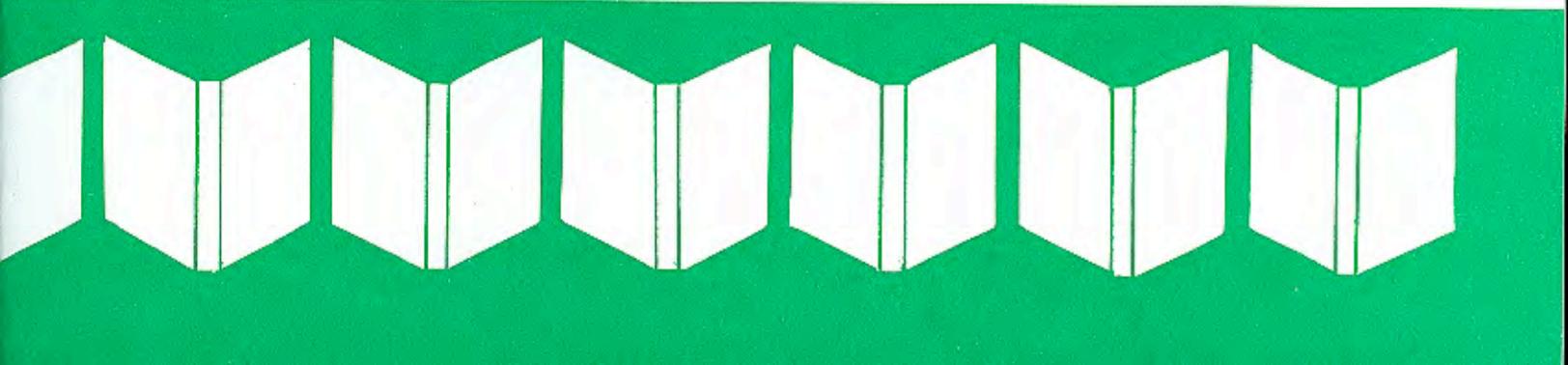Spring
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Special Issue Topic:
School Improvement–Diversity for Effective Interventions
in Enhancing Quality Education

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Foreword

School improvement is the driving force that continues to propel futuristic optimism in improving education for all students. Teachers, administrators, board members, central office personnel, and college professors are charged with the responsibility to significantly impact the quality of education. Research has given us both positive and challenging messages. The positive message is we know more about theory and application of improving instruction, climate, and content than ever before in the history of humankind. The challenging message is that knowledge oftentimes creates more questions and/or intellectual diversity on "just how to do it!"

We are beginning to understand some universal principles of education. These principles may serve as guides or building blocks for the foundation of school improvement. As architects of school improvement, we must begin focusing on setting direction, completing tasks, involving people, and engaging in implementation for effective change. We must also remember that it is a series of connected activities that focus on a predetermined end result. School improvement must be relevant, have intellectual integrity supported with commitment, and in most cases focus on outcomes for all children. Improving schools is not a spectator activity and unless we are willing to consciously seek ways to collectively modify or change our behavior, school improvement will not happen.

The broad theme of this issue of **Educational Considerations** is devoted to disseminating knowledge, ideas, and information about school improvement concepts by state and nationally recognized instructional leaders. Each author's contribution intends to expand, challenge, and validate your knowledge in enhancing your school improvement behaviors. The selections, limited by the amount of space allocated to this publication, are but only a few of the many articles than can contribute to this effort. We purposely attempted to be diverse in our concept of addressing school improvement. Hopefully you will enjoy reading the following articles as much as we have in working with the contributing authors as we assembled this special theme edition of **Educational Considerations**.

Guest Editors

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The structure and the programs of school improvement must constantly be reassessed and extended to take into consideration new knowledge and new practices that can serve school improvement.

The National Center for Effective Schools: Extending Knowledge and Practice of School Improvement

Edie L. Holcomb and Kent D. Peterson

Introduction

Many groups and reformers are working to reshape schools to make them more effective for all students. Though many are calling for "restructured" schools, the core approaches to school improvement remain rooted in the early work on effective schools and school improvement. Over the past half-decade, those associated with the National Center for Effective Schools Research and Development (NCESRD) have been seeking ways to improve schools and to transform the school improvement process to make it consistent with current knowledge of practice and systematic research. Programs of school improvement

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through the center, while maintaining much of the early knowledge of effective schools, have come a long way from the focus of early "disciples" on a few correlates found in the pioneering research. Now, programs focus on restructuring decision-making and school improvement.

The "Effective Schools Movement" has been publicly identified over the last decade with the early research done by Brookover, Edmonds, and others (see Levine and Lezotte, 1990 for an extensive and current review) who studied the differences between schools where some students were achieving and schools where all students were achieving. The characteristics they identified in the more effective schools became known as "the correlates of effective schools" and were disseminated through the writings and technical assistance of Larry Lezotte, Beverly Bancroft, Barbara Taylor and others around the country (Taylor, 1990).

In 1987, the need for an organizational structure to support this effort and to expand the knowledge base became apparent, and the National Center for Effective Schools Research and Development (NCESRD) was formed. It moved to the Wisconsin Center for Education Research at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in September 1989. The NCESRD supports school improvement through several interlocking purposes that build and extend the early programs, including:

1. the dissemination of knowledge and information to public school districts and educators;
2. the training of facilitators for the school improvement process in educational laboratories, regional agencies, state departments, and local districts;
3. the provision of technical assistance and consulting services to public school districts and other educational units;
4. the conducting of research and investigations of various school improvement strategies, methods and techniques;
5. the provision of networking opportunities to educators interested in and involved with school improvement.

Specifically, the NCESRD has attempted to add systematic knowledge and practical wisdom to areas of concern that the early research did not address, inadequately elaborated, or simply ignored (Lezotte and Peterson, 1990). Through active work on programs of school improvement and through written accounts (Corbett, Dawson, and Firestone, 1984), the center staff learned there is more to school transformation than simply seeking to increase the measures of the five original correlates. Research on organizational theory, new knowledge about change and improvement (Fullan, 1983), studies of leadership and the school principalship (Peterson, 1989; Andrews and Soder, 1987; Andrews, Soder, and Jacoby, 1986), and the rapidly increasing body of studies on curriculum content, effective instructional strategies (Davis and Thomas, 1989), staff development design (Joyce and Showers, 1980) and adult learning (Herber and Nelson–Herber, 1988) have expanded the conceptualization of school effectiveness and school improvement into a broader perspective.

As more schools have sought to transform their programs, changes occurred in center activities to incorporate new knowledge and practical understandings gleaned from educators. As this model of school improvement developed from the early stages of initiation and implementation to institutionalization in school districts and in research, it was clear there was a need to assess and increase the clarity of the mission of the NCESRD and to expand knowledge of improvement strategies. Maintaining the momentum of school improvement is dependent on scanning the horizon

for new developments that shape the ability of schools to change and improve.

During the past several years as developments in research and practice have increased our understanding of the school improvement process, the center's role has of necessity addressed the following issues:

1. The 1980s' reforms too often focused on excellence at the expense of equity of educational opportunity for all;

2. A relative lack of understanding regarding the complexity of organizational change resulted in an overemphasis on school characteristics and inadequate attention to curriculum and instruction;

3. The seeming lack of technological tools and skills discouraged some practitioners from engaging in "hands-on" analysis of student outcomes to guide decision-making and goal identification;

4. School improvement plans implemented without long-range provisions for ongoing, continuous renewal and revitalization resulted in discouragement during the improvement process;

5. A confusion over the similarities and differences between the school improvement process and other change efforts led to frustration and, at times, exhaustion on the part of some school and district teams.

These are key issues to restructuring schools for effectiveness and are addressed in the programs of the NCESRD. How these problems are addressed programmatically is key to understanding the new approaches of "effective schools" restructuring around the country.

Excellence at the Expense of Equity

The early work in school improvement based on the effective schools research and the writings of Edmonds suggested that an effective school was one defined by both quality educational programs and equity of achievement across subsets of the school population. Lezotte and Bancroft (1985) wrote on the definition of school effectiveness:

> Two outcome standards are anticipated in effective schools. First, the overall level of achievement to which the students rise on the outcomes measures must be sufficiently high to signify acceptable mastery of the essential curriculum. Second, the distribution of achievement must not vary significantly across the major subsets of the student population (that is, middle socioeconomic students versus lower socioeconomic students.) (p. 27).

The first indicator has focused on quality, the second on equity of outcomes.

During the past decade, the focus of educational reform has been on raising standards, adding curriculum requirements, and increasing the homework load on students. This so-called "push for excellence" may have had some effect in bringing test scores of students who were already achieving in school to somewhat higher levels. It has, however, been another example of adding "more of the same," an approach which time has often proved ineffective.

The preoccupation with excellence in educational reform at times neglected the equity issue for all children. One major report notes that 58 percent of America's school districts "have effective schools programs." The finding that only 12 percent of these are actually disaggregating student achievement data to determine the relative success of subsets of their student population is clear evidence of lack of attention to the equity criterion (U.S. GAO, 1989).

While approaches in some districts are relatively simplistic, programs of NCESRD have been diverse and broad based. Through the consulting, training and publication efforts of the center, a re-emphasis on the analysis of data to answer the equity question is communicated.

NCESRD's approach has moved to broaden the early definitions of quality and equity to other student subgroups. For example, the general concern about adequate preparation in math and science for females can be assessed by analyzing enrollment and achievement by gender. Some high schools are using the same technique to examine the success of students based on whether or not they are employed. Even in districts where the student population is relatively homogeneous, valuable information on equity of outcomes, now "hidden behind the statistical means," can be generated and used to guide decision-making within the school.

The Complexity of Organization Change

While early research on effective schools pointed to many of the key characteristics of these enterprises, it did not point to *how* to recreate, restructure, or transform those schools through systematic change. Furthermore, as schools tried to become more effective based on the early research, they often overemphasized improving their scores on the "correlates" at the expense of working on more direct issues such as shaping teacher behavior and curricular aspects of classroom technology to influence student outcomes. Programs at the center have tried to overcome these early difficulties by drawing attention to organizational issues of decentralizing structure, dispersing leadership and empowering others, and fostering a school culture supportive of student success.

Increased attention to the characteristics of organizational theory and school improvement literature have pointed to a number of contingencies in changing schools. Organizational theory suggests that decentralized decision-making may increase productivity and commitment, with more decision-making occurring at the school level. Central office has to change its role as overseer and director of activities. School-level teams, oftentimes cited in the literature now as site-based management or restructuring, became an important approach in effective schools improvement programs. Training in new roles, responsibilities and planning structures (not mentioned in the original research) have become part of improvement programs sponsored by the center.

Similarly, though the original research suggested that instructional leadership came from the principal, leadership in effective schools programs at NCESRD was viewed as more dispersed and involving teachers and others. This came as a result of viewing effective change efforts in many schools where teachers and others were empowered to lead and shape the school's programs.

Transformations in the understanding of leadership in school improvement suggest that leadership needs to be reconfigured to include principals, teachers and others. Leadership that is *shared and collaborative* appears to not only build commitment, but to ensure better decisions and greater implementation at the school level.

Again, such changes in governance are part of the effective schools movement at the present time and have been picked up as a major restructuring theme. Instructional leadership is also viewed more broadly. While principals act as instructional leaders, schools that are improving also seek leadership from department chairs, individual teachers, and central office administrators who have knowledge and expertise in teaching and learning. Such new ap-

proaches to leadership are promoted and developed in NCESRD's training programs.

In short, the most successful improvement processes involve teachers, principals and central office personnel working together in collaborative efforts to shape the instructional and curricular programs of the schools. Increasingly, center programs build on the original correlates, but focus as well on characteristics of effective organizational change, new forms of leadership and restructured governance, attention to school culture, and close work on instructional and curricular approaches that improve student outcomes.

Need for Technological Tools and Skills

Early programs of NCESRD promoted disaggregation of student performance data and analysis of school characteristics, but such approaches were slowed by a lack of user-friendly technology and skill in its use. The lack of school level computer capability to examine student performance data seems to have been a stumbling block in the use of data for decision-making at the school site.

This problem has been addressed by a number of districts such as Spencerport, New York and Prince George's County, Maryland as well as by NCESRD (Taylor, 1990). Presently, the center is developing a *Management Information System* (MIS) that can be used at the school level to store, analyze and assess student performance of many types. Schools with local decision-making teams will be able to examine any number of student outcomes and disaggregate by variables such as gender, ethnicity and socio-economic background. This software will make it possible to decentralize much of the analysis necessary for *data-driven decision-making*. It will dramatically restructure the decision-making capabilities of schools, giving teachers and administrators the power to closely monitor their own students. It will also foster greater attention to authentic assessment (Newmann and Archbald, 1990) and the measurement of higher order skills.

Using a system where school teams can easily analyze student performance information of many types, teachers and principals can gain a greater understanding of the programs and curricula that work for different students. They will be able to develop skills in assessment that can increase their ability to shape the learning of all students.

With schools piloting the MIS, we are seeing schools develop a different, perhaps more elaborated, level of understanding performance assessment and planning. Teachers and principals have the tools to take a more accurate, detailed look at how students are doing. This makes it possible to shape programs, curricula and instruction to serve more students.

Maintaining the Momentum for Long-Range Change

The programs of the center also focus on ways to design school improvement for long-range change. The greatest test to any improvement effort appears to occur near the end of the second or in the third year, once initial changes have been implemented. Original levels of enthusiasm can evaporate. Those involved in the change process can become pressured or demoralized. This is in part due to the fact that clear evidence of improved results often does not appear for 3–5 years. All too often, disillusionment sets in, political pressures increase and reform efforts are abandoned for the next popular program. This occurs just when the improvement process has the potential to become effective and a part of the organizational culture.

Due to the complexity of the change process and the length of time needed to measure results, commitment and ways to monitor success must be developed. NCESRD recommends that when school teams plan improvement, they build in a monitoring system right from the beginning. This involves describing the behaviors that are to be practiced, and the ways to determine whether and how they are taking place. The timeline for monitoring involves establishing points of success at which reports will be given and celebrated so that energy and interest remain high until the results can be seen in actual student achievement. This evidence of accomplishment then motivates additional energy and effort for the next improvement cycle (Guskey, 1990).

Effective Schools/School Improvement and Other Change Efforts

Closely related to the issue of demand for immediate results is the tendency for school districts to undertake one change effort, then add another change on top of it. Instead of maintaining their focus, they may layer one program upon another until those involved are exhausted and the district is in chaos. NCESRD responds to these concerns by emphasizing that the current approach to school improvement based on effective schools research is not limited to a set of characteristics, but is an evolving *process* that can, and should, integrate other approaches such as site-based management, outcome-based education, and restructuring. The center's approach to restructuring for student success is a framework that helps all parts of a school function as a whole and assists in balancing the demands of competing interests (Guskey, 1990).

Such integration and restructuring requires a clear idea of purpose, direction, and mission. To insure a long-range process of improvement, one of the first and foremost activities undertaken is the development of a clear and shared description of the school's mission. This mission almost always refers to "minimum academic mastery" or "the essential curriculum" and specifies a desired level of student outcomes. The need to align curriculum with classroom teaching and assessment procedures is not unique to outcome-based education, but has been recognized and undertaken by many teams of teachers working to improve the effectiveness of instruction in schools.

Restructuring (which at this point has as many definitions as its advocates and writers) claims to be a more comprehensive look at the rules, roles and responsibilities of participants in schooling (Lewis, 1989; Schlechty, 1990). It is true that many "effective schools" improvement efforts have stopped short of comprehensive change because they have limited themselves to assessment and development of the correlates identified in the early research. However, many have enlarged the scope of their efforts to include close examination of (1) curriculum, (2) instructional strategies, (3) methods of assessment, and (4) new forms of governance for their schools.

It is clear to NCESRD that greater effort must be invested in communicating its broader vision and mission to researchers, policymakers, and practitioners, so that promising practices and change efforts are not abandoned at the threshold of success in favor of a similar process with similar goals, but only a new terminology.

Conclusion

For school improvement programs to be effective they must be ongoing, continuous and systematic, employing a clear mission for student performance, regularly using data to shape decisions, and having strong support for decisions made by teams of teachers and administrators. The structure and the programs of school improvement must constantly be reassessed and extended to take into consider-

ation new knowledge and new practices that can serve school improvement. The National Center for Effective Schools Research and Development continues to extend the ideas and models of school effectiveness to serve schools and districts in new ways, through new programs, with current ideas shaping teaching and learning for all students.

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Knowing and understanding the impact your behavior has on others and the impact their behavior has on you can make a major contribution to a more productive relationship.

Style and Versatility: The Unique Factors

Gerald L. Prince

Administrators today have many pressures from staff, students, and community to reform education, select the best staff, keep up with all the new programs, and provide leadership for the future. Balancing the needs of the various audiences while performing the regular tasks of the job can seem insurmountable. As site-based management becomes more a part of the educational system, the administrator must become even more adept at working with people in appropriate ways in order to reach decisions.

With the number of instructional improvement models currently being touted as the way to help students learn, which is best? All of them. Madeline Hunter, TESA, cooperative learning, cognitive coaching, etc., all have their good points and are effective to varying degrees with teachers as they are put into practice with students. What are *the unique factors* which can make a difference in how a teacher accepts, learns, and implements one model more effectively than another?

To paraphrase from Michael LeBoeuf's book *How To Win Customers and Keep Them for Life*, the better you know your customers (students, staff, and community), the more effectively you can treat them in the manner they want to be dealt with, and the longer they will remain your customers. Specifically, the "customer" will perform better in the classroom and support the schools. To apply LeBoeuf's ideas further, all the instructional models listed have excellent points to improve student learning, but a specific model may not have been introduced, explained, or supported in an effective manner so that teachers can use it in the classroom. Therefore, selecting the appropriate approach to orienting, explaining, and supporting the instructional model is critical for its acceptance by each staff member.

An example of a process which requires versatility is that of selecting a new principal using a participative decision-making process. How is it that two seemingly equally qualified candidates can get such different reactions from committees that interview them? Perhaps the teachers see the first candidate as result-oriented, straight talking, and someone who will accomplish things in the school. They like her and are convinced she should be the next principal. However, the parents see the candidate as

cool, distant, and someone who will have a difficult time getting to know the students and parents. They are not impressed with the candidate and do not want that person as principal. Last, the administrator committee sees her as unimaginative, too quick with decisions, and someone who does not use participative management. Thus, the administrators do not favor her. With the second candidate, the administrators see a motivating person who will stimulate new ideas and bring excitement back to the school; therefore they favor the candidate. The parent committee views the second candidate as warm, but overwhelming and with ideas too expensive for them; they are really not sure. The teachers view the person as much too emotional, and a principal who will not check things out well enough before they are to start a program which will cause false starts; thus, they do not want the second candidate for the principalship. How can three groups see one individual so differently? What are the *unique factors* which cause this difference in perception? How can a "good" decision be made in a situation like this?

To reach a decision that is acceptable and can be supported by these committees, the facilitator must have a great deal of versatility to draw the various points of view together. Charles Garfield, in his book *Peak Performers*, describes versatility or flexibility as the mental agility to be objective and look at the situation from many different angles. It means setting aside preconceived thoughts and examining the issues on their merits. With the three selection committees, each committee was seeing the candidates from their particular points of view; behaviors shown by the candidates either reinforced their viewpoint or conflicted with it, causing acceptance or rejection. So, understanding what is expected in a principal candidate before the interviews begin and helping the committees to objectively focus on these desired behaviors will facilitate win/win decisions for all groups.

A principal's style or approach to an interview or presenting the instructional model definitely affects the way their audiences perceive their intentions and responses. Their style of behavior may be very compatible to the teachers which is likely to bring a positive reaction, or the style may be conflicting which may cause a negative response. Either of the reactions is the result of the other person's perception of the presenter's style. Knowing how a person's behavior is perceived by others is critical to overall administrative success in presenting ideas, conferring with staff, students, community, and evaluating staff.

A study completed by Roger Reid (Tracom Corporation) indicated that we are only about 30 percent accurate in estimating our style of behavior as compared to how others rate it. If there is a possibility of misjudging the effect of our behavior four out of five times, it becomes imperative to receive feedback from others about their perceptions of our behavior.

As Tom Peters describes in *Thriving on Chaos*, "perception is reality; there is no reality other than perception." Knowing and understanding how people perceive behavior is critical to helping staff make the best decisions, whether choosing instructional models or selecting staff.

Unique Factor Number One: *Style*

Over twenty years ago, Tracom, a Denver-based company, introduced a model to describe interpersonal interaction. The model is based on an instrument which assesses how others view a person's behavior when interacting with them. With the knowledge of another's perception, a person can choose to make the necessary adjustments to be more effective in the interpersonal interaction. The style of inter-

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action and not necessarily our intentions will either build productive relationships or cause unwanted and harmful tensions in them.

The Social Styles Model is composed of a four-quadrant grid (see Figure 1) constructed by combining two dimensions of *behavior—assertiveness* and responsiveness. Assertiveness is defined as the extent to which there is a behavioral attempt by someone to direct others through words or actions. A person with less assertive behavior is often viewed by others as tentative, reserved, and asking more questions. A person seen as more assertive is described as being more active, challenging, and making more statements of fact. Either type of behavior can be effective, depending on the situation.

The second dimension, *responsiveness*, is defined as the extent to which a person displays emotions and feelings. A more responsive person is viewed as being open in communications, and more dramatic and emotional in decision-making. The less responsive individual is seen as cautious in communications, and more formal with restrained emotions. Again, either type of behavior can be just as effective, depending upon the situation.

In the Social Style Model, the assertive dimension is placed horizontally with the less assertive (asking) behavior on the left side and the more assertive (telling) behavior on the right. The responsive dimension is located vertically with the less responsive (controlled) behavior at the upper end and the more responsive (emotive) behavior at the bottom of the scale. As the two dimensions intersect each other, they form the four quadrants of the Social Style Model.

FIGURE 1
SOCIAL STYLE MODEL[1]
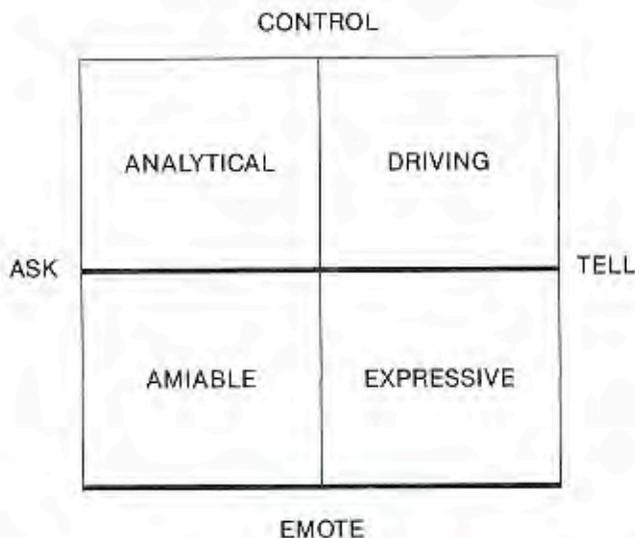
CONTROL

See Merril & Reid, 1981[1]

The upper left quadrant is more asking and more controlled and is described as an analytical style of behavior. Analytical behavior is seen in people who are more studious of situations, keep opinions to themselves, and state opinions very factually. Gathering information and basing actions on objective data are important because being right is critical. However, an analytical style may be seen as cool and indecisive since the individual tends to rely on all relevant data before a decision can be made.

The driving quadrant, or upper right side, is characterized by more controlled and more telling behavior. The driving behavior is seen as fast-moving, determined, unemotional and personally forceful. Gaining results is important to the driving style and the individual may appear to be task-oriented in interactions with others. A driving style can come across as impatient and too concerned about personal objectives.

Amiability is the behavioral description listed for the lower left-hand quadrant. This style is seen as more questioning and emotive. The amiable style is often described as warm, friendly, and concerned. These people build relationships carefully and usually for the long term. Building on the strengths of others and being a team player is important to the amiable style. Yet, amiables may seem overly sensitive and slow to initiate action.

The lower right quadrant is characterized by more telling and more emoting behaviors and called expressive by style. The expressive style is perceived as outgoing, motivating, and creative. These people have a tendency to look at the big picture, think about the future, and move quickly to make decisions. However, expressives may appear undisciplined and lacking a clear focus to their efforts.

After careful study of each of the four styles there appears to be no one best style. Each style has its strengths and its weaknesses.

Unique Factor Number Two: *Versatility*

Many of the misunderstandings concerning the selection of staff, choosing an instructional model, and so forth come as a result of social style-based conflicts. An expressive staff member getting too much data and information on a program before he or she even has a chance to see it in action may be "turned off" and not want to hear any more. The driving-style central office administrator hearing an amiable candidate for the principalship talk about the importance of building staff relationships may see it as "soft" leadership and will withhold recommendation.

Versatile behavior enables the administrator to build an objective understanding of the other person and the "bridge" the style differences to a more effective working relationship. Versatility is defined as the extent others see us as adaptable, resourceful and competent in an interpersonal relationship. In other words, people endorse our behavior and our actions which display a concern for their tensions in the relationship. (See Figure 2).

Versatility is looking beyond personal style preference and trying to understand the needs of the other person. The central office administrator who is concerned about the amiable principal candidate being a soft leader can ask follow-up questions to see if the candidate will hold staff accountable and take a tough stand even though it may hurt a relationship. Finding the applicant who is versatile is much more important since no one style is any more effective than another. The key to overall effectiveness is being versatile and using the appropriate behavior for the particular situation.

The most productive administrator will use the Platinum Rule "Do unto others as they would have done unto themselves." It's all a matter of setting the priority on meeting the other person's style needs first, then meeting your own. Both of you will meet your needs and the situation will be a double win.

Versatility allows the productive administrator to move beyond home-base style and help others feel comfortable while communicating and working together. James Kouzes and Barry Posner, in their book *The Leadership Challenge*, describe versatility as the capacity to expand your repertoire of responses to function effectively in many different situations. The versatile administrator has a variety of be-

haviors and uses whatever is appropriate to resolve the situation in the best possible manner for all sides.

Versatility: High to Low

As versatility is better understood, it is becoming evident that the more versatile an administrator is, the better the chance for success with students, staff and parents. Even though there are drawbacks to high versatility, the administrator with low versatility will not be as productive in a system which promotes a democratic or site-based approach to education.

FIGURE 2
VERSATILITY

| My
Tension | Focus of
concern | | Other's
Tension |
|---|---|---|---|
| W | X | Y | Z |
| 25
percentile | 50
percentile | 75
percentile | |

Regardless of the style, the characteristics of the less versatile person are to be less aware of or sensitive to the tensions produced in others during an interaction. Teachers will have different reactions depending on the administrator's style, but they will generally see the low versatile-amiable as "soft" and not willing to get things done. The analytical with low versatility will be seen as slow to make decisions and needing a lot of information. Low expressive versatility is shown by failure to stay focused or not getting enough data before making a decision. The driving-style low versatility person is perceived as not caring and only focused on the task or decision. However, low versatility does not measure the degree of caring nor the capacity to build adaptable behavior necessary for effective interpersonal interaction.

The mid-range versatility represents a moderate ability to monitor the tensions created during interpersonal relationships. Teachers see administrators in this area as average in the way they interact with people. This person can be effective and use appropriate behavior with certain groups of people but may not consistently be able to productively manage relationships with a wide variety of groups. The administrators rated high in versatility are seen as excelling in their ability to manage the tensions during interpersonal relationships with staffs. These individuals seem to know the people and the situation so as to apply the pressure or "back off" at the right time.

Yet they may appear independent and changeable which can cause tension in some people, especially if the other person is lower in versatility.

Improving Versatility

There is often confusion in thinking that high versatility means giving up your goals. It doesn't. It means working toward the same goals in a manner more comfortable to a person with a different style. The focus or goal remains the same, only the "how" of its achievement is altered. By being more open in the process of reaching the goal, an even better solution may be discovered.

To build your versatility, you must *first* know and understand your style. This enables you to know the impact of your style behaviors on others and what particular behavior patterns may cause tension. Since we are often not accurate in how we think others view our behavior, it is important to receive feedback on how our audiences see us.

Tracom developed the Social Style Model as a feedback instrument designed to measure how others view a person's behavior. The instrument has been used for over twenty years on nearly a million people. To obtain the feedback, five colleagues are asked to complete surveys which are then computer scored to develop the Social Style Profile. This profile indicates a behavioral style, a rating of versatility, and a description of the strengths and growth areas.

The *second* step to improve versatility is to know and control particular style tendencies. There will be certain areas where behavior may be over- or underused. For example, if a person is less assertive, listening may be overused and opinion statements underused. If a person can be sensitive to the situation and use the appropriate behavior, the other party will feel more comfortable in the relationship.

Step *three* in improving versatility is knowing other people's behavioral style preferences. A careful study of their behaviors in a variety of situations is needed to increase accuracy of prediction. When you think you know the other person's style, behavior can be anticipated which may cause tension and diminish the relationship.

Applying the Platinum Rule is the *fourth* step for improving versatility. Do unto others as they would have done unto them. For example, if a conference is being held with an analytical parent to report test results on a special education student, a person needs to be prepared with all the details. Not only will the test scores be important, but the stanines, percentiles, and grade discrepancies may need to be explained in detail. Once the other person's style needs for information and detail are met, you can then meet your need for proper program placement with less resistance.

Being versatile is not always easy. It takes effort and willingness to assume some of the tension created during interpersonal relationships. It does require you to control behavior to keep tensions at a level that motivates people to produce the best possible solution. But isn't that the description of an effective educator?

For the most part, it is important to be versatile in our relationships, but being versatile all the time is not realistic or practical. We may have high versatility in one setting such as at work, but lower in another like home where we do not try as hard. The effort it takes to be highly versatile cannot be maintained all the time. If we were to keep it high, the uniqueness of individual style would be masked from others. Ironically, the overuse of versatility can cause others to mistrust you or see you as being unpredictable. However, used correctly versatility is honest and fair, and shows a sincere effort to build a comfortable and productive relationship.

Styles Training in Education

Even though the Social Styles Model has been used in business for many years, only in the last few years has it been adapted for use in education. Now the model is being used to train boards of education, classified personnel (e.g., bus drivers, secretaries, custodians), teachers, and administrators how to work more effectively with others. By providing needed information, the Social Style Model assists in the acceptance, implementation, and evaluation of instructional models, performance evaluation systems, site-based management, strategic planning, and team building.

Training in the model takes place over a two-day period. This includes presentations, discussions, small group activities, individual planning and video tape viewing which provide the participant with an understanding of the model. Also during this period participants receive the Social Style Profile developed from colleague feedback.

Although this program is relatively new, it is now being used throughout the United States and Canada. School districts from Hawaii to New York and Texas to Minnesota are using it as part of their staff development programs. Extensive use of the program has been made in such small districts as Colville, Washington and Bemidji, Minnesota where they have joined in partnership with the community in offering training. Larger districts like Columbus, Colorado Springs, and Charleston, West Virginia are using it in their development programs.

In Worthington, Ohio, a district of 9500 students, most of the certified staff, administrators and the board of education have participated in training sessions and use the concepts almost daily in their work. The knowledge of style differences is often discussed in meetings when there is tension or ineffective decision-making. Teachers use the information as they plan for parent conferences, and it is helpful to secretaries as they try to meet teacher requests. Administrators have found the knowledge of styles important when they give feedback after classroom observations.

All these districts have one or more certified trainers who can conduct the seminars and follow up with reinforcement of the concepts. This is an important aspect of the program which gives it local ownership and reduces the costs.

Conclusion

The Social Style Model is not a panacea for developing interpersonal relationships, but it does offer positive alternatives for improving them. Knowing and understanding the impact of behavior on you can make a major contribution to a more productive relationship. As new programs are introduced, staff are selected, and committees are convened, it is important to continue the improvement of all participants' ability to interact effectively with others. Many participants have reported that the styles training has been the best that they have received to help them understand themselves and improve their interaction with others.

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We have to be thinking much more in our school improvement efforts about what kids need, rather than what teachers and schools need.

School Improvement: An Interview with Susan Loucks-Horsley

Gerald D. Bailey

Q: It has been nearly five years since *An Action Guide to School Improvement* was published by ASCD and The NETWORK. In general, have you changed your ideas about school improvement and/or the school improvement process?

A: There's a couple of ways I'd like to respond to that. One is that the *nature* of change has become more important to us. When we wrote the book, we did not address the question of what people would be wanting to change. We were promoting the idea that people take a look at their setting, a look at their kids, a look at the data and then decide what they were going to do. We were then suggesting the best ways to get the job done. Over time, I think one of the things that has struck us is that it's rather important what people decide to do.

First of all, some of our schools are desperately in trouble. Some of the "quick fixes" of the past simply haven't worked and are not likely to work in the future. So one of the things school people have to do is think very clearly about what the problems are and how to respond to those problems. As a consequence, some solutions are going to be better than other solutions.

Another thing is that we are learning much more about learning, especially through recent cognitive research. Much of the research that is being done suggests that our learning environments have to be totally different than they presently are. In some school systems where learning is not occurring, there may need to be a rather major transforma-

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tion of what is going on in classrooms. In fact, the term "classroom" may have become outdated. Redesigned settings for learning are not treated in the *Action Guide*. When we wrote the book, we thought about school improvement as generally *improving* settings for learning. Now, more and more people are defining school improvement as something that is more like tinkering with the current system or changing it in ways that still allow you to see the current system operating: In other words, changing within, rather than redesigning or restructuring the system. The book was about the former; although we thought we knew something about large-scale change, many of our experiences and the research we drew on were not of the transformational sort. Rather, we were focused on helping people work within the system. Now, I think we have some new questions about exactly what process helps us transform systems and change teachers, administrators, and all educators. We have new paradigms about learning and about teaching and instruction. So I think that, related to the magnitude of change required in today's systems, we've started to think somewhat differently.

With that said, I think it is likely that all of the steps in the book are still relevant to improving education, even when we talk about more transformational kinds of changes in education. But it's hard to say because there are few, if any, cases where schools have actually undergone transformation and are out the other end of it. The knowledge base is really thin on restructuring or redesigning schools, and so the question of what processes help the most is still unanswered and will be unanswered for a number of years. I still recommend the process that was outlined in the book because I think it is very basic. It is rather simple, in that you have to attend to each of the steps in order to move from where you are now to where you want to be. Maybe sequencing or overlapping of the steps has to change, or the intensity with which we concentrate on one step over another. Basically the steps have proven to be the ones that need to be undertaken and so I think their value has lasted over time.

Q: When you used the word intensity to describe the process of school improvement, what does that mean?

A: One of the things we said in the *Action Guide* that was a bit heretical at the time was to put emphasis on acting rather than planning. That means we have to stop spending all of our time and all of our resources "up front" before we even try anything new in schools. That was one thing we had observed and continue to observe over and over. People spend inordinate amounts of time planning without actually trying anything, and they run out of resources, energy or time before they do anything. We were involved with a school improvement program years ago that had a two year planning cycle before participants even started to do anything new. That goes against the literature on effective organizations which talks about the effectiveness of a "ready-aim-fire" strategy.

Action is so important to organizations that want to keep moving and progressing. So, when we wrote the book we had a very strong feeling about not overplanning, but planning within a certain time frame and saying "let's move" because we know enough about what we need. "Let's do something, try it out, monitor, watch how we're doing, reconvene often to consider whether the direction we've taken is the right one or whether we need to adjust our course. But let's do something quickly!"

One of the questions I have about the new restructuring and redesign efforts relates to the enormous change that they're talking about. Undergoing massive change might require spending somewhat more time working through the issues than it does when we're talking within-

system change. It means working through new images of an organization, getting as many people as possible involved in the dialogue up front because we are asking for a transformation in what people do, how they think about school, and how they think about learning. So that may be one of the things that might need to have more emphasis: the initiation phase. It is not just planning, but building a community around a new direction. That might need more attention.

Q: You talked about contradicting conventional wisdom in school improvement activities. Is there anything else you want to add about that concept?

A: Yes, all of the items that we thought contradicted the conventional wisdom are still very important for people to consider. I've just talked about the issue of protracted planning. A couple other issues are especially worth noting. One of our issues with some of the literature is that many people seem to be deifying the principal. The importance of the principal is clear, but in fact there are a lot of efforts that can move effectively forward without a superhuman principal. By superhuman I mean having all the wonderful characteristics we know principals are supposed to have, including being very strong instructional leaders, very good facilitators of change, and capable of orchestrating a collaborative decision-making process. As it turns out, the majority of principals do not have those characteristics and what this message often does is paralyze people. I often hear, "We don't have the right kind of principal, so we clearly can't succeed." In fact, there have been many situations where principals' leadership was not critical—as long as they didn't work *against* the change or innovation. We have seen many instances of successful improvement where principals were unengaged. This happens when leadership comes from somewhere else, such as the central office or outside the school. It can also be from teachers within the school. So this is an item of conventional wisdom which we continue to point out to people. Lack of principal leadership need not paralyze efforts to change.

Another statement that continues to be conventional wisdom is that mandates are all bad. I think that we see many instances where there has been a positive effect when a person, agency, or legislature has said "here is where we are going to go and you had better come along." In some cases mandates can be highly motivating to people. They can provide the kind of push that some people need to "get off the dime." They can also provide some opportunities and ways of prioritizing that people heretofore did not have. Mandates can unfreeze organizations and institutions that have been frozen in the past, as well as allow or promote dialogue.

Now that does not mean that all mandates are good or that specific ones have the "Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval." But in fact, I think we have seen that the combination of some strong direction-setting by an informed body or individual, plus a lot of help and support for people who are needing to make the change, can be a powerful means to successful change. Those people who say that no mandates are good have to look at some of those from the past, especially related to equal opportunities for handicapped and minority children. Without them, there simply would not be the opportunities for people in our schools that there are at present.

Q: What does the Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) have to offer to the school improvement process? Why is it important? How should it be used?

A: I would say with conviction that, whether we're talking about changes within the current system or redesigning schools from scratch, the CBAM model is relevant. There are several things that the model can do. First, it can put into perspective what the change process is all about and what people can expect—both in themselves when they are encountering a change and also in those people for whom they have some responsibility. We all know change is a process. The model elaborates that idea. It tells us that there are certain stages people go through when they encounter a change: (1) when they think about changing something, (2) when they are learning about a specific change, (3) when they try it out, and (4) when they make it part of their day-to-day practice. We know that there are certain stages that people go through, both in their feelings about the change and in how knowledgeable or skillful they are in actually using innovation. If we know that the people with whom we're working will go through these stages, it makes us much more sensitive to what needs to happen and the kind of help we need to give them.

The model also gives us a better time horizon. Back in the 1960s when people were trying to make an enormous number of changes in schools, they thought "introduce something to a teacher one day, tomorrow he or she uses it. Six months later we can do an evaluation and decide whether it's worth continuing." I think all of our experience has contradicted this notion that effective change occurs overnight. In fact, we know that people probably get worse before they get better and that they need a lot of support, including moral support, material support, and "elbow to elbow" help. The aim is to help them really master the practices that will make them feel good about what they are doing and enable them to see impact on their students. And this takes time. That is one of the ways I think that the Concerns Model can be helpful in both our improvement and our restructuring efforts: to give us a better and more informed time horizon and then guide us in the different kinds of help and support people need over time.

Q: In your first step of the seven-step model, you focus on resources, relationships and team building. How important is the school improvement team?

A: In the *Action Guide*, we recommended that there be a team, but I think we have gained much insight since then. I would say it's not a *recommendation* anymore—it's a requirement for a number of different reasons. First, there is no other way that all the different perspectives in the school community can be represented. If we don't have a group that is making the decisions or at least a good part of the decisions, we have to find some other way to represent the different perspectives and the different constituencies. Through a leadership team, each constituency can understand a little bit more about the point of view of the others and make better decisions about meeting the needs of students.

Another reason to have a team is that there is simply too much work to do. This also relates to the notion that the principal is the key person. Some people think this means that the principal needs to do everything. When we list all of the roles for leadership and support in any improvement effort, the list is just enormous. So, there must be sharing, and that is where a team is really valuable. It also allows a lot of other people to be involved who may not be on the team but are connected through members of the team. When each team member is responsible for relating to a certain number of additional people in the organization, a much larger critical mass for change is created. This means getting more opinions in, more information out, more engagement around the new ideas to allow for more dialogue about the change.

The final point about teams is that it is very important to have a champion or an advocate for change—somebody who really goes "above and beyond," who is sort of a hero.

But that importance has to decrease over time for the change to really permeate an organization and become part of the daily life of its people. The hero or champion can't be depended on forever, simply because he or she is often quite a wonderful person who will soon move on to something else. Champions typically will either get a better job or are reassigned to something that needs their kind of energy. At that point, we often lose new programs. This makes a team even more important. We need to diffuse the leadership, not spread it around and make it any less, but share leadership among people so that the effort will carry on even if a wonderful leader moves on.

Q: What suggestions do you have for those school administrators who are encountering resistance from primary stakeholders (teachers, school board members, etc.) in the school improvement process? As a secondary question, there appears to be substantial disagreement and conflict in the process of school improvement—is this troublesome to you?

A: The issue of what to do about resistance is the most common question people have about the improvement process. In my opinion, this is one of the places where leadership has to be artful. You can know all the science, you can know all the research, you can know everything everybody says is tried and true and works, but in fact it is the particular context that dictates what combination of all those prescriptions works in a given situation. It has a lot to do with how sensitive leaders are to the situation. In terms of the "science" or what we know, I think there are a number of different things to consider. One is to recognize resistance for what it is. When we work with administrators and they ask, "What do we do about resisters?", they are personalizing their question. They have some teachers in mind who are resisting and want to know what to do with them.

Because of my background in the Concerns Model, my first response is that there are different kinds of resistance. Some resistance comes because people feel their competence is threatened. They feel inadequate for the job, or if there are too many changes, they don't feel comfortable. They feel personally threatened by change. I think that is one of the easier kinds of resistance to deal with. Encouraging people to be involved in formulating what it is we're going to do together, showing them in real terms the kind of help and support that are available for them to change, convincing them in a genuine way that this is not going to affect their tenure or their evaluation or whatever it is that people feel threatened about, and really coming through with all of those things helps diffuse a lot of resistance. I think people (mainly teachers) feel very put upon by what's been done in the past. They've been told they have to do a lot of things and they are never given the time or resources. I think we have to change this. We have to build in the time and the wherewithal for people to get involved, to feel like they are learning and that it's okay to learn, and to take the time to learn and spend the time moving in the right direction.

One of the other sources of resistance is that people think that they're already doing a good enough job. They ask, "What's the problem?" I think you have to be very well armed with a response. It doesn't necessarily mean you have to give them irrefutable evidence; rather together you can explore what the problem is. There are two ways of doing this. One is to point out that students simply are not learning, or that they're not learning well enough, or that *all* of them aren't learning. The approach should be "We've got a common problem. This isn't one person's problem or another person's problem. We all have a problem to deal with and let's figure out some ways of dealing with it."

In some cases people are indeed doing a good job—for the present time. Then the approach is to look at projections for the future. Twenty or thirty years from now, in a large percentage of the schools in this country, there is simply going to be a whole different set of problems than those we are facing today.

We have to start doing some long-range planning. The community situations aren't going to be the same. We know a lot more about learning and that dictates some things that will need to change. So helping people uncover and explore the implications of future projections can also point out a direction for change; it helps answer the question "why change?" which is a critical question. They say people won't change unless they feel a need. Well, you can get pretty scared by some of the projections concerning the future.

One other answer to that question about dealing with resistance is that you have to do everything right. That sounds flip, and it's not meant to be. Managing the change process well can decrease the number of people who feel disconnected, put upon, inadequate, and so forth. This means engaging people early, creating realistic expectations about what will happen and when, providing lots of opportunities to learn new knowledge, practices, and programs. Helping people get educated about what's possible, what others out there are doing, is critically important. People need to know what programs are available, what other schools are doing to improve, and what some of the "big thinkers" are saying schools need to look like. We need to create many opportunities for people within the schools to grow—to feel like the directions they choose are valid and that their continuing growth is critically important. It is not just the system that needs to change. So there are a lot of things we need to do right in managing change and these things can offset resistance, can show that we're serious, and that we've "got our money where our mouth is."

Finally, I think that having good policies can help with resistance. Good policies set a clear direction, but they don't dictate down to the smallest, most specific classroom behavior. Instead they allow "wiggle room" for practitioners: some authentic opportunities for teachers and administrators to make decisions about those things that they are in the best places to decide. At the state level and school board level, some general directions or general goals are set. Then district people, principals and teachers should be able to make most of the decisions about how those policies will be achieved. That is not to say that everybody needs to be making every decision about what they're going to do every day of their lives; that would be pure anarchy. There is something to say for standards. There is even something to say for standardization of some programs and practices across the district and certainly across the school, if only for cost reasons. But in fact in every single policy and every single regulation, there can be some room for decisions of autonomy and independence and for using professional judgment that will help people feel ownership.

Q: One of the major contentions made in the *Action Guide* is that adopting an existing program is more economical (sometimes better) for schools than creating their own. Specifically, what implications does that statement have for school improvement?

A: One of the ways we help people understand the research on school improvement is by asking them to take an inventory of their beliefs about change. We ask them to respond to a set of statements about some of the things we've been talking about today.

One statement says you can successfully adopt a program or a practice that has come from some place totally outside your district or school. The statement doesn't trick

people any more, i.e., they believe it and buy into it. And they're right. In fact, it's become conventional wisdom that a program that somebody developed and tested in California can be brought to another similar setting across the country and work quite well. It can also save a lot of money, especially compared to another one.

What's more interesting right now, though, is to consider the implications for school restructuring and redesign efforts, since so many people are heading in that direction. At this point there are not a lot of programs or practices that are "tried and true," as there are for innovation on a smaller scale. There are not as yet a lot of successes that you can point to, capture, and describe, especially because restructuring efforts are context-bound. What works in Dade County, Florida may not work in Manhattan, Kansas. On the other hand, I think one of the things we've learned is that we don't have to reinvent the wheel. We don't have to make it up from scratch. We can be much more informed and be much more cost-effective by doing that. One of the key things we have to ask is what are the core elements of each of these different efforts that made them work in *their* setting, and would those core elements work in *our* setting. We have to ask questions about transferability that we're not used to asking. I think if we do that carefully it will save us time and energy in the long run.

Q: Are you seeing many districts and buildings where school improvement is becoming institutionalized? What are the variables or factors that explain this happening?

A: When I look at places where school improvement is really successful, improvements that people have made are institutionalized or incorporated into their everyday lives. There are a number of reasons for this. First of all, I see clear, helpful stable leadership. And that doesn't mean, as I said before, that one person has always been there. More often than not, the mantle has been passed on in a well-crafted way. Leaders in these places are clear about their priorities. They give a lot of attention to helping people, creating environments where those people feel helped, where they are nurtured, where they have time to think and learn new things, and where the expectations are realistic about the time it'll take to master something new.

Another thing I see in places that have been successful is that they have selected good things to do. They have given careful attention to the question of what to implement. People just didn't sit around and say, "let's change something and let's do something tomorrow." They have chosen activities that are research based or that have been shown to be effective. Also, in these places a critical mass is involved in the improvement activities. It's not just one isolated teacher or a couple in a school who are involved. It's many people working together, supporting each other's efforts to change. It's as if their connecting to each other weaves a tight fabric that hold the new practice in place.

Finally, I notice that there is still a lot of good help and support for the programs. The easiest way of losing something you've spent a lot of time implementing is to turn off the "support faucet." One of the messages we give to school administrators who are doing budget planning is that if you've got a program or practice you want to implement that has some training involved in it, think about using half of your resources through the initial training and then reserve the other half for afterwards. Unless you keep the resources flowing, unless you continue to have opportunities for peo-

ple to get better and better, the changes will not endure. Coaching, some problem-solving opportunities, and an occasional "shot in the arm" from an expert can be critically important. Unless we keep reminding people that something is important, we are going to lose it and our investment will have been lost.

Q: Where do you see school improvement heading?

A: I like to think about school improvement as improving environments for learning since this is a direction that demands our attention right now. We have to be thinking much more in our improvement efforts about what kids need, rather than what teachers or schools need. We need new definitions of student success that carry us far beyond the conventional achievement test scores. When these discussions are informed by the current research on learning, we'll get a better fix on optimal learning environments for students. Then we can start to do what we're calling "mapping backwards." We can ask, "if kids learn this way, what does the most immediate learning environment need to look like? What does what we now call instruction and teaching need to look like?" (At some point, I think we may be calling these different things). "Who is in the immediate learning environment? What can kids get from individuals, teachers? What can they get from technology? What can they get from experiences in the community?" And then we need to move back one more step and say, "What does the organization need to look like that allows for those individuals, for those experiences, for technology to be in the immediate learning environment of the kids? What do those things we now call schools and districts need to look like?" We need to design our education systems like this if we are to really meet the needs of our students.

As I noted earlier, I think another thing we really need to ask ourselves is what constitutes success in learning? Surely we've all come to realize that passing or doing well on a standardized achievement test or SAT is not the only indicator of success in an educational setting, but few educators have really hammered on what it is that we should be calling success and then in what ways we can monitor that success throughout a child's and young adult's learning experiences. So the idea of creating clear images of success and then being able to assess or measure those over time is a very important direction that we need to be, and I'm sure we're going to be, taking in schools.

That kind of transformation is not going to be done by legislative mandate or even by a school board saying this is the way it is going to be. It has to be done by the educational community working together. So another direction I see is a lot more collaborative direction setting and problem solving. In all of this change—or maybe we should say transformation—I think we can still rely on the simple truths about how individuals experience the change process and what it takes to change behaviors. It's one thing to participate in a collaborative structure, with an opportunity to form goals and directions together. But once we start to actually make the changes, we will need to use all we know about supporting improvement. We'll need very good training. We'll need very good systems for coaching each other to help each other make those changes. We'll need very clear expectations about how people will be supported so that they can feel good about their own change and their own learning. In short, we'll need to call on our knowledge of successful school improvement to help us change our systems to meet the needs of the next generation.

The ability to use that unique combination of analytical and people skills to develop and maintain core beliefs may be the consummate skill of leaders in the 1990s.

Developing a Strong Culture: Leadership Holds the Key

Jim Sweeney

More than a decade ago, results of a major study provided evidence that school socio-cultural variables may significantly affect student learning and that school social climate variables and social structure variables explained differences between schools in achievement as well (Brookover, et al, 1979). A study of 68 Michigan elementary schools provided evidence that members of a school social system become socialized to behave in ways that affect the productivity of the school. This was further corroborated in a longitudinal study of twelve English high schools where the researchers concluded that the ethos of the school separated the more effective from the less effective schools (Rutter, et al, 1979). During the 1980s, climate appeared on the short list of those initiating school improvement. It has recently been joined by a similar concept, culture. Yet despite the incredible potential these concepts hold for improving schools, they are largely misunderstood and underutilized. There is a need for greater clarity, for propositions to guide those who seek to improve the work environment of schools, and for more tangible approaches to improving the climate and culture of schools.

It is important to understand the differences between climate and culture. It is equally important to understand how the concepts intertwine to influence school productivity. The organization's lifeblood is the energy that flows from the interaction of students, teachers, administrators and others who enter the organization's subsystems. Like individuals, schools have personalities that influence their behavior. The climate of the school reflects one facet of personality, self image, and how the school feels about itself. There is considerable evidence that self image influences the decisions individuals make about their work, the effort they extend after making those decisions, and the length of time they persist in the effort (Bandura, 1972, 1982, 1986).

Climate can be measured. Schools, like people, can increase their effectiveness and enhance their potential through self assessment. An instrument that measures important elements of the school personality and is of appropriate length provides baseline information and can be used to target areas for growth. Since personality assessment is very sensitive, care should be taken to assure confidentiality and anonymity to those providing data. It is also important to administer the instrument at a time when those in the organization are not subject to great stress, and to measure its real personality rather than temporary attitudes resulting from a recent episode or activity that affected how people feel.

Culture reflects a set of the personality's psychological characteristics that go beyond attitude. At the deepest level these characteristics represent strongly held beliefs, values, and assumptions. The needs and desires of the group result in norms of day-to-day behavior and the types of decisions organizations make on a day-to-day basis (Kilmann, 1989). A school's culture can be strong or weak, positive or negative. If the majority of the staff has strong beliefs and values, what occurs in that school will usually be a result of this strong culture and will not change easily. If these beliefs about people and what should be done to promote excellence are positive, it is likely that individuals in the school will behave in a manner to maximize learning opportunities for students. In a weak culture the lack of strong beliefs and values typically results in fragmented or unpredictable staff behavior. Assessing the culture of the school is equally complex but perhaps more fruitful. The norms of behavior, what most people do and are expected to do, can be observed by those who live and work in the school. They can also be measured by an instrument that asks respondents about people's behavior, rather than how people feel about the school.

Both climate and culture, then, are related to organizational behavior because they link attitudes and beliefs to motivation and work-related behavior. There is, moreover, a reciprocal relationship between the concepts. Self image, the perceptions of the school's self, is linked to deeply held beliefs about people and what the people in the school should be doing. If positive beliefs and values are aligned with what the school is doing, the self image or climate is positive. Where beliefs and values are negative or unaligned, the climate is not as positive. It also seems likely that school climate operates at a baseline driven or led by the culture. A deep history of strong positive beliefs and values will generate a positive self image, even though that self image may fluctuate as it is influenced by positive or negative daily factors or events. When the effects of the events wear off, however, the climate will return to the baseline feeling.

Figure 1 shows how culture influences productivity in a school. Beliefs and values about the way things *ought to be* (values) influence what people *do* in the school (right things), the *number* of staff members who do it (density), the *vigor* with which they do it (intensity), and the *length* of time they do it (duration). These factors influence students in much the same manner and ultimately influence student achievement, teachers' sense of efficacy, and teachers' satisfaction.

Thus, constant systematic attention to developing a positive culture is a key to ensuring the long-term effectiveness of a school. To enhance the culture one must first understand how culture is formed. The culture of the school or school district is influenced by its *deep history* that emanates from environmental and organizational factors that interact over an extended period of time (see Figure 2). Environmental factors may play a more powerful role in schools than in many business or other types of organizations because the school is more likely to draw its employees and clients from the neighborhood it serves than are many other types of organizations. Thus the school, typically a micro-

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FIGURE 1
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLIMATE, CULTURE AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

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┌─────────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐
│        CLIMATE          │   │   STAFF BEHAVIOR    │   │  STUDENT BEHAVIOR   │   │      STUDENT        │
│   SHARED PERCEPTION     │──▶│                     │──▶│                     │──▶│   ACHIEVEMENT       │
│                         │   │  • Right Things     │   │  • Right Things     │   │                     │
│        CULTURE          │   │  • Frequency        │   │  • Frequency        │   └─────────────────────┘
│  P            P         │   │  • Density          │   │  • Density          │             │
│  E            E         │   │  • Intensity        │   │  • Intensity        │             │
│  R            R         │   │  • Duration         │   │  • Duration         │             │
│ S C  ┌──────┐ S C       │   │                     │   │                     │             │
│ H E  │•Beliefs│ H E     │   │                     │   │                     │             │
│ A P  │•Values │ A P     │   │                     │   │                     │             │
│ R T  │•Norms  │ R T     │   └─────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────┘             ▼
│ E I  └──────┘ E I       │                                                        ┌─────────────────────┐
│ D O           D O       │                                                        │   STAFF EFFICACY    │
│   N             N       │                                                        │        AND          │
│                         │                                                        │    SATISFACTION     │
│   SHARED PERCEPTION     │                                                        └─────────────────────┘
└─────────────────────────┘
           ▲                                                                                 │
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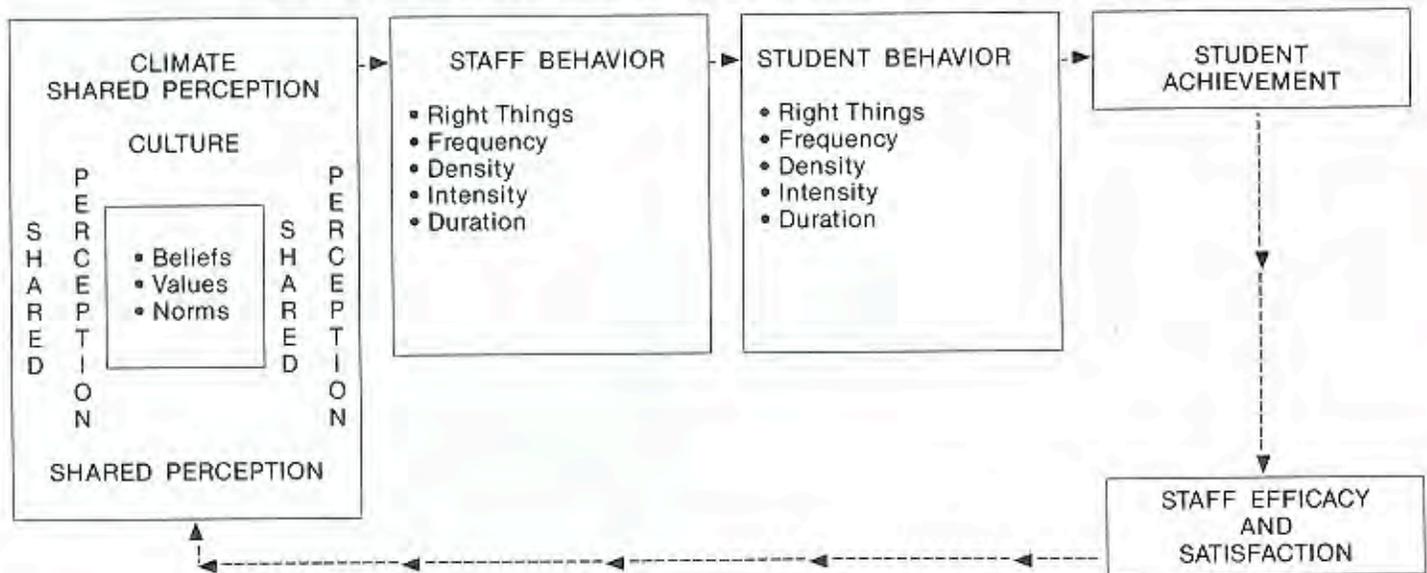
cosm of the community or neighborhood, has deeply ingrained beliefs, values, and norms unique to that community or neighborhood. School leaders must understand that *social* factors have a powerful influence on how the school functions as an organization. The strength of the *economy* and the degree and control and pressure of *political* forces also influence staff members' deeply held internal images of the way the world works. While these factors interact within the environment, they also influence the culture by interacting with forces within the *organization:* staff make-up, leaders, structures, processes and events. *Staff makeup* is critical. While in some schools staff has been drawn from the local community, in others they reflect a much broader spectrum of America and thus bring a more varied, less pervasive belief system to their work. The age distribution of the staff, its internal leaders, and other factors are equally important. The leadership, structures, and processes which permeate life in the organization over a period of time have a powerful effect on the culture. Significant or dramatic *events* that had a dramatic effect on the school influence how people think and behave in the school for an extended period.

Shaping the Culture

Shaping the culture, particularly a strong culture, is a complex long-term activity. It is a process rather than an event. Some contend that culture resists any change attempts (Wilkins and Paterson, 1985). Research at Iowa State University (Taylor, 1989; Hedrick, 1990) indicates that school culture can be transformed. This research also indicates that the key organizational elements that must be addressed are communication, decision-making, and support. Decision making is important because successful involvement enhances the belief that one has control over one's life. Participation in group decision-making and other activities promotes group cohesiveness and the control that marks strong cultures. Communication provides the vehicle for sharing information and beliefs and values, and also enhances self esteem and reduces anxiety. Finally, support enhances self esteem, trust, respect, caring and self-efficacy—core values in a strong positive culture. Four factors are key in shaping or transforming that cul-

ture: (1) structures, (2) processes, (3) reinforcement, and (4) leadership.

Structures

Structures are components designed to bring stakeholders together to enhance communication, coordination, collaboration, decision making, support, sharing or togetherness. Schools historically have been organized as egg crates creating pockets of isolation (Lortie, 1975). While recent reform efforts have resulted in some important changes, the organizational structure of most schools impedes communication and participation in decision making and provides few opportunities or activities that provide support. Structures must be changed where possible or additional structures added. These structures can include vertical teams, staff development or other support teams, quality circles, school improvement teams, program effectiveness teams, lead teachers, peer coaching, and many more.

FIGURE 2
FACTORS INFLUENCING CULTURE

DEEP HISTORY

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     ┌─────────────┐              ┌──────────────┐
     │ ENVIRONMENT │              │ ORGANIZATION │
     │ • Economic  │              │ • Staff      │
     │ • Social    │              │ • Leadership │
     │ • Political │              │ • Structures │
     │             │              │ • Processes  │
     │             │              │ • Events     │
     └─────────────┘              └──────────────┘
            \                         /
             \      ┌──────────┐     /
              \     │ CULTURE  │    /
                    │ • Beliefs│
                    │ • Values │
                    │ • Norms  │
                    └──────────┘
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Processes

Meetings or group activities that waste people's time or those that allow group members to become involved in acrimonious debate foster beliefs and values that block motivation and productive group functioning. When groups come together to achieve a common goal it is important that they follow certain guidelines or use processes that enhance the quality of the interaction and the benefits to them and others. These processes typically promote listening and a safe environment, promote creativity and critical thinking, and ensures that decisions are arrived at democratically. These processes play a vital role in shaping the climate by promoting group values. The faculty of the school should be able to choose from a repertoire of strategies that provides an opportunity for each staff member to participate, minimizes disruption or domination by group members, and ensures that decisions reflect consensus or majority opinion. Included in the variety of these processes are nominal group, delphi dialogue, SOPPADA, and cooperative processing. These and other similar processes should become part of the repertoire a staff uses on a regular basis. Principals must ensure that they and other staff members have the knowledge and skills to use these methods.

Reinforcement

Most would agree that "what gets rewarded gets done," and that negative reinforcement tends to extinguish inappropriate behavior. Both have important implications for shaping the culture. Beliefs, values, and norms are strongly influenced by the reactions of others to behavior in the workplace. If appropriate or exemplary behavior is recognized and rewarded by the principal and others, most staff members are inclined to emulate that behavior to receive a similar award. When inappropriate behavior is met with punishment or silent disapproval by others, few choose a similar reward. The principal's role in dealing with inappropriate behavior is crucial. Failure to deal with inappropriate behavior tends to create the belief that either the belief is acceptable or that nobody cares, or that nobody can do anything about it, thus creating a powerful negative belief. Where the culture becomes strong and positive, reinforcement for positive and negative behavior comes from a number of staff members—the most powerful method of creating positive norms.

Leadership

What it all boils down to is leadership. Selecting and implementing the proper structures, processes, and utilizing effective reinforcement strategies requires good judgment and skills. Effectiveness is contingent on three criteria: appropriateness, quality, and timing. Structures, processes, and reinforcement must fit the unique situation and the individuals of the school, be of top flight quality, and be implemented and utilized at the correct time.

The final task of the principal is to provide symbolic leadership. Symbolic leadership is anchored to a basic proposition: Beliefs and values of normal types are influenced by what individuals in the school **see, hear, say** and **do.** While the deep history of the school and the background of each staff member act as a filter, the principal must manage the environment and symbols that create and maximize opportunities to develop positive beliefs. This environment begins by identifying the core beliefs and values needed to lead or drive the culture. These core beliefs and values could include: a sense of efficacy, control, respect, caring, trust, collegiality, and self esteem. Posters, pictures, buttons, logos, and other artifacts that reflect core beliefs and values should be prominently displayed where they can be

seen on a daily basis. The main office, classrooms, halls, and entrances are key areas. There is also the need to model behaviors that reinforce key beliefs and for others to model these behaviors at ceremonies and other important functions. The ear is also a conduit for beliefs—what we hear influences how we think. The principal must take great care to reinforce key beliefs both in what is said at meetings, ceremonies and informal conversations and while "managing by wandering around." Finally, creating opportunities for staff to participate in activities and share beliefs with others is most powerful.

The use of symbols to create beliefs is tricky business. Misuse can be construed with manipulation or merely have little effect on the culture. Six factors serve as a guide to symbolic leadership: (1) clarity, (2) focus, (3) consistency, (4) emotion, (5) timing, and (6) duration. Symbols must clearly communicate and reinforce beliefs and have a consistent central focus. The sense of timing for employing symbols that appeal to the base needs and emotions of staff is also critical. And finally, symbolic leadership like any activity that makes a difference must be practiced over a long period of time.

Final Thoughts

Climate and culture consist of the conclusions a group of people draw from their experience. The day-to-day feeling or climate is important. The school's culture consists of what people believe about what works and what does not and how students, teachers, parents and other staff should treat each other. That culture can and must be managed. A positive culture provides the force for producing world-class schools and also provides an enriching environment for students and staff who spend many hours in the school. Structures, processes and reinforcement provide a framework for managing that culture. But leadership provides the key. The ability to use that unique combination of analytical and people skills to develop and maintain core beliefs may be the consummate skill of leaders in the 1990s. It may also spell the difference between success and failure in America's schools. It seems worth the effort.

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School improvement programs based on effective schools research have continued to expand throughout the last decade. Approximately 42 percent of local school districts in the United States have programs based on this research. A number of significant changes are anticipated regarding the school's mission, curriculum, and the processes of planned change.

School Improvement Based on Effective Schools Research: The Decade Ahead

Lawrence W. Lezotte

The 1980s will surely be recorded in history as a decade of attempted educational reform. The past decade witnessed a relentless discourse on school reform at all levels—federal, state and local—unmatched since the late 1950s when the nation sought to respond to Sputnik. We will leave to future historians the task of assessing whether the strong rhetoric of former Secretary of Education William Bennett, the state mandates in 38 states, or the reformed preservice teacher education will indeed yield the improvements being sought by both those inside and outside the educational enterprise. Those future historians will also have to pass judgment on the extent to which programs of school improvement based on an internal renewal process contributed to attempted educational reform efforts.

Effective Schools in the 1980s

The decade of the 1980s began with a few local school districts and a modest number of individual schools, usually elementary, planning and implementing programs of school improvement based on the effective schools research findings of the 1960s and '70s. By the end of the '80s the number of local school districts engaged in such programs had increased dramatically. Today the schools and districts actively engaged in this approach to school improvement number in the thousands. A recent study by the United States' General Accounting Office found that an es-

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timated 42 percent of the local school districts are currently engaged in a school improvement process, framed in whole or in part around the effective schools research. Given this trend, it would seem safe to predict that internally planned and initiated school improvement based on the effective schools research will continue to increase through at least the first half of the present decade. The continued, and even expanding, interest in this approach to planned school improvement suggests that the reformers at the federal and state levels have severely underestimated the willingness of local educators to engage in school reform.

Three general observations about school improvement based on the effective schools research during the 1980s seem warranted.

First, the research base of effective schools has been expanded. Now there are more published studies in the United States and abroad that further validate and elaborate the original research findings. The studies cover the full spectrum of K–12 schools and include a wide range of school types: rural and suburban, as well as urban. This has strengthened our ability to generalize well beyond what was possible ten years ago.

Second, a major transformation of the original school improvement process is underway and the results are promising. At the beginning of the 1980s we assumed that schools could and should be improved school by school and one school at a time. By implication, this suggested that the local board of education and central office staff could be largely ignored. Thus the focus was on the principal, teachers, and other staff at individual buildings. As the programs multiplied, it became clear that their success would be greatly expanded if the board of education and district office staff (especially the superintendent) supported school improvement based on effective schools research, if they treated it as a district priority and set about creating the district context to assure its success. Currently the most promising programs, while still emphasizing the school as the operational unit for change, begin by creating a district framework of policies, priorities, and programs designed to assure long-term success.

The third significant change occurred toward the end of the 1980s. Many of the educational agencies beyond the local school district began to align goals and priorities with the effective schools model for school improvement. For example, either by law or policy many state departments required local school districts to develop long-term plans for school improvement based explicitly on effective schools research. As a result, hundreds of local schools had no choice about school improvement itself or this particular approach. Mandating such change is not without "down side" costs, for the advocates and trainers seeking to assist local schools have had to overcome resistance engendered in schools. Nevertheless, this has served to create a level of activity that was not anticipated earlier; we now have to see whether such activity will translate to true progress or simply more activity.

Not only have state agencies been mandating these changes, but a number of regional accreditation agencies have begun to change their standards (or have already changed them) to include the major concepts associated with the effective schools approach. More than anything else, this has stimulated the secondary schools to consider seriously the effective schools framework. Before the changes in the accreditation standards and procedures, most secondary schools ignored this research-based model of planned change for good reason. Now the change has opened up the framework to hundreds of secondary schools across the United States.

Additionally, the federal government now supports effective schools with resources. Because of recent changes in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, known as the Hawkins–Stafford Amendments, millions of dollars allocated to Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 can be used by local districts to support planning and implementation with effective schools.

All these changes taken together have served to institutionalize further the effective schools process of school improvement. It would seem reasonable to assume that the momentum currently associated with this model of school renewal and development will not quickly disappear. Those districts that remain on the sidelines may wish to reassess their "wait and see" attitude.

Two reasons help explain the increasing popularity of this broad based approach to school improvement. First, the model has been judged to be comprehensive enough to include within this framework the other dimensions of schooling that desire attention, such as curriculum reform and improved teacher effectiveness. Second, the effective schools research movement is a practitioners' movement; as such it has a level of face validity associated with it among teachers and administrators seldom enjoyed by other approaches to school improvement.

School Improvement—The Decade Ahead

Much of what is likely to happen to the effective schools movement in the early 1990s is predictable, given the momentum it has gathered recently. However, the model of school improvement based on the effective schools framework will undergo significant changes in the decade ahead.

The metaphor of the journey has been used to describe the process of school improvement based on the effective schools research. In using this metaphor we should note that as in any journey, the effective schools process of school improvement has: (1) a destination, (2) a mode of transportation, and (3) a map to be followed throughout. The journey metaphor with its three parts is a useful framework for discussing the anticipated changes in school improvement that are likely to occur in the decade of the 1990s.

The Effective Schools Destination

By the end of the 1980s the battle lines became clearly drawn regarding school improvement. In no small way, the effective schools framework and its advocates can share the credit or blame for this clarification and the attendant battle lines. From the beginning the effective schools research suggested that the primary mission of schools ought to be "teaching for learning for all." As the advocacy of this mission became more widely known (if not accepted), it became clear where the political opposition would (and did) gather. Those who favored either the custodial mission or the mission of sorting and selecting students organized and began their counterattack. The excellence advocates called for "teaching for learning for many or a few." Those who advocated that schools serve as the family which "many poor children never had" began to advance the notion of nurturing first and teaching for learning second—if time permitted. How these struggles will be resolved is not yet clear. What is clear is that the nation must come to terms with the child care issue or it will have neither good schools nor reliable custodial care—except for the economically disadvantaged. A nation with as many at-risk children as ours is an at-risk nation.

In the decade of the 1990s the debate will continue and probably intensify. The position of effective schools advocates is clear. At the moment there is no consensus as to what this country will accept as evidence of school improvement. If and when consensus is reached, and assuming it focuses on the mission of teaching for learning for all, the effective schools framework will surely be able to help the nation's schools get them from where they are to their chosen destination.

A second related issue surrounding the destination (or mission) debate has to do with curriculum content itself. The effective schools process has helped to clarify two other truths which are most unsettling because of their inherent conflict. On one hand, it is true that virtually all students tend to learn those things on which they spend the most time. On the other hand, it is true that the curriculum of the public schools must be trimmed back because the schools are trying to teach too much content in too little time and with too few resources. Currently the mission of many teachers is to cover content. The effective schools model asks teachers to commit themselves to assuring that their students learn the content they cover. To be successful in this mission, they will have to abandon aspects of the curriculum content. This abandonment is going to be an extremely delicate issue and is likely to become volatile before it is settled. The 1990s is likely to be recorded as the decade of the great curriculum debates. These debates probably cannot be avoided, since it is unlikely that the political processes will provide enough resources to teach all that is essential in our rapidly changing society. Such debates should be welcomed and include a broad cross-section of educators and community representatives.

Ron Edmonds said, "We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all students." I would like to add to that statement the phrase " . . . whatever we choose;" but to do so assumes that we can agree on what it is we want *all* students to know.

Mode of Transportation

On our journey to school improvement the means by which we will seek to get from where we are to where we want to go seems both clear and compelling. The democratization of the American public school is the means for successfully making the journey. We have tried to use top-down, outside-in mandates for change only to come up against a wall because so few educators at the local level are willing to own the change. Without ownership and enthusiasm and commitment, few ideas have the potency required for long-term success. A new organizational form—one that invites teachers and administrators to work collaboratively as partners in the process of school reform—represents our best hope for sustained school reform. However, several changes are needed if this democratic form of school organization is to deliver its promise. In the 1990s these changes must take hold or the old order will probably reaffirm its grip on the public schools. First, administrators must be trained to work in the network organization. Second, teachers must come to believe that the time and energy required to make the democratic school is worth the effort. Third, the necessary time for discourse and training must become a priority for boards of education. Finally, from research and proven practices we must deliver powerful visions of what can be done through democracy to improve the schools. Ron Edmonds said " . . . We already know more than we need in order to do that . . . " I would like to amend that statement by adding for emphasis, "we already know *more about what to do and how to do it* than we need in order to do that."

The Map

During the last decade the effective schools journey has followed a map of the correlates or characteristics of effective schools as they were identified in the original studies. Surprisingly, these correlates have displayed a resiliency that amazes many. It is unlikely that any of the correlates will be found unimportant as we strive to improve the schools. However, two changes in the map for effective schools are likely to occur in the future. First, the research on effective schools is going to be joined even more closely with the effective teaching research, and the resulting descriptions are going to be even clearer, mutually reinforcing, and even more powerful as instruments for successful school transformations.

Second, the characteristics of effective schools are likely to evidence a significant growth in the 1990s. Once the present correlates are firmly in place they will serve as a foundation for taking the school to an even higher level. A couple of examples will illustrate what is being suggested. First, we spoke of a safe and orderly environment as an important characteristic. In the past, the evidence of the presence of this characteristic was usually the absence of certain negative or undesirable behaviors (e.g., violence). In the 1990s research and effective practice will likely see this characteristic develop to the point where its presence will be established by evidence suggesting the presence of certain desirable behavior (e.g., students helping each other). Second, the characteristic of strong instructional leadership has been largely associated with behaviors of the principal. In the 1990s this concept will likely develop to the point where the concept of leadership is dispersed and includes virtually all the adults in the school. Leadership will become a community concept. A last example has to do with frequent monitoring of progress. In the 1980s we expected teachers to monitor progress frequently and, where necessary, make adjustments. In the 1990s this critical factor will be expanded to suggest that students should be taught to monitor their own progress frequently and make the necessary adjustments in their individual behaviors.

The map is changing. It is becoming more detailed, and the descriptions of the terrain to be traversed are growing even richer and much better developed. Hopefully, the research and proven practices will quickly assist in the second generation to develop this map.

Summary

School improvement based on effective schools research is like a journey that is well underway. The level of activity that was present at the end of the 1980s will carry us well into the 1990s. The current decade is sure to be exciting because of the critical issues that must be resolved. The issues of mission will require great debate. Issues associated with democratization of the schools are going to require additional training. Finally, the map to be followed must grow and develop in order to keep pace with school improvement.

In the mid-1970s Ron Edmonds said "We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need to do this. Whether we do it or not must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we have not done it so far!"

Edmonds' statement is more true than ever today. It remains to be seen whether we have the needed political will to do it before the year 2000!

The district wanted improved student achievement but not at the expense of low teacher morale, dissatisfied parents, or exploited students.

Criterion-Referenced Testing for Outcomes-Based Education

Richard P. Manatt and Glenn R. Holzman

Overview

K–12 schools in Kansas and nationwide are seeking methods to establish outcomes-based education. A team of researchers and trainers led by Dick Manatt and Shirley Stow has specialized in this task beginning with mathematics and reading in the landmark experiment, the School Improvement Model (SIM), in the Minneapolis area (1978–85). The model of outcomes-based education was first tested for all subjects and all grades in the Hot Springs County School District No. 1 (Thermopolis, Wyoming) in the late 1980s. In this report Glenn Holzman, who directed the project's indistrict effort, and Dick Manatt, director of the university based team, explain how it was accomplished.

Development of all training activities, curriculum planning, criterion-referenced test development, and pilot testing was the responsibility of the Iowa State University team. The district wanted achievement to improve, but equally important, teachers and students were to be treated with consideration and the entire process was to be systematized so that the curriculum materials, tests and methodology could be shared with other public and independent schools.

The district administered the SRA achievement tests annually to all grades, so these measures were selected to be the indicator of improved student learning. School climate, parental and student satisfaction were also to be measured annually.

The Process

In the fall of 1985, the administration and school board of Hot Springs School District No. 1 approached the School Improvement Model office at Iowa State University request-

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ing help in the development of a comprehensive teacher and administrator evaluation system. The overarching goal was to improve student achievement. It was generally accepted in the district, however, if long-term meaningful improvement of student achievement was going to take place, as much or more attention would need to be given to the "what" as to the "how" of instruction. Subsequently, the school improvement effort in Hot Springs County moved beyond mere performance evaluation of personnel to take on the monumental task of curriculum development/renewal at every grade level, for every subject, with accompanying criterion-referenced measures of student achievement. It was obvious that such an effort was beyond the capabilities of a small rural school district, thus the cooperative endeavor of the district and university-based SIM was expanded to an additional three year school improvement effort.

The foundation upon which the curriculum development project was to be constructed was based on four generic questions posed by Ralph Tyler in 1949, which have since come to be known as the *Tyler Rationale*:

(1) What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?

(2) How can learning experiences be selected which are likely to be useful in attaining objectives?

(3) How can learning experiences be organized for effective instruction?

(4) How can the effectiveness of learning experiences be evaluated?

There was strong commitment within the district that the people most qualified, most appropriate, to answer these question were classroom teachers. Whatever was developed needed to be teacher based and specific to the needs of students and staff in Hot Springs County. This involvement would later provide the commitment and ownership that would support the successful implementation of the curriculum. Teachers would not be able to say, "You didn't measure what I was actually teaching!"

In order to address those questions, subject area K–12 curriculum committees were formed. A framework for developing the curriculum was adopted that included six parts: (1) philosophy statement, (2) strands of learning, (3) program goals, (4) instructional objectives, (5) instructional activities (teachers' and students'), and (6) criterion-referenced measures. Of paramount importance in this effort was the notion of curriculum alignment: *i.e.*, the congruent relationship of the written, taught, and tested curriculum. Does each one support the other two?

It was the charge of the committees to ensure that the district's mission, subject area philosophy, major strands, program goals, instructional objectives, and test items all were aligned with a logical flow from one to another. Working directly with the consulting team from SIM, the teachers moved through this process step by step over a period of twelve to eighteen months. The teachers were viewed as the subject area experts and were given the responsibility of fitting the appropriate content within the given framework. While some of this process could be done on an individual basis, it was important to work across grade levels to ensure continuity and alignment of the objectives throughout the curriculum and from grade to grade. The importance of K–12 representation in each subject area cannot be overemphasized.

The most difficult component in terms of time and effort was the student achievement measures. Most teachers have had little training in or experience with the development of valid and reliable tests. Thus, training and support provided by the consultants played an integral role during

this process. Multiple choice test items were developed to match the instructional objectives that had previously been identified. Strict test writing guides were followed and each test at each grade level was critiqued a number of times before pilot testing. After pilot testing the results were statistically critiqued and appropriate revisions were made before the final copy of the test was printed.

Early into the test development process, teachers raised the issue of testing in those areas that were only performance based, *i.e.*, fine arts, physical education, vocational education, *etc.* Certainly, these areas were based on performance of certain activities, but there are cognitive skills and knowledge necessary to achieve the performance objective. In these areas performance checklists were developed along with limited paper and pencil tests to measure the appropriate knowledge base.

Another question that had to be constantly addressed was whether the instructional objectives being developed, and their related measures, were minimums, maximums, aimed at the average student, essential skills or those skills needed to pass on to the next grade. It was decided to identify the "essential skills" that they, the teachers as experienced and trained professionals, felt the students should master to succeed at the next level of instruction or grade. In the process of identifying those essential skills the following questions were put to the teachers:

• given an infinite amount of information that could be taught, but only a finite amount of time to teach, what do you want the students to learn in the allotted time available?

• if we accept the premise that students will generally forget the vast majority of what is presented to them, what is the essential information they must retain?

• what are those skills that build upon prior learning and what are those skills that are required prerequisites before additional learning can take place in the next unit, class, or grade?

• what have the major textbook publishers identified as essential skills across the nation for a particular subject area?

• what does the most recent research and recognized experts have to say about what is important for students to know?

• what does the community want its students to learn?

• as an experienced professional, what does the classroom teacher feel is important for the student to learn?

Certainly these questions or guidelines are not as clear-cut or objective as many faculty members would have liked. They left much room for subjectivity, professional judgment, and debate. However, the district was strong in its belief that the staff would make the appropriate decisions that would eventually serve the best interests of the district's students.

The Results

Outcomes-based testing was highly successful in reaching the prime objective of raising student achievement district-wide as measured by the composite results of the SRA achievement tests. Equally important were the positive results of the formative measures of teacher and administrator performance evaluation, student and parent feedback, and the measures of school climate.

The district wanted improved student achievement but not at the expense of low teacher morale, dissatisfied parents and exploited students. Because of continuous measures of climate, student feedback to teachers and parent feedback (in the form of a School Report Card), the district could be certain that achievement gains were an unmixed

blessing. Moreover, the improvement curve continued for five years; it was not simply a Hawthorne effect.

School Climate

Climate factors were measured in May of Years Two, Three, and Four using the School Improvement Inventory (SII). The SII is administered by the School Improvement Model Projects office to over 100 schools each years and provides a comparison with national norms. To illustrate, Table 1 contains the three years of climate data for the district's middle school. The inventory was completed by all certified personnel in the school.

Table 1

Middle School Climate Survey—School Improvement Measures as Assessed by Teachers—Hot Springs County School District No. 1

Dimension[a]	Mean Response[b]			
	Year Two (1986)	Year Three (1987)	Year Four (1988)	National Norms (1989)
Goal Orientation	5.77	6.28	6.15	5.81
Esprit	5.56	5.80	5.81	5.83
Cohesiveness	5.81	5.97	5.91	5.33
Teacher Expectations	5.95	6.36	6.25	6.01
Administrator Dedication Enthusiasm	6.55	6.96	6.73	5.54
Student Attitudes	5.14	5.46	5.54	6.30
Supports Teachers	4.68	5.92	5.92	6.11
Evaluates Pupil Progress	5.82	5.83	5.69	4.78
Coordinates Instructional Curriculum	4.91	5.35	5.73	4.48
Instructional/ Curriculum Emphasis	4.82	5.46	5.35	4.18
Learning Environment	5.36	5.78	5.85	5.48

[a]*School Improvement Inventory.* SIM, Research Institute for Studies in Education, Ames, Iowa.

[b]Range of Responses: 1 = low to 8 = high.

Inspection of the table reveals that by Year Four, the climate of the middle school equalled or exceeded the national norms in all areas except student attitudes. Generally speaking, each measure had improved over the three years. This was especially satisfying because the faculty had undertaken tremendous efforts to improve both teaching and curriculum content during that time frame. Note that esprit actually improved during this effort while goal orientation, cohesiveness, and teacher expectations rose markedly. Previously, the great emphasis placed on improved performance by the SIM Model had been accompanied by a drop in teacher morale for the first two years (Petrone, 1989).

Student Achievement

At the outset, this school improvement effort anticipated that criterion-referenced tests would show positive

results. But because the criterion-referenced tests would undergo constant refinement and revision during the five year study, the norm referenced SRA tests were also used as the criterion of success.

Student Achievement by Subject

Efforts to improve the curriculum started in the core academic areas of math and reading, including language arts, then moved to other subject areas as time and staffing patterns allowed. Changes in student achievement tended to follow the same pattern.

Mathematics and English were the most improved subjects during the years under study (see Table 2). Composite percentiles for mathematics rose 16 points, while English increased by 14 points. Reading composite percentiles changed from 60 to 71, a gain of 11 points. Social studies and science had lesser gains of 5 and 8 percentiles respectively. In four years, percentile composites had risen from a range of 55–61 to a range of 66–77. The total composite percentile changed from the 59th to the 73rd, a gain of 14 (see Table 3).

Table 2
Student Achievement by Subject—
Percentile Composite Scores, National Norms*

| | YEAR | | | | | |
Subject	Year One (1985)	Year Two (1986)	Year Three (1987)	Year Four (1988)	Year Five (1989)	Change
Reading	60	63	68	70	71	11
English	55	60	65	65	69	14
Mathematics	61	68	73	76	77	16
Social Studies	61	62	64	67	66	5
Science	61	64	66	69	69	8
Total	59	65	69	71	73	14

*Science Research Associates Student Achievement Tests

Table 3
Student Achievement by School—
Percentile Composite Scores, National Norms*

| | YEAR | | | | | |
Level	Year One (1985)	Year Two (1986)	Year Three (1987)	Year Four (1988)	Year Five (1989)	Change
1–4	61	71	78	78	81	20
5–8	59	62	67	69	70	11
9–12	59	58	59	62	67	9
District Composite	59	65	69	71	73	14

*Science Research Associates Student Achievement Tests

Student Achievement by School

Elementary school achievement (Table 3) was at the 61st percentile (composite) in 1985; it had risen to 81 by 1989 for an overall gain of 20 points. Middle school achievement had risen 11 points (59 to 70) during the same period. High school composite achievement moved from the 59th percentile to the 67th by 1989 (+ 8). The district composite increased 14 percentile points since 1985 as noted previously.

Conclusion

With improved student achievement as the criterion, the School Improvement Model was an unqualified success for the Hot Springs County School District No. 1. Changes on norm-referenced test results of this magnitude are rare, especially in a working class rural district with all of the usual effective schools concerns, viz., high student turnover, economic factors, family influence, and gender differences. The district made wave one (curriculum improvement) and wave two (more effective teaching) school reform a reality. Wave one became more than just adding courses for graduation; vigor was infused.

The district had several very positive characteristics. School board leadership, which stayed vitally committed to the project for the entire five years, had a major impact. The teachers and their leadership from the NEA-affiliated local association played a major role in planning, directing, and refining all of the components of the School Improvement Model. The district's administrative team was particularly skillful in operating the school improvement components and fortunately remained in the district throughout the long endeavor. But perhaps the most salient factor of the model was time duration. This was not a quick fix. Consuming five years allowed enough time to fully develop each of the improvement components. Each item was invented, field tested, reinvented, and then tried again and again with time for critiquing and improvement. The curriculum content was clearly richer at the end of the project. The "what" of learning was fully developed. Indeed, the pre- and posttesting of student learning via CRTs meant that teachers and students share a keen interest in being task-oriented and businesslike.

At the end, the district had a total systems approach to managing and improving instruction. Everyone had more usable information, not just more information. This provided the "wheaties effect"—feedback that makes a difference.

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It is important that educators stay on the cutting edge of positive change as they work toward school improvement and restructuring.

Instructional Leaders for the 21st Century: Seven Critical Characteristics

Teresa K. Northern and Gerald D. Bailey

Futuristic thinking of principals as instructional leaders is required for education in the 21st century. As information bases increase at an astounding rate, as more and more students enter schools at risk, and as political, social and technological systems change radically, traditional educational structures are rapidly becoming dysfunctional. In order for instructional leaders to successfully restructure school systems from the debris of traditional structures and create structures which will meet the needs of a multicultural and increasingly unpredictable society (Peters, 1987), seven critical characteristics will be required. Principals who wish to survive as instructional leaders for the 21st century will need to be visionary leaders, strategic planners, change agents, great communicators, role models, nurturers, and disturbers.

Visionary Leaders

Educational research has long indicated that effective leaders must have a vision for the future. Effective schools research (1989) called for a clear mission for schools. Kanter (1983) stated that change masters must develop a shared vision for the direction of the organization and its participants. Lewis (1988) stated that organizational leaders must be vision makers. Researchers who have studied excellent schools have likewise noted that effective leaders were charismatic, visionary leaders (DeBeVoice, 1984). Vision is a vital characteristic of leadership. Bennis and Nanus (1985) defined the vision as a way of organizing meaning for the members of the organization. Peters (1987) offered the following characteristics of effective vision: The vision should be inspiring, clear and challenging and about excellence, stand the test of time in a turbulent world, stable but constantly challenged, a beacon and control when all else is up for grabs, aimed at empowering our own people first, pre-

paring for the future while honoring the past, lived in details, not broad strokes (pp. 486–490).

Principals as instructional leaders must think globally—they must know where education and educators should be headed to best prepare students and staff for the 21st century. Only a clear vision of the future and a flexible blueprint for arriving at that vision will equip instructional leaders adequately.

Strategic Planners

Strategic planning will be a prerequisite skill for survival of principals as instructional leaders, especially in turbulent times. Strategic planning allows new administrators to gather a quick picture of an organization and provides a mechanism for developing appropriate short and long-term goals for the organization. Instructional leaders must be astute at assessing internal and external environments (Greene, 1987). Such assessment should include a review of the organizational structure and member relationships to one another. Successful staff development efforts will revolve around the existing educational structure and personnel interaction, perceived and real leaders, power centers, and blockers. Informal organizational structures are very fluid and constantly changing. This state of constant change requires that leaders constantly check perceptions of the organizational relationships. An effective, excellent administrator will always have a good feel for the organizational pulse and temperature (individual and groups). The external environment consists of the structures and behaviors which connect to and support the educational structure. Connections and support systems examples include community organizations and political organizations. External politics will determine the status of the building organization within the total educational structure. Instructional leaders would do well to spend a high percentage of their time listening when first arriving at any organization. Instructional leaders must understand the workings of the organization, proper channels, and real and perceived leadership pools. Support from the school community will be vital to making successful restructuring changes. Input and involvement from the school community are important aspects of successful school change (Peshkin, 1978, 1986). Awareness of power holders and blockers in the community will also be crucial to the success of any innovation.

Short and long-term objectives are elements of strategic planning that add flesh to the leader's vision. Leaders must have the big picture in mind, but also possess an ability to "chunk down" that vision into realistic, tangible short-term objectives for staff, students, parents, and community. Allowance must also be made to see that such visions are flexible enough to allow for a rapidly changing future. Long and short-term objectives also demand development of methods to measure the achievement of objectives. Again, administrators must rely on internal and external environment awareness in order to continuously evaluate the validity of the vision and objectives for meeting the needs of the organization and its members.

Strategic planning offers a modus operandi for instructional leaders. Equipped with a vision, instructional leaders using strategic planning can offer tangible guidelines and charts for achievement of the vision.

Change Agents

Principals as instructional leaders must be change agents. As the information base and major technological/echnological advances increase daily, a knowledge of the change process will be crucial. Students of the future may expect to change jobs as often as four or five times in their

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careers as new businesses bloom and die in 5-10 year cycles (Lezotte, 1989). Obviously, instructional leaders aiming for a restructuring of the educational system must be informed about the multiple realities of change. An awareness of the stages of change can help leaders guide staff members through an age of change. Fullan (1982) listed the following stages of change: initiation/adoption, implementation, and institutionalization. In addition to knowing the stages of change, administrators must be aware of the readiness stage of an organization before even attempting to make a change. Again, awareness of the internal and external environments will offer data to define the organization's readiness. Following a readiness check, instructional leaders should begin procedures to alter organizational readiness by developing needed attitudes for initiating a change, or by actually initiating a change if the readiness is present. Knowledge of leaders and blockers will enable change agents to properly assign roles for successful adoption, implementation, and institutionalization. Kanter (1983) suggested employing identified prime movers within an organization as initiators of change.

The timing of change can be a most crucial component. Instructional leaders must constantly check the organizational barometer and know whether or not the time is right for a specific change. Smith, Kleine, Prunty and Dwyer (1988) reinforced the importance of timing in their organizational trilogy about a school "caught in its own time."

In order to guide educators safely through turbulent changing times, instructional leaders must be well versed in strategies of change. They must know the phases, frustrations, and assumptions of change. The reward will be institutionalization of necessary change.

Communicators

Principals as instructional leaders must be master communicators. Verbal and nonverbal behaviors have a great impact on other people (Bailey, 1988). Vision will be of no use to an organization without an ability to communicate that vision. The language of leaders is noticeably different from followers. Charismatic leaders have an ability to reduce complex initiatives to simple, tangible, realistic and desirable actions, beliefs and attitudes. Educational wordsmith Ernest Boyer (1988) stated a need for leaders who can communicate the fact that schools must provide a sense of belonging for students and staff alike. All forms of school improvement must address this basic need, both publicly and privately. Kanter (1983) stated a need for leaders with an ability to be explicit. Effective schools research correlates have also included clear expectations (1975). Expectations must be communicated in a way that is recognizable and achievable. Administrative presentation must be varied to accommodate the individual styles and unique experiences of all listeners.

Instructional leaders must not only be able to see the big picture, but must also take every opportunity to communicate that vision with staff, students, parents, and community. These are tough times of change. Leaders must be able to stand tall in the face of challenge and give clear, steady guidance to followers who are facing an unknown, sometimes frightening, future.

Shared language (Joyce and Showers, 1988) will be a result of an effective leader's communication skills. Members of a restructured organization must work together to expand their knowledge base. As knowledge increases, language changes. Staff members begin to talk about change reflectively and with an increased awareness of all its aspects. Leaders with strong communication skills will be

able to move rapidly toward a shared language for positive, forward-moving change.

The instructional leaders of tomorrow will be unable to get by without speaking to staff, students, parents and community about the future and importance of education. The turbulence of the coming times requires those with vision to share their view of the future and the urgency for school personnel to restructure their thinking.

Role Models

Principals as instructional leaders for the 21 century must practice what they preach. The old adage "do as I say, not as I do" will not hold up in this era of change. A more accurate adage would be "actions speak louder than words." Educators are hungry for leaders who are value-driven (Lewis, 1988). Educational organizations also need leaders who are organizational patriots (Sergiovanni and Corbally, 1984). Such patriots must model their belief in the direction the organization is heading. The future of innovations and their hoped-for institutionalization is often tied with the leadership at the time of initiation. Often, the innovation lasts only as long as the leader stays with the organization (Latham, 1988). Changes must be designed to provide maintenance and integrity as well as innovation. The integrity and continuity of the leaders will be closely tied to the integrity and continuity of the system—the leaders often become the system. Instructional leaders must have a high level of group loyalty and commitment in order to foster that loyalty and commitment in others (Kanter, 1989).

Instructional leadership is evidenced in staff development and curriculum activities (Bailey, 1988). In meetings and presentations, leaders must model a variety of teaching styles to demonstrate an awareness of the needs of the listeners. Expectations for others must be matched by similar expectations for leaders. Leaders must not be isolated from staff and community members, but must be integral members of all educational activities—as a positive, dynamic, value-driven leader who has vision and can not only communicate that vision but can live the vision.

As proponents of change, organizational members must believe that leaders are behind them. Only then will they be comfortable enough to take the necessary risks to make required changes (Peters, 1987). Leaders must model those beliefs and they must show members that the beliefs are right and needed and realistic. As leaders state the beliefs in the required changes, they must follow by spending their own time on activities to develop the change and by supporting member activities with resources to accomplish the change.

Nurturers

Principals as effective instructional leaders must be sure that working and learning environments are healthy and productive. In order for changes to flourish, Kanter (1983) has suggested a team-oriented cooperative environment. Effective schools research correlates (1989) include a safe orderly environment for learning. Environmental checks will prove helpful as leaders develop their awareness of organizational concerns, gripes, satisfiers, and dissatisfiers. A well informed leader can develop a positive atmosphere by being aware of and dealing with minor problems and issues before they become major problems. A nurturing atmosphere is one in which participants feel comfortable and safe. At the same time, high expectations must encourage innovation and experimentation. An atmosphere for safe failure and reflection is vital for restructuring organizations.

Instructional leaders must also subscribe to current research strategies for staff development. To nurture a positive atmosphere for change, teachers must be encouraged to use Joyce and Showers' (1988) strategies for instructional improvement in staff development activities: theory, demonstration, practice, feedback, and coaching. Attention to peer coaching will reflect a move toward shared decision making and will also address empowerment issues. Staff members must feel they have a part in setting up procedures and policies.

Nurturing includes sharing the vision often in order to keep staff focused on the big picture of long-term objectives. Slack time (Clark, Lotto, and Astuto, 1984) was included in a list of characteristics for successful institutionalization. Staff members need time to adjust and experiment. Instructional leaders must find ways (financial and otherwise) to support innovation as well as ongoing successful activities.

Schoonover and Dalzier (1986) called for leaders to be integraters. Administrators need to find ways to integrate curriculum with student needs and curriculum outcomes. They need to integrate organizational and individual needs and match them with the short and long-term objectives of the organization. Sergiovanni and Corbally (1984) called for leaders who know their people. Nurturers will know the needs of all their people and be able to mesh those needs with a focused vision which will meet the expressed needs. Anne Lewis (1988) describes a leader as one who is able to see other viewpoints and act on those varied viewpoints. Instructional leaders need to be able to mold diverse learners into a group of lifetime learners who can appreciate their differences and find ways to complement each other and make the total organization stronger.

A nurturing leader achieves satisfaction from seeing others develop and grow within the organization and will effectively communicate that satisfaction by recognition of self and staff growth. Nurturers are able to decipher which pieces of organizational history need to stay in place (mainstreams) and which new ideas (newstreams) need to be encouraged and can develop strategies to provide stability for both types of activities (Kanter, 1989).

Leaders of the future will nurture leadership training and skills in all members of the organization. The needs of the future are great enough that traditional views of hierarchical leaders will not be adequate. Shared leadership and a new structure will replace the traditional structures. Leaders of the future will be unafraid of being replaced by movers and shakers within the organization. The new organization will be flatter and groups of leaders will move within and around the organization.

Disturbers

Leaders of tomorrow must find ways to disturb those who are comfortable with the status quo. Because of the rapidity of change within our society, educators cannot afford to become comfortable, but members must be comforted as they face the turbulence of the coming era. The class of 2000 has already been within the public school system for two-and-one-half years (Lezotte, 1989). If educators are to effectively prepare those students for their future, a future which cannot be defined, they must undergo a reorientation in the way educators think and operate at school (Caldwell and Wood, 1988). Schools cannot continue to operate the way they have for the past 100 years. Educational leaders must take strong stands against traditional schools which have in reality never served students well.

Summary

Principals as instructional leaders for tomorrow must be visionary leaders, strategic planners, change agents, communicators, role models, nurturers, and disturbers. All skills must then be applied to the tasks of instruction. Instructional leaders must attend to staff development, curriculum development, and student achievement.

Principals as instructional leaders must possess multiple philosophies which translate into a belief system. Administrators must have a Theory Y type of management philosophy (Peters and Waterman, 1982). They must believe in the innate goodness of people. Leaders must realize that employees will usually follow objectives which they helped develop. Shared decisionmaking must be an important method of achieving such commitment. Long term goals should be directed at achieving staff efficacy. Self direction at all levels (administrators, staff, students, parents, and community) must be encouraged and expected. Evaluation could easily reflect an opportunity for members to set their own goals, expectations, and outcomes. Staff development activities must include modeling of any processes taught and expected of staff. Leaders can also model lifetime learning by becoming a learner with staff members.

New trends in education must be examined for effects on student achievement. Staff must be encouraged to experiment and evaluate. As schools begin the task of restructuring, integration of disciplines must be addressed as a way to reduce job overloads and dependency on textbooks. To reduce isolation and separation of students and staff, activities must increasingly aim toward intergenerational, interdisciplinary activities.

To reduce reliance on standardized norm-referenced tests for verification of achievement, learning communities must develop their own outcomes and measurement methods. Activities and goals must become increasingly child centered. Real world connections must increase, hands-on activities must proliferate, and activities must be future-oriented. Instructional strategies must focus on process thinking skills which can apply to any situation students may face.

In order to deal with the excitement and frustration of the coming times, leaders must develop advanced coping skills. Stamina will be sorely tested. Change is part of this new era. Schools are in the throes of major restructuring efforts. It is important that educators stay on the cutting edge of positive change as they work toward school improvement and restructuring. The seven critical competencies identified in this paper will help propel educators and education to that cutting edge. The importance of moving rapidly toward that edge now was best affirmed by Albert Shanker (1990) when he said:

> We in public education will either change the schools, or public education will be changed for us. Public education will either improve or be destroyed.

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Testing and teaching are not adversarial, but each contributes to the accomplishment of the other.

Testing and Teaching

Madeline Hunter

"Measurement driven instruction" has become the credo of the eighties and "teaching the test" the resultant alleged mortal sin. At the same time, accountability has reared its accusing head to denounce the escalating costs of education without accompanying increases in efficiency and effectiveness. As other services have increased in cost (e.g., medicine, transportation, computerized offices), we have seen a resultant increase in the quality and/or quantity of their services or products. The public would have us believe that this is not so in education, that in fact, our services and products have declined.

As a person who is deeply involved in the 'grass roots' of American schooling as well as in research, I would argue that the public is wrong. Educators know more about what they're doing and how to do it than has been known since the beginning of time. Nevertheless, there still is a major gap between what we know about how the human brain functions in the relationship of teaching to learning versus what is occurring in many typical American classrooms. In the writer's opinion based on educational work throughout the world, there is an even greater gap between research and practice in other countries, although students and conditions are markedly different from ours.

Two forces in American education are directed toward closing that gap. One is the surge, now become a tidal wave of staff development. At long last, educators have accepted the fact that a professional never ceases learning better ways of delivering services to clients. As a result, staff development is becoming a routine item in any defensible school budget. Rather than lying fallow, entombed in psychological jargon and buried in seldom read journals, cause-effect relationships between teaching and learning are being translated into language comprehensible to educators and subsequently those relationships are professionally expressed in daily practice.

The second propellant to narrowing the gap between theory and practice is the national fixation on measurement and accountability. It is to our current focus on testing and teaching that this article is directed.

Measurement

All educators have been required to take a course in tests and measurement and/or educational statistics. Most groaned through the history of tests beginning with Binet and the Army Alpha and increased their groans with measures of central tendency and standard deviations without

having grown in their ability to measure results from their own teaching.

Until the last two decades, *norm referenced* tests were the only ones routinely in the repertoire of school measurement. Such tests are useful in identifying learners in relation to the norming group. For selection purposes, norm referenced tests identify the best, worst, and those in the average range. Norm referenced tests permit the comparison of groups in school X to those in school Y. Unfortunately, norm referenced tests (standardized achievement tests) are frequently used to make judgments for which they were not designed.

Criterion referenced tests measure each individual in relation to a specified criterion performance. Can the learner write a persuasive essay, use specified punctuation marks correctly, add with regrouping, factor quadratics, or state the issues involved in the Civil War? A criterion referenced test answers the measurement question with "yes he/she can" or "no, he/she can't." It is a certification that students have or have not learned a specified content or process regardless of whether other students have learned more or less.

As a result, criterion referenced testing is becoming the driver of instruction. Well designed criterion tests have become a major propellant in successful curriculum design and instruction. Poorly conceived and constructed criterion tests become an endless list of trivialized pieces of information which are easily measured but contribute little of significance to the important cognitive, affective or psychomotor outcomes of today's schooling.

We need measurement experts to design the high stakes tests that become major determinants of a student's future. The typical classroom teacher or school administrator has neither the time nor the training to perform the arduous task of developing valid and reliable criterion tests. Teachers, however, create their own tests and use more information than do most commercial test makers. Yet teachers have little training and experience in valid test construction or interpretation of the results. Both skills, test construction and interpretation, are essential to excellence in instruction. Informal but valid criterion test construction needs to become a major objective, long overdue, in teacher preparation and staff development programs.

Currently, at the end of a unit, a tired teacher sits down the night before a test administration and wonders "What questions should I ask on a test so I can give students their grades?" That important question of what will be tested at the end of the unit needs to be asked *before* instruction is designed. What are the important outcomes which should result from this episode of instruction and how will those outcomes be measured? The answers to those questions become the fountainhead of instructional planning and the criteria of successful achievement.

Having answered the criterion question, the next instructional question becomes "What knowledge or skills essential to that outcome do these students already possess?" This baseline may be inferred or it can be measured by a formal or informal test.

Informal testing, observation, sampled answers or signaled answers from students frequently give a teacher reasonably accurate information which can be verified or corrected as instruction proceeds. Signaled answers by students were as major a break in education as was penicillin in medicine. Now we can cure lack of knowledge, uncertainty, or confusion right when it occurs rather than waiting for a final test to reveal it long after the optional point for remediation.

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Observations, signaled and/or sampled responses often can be used to ascertain reasonably accurate baseline data and to measure informally the success of daily instruction *if* the teacher knows what needs to be measured and how to design questions that will economically and accurately assess that information and/or process. "With your fingers on one hand, make the two dots of a colon or the dot and comma of a semicolon with two hands. Which does this sentence require?" If plagiarism is a problem, "Close your eyes and show me" will reveal those who need to take "a little peek."

"See how many of the five causes (factors, principles, elements) you can remember. Say them to yourself and put up one finger for each one you remember" will give informal information as to whether a teacher needs to review or reteach. Calling first on students who have the least number of fingers up gives them a chance to contribute and challenges more able students to subtract what they hear from what they remember for their contribution. In this way all students have had feedback on what they know and what they need to learn. They have taken a test and had it corrected without the discouraging effects of a poor grade; yet those who need it have the warning that they are not yet prepared for the graded test. Many such information assessments contribute to students' knowledge of their own progress before the criterion test.

Informally testing progress all during instruction prepares students for success on the criterion test at the end of instruction *if* that instruction is well designed to accomplish the criterion outcome and *if* the criterion test was constructed to economically and accurately measure what was to be learned. Let's look at how measurement driven instruction can function with a simple and a complex objective using the most economical and discerning criterion test.

Instructional objective: The learner will make change from a dollar for a purchase less than a dollar, using the fewest number of coins without half dollars.

Criterion test: The learner will make change for a seven cent purchase (this requires the use of every coin). If a student can do this example correctly, there is high probability all other possibilities also can be done.

Objective: The learner will write a persuasive argument on a known subject.

Criterion test: On the subject of "less homework" the learner will make explicit and support with data his/her point of view, anticipate teachers' and parents' counterarguments, then dilute or refute those arguments and present all of the above in a well designed, cogent and technically correct piece of writing.

Each of these criterion tests makes explicit what needs to be learned so "teaching to the test" involved teaching the information or skills that will generalize to a successful response—*not* teaching the answer to a specific test question.

Conclusion

Testing and teaching are not adversarial but each contributes to the accomplishment of the other. To realize the major educational dividends from their productive relationship, we need to redesign teacher and administrative preparation and inservice so today's education professionals are well equipped to interpret results from norm referenced and criterion referenced high stakes tests designed by experts. Even more important is the ability to construct valid informal daily and end of unit tests so measurement driven instruction plus excellence in varied instructional procedures produces increasing quantity and quality in American education.

This is a program which facilitates the opportunity for teachers to work together and grow professionally.

An Interview with Sam Kerman: Co-founder of TESA (Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement)

Thomas G. Wicks III

Q: If you were to describe TESA in a sentence, what would it be?

A: TESA is a staff development program involving specific supportive and motivating techniques with all students in a nondiscriminatory manner, the intended result of which is the accelerated academic growth of those students perceived to be low achievers.

Q: How did you conceptualize or develop the TESA concept?

A: Reviewing the work of Jacobson and Rosenthal, the Pygmalion study, Dr. Martin and I were aware that interactions between teachers and students were to a significant degree determined by how teachers perceived their students. Also, the work of Tom Good and Jere Brophy in *Looking in Classrooms* identified specific interaction which tended to be more stimulating and motivational and in fact was being utilized more frequently with students perceived to be high achievers. With our awareness of the Pygmalion study and further information gained from such studies as *Looking in Classrooms*, we proceeded from there (for more specifics regarding the development of the program, see *"Why Did You Call on Me? I Didn't Have My Hand Up!"*: PDK, 1979).

Q: Has research continued to support the program?

A: Very much so! Over the years school districts that have implemented TESA frequently send us their evalua-

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tions of program effectiveness. In all cases, if the program was implemented according to guidelines, the objectives were met and often exceeded the findings of the original program (see study conducted by the Appalachia Educational Laboratory, 1983; also Decatur Township, Indiana, 1988).

Q: Have there been any surprises associated with the program?

A: Yes. Almost immediately we realized that the term 'low achiever' was relative to the setting. The concept would be just as applicable in gifted classroom. Also we became aware that interactions between parent and child, between school administrators and staffs, and in the private sector executives and subordinates, were no different than those interactions between teachers and students.

Q: What have been the main thrusts of TESA that have continued to make it effective for more than two decades?

A: When presenting the program's concept and objectives, it is essential that the content be kept very basic and simple. Also, most important is that at no time should the program be perceived as an evaluation design. Rather this is a program which facilitates the opportunity for teachers to work together and grow professionally.

Q: Are there concerns that you have about maintaining the quality of the TESA program?

A: Most definitely! My major concerns would center around the following points:

1. The appropriate selection of the individuals who will be trained must be effective communicators, motivators, and have good rapport with the participants.
2. That the program be implemented in the prescribed manner (i.e., voluntary, duration, etc).
3. That at no time should the program be used for evaluation.
4. That the program design not be modified or changed to any significant degree in the implementation process.

Q: When did you discover that you had a program that was going to be nationally recognized?

A: Almost immediately. It was apparent to me that educators immediately identified the program as one which met very broad needs.

Q: Have you considered any new modifications for the TESA program as we know it today?

A: No, I can't think of any at this time.

Q: How did you discover the need for a program like TESA?

A: As a consultant with the Los Angeles County Office of Education, I and many colleagues had the responsibility of assisting school districts in identifying procedures, strategies, etc., which would result in being more effective in working with students to accelerate academic gain. TESA seemed to be an excellent vehicle.

Q: How many states and countries have you presented this program?

A: The program has been implemented in one or more school districts in all fifty states. Outside the U.S., the program has been implemented in Canada, Australia and Puerto Rico. Also in Department of Defense Dependent Schools in England, Germany, Spain, Panama, Japan and Iceland.

Q: How do you envision TESA fitting into the effective schools movement?

A: The effective schools movement is based on quality and equity of student performance. TESA focuses on interacting with low achieving students equitably in the classroom.

Q: What is unique about the TESA program from other types of staff development programs?

A: I believe the unique feature is the implementation design. We not only researched the content of the program, we also evaluated the implementation component. Rather than simply sharing research information and the series of workshops, over a period of time incorporating peer group observation and feedback has provided the teachers an opportunity to internalize their interactions and behaviors toward all students in an equitable manner.

Q: Where do you envision TESA to be in the 21st century?

A: Hopefully I'd like to see TESA incorporated as a component in teacher preparation and training at the university level.

Q: Do you foresee a TESA II on the horizon?

A: I'm currently working on an adaptation of TESA directed toward administrators working with staff, the objective being to improve communication and increase productivity.

Q: How would you summarize your accumulated years of TESA training experiences of working with a vast number and variety of educators?

A: During the past sixteen years that we've been conducting TESA Coordinator Seminars, the thing I'm most aware of is the total acceptance of the program's basic concept and objective. I believe this is due to the ability of participants to immediately identify with the concept from their own past experiences in the classroom.

Q: What has been the motivating force to continue making literally hundreds of presentations?

A: Although the TESA staff has had the opportunity to disseminate the program to thousands of educators over the past many years, we are aware that there are still many educators who are not familiar with the program. It is our hope that continued dissemination will assist many more teachers in being more effective in the classroom.

Q: It has often been said your personality seems to come through the TESA program. If this is true, what advice would you give a person contemplating a career in education?

A: Personally I believe that teaching is the most noble profession of all. No profession contributes more to a free and democratic society than the contributions made by teachers. The responsibility teachers have with students is awesome. We are in a position to shape young minds in a positive manner. For the teacher the rewards are limitless and can be most profound.

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What are the most important motivating factors for educators? Are a series of popular myths clouding our analysis of what we can do to encourage effective teachers?

Merit, Motivation, and Mythology

Robert R. Dunwell

Introduction

"Paying more for teaching well" is a proposition that is "irresistible and inevitable" according to Lamar Alexander, Governor of Tennessee, author of Tennessee's career ladder plan, and chairman of the 1986 Governors' Conference (Alexander, 1986). Merit pay for teachers is a controversy that has been around since the early 1900s (Kapel, 1985; Lieberman, 1985; Dunwell, 1984; Darling–Hammond and Wise, 1983; Schneider, 1983; Weldon, 1971). However, the major difference between then and now appears to be that merit plans have become politically important at the highest state and national levels *with non-educators taking the lead* (Kapel, et al, 1985). Witness the support given merit pay by the House Committee on Education and Labor (1983), the National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983), and the Secretary of Education (Bell, 1985). Obviously, this kind of support has attracted widespread attention. In 1984, 21 states had implemented statewide programs, funded pilot projects or local programs, or established the mechanism for such programs (Cornett, 1985). By summer 1985, the number had increased to 31 (*Education Week*, 1986).

Although every career ladder plan seeks to promote excellence in job performance, some are merit-based; others combine performance and extended hours or extended contract years; still others are based primarily on teachers assuming additional or differentiated duties (Cornett, 1985). In contrast, true merit pay is a reward system which attempts to base salary on *performance* and defines the reward in dollar terms, although the rewards could include sabbaticals, tuition assistance, or other bonuses (House Committee on Education and Labor, 1983). The basic idea of merit pay is that some teachers get paid more than others *for performing the same kind of work but at a higher level of skill and competence* (Castetter, 1986; Lieberman, 1985)—not *more* work or *different* work (Uzell, 1983; Barber and Klein, 1983).

Myths About Merit Pay

What is it that gives the notion of merit pay for teachers so much public acceptance? Some have suggested that the public believes teaching to be a relatively simple job that ought to be relatively simple to evaluate, that the public schools are staffed by lazy and incompetent teachers, and that merit pay is a cheap way to motivate teachers (English, 1986; Barber and Klein, 1983). There are at least five other major myths which need to be dispelled.

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Myth No. 1: Teachers are in favor of merit pay.

The title of a recent article in the *American School Board Journal* proclaimed "Our Nationwide Poll: Most Teachers Endorse the Merit Pay Concept" (Rist, 1983). Actually, the researchers found that nearly two of three teachers surveyed agreed with the statement that "teachers who are more effective in the classroom should receive larger salary increases than teachers who are less effective." However, when you examine the rest of the story, that constitutes something less than a wholehearted endorsement of merit pay. Only 17.6 percent of the sample supported the current system of basing salary increases on seniority and academic credentials *alone*, and 41 percent said that they would want classroom effectiveness to be given *equal weight* with seniority and academic credentials in determining salary increases. *Only slightly more than 3 percent said they would want classroom effectiveness to be the sole standard for salary increases* (Dunwell, 1984).

Gallup's 1984 survey of 2,000 teachers revealed that although 76 percent of the sample felt there were teachers in their schools who were sufficiently outstanding to warrant merit pay, 64 percent of the sample were *opposed* to merit pay because they felt it was difficult to give a fair evaluation and because they felt it would create morale problems among teachers (Gallup, 1984).

The fact? Generally, teachers *are not* in favor of merit pay.

Myth No. 2: Money is a motivator—more money produces more work.

Rebore (1981) poses the one question fundamental to any pay system. "Does money stimulate an employee to put forth more effort?" and concludes that money definitely affects performance *under certain circumstances*. When minimum necessities have been satisfied, the motivational value given material incentives is extremely limited and almost entirely dependent on the creation of the attitude that individuals *ought* to want material things (Barnard, 1938).

However, money is also symbolic; it can represent almost anything an individual wants it to represent; and it can mean whatever people want it to mean (Rebore, 1981; Hersey and Blanchard, 1982). Hence, money is given *varying* degrees of importance by individuals depending on their backgrounds and experiences (Rebore, 1982). Hersey and Blanchard (1982) conclude that " . . . money, the old reliable motivational tool, is *not* as almighty as it is supposed to be, . . . *(even) for production workers*" (pp. 40–41). And Frase, Hetzel, and Grant (1982) believe "that the major reason for failure (of merit pay) has been the basic assumption . . . that money serves as an effective motivator.

The fact? Money motivates *some* people under *some* circumstances.

Myth No. 3: Merit pay will persuade highly qualified people to enter and stay in teaching.

Will merit pay really do that? It would if money were a primary reason for becoming a teacher, or lack of money a primary reason for becoming dissatisfied with teaching or leaving teaching. However, a 1983 study found that the most frequently given reasons for entering the teaching profession were (1) service, (2) working with students, (3) generally liking to work with people, and (4) participating in the development of children (Bredeson, Fruth, and Kasten, 1983). A 1984 study found teacher burnout was related to need deficiencies in teacher motivation, especially those higher level need deficiencies affecting job satisfaction (self-actualization, esteem) *rather than* the lower level need

deficiencies associated with job dissatisfaction (autonomy, security) (Anderson and Iwanicki, 1984).

Nevertheless, teachers themselves state that they think that the primary reason teachers are leaving is because of low salaries (Gallup, 1984). But only a few former teachers identify money as an important factor in their personal decisions to leave, and several explicitly note that money is *not* the reason (Bredeson, Fruth, and Kasten, 1983). Teachers, former teachers, and administrators concur that low salaries are a disadvantage; however, money is not perceived as a major source of job dissatisfaction. In fact, low salary is subordinate to other issues such as geographic location, personal freedom on the job, and the nature of the job itself (Bredeson, Fruth, and Kasten, 1983). Although those teachers who said they had seriously considered leaving teaching cited salaries and working conditions as the biggest reasons, the possible actions they judged *least helpful* were basing pay on performance (merit pay) and paying extra for added responsibilities (career ladders) (Brandt, 1985, citing *the 1985 Metropolitan Life Survey of the American Teacher*).

The facts? Teachers do *not* enter teaching to make money; teachers are not particularly satisfied with the salaries they make, but teachers do *not* leave teaching *primarily* because of poor salaries.

Myth No. 4: Merit pay promotes competition and competition promotes excellence.

Combs (1979) calls the notion that ours is primarily a competitive society a myth. He states, " . . . actually, we live in the most cooperative interdependent society the world has ever known" (p. 15). Sergiovanni (1985) calls the notion that competitive incentive systems are motivating a misconception and asserts that you do not find this kind of competition reflected in the management practices of successful business firms. Sergiovanni asserts that competition (1) breeds isolation and deemphasizes the intrinsic rewards derived from work itself or from work-related social interaction with colleagues, and (2) makes teachers dependent on managerial inspection and accounting rather than internal discipline and self responsibility (p. 7).

Combs (1979) asserts that competition motivates only if we believe that of necessity someone must win and someone must lose and then only for the people who believe that they can win. He identifies the results of competition as (1) the destruction of feelings of trust in ourselves and others, (2) fear of other people, (3) discouragement and disillusion among the people who feel they do not have a chance of winning, and (4) when competition becomes too important a breakdown of morality and the acceptance of any means to achieve desired ends.

The fact? Greater competition will *not* produce excellence in education; emphasizing competition may actually destroy many of the values related to excellence.

Myth No. 5: Motivating teachers is a simple matter of offering an extrinsic reward.

The greatest flaw of merit pay is that it is a terribly simple answer trying to cope with a terribly complex problem. Merit pay mentality is dominated by what English (1984) calls the myth of the unitary profession. Indeed, a merit pay plan for teachers would be effective *only* if enough teachers were motivated by the "merit carrot."

Maslow's classic motivation theory insists that we must take into account a great many other factors. A satisfied need no longer motivates; however, *how* an individual goes about fulfilling that need *depends on the individual's perceptions and experiences*. In fact, some individuals never feel that their basic needs have been fulfilled. For any individual, the satisfaction of even basic needs is possible only when certain *preconditions*—justice, orderliness, and challenge—exist. And further, the hierarchical structure functions within the *context* of an environment that is only relatively stable. Simply, individuals change, conditions change, needs change, the degree of need satisfaction changes, and motivation changes (Maslow, 1970; Goble, 1970).

Earlier, Barnard (1938) stated " . . . the scheme of incentives is probably the most *unstable* of the elements of the cooperative system . . . " and " . . . the willingness of any individual cannot be constant in degree" (pp. 85,158). A study of motivational differences among teachers and administrators reported (1) a variation of psychological needs based on teaching level (secondary, junior high, elementary), age and sex, (2) significant differences in security need deficiencies based on race, sex and position, and (3) differences in the fulfillment of desire for achievement, mastery, prestige and recognition between whites and non-whites (Chisolm, Washington, and Thibodeaux, 1980). In fact, Wilkerson (1982) warns that the present meritocratic system tends to confirm rather than challenge cultural biases about race, sex, and other factors unrelated to intelligence.

The most powerful motivational forces for teachers are a complex of intrinsic rewards including seeing students learn and succeed, believing one's job service to others is important, and being able to continue growing personally and professionally (Bredeson, Fruth, and Kasten, 1983). Hawley (1985) points out that teachers neither rank pay particularly high as a source of motivation nor value upward mobility as much as they used to. And DeLamarter and Krepps (1980) warn that external reinforcement, which merit pay may well represent, *reduces* the effect of any intrinsic motivation that is present.

The facts? Needs, need satisfaction, and motivation varies greatly from one individual to another; typically, teachers are individuals who have developed strong intrinsic motives—merit pay could actually suppress a teacher's intrinsic motivation.

Summary and Conclusion

Schneider (1983) asserts that although the empirical evidence and research data seem to be *consistent* . . . the evidence *against* merit pay is not *conclusive*. The House Committee on Education and Labor (1983) recognized mixed and inconclusive results with performance-based pay in the private sector and in education. If we agree that the two most critical problems now facing the teaching profession are the lack of teachers with quality educational backgrounds and the lack of career incentives sufficient to retain the most talented teachers, then we must agree with English (1984) that merit pay as *simple performance pay* does not pose a realistic solution. But is merit pay, as they suggest, one of many pieces in a puzzle? (House Committee on Education and Labor, 1983). If indeed it is, it is only one small piece of a highly complex puzzle.

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Who are the new-to-site superintendents in Kansas and what does the future hold for them?

The New-to Site Superintendent in Kansas: A Five Year Perspective

Jean S. Lavid and Ron Davison

Are superintendents prepared to meet the challenges when they arrive on their new turf? What are their challenges? These questions coupled with concerns about increasing turnover in the superintendency (Anderson and Lavid, 1986; 1987; 1988; 1989) gave impetus to a five year study to determine which job-related issues might be most impacting on school superintendents during their first year in a new district. This article addresses several matters that have proved especially troublesome to new administrators, especially budgetary concerns and board of education practices. The article also considers two areas that did not concern new superintendents but whose absence may qualify as serious sins of omission: namely perceptions of local educational adequacy that deviate from perceptions of the community at large, and an unfocused strategy for attaining improved classroom instruction.

General Observations About New Kansas Superintendents

Superintendent turnover in Kansas has been creeping upward over the last five years. In 1984, 14 percent of superintendents were new, and that total had risen to 20 percent by 1988. A factor precipitating that increase was undoubtedly a change in the state retirement program which encouraged many older superintendents to retire, followed by the domino effect of larger districts hiring superintendents with prior experiences, creating vacancies in smaller districts.

National studies are more speculative about the nature of turnover in chief school officer ranks. The *American School Superintendency 1982: A Full Report* (Cunningham and Hentges, 1982) indicated that almost 30 percent of all superintendents had held their positions three years or less. Over 50 percent had held more than one superintendency, and 13 percent surveyed in 1982 indicated they had left their previous superintendency within the last year. These data would tentatively support a conclusion that the superintendency is becoming a revolving door job. Yet the

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interpreters of the data emanating from the 1982 study felt the results were insufficient to support the image of an increasingly mobile superintendency. The average number of superintendencies held was 1.7 (mdn 1.3) and the average length of tenure was 5.6 years, down just slightly from the prior ten year period.

Feistritzer's more recent study (1988) reported superintendents nationally had been in their positions 6.7 years. Four out of ten respondents in her survey had held superintendencies elsewhere for an average of 8.2 years. When asked what they planned to do in the next five years, 24 percent said they planned to retire. Another 44 percent said they planned to leave their current positions in the next five years. Thirty-six percent indicated they would seek a superintendency elsewhere with the remainder looking for a position in higher education, a job outside education, or seeking some other type of administrative assignment in public schools. The Feistritzer study showed slightly longer current service in the superintendency than the Cunningham and Hentges study (1982) but projected turnover rates that generally replicate the patterns observed in Kansas.

Table 1 shows that the median age of the new-to-site superintendent remained in the 41–50 years of age range over the five years of the study. Feistritzer reported a median age of 49.1 years for public school superintendents nationally as opposed to a median age of 48.7 in the Cunningham and Hentges study. Most newly appointed superintendents in Kansas were new to the superintendency or in a second placement, reflecting relative job inexperience. Superintendents moving from other districts had only four years experience on the average. The pattern observed in Kansas differed little from national statistics (Feistritzer, 1988) that reported 60 percent of all superintendents in their first position with the remainder coming to the job with 8.2 years prior experience. The Cunningham and Hentges (1982) study similarly showed 59.2 percent of all superintendents in their first position and 31.6 percent with one or two prior superintendencies.

A common expectation is that the superintendent has extensive experience at all levels of public education. In Kansas not all new-to-site superintendents had experience at the central office level and not all had previously been building principals. In other words, no particular rite of passage was evident among Kansas superintendents. A partial explanation may rest on the fact that the overwhelming majority of schools in Kansas serve rural or small communities. Fifty percent of districts examined over the five years of the study had 550 or fewer students and these districts frequently employed persons who had not experienced *all* of the career lattices characteristic of superintendency candidates in larger districts. Crowson's report (1987) on the superintendency nationally suggests that the prevailing career pattern of superintendents is a rather attenuated catch-as-catch-can process of *anticipatory* and *on the job* socialization. A progressively upward career direction could not be claimed when the median number of superintendencies held is only 1.3 nationally. These individuals could not have learned their job skills by progressive moves to school districts of increasing size and complexity.

Another major misconception to be addressed with facts is that the school superintendent will typically hold the doctorate degree. In reality only about one-third of Kansas superintendents do, and this percentage actually decreased over the five year period. This finding supports a conclusion reached by the authors several years ago that one need not hold the doctorate to become a superintendent in Kansas (or anywhere else). Feistritzer's national study (1988) of school administrators showed only 34 percent of

	1984–85	1985–86	1986–87	1987–88	1988–89
Number of Respondents	40 of 42 (95.2)	39 of 39 (100.0)	43 of 43 (100.0)	29 of 30 (96.7)	60 of 61 (98.4)
Turnover Percentage (304 Districts)	14.0%	13.0%	14.0%	10.0%	20.0%

Variables

	1984–85	1985–86	1986–87	1987–88	1988–89
Age					
Less than 30	—	—	—	—	—
30–40	11 (27.5)	15 (38.5)	11 (25.6)	7 (24.1)	8 (13.3)
41–50	15 (37.5)	18 (46.2)	21 (48.8)	13 (44.8)	36 (60.0)
51–60	13 (32.5)	5 (12.8)	9 (20.9)	9 (31.0)	15 (25.0)
61+	1 (2.5)	1 (2.6)	2 (4.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)
Prior Supt. Placements					
1st placement	18 (45.0)	24 (61.5)	22 (51.2)	22 (75.9)	31 (51.7)
2nd placement	13 (32.5)	5 (12.8)	11 (25.6)	2 (6.9)	19 (31.7)
3rd placement	6 (15.0)	8 (20.5)	3 (6.9)	0 (0.0)	4 (6.7)
4th placement	3 (7.5)	1 (2.6)	3 (6.9)	0 (0.0)	4 (6.7)
5th placement	0 (0.0)	1 (2.6)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.4)	0 (0.0)
			no response = 4 (9.3)	no response = 2 (6.9)	
Years of Supt. Exp.					
1st year	17 (42.5)	23 (58.9)	23 (53.5)	22 (75.9)	31 (51.7)
2–3 yrs.	1 (2.5)	2 (5.1)	3 (6.9)	2 (6.9)	3 (5.0)
4–7 yrs.	8 (20.0)	7 (17.9)	4 (9.3)	3 (10.3)	11 (18.3)
8–10 yrs.	1 (2.5)	3 (7.7)	7 (16.3)	1 (3.4)	3 (5.0)
11–15 yrs.	6 (15.0)	3 (7.7)	3 (6.9)	1 (3.4)	6 (10.0)
16–25 yrs.	7 (17.5)	1 (2.6)	3 (6.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (10.0)
26+ yrs.	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
District Enrollment					
less than 200	8 (20.0)	7 (17.9)	7 (16.3)	6 (20.7)	9 (15.0)
200–300	7 (17.5)	4 (10.3)	5 (11.6)	5 (17.2)	8 (13.3)
301–400	4 (10.0)	6 (15.4)	9 (20.9)	3 (10.3)	5 (8.3)
401–550	3 (0.75)	4 (10.3)	6 (13.6)	2 (6.9)	8 (13.3)
551–1,999	—	—	—	11 (37.9)	—
2,000–9,999	—	—	—	1 (3.4)	—
10,000+	2 (0.50)	1 (2.6)	2 (4.7)	1 (3.4)	1 (1.7)
551–1,000	4 (10.0)	6 (15.4)	5 (11.6)	0 (0.0)	11 (18.3)
1,001–3,500	9 (22.5)	10 (25.6)	7 (16.3)	0 (0.0)	18 (30.0)
3,501–10,000	3 (7.5)	1 (2.6)	2 (4.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Prior Job Experience					
Central Office	23 (57.5)	18 (46.2)	25 (58.1)	14 (48.3)	6 (10.0)
Superintendent	—	3 (7.7)	8 (18.6)	2 (6.9)	29 (48.3)
Asst. Supt.	—	8 (20.5)	6 (13.9)	9 (31.0)	6 (10.0)
Building Administrator	38 (95.0)	37 (94.9)	38 (88.4)	23 (79.3)	56 (93.3)
Formal Education					
Doctorate	14 (35.0)	13 (33.3)	15 (34.9)	8 (27.6)	18 (30.0)
Specialist	9 (22.5)	7 (17.9)	17 (39.5)	5 (17.2)	27 (45.0)
Gender					
Male	39 (97.5)	37 (94.9)	42 (97.7)	29 (100.0)	59 (98.3)
Female	1 (2.5)	2 (5.1)	1 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)

all superintendents holding the doctorate. These figures generally reflect certification standards, which in Kansas requires only a minimum of a master's degree plus some additional coursework in education administration.

Kansas lags behind national data for females holding superintendency positions. Adding one or two females per year brought the Kansas total to only two for 1987–88 (.7%) Nationwide, females hold four percent of the public school superintendencies (Feistritzer, 1988).

Challenges Facing New-to-Site Superintendents

Throughout the five year period of the Kansas survey, the topic of *budget* was the paramount concern confronting new superintendents. Concerns about taming this time-consuming and politically sensitive task parallel the findings of other nationwide studies, including those conducted every decade by the American Association of School Administrators (AASA). The frustrations with budgetary matters reported by new superintendents in Kansas can be attributed in part to simple logistics. Because these new superintendents arrive on site usually in July or August, they are placed in the position of promoting and defending a budget they had no part in constructing and which must be voted upon by the school board in August.

There is usually strong disagreement between what superintendents perceive as priority concerns and what the public senses as issues needing attention in the schools. Although some important trends were not consistently probed by the authors over the five years, the data was deemed sufficient to support this assertion. As Table 2 illustrates, the major problems facing public schools as perceived by the public are *substantially different* from those of school professionals. The Gallup polls conducted from 1985–89 showed drug/alcohol abuse and lack of discipline as major school problems. When contrasting these two significant sources of information, one must draw the conclusion that new-to-site superintendents in Kansas perceive their problems from a totally different perspective than the public at large.

Even though the Gallup poll is a national study, drug and alcohol abuse knows no boundaries and small-town Kansas is not immune to these problems. Yet over the past five years, new-to-site superintendents in Kansas did not once choose drug or alcohol abuse as an issue, even though the American public perceived that to be the most critical problem over the same time frame. Keeping in mind that Table 2 reflects what was important to superintendents and that Table 3 reflects important issues to the public at large, the perceptions reported in the two tables are totally incongruent.

This finding lends credence to the research by Alvey (1986) who concluded that superintendents (as well as principals and school boards) are frequently insensitive to the sources of discontent within their own communities. It is understandable that most rural and small town superintendents in Kansas would not perceive urban problems like integration and overcrowding as relevant concerns. Even if we exclude these issues as demographically irrelevant, the chief school officer in Kansas, not unlike counterparts elsewhere in the nation, tends to become emotionally and intellectually absorbed in the internal realities of maintaining basic school district services, keeping abreast of state legal and financial requirements, hiring and evaluating personnel, and responding whenever possible to reform pressures to improve teaching and learning.

Nevertheless, a clear pattern of disagreement between school patrons and local professionals and boards of education suggests a dramatic need to increase the volume of

Table 2

Major Problems Confronting the Schools (1985–89): New-to-Site Superintendents vs. Public-at-Large Perceptions

Major Problems*	Supt.'s, '85	Gallup, '85	Supt.'s, '86	Gallup, '86	Supt.'s, '87	Gallup, '87	Supt.'s, '88	Gallup, '88
Lack of discipline	—	1st	—	2nd	—	2nd	—	2nd
Use of Drugs	—	2nd	—	1st	—	1st	—	1st
Poor curriculum standards	—	3rd	—	4th	—	5th	—	5th
difficulty recruiting good teachers	—	4th	—	5th	—	4th	—	4th
lack of proper financial support	2nd	5th	1st	3rd	—	3rd	1st	3rd
Pupil's lack of interest/ truancy	—	6th	—	15th	—	9th	—	9th
large schools/ overcrowding	—	7th	—	8th	—	6th	—	8th
integration/busing	—	8th	—	13th	—	14th	—	12th
Teachers' lack of interest	—	9th	—	9th	—	11th	—	13th
Drinking/alcoholism	—	10th	—	7th	—	8th	—	10th
Moral standards/ dress code	—	16th	—	6th	—	7th	—	7th
Lack of respect for teachers and other students	—	12th	—	10th	—	13th	—	16th
low teacher pay	13th	14th	15th	12th	—	12th	—	11th

*The major problems listed above are derived from the Annual Gallup Poll of Public Attitudes Toward the Public Schools.

superintendent-board dialogue with the diverse publics served by schools. The revolt of the client phenomena (Wirt and Kirst, 1988) now characteristic of most professional/ client relationships requires that the local superintendent's traditional communication platforms be redesigned to better address parent and citizen apprehensions. Lutz and Iannaccone's (1967) warning that public schools were never apolitical insular institutions takes on special meaning as parents and the greater society become increasingly apprehensive about the welfare of children. Increasingly, local public education is embroiled in a web of conflicting demands that must be responded to in a balanced fashion. The superintendent, as resident professional expert, needs to sharpen listening skills and be prepared to counter any and all perceptions in a reassuring fashion. Doing so in no way suggests the superintendent must be all things to all people. It does suggest, however, the need for skills as a coalition builder, harmonizer, and facilitator. Superintendents cannot fulfill any of those roles if they are not on the same wave length with constituents.

The Superintendent's Evaluation

Accountability has been on everybody's priority list for education for almost twenty years, and it appropriately reflects an increasing concern for putting in place teacher and administrator evaluation practices that can better assure quality control. The authors have consistently asked new-to-site superintendents in Kansas about accountability practices that focused on their own performance.

Over four years of inquiry, Table 3 observes that regular evaluation of the superintendent has been addressed with increasing frequency by local school boards. Superintendent self-evaluation of performance as a regular part of the evaluation process and the board's willingness to accept it, however, decreased in use over the same time period. As board of education members have acquired more training in evaluation, reliance on formal evaluation has increased exponentially. Superintendents in Kansas reported an increasing use of formal instruments, usually checklists, to assess their effectiveness. These instruments, locally de-

Table 3

Frequency and Percentage Count: Superintendents' Perceptions of Their Own Performance Evaluations*

	1985–86 N = 39	1986–87 N-43	1987–88 N = 29	1988–89** N = 60
Evaluation Discussed In Initial Employment Interview				
no mention	19 (48.7)	13 (30.2)	8 (27.6)	21 (35.0)
briefly mentioned	18 (46.2)	22 (51.2)	16 (55.2)	31 (51.7)
broadly stated	0 (0.0)	2 (4.7)	3 (10.3)	4 (6.7)
specifically defined	2 (2.6)	4 (9.3)	1 (3.4)	4 (6.7)
Self-evaluation				
established instrument	8 (20.5)	5 (11.6)	7 (24.1)	7 (11.7)
self-generated	15 (38.5)	12 (27.9)	10 (34.5)	3 (5.0)
no self-evaluation	16 (41.0)	23 (53.5)	12 (41.4)	52 (86.7)
required by contract	1 (2.6)	1 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	—
Board of Education Evaluation				
established instrument	11 (28.2)	15 (34.9)	7 (24.1)	30 (50.0)
self-generated	18 (46.2)	22 (51.2)	14 (48.3)	29 (48.3)
Evaluative Evidence				
specific performance	8 (20.5)	14 (32.6)	14 (48.3)	12 (20.0)
criteria input from faculty/students	3 (7.7)	4 (9.3)	4 (13.8)	3 (5.0)
Evaluation Procedures				
open-ended responses	12 (30.8)	5 (11.6)	3 (10.3)	—
checklist	28 (71.8)	32 (74.4)	21 (72.4)	—
performance objectives	9 (23.1)	11 (25.6)	8 (27.6)	—
combination of above	8 (20.5)	8 (18.6)	5 (17.2)	—
Value to Superintendent				
meaningful	31 (79.5)	28 (65.1)	19 (65.5)	51 (85.0)
meaningless	6 (15.4)	7 (16.3)	6 (20.7)	8 (13.3)
specific direction from board	7 (17.9)	5 (11.6)	4 (13.8)	25 (41.7)
resulted in leaving job	0 (0.0)	1 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	6 (10.0)

*Percentages total more than 100 because of multiple responses, or less because not all items on the survey are reflected in the data represented here.

**1988–89 respondents were not asked to respond to some items covered in prior years.

veloped for the most part, are now used more consistently but lack reliability and validity. Items or scales utilized on many of the extant instruments are frequently gathered in questionable ways; for example, adopting in whole or in part evaluation instruments used by some other board of education. The quality of a borrowed instrument is always questionable, especially when it makes little reference to performance criteria that respond to local needs and realities. Without any reference to mutually agreed-upon performance expectations, board members are not in a position to make accurate judgments about the most efficient use of the superintendent's time, adequacy of basic management practices and efficiency in addressing local educational priorities. Studies have emphasized the need for administrator evaluation processes driven by clear performance expectations where as specificity increases, ability to reach those criteria increases (Redfern, 1974; Shaefer and Read, 1982).

Additionally, little use was made by Kansas school boards to receive evaluative input from faculty and students—the populations who interrelate most frequently and who are most affected by the superintendent in smaller rural districts. The absence of this data means that boards are deprived of observations from a pool of observers whose observations in the aggregate tend to reduce the individual biases that go unchecked by an exclusive reliance on individual board members' evaluations. The omission of such data led several new Kansas superintendents to conclude that board evaluation of their performance was a totally meaningless exercise.

Of special concern was the sizeable number of new superintendents who felt their boards did not give enough specific direction in the evaluation process. Since all superintendents in the study were new to site and relatively unfamiliar with board and community expectations, they would have welcomed direction toward meeting those needs. In short, superintendents felt their boards did not give them enough guidance. Yet very few anticipated making a job change because of disaffection with evaluation procedures. One must conclude that the inadequacies associated with existing performance assessment procedures are not contributors to higher superintendent turnover rates in Kansas; the reasons must lie elsewhere.

Clinical or Formative Supervision

As the press for school improvement emerged in the early eighties, clinical approaches to supervision were viewed as performance monitoring options with tremendous potential. Clinical supervision in the context of this survey was viewed as up-close supervisory work conducted with teachers in a developmentally focused nonadversarial context (Goldhammer, 1969). That is, the administrator is a coach or helper who actively assists the teacher in becoming a better classroom decision maker. A variety of instructional improvement strategies could be utilized, but all require frequent supervisory contact between teacher and administrator. As seen in Table 4, for two years new-to-site superintendents were asked about the significance they attach to clinical supervision as a vehicle for improved instructional practice. They identified this particular supervisory option as being *important*, possibly reflecting the influence of current university and inservice training as well as a perceived need to be full partners with their teachers in the instructional improvement process. However, clinical approaches to supervision were not identified as a priority need in their own districts, and few had actually implemented such approaches in schools. This disparity between approving of a new approach and then prioritizing it downward in one's own district is highly problematic if one believes that academically effective districts have superintendents that require teachers to teach to a preferred teach-

Table 4

Frequency and Percentage Distribution: New-to-Site Superintendent Perceptions About Clinical Supervision

Related Issues	1987–88 N = 29	1988–89 N = 60
Clinical Supervision Important to Your District?		
Yes	15 (51.7)	48 (80.0)
No	14 (48.3)	11 (18.3)
No Response	—	1 (1.7)
Clinical Supervision Important to Superintendent?		
Yes	23 (79.3)	53 (88.3)
No	6 (20.7)	5 (8.3)
No Response	—	2 (3.3)
District Has Short-term Plans For Implementation?		
Yes	14 (48.3)	35 (58.3)
No	14 (48.3)	24 (40.0)
No Response	1 (3.4)	1 (1.7)
District Has Long-term Plans For Implementation?		
Yes	15 (51.7)	29 (48.3)
No	13 (44.8)	29 (48.3)
No Response	1 (3.4)	2 (3.3)
Principals' Evaluation will include Use of Clinical Supervision?		
Yes	17 (58.6)	41 (68.3)
No	11 (37.9)	16 (26.7)
No Response	1 (3.4)	3 (5.0)

ing model, follow a tightly structured process of teacher and principal evaluation, and frequently (verbally) emphasize achievement of district goals and objectives (Murphy, Hallinger, and Peterson, 1987). LaRocque and Coleman (1986) similarly reported a strong district presence in higher performing school districts with district administrators setting achievement expectations, monitoring school performance data closely, and making school accountability a salient issue in the district.

Since most of the new superintendents categorized their inherited building principal(s) as *basic system maintainers*, it may have been difficult to recast these persons into roles as instructional leaders within the time span of only one year. One can only hope that these Kansas superintendents will be able to upgrade the supervisory skills of present principals or hire new ones with an educational improvement agenda that parallels their own. Follow-up studies over the next several years should shed more light on the issue.

Summary

Superintendency turnover has increased in Kansas over the last five years, but not at a rate that differs dramatically from the average for the nation. New-to-site superintendents in Kansas did not reflect a demographic profile that departed appreciably from their peers elsewhere in the nation. Age, level of education and job experience characteristics paralleled national medians. Kansas did depart rather dramatically from national statistics when gender was the basis of comparison.

Another noteworthy difference was the lack of central office and principalship experience held by many new superintendents serving in the smaller districts that abound in Kansas. Clearly, board expectations for these superintendents assume the central office and principalship functions are totally subsumed by the superintendency. School business management, transportation, curriculum development, instructional supervision, discipline, and parent conferencing are indeed major components in the rural superintendency.

The budget and its defense coupled with board of education evaluation practices were identified as major job irritants by new-to-site superintendents. Concerns about budget would understandably be a source of frustration for any new superintendent since limited opportunity to understand and influence budget development is typically characteristic. Board evaluation practices were frustrating because they frequently did not provide these superintendents with enough direction. Little evidence was provided to support the board's use of commonly agreed-upon performance criteria when assessing superintendent effectiveness. Additionally, little use was made of supplemental information that might reflect student and faculty perceptions of superintendent adequacy.

One emergent pattern observed over the five years of the study was the sharply different perceptions of school problems held by superintendents and citizens. This phenomenon might be attributable to the tendency of superintendents to view their conflicts as internal and bureaucratic rather than external and public (Zeigler, Jennings, and Peak, 1985). The superintendent's attention is directed more narrowly inward to the operations of the district and to the professional relationships with teachers, staff, and other administrators that constitute its working core. There is conflict, to be sure, but it is perceived as being of the professional rather than public variety. The dangers associated with internal focus have been considered by Lutz and Iannaccone (1978) who concluded in a discussion of dissatis-

faction theory of local school governance that the seemingly placid, controlled, and superintendent-managed politics of education can episodically become highly conflictual if educational policies run into a strong community value and thus generate a good deal of political heat. Such a circumstance is more likely to emerge when the superintendent makes little effort to understand the range and depth of community feeling about the schools.

The new-to-site superintendents indicated generally positive perceptions about supervisory options that would address instructional improvement from a more clinical developmental perspective. Unfortunately, clinical approaches were not viewed as a priority concern for their districts. One might conclude that the "backburner status" assigned to clinical supervision reflected the press to address more important things during the first year in a new district. In a study of superintendent control over principals, Peterson (1984) suggests that the major mechanism for control is the selective recruitment and socialization of subordinates according to shared norms and values coupled with common perceptions among principals that they are indirectly being held accountable by the superintendent for results. It could well be that the new-to-site superintendents represented in this study simply did not view themselves as having personnel in place that could run with the demands of a clinically-focused supervisory program. It takes time to develop a sense of mission, to establish a positive climate, and oversee the implementation of that mission (e.g., placing like-minded people in principalships). The authors conclude that this is the scenario for Kansas superintendents. Clinical supervision in its various forms may prove over the long term to be more than a popular fad that failed for lack of commitment—time will tell.

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The issues involved in *Board of Education v Roth* concerning the property rights of non-tenured educators need to be rethought. A dual system of law does not serve the interests of equity.

A Virus in the Ivory Tower?

Steven Cann

A second order consequence is an unintended consequence of a prior event. It can be either good (e.g., the development of digital technology in space flights) or bad (e.g., a whole generation of children who cannot tell time from a clock). Court cases often spawn second order consequences, and that is the subject of this paper.

By limiting a plaintiff's ability to establish a property or liberty interest, the U.S. Supreme Court believed it was doing public employers in general and educational administration in particular a favor with its decision in *Board of Education v Roth* (1972). In this case the Court severely curtailed those situations where the government is required to provide a due process hearing. While to the practiced eye *Roth* and its progeny have results in what judges refer to as 'well settled law,' it is not well understood at all by those who must live by it, and it has created some bizarre second order consequences. The particular second order consequences are creation of a dual legal subsystem, bad personnel decisions, encouragement of disruption, and unnecessary litigation.

Dual Legal Subsystem

In order to appreciate the arguments that follow, the reader should understand the basic elements of the law of public employment as it relates to education. The law that is 'well settled' is that a teacher (at any level) has no right to a pre-termination due process hearing absent a property or liberty interest. The former is generally acquired by obtaining tenure, while the latter can be obtained by damage to reputation or ability to seek other employment in the field. One can also acquire a liberty interest where the decision to terminate employment was primarily motivated by the exercise of a constitutionally protected right. This jurisprudence has created two classes of professional teachers: those with tenure who cannot be terminated without a hearing (and consequently without a reason and supporting evidence) and those untenured teachers who can be terminated and never know why. Indeed, it is poor legal strategy to provide reasons for termination in this latter group. This is true because since they lack the requisite property interest, silence means they will have difficulty attempting to establish the only other legal criterion that might get them into court to force an explanation (a liberty interest). Hence, an almost cabalistic silence surrounds contract nonre-newal and denial of tenure decisions in the academy.

Almost unnoticed, this dual citizenship has caused the courts to apply different kinds of law to teachers as litigants, depending on whether they possess tenure. Tenured litigants get administrative law while untenured litigants get constitutional law. For the tenured teachers this is the case because tenure is the property interest which requires a pre-termination hearing. By its nature that hearing is quasi-judicial in character. A court reviewing the decision of a government agency arrived at through a quasi-judicial hearing will: show deference to the agency's expertise, concentrate on questions of procedure, and apply the substantial evidence test as a standard of review (classic administrative law). Untenured litigants, on the other hand, have only two options if they are going to get a court to review their situation. Since they are presumed not to possess a property interest they could allege a property interest of some other sort (this is possible but unlikely—there is a concept called de facto tenure). The only other option available to them is to allege the primary reason behind the decision to terminate their employment was the exercise of a constitutionally protected right such as freedom of speech, press or association (e.g., union activity). That being the case, there should be no reason to expect court deference to agency expertise, no reason to expect a reviewing court to concentrate on procedural questions, and we should expect a broader standard of review other than whether there is substantial evidence in the record to sustain the decision (because there is no hearing, there is no record). Furthermore, we can expect the court to freely substitute its judgment for that of the decision maker (classic constitutional law).

A LEXIS search of teacher termination cases using key words of 'due process' and 'education' produced a universe of over 1,200 cases from which a random sample of 500 was drawn. The sample showed clear evidence that the above assumptions are correct. Table 1 displays the differences in the legal issues between tenured and non-tenured litigants.

TABLE 1

Legal Issues in Teacher Termination Litigation

ISSUE	TENURED LITIGANTS	UNTENURED LITIGANTS
financial exigency	58 (21%)	5 (2%)
termination for cause	195 (71%)	28 (12%)
civil rights/liberties	11 (4%)	92 (41%)
timely notice	1 (.3%)	37 (16%)
no reason given	3 (1%)	40 (18%)
whether plantiff has tenure	0	20 (9%)
other	6 (2%)	4 (2%)
	274 (55%)	226 (45%) N = 500

The data in Table 1 tends to support the notion that tenured litigants must deal with administrative law while untenured plaintiffs deal with constitutional law. Indeed, each hypothesis regarding tenured cases can be confirmed. In those cases involving winning tenured litigants, in over one-third (36%) of the cases the reviewing court simply looked at the procedure involved, found it lacking, and reversed or remanded. In the remaining two-thirds of the cases involving tenured winners, the court found a lack of substantial evidence to sustain the decision in 26 percent of the cases

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and an arbitrary in 21 percent. The latter may simply reflect choices in judicial terminology, since by definition a decision which lacks substantial evidence to support it is an arbitrary one.

These three types of dispositions account for 86 percent of all cases involving tenured winners. By contrast, cases involving tenured losers were disposed of by the court finding substantial evidence to support the termination decision in a little over one-half of the cases (see Table 2).

Those cases involving untenured litigants also fit the predicted pattern, although for untenured winners procedural dispositions were more common than predicted. Those cases involving untenured winners were disposed of primarily on the basis of insufficient procedure (42%). These are cases where there was no procedure and the court determined that there should have been. Substantive civil rights or civil liberties violations accounted for 32 percent, while arbitrary decisions to terminate constituted 12 percent. Untenured litigants who lost did so in well over one-half of the cases because the court found either no liberty or property interest or no substantive constitutional violation.

TABLE 2

Dispositions in Teacher Termination Cases

	TENURED		UNTENURED	
	winners	losers	winners	losers
Procedural grounds	42 (21%)	21 (14%)	40 (42%)	34 (26%)
Substantial evidence?	31 (26%)	79 (51%)	6 (6%)	3 (2%)
Arbitrary decision?	25 (21%)	41 (26%)	11 (12%)	19 (15%)
Const'l. violation?	7 (6%)	4 (3%)	31 (32%)	74 (57%)
Other	13 (11%)	13 (8%)	8 (8%)	0
	118	156 = 274	96	130 = 226

N = 500

In legal theory, the role of the due process hearing is to reduce the risk of making an arbitrary decision. However, in referring to the data above, it would appear as though the existence of the hearing serves another purpose. That function can be referred to as the "while the cat is away" syndrome and goes as follows: Where an administrator knows that he/she must produce a public reason and supporting evidence to terminate an employee, then normally employees will only be terminated for statutorily permissible reasons. However, absent that same threat of a hearing, that same administrator can (and has) terminated employees for their sexual preference (*Aumiller v University of Delaware*, 1973), teaching marxism (*Duke v North Texas State University*, 1973), criticizing the allocation of funds to athletics (*Pickering v Board of Education*, 1968), discriminatory policies of the school (*Givham v Western Line Consolidated School District*, 1979), scheduling and curriculum decisions (*Eichman v Indiana State University*, 1979), for engaging in union activity (*Simard v Board of Education*, 1973), and for urging fair treatment of minority students (*Bernasconi v Tempe Elementary School District*, 1977)—to mention only the most obvious examples. In point of fact, the existence of a due process hearing can never assure the absence of

arbitrariness in decisionmaking (see *Aumiller v University of Delaware*, 1973; also see *State Employees Retirement System v Industrial Accident Commission*, 1950), but it certainly does appear to have the effect of protecting (and fostering respect?) for employees' constitutional rights.

Bad Personnel Decisions

The case law that has developed around educational employment has caused a good deal of misunderstanding which has led to poor personnel decisions. One of the myths surrounding this jurisprudence is that it is nearly impossible to terminate a teacher once he/she has been granted tenure. However, once it is understood that litigation involving tenured teachers is simple administrative law, then it follows that so long as the procedure is fair on its face and there is enough evidence to support the charge, we can assume that reviewing courts will defer to agency expertise. As Table 3 shows, that is precisely what courts do.

The evidence in Table 3 indicates that once the court is satisfied with the procedure and review moves to the merits, the plaintiff/teacher loses 70 percent of the time. This is probably not a widely known fact because there is much paranoia about termination of tenured faculty among educational administrators.

Bad personnel decisions fall into two categories. The first, discussed above, are those decisions not to terminate tenured faculty who should be terminated. These faculty keep their jobs solely because the administration fears a lawsuit. The second category of poor personnel decisions involves the nonretention of untenured teachers for reasons (usually petty) that have nothing to do with their ability to teach (again refer to Table 1).

TABLE 3
Cases Involving For-Cause Termination of Tenured Faculty

	WINNER		
DISPOSITIONS	plantiff (teacher)	defendant (administration)	
substantial evidence	43 (30%)	98 (70%)	141
Procedural	41 (76%)	13 (24%)	54

The Encouragement of Disruption

While there is a good deal of misunderstanding about the case law, we are after all dealing with one of the best educated subpopulations in the country. It is not lost upon teachers that during probationary employment, one can quietly and competently perform all employment requirements but nonetheless be terminated without a reason and without legal recourse. At the same time they observe similarly situated colleagues who also get terminated during their probationary period but because of public criticism of the administration or union activity, they can (and do) challenge their termination in a court of law (and they win nearly half of their suits).

Most faculty could not articulate it quite so succinctly as Justice Rehnquist did:

A rule of causation which focuses solely on whether protected conduct played a part, substantial or otherwise, in a decision not to rehire, could place an employee in a better position as a result of the exercise of

constitutionally protected conduct than he would have occupied had he done nothing (*Mt. Healthy City School District Board of Education v Doyle*, 1977).

However, they do understand that without tenure if you lose your job and raise hell, you get court review of the decision; while if you do not raise hell, you get no court review and no explanation—you only get silence and unemployment.

So that the reader can better appreciate the irony that the (C)ourt has created with this line of cases, what follows is a not-so-hypothetical example. Professor X was an untenured teacher at a state university. He suspected a student of plagiarism on a term paper, did a little research, and was able to document the plagiarism. He failed the student (who had a teaching job arranged pending the completion of the degree at the end of the term), but the student happened to be the son-in-law of a friend of the Academic Vice President. The VP put pressure on the dean to put pressure on Professor X, who resisted it. Finally Professor X was told that he would never be granted tenure if he did not pass the student. He refused. At this point had Professor X done nothing, the administration would have quietly changed the grade (which they did regardless) and issued the professor a terminal contract (which they did). The professor would still have had his integrity and the satisfaction of being right but nothing else. He would be out of a job and his protests would be met with silence and denial and he would be unable to establish either the property or liberty interest necessary for court review. Fortunately for justice, Professor X had observed this jurisprudence at work before, so he knew what must be done. Though never particularly pro-union before, he got involved in union politics. After achieving elected office in the union, he made a speech critical of the administration on the steps of the administration building (the press was invited). He was indeed given a terminal contract, but because of his union activity he won a sizeable jury award and recently the state's appellate court awarded him reinstatement (*Hale v Walsh*, 1987).

There is no way to get around the fact that throughout probationary employment the only protection a public employee has against an arbitrary administrator is to publicly attack that administration. This is surely not a sound state of affairs for government generally and education in particular.

Unnecessary Litigation

There are three kinds of cases that probably would not get litigated if probationary public employees were entitled to a pre-termination due process hearing. The first category already discussed above involves those untenured teachers who are not retained primarily because they engaged in constitutionally protected behavior that upset an administrator. Whether it was ever utilized or not, the mere existence of a due process hearing would nearly eliminate these situations (refer again to Table 1). It appears as though the mere existence of the hearing modifies administrative behavior in a more constitutional direction.

The second category of unnecessary litigation is closely related to the first. These cases result from reasonable decisions not to retain untenured personnel and the corollary refusal to provide an explanation. In these situations the plaintiff believes that the primary motive for the decision not to retain was the exercise of a constitutionally protected right, but in court the administration raises a successful 'same decision anyway' defense. The case of *Cook County Community College v Byrd* (1972) is a good example. The plaintiffs were two untenured teachers whose contracts were not renewed and they were not told why. Both

had been active in the teachers' union, both had opposed the reappointment of the individual who was eventually reappointed as the department chairperson. both had publicly criticized racism and the use of city police on campus. At trial the defendant administration produced five objective criteria upon which retention decisions are made and indicated how the plaintiffs did not measure up. Basically, one of the plaintiffs did not possess the appropriate degree and the other had not published in the fifteen years since obtaining his doctorate. Not only is this a classic example of 'same decision anyway' defense, but it is also a classic example of how not to administer personnel. It is also ludicrous that at no time were the plaintiffs apprised of dissatisfaction with their performance on the criteria. This kind of personnel administration is fostered and encouraged by the court's jurisprudence in this area of the law.

In any case, it is not unreasonable to assume that had there been some type of pre-termination hearing, this case would never have gone all the way to trial. Indeed, no complaint would have been filed. Finally, there are a sizeable number of frivolous cases, usually dismissed at an early stage, where the plaintiff is unable to establish either a liberty or property interest (38 cases (17%) of all untenured suits in this random sample). Indeed, these 38 cases, plus the 31 cases where untenured plaintiffs prevailed in their First Amendment claims plus the 11 successful 'same decision anyway' cases, constitute 35 percent of all the untenured lawsuits. Most of those would never have been litigated had there been a due process requirement.

Conclusion

Even though this discussion has focused on educational employment, it should be noted that the problems discussed above apply to the law of public employment generally. Almost all public employees serve for a specific period of time as probationary employees during which they are considered not to have a continuing expectation of employment. Consequently there is no property interest. Hence, absent the ability to assert a liberty interest, they can be treated unfairly and/or fired and have no right to know why. There is no legal recourse to force an explanation.

In most public employment situations, probationary employment is a matter of months, but in educational employment it is years. The average probationary employment in primary and secondary education is three years. At the college level it averages five or six years, but can approach ten years. To create a doctrine of law that says a person who has taught for over five years has no expectation of continuing employment and consequently no right to a pre-termination hearing is to convolute the spirit of the due process clause so that only a lawyer could justify it. There is a virus loose in the academy. But it could be cured by a reversal of *Roth* and the establishment of due process rights for public employees.

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Endnote

Justice Rehnquist at the time was lamenting the legal proposition that an untenured teacher whom the administration had intended to terminate for apparently good reason should not be able to 'save' himself simply because he had exercised a constitutionally protected right which played a part in the decision. This caused the Court to create the 'same decision anyway' defense (even if the exercise of a constitutionally protected right was a substantial factor in a decision to terminate an untenured faculty if the administration can demonstrate that it would have reached the same decision anyway, allowing the termination to be upheld). Of course, what one finds depends on how one looks, so the quote by Justice Rehnquist is as apropos today as it was before he discovered the 'same decision anyway' defense. The fact remains that if one can raise a constitutional allegation one gets a court review, whereas if one quietly does one's job and gets terminated, there is no court review (and no explanation either).

All Grown Up and No Place to Go: Teenagers in Crisis

by David Elkind. New York: Addison Publishing Company, 1984.

With the 'hurried children' of his earlier book now grown into highly stressed teenage adults, David Elkind continues to warn parents and educators of the escalating human costs of hurrying young people to grow up too fast. In both his books Elkind, a child psychologist, argues for increasing the energy and protection allocated to the period of childhood. Elkind asks parents to hold fast to the time, expectations, and regulations they set to help children and teenagers master the growth rituals and trappings of their age and maturity levels.

Elkind says that we have thrust teenagers too early into challenges of adult life. This condition of premature adulthood steals from them their opportunity and time to construct a personal identity. It impairs the formation of self-definition and leaves teenagers psychologically crippled and unable to meet the challenges of adult life. Both personal suffering and many of the social problems of the nineties are attributable to the pressures of youth attempting to meet adult challenges too early. Suicide, substance abuse, running away, and dropping out of school are the results.

Teenagers are not miniature adults. They are not capable of carrying adult responsibilities. Nor are they children whose subservience can be taken for granted. "We expect them to be grown up in all those domains where we cannot or do not want to maintain control. But in other domains, such as attending school, we expect our teenagers to behave like obedient children." Parents too caught up in their own lives give too little time and attention to their youth at the time when they need it most. According to Elkind, few adults are committed anymore to helping teenagers experience the measured, controlled introductions to healthy adulthood. Young people are denied the recognition and protections that society previously accorded the adolescent age group. The special stage belonging to teenagers has been excised from the life cycle, and teenagers have been given a *pro forma* adulthood—an adulthood with all the responsibilities but few of the prerogatives. "Young people today are quite literally all grown up with no place to go."

Using examples from his years of clinical practice and excerpts from popular teenage literature, Elkind presents *All Grown Up With No Place to Go* as a three part argument: Part 1, Needed, A Time to Grow; Part 2, Given, A Premature Adulthood; and Part 3, Result, Stress, and its Aftermath. Also included is an appendix which lists available services for troubled teenagers. Throughout, Elkind pleads for the return of traditional values and growth traditions. He emphasizes the importance of maturity markers—external signs of the 'stages of life's way' (Kierkegaard). Elkind says these markers confirm socially as well as individually the passage from one life stage to another.

Without markers, he says children and teenagers experience great psychological stress and social displacement. He says much of the gratification of reaching new markers is increased social acceptance and public recognition which accrues from progress and growth. Elkind cautions us to protect our society's time-recognized transition points: graduations, bar mitzvahs, first cars, first dates, proms, etc. Elkind says markers protect teenagers against stress. Markers lessen the kinds of stress teenagers have to encounter. Markers help teenagers attain a clear self-definition because they know where they are and what is expected. Markers reduce stress by supplying rules, limits, taboos, and prohibitions that teenagers need to help them avoid inappropriate decisions and choices.

Elkind's argument is convincing. It is also jargon-free and straightforward. He wants adults to allow children to remain children. He says their lives depend on it as does the preservation of our society as we know it. For Elkind, time spent giving one-to-one attention and positive modeling by caring adults such as parents and educators are the critical elements needed for teenagers to develop. At a time when the problems of teenagers and at risk youth are pervading the literature, this book is especially important because it does offer answers and hope. Kids are still kids. As adults, we need to protect their rights and give them time to make mistakes—time to grow up.

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Miseducation: Preschoolers at Risk

by David Elkind. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988.

For the past several decades, Elkind has been a consistent advocate for the developmental needs of young children. In this publication he draws our attention to the 'miseducation' of young children and the risk factors associated with these approaches. Just what does Elkind mean by the terms miseducation' and 'preschoolers at risk'? In the first chapter he presents his argument for the book's title:

> When we instruct children in academic subjects, or in swimming, gymnastics, or ballet at too early an age, we miseducate them; we put them at risk for short-term stress and long-term personality damage for no useful purpose. There is no evidence that such early instruction has lasting benefits, and considerable evidence that it can do lasting harm (pp. 3–4).

The reasons for contemporary miseducation of young children are traced to the changing values, size and structure of American families and to increased competitive pressures experienced by parents and educators in the 1980s. This

cultural influence supports miseducation among those parents who are confident that they can make a difference in their children's lives by giving them early formal instruction to make them brighter and more competent than their peers. Extreme examples of this dynamic are reading programs for infants, flashcards for toddlers, and drill and memorization activities for preschoolers. The influence of changes within American families is especially evident among today's middle class families with low birth rates. In these families, one or two children are the norm and are, in Elkind's estimation, particularly vulnerable to the competitive pressures that current prevail within this cohort group. The reader is also presented with a more than convincing description of the potential harm of developmentally inappropriate learning experiences for children under the age of eight. Short-term harmful consequences include increased stress from being pushed too hard too soon. Long-term consequences include increased levels of obsessions, compulsions, psychosomatic symptoms and decreased interest in learning and education. Elkind's greatest concern for this treatment of miseducation centers on public education. He points out that "public education is increasingly guilty of putting children at risk for no purpose by exposing them to formal instruction before they are ready" (p. 9).

What, then, does Elkind advise for the appropriate education of children younger than eight? We are asked to re-consider the world of the child; to remind ourselves of just how inexperienced young children are and how much they have to learn. We are also reminded that healthy education for children is based on the support and encouragement of spontaneous learning. In the writer's view, "early instruction miseducates, not because it attempts to treat the wrong things at the wrong time" but because " . . . when we ignore what the child has to learn and impose what we want to teach, we put infants and young children at risk for no purpose" (p. 25).

Elkind's value as a researcher is greatly enhanced by the eloquence and clarity of his writing. As in his other publications (e.g., *The Hurried* Child), he continues to raise issues of great concern in the area of children's wellbeing. Fortunately for both parents and educators, Elkind not only raises concerns about miseducation of young children, but he also clearly describes how to provide appropriate education. His stress in the importance of developmentally appropriate experiences and learning environments for young children is a welcomed addition to the advocacy efforts of professional groups such as the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC).

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