ABSTRACT
        School boards and communities commonly face a challenge when
choosing superintendents: should they select somebody from inside the
community or from outside? The tacit knowledge (knowledge gained by
experience) each superintendent brings to his or her district is unique and
influences the beliefs of school boards in unique ways. This study examined
superintendent leadership by mapping the tacit-knowledge domain of
place-bound and career-bound superintendents. Forty-four Ohio public-school
superintendents were interviewed and their responses coded for statistical
analysis. Results show that a superintendent's choice to move to other
districts or stay in the same one influences his or her tacit knowledge.
Place-bound superintendents tend to have a stronger focus on group membership
and group members; their priorities tend to revolve around developing
long-term trust relationships with groups and individuals as a way to develop
trust in the schools. Career-bound individuals tend to focus on school-system
organization and on developing a shared perspective of the district's
direction; their priorities tend to revolve around developing trust through a
task-oriented focus on performance and perception of the organization. This
study suggests that a tacit-knowledge framework may help to provide better
understanding of superintendent actions and viewpoints. (Contains 35
references.) (RT)

Carlson Revisited: The Tacit Knowledge of
Place-Bound and Career-Bound Superintendents

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When school boards and communities are faced with choosing superintendents, they often ask, "Should we look for an insider or an outsider? Which one will lead the schools in the direction we wish to go?" Carlson's (1962) work with place-bound (insider) and career-bound (ousider) superintendents continues to influence the beliefs of boards and search committees, and has surfaced repeatedly in scholarly writings. In light of this continuing influence and because significant time lapse and social changes have occurred since the early 1960's, it is prudent to reexamine the issue of superintendent career mobility. This study provides a different view of superintendent leadership by mapping the tacit knowledge domain of place-bound and career-bound superintendents. The relationship between tacit knowledge and boundedness in the superintendency is examined by categorizing examples of tacit knowledge gathered from a group of 44 practicing superintendents.

The tacit knowledge of superintendents has had little examination (however, see Nestor-Baker and Hoy, 2001), though tacit knowledge has been studied in other professions. Also receiving little attention over the past decade has been the place-bound or career-bound status of superintendents. Building on the work explicated in Nestor-Baker and Hoy (2001), this article considers the tacit knowledge of place-bound and career-bound superintendents. What similarities and differences exist in the tacit knowledge of place-bound and career-bound superintendents? Before exploring the study's method and results, a brief discussion of tacit knowledge and boundedness is in order.
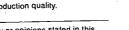
Tacit Knowledge

Most people know much more they can communicate because their personal knowledge is so thoroughly grounded in experience that it cannot be expressed in its fullness (Horvath et al., 1999). Tacit knowledge is the term that has been used to refer to such personal knowledge; it is action-oriented knowledge acquired without the direct help of others that allows individuals to adapt, select, and shape their environments in ways that enable them to achieve their goals (Horvath et al., 1994). Tacit knowledge is related to job experience, but it is much more than experience. What matters is not how much experience one has, but what is done with that experience to acquire knowledge and solve the complex problems of practice (Leithwood & Steinbach, 1995; Wagner, 1987).

According to Horvath et al. (1994), tacit knowledge allows a person to know when to adapt to the environment, when to shape the environment, and when to select a new one. It "involves the ability to grasp, understand, and solve real life problems in the everyday jungle of life..." (Sternberg, in Miele, 1995, on line). Scribner (1984) suggests that the solving of real-life problems relies on practical intelligence, or the "mind in action."

The practical abilities are those used to navigate successfully through everyday life. They include interpersonal and supervisory skills, self knowledge, and insight into the activities needed for goal achievement, including the ability to solve practical problems and to shape environments (Sternberg, 1985). Wagner and Sternberg (1985, 1986) suggest that tacit knowledge is a marker of practical intelligence, with practical intelligence manifesting as tacit knowledge. Horvath and his colleagues (1994) indicate that tacit knowledge has three broad, characteristic features: it is procedural in structure, relevant to goal attainment, and acquired with minimal help from others. Sternberg (1985) and Wagner and Sternberg (1985) have found that managing people, managing tasks, managing self, and managing career make up tacit knowledge content that is particularly important for managerial success. (Also see Gardner, 1993; Horvath et al., 1994; Klemp and McClelland, 1986). Inter- and intrapersonal aspects of tacit knowledge are especially important in school administration given the contextual nature of tacit

knowledge and the fact that administrators realm of work is highly pepole-intensive requiring formation and utilization of relationships to achieve organizational and personal goals.

As in other professions, superintendents go through a process of professional socialization wherein they learn the skills and knowledge base of the profession (Bullough, 1990; Hart, 1991). In the typical career progression of a school superintendent, this understanding of teaching and administration is developed as the individual progresses through various avenues of training (i.e., teaching experience, graduate school, field internships, principal assignments). As the superintendent absorbs this professional knowledge, he or she also is engaging in organizational socialization, learning behavioral expectations, values, and organizationally oriented knowledge. Hart states that organizational and professional socialization occur virtually simultaneously during the early part of an individual's induction into a profession but that organizational socialization takes precedence over professional socialization as time goes by, or as Hart explains, "the salience, immediacy, and power of the work context hold sway over education and training for many reasons" (1991, p. 452). Looking at socialization through a tacit knowledge lens, the goal specificity and contextual orientation of tacit knowledge generation and application may be related to the values and expectations internalized during organizational socialization. It is possible to speculate that tacit knowledge differences occurring between place and career bound superintendents may develop in part from differences in goals, values, and expectations arising from superintendent boundedness.

Superintendent Boundedness

At some point in a superintendent's career, consciously or unconsciously, the decision is made as to whether pursuit of career or stability of place takes precedence. Carlson's work from the 1960's provides the seminal examination of the boundedness of superintendents. Though the intervening years have seen others address the issue, Carlson's work remains predominant. This study owes a debt of deference to Carlson's work and makes use of it as a common thread. Thus, Carlson's terminology of "place-bound" and "career-bound" is used here. It is important to note that Carlson's initial work with place- and career-bound superintendents was done approximately four decades ago, and dealt only with

males. Significant societal changes have occurred within that expansive lapse of time. However, his theories regarding place- and career-bound superintendents continue to influence the beliefs of boards of education and search committees, and have repeatedly surfaced in the writings of other scholars (e.g., Helmich and Brown, 1972; Ganz and Hoy, 1977; Miskel and Cosgrove, 1985; Rogers and Safer, 1990).

The career-bound superintendent chooses to pursue the superintendency in more than one district, making "a career as superintendent rather than as a public school employee" (Carlson, 1962, p. 8). Hall (1990) would characterize these individuals as "protean," in that they are willing to move from organization to organization, from job to job, to reach professional self-fulfillment. Connections may also be drawn between Hirsch's (1993) idea of "free-agents" and career-bound superintendents. Hirsch suggests that free-agent managers tend to rely on external labor markets to increase career options and opportunities, saying that they are like baseball's free agents, retaining loyalty to their careers over loyalty to a particular organization.

Place-bound superintendents, on the other hand, are those who have risen through the organizational ranks of a specific school system, waiting for the superintendency instead of pursuing it in another district or assuming the superintendency without having planned to do so (Carlson, 1962 p.8). For place-bound superintendents, living in a specific location and/or serving a particular organization has a higher priority than pursuing a career as superintendent.

The place bound superintendent has a personal and professional history with the district. He or she is an ongoing part of the social fabric of the community and the district, and understands the norms of that fabric. Conversely, upon assuming the position and for a "honeymoon" period following that assumption, the career-bound superintendent is neither constrained nor assisted by the social norms of the community. While the career-bound superintendent lacks the place-bound's understanding of history, place, and people, he or she is generally free of the baggage of personal history that is attached to a place-bound superintendent, and that affects his or her ability to effect change (Carlson, 1962; 1969).

Carlson suggests that the latency of boundedness has the potential to shape and direct the superintendent's performance. "Latent" refers to an unofficial aspect of the superintendent's role that has

the potential to impact performance. "Whether a school superintendent has achieved his position through promotion in his home district (place bound) or through movement from one school district to another (career bound) is a matter of significance to his role performance" (Carlson, 1969, p. 1). This latency suggests that the sources of motivation of place- and career-bound superintendents may be different, and, so, the performance arising from those motivations can be expected to show differences as well. For example, though it may smack of overgeneralization, the insider may be less motivated to change the existing patterns of organizational performance, while the outsider appears more likely to assume a change orientation (see Ganz and Hoy , 1977, for a related discussion involving school principals).

In addition to affecting the superintendent's motivation and actions, the latency of boundedness affects the expectations held by the board, the staff, and the community for the superintendent. The decision to hire an insider (place-bound) or an outsider (career-bound) is based on those expectations, and influences what will be considered as successful performance by the superintendent. As Carlson's work shows, desire for change may very well lead to hiring an outsider, one who is not connected to the organization and who is not tainted or influenced by the prior performance of the organization. A desire to continue on a current course can lead to the choice of a qualified insider, who is perceived to have a necessary understanding of the needs of the district and the history that has brought it to its current point (Carlson, 1962). However, in counterpoint to the idea of choosing an insider in order to maintain current operations, Birnbaum argues that "the greatest force facilitating the selection of internal candidates may be a current campus crisis of such dimensions that only an insider can understand and cope with it" (1971, p. 140). When boards select an insider, they may be attempting to preserve or enhance stability in the organization by making the transition as gentle as possible. As Miskel and Cosgrove state, "the replacement of…superintendents is a disruptive event because it changes lines of communication, realigns relationships of power, affects decisionmaking, and generally disturbs the equilibrium of normal activities" (1985, p. 88). How district decision makers perceive the effect of the superintendent's status as place- or career-bound on the functioning of the district influences the perceptions of staff and community as regards what the superintendent will do and how the district will be affected. Thus, boundedness can

create external expectations that may influence a superintendent's behavior and the perception of success or lack of success that accompanies that behavior. These external expectations are suggested by Carlson's (1962) findings that place-bound superintendents have more difficulty in persuading board that change is needed and that they are constrained in managing interest groups by their history in the district. Career-bound supeintendents, on the other hand, tend to have greater ability to institute change; there appear to be external expectations that provide or, perhaps, insist upon change-oriented behaviors and goals.

A superintendent's leadership focus may be affected by career mobility orientation. Helmich (1977) notes that outsiders tend to be more task-oriented than insiders. Carlson (1962) provides evidence of this, in finding that outsiders tend to focus on rules and procedures as they seek to meet boards' mandates for change. Additionally, he suggests that career-bound superintendents may be more likely to have a higher need for manipulating and directing others in order to achieve their own personal goals and are more inclined to place high value on the opinions of community power groups. Place-bound superintendents, on the other hand, may be more inclined to be interested in and sensitive to the needs of those within the organization. These different interpersonal perspectives appear to have the potential to affect the superintendent's choice of performance priorities.

In research and in popular belief, there is a strong implication that outsiders move school systems ahead more successfully than insiders. In Ganz and Hoy's study of insider and outsider principals, they state, "[p]erhaps principals who are insiders spend too much time maintaining and protecting their own position rather than dealing with educational issues that may produce change" (1977, p. 189). Though this comment deals with principals, Carlson's work suggests that such a comment could be made about superintendents, as well.

Copeland and Chance's (1996) study of successful rural superintendents paints a different portrait of the change orientation of place-bound superintendents. While change orientation was not the theme of the study, attributes suggestive of a comfort level with change surfaced. Progressive, knowledgeable, grantors of professional freedom, and student-oriented were attributes chosen by board members, community leaders, administrative and teaching staff members to describe these long-term

superintendents. The individuals studied are oriented - as Carlson would suggest - toward their communities rather than their positions. Perhaps a consideration of success-of-change-within-context is more appropriate than a delineation of change orientation based primarily on boundedness. Success within context is supported by research suggesting that the achievement of an organization's strategic goals is related to the manager's commitment to the organization (for example, see Oswald, Mossholder, and Harris, 1994; Schein, 1970). Organizational commitment is not necessarily a function of boundedness. However, the way that commitment is exercised may indeed be colored by the superintendent's mobility.

The differences Carlson saw between place-bound and career-bound superintendents led him to posit a characterization of the two superintendent types. He labels the insider as adaptive, one who modifies him or herself to fit the office, who attempts to preserve the office as it has been, and does not seek creativity within the role. If the insider is seen as a stabilizer, the outsider is seen as an innovator. The outsider is not an inheritor, and expects to change the office rather than to be changed by it. A consideration of Carlson's characterizations suggests that both superintendent types adapt themselves for survival, but that the makeup of that survival is very different, requiring different goals and strategies to adapt or shape the environment. Thus, the tacit knowledge utilized for job survival may vary.

Method

Participants

Forty-four Ohio public school superintendents participated in this study. The superintendents are from local, city, and exempted village school districts, not from county offices or vocational schools. All of the districts led by these superintendents are within or near major metropolitan areas in central, southwest, northeast, and northwest Ohio, and exhibit broad diversity in student enrollment numbers, community socio-economic diversity, and student achievement.

This study is part of a larger study of tacit knowledge in the superintendency (see Nestor-Baker and Hoy, 2001, for further description). As such, the superintendents were selected based on criteria necessary for the completion of that study. While an examination of the tacit knowledge of

superintendents based on their status as place- or career-bound, was planned as part of the study, boundedness was not an explicit determinant for selection. Rather, it was considered as a latent aspect of the superintendents' professional experience.

Thirty-two (73%) of the superintendents are career-bound superintendents. Twelve (27%) are place-bound superintendents. This percentage is less than the 38% of place-bound superintendents state-wide as determined by a telephone and email survey conducted by the researcher's assistant. Interestingly, the percentage of place-bound superintendents in Ohio has increased six percentage points in two years, suggesting a possible trend toward hiring more inside candidates.

Thirty-eight (86%) of the superintendents are male and six (14%) are female. The State of Ohio Department of Education reports that approximately 10% of all practicing local, city, and exempted village superintendents in Ohio are female. All participants are Caucasian. It is regrettable that underrepresented ethnicities are not part of the participant pool but it is not surprising. Currently, 601 of Ohio's 611 school district superintendents are Caucasian.

Interviews

Each superintendent participated in an audio-taped interview with the researcher. The interview protocol is based on a combination of Flanagan's critical-incident technique (1954) and Dervin's Sense-making methodology (1983) and draws extensively from Horvath et al.'s protocol used in mapping tacit knowledge in the military. Participants were asked to tell stories about incidents in their professional lives that shaped their understanding and practice of school administration. They were asked to recall specific situations and to identify elements within those situations that they considered critical to success or failure. In order to focus on the learning that goes on behind proceduralized behaviors (Cattell, 1971; Cooper and Sawaf, 1996; Morgan, 1986), they were encouraged to consider such issues as the barriers they faced, the way they did or did not surmount those barriers, the steps taken, and the reasons for those steps.

This type of interview is not tightly scripted. A firm protocol would orient the interview too closely to the preconceived ideas of the researcher. It is not the researcher's tacit knowledge that is of

interest here. This nondirective format allows the participant the greatest level of freedom in determining the material covered in the course of the interview.

Coding of Tacit Knowledge

Ferreting out the tacit knowledge embedded in the interviews required careful attention to the procedural, goal-oriented characteristics of tacit knowledge. Two research assistants trained by the researcher coded the data. An overall interrater reliability percentage of 80.4% was attained for the first 15 interviews. The reliability level rose to 86.5% by the end of the coding phase of the study. A total of 469 tacit knowledge items surfaced from the data..

In looking at the superintendents' stories and comments, the coders sought to identify the pre-existing condition, the action that took place because of that condition, and the reason for the action. This "if-then-because" coding process was developed and refined by Horvath et al. (1994), and complements Leithwood and Steinbach's discussion of solution processes. Solution processes can be likened to mental blueprints that provide guidelines for performing certain actions.

Focusing on the goals inherent in the tales of the superintendents was a vitally important part of the coding process. The coders attempted to avoid declarative knowledge, or maxims, and to focus on procedural knowledge, in line with Horvath et al.'s indications indicate that tacit knowledge is procedural in structure, relevant to goal attainment, and acquired with minimal help from others (1994).

Tacit Knowledge Content

After the coding process was completed, the researcher and two individuals with extensive experience in the superintendency performed independent sorts of the items, placing them in categories of their own creation and choice. Even though acting independently, the three sorters arrived at a number of similar categories, such as board/superintendent relations, staffing, personal style, and external constituencies. The sorters did not necessarily agree with the effectiveness of the items, but they did agree that the items met the criteria for tacit knowledge.

In order to identify categories of tacit knowledge, hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis was performed on the tacit knowledge items from each superintendent group using matrices formed from the

results of the independent sort. Cluster analysis is a data reduction technique used to discover natural groupings of cases. Cases in the same cluster are more like each other than they are like cases in other clusters, as determined by a measure of the distance between the cases. Hierarchical agglomerative clustering (Hair et al., 1995; Norusis, 1998) starts with individual cases, meaning that initially there are as many clusters as there are cases. In other words, in this study the initial clusters are equal to the number of tacit knowledge instances culled from the interviews. The initial clusters are merged according to their similarities, fusing subgroupings of clusters into single clusters. When independent sorts are aggregated through cluster analysis, items that are most closely associated with each other are grouped together, providing a better representation of the available sort criteria than a simple sort by consensus of the sorters. The number of categories in hierarchical cluster analysis is determined by the researcher, based on the most appropriate conceptual fit. Twelve clusters per superintendent group were decided on. Certain clusters appear in both groups, while others are unique to either the place- or career-bound group, resulting in a total of 21 clusters across both groups. Cluster names are shown in Table II.

Results

Are there significant differences between the two groups of superintendents in the amount of tacit knowledge generated from the interviews? A Mann-Whitney test of ranks shows no significant difference between place-bound and career-bound superintendents (U=184, p=.64), suggesting that tacit knowledge *quantity* is not necessarily related to superintendent boundedness (see Table I). That is not the case in considering the *content* of the tacit knowledge of place and career-bound superintendents. The categories and percentages within the categories arising from the cluster analysis suggest real differences in tacit knowledge. Table II lists the 21 clusters, along with the percentage of total tacit knowledge items corresponding to each cluster for each superintendent grouping. Cluster names were devised by the researcher, based on the overriding themes or emphases in the clustered items.

Groups Compared	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	Mann-Whitney U	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2 tailed)
Career-bound	31	23.08	715.50	183.500	-0.465	0.642
Place-bound	13	21.12	274.50			

Table I. Average amount of tacit knowledge items obtained per group and Mann-Whitney results.

Cluster	Career-Bound Tacit Knowledge Items n=335	Place-Bound Tacit Knowledge Items n=134
Behaving Consistently	.3%	1.49%
Building and Sustaining Board Relations	19.40%	23.88%
Building Credibility	7.46%	3.73%
Building Personal Performance Capacities	16.42%	2.99%
Developing Administrators		.7%
Encouraging External Outreach		4.48%
Fostering Organizational Stability	6.57%	.7%
Handling Public Relations	7.46%	7.46%
Involving Subordinates	.9%	4.48%
Maintaining Board Unity		.7%
Managing Organizational Goal Achievement	11.04%	8.95%
Managing Problem Administrators	.6%	4.48%
Meshing Staff and Organization		4.48%
Negotiating and Negotiations	4.18%	2.23%
Reducing Conflict and Alienation	3.28%	5.97%
Responding to Perception		9.7%
Sharing Mission and Goals	3.28%	
Strengthening the Role/Image of the Superintendent	2.69%	
Supporting Board Decisions	.3%	
Upholding Personnel Standards		6.72%
Using Inter- and Intra-Personal Knowledge	16.12%	6.72%

Table II. Tacit knowledge clusters and percentages of total tacit knowledge items corresponding to each cluster for each superintendent grouping.

Before examining the categories that are unique to each group, it is illuminating to consider similarities and differences that exist within some of the categories shared by both groups of superintendents. Shared categories account for the majority of the tacit knowledge items. However, there are interesting differences in some of those categories.

Certain tacit knowledge categories predominate the tacit knowledge of the career bound superintendents, with each category having more than ten percent of the total tacit knowledge items, and accounting for an aggregate of approximately 63% of career-bound superintendents' items. These categories are: Building and Sustaining Board Relations, Using Inter- and Intrapersonal Knowledge, Building Personal Performance Capacities, and Managing Organizational Goal Achievement.

With 23.88%, Building and Sustaining Board Relations is the only tacit knowledge category to encompass more than ten percent of the place-bound superintendents' tacit knowledge items. However,

Responding to Perception (9.7%) and Managing Organizational Goal Achievement (8.95%) account for a sizable amount of place-bound superintendents' tacit knowledge items. Together, these three categories account for 42.5% of the place-bound tacit knowledge items. Handling Public Relations accounts for 7.46% of each group's tacit knowledge items. We will look at these categories in more detail in the following paragraphs.

Building and Sustaining Board Relations

The largest category for both superintendent groups is Building and Sustaining Board Relations. Over 19% of the career-bound superintendents' tacit knowledge items fall into this category and nearly 24% of the place-bound superintendents' items suggesting a similar level of focus for both groups.

The superintendents candidly discussed the extensive time and thought they give to "the care and feeding of board members." From evaluation concerns to communication strategies to socialization do's and don'ts, board-superintendent interactions command considerable portions of these superintendents' efforts, as suggested in the following comments from a participating superintendent.

> I don't really know how to define it except to say it requires a lot of thought and probably a lot of listening…[Superintendents] need to take seriously what it is every member tells you about issues of concern…Because if you do not…two things happen. One, the member doesn't forget. And, two, your credibility will be weakened if you do not follow through – and demonstrate that you follow through….Know who you work for, know what their issues are, and know how to resolve those issues. I've seen instances where people…do not take the member's concern seriously, and those things build up, and eventually could cause someone to be terminated…Whether they're right, wrong, or indifferent, you need to at least get back and give a response on the issue. You're not always going to be liked for the response, but lack of response causes problems.

The impact that these few individuals have on the functioning and goal development of the superintendent is an important facet of the superintendency, one that affects organizational and personal functioning of the superintendent, and one that should not be overlooked.

Building Personal Performance Capacities

Building Personal Performance Capacities addresses the superintendent's efforts to encourage higher levels of emotional and practical performance in him or herself and in others by creating an environment conducive to effective personal performance. It is interesting to note the difference between career-bound and place-bound superintendents' percentages in this category. The category is conspicuous

in the career-bound group, representing over 16% of the items. However, only about 3% of place-bound superintendents' tacit knowledge items occur in this category. This suggests a critical difference in goal primacy. Reasons for such a difference are purely speculative, but may relate to Carlson's (1962) suggestion that insiders are constrained by their district histories and are more inclined to default on authority relationships with teachers. Or perhaps the place-bound superintendent's deeper understanding of the norms of his or her community provides better access to other categories of tacit knowledge in working with the environment. The following comments from a career-bound superintendent illustrates this category.

> It's hard to work with folks on a daily basis where the success of everything you want to do is dependent on their ability to do it... you have to have a positive environment for them to practice what they do, and sometimes that positive environment includes bringing someone in and just ripping them because they really messed up. We have a rule that whenever that might happen, and it has to happen, it's done in private. That it's done once...We never speak of it again, unless it happens again. Just because we don't speak of it doesn't mean we don't remember it. You know, sometimes people mess up, and sometimes people aren't suited to doing what they're doing at that particular point in time, and you've got to deal with that.

One of the place-bound superintendents uses the indoctrination of new employees into district culture as a way to build performance capacity. This superintendent imbues employees with a sense of the importance of the district culture in order to address a long term goal of retaining staff.

> With the new teacher orientation, I tell them what the way [of this district] is, "this is the way we do it here." That doesn't mean there isn't room for individuality, but we review what our belief statements are, we review what our mission statement is, we review the fact that these aren't just something on a piece of paper, that when we get to a difficult situation and don't know which way to go, we, as a district, turn to those belief statements and say, "Which of these better meet the belief statements?" And I expect them to do that, and I expect them to honor the student. And, consequently, we have a very low turnover.

Managing Organizational Goal Achievement

Of the predominant categories, Managing Organizational Goal Achievement is most directly connected to student achievement and instruction. Organizationally-based rather than individually, the category is focused on moving the superintendents' school systems forward. Slightly more than 11% of the career-bound superintendents' tacit knowledge items and approximately 9% of the place-bound

superintendents' tacit knowledge items and tacit knowledge items fall within this category, suggesting a similar importance for both groups.

There are times when the superintendent must openly attempt to generate support for organizational goals. Ohio's legislatively-created district Report Cards have created an increased urgency for superintendents, as they seek to have their districts meet as many of the state-mandated report card standards as possible. At this point in time, the standards are based primarily on state-mandated proficiency test scores. While public school administrators and teachers are well aware of the importance of the proficiency tests, there is resentment of the tests, of the politicians that imposed them, and of the forced curricular changes necessary to create higher passage rates. Superintendents must work to create the will to achieve within the confines of the current mandates. Several superintendents spoke of their efforts "to get everyone to see that there is an urgency to what we do every day." One superintendent uses positive analogy to motivate staff:

> If you were going to throw a party... and you get someone like Julia Child to cook the meal, first of all, can she cook?...Does she want to cook her menu or will she cook yours?...She would rather cook her menu, but she can certainly cook your menu. So I stood up in front of the staff, and said, "Can you cook? I know you would rather teach your stuff, but we are being told this is it. The question is, can you cook? Can you teach? And I think you can. I'm going to bet that you guys are good teachers. But, you have to focus, and you have to focus the kids. And you have to put a value on being successful. Do whatever it takes...Can you guys cook?"

Using Inter- and Intrapersonal Knowledge

Using Inter- and Intrapersonal Knowledge appears to be particularly important to career-bound superintendents, who evinced approximately 16% of their tacit knowledge items in this category. Place-bound superintendents also see this as an important focus area, but have a much lower representation of about 7%. Once again, reasons for such discrepancy are conjecture. However, it may be that the use of inter and intrapersonal knowledge assumes greater primacy for career-bound superintendents because, as outsiders, they feel the need to work more diligently and with greater specific focus on developing understandings of a community and its people. This category involves having a finger on the emotional and behavioral pulses of the staff and community, as well as on those of the superintendent. It contains items suggesting that an understanding of people's feelings and reactions is helpful in reaching particular

goals of the superintendent, whether those goals are broadly brushed or narrowly specific. Further, it deals with use or constraint of the superintendent's reactions in the pursuit of goals. Self-regulation is a common thread in the interviews. A superintendent related a conversation with a fellow superintendent:

> He says, well, he's telling me how he works Saturdays and Sundays and how he gets to the office at 5:00 o'clock every morning. He works from 5 till 7, and he says that at 7:00 o'clock the phone starts ringing. I said that the only reason the phone starts ringing is cause people know you're there! Don't come in! Don't be stupid about this! How long do you want to last at this job?....I'm not going to spend 16 hours a day, every day, at this. Because I'm no good then. I'm no good for the people around here, I'm no good at home...I see some of these younger superintendents, and they will either become burned out or become dysfunctional because they think life is not always going to be this way, or that just by pushing and working an extra four hours they are going to be able to accomplish a task.

Handling Public Relations

The superintendent groups each have the same amount of tacit knowledge items devoted to Handling Public Relations (7.46%). The pervasiveness of Handling Public Relations implies a recognition by superintendents that they are pivotal image-makers for their school systems. In these days of perceived disconnect between communities and the public schools, the superintendent often feels called upon to act as the district's public relations point person, guiding the district's image and determining how the image is dispersed. The superintendents in this study tend to be very aware of their roles as marketers and enhancers of the district image. Comments from two of those superintendents illustrate public relations from a superintendent's view. The first comes from a superintendent whose district was riven with controversy prior to his assumption of the superintendency. Tax levies failed repeatedly; confidence and morale were at all-time lows. He chose intense personal involvement as a way to personalize the school system for the people of the community.

> Well, the biggest thing is... getting out in the community...picking up trash along the highway with the Lions, calling bingo over here on a Saturday night - things like that. Days we're off because of snow, I might get behind a snow plow in here...doing things for kids and with kids. I think that's big time. Football games, I'll be there early helping set up the concession stand for the music boosters, and I sell [raffle tickets] for the athletic boosters, then at half-time I'm taking equipment on and off for the band. I tell you, I think it's so important to be visible. Because people then realize you'll do anything to make sure the schools are better.

That superintendent kept a wickedly fast pace in his attempts to restore the image of the district. He achieved important measures of success: operating levies and bond issues passed, negative groups disbanded or retreated, school-community involvement increased. But the personal cost was high. The superintendent commented that the efforts "kill you. You're just going, going, going. But if I can hang on for another five years, this district could be in great shape." Shortly after this study was completed, long before those five years were completed, he left the superintendency.

Another superintendent equates public relations with resource generation, and focuses on public behaviors between the superintendent and internal school system groups that may be in conflict with him.

> I had to make that union executive board understand that we look like horses' asses sitting out there bickering. Getting along is the key. How do win elections? How do you generate resources? You get along in public...I told the high school teachers, I said, you know, at the dinner table, I'm telling you, you need to eat your peas. I'm telling you, you need to have your mouth wiped. I'm telling you, you need to eat everything on the plate, and, yes, I'm the boss, and we're going to do it this way...Can we disagree? Yes. But Sunday morning when we're all sitting in the front pew, we're going to get along.

Examining similarities and differences in shared categories is illustrative. However, further delineation is gained by looking at the categories that are unique to one group or the other. Differences in cluster categories based on career mobility can be seen in III and IV. We begin by looking at categories unique to career-bound superintendents.

Career-Bound Superintendents

In looking at career bound superintendents, 12 out of 15 categories are shared by career- and place-bound superintendents (80%). Three categories are unique to career-bound superintendents, representing 20% of the total categories. However, one category – Supporting Board Decisions – is composed of just one item. Therefore, its relevance as an individual category is questionable. Supporting Board Decisions focuses on the board and could easily fall into the category of Building and Sustaining Board Relations. It is possible it did not cluster with other similar items due to sorter interpretation of the item. That is, it is possible that the wording of the item as drawn from the interview did not adequately reflect the knowledge as spoken by the superintendent. This is feasible, given the abstract nature of tacit

knowledge, and the interplay of the various categories of superintendent tacit knowledge within the thoughts and comments of the superintendents. However, the other two categories deserve consideration.

Strengthening the Role/Image of the Superintendent

Strengthening the Role/Image of the Superintendent focuses on the individual superintendent and on the profession of superintendent, rather than on the school system the superintendent leads. In light of Carlson's work (1962; 1967), perhaps it is not surprising that this category applies only to those superintendents who are career-bound. Is it because career-bound superintendents have to prove themselves as leaders time and again, with each entry into a new community? Is it because a career-bound superintendent must rely on positional authority until he or she has the chance to establish informal authority? Is it because the individual inclined to such a management style is one who is also inclined to career mobility? Such questions are unanswerable within the confines of this study, but certainly provide avenues for continued research and deliberation.

Understanding community beliefs and perceptions is important to role and image enhancement, as indicated by these words:

> You need to see what your community believes in. If your community believes that the elected board members are the people they want to deal with, then you let them deal with [them] instead of trying to be out front holding balloons, being in the paper every week…If you've had too high a profile, I think you reduce your profile. If you're doing your job, a lot of things happen [that look good to the community], people think it looks easy, and that's the way you want it to be.

The relationships and understandings between the superintendent and his or her staff also appear to be important vehicles for strengthening the role and image of the superintendent. Employee success reflects back onto the superintendent. In addition to the benefits that accrue to the superintendent through effective employee performance, the superintendent may choose to use hirings to cement his or her role and image and to draw lines between staff and board. The following comments illustrate:

> Some years ago, I had some staff members who thought that I was weak and that I would just let [the board members] do whatever they wanted and didn't seem to give [the staff] any help with that, which I found somewhat foreign because I'm the only one who works for the board - they work for the superintendent... So they left…and as I brought other people into those positions, I [told them] they work for me, I work for the board, regardless of what happens. You may not always know the dynamics of what has occurred between the board and the superintendent, and some issues occur because they are supposed to occur that way. And if you have problems

working in that environment, I need to know about that, because as long as I'm happy with the way it is then there should be no concern. If I'm unhappy about that, everyone will know it.

This category suggests that the career-bound superintendent tends to use and strengthen the positional authority bestowed by the office. There is a strong sense of self-reliance and a tendency to portray the office of superintendent from a position of strength. Career-bound superintendents attempt to strengthen their role and image by focusing on board member behavior and board/superintendent socialization, keeping disagreement private, being involved with community politics, and standing firm on principles. This may seem as though career-bound superintendents are aloof or coldly calculating. That is not the case. Rather, the items and comments derived from the interviews suggest a visible, personally connected management style, and imply a superintendent well aware of those who are part of the organization.

Sharing Mission and Goals

Sharing Mission and Goals concerns the recognition, creation, and maintenance of a unified front. It contains tacit knowledge items concerning board/superintendent agreement on the mission of the district and the goals arising from that mission. It also encompasses obtaining concrete support from the board for superintendent plans, and strategies to generate agreement by staff and others. This category suggests that career-bound superintendents focus on having the backing of the board before moving ahead, seek congruence with goals in the communities they serve, and use unification strategies to pave the way for goal achievement within the system. These tactics are suggested in the following comments:

> If a superintendent is going to make comments, he needs to make certain that the thinking he shares at least has been talked about, at least has been shared with members of the board...you know, if the superintendent says, "I'm planning to close three schools," and the board hasn't had one discussion about it, ...there's a problem. If the board has talked about it publicly – that's important – the superintendent can say, "yes, there has been some discussion, but before we do that we're going to involve a lot of constituent input...."

Categories Shared with Place-Bound Superintendents	Unique Categories
Behaving consistently	Sharing mission and goals
Building and sustaining board relations	Strengthening the role of the superintendent
Building credibility	Supporting board decisions
Building personal performance Capacities	
Fostering organizational stability	
Handling public relations	
Involving subordinates	
Managing organizational goal achievement	
Managing problem administrators	
Negotiating and negotiations	
Reducing conflict and alienation	
Using inter- and intra-personal knowledge	

Table III. Categories Unique to Career-Bound Superintendents.

Place Bound Superintendents

As Table IV shows, there are six categories unique to place-bound superintendents, comprising 40% of the total. However, a caveat similar to the one made in discussing the unique categories of career-bound superintendents should be entertained here. Maintaining Board Unity and Developing Administrators are single item categories that appear to belong in other categories. Maintaining Board Unity has strong connections to Building and Sustaining Board Relations, while Developing Administrators appears linked to Managing Organizational Goal Achievement. Because of their anomalous status, and because of the questionable importance resulting from their single item composition, they will not be discussed further here. The pertinent differences seem to lie with Encouraging External Outreach, Responding to Perception, and Upholding Personnel Standards.

Categories Shared with Career-Bound Superintendents	Unique Categories
Behaving consistently	
Building and sustaining board relations	Encouraging external outreach
Building credibility	
Building personal performance capacities	Responding to perception
Fostering organizational stability	
Handling public relations	Developing Administrators
Involving subordinates	
Managing organizational goal achievement Managing problem administrators	Maintaining board unity
Negotiating and negotiations	
Reducing conflict and alienation	Meshing Staff and Organization
Using inter- and intra-personal knowledge	Upholding personnel standards

Table IV. Categories Unique to Place-Bound Superintendents

Encouraging External Outreach

Encouraging External Outreach is composed of items relating to efforts to connect the school system to affected constituencies. With a definite focus on communications, this category presents ways a superintendent connects with specific members of the community. Items range from developing information-based relationships with the media to strategies to get students back in school. While similar to Handling Public Relations, Reducing Conflict and Alienation, and Building Credibility in the items' concern with school/community interaction, these items are specifically based on using various forms of information exchange to achieve the superintendents' goals of connecting schools and community.

Developing relationships with the community through increased discourse has been effective in creating connections in one superintendent's district:

> We had been asking people for their solutions all along... I said, "enough of that." I said, "Let's stop trying to solve the problem. Let's find out what our common values are."... So I guess the story is that we have spent a tremendous amount of time engaging, I think in a meaningful way, the community. Not telling them, but creating opportunities to listen and then react...Surveys have shown, at least over the years, there has been an increased trust by the community towards the schools....The schools really do listen to the community, and not just at critical times - like all of a

sudden, we have an issue on the ballot, let's go out and start talking. It's constant. You're always looking for places to talk.

A place-bound superintendent detailed a community-driven outreach program designed to increase communication and understanding between schools and community by having teachers make home visits in economically depressed areas. While many outreach initiatives are conceived to increase understanding of what happens in the schools, this was devised to improve teachers' understanding of their students' home lives.

> So I made [the teachers] come right into town, which is really bad. I think they needed to see where the kids come from. I made them. I'll have people come up to me and say, "You stupid son of a bitch, why did you do that?" Others are like, 'Oh, my God, it's the greatest thing that ever happened to me." So I don't worry about that. What I worry about is what is best for kids, and if I've had an impact on anybody that changes the way they look at a kid, either because he's poor, white, black, or because of where they saw some kids actually come from everyday, that's the only measure I really worry about...If that's the clientele we deal with, then, folks, we need to be aware of it.

Responding to Perception

Encouraging External Outreach, in combination with other categories on the list, begins to suggest a place-bound superintendent profile of an individual whose priority concerns are for the people of a community. This suggestion is strengthened by the addition of the Responding to Perception category. Responding to Perception contains items that deal with a superintendent's reactions to perceptions held by others of the schools and of the superintendent's goals. It could almost have been called, "But What Will People Think."

As the following examples illustrate, the place-bound superintendent spends time and effort on addressing the perceptions of the people of the schools and the community. It matters what people think of them and of the schools. These items sketch a superintendent who is more concerned about being thought trustworthy and having pure motives than he or she is about having a high salary. Anecdotally, while superintendents in the interview sessions routinely bemoaned the low salaries of superintendents when compared to other chief executive officers, those who are place-bound tended to couple those comments with tales of the importance of community needs. As one place-bound superintendent said after

the interview, "I went into it for these kids. They need people like me." Or, as one superintendent observed:

> I think they know that when the chips were down, I was willing to take hits, to lead the way when you have to make cuts. My wife didn't like it very much, but, you know, I've told people, they'd say, "You ought to be making more money," this and that, and I'd say, "You know, guys,...I would rather have $10,000 less than what other people are making providing we are passing issues, and I have promised to make things run smoothly." That's more important to me.

Place-bound superintendents' commitment to their profession sometimes appears as a deeply-rooted desire to engender respect and support for the schools through a trust relationship with the superintendent, as the following interview excerpts suggest.

> Frequently, people will come to the superintendent with a problem that may not even be educational. ..How you approach those kind of problems, I'm convinced affects your reputation. Are you fair? Are you considerate? Are you providing information without being a lawyer? Are you trying to give them the stuff they need? Are you willing to bend the rules if it's in the best interest of the child - the laws are the laws, but they can also be interpreted...Do something because it's the best thing to do. People see that you do that and people see that you have done that, and it gets repeated to other people... "Go see him. He'll talk to you. He helped me."

> I'm the point person and the focal point for the levy. I speak to all the service groups and PTAs and PTOs. I'll make 15-20 levy appearances in a campaign. When I've been double-booked for PTA and PTO or Chamber meetings or whatever it might be, invariably it comes back to me that the members were disappointed - they expect the superintendent to be the point person. That, plus they know that I'm a long time resident , highly committed to the community, that I have a strong moral upbringing and so forth, and so people tend to trust what I have to say about the levy.

Upholding Personnel Standards

Upholding Personnel Standards focuses on staff issues related to improving staff performance and to building cases for non-renewal. While items concerning performance and removal issues appear in other tacit knowledge categories, those in Upholding Personnel Standards are flavored by the superintendent's attempts to bolster the ethical culture of the organization. A concern for fairness runs through the category. This attention to equity implies that these superintendents believe effective performance should include a strong dose of ethical treatment of others. Their comments show a deep understanding of the humanity of performance, evaluation, and termination, as well as a belief in the immutability of high standards.

> There has to be an understanding of flexibility. Some of our administrators have problems. I give them a picture, and it's matted, and the picture is just gray. Just a gray thing. With some of these

guys, it's either black or white. It isn't - it's gray. You have to know how to manage within that. There are managers and administrators who don't do well in gray. They appear wishy-washy. They can't make a decision. And I think the good managers understand that they need to know what all the parts are before they make a decision, and it's not black and white.

Meshing Staff and Organization

This particular category deals primarily with hiring practices and suggests that the place-bound superintendent has strong interests in the affective attributes of an employee. The overlap with themes in other categories is interesting. For example, Involving Subordinates and Meshing Staff and Organization show preferences for shared decision making. Managing Administrator Problems, Involving Subordinates, and Meshing Staff and Organization show desires for keeping things running smoothly, with few repercussions. One superintendent talked of the importance of hiring the right people to improve perceptions of the district:

> I think the biggest change we've had here...is hiring people. We've been able to attract a higher caliber...we've become much more sophisticated ...we don't make many mistakes anymore in terms of the teachers we bring in, and I think the ones that are here have rededicated themselves to doing a great job, and the new ones definitely add to our staff...We'll wait. We'll use subs or whatever until we find a person who's appropriate instead of being stuck with people we don't want and having to go through the process of non-renewing or terminating, which we did in the past...There's a big involvement factor: people are willing to do other things than just teach, they are involved in other aspects of the school system.

This category, particularly when considered in conjunction with Involving Subordinates and Managing Administrator Problems, points toward superintendent behaviors focused on creating emotional and professional connections between employees and the system, in line with Carlson's (1962) suggestion that place-bound superintendents may be more inclined to be interested in and sensitive to the needs of those within the organization.

Connecting to Carlson

Carlson's 1962 and 1969 studies of place-and career-bound superintendents suggests that career mobility orientation has the potential to shape a superintendent's performance. This study of superintendent tacit knowledge sought evidence that career mobility and tacit knowledge are related. What connections exist between Carlson's research and the findings of this study?

Table V displays some differences between career-bound and place-bound superintendents arising from Carlson's research, as well as tacit knowledge categories found in this study to be unique to career-bound and place-bound superintendents. The connections are interestingly close. The Carlson study agrees with this study in its portrayal of place-bound superintendents as individuals who are steadfastly committed to their communities, interested in school/community relationships and school/staff/superintendent relationships, whose primary focus is on the organization and the community rather than the superintendency.

Career-Bound	Place-Bound
-higher need for manipulating and directing others for personal goals *-Strengthening the Role/ Image of the Superintendent*	-interested in and sensitive to the needs of those within the organization *-Responding to Perception* *-Developing Administrators* *-Meshing Staff and Organization*
- put high value on community power groups *-Supporting Board Decisions*	-high commitment to community *-Responding to Perception* *-Encouraging External Outreach* *-Upholding Personnel Standards*
-focus on rules and procedures w/change in mind – seen as an innovator	-tighten existing procedures - seen as a stabilizer *-Upholding Personnel Standards* *- Meshing Staff and Organization*
-have mandated board support for changes *-Sharing Mission and Goals*	-lack board support for change *-Maintaining Board Unity*
-has social flexibility	-prior history constrains flexibility *-Responding to Perception*
-see themselves as expendable	-do not see themselves as expendable
-expects to change the office *-Strengthening the Role/ Image of the Superintendent*	-do not expect to change the office
	-default in authority relationship w/ teachers
	-do not work actively to gain teacher support

Table V. Differences between career-bound and place-bound superintendents (Carlson, 1962), and similarities between the study on superintendent tacit knowledge (in italics) and Carlson.

Carlson's findings concerning career-bound superintendents also show convergence with the findings from this study. Carlson's career-bounders portray as individuals whose focus tends to be more toward the superintendency than toward the community, whose relationships with others are not geared so

much toward enhancement of a particular community as they are toward enhancement of the office of the superintendent. This should not be interpreted as saying place-bound superintendents are more altruistic than career-bound, or that career-bound superintendents are selfishly oriented. Rather, the place-bounds and career-bounds have different approaches to goal achievement, based on how they are oriented toward the fulfillment of their career.

In looking at the dispersion of tacit knowledge items across categories, two categories stand out in connection to Carlson's work. Involving Subordinates has a low occurrence in the career-bound superintendents' group and Fostering Organizational Stability has a low occurrence in the place-bound superintendents' group. The dichotomy between place-bounds (4.48%) and career-bounds (.9%) in Involving Subordinates suggests support of Carlson's finding that place-bound superintendents tend to be interested in and sensitive to the needs of those within the organization and that they tend to default in authority relationship with teachers. Involving Subordinates deals with a superintendent's tacit knowledge concerning the processes of staff involvement in decision making as related to relationship building. The place-bound superintendents' interests in such processes echoes Carlson's statements about place-bounders relationships with staff.

Fostering Organizational Stability, on the other hand, is not in sync with Carlson's findings. This category contains tacit knowledge dealing with maintaining smooth operations within the system. In this study, 6.57% of career-bound superintendents' tacit knowledge is related to Fostering Organizational Stability, while .7% of the place-bound superintendents' tacit knowledge is so directed. According to Carlson, place-bound superintendents are seen as organizational stabilizers. In this study, while stability is often a goal of place-bound superintendents as regards community perceptions and interactions, it does not appear to be as strong a goal for the system itself.

Carlson points out that place-bound superintendents may be hampered in their efforts to implement changes by their history with the district. Remarks made by place-bound superintendents during the course of this study's interviews address that constraint:

When you've worked with a group of people or a community for a long time... it's like swimming a river, and every time you go to the other side of the river you pick up a rock and put it in your pocket, and, pretty soon, you can't swim the river anymore. You have too many rocks to carry.

I am very well known in the community. No one doesn't know who I am...With the superintendency and the principalship and everything, I've been here a long time...which frankly, in the long run, is good and bad. There's an old saying - the superintendents' friends come and go, but their enemies accumulate. And if you're an individual who makes decisions, then clearly whenever you make a decision you're going to have a group of people who automatically don't like that, no matter what it is, unless you sit on the fence all the time. And I'm not a fence sitter. I make decisions...It's kind of like the minister who stayed too long at the church. There comes a time when you know all the secrets everyone has, and...I don't think you can be effective anymore...[On the plus side,] I now have kids in school who are children of parents I had in school when I was a middle school principal. So when someone brings a name up to me, I can take lineage back, in terms of where they are and why they are. They don't teach you all those things in school.

Other findings regarding career mobility are also of interest; Copeland and Chance's work (1996) appears to concur with this study and with Carlson that place-bound superintendents are more oriented toward their communities than their positions. Further support, though tenuous, comes from Helmich and Brown (1972), who point out that career-bound superintendents tend to be more task-oriented than their place-bound counterparts. This is supported tangentially by findings in this study, wherein place-bound superintendents focus on development and maintenance of relationships as a way of achieving goals.

Carlson's research and the 1972 study by Ganz and Hoy suggest that place-bound administrators are less likely to move school districts ahead. That does not agree with the 1996 Copeland and Chance study or with this study. Instead, Copeland and Chance describe place-bound superintendents as progressive and comfortable with change. In this study, place-bound superintendents evince flexibility and a desire to meet the changing needs of their constituents and staff members. It is not a matter of failing to move school districts ahead, it is a matter of how that movement is accomplished; the place-bound superintendents in this study tend to choose relationally-oriented pathways toward change. Given that the Carlson research dates from 1962 and the Ganz and Hoy study dates from 1972, it is possible that the passage of time and changing contexts of public education have created differences in change orientation.

Summing Up

Does a superintendent's choice to move to other districts or stay in the same one influence his or her tacit knowledge? The answer appears to be yes. Certain areas of focus and priorities tend to differ between place- and career-bound superintendents. The place-bound superintendents tend to have a stronger focus on group membership and group members, whereas those who are career-bound tend to focus on the school system organization and on developing a shared perspective of the district's direction. In addition to the tacit knowledge categories shared with career-bound superintendents, place-bound superintendents' priorities tend to revolve around developing long-term trust relationships with groups and individuals as a way to develop trust in the schools. While career-bound superintendents care about their relationships, they tend to develop trust through a task-oriented focus on the performance and perception of the organization.

Where does this information lead? The shrinking applicant pool for superintendent positions; the angst that rises in communities when superintendent choices are unsuccessful; the debates concerning effective leadership that occur among board members and in schools' administrative and teaching ranks are just a few reasons to continue looking at the effect of boundedness on tacit knowledge development and utilization. This study suggests that use of a tacit knowledge framework may help to provide better understanding of the administrative predelictions of some superintendents. While boundedness should certainly not be thought of as the sole determinant of superintendent motivation or behavior, it does provide another avenue for understanding superintendent actions and viewpoints. It also opens an important door to further consideration of the expectations and assumptions that influence board members, staff, and community.

After Carlson's important work (1962;1967), boundedness gradually moved into the back seat in research on the superintendency. The steady rise in selection of place-bound superintendents alluded to in this paper's discussion of participant selection suggests that it is time to reexamine boundedness. Reshaping our conceptions of boundedness and its latent aspects to fit the present day may lead to

reshaping of superintendent training, recruitment, and retention as well as to reshaping of search firm and

board attitudes. It is, indeed, time to revisit Carlson.

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