded:

Feigl's definition of theory as a "set of assumptions from which empirical laws are derivable by logico-mathematical deduction" sets a standard that would exclude virtually everything done in educational administration to date. A somewhat more inclusive definition views theory as a body of interrelated, consistent generalizations that serves to explain. However, even this formulation eliminates a good portion of what could be called conceptually based work in educational administration. (pp. 78-79)

While the leaders of the Theory Movement worked hard to promote Feigl's definition of theory as the minimum standard of performance in theory development, later writers had to acknowledge that the standard was neither working nor workable. One result was that Willower (1975) proposed a definition of theory that would maintain the rigorous intention of Feigl while being general enough to include the majority of theory development in educational administration.

But at the outset of the productive years of the Theory Movement (1954), an imported research tradition with its attendant theories and methodologies carried with it the implicit assumption that what the behavioral sciences had to offer was valid and germane to the study of educational administration. And most, if not all, of the resistance to the Theory Movement in educational administration came from individuals who were
comfortable with the status quo and who may have been intimidated by talk of a scientific approach to administration. Yet, any criticism of the Theory Movement as being irrelevant or inappropriate did not deter its ardent supporters. That is, until the Theory Movement began to lose momentum and was in danger of extinction. In his article entitled “Administrative Theory: The Fumbled Torch,” Halpin (1970) lamented:

During the period from 1954 to 1964, several of us who participated in the “New Movement” in educational administration carried torches that burned with a bright and fervent flame. But as the race continued, few of us found another runner to whom we could pass the torch. In short, the torch has been fumbled, and there it lies on the ground in the middle of the arena. (p. 173)

Apparently, Halpin (1970) spoke publicly what others had been thinking privately. This, in turn, led to statements that were more critical and extreme than were Halpin’s. Iannaccone (1973) traced the various events that culminated in the Theory Movement and concluded:

All of which [formation of the NCPEA, UCEA, etc.] increasingly, until the mid-1960s, produced a pseudo-research, a so-called theory movement. Small though it may have been, a movement is what it was. The combination of dubious theory and suspect research, with the qualities of this movement calling to mind Eric Hoffer’s “true believers,” says something about the nature of the professorship in educational administration, an easy elite if there ever was one. (pp. 55-56)
Iannaccone’s (1973) article represented a departure from the literature of the Theory Movement during the fifties and sixties and provided a hint of the yet-to-be-developed literature that would help to initiate non-traditional theory development in educational administration. The non-traditional directions for theory development would begin to make inroads into the research tradition in educational administration in the seventies and early eighties and would become influential during the late eighties and on into the nineties. Yet, an irony of non-traditional theory development in educational administration is that it is greatly indebted to the work of the more traditional theorists; those theorists paved the way for, and in many instances assisted in, the development of non-traditional ways of viewing theory development in educational administration.

An initial purpose of the Theory Movement was a renewed emphasis on scholarship and intellectualism. Iannaccone (1973) believed that the movement failed on that count due to a romantic notion on the part of the leaders of the Theory Movement of what constituted both theory and change. These misguided views by the leaders of the Theory Movement, in Iannaccone’s (1977) view, culminated in an irreverence for scholarship. In fact, the very things the leaders of the Theory Movement held most dear were, according to Iannaccone, the very things that were overlooked in the heady atmosphere of the productive years of the movement. As Iannaccone (1973) wrote of educational administration:
Many of its research proposals are what could be called late contemporary. Its findings produce that slight sense of embarrassment we feel wearing last season’s fashions. When the significance of proposed research is defined as its timeliness for contemporary crises in public policies rather than as the concepts and explanation it offers, then not only must its findings be published concurrent with, if not before, crises, but public policy makers must at best be guided by mere findings rather than by understanding. (pp. 58)

This evaluation of the Theory Movement by Iannaccone reflected the opinion of Greenfield (1973, 1975, 1976, 1977). Halpin, Griffiths, Campbell, and Willower saw the positive contributions of the Theory Movement, but they were not afraid to criticize its weaknesses. Griffiths (1975) wrote dispassionately of the state of theory development in educational administration:

It appears that, in a large part of the world, the theory movement has been perverted to an ideology and is badly in need of renovation and redirection. Here in the States the theory movement has simply disintegrated....In my opinion we should begin with a reconceptualization of administration and organizations. The theories of educational administration and the theories of administration and organizational behavior used in our field are based on certain assumptions which are no longer valid. (p. 15)
The Participants in the Griffiths-Greenfield Controversy

Professor Griffiths

Daniel Griffiths received his doctorate in educational administration from Yale University in 1952. Following graduation, Griffiths quickly became involved with the CPEA. As a gifted writer, Griffiths busied himself publishing books, articles, and monographs about theory and the importance of social science concepts for educational administration (Culbertson, 1988, p. 16). His book Human Relations in School Administration was published in 1956, an article entitled “Toward a Theory of Administrative Behavior” was included as a chapter in Campbell and Gregg’s (1957) Administrative Behavior in Education, and in 1959 his Administrative Theory appeared on the market. It can be seen from this partial listing of his activities during the seven years after having completed his doctoral studies why Daniel Griffiths was a force to be reckoned with in educational administration. He has continued to be a prolific writer, a persuasive speaker, and a driving force in theory development in educational administration from that period to the present time.

Griffiths own work that has contributed to theory development in educational administration has been in the area of decision-making. In his Administrative Theory, Griffiths (1959) discussed his theory through stating his four major assumptions:
1. Administration is a generalized type of behavior to be found in all human organizations.

2. Administration is the process of directing and controlling life in a social organization.

3. The specific function of administration is to develop and regulate the decision-making process in the most effective manner possible.

4. The administrator works with groups or with individuals with a group referent, not with individuals as such. (pp. 71-74)

Griffiths saw decision-making as the heart of organization and administration and all other functions can best be described in terms of decision-making (1959, p. 75).

As Herda (1978) pointed out, Griffiths believed that organizations function as a subsystem within a larger social system. Griffiths (1964) wrote that systems theory could be the model for a theory of administrative change, which accounts for the nature of open systems, which, in turn, are believed to maintain steady states and are self-regulating. Within the total system there is a hierarchical order, with subordinate systems maintaining a degree of independence from one another. An example of subordinate system operating within the total system would be a college operating within the larger university.

Daniel Griffiths was one of the guiding theorists of the Theory Movement from 1954 to 1964 (the year which marked the beginning of the end for the movement). In 1964 Griffiths joined the ranks of men whom Halpin (1970) described as "victims of their
own success” (p. 173)—he accepted the position of dean of the School of Education, Health, Nursing, and Arts Professions at New York University. In commiserating with such men, Halpin (1970) wrote:

I reveal no state secret when I say that the deanship is literally a killing job and that the exigencies of the job make it difficult, if not impossible, for a dean to maintain his scholarly and research interests while also fulfilling his responsibilities as a dean. These men must make choices and must make these choices in the light of the expectations imposed upon them by others with respect to their own professional roles. (pp. 172-173)

For the next ten years, Griffiths devoted himself to the deanship, which left little time for active involvement in theory development or writing. In 1974, after ten years in the deanship, Griffiths decided to renew his involvement. “I thought the best way to get back in the swing of things would be to attend the IIP in Great Britain. That proved to be one of the best lunches of my life” (Griffiths, 1994, p. 1). Unbeknownst to the participants, the stage was being set to introduce a test of Halpin’s (1970) statement that “right now, in administration, there is a great stress on the value of ‘systems theory.’ And this idea, too, will run its course” (p. 175). And, of course, systems theory was at the heart of Greenfield’s attack.
Professor Greenfield

Thomas B. Greenfield took his undergraduate degree at the University of British Columbia in English and German. After a few years as an elementary school teacher and one year as a deputy principal before leaving to pursue Masters and Doctoral degrees. The time during which Greenfield was in graduate school coincided with the productive years of the Theory Movement (the early 1960s). The title of his Ph.D. dissertation was “Systems Analysis in Education—A Factor Analysis and Analysis of Variance of Pupil Achievement.” Greenfield (1993) described that title as “A terrible title—but it displays the things I was proud of at the time. I cringe to think of it, a blaring trumpet advertising method, and no substance at all” (p. 233).

According to Greenfield (1975), interpretation, explanation, and clarification of social reality from the perspective of different people are the purposes of social science. An additional purpose is to show how those differing perspectives influence the actions that take place within that social reality. Herda (1978) made the following comments about Greenfield’s position:

The task of explaining human action and social forms becomes the “interpretation” of human meanings. Following Weber in recognizing that interpretation of meanings is not sufficient to understand social phenomena in “causally adequate” terms, Greenfield (1977:7) suggests that the theorists must also show how people
construe social situations and the consequences of such constructions. This involves asking what are the implications of seeing social reality one way as opposed to another. (p. 90)

Culbertson (1988) discussed Greenfield's view that organizations are social inventions and "cannot be equated with such objective phenomena as planets and stars" (p. 20). Organizations, in Greenfield's view, do not think, act, or chose; neither do they set goals, as people do. Culbertson (1988) further described Greenfield's position as "vehemently rejecting the thesis that natural science modes of inquiry can advance the study of human phenomena...[I]nquirers must discover, through qualitative analyses of meaning, how diverse people interpret organizations in which they live and how these interpretations affect action" (p. 20).

Greenfield (1993) came to a place in his understanding of organizations where he saw that "there were complexities in the world other than those that the systems framework had led me to see. I was strongly aware of the existence of alternative realities" (p. 240). That realization formed the basis of his attack on the traditional approach to theory development in educational administration. Greenfield rejected systems theory as the foundation for organization science. Indeed, he rejected the notion of a science of organizations in the tradition of the natural sciences. This rejection for Greenfield was a rejection of his graduate training and of the direction in which his professional career had taken him in favor of his earlier training in literature and the arts.
The position from which Greenfield began to write in the early 1970s was that of phenomenology, the more modern roots of which can be traced to "...the phenomenological school of thought developed by Edmund Husserl" (Herda, 1978, p. 18). Husserl was concerned with what he perceived as flaws in logical positivism. Speigelberg (1969) delineated the major flaws by identifying two problem areas in modern sciences which demanded adjustments. The two areas concerned "the degeneration of science into an unphilosophical study of mere facts, as exemplified by positivistic science..." and "the 'naturalism' of science which had rendered science incapable of coping with problems of absolute truth and validity" (Speigelberg, 1969, p. 79).

Herda (1978) described phenomenology as "the science of essence in pure experience. All of reality seems to be a stream of experiences understood as a pure act" (p. 54). Herda also pointed out that Husserl made a distinction between matter and form; that "the duality of matter (sensil) and form (intentional) play a major role in the phenomenological domain" (p. 55).

Greenfield's Reveille

The most notorious critic of logical positivism in the early 1970s was the late Thomas Barr Greenfield. A parody of the title of Greenfield's (1980) article "The Man Who Comes Back Through the Door in the Wall: Discovering Truth, Discovering Self,
Discovering Organizations" may help to explain reactions to his presentation and its impact upon discussions of theory in educational administration. Beginning with the paper he delivered at the 1974 International Intervisitation Programme in Bristol, England, initial reaction to Greenfield and his contributions to educational administration theory could perhaps be described as "The Man Who Crashed through the Wall Where There Was No Door: Dismissing Truth, Dismissing Tradition, Dismissing Reality." An important aspect of what Griffiths and other theorists in educational administration perceived from Greenfield's writings was a denial of what Tyack and Hansot (1982) referred to as an "indebtedness to a group of social scientists in education and related fields who have sought patterns of meaning in what often seemed a formless kaleidoscope of change" (p. 267).

The conventional interpretation of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy portrays the two participants in the following ways. Daniel Griffiths was the traditionalist who was rigid, inflexible, and intolerant of alternative or nontraditional approaches in theory development. He was a cultural conservative. Greenfield, on the other hand, represented the free-spirit, the reactionary with an "anything goes" approach, a person who epitomized tolerance.

This author has a more controversial thesis that, in fact, suggests the opposite of the conventional interpretation. What follows on the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy will be a paradoxical rendering of the respective positions of Griffiths and Greenfield. The
author of this study suggests that the following position taken on the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy is a plausible interpretation. The real irony of this interpretation is that one of the people in the controversy was far more tolerant and open to nontraditional theory and research and that person is the one who is usually seen as the more intolerant of the two. In other words, this interpretation suggests that Griffiths was and is much more tolerant of nontraditional theories and approaches than was Greenfield.

In fairness to Greenfield it should be said that he would most probably discount the notion of his name connected to the idea of a revolution, or more precisely a revolt, in educational administration. This view finds support from Greenfield (1980) himself who abdicated any role as spokesman for a Greenfield school of organization theory, stating that it was not his school or his theory. Furthermore, he was not claiming that any such theory existed. What he had been doing was speaking on behalf of other voices—“foundational thinkers in subjectivist philosophy and interpretative social science” who had been largely ignored by those louder voices who advocated “a set of universal, objective, and ‘scientific’ propositions about organizations” (pp. 28-29).

However, it must be acknowledged that, more than merely representing other voices, Greenfield was launching an attack on the legacy of educational administrative theory when he presented his paper at the International Intervisitation Programme (IIP) of 1974. Although Greenfield had written along similar lines prior to IIP 1974 (Greenfield, 1973), his impact among professors of educational administration had been minimal as he
was not yet a well-established writer. At IIP 1974 the actual presentation of the paper, a reiteration and expansion of his article of the previous year, was a formality as copies had been distributed to conference participants a few days earlier. Reaction to Greenfield’s ideas was not long in coming. As Griffiths (1994a) recalled:

I had read his paper by this time and was thoroughly annoyed by it. I read it as a personal attack on everyone that I respected: Simon, Barnard, Getzels, Guba, March, Halpin, and even me....The style was confrontational, the attacks on theorists were personal, and the content refuted everything most of those present had spent their lives teaching. This was my introduction to Thom Greenfield. It was also my reintroduction to the intellectual world of educational administration. (pp. 2-3)

Thus began the Greenfield revolution. As Culbertson (1988) remarked about IIP 1974, Greenfield “fired a shot heard around the world” (p. 20). This so-called revolution served as a catalyst that gradually infused theory development in educational administration with a new energy borne of controversy, one of the lasting contributions of Greenfield to educational administration. But in 1974, much of what he had to offer was lost in the words he used to convey what he had in mind; and, as Greenfield (1993) himself said of that time, “I was still groping to understand....I was unable to check things out by talking to other people, I did it mostly by myself” (p. 241). Furthermore, by his own admission, what Greenfield (1977) “did in Bristol was to startle others with a vision which
was new to me and which I had grasped with some difficulty and stress...” (p. 87). The
difficult and stressful groping and grasping certainly contributed to the tone of the paper;
to the tension in the room before, during, and after the presentation; and to the reaction of
those present when Greenfield made his presentation.

After the dust had settled subsequent to the fireworks of IIP 1974, participants and
non-participants alike began to assess the implications of Greenfield’s paper. The result
could not have been foreseen by Greenfield (1993) who claimed that he did not “go to
Bristol to throw down a gauntlet” (p. 243). Yet, he must have been naive at best to
think that he could stand before a group of theorists and state categorically that everything
they had been teaching and writing about for decades was wrong and that they had been
indulging “at best in a premature hope and at worst in a delusion” (Greenfield, 1975, p.
76) and not expect some form of strong response.

The Griffiths-Greenfield Controversy: Setting the Scene

While there was a great deal of reaction to Greenfield’s presentation at Bristol
during the International Intervisitation Programme of 1974, Daniel Griffiths was probably
the most well-known individual to respond to Greenfield. Griffiths’ (1975) article entitled
“Some Thoughts About Theory In Educational Administration--1975” signaled the
beginning of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy. In Greenfield’s (1978) view, “the crux
of the issue is whether social reality is based upon naturally existing systems or upon human invention of social forms” (p. 1). On the other hand, Griffiths (personal communication, January 30, 1996) reflected as follows:

The controversy was not over issues of positivism and phenomenology. From my point-of-view it had to do with refuting an unsubstantiated and unjustifiable critique of the Theory Movement. While the movement had much about it to be criticized, the substitution of emotion for scholarship was not the way to do it.

(p. 3)

Griffiths’ (1975) view that the controversy was not about positivism and phenomenology is supported by a statement he made later in the same article that suggested that studying organizations by using some phenomenological orientation would be useful, but that he would warn against trying to develop phenomenological theories of administration, because phenomenology is essentially a philosophy or method of inquiry.

Further evidence that Griffiths did not simply write off Greenfield’s comments made at IIP 1974 was presented in Griffiths’ (1988) warning to professors of educational administration:

Ignoring the critique is unfortunate because what Greenfield did was to tell professors of educational administration that the social sciences are undergoing tremendous changes and that the philosophical and methodological bases on which the theory movement was founded (logical positivism) are now considered by most
philosophers of science, and many social scientists, to be outdated. (p. 31)

Yet, to say that Griffiths did not simply dismiss Greenfield is not the same as saying that Griffiths was in agreement with all or even most of Greenfield's argument. Obviously, both men felt strongly about their viewpoints and felt that the other was not accurately perceiving what each was saying to the other.

Incommensurability, Pugilism, and Anarchy

Throughout the period of time during which the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy occurred, there was evidence of misunderstanding between both participants. In particular, the articles published by both Griffiths and Greenfield in which they responded to one another gave the impression that each was talking past the other. At times, the responses appear oblique and seem not to address specific statements made by the other participant in the controversy. Herda (1978) attributed the apparent inability of Griffiths and Greenfield to communicate to what Kuhn (1970) referred to as incommensurability:

Problems of incommensurability of the two viewpoints and partial communication (Kuhn 1970, 1970a, 1977, 1977a) are evident when examining the discussions between Griffiths and Greenfield. The specific nature, or data, to which their respective languages are linked emerge as something quite different for Greenfield and Griffiths. (p. 98)
What Herda (1978) was saying was that Greenfield and Griffiths used the same terminology to identify objects, but that terminology had different meanings for each of them. In other words, Herda used Kuhn's concept of incommensurability to explain the disagreement between Griffiths and Greenfield. Herda was saying that the two men essentially spoke different languages.

The Griffiths-Greenfield controversy thus could appear to reflect what Kuhn (1970) referred to as incommensurability: the breakdown in communication between members of different language communities whose respective members have no recourse to a neutral language. However, the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy cannot be understood simply by saying that the participants had no recourse to a neutral language. In describing his doctoral training program in educational administration, Greenfield (1993) stated, "There were two kinds of emphases, the first and most important, was on quantitative method, the second was on an understanding of the social sciences... We learned the social science of empiricist realism, that is the methods of logical positivism" (p. 232). Thus, Greenfield would himself admitted that he did speak the same language that Griffiths spoke, as he had the same type of training that Griffiths received. In fact, he could argue that his mother-tongue was the same as Griffiths. On the other side, Griffiths was conversant with phenomenology, perhaps much more so than Greenfield would concede. Although the concept of phenomenology was a relatively new one to Greenfield, Griffiths (1975) wrote:
To the Americans, it was the cause of considerable consternation. The term is familiar to us; the phenomenology fad rose in the United States after World War II and subsided in the early 1950's. Further, we were thoroughly confused by the way Greenfield used the term, particularly the people he associated with it. (p. 16)

One of Greenfield's complaints grew out of Griffiths' assertion that he (Griffiths) was familiar with phenomenology and his subsequent depiction of phenomenology as a fad. To Greenfield it seemed that his entire argument was being given short shrift by colleagues more concerned with defending their territory than with the evaluation of new knowledge that might displace currently accepted theories. Greenfield (1977) employed a boxing metaphor to summarize the controversy resulting from the International Intervisitation Programme of 1974:

Instead they [his colleagues in North America] have largely contented themselves with seeing the issues of the 1974 controversy as an unfortunate battle in rather poor taste which somehow demeans theory and the past glory of the field of study. Griffiths and Willower are in one corner with the champion, Theory, and I am in the opposite with the plucky but doomed challenger, Phenomenology. (p. 83)
Griffiths and Greenfield: A Concluding Perspective

Griffiths (personal communication, January 30, 1996) warned against over-emphasizing the importance of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy. That is sound advice when viewing the controversy simply as the interaction between two individuals defending two opposing views of theory and reality. The point of Griffiths' warning seems to be that undue attention to the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy tends to obscure important work in theory development and research that was in progress before, during, and after the period of the controversy. Yet, the importance of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy goes beyond the immediate points of contention to the various new directions for inquiry and theory development that were encouraged or engendered as a result of the notoriety given the controversy. Furthermore, the controversy illustrates the value of working within a research tradition which allows for competing concepts, theories, and paradigms.

Greenfield

As was mentioned earlier, Greenfield's approach to theory development in educational administration leaned more toward razing the entire school of thought and starting rather than working within the mainstream of theory development, while hoping to contribute to a modification in the direction theory development was taking. Greenfield
(1978) wrote, “The crux of the issue is whether social reality is based upon naturally existing systems or upon human invention of social forms” (p. 1). This take-no-hostages approach was viewed by Griffiths (1975, 1977, 1979) as a threat to the relatively short, but distinguished history of theory development in educational administration and as a denial of the validity of any view of reality that differed from his own.

In his own view, Greenfield was pointing out aspects of life which influenced organizations and which were being ignored by theorists in educational administration as a whole. Labels suggestive of various non-traditional views were neither sought by Greenfield nor warranted. Greenfield (1993) commented:

I hope I have never taken the position that one value position is as good as another--the opposite indeed--though I have tried to show that looking at the world through the eyes of value holders reveals profound conflicts that reason itself fails utterly to resolve. I may have come close, but I never embraced the relativist horror.... While I’m at it, I should say that I am dismayed at those who read my work as though it made nothing but a liberationist, egalitarian, and rights-of-the-individual argument, a position seen most vividly--and wrongly--in the stance of today’s deconstructors, post-modernists and radical feminists. (pp. 268-269)
Daniel Griffiths has been not only a leading proponent of theory development in educational administration since the early days of the Theory Movement, he has also been a leading critic of the weaknesses of theory development. However, there is an important distinction between Griffiths' criticism and that of Greenfield, whose criticism grew out of his argument that organizations are social inventions. This argument left no room for compromise or assimilation of new knowledge (i.e., Greenfield's) into traditional theory development in educational administration. On the other hand, rather than repudiating Greenfield's argument in toto, Griffiths sought to assimilate those aspects of Greenfield's argument that he felt were valid and could enhance theory development.

Many of Greenfield's criticisms and concerns had been voiced earlier by Griffiths (1956, 1969) and even during the period of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy (Griffiths, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1983). However, the crux of Greenfield's argument, as perceived by Griffiths, was that there could not be scientific theories of educational administration. In discussing alternatives to traditional theory, Griffiths (1983) wrote:

In addition, such critics as Bates and Greenfield contend that there cannot be theories of educational administration in any scientific sense. From a situation, only 25 years ago, in which the field seemed reasonably confident that it had a small number of satisfactory theories, we have now reached the condition in which
there are numerous theories, and many are contending there should be none. The majority of scholars in educational administration, however, still hold for traditional theory. (pp. 217-218)

During the period of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy, Griffiths was not only acknowledging legitimate shortcomings in theories of educational administration, he was also making an effort to correct some of the problems. He is still writing about an approach to the use of theories in educational administration: theoretical pluralism. Griffiths' (1993) argued that organizations and organizational behaviors represent complex phenomena and, therefore, should be examined through the viewpoints offered by a number of theoretical approaches, to be employed concurrently in organizational studies.

Recently, Griffiths (1994a) commented on the difference between his and Greenfield's approach to theory development:

I got to appreciate and respect what Greenfield was doing, but I have never understood why he spent a third of his life critiquing a movement that lasted only a single decade and was over by 1965....In the 20 years since IIP '74 my theoretical position has changed greatly, due in part to the jolt I received that hot afternoon in Bristol, but mostly because organization science has moved in so many new directions—all ignored by Greenfield. (p. 3)

In other words, Griffiths' implication is that organization science bypassed Greenfield. Ironically Greenfield, who was partially responsible for the evolution of Griffiths' own
theoretical position, appears to have been much more provincial in his views than has Griffiths.

Traditions and Challenges: The Case for a Research Tradition

The Griffiths-Greenfield controversy has value as a window through which to view the vista of change and growth in theory development in educational administration during the 1970s and early 1980s. The purpose of the lengthy discussion of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy has been to demonstrate: (1) the kinds of changes that were ongoing in theory development in educational administration; and, (2) the nature of the controversy as exemplifying the arduous task of synthesis when the participants in a controversy are not looking to compromise.

A major contribution of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy could be seen in Laudan’s (1977) argument for loyalty to a research tradition over loyalty to an individual theory. Griffiths argued for the essentials of a research tradition which included a meaningful definition of theory. In a plea for restoring meaning to the term theory, Griffiths (1983) observed that theory was devoid of meaning and, being that it was such a nice term, “it might be worthwhile to try to return it to respectability” (p. 219). Yet, Griffiths was aware of the contributions of some aspects of Greenfield’s argument to
theory development. Most of Greenfield’s writings, however, would seem to indicate a position that cannot be reconciled to the research tradition.
Chapter 5

Life After Positivism: Administration with a Human Face?

Introduction

The thesis presented in this chapter is that logical positivism began to be challenged by nontraditional theories in educational administration. One of the nontraditional approaches was feminist theories, which stressed care, concern, connection and commitment. Critical and postmodern theories employed the technique of deconstruction. The act of deconstructing a value position means that the position is analyzed to determine what the underlying philosophical assumptions are, whether those assumptions are valid, and if they support the value position. A goal of these nontraditional theories is to provide a more humane perspective of educational administration than can be achieved through logical positivism.

Revealing his frustration with the state of theory development and practice in educational administration, Saxe (1980) wrote of the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy: "Finally we reveal a raging controversy over theory in educational administration that should shake the foundations of schools everywhere—but won’t" (p. 121). A salient point in the argument made by Greenfield during the period of the Griffiths-Greenfield
controversy was the inappropriate use of systems theory to describe and promote organizations.

From 1970 to 1985, a period of time during which the "raging controversy" gained momentum, several books were published that appeared to accept systems theory as a given for a way to understand how organizations function. A sampling of authors who wrote during that period from a systems perspective includes: Schmuck, Runkel, Saturen, Martell, and Derr (1972); Milstein and Belasco (1973); English (1975); Kimbrough and Nunnery (1976); Huse and Bowditch (1977); Burrell and Morgan (1979); Hanson (1979); Orlosky, McCleary, Shapiro, and Webb (1984); and, Knezevich (1984). In light of this continued support for systems theory in educational administration even as Greenfield was posing his challenge, one can understand Saxe's (1980) despondent tone. One of Halpin's (1970) comments about the demise of the Theory Movement is an apt description of the mood that was upon Saxe (1980), Greenfield (1978, 1979a, 1979b), and Sergiovanni and Carver (1980) and others who were actively involved in educational administration during the 1970s and 1980s: "Because many of us had expected too much, too quickly, and too easily, we foredoomed ourselves to discouragement" (p. 167).
Growing Pains

When Halpin (1970) stated that the Theory Movement had run down and the next generation educational administrators had not been adequately trained to continue the work of theory development, he was not implying that theorists should sit idly by while educational administration received a magic transformation. To the contrary, he was stating the need for hard work, intelligent work, over a long period of time. There is nothing about theory development in educational administration that is self-correcting. Even as Saxe (1980) was bemoaning the status quo in educational administrative theory, Griffiths (1983, 1988) and Willower (1988) among others were acknowledging the weaknesses of theory development while at the same time pressing on with the work of theory construction. Griffiths (1979) conceded:

I have been concerned about doing research and developing theory on the “real” behavior of “real” people for a long time, but only recently did I become aware that my colleagues and I use a rather abstract language to talk about administrative behavior. (pp. 41-42)

So, there was an awareness among theorists and researchers of inadequacies in current theory in educational administration and in the practical application of theory in educational settings. According to Griffiths (1979), the fault did not lie entirely with the theories:
As editor of the *Educational Administration Quarterly*, the only educational administration periodical in the United States that presumes to be scholarly, I am constantly appalled at the papers that we receive. Most of the writings can be typified as “using an atrocious style to spoil what might otherwise have been a mediocre idea.” (p. 41)

The impact of cultural growing pains was being felt in theory development in educational administration as well, as a increasing number of theorists began to criticize as inadequate theories which were highly abstract and which could not readily be placed into practice by administrators. Sergiovanni and Carver (1980) proposed a compromise between a pure science of administration and an approach that would stress values:

The strengths of a science of administration—objectivity, neutrality, and wide applicability—are also its weaknesses. The absence of values, the lack of goal emphasis, and the difficulty in developing carry-over in particular situations require that school executives continually assess and modify scientific propositions in the light of a value system unique to education and of goals unique to their schools. Therefore, although it would be unwise to ignore scientific findings, it seem [sic] equally unwise to accept them without evaluation and modification. (p. 7)

Sergiovanni and Carver (1980) pointed out that a pure science of administration ignores ethical considerations. What they proposed was an applied science of
administration, a marriage of science and art. The applied science would be enhanced by systems theory while depending upon "value sets" as an aid to decision-making by administrators. According to Sergiovanni and Carver, administrative decision-making should be directed by theory, enhanced by intuition, and informed by the administrator's personal value system. That position provides an interesting counterpoint to arguments for and against value-neutral theories in educational administration.

The next three sections will present a brief view of postmodern theory, critical theory, and feminist theory. Marxist theory will be considered only by reference to the Marxian concept of the dialectic, and the underlying theme of oppression which is found in the other three views. What is meant by dialectic is that the "social world is constantly in a state of becoming. Whatever social arrangements prevail at any given point in time, and no matter how 'natural' or fixed they appear, they are only contingent and might well have been otherwise" (Evers & Lakomski, 1991, p. 142).

Poststructuralism (Postmodernism)

In this discussion, the terms poststructuralism and postmodernism will be used synonymously. Johnston (1994) related modernism to the industrial period. This ideology of modernism or structuralism, which Maxcy (1995) called a "disappearing tradition" (p. 473) began to give way to postmodernism during the latter years of this century.
Garrison, Parks, and Connelly (1991) described structuralists as tending "to view their structures as permanent, fixed, value neutral, and independent of the social, political, economic, institutional or social context. Further, they tend to see their models, theories etc. as representing and therefore deriving their meaning from a transcendental objective domain detached from human interests" (p. 65). Postmodernists, on the other hand, tend to see structures as transient, historically and contextually contingent, with values derived from human interests and interactions, and not dependent upon a transcendental objective domain.

Postmodernism has attempted to depict human experiences without resorting to the scientific method (Maxcy, 1994) or to what Feigl (1951) referred to as logico-mathematical procedures. Maxcy (1994) credited Thomas B. Greenfield as the author of the first postmodern/poststructural essays in educational administration, saying "He led the poststructural attack on positivist assumptions underwriting administration 'science'" (p. 9). A key part of that attack on positivist assumptions has to do with instrumental rationality, the view that considers rationality as a function of means-ends chains. Thus, an action is rational if it achieves some end, non-rational if it does not achieve some discernible end. Rational actions are, therefore, instrumental.

In the postmodern view the educational organization, rather than being a "cult of efficiency" (Callahan, 1962) was more aptly described as an "organized anarchy" (Cohen, March, and Olsen, 1972). In Hanson's (1991) words, "This organized anarchy
perspective represented a reaction to most existing theories that assumed problem solving took place in the context of organizations with well-defined goals and technologies and benefited substantially from extensive participant involvement” (p. 162). Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) ascribed three properties to organized anarchies which Hanson summarized as follows: (1) “the goals are ambiguous and frequently inconsistent;” (2) “the technology of action is unclear even to the participants;” and, (3) “there is a fluid participation of members” (p. 162). Clearly, the idea of organized anarchies does not fit well within the classical view of organizations or the positivist tradition.

Another concept that is central to the poststructuralist position is that of deconstruction. As Garrison, Parks, and Connelly (1991) explained:

Deconstruction denies that there is any meaning to a text that transcends the text itself. Said differently, there is no objectivistic reference for the symbols of some text to refer to or signify, there is no ‘transcendental order of truth accessible to man’s natural reason,’ there are only symbols, other texts....Without a transcendental order, some transcendental fixed point to ultimately attach all its relations to structuralism looses [sic] its meaning, hence the term poststructural.

(p. 84)

Deconstruction is based upon the proposition that values have underlying philosophical assumptions. The act of deconstructing a value position means that the position is analyzed to determine what the underlying philosophical assumptions are,
whether those assumptions are valid, and if they support the value position. Effective deconstruction occurs when the person doing the deconstruction is able to deconstruct several philosophical positions and synthesize aspects of the meaning derived from each of those positions to arrive at ethical decisions (Garrison, Parks, & Connelly, 1991).

As used by postmodernists, deconstruction allows for a critical analysis of logical positivism's purported objectivity and value-neutral theory. Logical positivism's claim that an objective theory or an objective truth can be obtained (along with the idea that a transcendent truth claim exists) would be rejected by the postmodernist, who sees all value claims as context dependent. Garrison et al. (1991) illustrated the concept of deconstruction through a structuralist view of organizational theory deconstructed by leading organizational theorists such as March. The underlying assumptions of the structuralist view of organizations were at odds with the reality of how organizations function. By analyzing the underlying assumptions, the poststructuralists were able to formulate new assumptions that addressed the shortcomings of the structuralist view and that were more in line with how organizations actually do function.

In connection with the postmodernist view of context dependent meaning, Garrison et al. (1991) explained, "...power always proceeds all discourse-practices, speech acts and text construction and therefore that there is no such thing as an uncoerced consensus. All there is are the discourse-practices of some particular community at some
particular time and place” (p. 66). This idea of a coerced consensus was central to
Greenfield’s (1975) attack on logical positivism in educational administration theory.

The notion of power as proceeding all discourse-practices provides an interesting
lens through which to view the history of theory development in educational
administration. The literature on the beginnings of the Theory Movement, for example,
described the 1954 NCPEA meeting in Denver as a turning point in educational
administration, because of the confrontation between behavioral scientists and professors
of educational administration. A postmodernist interpretation of that confrontation would
include the fact that, prior to that 1954 meeting, the behavioral scientists had moved into
key positions at CPEA Centers and had become a part of what Iannaccone (1973) referred
to as “an easy elite if there ever was one” (p. 56).

According to a postmodernist analysis, theory was introduced into educational
administration by that easy elite who had moved into positions of power and who
exercised that power at the 1954 NCPEA meeting in Denver. As recalled by Halpin
(1970), the behavioral scientists “pointed out to the group—and not gently—that what the
CPEA Centers and the members of the NCPEA were doing in the name of research was
distinctly a-theoretical in character and sloppy in quality” (p. 161). The conclusion of this
analysis would be that the behavioral scientists prevailed in the long run because they held
the power and were able to coerce consensus among the members of the NCPEA.
A final point to be made about poststructuralism is its view toward frameworks, such as Burrell and Morgan's (1979) framework that consisted of four governing paradigms: functionalist, interpretive, radical humanist, and radical structuralist. Foster (1986) placed the majority of traditional organizational theory under the functionalist paradigm (p. 118). Maxcy (1995) presented a basic weakness of frameworks: that the framework thinkers never really question the assumptions of frameworking. Writing about the difficulties of framework thinking, Maxcy (1995) commented:

At the heart of frameworks thinking lurks an almost schizophrenic posture toward the research enterprise—a kind of "three faces of leadership" condition. On one side it is believed that it is possible to stand outside leadership and describe it objectively (the objectivist face). Next, it is assumed that there is a single "real" phenomenon termed leadership of which we have differing and competing views (essentialist face). And finally, it is assumed that no adherent of any of these frameworks has understood the description of that phenomenon of leadership correctly, although they may believe they have (subjectivist face). (p. 475)

This view toward frameworks revolves around the ideas of deconstruction and context-dependent truths or values. One problem for postmodernists concerning frameworks such as Burrell and Morgan's (1979) is that the underlying assumptions of frameworking have not been deconstructed its proponents. A further concern is that the frameworks described assume that those who hold various of the competing views ascribe
to transcendent, universal truths or values (associated with that view), which in turn forces individuals to maintain a particular view regardless of the context of the situation they find themselves in at any given moment. Such a situation does not allow for an administrator, for example, to base his or her decisions for the solution of problems upon the context of those problems; rather, the decisions must be based upon the frame within which the individual usually works.

Critical Theory

Critical theory can be traced back to the Frankfort school of the 1920s and 1930s in Germany. Adherents of critical theory rejected the idea of an objectivistic, positivistic, and value-neutral science. In educational administration, critical theorists challenge the status quo represented mainly by a positivistic direction in theory development, including fact/value separation and the idea of theory as value-neutral. In positivism, according to critical theorists, only facts are considered to representative of scientific knowledge. Critical theorists view positivism as primarily concerned with efficient decision-making and goal achievement. In addition, critical theorists deal with issues of power, oppression, and liberation. Morrow (1994) wrote of the importance of critical theory in dealing with domination and alienation:

But critical theory has a more specific focus on the substantive problematic of
*domination*, a complex notion based on a concern with the ways social relations also mediate power relations to create various forms of *alienation* and inhibit the realization of human possibilities. In this respect, critical theory is a kind of conflict theory in that it is recognized that relations of domination manifest themselves in social struggles. (p. 10)

Willower (1988) explained the application of critical theory in the social sciences as “examining particular social arrangements in terms of how they promote the interests of one social class at the expense of another” (p. 740). Foster (1986) discussed the role of critical theory as one of holding up to inspection or criticism concepts of organization within society. According to Foster (1986),

Critical theory questions the framework of the way we organize our lives or the way our lives are organized for us....Thus, a critical theory examines sources of social domination and repression, but with the caveat that since we ultimately make our worlds, we can ultimately change them. Finally, a critical theory is committed to values; its critique is largely oriented toward how created social structures impede the attainment of such values as democracy and freedom. (p. 72)

Garrison, Parks, and Connelly (1991) portrayed critical theorists as rejecting, to varying degrees, the ideas of “fixed essences, natural necessity and eternal laws” (p. 46).
The idea of reality as being socially constructed is central to critical theory. In developing their sketch of critical theory, Garrison et al. (1991) explained:

Critical theorists tend to take both social institutions or individual consciousness as being historically contingent, and therefore open to critique and reconstruction. Reason itself is recognized as being historically constructed and contingent rather than expressing natural necessity. (pp. 46-47)

Over the past two decades, the ideas of social institutions and individual consciousness being historically contingent have become more prominent in the literature of educational administration. Again, much of the credit for this goes to Greenfield’s writings, beginning with IIP 1974 in Bristol, England. But the idea of context as central to meaning, to decision-making, and to history is reflected even in Griffiths’ (1994b) view of the purpose of theoretical pluralism—choosing a theory or group of theories to use in resolving problems based upon which theories best fit the problem under consideration.

But, how does one make a choice among theories in order to resolve problems? For the critical theorist, the ability to make an intelligent and effective choice would involve deconstruction. As mentioned earlier, deconstruction is based upon the proposition that values have underlying philosophical assumptions. The act of deconstructing a value position means that the position is analyzed to determine what the underlying philosophical assumptions are, whether those assumptions are valid, and if they support the value position. Effective deconstruction occurs when the person doing the
deconstruction is able to deconstruct several philosophical positions and synthesize aspects of the meaning derived from each of those positions to arrive at ethical decisions (Garrison, Parks, & Connelly, 1991).

Along with deconstruction, Garrison et al. (1991) pointed out the importance of “two lines of reflection on the relation between knowledge and value”:

When one-sided interests dominate, the result is what Habermas (1970) calls “systematically distorted communication.” Systematically distorted communication is much more concrete, easier to identify and discuss than the abstract idea of ideology.... The second form of critique for critical theory is the transcendental critique of the “ideal speech situation” (ISS). (pp. 53, 55)

An example systematically distorted communication in theory development in educational administration can be seen in the insistence upon a rigid adherence to Feigl’s (1951) definition of theory from the early days of the Theory Movement through the next two decades. There was no critical reflection upon what became the status quo for theorists in educational administration. As has already been mentioned, there was an elite group who became the leaders of the Theory Movement and it was they who decided upon what constituted theory. Anything less was not seriously considered to be theory.

The ideal speech situation is used by critical theorists to evaluate whether or not a situation or an interaction is being characterized by systematically distorted communication. In the discussion of the elite group establishing the definition of theory
for the Theory Movement in educational administration, the ideal speech situation would allow for symmetry of speech roles, or as Garrison et al. (1991) expressed so well, “The goal of the ideal speech situation is an uncoerced universal consensus expressing common rather than private or elite interests” (pp. 55-56).

Critical theory may present a fundamental challenge to theory development in educational administration and to existing theories which have helped to inform and direct educational administration for the past forty years. If the position taken by critical theorists is correct, then much of administrative theory and practice have served to foster elitist self-interests at the expense of the interests of the larger educational community. Yet, in describing the confusion surrounding the view that social criticism and reform are the exclusive domain of critical theorists, Willower (1988) warned, “What is obviously required is the examination and assessment of existing and alternative social and educational arrangements, and that work should not be given by default to any one group or be guided by only one perspective” (p. 743).

Feminist Theory

In the “In Conversation” chapter of the book Greenfield on Educational Administration, Peter Ribbins (1993) asked T. Barr Greenfield how he and Hodgkinson had influenced one another and what was the kind of intellectual debt owed by each to the
other. In part, Greenfield’s (1993) response was that “the debt he [Hodgkinson] may owe me is that mine was the initial breach in the wall. I began the discussion of contentious issues. This opened up the field and he has marched through that breach” (p. 263). Greenfield felt that his debt to Hodgkinson was a better understanding of the world of values. It is one of the ironies of Greenfield’s life that, having breached the wall, he had no control over who marched through that breach. In a surprisingly forceful tone, Greenfield (1993) commented:

While I’m at it, I should say that I am dismayed at those who read my work as though it made nothing but a liberationist, egalitarian, and rights-of-the-individual argument, a position seen most vividly—and wrongly—in the stance of today’s deconstructors, post-modernists and radical feminists. (pp. 268-269)

Greenfield’s concern as expressed in his writings seems to have been two-fold: (1) to introduce into theory development in educational administration the idea that organizations are social inventions comprised of a myriad of realities, and (2) to promote a view of science and art as legitimate partners in the quest for a more complete understanding of organizations. But even a cursory reading of Greenfield’s works from the early 1970s on would tend to convey to the reader a sense of empathy toward the deconstructors, post-modernists, and radical feminists. However, as Catherine Marshall (personal communication, March 21, 1996) suggested, Greenfield didn’t connect the things he was talking about to gender.
On the other hand, Griffiths apparently went beyond traditional theories in educational administration to make connections about gender. As guest editor of *Educational Administration Quarterly* in August of 1991, an issue devoted entirely to nontraditional theories in educational research, Griffiths described the kind of articles that were sought for publication:

The crucial point is that articles which only advocated a theory were not wanted. The theory being presented had to be accompanied by research that demonstrated its usefulness.... The articles presented here cover a wide range: feminist theory, semiotics, critical theory, chaos theory.... The research demonstrates the point that changing theories changes the problems to be investigated and the methodology employed. (p. 263)

But, while there has been a commendable effort among some theorists in educational administration to “cast their nets more widely” (Strauss & Ober, 1990), feminists would charge that the nets have been cast more widely, but the fishing has been confined to the same old section of the lake. “Feminists think that the separation of educational administration and teaching establishes a systematically distorted conversation in which the self-transcending values of many women, e.g., care, concern, connection and commitment are devalued, silenced and unrewarded” (Garrison, Parks, and Connelly, 1991, pp. 25-26). A significant problem for organization theories is that the arguments supporting or criticizing the various theories ignore gender and the realities that women
contribute to organizations, resulting in what Gilligan (1982) termed “a single mode of social experience and interpretation” (p. 173). Another related problem was mentioned by Ortiz and Marshall (1988): “Theory, research methods, structures, and people that challenged the dominant goals or sought to open the system to alternative views tended to be discredited or denied access to the system” (p. 126).

Regarding this dearth of feminist theory and literature in educational administration, Garrison, Parks, and Connelly (1991) observed that “a strange and unnatural silence seems to have been imposed on the subject of feminism and educational administration in the literature of the profession” (p. 109); furthermore, as a counterpoint to Greenfield’s comment about radical feminists “There is no such thing as feminism, only feminisms” (p. 110).

However, the issues being raised by feminists in educational administration are beginning to be taken up by some of their male colleagues. Sergiovanni (1991) echoed a cogent argument being made by feminist writers in educational administration; namely that separating teaching from educational administration tends to alienate women from the enterprise:

If educational administration and teaching are brought closer together, as I am proposing, then teaching becomes a natural springboard into administration for women, and the number of potential female administrators would increase
dramatically. However, by mystifying administration and by changing its center from issues of substance to issues of process and its core technology from teaching and learning to something called management, we place administration squarely in the "male world." (p. 526)

This section concludes with the mention of one important contribution to theory development to come out of a feminist critique: the use of subjective experience in the pursuit of knowledge. Garrison, Parks, and Connelly (1991) argued that self-reflection is necessary for "the most effective use of experience in inquiry...As we have seen, the philosophy of science reflecting on the practice of science has found two basic dogmas of positivism untenable. They are they [sic] theory-fact and fact-value distinctions" (p. 122).
Chapter 6

A Summary of Observations and Reflections About Theory Development in Educational Administration from 1947 to 1995

Introduction

The final chapter of this study is intended to provide a recapitulation of observations about theory development in educational administration over the past fifty years, as well as observations about possible directions in the future. This chapter will restate the purpose of this study and present a brief literature review. Observations about theory development in educational administration will be followed by a summary of the study along with conclusions arrived at through the course of this investigation. The final section of this chapter will present the author's recommendations for further study.

Purpose of Study

A central thesis of this study was that forty years after the adoption of a theoretical foundation (which was intended to eliminate confusion and achieve agreement among professors, practitioners, and theorists in educational administration), there is as much
confusion and lack of agreement surrounding theory development in educational administration as there was at the inception of the Theory Movement. A second thesis of this study was that scientific inquiry does not exist in isolation from cultural influences. The third thesis of this study was that theory development in educational administration could be enhanced by taking advantage of what Laudan (1977) referred to as a research tradition, which was imported into educational administration from the social sciences.

Literature Reviewed

Much of the information reviewed for this study has been in the form of books and articles published by theorists in educational administration, organization science, sociology, philosophy (especially philosophy of science), psychology, and business management. Other information included history books of various stripes, newspaper and magazine accounts, and Britannica Online. Additional information that contributed to this study came from this author's personal reading regimen that has been sustained over the past several decades. Another fortuitous contribution to this study came about as a result of contacting a few of the authors whose works were used in this study. Each was gracious and contributed greatly to my understanding of issues and events in a way that the books could not. Daniel Griffiths in particular gave of his time to provide written
responses to several questions concerning the Theory Movement and the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy and to provide a few of his most recent writings.

Observations About Theory Development

Theory Development in Review

During the late 1940s educational administration programs were comprised primarily of myths, recollections, and anecdotes. Professors of educational administration had learned about administration through their mistakes and those of their mentors through on-the-job training. Yet, that approach to training administrators was on its way out. A new approach was initiated with the establishment of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration in 1947.

In 1947 educational administration started on a long and arduous journey toward professional competency and respectability. Prior to 1954 educational administration lacked a theoretical base upon which to build research and practice. Even after the historic meeting of the NCPEA in Denver, a tremendous effort was made to persuade practicing administrators and professors of educational administration to accept the view that a theoretical foundation for educational administration was essential to the development of the field. Theory development in educational administration was at its
peak from 1954 to 1964, the productive years of the Theory Movement. Although that
time and the theories produced during that time have come under heavy criticism over the
years, a lasting legacy of the Theory Movement was the introduction of theory into
educational administration. And, ironically, much of the criticism of logical positivism and
of the several theories developed in the early years of the Theory Movement has come
from theorists in educational administration or related fields who were early contributors
to the movement.

The 1950s saw America involved in the Korean conflict, which provided a
continued sense of instability and fear that had carried over from the war in Europe and
the Pacific. During that decade the Cold War took its place at the center of the
international stage. The competition between the United States and the Soviet Union was
classified by Sputnik in 1957 and the resulting federal legislation in 1958 in the form
of the National Defense Education Act. The emphasis of that Act was on the promotion
of mathematics and science in America’s educational system. Interestingly, that same
emphasis can be seen in the Theory Movement’s emphasis upon logical positivism and its
definition of theory that included “a set of assumptions from which can be derived by
purely logico-mathematical procedures a larger set of empirical laws” (Feigl, 1951, p.
182). Although no one ever attained to the lofty ideal of Feigl’s definition (Willower,
1975, pp. 78-79), it did lend an air of scientific respectability to educational
administration.
The importance of the influence of social forces upon organizations was seen in systems theory. Schools began to be described in terms of open systems. And the events occurring in an organization were seen as loosely coupled, that is, the events together can be seen as one while maintaining their own separate identities. The internal inconsistencies in organizations that had not been accounted for by theories up to that time began to be described by the contradictory term organized anarchies. The concept seemed to fit with the reality of organizational life.

By the 1980s theory development was being called into question as reflecting a dominant, repressive metanarrative (worldview) that ignored the contributions of women and minorities. Those whose voices had been silenced for decades in society and in educational administration were demanding to be heard and given a place at the table. And, ironically, many of those who denounced the current elitist paradigms were wanting to replace those paradigms with a new elitist regime. Thus, the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy serves as a metaphor: the voice of reason and synthesis confronting the voice that was tired of being silenced, had no desire to be assimilated into invisibility, and saw nothing of value in the old ways that deserved to be part of the new program.
Theory Development for a New Millennium

In “A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice” Cohen, March, and Olsen, (1972) argued that educational institutions are best understood as organized anarchies. According to those authors, organized anarchies exhibit three properties: (1) goals are ambiguous and often inconsistent; (2) the technology of action is unclear; and, (3) there is a fluid participation of organization members, which allows members to participate in a decision situation or not, as they choose. The garbage can concept provides an image of receptacles into which are dumped problems, solutions, and participants. As the problems, solutions, and participants float around in the garbage can, various combinations of the three are possible. Often such combinations provide for creative approaches to decision making that would not be realized in a more structured approach.

Building upon the garbage can model are two ideas that have the potential to draw together the various interest groups, theory adherents, and paradigm proponents in creative and dynamic combinations. Such combinations could benefit theory development and practice in educational administration in ways heretofore not realized. One idea was discussed by Gioia and Pitre (1990) in their article “Multiparadigm Perspectives on Theory Building.” Another idea discussed by Griffiths (1993, 1994) is that of theoretical pluralism. The two ideas are identical in some respects, especially in Griffiths’ thinking. His choice of the term “theoretical pluralism” was based on the preference for “the
concept of theoretical pluralism to multiparadigm, which is now the hot topic in educational administration, because it is a step closer to reality. Multiparadigm carries a lot of baggage of ontology, epistemology, and metaphysics that theoretical pluralism does not” (Griffiths, 1993, p. 1).

If one views a paradigm as a model within which several theories are employed to account for various aspects of educational administration, then selecting among those various theories within the paradigm in an attempt to provide a solution to some problem would be an example of theoretical pluralism. Working with various paradigms and the theories which make up those paradigms to arrive at a solution to a problem or problems would be an example of a multiparadigm approach.

The value of a multiparadigm approach or theoretical pluralism was explained by Gioia and Pitre (1990):

Curiously, however, theory-building discussions seem to proceed as if the principles of theory building are somehow universal and transcendent across disparate paradigms of thought and research. Because different paradigms are grounded in fundamentally different assumptions, they produce markedly different ways of approaching the building of theory. (p. 485)

In the same regard, Griffiths (1994) presented his view: “My argument is simple and straightforward: organizations and organizational behavior are complex phenomena and should be studied from a number of points of view” (p. 1). An added advantage of
studying organizations from various points of view would be that all the voices potentially could be heard and their views considered. And, of course, the idea of theoretical pluralism and a multiparadigm approach both fit well within a research tradition.

Summary and Conclusions

A central thesis of this study was that forty years after the adoption of a theoretical foundation (which was intended to eliminate confusion and achieve agreement among professors, practitioners, and theorists), there is as much confusion and lack of agreement surrounding theory development in educational administration as there was at the inception of the Theory Movement. The author of this study has concluded that the history of theory development in educational administration supports this thesis. While acknowledging the tremendous efforts made by many individuals to advance the cause of theory development and to place educational administration on a firm theoretical foundation, this author has also observed the many disparate views about what constitutes theory in educational administration.

The second thesis of study was that theory development in educational administration could be enhanced by taking advantage of what Laudan (1977) referred to as a research tradition, which was imported into educational administration from the social sciences. In the author’s opinion, the study provides sufficient support for this thesis.
The function of a research tradition is to provide the necessary tools for empirical and conceptual problem solving. So then, within any evolving research tradition, there will be mutually inconsistent rivals among developing theories and paradigms as successive theories and paradigms attempt to correct and extend the work of earlier theories. And, although each successive theory or paradigm may rival established theories and paradigms, each does so through the application of the appropriate methods of the research tradition within which the theorist works.

The Griffiths-Greenfield controversy is a case in point. If one were to interpret the controversy as a challenge to a theory or a paradigm, there would be little room for compromise; Greenfield’s position would be accepted or rejected. To accept Greenfield’s position would require either a rejection of Griffiths position or a severe modification of the prevailing theory or paradigm.

A research tradition is a much broader and more flexible concept than either a theory or paradigm. Unless a theorist were totally intractable in his or her viewpoint, there would be room within a research tradition for even extreme views. While those extreme views might eventually force the research tradition to evolve to some new form, most of the time even extreme positions will not lead to a complete rejection of a research tradition. Such is not the case for a paradigm; extreme positions often can lead to the rejection of one paradigm in favor of a new, more adequate paradigm. This is what is known as a paradigm shift.
It is this author's belief that the paradigm concept alone is inadequate to account for the complex nature of theory development in educational administration. The introduction of the concept of research traditions may help to unify the disparate views and fragmented theoretical foundation that have characterized theory development in educational administration throughout its almost fifty year history. Furthermore, a research tradition also would allow for voices that have been silenced for too long to be heard in theory development in educational administration.

The third thesis enunciated at the outset of this study was that scientific inquiry does not exist in isolation from cultural influences. Carr (1961) was quoted as saying, "The men whose actions the historian studies were not isolated individuals acting in a vacuum: they acted in the context, and under the impulse of a past society" (pp. 41-42). This thesis sought to examine the widely held view of scientific inquiry as an objective process, one in which scientists carry on their work without cultural influences or preconceived ideas tainting their objectivity. The conclusion reached by the author is that, while this study seemed to confirm the thesis, much more research would need to be done before this thesis could be accepted.
Recommendations for Further Study

Theory development in educational administration has a long and complex history, most of which cannot be included in a study of this scope. After more than forty years of theory development in educational administration, there is still a lack of agreement as to what constitutes theory and paradigm. There is an inherent vagueness in the terms theory and paradigm; this vagueness has been reflected in the literature that has dealt with theory development since the early years of the Theory Movement. The author recommends that further research might consider the possibility of establishing a common vocabulary of terms for theory development in educational administration. In that regard, theory development in educational administration should be studied using Kuhn’s (1962) concept of incommensurability. Such a study could be done beginning with current theories and theorists, but an historical study covering the past forty years would also be valuable.

As mentioned in chapter one of this study, Laudan’s (1984) reticulated model of scientific rationality reflects his argument that theories and methods change and values shift in science. The idea of a research tradition for theory development in educational administration and the reticulated model of scientific rationality, both of which were discussed in this study, should be studied in greater depth. It is to be hoped that a result of such research would be a greater degree of inclusion of various voices and viewpoints which, in turn, would lead to an enhancement of theory development within educational...
administration. This author believes that theory development would be enhanced because of the greatly increased availability and exchange of knowledge that a research tradition could provide.

Another area for further study relates to the need for more information about individuals involved in theory development in educational administration. For example, this author found the Griffiths-Greenfield controversy to be a fascinating aspect of the history of theory development in educational administration, in part because of the personalities of the two men who were the central figures. Yet, what was missing from the picture were the personal thoughts of Griffiths, Greenfield, and other more peripheral participants. The limited personal communication between this author and Daniel Griffiths added life to the historical moment. The “In Conversation” chapter of Greenfield on Educational Administration provided a similar infusion of reality from Greenfield’s perspective. However, notes and personal recollections of meetings, conferences, and interviews with other participants in the controversy would provide an invaluable resource for historical study.

Another area that has great potential for producing greater clarity about theory development in educational administration during the last half of the twentieth century is that of biographies. Walter Cocking, Roald Campbell, Andrew Halpin, Daniel Griffiths, Donald Willower, and Thomas Greenfield would be a few of the individuals who made an early and profound impact upon theory development in educational administration. And,
while women were excluded from most of the early history of theory development, that oversight should not continue. Biographies of women in educational administration should be given a high priority.

Finally, more recent work should be studied in the context of a history-in-progress. Griffiths (1994), for example, commented on the value of complexity theory:

Complexity theory and its subset, chaos theory, are valuable at the present time because they provide the researcher with an abundance of metaphors and analogies virtually all of which are new to the study of educational organizations and, indeed, to all organizations (Zimmerman and Hurst, 1993). (p. 16)

An important aspect of Chaos theory is its view of the nonlinearity of relationships. As an example, Griffiths (1994) described the butterfly effect developed in the study of weather. The butterfly effect was epitomized by the idea that a butterfly flapping its wings in Brazil could result in a tornado in Texas. “The butterfly effect signals to administrators that because organizations appear to be nonlinear, seemingly innocuous occurrences may develop into major events” (p. 18).

The idea of studying history-in-progress has an advantage over some other historical studies: live participants who can be interviewed for their personal views and insights on whatever aspect of theory development they are working on. Complexity theory and chaos theory are relatively new theories. Theorists in educational administration who are working with these theories should be contacted and interviewed.
This kind of research should begin now and adequate records maintained for the work of future historical research.
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David Bruce Hare was born in Ithaca, New York on June 19, 1951. He was graduated from Ithaca High School in Tompkins County, New York. He served in the United States Navy during the Vietnam era. Upon his discharge from the Navy, he worked in a hospital, at a logging job, and various construction jobs before attending college. He received two undergraduate degrees, a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Science, from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. His master’s degree is also from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, as is his certificate of Advance Graduate Studies.

His student teaching experience was in a public high school, but his career has been in Christian education. He has taught English, History, and Bible. Currently, he is headmaster at Dayspring Christian Academy in Blacksburg, Virginia.

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