The Architecture of Anticipation and Novices' Emerging Understandings of the Principal Position: Occupational Sense Making at the Intersection of Individual, Organization, and Institution

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***Background**: While teaching and school-level administrative work remain stepping stones in most pathways to the principal's office, these formal experiences—alongside informal or formal apprenticeships—do not immunize newcomers to the struggles of occupational socialization. To the contrary, crossing over to the principal's office represents a sizable shift as newcomers assume a multifaceted job that spans instructional, managerial, and political realms.*

***Purpose:** This manuscript explores novice school principals' efforts to make sense of their new occupation immediately following their boundary passage into the principalship. To frame this work, we draw from the literature on occupational and organizational socialization and newcomer sense making. Sense making—with its emphasis on how meanings materialize in situ, thus informing and constraining identity and action—offers a utile lens given the particular challenges that new principals face as they navigate today's pluralistic institutional environment.*

***Design/Data:** Data are drawn from a multiple-methods study of newly hired first-time principals in one large urban school district. Specifically, our analysis focuses on interview data collected from a sample of 18 purposefully selected new principals just after they were hired and just prior to the start of their first year on the job.*

***Findings:** We find that, contending with a plurality, diversity, and simultaneity of stakeholder expectations, novices' sense making centered on challenges related to organizational legitimacy and organizational integrity; however, the relative prominence of these dual imperatives differed based on the position of principals' schools in the broader institutional field. Depending upon how imperatives interacted in local organizational contexts, novices*

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faced puzzles of different kind and character. For some, localized puzzles called for a kind of institutional work that we term repairing; for others, puzzles called more for (re-)presenting, refining, and/or maintaining. In crafting courses of action, novices drew on institutional logics and metaphors from personal experience, which they used as resources in their efforts to resist exploding out organizationally and personally in response to multiple stakeholders' diverse demands. Doing so, novices constructed occupational selves that were not unitary and that encompassed inconsistencies and contradictions.

Conclusions: *Our analysis suggests the need to consider principals' socialization as it unfolds in schools as they are situated within the broader institutional landscape. In addition, whereas much of the sense making literature focuses on microprocesses, our analysis attends to how the institutional environment enters sense making. In doing so, it adds to the knowledge base concerning the microfoundations of institutional theory as it plays out in the education field, and it enriches the empirical research base concerning new principals' expectations and experiences in contemporary public schools.*

Most newcomers to the principal position, having already been socialized into the education profession, bring with them significant school-based experience. Over 85% have previous teaching experience and the vast majority have also held school-level administrative positions prior to entering the principalship (Gates et al., 2004; Papa, Lankford, & Wyckoff, 2002; Ringel, Gates, Ghosh-Dastidar, Brown, & Chung, 2004). Although alternative pathways into the profession are proliferating and perhaps changing the kinds of preparation that aspiring principals experience, most newcomers still enter the occupation after extensive "apprenticeships of observation" not only to teaching (Lortie, 1977) but to principaling as well.

While teaching and school-level administrative work remain stepping stones in most pathways to the principal's office, these formal experiences—alongside informal or formal apprenticeships—do not immunize newcomers to the struggles of occupational socialization (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Becker & Strauss, 1956; Hughes, 1958). To the contrary, for most, crossing over to the principal's office still represents a sizable shift, involving a distinct and often abrupt change in perspective, expectations, and work as newcomers assume a multifaceted job that spans instructional, managerial, and political realms (Crow & Glascock, 1995; Cuban, 1988; Lortie, 1975; Weindling & Earley, 1987; Wolcott, 1973; Woodruff & Kowalski, 2010). Moving into the principal's office inevitably transforms existing social relationships, especially relationships with teachers (Browne-Ferrigno, 2003; Lortie, Crow, & Prolman, 1983; Strong, Barrett, & Bloom, 2002). Shifts in education policy, including the proliferation of charter schools along with standards and high-stakes test-based accountability, likely add to the complexity and "reality shock" that many face as they transition into the principalship (Crow, 2006; Lortie, 2009).

In this paper we examine new principals' emerging understanding of their new position in light of the "new institutional architecture" within which they are situated (Gutiérrez, 2006). Specifically, we focus on how novices who have made the "boundary passage" into the principal occupation make sense of their new position just prior to the start of their first school year on the job (Schein, 1971). We focus on their *sense making* during a time of significant anticipation, when they are experiencing a sense of urgency about their new roles and working to extract cues from their environments that will assist them in figuring out some of the puzzles marking their new terrains (Weick, 1995). Our primary research question is this: How do novice school principals make sense of what it means to be a school principal just following their boundary passage into the occupation but prior to the start of their first school year on the job? Our account, then, focuses on how novice principals become socialized into their new occupations in their particular school organizations. While scholars distinguish organizational socialization from the professional socialization of newcomers into a given profession via formal training, certification and so on (Greenfield, 1985; Hart, 1991; Heck, 1995; Merton, 1968; Weindling & Dimmock, 2006), organizational and professional socialization are of course related. With that in mind, we use the term *occupational socialization* to refer to novice principals' socialization into the new positions they occupy, both professionally and locally in their particular school organizations.

Based on our analysis, we argue that, facing a plurality, diversity, and simultaneity of stakeholder expectations, novices' early-on-the-job sense making centered on the dual imperatives of organizational legitimacy and organizational integrity, though their relative prominences differed depending on schools' positioning in the institutional field. The prominence of one imperative, the other, or both presented puzzles of different kind and character that, in turn, primed and triggered new principals' sense making. In essence, these localized puzzles became both the subject of newcomers' diagnostic framing (i.e., what is going on here) and the target of their prognostic framing (i.e., what am I going to do about it). Given variation in kind and character, these puzzles called for different kinds of institutional work on the part of novices, who crafted courses of action by drawing upon particular resources: namely institutional logics (e.g., market, family, religion, bureaucratic state, profession) as well as personally resonant metaphors that connect to those institutional logics. In doing so, they constructed occupational selves that were not unitary and that encompassed inconsistencies and contradictions.

FRAMING THE WORK

Our research examines novices' on-the-job socialization into the principal position using a sense-making framework. More specifically, we situate novices' sense making in their school organizations and in the differential positionings of these organizations in a "pluralistic" institutional sector (Kraatz, 2009). We then attend to how these newcomers diagnostically and prognostically frame the new situations within which they find themselves.

SOCIALIZATION, SENSE MAKING, AND FRAMING

Socialization is about learning the ropes: how newcomers come to see certain norms, values, and behaviors as natural and appropriate in a given situation (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). For new principals as with others, informal apprenticeships of observation (Lortie, 1975), formal training and preparation (Brody, Vissa, & Weathers, 2010; Browne-Ferrigno, 2003), idealized portrayals in contemporary media (Pfau, Mullen, Deidrich, & Garrow, 1995; Turrow, 1989; Wright et al., 1995), and on-the-job experiences all factor into their occupational socialization. Taking a sense-making perspective, we focus on new principals' attempts to make sense of the changes, contrasts, and surprises they face in their new working situations (Louis, 1980).

We view sense making as "the primary site where meanings materialize that inform and constrain identity and action," particularly in situations marked by ambiguity and uncertainty (Mills, 2003, p. 35; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005, p. 409). Whereas interpretation takes as given the object to be interpreted, sense making includes not only interpreting cues but also noticing and bracketing them in the environment; it is as much about "authoring" as it is about "interpretation" (Weick, 1995, p. 8). Situations of ambiguity and uncertainty—as well as change, contrast, surprise, discrepancy, and so on—interrupt ongoing flows of experience and automatic processing, thereby prompting people to extract puzzling clues from their environment in an effort to reconstruct their understandings of a situation (Louis, 1980; Louis & Sutton, 1991; Mandler, 1984). This triggers sense making, a process that is grounded in identity formation and the maintenance of a consistent positive self-conception; retrospective and social as one's own actions, interpretations, and expectation take shape vis-à-vis the actions, interpretations, and expectations of others; enactive of sensible environments, ongoing, and focused on and by extracted cues; and driven by plausibility rather than accuracy (Weick, 1995). For novice principals, there is the novelty that comes with changing occupations—often

organizations, too—and encountering situations where their existing scripts fail (Crow, 2006; Crow & Glascock, 1995).

Frames, critical in the sense-making process, operate much like picture frames that demarcate for the viewer what is inside and outside, thereby signaling what is, and is not, worthy of attention (Bateson, 1972b, pp. 184–191). Conceptually we can think about the frame as a method of organization that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of occurrences" (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). Frames are tacit theories about "what exists, what happens, and what matters" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 6). Framing refers to the process by which social actors generate, apply, and/or work to advance particular frames.

There are three core kinds of framing—diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational (Benford & Snow, 2000; Coburn, Toure, & Yamashita, 2006; Snow & Benford, 1988, 1992). Diagnostic framing involves the identification of problems and attribution of blame; it names the process by which participants identify sources of responsibility and targets for change (Cress & Snow, 2000; Stone, 1988). For example, a principal might frame low attendance as a school-based problem rather than one that extends beyond the schoolhouse to encompass the broader community. Whereas the former frame might locate the problem in school policies concerning tardiness and absences and instructional quality, and assign blame primarily to school staff or students themselves, the latter might locate the problem in public transportation and neighborhood safety, potentially assigning blame to the criminal justice and public transportation sectors as well. Whereas diagnostic framing attributes, prognostic framing advances possible solutions, goals, and tactics for achieving those goals as well as rationales for selected (and rejected) courses of action; motivational framing, meanwhile, calls for and, if successful, compels action (Benford & Snow, 2000; Cress & Snow, 2000). Different frames—and the processes, or framing, that give rise to them—implicate different stakeholders in different ways (e.g., as part of the problem and/or part of the solution) and reflect to varying degrees different stakeholders' perceived interests and preferences.

Framing processes are vital in helping people decide which phenomena, events, actors, and instances to emphasize—and which to neglect—as they interpret their situations and attempt to influence others' interpretations and actions. But framing is not only about focus; it is also about *formula.* Framing, like set theory in mathematics, provides logic for categorization, and proposes logical relationships among categories (Bateson, 1972a; Goffman, 1974). Thus, framing suggests not only what to separate and distinguish but also what to combine and equate.

These processes are always social, as the meanings of frames develop through "dialogical" interaction, rather than individual cognition

(Anagnostopoulos, 2006; Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007; Benford & Snow, 2000; Coburn, 2005, 2006; Gioia & Thomas, 1996). Thus, in this case, meanings develop between new principals and those with whom they interact, and are expected to interact, in their work. In exploring novice principals' emerging sense of "what is happening here" and "what's to be done about it" we surface some of the frames that resonate with, reflect, and mediate their understandings of the situations they find themselves working within on the ground.

LEADING IN A PLURALISTIC ENVIRONMENT: ORGANIZATIONAL IMPERATIVES AND INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS

As we argue below, these situations on the ground must be understood as they take shape both in schools as organizations and in schools as they are positioned in the institutional sector. Indeed, novices' on-the-job socializations take place in a "pluralistic" institutional sector marked by "persistent internal tensions" that arise in response to potentially "contending logics" and the tendencies of diverse stakeholders to "project different identities and purposes" onto the school organization (Kraatz, 2009, p. 71).

From organizational leaders (e.g., school leaders), pluralistic institutional environments such as these require work that falls into two broad categories (Kraatz, 2009). First, there is the quest for organizational legitimacy as school leaders strive to demonstrate their school's "cultural fitness" to diverse stakeholders (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Suchman, 1995). Pluralistic organizations must be many things to many people and the principal's job is to convince diverse stakeholders that the organization is a legitimate school. Second, there is the organizational "integrity imperative" (Selznick, 1992). School leaders must work at knitting together the expectations of diverse stakeholders in order to create an "organizational self" that is minimally coherent, integrated, and self-consistent (Kraatz, 2009; Mead, 1934). Principals, like other denotative leaders, play an important role with respect to the dual imperatives of legitimacy and integrity (Kraatz, 2009; Kraatz & Block, 2008)—a role that may require of them engagement in institutional maintenance as well as institutional creation and disruption (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

Pluralistic institutional environments, such as those within which new school principals work, require that social actors negotiate working consensus (Goffman, 1959), navigate inevitable tensions, contradictions, and discoordinations (Engeström, 1987, 1990), and manage dilemmas (Lampert, 1985). The complexity and dynamism of these institutional environments ensures the continual "triggering" of sense making as actors work to restore meaning in the face of conflicting, ambiguous, or

inadequate expectations (Weber & Glynn, 2006). In the case of new principals, as we argue below, this triggering occurs via the presentation of localized puzzles that differ in part depending upon how principals' respective schools are positioned within the institutional sector. While the positioning of the school organization in the institutional sector sets puzzles with which new principals must contend, it also provides resources—logics, in particular (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008)—on which new principals draw as they work to ensure legitimacy and integrity for their schools as organizations and for themselves as school leaders.

We can think about these resources as a "cultural repertoire" (Swidler, 2001, p. 33) that includes logics and other "cultural components" that people use, "to construct strategies of action" (Swidler, 1986, p. 273). (1) What logics are used, and how, depends on context, of which institutions are an influential part: "Institutions structure culture . . . by creating the dilemmas in response to which individuals develop culturally mediated life strategies and by creating the situations in which people invoke one or another part of their cultural repertoires" (Swidler, 2001, p. 178). In this way, institutions enter sense making by presenting puzzles that people have to make sense of and by providing the "raw materials" with which people make sense of the surprising, the unexpected, the novel, the discrepant, and so on (Weber & Glynn, 2006).

METHODS

This manuscript's analysis draws on data from a study of newcomers' entry into the principalship in a large urban school district that embodies trends taking hold in similar districts nationwide; these trends include the implementation of high-stakes accountability policies, school diversification efforts, and an increased emphasis on the role of school leadership in school improvement. More specifically, our analysis focuses on initial interviews conducted with a sample of 18 new principals, who were purposefully selected from among a cohort of newly hired first-time principals (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to ensure diversity by gender, race/ethnicity, pathway, and school characteristics (see Tables 1 and 2).

Interviews ranged from 45–100 min in length and were conducted by members of the research team after study participants were hired but prior to the start of the academic year (i.e., between mid-July and early September 2009). (2) Interviews were semistructured; they followed a common protocol intended to elicit occupational and organizational expectations while also allowing for flexible probing in relation to participants' unique responses and contexts (3) (see Appendix A for interview protocol). Interviews took place at locations of participants' own

Table 1. New Principal Interview Sample

Gender	Male	44.4% (8)
	Female	55.6% (10)
Race	Black	33.3% (6)
	White	38.9% (7)
	Latino	27.8% (5)
	Other	0 (0)
Pathway	AP or Intern	83.3% (15)
	Other	16.7% (3)
Sample size	Total	18

Table 2. New Principal Interview Sample

Principal	Race	Years Teaching	Years Admin	School Size[3]	Probation Status[4]
Adriana	Latina	10	1	550	Yes
Anastasia	White	6	2	550	No
Andrea	Black	17	12	550	No→Yes[5]
Angela	Black	12	4	300	Yes
Dennis	White	28+	9	1600	No→Yes[5]
Emily	White	6	2	650	Yes
Lydia	Black	10	3	200	No
Nancy[1, 2]	Latina	4	0	-	-
Nathan[2]	White	3	3	-	-
Nelson	Black	7	5	750	Yes
Octavio	Latino	20	2	700	No
Oscar	Latino	10	6	1250	No→Yes[5]
Rosana[2]	Latina	8	7	-	-
Sam	White	8	2	200	No
Samantha[2]	Black	7	3	-	-
Steve	White	6	4	750	Yes
Tim	White	22+	9	250	No
Yvonne	Black	19	3	500	Yes

Notes. [1] Charter or contact school; [2] New school; [3] Enrollment for year prior (2008–2009), rounded to nearest 50; [4] Fifty-seven percent of district schools were placed on probation for 2009–2010 school year; [5] School was placed on probation, based on prior year's scores, just after principal was hired; otherwise "yes" indicates schools were on probation prior year too.

choosing, always in a private space, and usually at participants' respective school sites. Interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and then double-checked for accuracy and cleaned of all identifying information by the interviewer. Interviews were then compiled into an NVivo project file to facilitate collaborative coding alongside additional data sources (i.e., those not under consideration in this analysis).

Using NVivo, research team members coded the data in multiple phases. Initially, we coded interview transcripts using three broad codes—identity, diagnosis, prognosis—imported from our sense-making framework (see Appendix B for a pertinent coding manual excerpt). This first round of coding yielded two additional areas of focus: principals' attention to stakeholders (i.e., students, teachers, parents, etc.) and principals' attention to issues of organizational integrity and legitimacy. In turn, we wrote analytic memos about these and other developments in our thinking, proposed additional codes, and then coded accordingly. (See Appendix C for a list of codes, key constructs, and examples.) For each round of coding, we trained coders, a mix of research team members (including both authors) and students. (4) For all coders, we checked interrater reliability on a subset of data ($\geq 20\%$), calculated Cohen's kappa as a measure of coding agreement, arbitrated instances of disagreement, and recoded to reach agreement of .7 or above.

FINDINGS

Even prior to the start of the academic year, novices' understanding of their new occupation was integrally tied to their organizational sense making. Surprised by a plurality of stakeholders and the diverse and simultaneous demands they held for schools and for principals in particular, all novices grappled with issues of organizational legitimacy and organizational integrity, which manifested and interacted in particularized ways depending on their school's positioning vis-à-vis the broader institutional sector. The puzzles that emerged for new principals and the types of institutional work that those puzzles required of them as school leaders contributed to differences in their emerging understandings of their new occupation. In this way, novices constructed at the intersection of occupation, organization, and institution somewhat varied anticipatory understandings of the principal position.

We begin below by considering novices' surprise at the diversity and simultaneity of stakeholders' demands. We then transition from this common feature of novices' early-on-the-job sense making to how their sense making took shape differentially given the way their respective schools were situated in the broader institutional environment.

REALITY SHOCK IN CROSSING OVER TO THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE

For all novices, the diversity and simultaneity of stakeholders' demands represented a key novelty of and source of challenge in their transition into the principalship and thus contributed to a kind of boundary crossing "reality shock" (Hughes, 1958). Angela, new to a small low-performing school, noted:

> You have to meet so many needs. And every, everyone's need is different. You have to be able to be sensitive to what people need and respectful of their needs. . . . I just never realized that—how many needs . . . needing an answer, needing this, needing that . . . everyone at every moment. . . . I was like wow. That was really kind of overwhelming for a new person.

For Angela the diverse and simultaneous demands of multiple internal and external, stakeholders—"everyone at every moment"—was both "overwhelming" and surprising. All 18 novices expressed similar a sense of shock. Even when they reported having entered the role expecting that it would bring many and varied stakeholder demands, the scale, scope, and simultaneity of the demands they faced upon transition exceeded their expectations. As Adriana, principal of a large low-performing neighborhood school, explained: "One thing you just never, you *never* can be prepared for is the sheer number of people that want an answer from the principal" (speaker emphasis).

For novices, stakeholder demands were anchored in issues of organizational legitimacy and organizational integrity, dual imperatives that asked different, sometimes conflicting, things of schools and required leaders to engage in different kinds of institutional work (Booher-Jennings, 2005; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Kraatz, 2009; Scott, 2004; Selznick, 1957). Tim, principal at a small high-performing neighborhood school, for example, acknowledged the varied and locally contingent expectations that he saw himself needing to consider, appear responsive to, and balance. These included: the district's expectation that the principal would ensure "[high] scores pretty much . . . maintain that" (legitimacy); teachers' expectation that principal would give them "a lot of input" and "voice" but also make difficult decisions in the collective interest, especially in times of staff dissent (integrity); parents' expectation that the principal would offer "more personal interaction" and follow through (e.g., "If I told you I'd do this, I'm gonna do it") (integrity), as well as hire an assistant principal who "reflects the diversity of the school" (legitimacy); and the expectations of community groups—"very important" in the neighborhood—that the principal would maintain

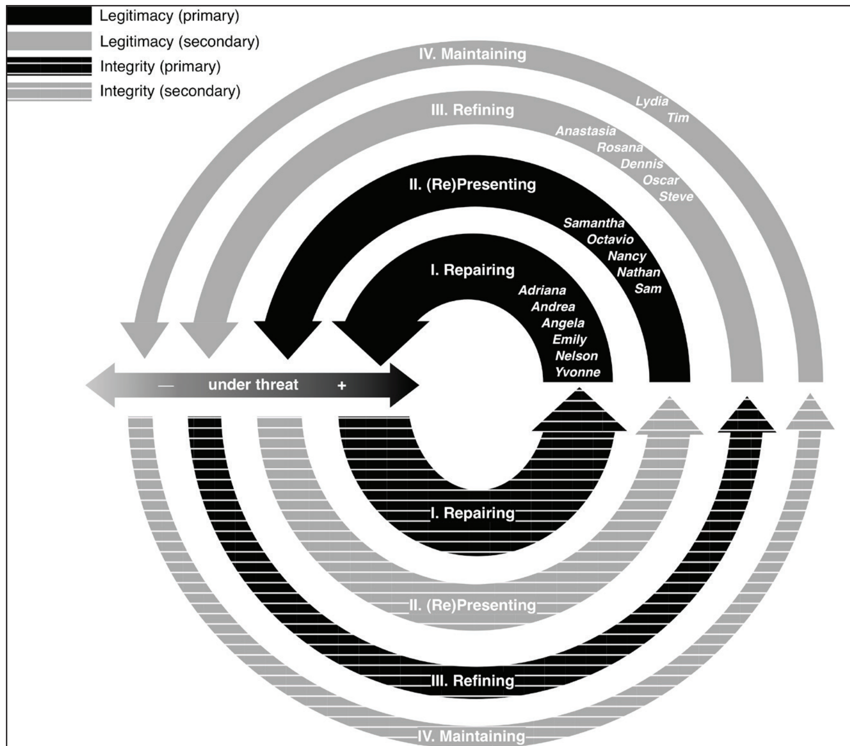
existing partnerships (integrity) and "set up stuff . . . a lot of programs" evidencing the school's connection to the community (legitimacy). In this sense, the plurality, diversity, and simultaneity of stakeholder expectations—and the legitimacy and integrity imperative to which those expectations relate—hold potential to "overwhelm" (Angela) in ways that cause "stress" and leave new principals feeling "drawn to be all things to all people" (Tim), both organizationally and personally.

ORGANIZATIONAL IMPERATIVES AND INSTITUTIONAL WORK

To resist exploding out under the strain of these demands, new principals worked like "architects" (Kraatz, 2009, p. 76), to construct coherence and consistency (integrity) and to project integration with, or responsiveness to, the institutional sector (legitimacy). This institutional work had distinctly local texture as issues of integrity and legitimacy interacted with one another in localized ways, presenting puzzles that differed contingent upon how principals' respective schools were positioned in the broader field. As mentioned, these puzzles became both the subject of novices' diagnostic framing (i.e., what is going on here) and the target of their prognostic framing (i.e., what am I going to do about it), thus priming and triggering their sense making and contributing to differences in their emerging understandings of their new occupation.

Ultimately, some novices focused on repairing legitimacy and integrity, while others focused primarily on (re-)presenting legitimacy, refining integrity to ensure legitimacy, or maintaining legitimacy and integrity (see Figure 1 and Table 3). Figure 1 depicts these different clusters and the degree to which legitimacy and integrity imperatives dominated in novices' sense making. The clusters are represented as concentric circular arrows. Those wider more saturated arrows at the center of the figure, for example, can be thought of as representing the heightened intensity and velocity of the imperatives as experienced by the principals in our first cluster. Table 3 reorganizes the sample of principals, keeping in place the performance levels and probation statuses of their respective schools, while also specifying briefly the conditions within their cluster and the corollary types of institutional work on which they focused. We organize our account around these four types of institutional work; in doing so, we attend to novices' diagnostic and prognostic framing of the challenges related to organizational integrity and legitimacy while also attending to their emerging understandings of the principalship.

Figure 1. Organizational imperatives and institutional work



REPAIRING ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY AND INTEGRITY

Six principals (Adriana, Andrea, Angela, Emily, Nelson, Yvonne), all at schools that the school district designated as on probation due to performance, faced challenges of low student test scores, low teacher and student attendance, students and parents who felt little pride in their school, and staff members with low morale, limited skill, and lack of commitment. Beginning their careers as principals in schools where both organizational legitimacy and integrity were in serious disrepair (diagnosis), these novices understood their institutional work as requiring urgent repairing (prognosis) of both legitimacy and integrity. For these principals, demands of the district and in some cases also students, parents, and the local community featured prominently in their diagnostic and prognostic framing.

Diagnosing the situation at Birch, a low-performing school on probation for several years, Nelson remarked:

Table 3. Principals by Cluster

Principal	Probation (2009)[5]	Avg. Size	Avg. Free/ Red Lunch	Avg. Race	Cluster	Cluster Description
Adriana	Yes	555	98.5%	81.5% African American 31.0% Hispanic	I. Repair	*Core challenges:* test scores and/or attendance; poor public image; students and/or parents with limited pride in school; low morale, skill, and/or commitment among staff; etc. *Imperatives:* legitimacy and integrity in disrepair and of acute concern *Institutional work:* urgent repairing of legitimacy and integrity (e.g., fixing, reversing, transforming, etc.) *Key stakeholders:* district, also students, parents, community
Andrea	No→Yes[5]					
Angela	Yes					
Emily	Yes					
Nelson	Yes					
Yvonne	Yes					
Nancy[1, 2]	-	445	78.0%	21.1% African American 61.0% Hispanic	II. (Re-) Present	*Core challenges:* enrollment *Imperatives:* legitimacy as primary concern, integrity as means for ensuring legitimacy *Institutional work:* presenting or re-presenting legitimacy (e.g., imaging, messaging, branding, wooing, etc.) *Key stakeholders:* district, parents, community
Nathan[2]	-					
Octavio	No					
Sam	No					
Samantha[2]	-					
Anastasia	No	1042	90.2%	15.2% African American 78.7% Hispanic	III. Refine	*Core challenges:* coherence, cohesiveness, alignment, etc. *Imperatives:* integrity as primary concern, vehicle for legitimacy *Institutional work:* addressing disconnects, establishing structures, policies, routines *Key stakeholders:* teachers, also parents, community
Dennis	No→Yes[5]					
Oscar	No→Yes[5]					
Rosana[2]	-					
Steve	Yes					
Lydia	No	227	46.0%	90.2% African American 1.6% Hispanic	IV. Maintain	*Core challenges:* sustaining and demonstrating excellence *Imperatives:* least acute concerns about integrity and legitimacy *Institutional work:* maintaining existing programs, buffering, supporting and tweaking *Key stakeholders:* teachers, students
Tim	No					

Notes. [1] Charter or contact school; [2] New school; [3] Enrollment for year prior (2008–2009), rounded to nearest 50; [4] Fifty-seven percent of district schools were placed on probation for 2009–2010 school year; [5] School was placed on probation, based on prior year's scores, just after principal was hired; otherwise "yes" indicates schools were on probation prior year too.

> They [district office staff] expect my numbers, my data to reflect a successful school. They want change to be evident in my statistics. My attendance rate has got to go up, my test scores have got to go up, the teacher attendance rate has got to go up, the graduation rate has got to go up. They want my numbers to go up.

In both Nelson's diagnosis and prognosis, district office officials came to the fore, particularly their expectation that his school become "successful" on the district's metrics for determining legitimacy and his need repair the organization's image accordingly. At the same time, students, teachers, parents, and the local community also figured in Nelson's concerns. With respect to students he explained:

> I hope to make this [school] into a real school, an environment where students actually will be happy coming to school. When you see 'em they're skipping, smiling or they have their hair done. . . . I want the students to be proud to say that I'm a student at Birch. Right now there's no pride associated with the school.

Nelson saw student disengagement and an overall lack of pride as a challenge in turning Birch into a "real school" and made a similar argument about parents who "want their children to go to a school where they can be proud." Nelson's benchmarks for organizational legitimacy vis-à-vis students and families, however, were not statistics like those emphasized by the district but more qualitative indicators of student and parent engagement.

Organizational legitimacy challenges, according to these six principals, reflected and perpetuated challenges of organizational integrity. Nelson's concerns about legitimacy, for example, were intertwined with concerns about integrity: The challenge of motivating people to invest themselves in the joint work of instructional improvement was made more difficult because, "there's no pride associated with the school," and because the school was not viewed by its own internal stakeholders as "a real school." As Nelson describe it, "mediocrity is just the status quo here in terms of everything" and that complacency with mediocrity posed major challenges. He believed, "You gotta have a good crew to run the ship and everybody has to be on the same page" and expressed a commitment to "enforcing the rules" and "encouraging that team mentality" but also acknowledged the difficulty in doing so. Capturing the heightened intensity and velocity of repairing both legitimacy and integrity, he characterized being at Birch as being "up to bat already with two strikes," which means taking on "all that extra, extra, extra work and all those strikes." He went on to remark, "I kinda look at us as being on the Titanic and we're heading toward the

iceberg. . . . I'm spinning the wheel and trying to keep us from hitting the iceberg. . . . I'm here to kinda get us back on the right path." Nelson recognized that the threat of school closure or takeover, and therefore job loss, necessitated that he focus on outcomes that would demonstrate legitimacy to external (district) stakeholders; given the school's status quo of low morale and mediocrity, he also recognized the importance of "spinning the wheel" internally, generating "quick wins" that would bring internal stakeholders together around a shared vision, consistently applied rules, and a repaired sense of pride in Birch.

Like Nelson, the other five principals in this cluster identified the necessity, but also the challenge, of repairing organizational legitimacy and integrity in tandem and quickly, what Emily and Andrea described as performing "a miracle." Relative to other newcomers, these six principals' concerns about legitimacy and integrity were more numerous, acute, and urgent in that they required immediate demonstrable progress in order to avoid undesirable consequences. Emily, for example, described this as needing to make "very swift gains in a short amount of time" and having "one year to do something that no other school has done before."

Faced with such acute and urgent integrity and legitimacy challenges, novices drew on multiple institutional logics—the family, the church, the profession, the market, and the bureaucratic state—to craft courses of action. At times, the logics principals invoked varied depending on whether legitimacy or integrity frames were at the fore and which stakeholders were implicated. Turning to organizational integrity, for example, Nelson drew on a bureaucratic logic noting, "I'm just kinda reversing some of those crazy tendencies . . . that have been allowed to happen. I'm enforcing the rules." Talking about the school's crisis of legitimacy, he invoked a bureaucratic logic but also a family logic as being a "de facto father figure" for children at Birch, ensuring that the school offers the kind of consistency and future orientation that a "functional" family would provide, and in insisting that every teacher had to be "an advocate for children" and "treat these kids the same way you treat your [own] kids."

Reflecting the prominence and immediacy of both legitimacy and integrity imperatives—with the former pulling principals' attention mostly outward and the latter pulling their attention mostly inward—these six novices' emerging understandings of the principal position were summed up by Adriana, who explained that as principal, "you're never just one thing." A consistent and common response to their understanding of their new position was to offer long lists articulating the multiple roles they felt they needed to fulfill at least some of the time. For Adriana, this meant fulfilling "every single role in the building" while being "also a peacemaker, a negotiator, a manager, one who has to inspire." For Nelson this meant

"being a jack of all trades; being a mother, a father, a doctor, a nurse, a counselor, a business manager . . . mediator, lawyer . . . you know teacher, master teacher." As these lists suggest, principals in this cluster understood their new job as involving multiple occupational selves, or as Emily remarked, "a little bit of every profession rolled up in one."

Related to this, another theme in these six newcomers' emerging understandings of the principalship was their recognition of the sometimes-conflicting nature of these multiple selves and the need for a degree of reconciliation among them. Indeed, the professions that these six novices saw "rolled up in one" often differed substantially from one another, suggesting potentially contradictory practices and beliefs. As suggested by the "chameleon" metaphor mentioned explicitly by two principals and implicitly by others, quick and frequent changes in appearance or character were seen as part and parcel of the principal's position. This does not mean, however, that newcomers were unconcerned about constructing and projecting integrated professional selves; to the contrary, Nelson located his desire to be someone stakeholders could "set their watch to," for example, in his critique of "some principals [who] can be kinda schizophrenic and you never know which principal you're gonna have or what's going on."

Facing the challenge of accommodating and integrating multiple and at times seemingly divergent selves—and doing so under the particular pressures associated with being in this first cluster—newcomers drew on institutional logics rather eclectically and in ways that both reflected their sense of the role's Janus-faced nature and salient features of, or organizing metaphors taken from, their own biographies and backgrounds. A former football player and coach, Nelson compared the work to that of a head coach who must adjust his approach according to the situation and stakeholders at hand: "Some days, some years you have to crack the whip, other times you can . . . kind of relax and say 'well that worked and let's keep doing what we're doing.'" Angela and Yvonne, both raised in the church, compared the position to that of a pastor who comforts, heals, and treats individuals holistically but who must also remain steadfast in applying a moral code. Angela, for example, described her understanding of her new position as follows:

> [It's like] pastoring a church. . . . Because you have to . . . meet so many needs . . . everyone's need is different . . . [and] you work to feed and nurture those. . . . But . . . I'm still Glenda; you know Glenda's good, she's also a witch. . . . And it's not personal . . . this is what I'm seeing. . . . I'm communicating with this constantly and [saying] this is not acceptable, but I still like you, you know . . . you can have that [relationship], but you can't waiver on what you expect.

Comparing being a principal to being a pastor *and* a "good witch," Angela underscores the dualities encompassed by the role—practicing tough love and holding others accountable while also counseling, nurturing, and shepherding them in ways that acknowledge their sins without judging them sinners. Doing so, she underscores the chameleon-like nature of the principalship.

Angela's and Nelson's metaphors exemplify one of the ways novices seemed to exercise agency in constructing their understanding of their new position—namely by drawing from personal experience. At the same time, they did not do so in a vacuum but rather in relation to the specific demands of repairing organizational legitimacy and integrity in the local context. For example, when Nelson compared his new position to being a head coach, he did so based on past experience as a coach but also based on present diagnosis that acknowledged—at times also through the metaphor of sport (e.g., "being up at bat with three strikes")—acute material and psychological disrepair he faced on the ground at Birch. Likewise, with her emphasis on Glenda as good but "still" a witch, Angela acknowledged the tension in being punitive as well as pastoral; this duality in prognosis was tethered to, not separate from, diagnostic framing that recognized disrepair and dire possibility: "Days could be numbered just because of the status that the school is in."

Thus, the institutional logics that principals drew on and the personally resonant metaphors that they deployed based on lived experience were conditioned on and fitted to the local terrain as they understood it. In other words, newcomers (retro)fitted metaphors to accommodate their understandings of their new occupation—understandings that hinged on the positions of their schools in the institutional environment and the resulting institutional work they anticipated being called to do.

(RE-)PRESENTING ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY

For another five novices, three (Nancy, Nathan, Samantha) in new schools and two (Octavio and Sam) in established schools, diagnostic and prognostic framing focused chiefly on challenges related to student enrollment; as a result, presenting or re-presenting organizational legitimacy were paramount. Two found themselves in situations that required wooing back populations that had sought out other schooling options (Octavio, Sam). Two found themselves in situations where they faced discerning parents who were seeking assurance that they were making the "right" choice by enrolling their children (Nathan, Samantha). Meanwhile, one (Nancy) was drawn to establish a constituency where none existed previously. While these five principals were concerned about organizational

integrity, the localized puzzles they faced led them to focus more on demonstrating cultural fitness to parents and community members who were able to exercise choice in selecting schools and/or to district staff who were concerned about falling enrollments.

Octavio and Sam, both in decently performing neighborhood schools with declining student enrollments, found themselves in situations that seemed to them to require wooing back students who had pursued other schooling options. Declining enrollment threatened at worst closure (Sam) and at best disruption (Octavio), potentially requiring these novices to begin their first year by cutting positions and unsettling veteran staff. Octavio, whose school was located in a gentrifying neighborhood with competitive local private school options, explained:

> The community has changed tremendously. . . . The new families that are coming into this community are not sending their kids to the public school but to private school. . . . Or the other reality we're facing that there are many young professional[s] moving into . . . the community, with no kids . . . if we have lost already 500 kids from the five previous year we can maybe lose another 500 in the next five . . . the school needs to be refreshed in terms of the perception from the community and we need to regain this community's trust or [the trust of] the new community.

Declining enrollment meant the school lost five teaching positions the previous year, a situation that Octavio recognized as having caused significant friction among staff, thereby undermining the very integrity that he saw as essential for re-presenting the school's legitimacy to the local community. Legitimacy concerns for Sam, principal at a smaller school, were even more acute despite relatively high student performance. Under direct threat of closure from the district, Sam explained, "I have to increase enrollment . . . without enrollment we're not gonna probably remain open." For Sam, demonstrating cultural fitness was both necessary and urgent, requiring him to prove to the district the school's capability to attract families to the school.

As in the first cluster, Octavio's and Sam's diagnoses not only directed their attention to some stakeholder groups (more than others) but also suggested particular relationships among stakeholder groups. With the district foregrounded in Sam's diagnosis, parents became key in his approach to addressing the district's demands. He explained that because "parents come in with a list of things that they check off"—things like bulletin boards, a clean and organized library and cafeteria, and options for prekindergarten—"we have to have those things on the list" in order to meet the district's enrollment demands. Conversely, Octavio viewed the

district as a means to meet the demands of parents and community members; the district was a place to "knock on doors" and "find more help" and "resources" that could be used in creating programs, which could in turn be used as "selling points," things to "publicize" in order to "show to this community that [our] school can become the option for school for their kids."

While organizational legitimacy took precedence in Sam's and Octavio's diagnoses and prognoses, organizational integrity was also present and shifted their attention toward different constellations of stakeholders. When focusing on integrity, teachers and subgroups of teachers took center stage for both. Sam, for example, brought subgroups of teachers to the fore when his attention turned to issues of coherence. Starting the year "focusing the teachers on a . . . high standard," he expected pushback from "very veteran staff." He believed that raising the standards of professionalism school-wide was essential: "You have to do lesson plans, you have to, you can't talk on your phone in the classroom, you gotta work the full school day; you know really basic things that weren't done here." Focusing teachers' attention and practice in this way, he explained, would necessarily involve efforts on his part to "remove roadblocks to instruction," including interruptions to classroom teaching. Following from this, the implications for parents were clear for Sam: "You have to come to the office, I'll sit down with you and talk about your child and then we'll make an appointment with Miss So-and-So. You cannot go to the room and talk about students during the school day."

So while a focus on integrity foregrounded for Sam and Octavio issues of instructional coherence and school culture and in doing so directed their attention to teachers first and parents second, the more pressing organizational legitimacy concerns—related to increasing enrollment specifically—foregrounded the district and parents before all other stakeholders. Here we see contradictions emerging in principals' diagnostic and prognostic framing as it relates to stakeholders' demands. Attending to legitimacy, for example, primed Sam to accommodate parents' needs and desires, while attending to integrity prompted him to curtail parents' access to classrooms. In this way, the sense principals make of particular stakeholders, their relationships to one another, and the pecking order among them hinged on the imperative(s) at hand and the specific contours of the puzzle(s) those imperatives set for principals in the local context.

While Octavio and Sam focused their attention on convincing families that their schools represented competitive choices, Nathan and Samantha, who were leading new schools modeled on other successful known entities in the district, focused on assuring parents that their schools were consistent with these models. Both focused on recruiting families and much of

their sense making orbited around understanding parents' needs and expectations. In the process, both realized that parents held specific expectations for what their respective schools should look like and the benchmarks parents would accept as evidence of their schools' cultural fitness or legitimacy. Parents' expectations were at the fore in Samantha's diagnosis and prognosis informing her expectations for the school and for herself:

> I realize that they're families who weren't satisfied with what they had to choose from as far as options locally for school . . . who had tried for other options . . . [and had] to settle for the neighborhood one. . . . They want the expectations to remain high and they want someone who's gonna go and get everything for their kids that they possibly can . . . they want someone who's gonna make a quality school. Because they're seeing too much that's not ok.

In light of this and the school's founding mission, Samantha saw her organization's legitimacy as dependent upon on its capacity to help students exceed grade-level benchmarks.

> We've done a lot of work with our teachers about what meeting really means and what exceeding really means and how meeting is not in the long range enough for them to be graduating and going to selective enrollment high schools and that kind of thing . . . that's what our parents want and what we want for our students.

Thus while legitimacy was acute for Samantha and Nathan, they too were attending to integrity, as Samantha's quote suggests. Still, among stakeholders, parents remained particularly salient in these principals' sense making.

Though her situation differed, the same was true for Nancy, too. Because her school was new but not modeled on a known entity, it required in Nancy's mind an even greater leap of faith. As she explained, "When I was recruiting [families] I didn't have a building, I didn't have students, I didn't have anything other than like one woman talking up a show about a school." In light of this, her sense of her role as principal took shape quickly and distinctively during her early months on the job: "being a new principal at a school that did not exist, my biggest concern was always making that connection with families . . . how do I get families to buy into it?"

Unlike the principals in the first cluster, none of these five principals were working uphill against poor performance. Relative to most other district schools these five schools were positioned such that their established performance histories (Octavio, Sam), projected performance trajectories (Nathan, Samantha), and/or promised performance levels (Nancy) helped these principals demonstrate cultural fitness and attract families and gave

them a reprieve from the urgent press to repair integrity and legitimacy. For these five principals, presenting or (re)presenting their schools to their public as coherent legitimate entities was the primary focus.

With organizational legitimacy at the forefront, the five principals in this cluster relied heavily on market logics. Sam, for example, saw parents as the key stakeholders to whom he must market the school in specific ways in order to increase student enrollment. In addition to focusing on the lists of things parents sought to "check off" when exploring schooling options for their children, he also noted their general expectation for "good customer service." As a result, for Sam, issues that might on their surface seem more closely aligned to matters of organizational integrity—such as where and how to assign teachers—were fundamentally influenced by the need to market the school to parents. For example, Sam talked about the importance of staffing pre-K and kindergarten with "really good" teachers since those grades represented most parents' "first entry" to the school and "selling them on the school" long-term would be made easier if their children were already happily enrolled.

Novices in this cluster drew on other institutional logics in constructing their prognosis, though they did so less frequently compared with the market logic. Reflecting their reliance on market logics, novices in this cluster often cast themselves (and their staffs) as service providers or brand representatives and parents and community members as potential customers, whom they had to woo in various ways—from explicitly marketing and selling their product to establishing an identity and niche via improved programming and facilities to generating buy-in and loyalty among parents especially. Describing his new occupation, Sam used the metaphor of "being a car salesman." Both he and Nathan also likened the work to "customer service." Nancy talked about constructing her school's "brand." All, including Octavio and Samantha, emphasized the importance of making clear to parents what their respective schools stood to offer, in terms of competitive advantage, in the local education marketplace.

While parents and community members took a privileged place in the foreground of these five principals' sense making about their roles, principals in this group did talk—like those in the first cluster—about the challenge of meeting the demands of multiple stakeholders. Nancy and Samantha respectively, for example, used the language of "juggling" and "being a good juggler" to describe what it would take to do the job well. Still, while these five novices acknowledged the plurality, diversity, and simultaneity of stakeholders' demands, they did so with less intensity and less attention to the ways these demands might come into conflict with one another. This likely reflects in part the somewhat more relaxed institutional and organizational constraints on their emerging understandings.

REFINING ORGANIZATIONAL INTEGRITY TO ENSURE ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY

For five novice principals—one in a low-performing school on probation but not under threat of closure (Steve), two in relatively higher performing schools placed on probation for the first time just prior to their new principals' hiring (Dennis, Oscar), one in a fairly high performing school (Anastasia), and one in a new school that stood to absorb overcrowding in nearby schools (Rosana)—diagnosis and prognosis centered primarily around issues of organizational integrity. These principals' diagnoses focused on the coherence of their instructional programs, the cohesiveness among staff, the alignment among stated goals and enacted practices, the degree of consistency in stakeholders' understanding of the school's mission, and so on. That this cluster includes three of the four largest schools in the sample is also worth noting, given the potentially enhanced integrity challenges posed by larger facilities, more numerous staff members, and multiple subunits. In turn these principals' prognoses focused on how they would work to build more coherent instructional programs, disrupt cliques and divisions among staff and other stakeholders, and establish structures, policies, and routines to enable the development of common goals, norms, and beliefs. These principals were also concerned about organizational legitimacy, though not as acutely as those in the first and second cluster. They mostly seemed to view legitimacy as a by-product of integrity and viewed investments in integrity as a means by which to ensure legitimacy. Thus, ensuring integrity emerged as a primary goal and as a mechanism for ensuring legitimacy. For example, all principals in this cluster referenced challenges related to working with parents and community members; however, rather than framing parents and community members as constituents to win over (i.e., Cluster 1) or customers to woo (e.g., Cluster 2), these principals mostly framed parents and community members as needing to become a more in-sync part of a better functioning whole. The concerns of novices in this cluster were less about fitness and more about folding various stakeholder groups into the organization's culture and goals. While two felt this would require changing preexisting policies and programs, three felt they could increase coherence and consistency by building on or into what was already in place.

While all five principals were concerned about external stakeholders (e.g., district officials), the lion's share of their focus orbited around teachers and around the goal of bringing consistency and coherence to the school's innermost (instructional) workings. Both Steve and Oscar emphasized the need to reestablish integrity by disrupting and revising problematic work practices and patterns of interaction that characterized

the technical core. After describing "people who have nested . . . in not a good way" and how "an expectation that we're doing good enough" had become "infectious" school-wide, Steve framed the situation as follows:

> Ash is a good school for some kids; some kids do very well here. We need to make this a good school for more kids and a great school for all kids. So I want to develop a sense of consistency of instructional expectation, a sense of uniformity and behavior expectation . . . [so] we have this common expectation, common standard, common assessment . . . so the pacing is consistent and I should be able to walk into any . . . social studies class and see roughly [similar] instruction.

In Steve's view, inconsistencies in school structures and practices together with a lack of uniformity in the instructional program were among the key challenges undermining integrity. Developing "consistency" and "uniformity" in policies, practices, and norms were thus paramount in his prognosis, which foregrounded the interaction between what teachers did across classrooms and what students experienced as a result.

Oscar's diagnosis—similar to Steve's its attention to integrity—foregrounded parents and community, alongside students and teachers. He noted:

> We Hispanics have . . . a certain way of treating people and we have a lot of respect for authority figures, for *maestra*. And when we . . . feel that that person is not reciprocating on that you know we feel that there's a certain wall in there. And I wanna hit that wall. I wanna make sure that people [in the community] feel that they can come, and they're gonna be respected, and they're gonna be listened to. And that they can count on their students being in a place where the culture background is respected and honored.

For Oscar, normalized distrust that he diagnosed among school staff on the one hand, and parents and community members on the other, was a key challenge requiring attention. Concerned about incoherence and inconsistency in school policies and programs, both Oscar and Steve anticipated working to get stakeholders—teachers especially—not only on the same page but the right page.

While internal and local stakeholders featured prominently for the other three principals in this cluster, their prognoses focused more on deepening and extending the coherence of existing policies and programs rather than need to change them. As Dennis explained,

> We're not gonna change something that doesn't need to be

> changed. . . . I've seen new principals come in, they completely throw out practically everything that was there. . . . You [need to] respect what's working . . . do everything you can do to keep what's there working working. And then you . . . make small changes . . . take 'em from where they're at and help them to grow and improve.

This more relaxed developmental approach involving small gradual improvement likely reflects, in part, the school's position in the broader institutional environment. Unlike, principals in prior clusters, for whom district intervention was of more significant and acute concern, Dennis offered the following response when asked about how the district's expectations factored into his plans.

> I don't really care what [the district] thinks because [the district] isn't gonna be the one hiring or firing me. The [local governing body] at Hawthorn . . . is the group of people that hires and fires a principal. And I'm gonna do everything I can to make sure that that group of parents and teachers is happy with what I'm doing. . . . That's the group we [as principals] need to be concerned with, the group of teachers that you work day in and day out with.

With less of the apparent urgency concerning organizational legitimacy, whether tied to performance (Cluster 1) or enrollment (Cluster 2), Dennis felt less pressure to foreground the district stakeholders' demands. His attention, like that of others four principals in this third cluster, turned toward integrity (more than legitimacy) and inward toward teachers and, to a lesser degree, parents and community members as well. This was true for Rosana as well. Because she had played a role in constructing her new school's mission, systems, and staff, she anticipated and planned to deepen coherence that she had helped construct; in addition, because her school was unmarked by a record of poor performance and positioned to assume overflow enrollments from crowded neighborhood schools, her attention was mostly freed up from having to focus on demonstrating legitimacy to families or district officials.

These five novices tended to use combinations of bureaucratic, professional, and/or family logics as they constructed courses of action to address organizational integrity. Dennis, a former bandleader and teacher, for example, compared his new position to that of "a circus master" or "world renowned conductor." Expanding on his conductor metaphor he explained,

> Orchestrating everything that needs to be orchestrated. Pulling the musical integrity out of all . . . the different sections of the

> band, the orchestra. Putting it all together so that—not that only those that are producing the music . . . the teachers that are producing the educational experiences for children—but that the audience, the students, the parents, the community know at the end of the performance, at the end of the school year that they've had one of the best musical-educational experiences of their lives.

In Dennis's view, the critical challenge involved getting the various components of the school organization and local community to work together, in harmony: It was about designing "a finely tuned organization . . . [with] different sections, different components—primary, intermediate and upper grade— . . . you gotta help them refine their craft." Dennis combines a professional logic, referring to refinement of "craft," with a bureaucratic logic that position the principal as "orchestrating" various organizational components, and the logic of the state, in the sense of working toward test scores as a single agreed-upon measure of accountability.

In the metaphors these five principals, including Dennis, used to capture their understandings of their new position, getting people to work together was the central theme. Drawing on a bureaucratic logic, Oscar described getting "everybody on the same page with me" and getting them to "jump on the bus and move the school [forward]." Referencing his role as a father, however, he also compared the position to that of "being a good parent" who ensures "the welfare of your family and makes sure that there's growth; academic growth." Drawing on a professional logic, Rosana how she saw her role in relation to teachers and, in turn, their role in relation to students: "I trust you, you trust me, I respect you, you respect me; we work together . . . that's how I wanna work with the staff and that's how I want them to work with the students." Also a parent, she too, however, invoked the logic of family, comparing the principalship to being "a mom to a thousand kids . . . a thousand kids to look after; they're mine." Anastasia meanwhile described her role as principal as that of a coparticipant among colleagues who are "in this together and . . . decide as a team which direction we row and then we all row in the same direction." At the same, she also acknowledged her unique role, as principal, in ensuring that "decisions are always in the best interest of the children . . . inclusive of *all* the children" (speaker emphasis). Employing combinations of professional, bureaucratic, and family logics, concern for children, egalitarianism, and teamwork featured centrally in these five novices' emerging understandings of their new position.

MAINTAINING ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY AND INTEGRITY

For the two remaining novices, both hired at small high-performing schools, their attention was balanced across organizational integrity and legitimacy but dwelled on maintaining rather than establishing (creating) and repairing (recreating) in relation to these dual imperatives. Both were aware of their schools' multiple stakeholders. As Tim noted, one of the perils of the principal position was that one "might be drawn to be all things to all people" in ways that cause "stress" and make one "ineffective." In this sense, Tim likened the principal's job to that of a politician having to "deal with different groups within their community."

Despite acknowledging these demands, both Lydia and Tim still saw their roles as mostly figuring out how to maintain current approaches and trajectories. Lydia described the role as requiring particular knowledge—"that understanding of what's needed . . . to sustain a school of excellence, like [this one]"—and particular work; in the case of Plum, this meant maintaining current arrangements and sustaining an upward performance trajectory, one that would "keep moving Plum . . . higher and higher." When asked about district expectations, for example, Tim noted, "just [test] scores pretty much . . . to maintain that." Given the organizational conditions and performance histories they inherited, both spoke diagnostically about things that were mostly running smoothly already, teachers who were mostly strong and amenable, and district officials who were either supportive or more laissez-faire than other principals experienced.

When it came to prognosis, ensuring legitimacy and integrity called for mostly maintenance or tweaking rather than establishment or repair. In addition, these two novices also focused a good deal on buffering internal stakeholders from certain expectations and demands on the part of external stakeholders, especially if they felt those demands posed a threat to organizational integrity. Tim, for example, talking about the district's expectations around test scores, remarked, "But as I told the parents, or I told the [local governing body], I don't think scores are the end-all. I never have . . . kids being happy in school and no bullying . . . there's so many other factors that make a school, to me, a great school." Lydia, meanwhile, spoke about the school system being run "like a business," particularly that "being a new principal, you are expected [by the district] to be at this meeting, that meeting, this meeting"—an expectation that Lydia considered difficult to flout for legitimacy reasons but nevertheless problematic given her sense of the importance to organization integrity of the principal being a regular presence in classrooms alongside teachers and students. She also spoke about having to dedicate finite time and energy to maintaining and extending partnerships that brought resources

to Plum and enabled programs that would not be viable otherwise. While these examples suggest that Tim and Lydia recognized the potential for legitimacy- and integrity-related demands to sometimes come into conflict with one another, these conflicts were less acute and less likely to become nettlesome than at other schools.

Focusing on maintaining legitimacy and integrity, Tim and Lydia drew on multiple institutional logics depending on which imperatives and stakeholders were under consideration; that said, the logics of family and profession dominated, reflecting schools' and principals' relative immunity from threats to their existence and employment respectively. Describing a principal as "a jack of all trades," Lydia elaborated, "we're mom, we're a teacher, we're a guidance counselor, we're a friend, we're a mentor, a coach." While she, like several other principals in our study, used the jack-of-all-trades analogy coupled with a list of occupations, she named relatively similar ones in the sense that they all focus on building relationships with and improving people. With respect to her staff, for example, she emphasized "empowering them to lead" and "coaching them on how to become a stronger teacher." Lydia argued that "a principal is a teacher first and foremost" and that for her "children are at the center of everything." Acknowledging stakeholders' diverse needs, Tim took a similar stance, remarking, "You're at the helm of this ship that has a lot of . . . different needs. You . . . try to strike a balance between kids, the teachers and the parents . . . so all you have to do is think about what's best for the children." He went on to liken his task to creating "a family feeling . . . I think that's what I can be like here, truly a family." Drawing on family and professional logics, Lydia's and Tim's emerging understandings of the principalship positioned them as teachers themselves working from an anchoring principle of, in Tim's words, "what's best for the kids." Whereas Tim's understanding casts him at the helm or head of the school in the role of provider and "ultimate" arbitrator among competing stakeholders, Lydia's understanding, though also family like in nature, focuses more on nurturing the development of and building harmoniousness among stakeholders.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The institutional environment of U.S. public schooling has remained in flux over the past few decades as policy makers have embraced and deployed both tighter bureaucratic arrangements and market-based reforms. These institutional shifts, some claim, have expanded and complicated the work principals do (e.g., Crow, 2006; Lortie, 2009). Such claims are largely consistent with the tenets of new institutionalism; and yet, scholars working in that broad tradition have argued as problematic the field's

nearly exclusive focus on institutional sectors and have called for more attention to individual organizational-level institutionalization (Dorado, 2005; Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Kraatz, 2009; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011; Scully & Creed, 1997). In other words, they have called for a "micro-motor" that can enrich macro lines of analysis with more nuanced understandings of how individuals locate themselves, make sense in situ, and ultimately contribute to the creation, maintenance, disruption, transformation, and extinction of institutional forms (Powell & Colyvas, 2008, p. 2). This is of special concern in educational research where there is a preoccupation with change and where leadership (for reform)—as distinct from maintenance—traditionally receives the bulk of the attention. Although the study on which this paper reports focuses exclusively on the sense making of new school principals, our analysis begins to address these concerns. It connects occupational and organizational socialization while also building on work in the new institutionalism tradition. Of specific interest are the ways that institutions enter the sense-making process and with what consequences for school leaders' understandings and, eventually, enactments (Weber & Glynn, 2006).

In the above analysis, we explored how novice principals across a range of schools think about their new position, particularly as it relates to ensuring the legitimacy and integrity of their schools as organizations in a pluralistic and evolving institutional environment (Kraatz, 2009). Our account shows how novice school leaders' occupational sense making emerges from their diagnosis and prognosis of their local schools as organizations. We find that the dual imperatives of organizational legitimacy and integrity manifest differently across schools and set localized puzzles that prime principals' attention and prompt them to view stakeholders and the relationships between them in different ways. One way in which institutions entered sense making, therefore, was through the puzzles they set for novices.

Although common across all novice principals, these dual imperatives seemed to require of novices different kinds of focus and different kinds of institutional work, which varied contingent upon the positions of their schools in the education sector. The composition of stakeholders in the picture and the location of those stakeholders in relation to one another differed for novices depending upon how their schools were positioned institutionally. What emerges then is an account of new principals' local socialization into their new and universal profession. Importantly, by local we mean local in contexts, rather than local as context; in other words, rather than viewing the school organization as the primary site for socialization, our analysis suggests the need to consider socialization as it unfolds in relation to where schools sit within the broader institutional landscape.

Of course, organizational factors do matter in novice principals' early-on-the-job sense making about their new occupation. For example, although it would be problematic to extrapolate, it would also be unwise to treat as unrelated that principals of three of the four largest schools in the sample shared a primary focus on matters of integrity (Cluster 3), and that the two highest performing schools, where principals focused most on maintaining achievement and buffering internal stakeholders from external forces (Cluster 4), were also two of the four smallest and among the least challenged by poverty in the sample. These organizational factors and others are likely very much connected to the conditions and performance trajectories of schools and thus to principals' sense making about their new occupation. That said, given the way such organizational factors are represented across clusters they alone do not account for the localized puzzles principals encountered early on the job or the sense, diagnostic or prognostic, that they made of them.

Constructing responses to localized puzzles and resisting being pulled apart at the seams organizationally and personally, novices drew on institutional logics (e.g., market, family, profession, bureaucracy) and personally resonant metaphors as resources for organizing their schools and themselves as principals. Scholars have long been interested in understanding how institutional logics "gain influence by working through internal organizational processes" (Heimer, 1999, p. 18). In our analysis, we see institutions enter novices' sense making not only by presenting puzzles ("triggering") but also by providing "raw materials" or "building blocks" for sense making (Weber & Glynn, 2006). Novices drew on institutional logics (and/or related metaphors) and these played a central role in how they thought about and constructed their anticipated courses of action. That said, most relied on logics (and/or related metaphors) that both responded to features of their localized situation—what they encountered on the ground in their particular schools—and reflected salient features of their own identities and biographies. In light of this, we might best characterize these logics as hybrid. Thus, as institutions are inhabited, we argue that institutional logics are enlivened; they are given life and spirit as individuals imbue them with specific meaning for action in their particular school situations and with their particular personal and professional experiences.

This hybridity is critical to novices' sense making as it reflects their efforts to construct a coherent consistent organizational self as well as a coherent consistent professional self—someone that others can "set their watch by" (Nelson)—in a pluralistic and evolving institutional environment. Drawing on logics and resonant metaphors helped principals to categorize and connect different stakeholders (formula) and to plan courses of action (prognosis) in ways that both held and varied across clusters.

One of the common threads across novices was that their sense of their new occupation was not unitary. Furthermore, individual novices at times articulated understandings of their new occupation that were not internally coherent. This is to be expected, given earlier accounts suggesting that novice school leaders, like other social actors in pluralistic and evolving environments, must act as "brokers of contradictory interests" and build "a working identity that is constructively ambiguous" (Kraatz, 2009; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Lampert, 1985, pp. 178, 190).

In drawing connections across institutions, occupation, and organization, we theorize newcomers' socialization into the principalship in new ways. Our analysis serves as a reminder that when novices inhabit an occupation (as new principals do), they also inhabit organizations (Hart, 1991; Heck, 1995; Merton, 1968) that are situated themselves in the broader institutional sector. Thus, in taking up their new occupational roles, novice principals are also contributing to the construction of the organization within which that role is most immediately situated and the construction of the institution of which that organization is part—not only as a unit of the institution but as an active organizational agent that is shaping the institution by it constituency. They are "architects" (Kraatz, 2009, p. 76) contributing to the "new institutional archiecture" of public schooling in the United States (Gutiérrez, 2006). At the same time, the institutional field itself, and the organization's position in it, necessarily shapes the way novice principals make sense of and enact their new occupation. This nestedness and the socialization dynamics to which it gives rise hold implications for the occupation itself as well as for those who fill its ranks, support its work, and prepare others for it.

Indeed, if expectations are any indicator, principals like those under study here will encounter different kinds of institutional work (i.e., establishing, reestablishing, refining, and/or maintaining integrity and legitimacy) for which they may or may not be prepared and through which they will inevitably contribute to the creation, maintenance, transformation, and extinction of institutional forms. Thus, our analysis speaks to the importance of future research that can bring microsituational and institutional perspectives into more explicit conversation with one another, so as to mine theoretical connections and enrich the empirical base concerning the relationships between institutions, organizations, and sense making, particularly as they impact school leaders. Attending more concertedly to the institutional environment presents an opportunity to understand socialization in new ways—particularly offering more robust (micro/macro) notions of how contexts shape and are shaped by school leaders, who remain part of the "taken-for-grantedness" of public schooling even as they are the subject of heightened attention and expanding

expectations (Lortie, 2009). Such investigations would promise a more robust portrait of the changes within the principalship and the implications of its increasing complexity for its newest members.

Notes

1. Swidler frames culture as a "toolkit" in earlier work (1986); concerned that toolkit suggests conscious choice and rational manipulation, she opts for repertoire in more recent work (2001).
2. Members of the research team included the two authors plus graduate students and postdoctoral fellows.
3. All interviewers used the same collaboratively developed interview protocol. To generate the protocol, members of the research team consulted pertinent literature and sought and received feedback on protocol drafts from colleagues. Before using the protocol with participants, team members piloted it with one another with the goal of streamlining language, finalizing question sequencing, and determining interview timing. Once used with participants, research team members amended the protocol only slightly, eliminating a few questions (in order to shorten the interview's length), resequencing a few questions (to ensure coverage and ease the flow between topics), and specifying nonnegotiable probes (i.e., follow-up questions that each interviewer had to ask in order to ensure comparable data across participants). See Appendix A for a slightly truncated version of the final protocol.
4. Primary research team members and coders included the authors and two doctoral students. However, for some of the more straightforward coding, like the coding of stakeholder groups, coders also included two advanced undergraduate students.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

Orienting Note: This is a semistructured interview protocol. Questions are presented in categories. Although there is some logic in the ordering, it is expected that conversations will wander in predictable and unpredictable ways. In turn, the interviewer adjusts the protocol as necessary. To the extent possible, main questions are asked as stated. Probing questions—those listed and improvised—transform the protocol into something that makes sense given who the interviewee is, what he or she shares in response to questions, and what the context suggests.

A. <u>Expectations for the School Principal</u>

A.1. What is a good school principal?

Probes: [*For key descriptors/phrases/qualities (e.g., "facilitator," "sharing responsibility," "instructional leader," "patient," "motivating," etc.) ask:*] What do you mean by ____?

How does ____ make for a good school principal?

Can you tell me about a good principal that you know or remember?

How did he/she demonstrate ____ (qualities mentioned above)?

If you had to describe—fairly quickly—the role of principal to someone who really didn't know what one was or did, how would you do that?

Complete this sentence: Being a good school principal is like . . .

A.2. How are you thinking about the move from being a ____ [*name current/recent position (e.g., teacher, reading coordinator, assistant principal, etc.)*] to being a school principal?

Probes: [*For key descriptors/phrases ask:*] What do you mean by ____?

How (or in what ways) will this role be easy for you?

How (or in what ways) will this role be difficult for you?

A.3. How are you thinking about the transition to being principal at this school specifically?

Probes: [*For key descriptors/phrases ask:*] What do you mean by ____?

You have mentioned a few different aspects of the transition. If you had to choose, which of these seems most important?

A.4. What do you hope to accomplish during your first year at this school?

Probes: [*For key descriptors/phrases (e.g., "improve achievement," "create positive culture," "hold teachers accountable," etc.) ask:*] What do you mean by ____?

How will you ____?

How will ____ lead to ____? [*probe for connection between proposed approach and intended outcome—how one thing will lead to another?*]

You have mentioned a few different priorities, if you had to choose, which of these seems most important?

A.5. What challenges will you face as principal at ____ School?
Probes: What makes ____ a challenge?
How do you know this will be a challenge at *this* school?
How will you address ____?

A.6. How do you see your role in supporting the development of others?
Probes: Teachers, specifically?
Leaders (or leadership team), specifically?

A.7. What do you think staff at this school expect from you?
Probes: How do you know?
Do you think all or some staff members expect this?
Do you think this is unique to this school? If so, how so? If not, why not?

A.8. What do you think your [local community/governing body] expects from you?
Probes: How do you know?
What did the interview focus on?
What do you think the people who interviewed you were looking for?
Do you think this is unique to this school? If so, how so? If not, why not?

A.9. What do you think the district expects from you?
Probes: How do you know?
Do you think this is unique to this school? If so, how so? If not, why not?

A.10. How did you decide to take the principal position at ____ School?
Probes: If you had more than one offer, how did you decide to opt for ____?

A.11. What do you imagine a good day will look like this year?

APPENDIX B

Coding Manual (Excerpt)

ROUND I: Identity, Diagnosis, Prognosis

See below for codes, explanations, and exemplars/excerpts from data.

I. Identity: answers the question, "Who am I?" as principal and person. Here we focus on:

- ***beliefs**, **values**, and **motivation***, particularly in relation to being an educator/principal
  - "I do what I do because of the kids . . . "
  - "The best way to deal with conflict is to anticipate it and to try to get rid of it . . . "
- implicit/explicit connections between ***background*** and beliefs about, values concerning, and motivation for being an educator/principal (or a certain kind of educator/principal)
  - "As an AP, they saw how many times I would be in this very office which is our old principal's office going nuts . . . 'this teacher didn't turn in lesson plans.'"
  - "I was a computer teacher before . . . technology has to be used more."
  - "I <u>hated</u> when the principal would come in and go 'everybody must be on a duty, you've got to be out on a duty!' And we'd all be sitting there going it's <u>Lisa</u>, you know it's <u>Lisa</u> that doesn't go out on duty and you're yelling at 20 of us."
- ***"I am" statements*** in which participant describes herself and/or expresses beliefs about her essential qualities, particularly as an educator/principal
  - "I'm a teacher at heart, like I am a diehard advocate for kids. Especially kids that always get the short end of the stick."
  - "I'm very much by the book with discipline."
- statements about personal ***meaning*** and ***reward***, particularly in relation to being an educator/principal (often from within "good day" content)
  - "A really good day for me is a day that was spent all about the kids, with the kids."
  - "That little boy . . . said 'this is what you taught me.' . . . So that's it for me. Knowing that what I do here is worthwhile. And I don't care who tells it to me. It can be him, it can be a teacher, a parent . . . whatever. But just to hear that."

II. Diagnosis/diagnostic framing: answers the question, "What's going on here?" In other words, it captures references to distinguishing features of and foci in the environment—what draws/demands principals' attention, what they identify as needing attention or change, what they view as opportunities, challenges or puzzles, etc. Here we code:

- diagnosis of the school and its subgroups: "In a school like this, they will challenge you. And they will make you work for their love. And if you don't walk in the door with an unconditional love for these kids there will come a point in time when they do something and you won't anymore, unless there is no other option . . . I mean a school where violence and reacting is the norm; it's what they do. Leaving the classroom and saying "fuck you, bitch. I'm not doing this shit and you can't make me.'"
- diagnosis of community: "It's a very political neighborhood simply because it's the whole issue of gentrification and race and class and the history of the neighborhood and then gang activity and the names that come out of this area and the politicians and the arts . . . if I'm not at least aware of, oh you know, that this is going on and whether or not I offer recess is gonna be a hot, hot ticket item for these groups."
- diagnosis of district: "Everybody is upfront about this is the state of the school, so am I, ok? I know. I've got a very short timeline to fix the school. I don't wanna go to your little meeting. I don't care what you're talking about. And that's my struggle. That's gonna be the hard part because I can't tell somebody, especially not knowing what this new structure is coming from Huberman. I can't call the area office and be like 'listen, I don't care what you have to say about math and science.'"
- diagnosis of prior leadership and teaching practice: "So previously there was no measure for how are our kids learning and growing."
- diagnosis of the occupation: "And that's, I think that's where a lot of people go wrong; they don't take that personal time . . . And there have been principals this year who have pretty much dropped dead. And these were seasoned people."

III. Prognosis/prognostic framing: answers the question, "What I/we will/should do?" In other words, it captures principals' articulation of proposed solutions (often, but not always, in relation to diagnoses above), goals set forth, and tactics outlined for achieving goals. It also captures any explicit rationalizations for the courses of action they do or do not select. Here we code:

- "And so we've, that's step one. We purchased assessments and we will be assessing K through 8 at periodic times that we've already set in the calendar . . . And then it's looking through that data and having those conversations with teachers about what are we gonna do to grow. And each assessment window comes with that data conversation.
- "Realizing I had to close two of the positions. I love these women. I do. It's not a reflection on their work. But once again it's making those decisions for the kids. It's not about the adults. It's not about the fact that I love you and I wanna keep you. It's about paying for you means that our kids K-5 don't have science materials. We don't have social studies books. Upper grades don't have literacy materials. So how can I be paying $120,000 to keep two clerks."

APPENDIX C

Table of Codes/Constructs with Examples from the Dataset

Key Codes/Constructs	Example(s) from Dataset
Identity: answers question, "Who am I?" as a principal and as a person. Specific focus on: *beliefs, values, motivation*, and background for being an educator principal; "*I am" statements* describing self/key qualities; and sense of *meaning* and *reward* concerning being an educator/principal.	You have to be able to be sensitive to what people need and respectful of their needs and try to meet 'em through the way you treat 'em, through things that you say, through the opportunities that you work to provide. . . . I am you know a church-goer, raised in a church, that that's kind of like what pastors work to do. (Angela) As a veteran educator, I speak from my own personal experience, the schools that I knew that the principal understood me as a person, understood what I brought to the classroom, I worked my ass off. I worked that much harder and kids were that much more successful because of that. (Dennis)
Diagnosis: answers questions, "What's going on here?" and "What are the distinguishing features of and foci in this environment—what draws/demands principals' attention and/or what do they opt to pay attention to, identify as needing attention or change, view as opportunities, challenges or puzzles, etc.?" Specific focus on diagnosis of: school and its subgroups; local context; prior leadership; and teaching practice.	Everybody is upfront about this is the state of the school, so am I, ok? I know. I've got a very short timeline to fix the school. I don't wanna go to your little meeting. I don't care what you're talking about. And that's my struggle. That's gonna be the hard part because I can't tell somebody, especially not knowing what this new structure is coming from [the district CEO]. I can't call the [local district] office and be like "listen, I don't care what you have to say about math and science" (laughs) "I need to be in my building." That's the truth though. So how do I do that? And how do I get that, that leeway to say "I need to stay here." I need to be greeting the kids, I need to be fielding the parents that have a history of verbally and physically abusing the staff. I need to be here in the classrooms observing instruction. I need to be here and not off doing all that managerial nonsense that goes with the position. Because each time you pull me away from here that means something else here is happening that shouldn't be because I'm not. And that's gonna be the biggest challenge for me. (Adriana)
Prognosis: answers question, "What I/we will/should do?" Specific focus on principals' articulation of proposed solutions (often, but not always, in relation to diagnosed problems); goals set forth and tactics outlined for achieving goals; rationalizations provided for the courses of action they do or do not select.	A lot of times people come with complaints; "oh I don't like this way this …" Ok. Perfect. You're going to find a way to make this better. You can build your own team, you can bring back your proposal and we can develop it. I think that is one of the best ways to develop that leadership. Giving them an opportunity to shine; this was your idea, show us how it works. And it's amazing how they're like "oh, ok." And they sit down and they start thinking about it and the next thing you know there's a plan and they can say "'I was a part of that. That was my idea." . . . And then they can pull others along and you know next thing you know you have people working together and making a difference. And if those test scores-, or you see the success of it then you can say "wow." You can showcase that. And maybe like I said our perception of the school starts to change from within. (Andrea)

Key Codes/Constructs	Example(s) from Dataset
Stakeholders: Teachers, parents, students, community members, district officials, etc.: answers questions, "which individuals or entities stand to gain or lose from the success or failure of a system or organization—in this case, a school?" and "What are their interests, needs, and demands?" Specific focus on internal and external stakeholders, including all who affect or are affected by principals' work and/or the schooling enterprise.	**Teachers:** Being on their side, asking them how can I help you, what can I do for you? And I really believe that. You know how can I make your job easier? What can I get you? What can I do for you to make your job easier? And again that might not work for everybody. I think the reality now is that with the economy and the teaching market they're not going anywhere. You know they're really not. This is the job they have, it's a good job, it's a good school, it's a good neighborhood, good kids. They're not going anywhere. So I think there might be some resistance at first but look, you're gonna have to get on board. (Sam) **Parents:** A lot of schools' parents get marginalized, which is terrible but it happens . . . with this model the parents are making the choice to send their child here, they're more informed of the different options. It doesn't mean that their kids are better or worse it's just they knew this option existed and they took it. So they wanna be more hands on. And that's not necessarily telling us what to do but they just wanna know what we're doing and sometimes then why and a couple of layers of why. (Nathan)
Organizational integrity: answers questions, "How well does the school hang together? Is it organized in a comprehensible manner? Is it characterized as dys/functional? Are its people on the 'same page'? Are its components aligned? Does is 'make sense' holistically?" Specific focus on any thinking/effort aimed at developing shared mission, integrating components, and projecting an image of integration and coherence.	I want to develop a sense of consistency and instructional expectation, a sense of uniformity and behavior expectation, a sense of visibility for all students and staff so that there's nothing that's done in secret, nothing that's done in private . . . common expectation, common standard, common assessment. (Steve) They [parents] expect the school to be more accepting of the cultures around the school. . . . I have intention to do that. (Oscar) You know we know what our mission is inside but the outside world may have a different view of what it should be on the inside. Yeah, they all want their kids to be the best, they want them to have the best education and all of those things. But the route to get there isn't always the same thing that they think should be happening. So bringing them in . . . And having them be a part of it . . . we're not separate. That I need them to work with me to get the kids to where we want them to go. (Rosana)
Organizational legitimacy: answers questions, "Is the school judged to be as it should be (by the principal and by others)? Is it deemed a 'real' school, a 'good' school, a 'failing' school, a 'sham,' et cetera, and according to what criteria? What environmental cues are used (or read) to signal its legitimacy (or lack thereof)?" Specific focus on any thinking/effort aimed at winning support of diverse constituencies and symbolically demonstrating school's cultural fitness.	The new families that are coming into this community are not sending their kids to the public school but to private school in some cases. . . . I'm going to just target the people that do have kids and they are sending their kids to private school. Well, by checking the private school we have around I can tell that Dogwood school can do a much better work than those private school. And we can prove it. Right? Now if we can prove that, if we can show to this community that Dogwood school can become the option for school for their kids that's something we need to show as a whole community. (Octavio) They [the district] expect my numbers, my data to reflect a successful school. They want change to be evident in my statistics. My attendance rate has got to go up, my test scores have got to go up, the teacher attendance rate has got to go up, the graduation rate has got to go up. (Nelson) When I was recruiting I didn't have a building, I didn't have students, I didn't have anything other than like one woman talking up a show about a school. . . . It's been a leap of faith. (Nancy)

Key Codes/Constructs	Example(s) from Dataset
Institutional logic: references to broader set of principles, assumptions, rule structures, rationales for how schools might be arranged (e.g., market, bureaucratic, family, professions, state, religion), and how relationships, decisions and actions can be understood/explained (e.g., control, autonomy, competition, incentive, empowerment, human development, etc.). Specific focus on possible conflict (e.g., talking about creating professional learning communities while also talking about firing teachers).	Each person on my leadership team has a responsibility so [if] the attendance falls . . . one of the people on the leadership team has that responsibility . . . what get monitored, gets done. . . . So basically there's an input and then there's an output. . . . Kind of proceduralizing all that stuff I think will be one of the biggest ways to kind of meet the goals to make sure that people are accountable for it. And always sending the message of this is, this is Ficus, this is our goal for this year. . . . you should be able to pull any staff member and eventually any student in the building and say "what are your goals for this school year?" and they should be able to tell you. (*bureaucratic*, Emily) Parents come in with a list of things that they check off and then, you know we have to have those things on the list. So we're getting those done. . . . It's like being a car salesman in some ways; really selling them about my vision and what's gonna happen over the next four years. . . . Hopefully those parents will talk to their neighbor and say ' . . . go check it out.' (*market*, Sam) I'm putting things in place to empower them [teachers]. . . . They're competent enough, they're experienced enough . . . it builds the morale when you look to them as leaders . . . to develop them professionally . . . being their coach, their mentor, and getting them involved in differentiated professional development; things that meet their needs . . . finding opportunities throughout the year that they can spearhead or facilitate. (*profession*, Lydia)
Metaphor: instances when concepts from differing knowledge domains are positioned as having "structural correspondence" of some kind and/or are held in tension with one another to emphasize essential properties. Specific focus on stakeholders (e.g., teachers as nurturing parents), schooling-related imagery (e.g., schools as factories), cultural tropes (e.g., leaders as ship captains), areas of interest or experience (e.g., athlete using sports language to describe job), etc.	Some teachers you give 'em a little twig and they make a huge bonfire out of it because that's all they needed was one little twig. Others need a bonfire to get them warmed up. (Dennis) A good school principal is . . . a little bit of a politician because you have to be able to balance the needs of a whole lot of people—most importantly your students but the parents and the teachers that work on your staff and the community members . . . politician has a negative connotation but a lot of times it does require you putting on a good face for everyone but then being able to kind of build relationships that allow you to make decisions where people are willing to give and take. . . . (Samantha) I don't know if you follow [local] football but . . . (laughs) Until he started throwing some touchdowns people were like "oh great, we're gonna have another [losing] football year." You know so until we start pulling off some touchdowns here and we can really show parents like test scores or something we're not gonna be able to do that. So like give us a goal that we can meet and then you know start that momentum moving forward. (Emily)

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