DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 271 839 EA 018 616

AUTHOR McLaughlin, Milbrey W.; Pfeifer, R. Scott
TITLE Teacher Evaluation: Learning for Improvement and Accountability and Case Studies.
INSTITUTION Stanford Univ., CA. Stanford Education Policy Inst.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO SEPI-86-5; SEPI-86-5A
PUB DATE Jan 86
GRANT NIE-G-83-0003
NOTE 253p.
AVAILABLE FROM Publication Sales, Stanford Education Policy Institute, CERAS Building 402S, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305 ($5.00).
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Serials (022) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Accountability; *Case Studies; Educational Environment; Educational Improvement; Elementary Secondary Education; *Evaluation Methods; Evaluation Problems; Incentives; Motivation Techniques; Organizational Development; *Organizational Effectiveness; School Districts; School Organization; Self Evaluation (Groups); *Staff Development; Teacher Administrator Relationship; *Teacher Evaluation; *Teacher Improvement; Teacher Response

ABSTRACT

The study reported in this paper builds upon earlier research designed to examine issues associated with initiating an effective teacher evaluation effort and integrating it into district practices. The paper describes four districts which have made substantial progress in initiating and organizing teacher evaluation programs and presents the view that teacher evaluation is primarily an organizational problem, not a technical one. Introductory comments suggest that evaluation is central to teaching quality and educational reform but that interest in evaluation far outruns the level of effective practice. The four districts that successfully began programs are briefly described in chapter 2, as are lessons offered by the organizational processes involved. Chapter 3, "Organizational Change for Teacher Evaluation," analyzes factors that promote implementation of evaluation programs, including trust between teachers and administrators and commitment to organizational improvement. Enabling conditions that combine to set the stage for a meaningful program are: a triggering event, environmental stability, strong leadership, and active teacher involvement. Chapter 4, "Evaluation Processes and Procedures," concludes that, for most districts, teacher evaluation requires fundamental organizational change in values and practices. Chapter 5, "Accountability and Improvement: Outcomes of Evaluation," details multiple outcomes associated with practices that have enabling characteristics. The conclusion discusses enabling conditions, planning and implementation strategies, and self-evaluation activities. Twenty-six references are given. An addendum to the report contains five appendices, the first describing the study methodology and the other four presenting data gathered during program implementation in three California school districts--Santa Clara Unified, Mountain View-Los Altos, and Moraga--and one district in North Carolina, Charlotte-Mecklenberg. Included are descriptions of each district's setting, evaluation program strategy, staff development and teacher evaluation outcomes, remaining obstacles to overcome, and policy context. (CJH)

SEPI

STANFORD EDUCATION POLICY INSTITUTE

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

86-SEPI-5

TEACHER EVALUATION: LEARNING FOR IMPROVEMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Milbrey W. McLaughlin
R. Scott Pfeifer

January 1986

86-SEPI-5

TEACHER EVALUATION: LEARNING FOR IMPROVEMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Milbrey W. McLaughlin
R. Scott Pfeifer

January 1986

Milbrey W. McLaughlin is Associate Professor of Education and Associate Director of the Stanford Education Policy Institute (formerly the Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance), Stanford University.

R. Scott Pfeifer is a doctoral candidate in the School of Education, Stanford University.

The research reported here was conducted with funds from the Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance under a grant from the National Institute of Education (Grant NIE-G-83-0003). The analyses and conclusions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of either Institute.

STANFORD EDUCATION POLICY INSTITUTE

The Stanford Education Policy Institute (SEPI) conducts research on current and emerging concerns in education policy. SEPI strives to produce timely reports responsive to the needs of policymakers, practitioners, scholars and other members of the education policy community. Present work focuses on four critical areas:

- the education of children at risk;
- the quality of teaching and effective schooling;
- education and industry; and
- the effectiveness of the education policy system.

To develop a more complete understanding of the problems and and issues in these areas, SEPI draws its researchers from such diverse disciplines as economics, sociology, political science, history, anthropology, psychology and law. SEPI is administered through the School of Education at Stanford University, and succeeds the Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance (IFG).

ABSTRACT

Evaluation of teachers' performance sits at the heart of general concerns about the quality of the nation's teachers, the instruction available to youngsters, and educators' accountability for the outcome of schooling. Teacher evaluation also is central to popular proposals for reform. But the level of interest in teacher evaluation far outruns the level of effective practice. There is broad agreement that teacher evaluation as practiced in most school districts is pro forma, meaningless, and ineffective—an irritating, administrative ritual that functions neither as a tool for quality improvement nor as an instrument of accountability.

This study builds upon research carried out by the Rand Corporation and the Northwest Laboratory to examine issues associated with initiating an effective teacher evaluation effort and integrating it into district practices. The paper presents the view that teacher evaluation is primarily an organizational problem, not a technical one. The authors describe four districts which have made substantial progress in initiating a significant teacher evaluation program and which offer valuable lessons about the organizational processes associated with teacher evaluation. The paper concludes with a discussion of the enabling conditions, planning and implementation strategies, and evaluation activities that work together to promote accountability and improvement in teacher evaluation systems.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A study such as this one is not possible without the interest, cooperation, candor, and support of those individuals who are part of the inquiry. We are indebted to the many administrators and teachers in Santa Clara, Mountain View-Los Altos, Moraga and Charlotte for their open and insightful responses to our questions about teacher evaluation in their district--how their program came to be, its strong and weak points, its accomplishments and shortcomings. The commitment of these individuals to teacher evaluation and to learning from experience is extraordinary.

We also have benefitted from the good sense, wisdom and critical insight of our Stanford colleagues, Edwin Bridges, Robert Calfee and Larry Cuban. Each of these professors has strong and active involvement in education policy and practice and each provided essential reference and review throughout.

While this project would not have been possible without the support and participation of all these helpful people, they are of course in no way responsible for its shortcomings.

The National Institute of Education supported this project through Stanford's Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance.

TEACHER EVALUATION: LEARNING FOR IMPROVEMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY

by

Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin
R. Scott Pfeifer

Stanford University

I. INTRODUCTION

THE TEACHER EVALUATION PROBLEM

Few school districts or state legislatures have failed to take up the topic of teacher evaluation. Evaluation of teachers' performance, in one form or the other, sits at the heart of general concerns about the quality of the nation's teachers, the instruction available to youngsters, and educators' accountability for the outcomes of schooling. Teacher evaluation also is central to popular proposals for reform. Initiatives such as merit pay, career ladders, or mentor teacher programs all assume a meaningful, valid system for assessing the performance of teachers.

The level of interest in teacher evaluation far outruns the level of effective practice. There is broad agreement that teacher evaluation as practiced in most school districts is pro forma, meaningless, and ineffective--an irritating, administrative ritual that functions neither as a tool for quality improvement nor as an instrument of accountability (Bridges, forthcoming; Wise, et al., 1984; Stiggins and Bridgeford, 1985; Harris, 1985.)

Diagnoses of ineffective teacher evaluation strategies center largely on technical issues of reliability and validity, and focus on inventing better teacher evaluation instruments. Debate is heated, for example, about scales appropriate to assess teachers' performance (three point? five point?), about performance criteria and standards (professional contributions? student outcomes? curricular content? teacher behavior?), and about the evidence to be gathered (classroom observations? student work? student achievement scores? peer assessments?)

The prevailing view thus focuses on instruments and measures in an effort to understand what is wrong with current teacher evaluation strategies and to identify ways to make them better. Another perspective, however, suggests that this diagnosis misspecifies the paramount problem of initiating and sustaining effective teacher evaluation strategies. This perspective argues that teacher evaluation is primarily, at root, an organizational not a technical problem. Our research adopts this organizational view in an effort to learn more about the problems and consequences of teacher evaluation.

The effectiveness of any teacher evaluation system depends finally upon the responses of those evaluated--teachers--and of those doing the evaluation--administrators--to the purposes and strategies of evaluation. Is evaluation taken seriously? Do teachers attend to evaluation findings? Is it "safe" to change? Do teachers and administrators believe that evaluation can make an important contribution to the quality of educational services in the district?

Evaluation engenders anxiety and defensiveness among those evaluated. A meaningful evaluation efforts requires at a minimum a hospitable institutional setting. Our research joins that of organization theorists (e.g. March and Olsen, 1976; Kerr and Solcum, 1981; Etzioni, 1975; Argyris, 1982) to suggest that the responses of teachers and administrators to a teacher evaluation plan depend firstly not on the teacher evaluation instrument, but on the extent to which a district's organizational environment exhibits:

- o mutual trust between teachers and administrators
- o open channels communication
- o commitment to individual and institutional learning
- o visibility of evaluation activities and associated learning efforts.

These four factors comprise the organizational enabling conditions that play a significant role in determining the extent to which choices about design or instrumentation can make a difference to the success of a teacher evaluation effort. These conditions can be seen as markers of an institution's climate or organizational setting that supports teacher learning and growth through evaluation.

The significance of each enabling condition is rooted in the institutional climate that supports evaluation processes and goals. Trust is a critical component of this climate. Teachers need to trust that evaluation will be fair, credible and non-punitive, that is, not used only for negative purposes. Administrators need to trust that teachers will be candid and

supportive of efforts to promote classroom quality. Open, two-way communication between teachers and administrators is essential to this trust as well as to action based on evaluation findings.

Likewise, horizontal communication among teachers and among administrators provides critical reinforcement for the process of evaluation and development; it also contributes to the processes of learning for individuals and the institution itself. Trust and communication must be joined by individual and institutional commitment to make evaluation work—commitment to expose one's self to the risks and the inspection that are part of a strong evaluation system, commitment to act on the results, and at the institutional level, commitment to support a positive response to evaluation findings.

All of these conditions assume a high level of visibility for evaluation and its purposes. Evaluation and the activities associated with need to be perceived as central to the institution's norms of operation, expectations for behavior, and incentive system. Otherwise, the risks, time, energy, and institutional trade-offs that are an inevitable part of a vital, effective evaluation system are likely to swamp the perceived benefits.

How often are these enabling conditions present in school districts around the country? Seldom. Most school districts evoke quite different terms. Trust between teachers and administrators is low; hostility and defensiveness is the norm (e.g Herndon, 1985). Communication among actors in the school

system typically is closed, particularly around issues of evaluation (e.g. Lawton, et al, 1985). Instead of frankness, administrators and teachers too often attempt to hide errors, and to hide the fact that they are hiding errors. Vertical communication is hampered by the channel static associated with low trust, and so messages travelling from top to bottom often are ignored or heard only selectively (e.g. Glidewell and McLean, 1983). Horizontal communication among teachers and administrators is sporadic since both are isolated in their classrooms and schools (e.g. Lortie, 1969).

The consequences of these attitudes and behaviors for teacher evaluation are distancing on the part of teachers from the sources of information that could promote learning and examination, and unwillingness on the part of all actors to take evaluation seriously. In most districts, teacher evaluation is perceived as a no-win activity for all involved, and teacher evaluation becomes just another annoying burden.

Moving from defensiveness to trust, from a self-sealing system to an open system of communication, from norms of hiding error to norms of inquiry and risk-taking, moving from viewing evaluation as a pro forma necessity to seeing evaluation as a central feature of a school system's organization poses an organizational change problem of the highest order (Argyris, 1982 elaborates the notion of a "self-sealing system".) For most school districts, effecting the organizational conditions necessary for successful introduction and conduct of a strong teacher evaluation system--creating a climate for evaluation--

requires change in deeply held organizational governing values and fundamental modification in the behavioral strategies that characterize institutional activity. These requirements for change extend far beyond the marginal adjustments sufficient for many change efforts (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). They involve what organizational theorists call the "unfreezing" of an institution's core values, norms and expectations (Lewin, 1938). This research explores this process and the evaluation efforts associated with it.

THE FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

This study builds upon research carried out by the Rand Corporation (Wise, et al., 1984) and the Northwest Laboratory (Stiggins and Bridgeford, 1984) to examine issues associated with initiating an effective teacher evaluation effort and integrating it into district practices. Simply getting started with a meaningful teacher evaluation is the issue before most school districts. We wanted, then, to look at districts that appeared to have made progress on that critical first step.

Beyond that, we were interested in examining evaluation systems that tried to join accountability and improvement goals. Practitioners, policymakers and researchers disagree about whether or not a single evaluation system can serve both accountability and improvement goals. Some say that a single plan cannot combine carrots and sticks. Others assert that these goals are fundamentally compatible because of their common grounding in the norms and values of the profession. We designed this study to examine this important issue by looking at

practices and consequences in districts attempting to join accountability and improvement.

Given the state-of-the-art in teacher evaluation, it is not surprising that we were unable to find any models of well-developed, smoothly functioning teacher evaluation programs. We did find, however, four districts which had made substantial progress in initiating a significant teacher evaluation program, that could offer valuable lessons about the organizational processes associated with teacher evaluation. These districts also have made serious attempts to address both accountability and improvement purposes with their evaluation plan, and so furnish valuable insight about the possibilities and problems of joining learning and control in one evaluation plan.

Based on nominations received from other researchers in the field, local superintendents, and knowledgeable California State Education Agency personnel, we selected four school districts for this study:

- The Santa Clara Unified School District (SCUSD), Santa Clara, California;
- The Mountain View-Los Altos Union High School District (MVLA), Mountain View, California;
- The Moraga School District, Moraga, California;
- The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, Charlotte, North Carolina.

In selecting these districts, we also considered demographic criteria, fiscal capacity, district size and context, prior evaluation practices, the model of teacher evaluation in use, and its degree of implementation. Our sample varies significantly on these important contextual and strategic dimensions and so

is well-suited to assist our understanding about the problem of initiating and carrying out meaningful teacher evaluation, and to provide insights about the individual and institutional consequences associated with teacher evaluation.

Appendix A describes our study's methodology. The case studies comprise Appendixes B,C, D and E.

Chapter II presents brief sketches of the districts included in this study; the problems of organizational change associated with teacher evaluation are addressed in Chapter III. Chapter IV discusses the elements of evaluation design that emerged as central to a successful evaluation system. The consequences of substantive teacher evaluation are examined in Chapter V. Chapter VI summarizes the findings of this study and presents conclusions to inform teacher evaluation policy and practice.

II. FOUR DISTRICTS IN BRIEF

The four districts we visited differ in size, resources, management styles, institutional context for change, present and past teacher evaluation efforts. They also differ the developmental stage of their teacher evaluation system. However, all of four districts have, with varying degrees of success, addressed the enabling conditions associated with teacher evaluation and all have attempted to install teacher evaluation practices that promote both accountability and improvement. The details of each district's experiences with teacher evaluation provide the data for the analysis and argument presented in subsequent chapters. Following is a brief sketch of each district and its teacher evaluation effort. (Full case studies are presented in a separate volume) Table One, which follows these sketches, summarizes district practices and context.

SANTA CLARA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

The Santa Clara Unified School District, composed of approximately 13,000 students in 20 schools, lies in the heart of the Silicon Valley south of San Francisco. The district's enrollment has declined steadily over the past decade, necessitating 15 school closures and two major district reorganizations. Teachers and community members attribute SCUSD's present fiscal health to the excellent management skills of the superintendent, Rudi Gatti, and the climate of "shared governance" he fosters within the district.

SCUSD has modeled its teacher evaluation system after that developed in the Salt Lake City Public Schools by former

superintendent Donald Thomas (See Wise, et al., op. cit. for a description of the Salt Lake City strategy). The backbone of the Santa Clara evaluation system is the remediation process to which principals may assign teachers they judge to be performing inadequately. To be referred for formal remediation, a teacher must receive a less than satisfactory rating for one year, and their principal must demonstrate that they have provided appropriate assistance at the school site.

If referred for formal remediation, the teacher and the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel mutually select two to three teachers who comprise a remediation team. These individuals have access to any district resources they deem necessary to assist them in supervising the teacher and helping them to improve their performance, including workshops, training materials, and substitute days for observation and conferencing. Strict confidentiality is maintained. At the end of the 60 day remediation period, the team recommends the teacher's continued employment or dismissal. Over the past decade, approximately 26 individuals have undergone formal remediation. At the end of the process, one-half of them elected to resign; one-half continued successfully in the classroom.

For the majority of teachers in SCUSD, evaluation is similar to that found in most California school districts. It occurs on a two-year cycle and involves a goal setting process, a minimum of two classroom observations, and post conferences. Teachers receive a rating of "Effective," or "Needs Improvement" in each of seven categories of professional competence based on data collected by the principal. In the event of deficiency, the

principal constructs an informal remediation program to assist the teacher. Continued deficiency results in a referral for formal remediation.

Attention to formal remediation by building administrators has waned recently; only one teacher has been referred for remediation over the past two years. The amount of time devoted to evaluation activity varies somewhat from school to school. Although teacher evaluation has been and continues to be a district priority goal in Santa Clara Unified, more pressing concerns over the past several years--declining enrollments, fiscal retrenchment, district reorganizations, and curricular reform--have become active priorities that have demanded explicit administrative attention that was once focused on evaluation. Superintendent Gatti considers teacher evaluation to be the bedrock of his shared governance approach to district management, and he has publically committed himself to reviewing all evaluation reports in the coming year in an effort to once again make teacher evaluation an active priority in the district.

The average age of teachers in SCUSD is 47. Recently, in an effort to address the developmental needs of this veteran workforce, and improve the instructional leadership skills of building administrators, the district initiated a comprehensive program of staff development based on Madeline Hunter's instructional theory into practice approach. Entitled Effective Instruction and Support (EIS), the program introduces participants to the theory of lesson design and requires them to put it into practice under the tutelage of a trained coach.

Presently, all administrators, including central office staff, have participated, along with 60% of the district's teachers. Eventually, all teachers will complete the EIS program, which superintendent Gatti hopes can serve as the focus of the district's teacher evaluation program.

Santa Clara Unified School District provides a helpful example of a particular, well-developed approach to evaluation--peer-based remediation. In addition, the experience of this district permits us to examine the systemic effects of changed administrative attention to an established teacher evaluation strategy.

MOUNTAIN VIEW-LOS ALTOS UNION HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICT

The Mountain View-Los Altos Union High School District serves approximately 3,000 students in two high schools located in an affluent community that straddles the Silicon Valley area in the San Francisco bay area. Approximately 85% of these students attend college upon graduation, and their achievement test scores are well above California averages.

Ever since the passage more than a decade ago of the state's Stull Act, a bill requiring local school districts to evaluate teachers, Mountain View/Los Altos has approached the topic of teacher evaluation in both a serious and experimental manner. In the 70's, teachers engaged in collegial evaluation. They also developed a survey form by which students could evaluate their teachers. The initiation of collective bargaining within the district brought an end to collegial evaluation, but the student

survey, many times revised, still serves as one of several sources of data administrators use in evaluating teacher performance.

Multiple sources of information to increase the reliability and validity of evaluative feedback, coupled with a tight linkage to district staff development efforts, define Mountain View/Los Altos's teacher evaluation system. Teachers begin the bi-annual evaluation cycle by setting instructional goals consistent with district standards and the content of recent district-wide staff development programs. Three classroom observations coupled with post-conferences provide partial documentation of the teacher's success or failure to attain stated goals. Other sources of data include:

- o Student survey results from two of the teacher's classes,
- o Grading distributions, which are compared to across grade level and departments,
- o Student work samples submitted by the teacher,
- o Teacher-made products such as worksheets and tests, and
- o Additional material jointly agreed to by the teacher and his/her prime evaluator.

Evaluators employ their own judgment in weighting these data; no standard formula is used. Administrators assemble the available data at year's end and construct lengthy, narrative, final reports which assess the teacher's strengths and weaknesses on the chosen objectives. Conclusions and recommendations must be rigorously documented.

The district has supported administrators in developing their evaluative skill by devoting a substantial portion of each year's week-long administrative workshop over the past 9 years to evaluation topics. Recently, the district secured a grant from a

local foundation to design and implement a series of staff development workshops keyed to the evaluation system. Based on an analysis of recent teacher evaluation reports, the district offered six different workshops, taught by Mountain View/Los Altos teachers, on topics ranging from classroom management to the development of higher order thinking skills. Staff development and teacher evaluation remain tightly coordinated within the district.

The superintendent, Paul Sakomoto, considers evaluation the number one administrative priority in the district, and backs up this belief by personally observing over 90% of Mountain View's teachers each year, as well as reading and commenting on every teacher evaluation report produced by administrators.

Over the past eight years, 29 unsatisfactory evaluations have been given to 18 teachers within the district, which represents approximately 7% of the teaching workforce. Ten of these individuals were induced to voluntarily resign, with the remainder following remediation plans coupled to local staff development efforts that enabled them to earn a satisfactory rating on a subsequent evaluation. As we discuss later, our interviews also suggest that feedback on performance generated by the teacher evaluation system motivated even highly effective teachers to reflect on their performance and improve.

Recently, however, relations between administrators and teachers have become strained, in part because of increased district-level emphasis on due-process and the legal aspects of teacher evaluation. This strain can also be traced to the inclusion of a clause in the collective bargaining agreement

which states that a teacher who receives two successive unsatisfactory ratings will not receive any salary improvement. The Mountain View experience thus provides an important example of an evaluation strategy built on multiple sources of information, including student reports, and also furnishes insight about the effects of employing expanded notions of improvement and accountability in implementing a teacher evaluation process.

MORAGA SCHOOL DISTRICT

The Moraga School District is a small, elementary school district composed of two elementary schools and one intermediate school that together serve 1400 students. Parents in this bedroom community outside of Oakland, California play an active role in their children's education. The local education foundation annually raises over $70,000 in private funds to support Moraga's schools, and over 200 parents serve as volunteers during the school day to support instructional efforts.

Prior to the arrival of the current superintendent, Judith Glickman, teachers and building administrator within the district viewed teacher evaluation as a punitive, biased, tool selectively used to deny teachers merit salary increments in their 18th and 23rd year of service. Evaluation was a source of dissatisfaction for all, and contributed to an overall climate of distrust and poor communication between teachers, the school board, and district administrators.

Glickman set out to construct a positive, instructional climate within the district by conducting personal interviews with every teacher in the district on a yearly basis. She involved building administrators as part of her management team, and solicited participation in district decision making. Most importantly, she tackled the problem of declining teaching effectiveness not through the district's merit pay provision, but through a district-wide staff development initiative that she coupled to a revised teacher evaluation system.

Moraga teachers and administrators taught their peers the lesson design theories of Madeline Hunter in a week long workshop held for two consecutive summers. Concurrently, administrators received clinical supervision training. Combining both programs enabled administrators and teachers to discuss the elements of instructional effectiveness in concrete terms, and engage in a process of evaluation that focused on improvement. In contrast to past, informal evaluation practices, the current system is more formalized, and administrators are held strictly accountable for evaluation results. Pre-observation conferences are now standard, written script-tapes accompany each observation, and principals carefully plan post-conferences, which set expectations for future performance.

Declining enrollments have forced many teacher lay-offs in recent years in Moraga. But the number of involuntary lay-offs has been reduced due to Glickman's efforts to make teacher evaluation and accountability as well as an improvement tool. Over the past four years, 10% of the district's teachers have

been induced to resign as a direct result of evaluative feedback coupled to district-wide staff development efforts. And rather than produce dissatisfaction in the remaining teachers, the last four years have brought about a marked increase in teachers' perceptions of the fairness of evaluation. Relations between teachers and administrators in the district are stronger tha they have been for many years.

Moraga contributes an important perspective on the problems of initiating a teacher evaluation program, especially in the context of unfavorable organizational conditions, and the attendant problems of changing fundamental attitudes and beliefs about the role of evaluation and the priorities of administrators. In many ways, Moraga represents the most typical case of teacher evaluation reform examined in this study.

CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, a large, urban public system, serves approximately 72,000 students who live in the city of Charlotte, North Carolina and surrounding Mecklenburg county. The district may be best known for its model approach to desegregation more than a decade ago, and this spirit of pride and progressivism still pervades the system. More recently, Charlotte achieved prominence for its commitment to staff development training (see Schlechty and Crowell, 1982), and these efforts culminated in the design and implementation of a model career ladder program for teachers entitled "The Career

Development Program." Career Development incorporates staff development, teacher evaluation, and curriculum development in a comprehensive program of professional growth, career advancement, and incentive pay designed to both attract and retain effective teachers.

Impending action by the North Carolina legislature on a state-wide merit pay plan for teachers prompted Charlotte superintendent Jay Robinson to charge a committee of local teachers, administrators, parents, and business leaders to investigate the concept and its implications at the local level. Convinced that merit pay, as currently conceived, would be detrimental to Charlotte teachers and students, the committee, under the leadership of Phillip Schlechty, professor of education at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, recommended the development of a comprehensive plan for professional growth that incorporated career stages of increasing responsibility, rigorous performance evaluation, and incentive pay, and that would draw upon the district's demonstrated commitment to staff development. The major innovation in the proposed Career Development program involved a unique approach to evaluation, and a steering committee composed of teachers, administrators, and union officials began a year-long process of soliciting teacher and community input and support for a radical redesign of professional responsibility within the district.

Participation in the Career Development Program is voluntary for experienced teachers, but all new recruits must join. New teachers are referred to as provisional teachers, and those experienced volunteers chosen to participate in the first year are

known as Career Candidates. Evaluating the teacher's performance is the primary responsibility of a school based committee called an advisory/assessment team, composed of the principal, the assistant principal for instruction (API), and a fellow teacher. For provisional teachers, the fellow teacher is assigned, acting as a mentor. These individuals meet periodically with the teacher, helping them to construct a program of professional improvement, called an Action Growth Plan, and brokering available staff development resources to support them in achieving this plan. The advisory/assessment team also conducts periodic formal and informal observations of the teacher's classroom performance, using the Carolina Teaching Performance Assessment Scale (CTPAS) as the basic evaluation tool. At the end of each semester, the advisory/assessment team reviews data collected to document the teacher's performance, and arrives at a summative rating.

This is only a partial picture, however, because a basic principle undergirding the evaluation system is that reliability only results when multiple evaluations are conducted by numerous individuals employing multiple and explicit criteria over a long period of time. Thus, two additional components of evaluation remain. First, the district employs 9 specially trained, system-wide observer-evaluators who conduct both announced and unannounced classroom observations employing the CTPAS. These individuals then pass their data on to the advisory/assessment team, serving as an external "validity and reliability check" of their deliberations.

Finally, the summative judgments of a teacher's competence produced by the advisory/assessment teams are subject to the review and confirmation of both a regional and district-wide committee composed of teachers and administrators before advancement along the career ladder is granted.

Supporting Career Development is now the focus of district staff development efforts. Provisional teachers receive training in classroom management skills and the elements of effective lesson design. Career candidates receive training tailored to the content of their Action Growth plan. Released time is granted to mentors and provisional teachers to enable them to plan and discuss areas of need.

Charlotte's Career Development Program has only been operational for one year, thus, it is difficult to assess its long-run impact. Standards for advancement, however, appear to be high. Of 150 Career Candidates nominated by their peers as outstanding teachers, only 137 were advanced to Career Level I status, with the remaining 13 either choosing to drop out of the program or participate for another year. Even in its early stages, however, Charlotte provides rich data about experience with designing and implementing a district-wide reform, about the operation of multiple evaluation activities and about the problems associated with developing comprehensive reform, or as Schlechty quips, with "building an airplane while in flight."

III. ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE FOR TEACHER EVALUATION

"If you want to understand something, try changing it."
Kurt Lewin

Experience in the four districts we studied shows how central the enabling conditions are to an effective teacher evaluation system. It also shows that it is often difficult, but not impossible, to make the changes in the institutional values and activities--in the trust, communication, commitment and role of evaluation--that are essential to an effective teacher evaluation system. Administrators in all of the districts we visited saw this change problem as central to success of the district's teacher evaluation plans. For example, Charlotte's Philip Schlechty put it this way:

> Developing an evaluative culture around which everytning else will hang is really difficult, but that must be our focus. The problems (associated with implementation) will disappear and not be problems anymore if we just stick to this culture-building exercise.

To varying degrees, each of the institutions we observed moved from organizational conditions unfriendly to evaluation to an institutional climate that supported strong teacher evaluation. The change problem confronting each district reflected its particular context, characteristics and traditions and thus the processes and activities associated with change in each district varied.

However, each district shared four elements that combined to

"unfreeze" existing conditions and to set the stage for a meaningful teacher evaluation program. These factors are:

- o a triggering event
- o environmental stability
- o strong leadership committed to teacher evaluation and to strategies of open, face-to-face communication
- o active teacher involvement in developing evaluation activities

These these factors combine to foster the enabling conditions associated with a supportive climate for evaluation and thus suggest a model of organizational change for teacher evaluation. We describe each in turn.

TRIGGERING EVENT

Dynamic conservativism characterizes most school districts, as it does most organizational settings (Schon, 1971). Change, when it occurs, typically is incremental only and is directed at maintaining organizational status quo through marginal adjustments to existing practice. Organizational change of this sort constitutes little more than running to stay in place; it does not engage the organization's fundamental norms, values or core technologies (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Given the institutional status of most school districts, incremental change is insufficient to the enabling conditions necessary for effective teacher evaluation. Yet movement beyond incremental adjustment is hard to affect unless there is a "triggering event" to shock the system--unless someone within the system can violate

existing rules and norms with relative safety (Schon,1971; Argyris,1982; Lundberg, 1985).

A triggering event--which can range from internal managerial crises, to new leadership, to externally imposed pressure on the system--provides opportunity to launch the process of unfreezing. In order for a potential trigger to accomplish this, however, it must be seized as an occasion to challenge previously unquestioned values, assumptions and behaviors (Lundberg, 1985). Such fundamental reexamination of longstanding practices is essential to mobilize support for necessary organizational changes.

The districts we studied show how disparate events can begin this process of organizational change necessary for teacher evaluation reform.. State action prompted rethinking of teacher evaluation strategies in Charlotte and Mountain View-Los Altos. In Charlotte, impending state action regarding merit pay caused the superintendent to form a committee to study the concept. Fear that the state might impose a merit pay system inconsistent with the district's management philosophy spurred efforts to design a Career Development Program. Central office administrators saw the new state policy as a significant threat to local autonomy and control: "If we couldn't come up with some kind of solution to the teacher quality problem, then the state was going to impose something on us."

New state-level policy of a different sort pushed Mountain View-Los Altos into action. This district had been experimenting for several years with various models for evaluating teachers, some of which involved peer review. Department coordinators

played an important role in the evaluation process, particularly in determining depth of teachers' knowledge of subject matter. Passage of a state collective bargaining law presented a dilemma--the teachers' association felt that existing teacher evaluation practices were inconsistent with a collective bargaining agreement. It was not in the best interest of the teachers' association to have its unit members evaluating one another. According to an official of the association:

> When it became clear that evaluation would have some meaningful consequences attached to it, such as dismissal, well, that's when we decided it wasn't our proper role to be involved.

Current evaluation practices in Mountain View-Los Altos thus trace their origins to the beginning of formal collective bargaining within the district and the fundamental rethinking this state-level initiative occasioned.

In Moraga and Santa Clara, change in district leadership coupled with external pressures provoked fundamental changes in district routines. Declining enrollments, the necessity to lay off teachers in the district, and the arrival of Glickman as Moraga's superintendent combined to stimulate reform. From the day she arrived, Glickman set about to alter basic district management patterns and expectations. Her management style contrasted sharply with that of the previous superintendent. According to one school board member:

> The former superintendent was an administrator--he was isolated as a person. He was not open or outward or able to take resistance. It was just his personality... Judy--she is totally different. Now, the walls are really breaking down....Now, the word is that everybody can be a better teacher.

A new superintendent coupled with the imperative to deal with sharp enrollment declines and an impending school closure made change inevitable in Moraga. Glickman exploited the break in organizational routines presented by the change of leadership to challenge traditional operations. And teacher evaluation lay at the heart of the new Superintendent's strategy for quality improvement in Moraga.

Similarly, in Santa Clara, change in leadership provided the occasion for fundamental shift in organizational routines. A new superintendent, coupled with a breakdown in communication at all levels of the school system, led to the initiation of fundamental teacher evaluation reform. In 1974, the new superintendent, Rudi Gatti, expressed strong commitment to building consensus among district constituencies and promoting open communication. This management stance departed radically from the closed door management techniques that fueled past union-management problems. As Gatti put it:

> In the early 70's, the teachers' association and the Board had a terrible relationship and they were playing hardball with one another. All they were doing was finding fault with each other...and this resulted in a backlash where people tried to find fault with the teaching staff....When I came to the district, I said to the Board, "We need to bridge the gap between us and open up communications."

Gatti seized the catalytic potential in a leadership shift and, as a former director of personnel, moved naturally to teacher evaluation as the focus of his improvement plan.

In each site, then, some event functioned as a trigger to disrupt traditional attitudes and behaviors and to force

consideration of fundamental change in organizational practices. Respondents in each district underscore the event's strategic value, and agree that little change in evaluation practices could have occurred without it.

Yet a triggering event is far from a sufficient condition for initiating evaluation reform or any kind of fundamental change. For example, to our knowledge, Charlotte-Mecklenburg is the only district in North Carolina that embarked on a reform program with teacher evaluation at its center in response to the state-level merit pay proposals. And superintendents come and go in California as they do in districts across the country. The events we described served as triggers for change because district leaders transformed them into a mandate for change.

Administrators are and must be skilled at maintaining the status quo. Generally speaking and excepting massive shocks such as California's Proposition 13 or vigorous judicial oversight of desegregation mandates, most internal or external pressures do not act as triggers for change. To the contrary, leadership self-consciously and appropriately acts to buffer the system and minimize disruption. Events such as those that precipitated action in the sites we examined served as catalysts for change only because leadership chose to use them strategically. Thus the event provided a necessary occasion to infringe established norms and practices.

However, these strategic choices are not made in a vacuum. Our research and that of others points to contextual factors that constrain or support the ability of district leaders to exploit

opportunities for change--most importantly, environmental stability and congruence between the district and its setting (see, e.g., Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969).

ENVIRONMENTAL STABILITY

School districts are open systems, vulnerable to events, cycles and disruptions in their environment. Instability or crises in a district's environment demand administrative attention and skill in maintaining organizational stability. Environmental turbulence often precludes questions of serious organizational change, as basic issues of organizational survival and overall health press on district leaders. Fiscal retrenchment, desegregation initiatives, and economic recession are examples of external environmental factors that command the full attention and energy of district leadership. Internal stability works in much the same way. Disruptions such as teachers' strikes by necessity capture administrative concern for institutional maintenance and prevent attention to developmental issues such as teacher evaluation.

Organizational change of the sort assumed by teacher evaluation is difficult to affect in a turbulent environment. Because the change necessary to teacher evaluation comprises fundamental shifts in behavior and attitudes, it requires a relatively calm environmental setting. The "trigger", in other words, cannot constitute an event that threatens the survival or

fundamental health of the institution. Administrative time and attention are scarce resources. District leadership must be free of environmental crises and maintenance concerns to spend sufficient time on developing and carrying out a teacher evaluation program. Short term maintenance exigencies typically crowd out longer term development concerns.

Further, organizations are limited in the amount of fundamental change they can absorb before they become dangerously destabilized. Unfreezing works to produce change only if sufficient equilibrium exists to keep the organization healthy throughout the process of reexamination, development and change. Otherwise, what takes place may not be the positive kind of reexamination we have described, but instead mark the beginning of a process of organizational decay or destabilization.

The districts we studied illustrate the necessity of a stable environment for change. Two districts were particularly blessed in this respect. Charlotte-Mecklenburg had successfully weathered the upheaval of racial desegregation almost a decade ago, and community support for education continues at high levels today. For example, a member of the local press commented, 'In my two years as education reporter here, I have never heard any academic complaints nor encountered any racial overtones." In Mountain View-Los Altos, Paul Sakamoto observes that the goals and objectives from a decade ago still apply to the district today—a testimony to the stability of the community.

This stability provides an important safety cushion.

All of the districts experienced setbacks and minor failures as they forayed into the unknown territory of teacher evaluation reform. Failure is chancy in an unstable environment. It could mean a recall of the school board, the firing of the superintendent, teacher dissatisfaction, or an exodus of parents to private schools. In contrast, stable environments tend to be forgiving, especially in the short run, so that experimentation and risk-taking are possible. This safety enables organizational leaders to violate established norms, behaviors and practices.

Stability in the external environment must be mirrored in the internal environment of the school district if commitment to teacher evaluation reform is to be sustained. The undeveloped state of the art in teacher evaluation introduces a level of uncertainty that can be tolerated only if administrators, teachers, and board members accept the inevitability of mistakes and commit themselves to self-evaluation and constant improvement.

Many teachers and administrators in Charlotte cited frustrating examples of midstream changes in policy within the district, redundant effort, and general wheel-spinning. Most notable were the accounts of career candidates who were forced to re-write their Action Growth Plan several times before the district-wide review committee would approve them. Inspection of the initial drafts of these plans across the district revealed wide variation. The district-wide committee decided to re-write the criteria and enforce compliance rather than tolerate the use of widely varying standards of acceptability. This decision angered every career candidate whom we interviewed because of the

personal effort spent on shifting rules-of-the-game. Yet few responded to this frustration by withdrawing their commitment to the program. Despite start-up problems such as these, support for career development remains strong within the district. As Schlechty explains:

> Charlotte-Mecklenburg is organizationally strong and it is able to tolerate mistakes. People take a pragmatic approach in this district. They take a long lunge easier. Other districts can't afford the luxury and can't afford as many mistakes as we made.

Similarly, Mountain View-Los Altos has endured some difficult encounters with the teachers' union in the district as four separate grievances over evaluation procedures were filed in a two year period. Yet, rather than initiate a cycle of adversarial relations between union and management, increased dialogue has resulted. Teachers now perceive the evaluation process as generally equitable. District efforts over the past three years have brought about an overall increase in support for evaluation on the part of teachers--approximately 95% of them indicated in a recent survey that their most recent evaluation was both fair and objective. Further, support for evaluation is apparent. For example, a union official commented, "Evaluation is really important....So, what we are doing with evaluation is long overdue." Once again, a less stable internal environment may not have been so forgiving.

The experience of Santa Clara Unified School District contrasts on this point to show how concerns for teacher evaluation can become swamped in the face of more immediate and urgent matters. Only a limited number of issues can remain active

priorities for district and building administrators. Santa Clara Unified could not sustain its commitment to teacher evaluation as an active priority while at the same time close schools, reorganize the district on two separate occasions, and implement a program of curriculum accountability. The result was diversion in administrative attention from teacher evaluation throughout the system as fires were fought on multiple fronts. As a consequence, though all building administrators continued to evaluate their teachers in a manner many districts might consider to be more than adequate, in comparison with past practice in this district, attention to teacher evaluation declined. Evaluation activities have become uneven from school to school. Santa Clara shows how difficult it is to attend simultaneously to issues by organizational maintenance and organizational development.

A stable environment, in summary, provides support necessary to tackle the ambiguous and developmental issues of teacher evaluation. It is a forgiving environment that permits members of the organization to focus on the complex problem of teacher evaluation.

Environmental stability must be understood as more than the absence of major internal or external disruptions, however. It also marks a general congruence between a district's organization and its environment. Match between the district's educational goals, operating style, community values, and the teacher evaluation system is important to the success of a teacher

evaluation reform. (Wise et al, 1984). Without it, change of the sort required for effective teacher evaluation can become too risky. Early and inevitable mistakes can derail plans for reform if district overseers and the community are not in basic agreement with what the district is up to and how district leaders want to go about it.

Even more important, a superintendent battling with the school board and with members of the community about how to do things or about what is important to do can hardly hope to bring about change in the organization. School board support is critical. The district leaders we interviewed all stressed the importance of congruence between their agenda and the school boards. For example:

> Moraga Superintendent--"To begin, I met with the board--it is chemistry--a yea or nea--you sense what they stand for. I sensed from the beginning that they had a cohesive, long term plan for staff development and instructional improvement."

> Santa Clara superintendent--"Before I decided to take the job, I sat down with the board and we talked about what we thought were priorities in the district and what needed to be done. I told them that I needed a commitment from them as to what my agenda was going to be and for bringing about a situation that would have teachers treated fairly. I wouldn't have taken the job without that commitment"

Congruence with the environment is not a permanent condition. Superintendents need to carefully nurture their relationship with the school board and the community they represent, instructing them regarding the value of new policies and procedures. Securing and maintaining school board support is an ongoing process, especially given the fact that most districts experience turnover of at least some board members every two

years. Superintendents and their staff in all four of our sample districts worked actively as teachers and lobbyists, building support for district change efforts and educating stakeholders on the board and in the broader community. But frequent changes in a policy making body makes it difficult to implement the long term reform process that is required for meaningful teacher evaluation.

LEADERSHIP

Making all this happen--transforming events into triggers for organizational change that builds on teacher evaluation--depends finally on district leadership. Nothing of significance will happen in the area of teacher evaluation unless the superintendent demands it. District superintendents are key actors in teacher evaluation reform for many reasons. They not only marshal resources for teacher evaluation, they also serve an important symbolic function by focusing attention on teacher evaluation, making it a priority for administrators and teachers and establishing the climate within which it can occur. (Bridges, forthcoming; Wise et al, 1984).

In order for teacher evaluation to become a l ter priority in any district, it must be at the heart of the superintendent's vision for quality improvement. For example, Mountain View-Los Altos's Superintendent Sakamoto sees evaluation as a critical lever for student achievement and instr onal improvement:

> Evaluation is key to any comprehensive program in a school district ...as far as I'm concerned, evaluation is the key to what goes on in the district. Prior to our reforms

> in recent years, evaluation was just a cursory affair. It was just an exercise of turning in forms to the central office. It did nothing to ensure that good instruction was going on in the district... If the key to student achievement is really what goes on in the classroom, then we certainly ought to be focusing our time and attention here. So often teachers feel isolated. They feel nobody cares what goes on in their classroom and they just close the door. Evaluation has opened up the door and has provided a way to get into the classes and allow colleagues to share what is going on.

Glickman, in Moraga, states her philosophy similarly:

> Staff development articulates what is appropriate instruction...Formal evaluation serves to get someone's attention--it raises their level of concern and can be used to prove fairness to other teachers.

In Charlotte, the career development program represented the culmination of an almost decade long commitment to staff development training that was crafted out of Superintendent Robinson's vision for the district.

But Superintendents must successfully articulate their vision for teacher evaluation for it to take root. Their outward and explicit commitment is essential to commanding the attention of principals and other building level administrators assigned evaluation responsibilities. Teacher evaluation by necessity competes with many other demands for building administrator's time; it also poses a fundamental role conflict for principals who fear that evaluation and support for teachers' development are incompatible. Teacher evaluation becomes a priority for middle managers only if it is a visible, active priority for the superintendent who effectively communicates this desire through the chain of command. A

Charlotte assistant-principal puts it this way:

> We put (our) emphasis where our superiors put the emphasis. The principal (in this building) has made (teacher evaluation) a top priority (because) the superintendent (and the area superintendent for this school) says it's a top priority.

Further, the importance of top-level concern is not a one-time or short-term thing. Santa Clara Unified School District illustrates how a shift in a superintendent's active priorities can have an impact on a vigorous teacher evaluation process--even when it is apparently established. The district's national recognition for successful handling of the problems associated with enrollment decline and fiscal retrenchment has been well deserved, but the administrative time and attention necessary to handle these crises meant that, while still a priority, teacher evaluation could no longer remain at the top of the management agenda. In response, principals' attention to teacher evaluation has declined in comparison with previous years, and only one teacher has been placed on remediation in the past two years. Gatti explains the apparent erosion in teacher evaluation this way:

> My attention has really been elsewhere in the past several years...The problem is that it's difficult to keep the fire burning for a lot of people..I'm just going to have to get out into the schools and push them into paying more attention to evaluation.

We saw that Superintendents signaled their priority for and commitment to teacher evaluation in a number of ways. For example, Superintendent Sakamoto and his Director of Curriculum and Instruction, Robert Madgic, read all of the teacher evaluations submitted by district principals, thereby making his

intent clear. Sakamoto evaluates his principals on how well they evaluate teachers. Central office administrators in Mountain View-Los Altos also use mandatory administrator training sessions as a forum for stressing district-level concern about evaluation. Robert Madgic, Director of Curriculum and Instruction, explains:

> We constantly try to focus the administrator's attention of evaluation. We point to the problems of evaluation at principals' meetings. Evaluation is a topic at every one of these weekly meetings. We have emphasized evaluation for the past eight summers in our administrative workshops in an effort to (build skills) and point out problems with the evaluation process.

Glickman in Moraga adopted an identical strategy to that employed in Mountain View-Los Altos to display her commitment to teacher evaluation. Santa Clara's Gatti plans to renew his commitment in a similar way. Gatti states:

> When something like evaluation stops being the top priority of the person at the top, it starts to fall away. I told my management team this year, however, that teacher evaluation is going to be my number one are of concern next year..I'm going to have to get out to all the schools ...and push them into paying more attention to evaluation... One thing I've already made clear is that all evaluations, both teachers' and administrators', are going to cross my desk next year and I'm going to initial all of them.

In Charlotte, the multiple district resources Jay Robinson has assigned to teacher evaluation provide strong evidence of his commitment to thorough-going, meaningful teacher evaluation. Career Development remained the leading agenda item of the district's management committee for over a year. He modified the job description of Area Program Specialists so that tney now spend the majority of their time on issues revolving around teacher evaluation. His top level advisors now meet in a weekly

executive committee that primarily addresses Career Development concerns.

However, Superintendents do more than provide the leadership that establishes teacher evaluation as a priority and focuses administrative attention on it. Even more critically, they create the institutional climate that allows meaningful teacher evaluation to occur. In order for a district to move from a condition of a low-trust, low-risk taking organization to one in which teacher evaluation can support meaningful change, as a first condition, channels of communication within the district must be open both vertically, between administrations and teachers, as well as horizontally, among teachers and administrators.

Change in these institutional norms and expectations is not a responsibility that can be delegated. Only the superintendent, as the institution's formal leader, can break the cycle of distancing from evaluation and assessment, of disconnectedness from sources of information about performance, and of distrust among organizational roles (see Argyris,1982,p.465 ff.). Organizational research shows that when an organization's leader is distant and closed, the result is increased bureaucratization and reliance on "rules", so that discontinuities among units and individuals are heightened (Argyris, 1982). Substantive teacher evaluation cannot take place in such a climate.

Unless the organization's leader changes his or her style of operation to stress openness and inquiry, little else will happen, regardless of the merits of a particular evaluation

design. As our study sites illustrate, when the leader does move from a primarily closed to a more open management style, the organization becomes open to influence and in greater control of its internal activities. And when this happens, opportunities for learning--such as teacher evaluation--become important and possible.

Within each district we examined, open and honest communication and access at all levels of the organization mirrored the superintendent's commitment to this management principle. Despite their very different district settings and institutional characteristics, teachers and middle managers in all the districts stressed the openness of their Superintendent.

In Charlotte, union leaders praised superintendent Robinson for his openness and involvement of teachers in district policy formation. Indeed one remarked that with Robinson as Superintendent, collective bargaining was virtually unnecessary. Teachers and administrators in Charlotte also emphasized Robinson's fairness and active style. One administrator commented: "You won't find a more open superintendent than Jay Robinson...he is open to a fault...If he has a goal, he say what it is. He hides nothing." Another central office administrator stressed Robinson's activism:

> Jay Robinson ...is the only manager that comes close in my mind to typifying the principles put forward in 'In Search of Excellence.' He has a bias for action. He's a risktaker. He doesn't cover things up but finds answers to problems. He's a gentle man who talks tough and a tough man who talks gently both at the same time. It depends on the situation and what it calls for. His philosophy is to train

winners...Failure means you made a bad personnel decision.

Each of the other superintendents in our sample demonstrated their commitment to a similar management style. In Moraga, Glickman holds personal conferences with each of the almost 60 professional staff members in her district each year in an effort to foster communication. Sakamoto in Mountain View-Los Altos makes a point of accessibility and visibility. For example, whenever possible he spends lunch time at one of the district's schools out in the courtyard talking with teachers and students. Teachers in the district see this style both as unusual and as evidence of a professionally-based management style: "...there are not many districts where the superintendent come and sits in the quad at lunchtime and talks to the kids and teachers. We run things on a first name basis in this district...we certainly don't operate on a command model here."

Superintendent Gatti likewise prides himself on the fact that he and his central office staff rarely close their doors. Open communication lies at the heart of his management strategy. He addresses the staff at each of the district's 19 schools every year, and gathers feedback regarding district programs.

Nothing quite substitutes for personal attention to underscore commitment. Thus, face-to-face contact between central office administrators and district staff emerged as a critical strategy for promoting open communication. As Charlotte's Phillip Schlechty quipped: "Management by memo really stinks." Face-to-face contact serves several important

functions. It is an important "rumor control" strategy, since personal visits by central office staff is an effective way to uncover misunderstandings and anxieties in the district about teacher evaluation, to respond on the spot, and to collect information about site-level responses to district plans that can sharpen planning or policies.

For example, in Moraga, Glickman's yearly, personal interviews with each teacher in the district helped to avoid misunderstandings regarding the districts new focus on evaluation. In many cases, in fact, she reported that it was in these interviews where she learned of the frustration and unhappiness with teaching many of the districts poorest teachers experienced. Glickman views her face-to-face contact with teachers as a cornerstone of her evaluation strategy.

Face-to-face contact also provides incontrovertible evidence of central office priority for evaluation. Respondents in all the districts we studied underscored the importance of personal involvement by the superintendent. This Mountain View-Los Altos teacher's comment is typical:

> The superintendent visits every classroom in the district. It gives a teacher a sense of importance when people feel what they're doing is important enough for him to drop in to see how it's going...

The openness we observed between superintendent and teachers--whether a large or a small school district--was the result of hard work. Each superintendent cultivated this relationship with both teachers and board members in their districts; they self-consciously sought to break the cycle of

distance, disconnectedness, and lack of trust. And in so doing, they displayed leadership of a particular, critical sort necessary for strong teacher evaluation.

TEACHER INVOLVEMENT

Evaluation denotes power and control. In most districts, that power is vested totally in the hands of teacher evaluators. Yet our research in school districts as well as research in organizations generally demonstrates two important points relevant to teacher evaluation. One, unilateral power or control is seldom seen as valid by individuals subject to it; two, those so controlled are unlikely to engage in public testing or experimentation or other possibly threatening activities associated with an effective response to evaluation findings.

Involving teachers in the design and implementation of a teacher evaluation system we found to be is essential to establishing what Phillip Schlechty calls an "evaluation culture." Indeed, Sakamoto in Mountain View points to teacher involvement as the single most important thing for a district to do as it begins to reform its teacher evaluation system:

> I would involve people from the beginning and that means teachers. If I was going to start over again I'd have teachers go and visit sites where evaluation was taking place and talk with teachers there to find out what teachers in that district feel about evaluation. Let's face it. You can't argue with any system that's objective and fair. (Teacher involvement is essential to this perception)

Teachers in Charlotte echo this view. They single out teacher involvement as the main reason why "things are so good in Charlotte." A representative from one of Charlotte-Mecklenburg's

teachers' associations said, for example:

> ...the answer (to why new evaluation practices seem to be working in Charlotte) is teacher input. We were involved all the way. It is true that mistakes have been made...and there is a need to be flexible, but the bottom line is that when teachers are being heard, success is possible.

But the experiences of the districts we examined illustrate that effective teacher involvement is not as straightforward a proposition as it may seem. Forming a committee of teachers and administrators to discuss and recommend changes in existing teacher evaluation policies falls far short of the kind of involvement necessary to secure commitment to the effort. All teachers in the school district, not just union representatives or volunteers, need an opportunity to make suggestions and review evaluation plans. To foster commitment, teachers must believe that their involvement will result in substantive change, making the endeavor worth their time.

The districts we visited accomplished the goal of effective teacher involvement with varying degrees of success. Given its size, Charlotte-Mecklenberg faced the most complex task of securing comment from over 4,000 professional staff members as they set out to construct the Career Development program. A central steering committee composed of teachers, union representatives, administrators,and board members directed the planning effort. Each school elected a liaison teacher to serve as a channel for information to and from the steering committee. These individuals came together once a month at district expense to respond to the actions of the steering committee and take information back to the schools. Seven full-time, district-wide

liaison teachers canvassed all schools on a regular basis, meeting informally with teachers, explaining the planning process, and soliciting input. Schlechty, the Steering Committee Chair, held public meetings at every school in the district to answer questions and elicit feedback. Anonymous question boxes were placed at each school, and answers to all questions were distributed on a district wide basis.

Charlotte's strategy for securing participation in the development phase apparently was successful. According to steering committee members, "Everyone who wanted to have input into the planning process had the opportunity." An elementary school teacher and career candidate corroborated this point: "I watched the planning process closely. I just don't see how the whole developmental process could have had more teacher input." Teacher involvement was particularly meaningful because concrete evidence existed that district officials were listening. For example, specific changes in the selection process for observer/evaluators and first year career candidates came about as a direct result of teacher suggestions. Throughout the steering committee's deliberations, teachers had the opportunity through their elected liaison to monitor the direction of planning efforts and actually see the Career Development program take form.

Charlotte's experience also underscores both the importance and the difficulty of sustaining meaningful involvement of teachers through the implementation phase. Despite the generally

successful efforts to involve teachers during the planning phase, we encountered numerous examples of misunderstandings about how the teacher evaluation system would operate, and how decisions regarding a teacher°s status would be made. For some, only seeing is believing. Other teachers and building administrators indicated that teacher input into the implementation process had decreased when compared to the design phase the previous year. Thus, several individuals, including union representatives, expressed concern for the future. Charlotte's efforts clearly demonstrate the difficulties involved in providing sufficient teacher involvement to secure broadbased commitment to the teacher evaluation system.

In contrast to Charlotte's generally high level of teacher involvement in planning, the level of teacher participation varied considerably in the other three districts. In Mountain View-Los Altos, teacher involvement in the design of the student survey several years ago was high, but many teachers believe that their opportunity for involvement has been limited in recent years. In particular, teachers unanimously felt that the need existed to re-examine the use of the student survey as part of the formal evaluation process. According to one teacher who has always received satisfactory evaluations:

> ...the student survey causes such wide-spread discomfort, I wonder if it's worth it....If the student survey is weighted heavily, as a lot of administrators do, how accurate really is it as a measure of a teacher's competence? We're just asking students to do things that they're not qualified to do.

Despite vocal teacher dissatisfaction, teachers see district administrators unwilling to reexamine this evaluation strategy.

Sakamoto is fully aware of teachers' negative feelings toward the student survey--he "appreciates the fact that the student survey is a controversial area because most teachers are particularly sensitive to their students' feelings and opinions--the individuals with whom they worked so hard to develop rapport." Yet he also strongly believes that input from students, who interact on a daily basis with teachers, is a critical supplement to the three or four classroom observations an administrator is able to conduct. Thus, teachers receive a print out of the results of their students evaluations of them that provides departmental and school-wide comparison data. Sakamoto hopes that future research will assess the reliability and validity of student ratings of teachers at the secondary level in an effort to secure teachers' confidence in the process.

Both teachers and administrators in Mountain View-Los Altos voiced contradictory opinions regarding the amount of influence teachers have had in constructing the current evaluation process. Several teachers and administrators judged the opportunity for participation as high. For example, the student survey form has been revised on at least three separate occasions by committees of teachers and administrators. In addition, teachers in the district recently developed a set of criteria that would describe excellent teaching in the district. These will be used in conjunction with the evaluation system. Many teachers, however, felt that opportunities for input were sorely lacking. For

example, one department head stated:

> Any revision of evaluation should start with the teachers....If instructional improvement is really the objective....then you have to ask teachers "What can we do to set up a system of visitation and observation that would help you the most." This didn't happen here.

In sum, perceptions regarding the level of teacher influence upon evaluation reform in Mountain View-Los Altos appears to be mixed.

In Moraga, teachers had limited involvement in initial planning stages of a new teacher evaluation system. The district management team alone made many of the decisions regarding the direction teacher evaluation reform would take. One result of the limited involvement of teachers in both Moraga and Mountain View-Los Altos is that teacher acceptance of and commitment to teacher evaluation has come slowly and unevenly. For example, several teachers in both districts felt that evaluation was "something for administrators to do that had little meaning for classroom teachers." These responses suggest that lack of involvement in the planning process limits ownership on the part of teachers.

Our interviews in Santa Clara also illustrate the role teacher involvement plays in securing teacher commitment to the evaluation process. Teacher evaluation holds little salience for a number of the teachers and administrators in the district at this time. Notable exceptions, however, are those individuals who had just served on a district wide committee that revised the year-end evaluation form, along with those actively involved as instructors for the district-wide staff development program which certified administrators as competent evaluators. Each of these

individuals displayed a high level of commitment to teacher evaluation that was not evident in other respondents. Involvement in the planning and implementation process and leadership appear to go hand in hand.

But we saw that teacher involvement in the evaluation has another important dimension for planners to consider. It is important at the institutional level, as district policy is developed and implemented. It also is important during the evaluation process itself, at the individual level, as strategies allow teachers an opportunity to exercise discretion in the goal setting process.

In many respects, the negative consequences of a perceived lack of involvement at the district level in Moraga and Mountain View-Los Altos are offset by the latitude teachers are given in setting the goals and objectives on which they will be evaluated during the year. According to one Mountain View-Los Altos veteran of 19 years:

> I think the fact that the evaluator and evaluatee had a chance to negotiate and review their goals is an important part of the process as long as the goals are not.. ammed down your throat. Making sure the teacher has input is one important part of the process that makes it fair.

Providing this opportunity for teachers to participate in the development and review of their evaluation system reinforces teachers' sense of professional autonomy. Coupling evaluation to goal setting also strengthens the accountability objectives of evaluation. A Mountain View-Los Altos principal, in fact, sees

this aspect of evaluation as critical:

> I think maybe the key to the whole process is the coupling we do between the goal setting and the observation-evaluation process. I think the teachers and the public take us more seriously now due to the accountability focus we place on the evaluation system...

Each district has constructed an evaluation system that provides this latitude for teachers. However, the strongest teacher commitment to evaluation appears in districts that join this individual involvement with institutional participation in teacher evaluation. Such commitment is generated not only or even always by mandates that teachers perceive as legitimate, but also by those policies which they believe are in line with their internalized needs (Etzioni, 1975).

Teacher participation in the development and implementatio of an evaluation scheme is an effective strategy for developing congruence between teachers' values and expectations, organizational goals and evaluation activities. Participation of this nature promotes in addition the sense of ownership essential to effective implementation and the collegiality that increases support generally within the organization.

SUMMARY: ENABLING TEACHER EVALUATION

Together, the factors we have just described combine to provide an environment that allows a school district to change the basic norms and expectations that structure behavior so that teacher evaluation can be taken seriously—to create a culture of evaluation. These factors work together to promote four important

enabling conditions for learning through teacher evaluation:

- o trust between teachers and administrators,
- o open communication throughout the district
- o commitment to organizational and professional improvement.
- o visibility for evaluation

Each of the districts we visited were at a somewhat different stage in the process of organizational change associated with these enabling conditions. Differences among districts in this respect are instructive.

In Charlotte, Career Development serves as the focal point of all district policy. In this respect, teacher evaluation, as the center of this program, is highly visible and enjoys the commitment of a broad based group of teachers and administrators. In terms of leadership and organizational strength and stability, Charlotte receives high marks. Indeed, Superintendent Jay Robinson was recently honored for his accomplishments by his peers in the American Association of School Administrators.

Charlotte's efforts to provide for teacher comment at all levels of the evaluation process have succeeded in fostering open communication throughout the district. The open management style of the superintendent and his crafting of a staged implementation plan over several years has laid the groundwork for building trust in the district. Indeed, the office of career development sits just down the hall from Superintendent Robinson's office, whose "door is always open" to the new director of career development, Kay Mitchell. Thus, the necessary set of organizational pre-conditions for effective teacher evaluation

appear to be in place

In Moraga, Judith Glickman's efforts to make teacher evaluation a priority have succeeded in making it a highly visible issue for teachers and administrators. But several factors combine to depress the levels of trust and communication that are necessary to secure the total commitment of teachers to the evaluation process. Hostility between teachers and the superintendent was so high when Glickman arrived, that even the impressive gains she has made with teachers fall short of the degree of trust necessary to successful teacher evaluation. Though no teacher could cite an instance where their trust in the superintendent's motives and abilities had been betrayed, they remained cautious nonetheless, preferring to approach each new district policy cautiously, withholding initial support. Failure to involve teachers more systematically in the initial planning stages coupled with difficulty in securing resources to continue joint teacher-administrator training efforts also combine to lower commitment and inhibit communication. Thus, recent district efforts to encourage teachers to engage in collegial observations and video-taping have met with initial resistance. In sum, the enabling conditions necessary to transform teacher evaluation into a force for teacher improvement are only partially present in Moraga.

Our interviews in Mountain View-Los Altos suggest that the district sits at a critical juncture in the development of an evaluation system that can support teachers' learning. The difficult task of securing trust, open communication, and

commitment from teachers and administrators is succeeding only now. Paul Sakamoto's leadership and commitment to teacher evaluation is clear. The strength and stability of the district has enabled it to endure difficult tensions between management and the teachers' union. District efforts to bring consistency to evaluation practices have increased teacher's confidence in the process; but in the future, teachers' attitudes may hinge on the manner in which general dissatisfaction regarding the role of the student survey in the evaluation process is resolved. Our interviews suggest that renewed commitment to face to face communication, and increased teacher involvement in planning the future direction of teacher evaluation are important in Mountain View-Los Altos to maintain teacher and administrator commitment to district teacher evaluation policy.

Finally, the Santa Clara Unified School District appears to have weathered successfully the turbulent environment of the past several years. Attention is shifting away from maintenance issues of curricular accountability and school reorganization toward an emphasis on instruction. The new "Effective Instruction and Support" staff development program and the formation of the district-wide Academy of Excellence (an umbrella for district-wide staff development efforts) are evidence of this renewed focus on issues of organizational development. Trust is high, and communication channels are in place. However, the shift in attention to evaluation caused by an unsettled environment has eclipsed the visibility of teacher evaluation, and subsequently eroded the incentives of administrators to follow through on the

process in as rigorous a manner as in the past. Renewed attention on the part of the superintendent may remedy this situation, and bring about the necessary commitment for teacher evaluation to be a force for teacher improvement.

The experiences of the districts we studied underscore the suggestions of past research that planners and administrators hoping to bring about meaningful teacher evaluation need first attend to the organizational conditions that support it. The best of teacher evaluation plans will fail to accomplish its goals in the presence of hostile teacher/administrator relations, weak signals about the importance of evaluation, disinterested leadership or closed communication channels.

It is not enough just to have a good plan. However, once the necessary preconditions are more or less in place--once the groundwork for a culture for evaluation has been established--the outcome of a teacher evaluation effort then depends on features of the strategy developed by the district. What features appear most important? We turn next to this question.

IV. EVALUATION PROCESSES AND PROCEDURES

This research is consistent with the general finding emerging in the teacher evaluation literature: there is no single recipe or template for a successful teacher evaluation program. What "works" in one district may fall flat in another setting with different organizational traditions, management principles, governing values or practices. In this study, teacher evaluation efforts differed along all design parameters--role of the principal, the role of teachers, the frequency of evaluation, evaluation instrumentation, and institutional responses to evaluation.

The goals espoused for the teacher evaluation efforts we studied were similar:accountability and improvement. However, each approached the problem of teacher evaluation in a substantively different manner. For each district's program, a different element of the process serves as the linchpin on which the entire process turns. For example:

o In Charlotte, the success of the system depends on the ability of the advisory/assistance teams to support the teacher through the evaluation process, and ultimately make a summative decision regarding the teacher's status. In addition, the presence of district-wide observer/evaluators who serve as a mechanism to insure quality control represents a central feature.

o In Saraga, joint training received by teachers and administrators coupled with clinical supervision techniques rest at the heart of the system.

o In Mountain View-Los Altos, multiple sources of information, including direct observation, samples of student work, results of a student survey, grading distributions, and teacher made materials characterize the district's approach to evaluation.

o In Santa Clara, a remediation process for teachers judged to be at risk is the system's defining feature. Peers work with the teacher for a period of 60 days independently of administrators in an attempt to improve their performance or counsel them out of the profession.

Despite this diversity in overall plan, several design considerations emerged as pivotal in determining the extent to which teacher evaluation activities achieved these broad goals. Viz:

- o Joint training for administrators and teachers
- o Check and balances
- o Accountability structure for evaluation
- o Effective feedback procedures
- o Flexible instrumentation
- o Integration of evaluation and staff development resources.

The districts we observed differed in the extent to which these features characterized their evaluation systems. The consequences associated with the presence or relative absence of each provide important lessons for planners to consider in developing a teacher evaluation program.

JOINT TRAINING FOR ADMINISTRATORS AND TEACHERS

Few districts can embark on a new teacher evaluation strategy without first investing heavily in additional training for both teachers and administrators. Virtually every recent study of teacher evaluation systems highlights the importance of training in making evaluation work (Bridges, forthcoming; Stiggins and Bridgeford, 1985; Wise et al, 1984). That research and the experience of the districts included in this study also underscore the importance of shared training targeted to the evaluation process for teachers and administrators. Joint training makes important substantive and symbolic contributions to effective teacher evaluation.

The key role of the principal in the outcome of a teacher evaluation effort provides clear brief for training administrators--jointly or individually—to improve their evaluation skills. Teachers and administrators in all of the districts we visited emphasized that the principal was the critical link in the evaluation process. Regardless of the formal role of the principal in a teacher evaluation strategy, he or she is probably the most important actor (beyond the superintendent) determining how well a teacher evaluation plan is carried out in a given school. Rudi Gatti in Santa Clara spoke for his colleagues in other districts when he said:" You can have the best teacher evaluation system in the world but if you don't have principals and administrators committed to it, it just is not going to fly."

Principals are key for a number of reasons. One is that, no matter how the task is sliced, principals, by virtue of their institutional role, represent a critical source of approval for teachers. We have seen that other evaluators--peers, departmental supervisors, central office staff, for example--can provide valuable feedback to teachers, but the opinion of the building principal is unique. A Mountain View-Los Altos teacher with seven years' experience expressed this well:

> "It really made a difference that my evaluator was the principal. After all, he hired me and he has trusted all along that I've done a good job. But he has never actually gotten into my room and taken a good, hard look. So finally when he came in this year and said 'My trust has been well placed', that meant a lot to me."

This teacher candidly admitted that the same evaluation received from one of her other building administrators would not have had as great an impact on her, even though she has great respect for them.

Another reason that the principal plays a key role in any evaluation system is the signal they send about instructional priorities. How principals spend their time reflect organizational values. Just as principals take their cue from central office administrators, teachers look to principals in establishing priorities. Even in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, where the principal does not play a central role in the evaluation process, we heard strong statements from teachers regarding the importance of the principal's leadership. For example, one career candidate said:

> If the principal is not involved in the process, teachers in the school probably won't see evaluation as

being important. How the principal spends his time send a powerful message to teachers about the priority that something has in the school. The principal serves as a symbol. If he arranges his schedule to spend time on (evaluation), then teachers get the message."

Practitioners also acknowledge that evaluation generally is not something most principals do easily or well. Respondents in all our districts used the same word to describe the typical principal role in teacher evaluation---"gutless." Principals, like other people, have difficulty delivering 'bad news' or negative assessments of an individual performance (Bridges, forthcoming). Principals rationalize this reluctance in terms of a role conflict--conflict between their role as manager and their role as colleague. This is particularly true of administrators who have "come up through the system." As administrators, they are suddenly called upon to determine their fellow colleagues degree of competence. Training that gives confidence in evaluation skills and reinforces the importance of evaluation to a strong educational program can be an important strategy for imparting evaluator courage. Training for principals, whether they are playing a central or a supportive role, is essential to an effective teacher evaluation system.

However, most administrators and teachers we interviewed stressed the importance of <u>joint</u> training activities for reasons that go beyond pure skill acquisition. For example, Santa Clara Unified's superintendent, Rudi Gatti, has actively stressed both the substantive and symbolic features of shared administrator/teacher training. To underscore his view that teacher evaluation is something the <u>district</u> takes seriously, Gatti requires central office administrators to participate in

the Effective Instruction and Support program, including teaching a demonstration lesson and receiving coaching. Not only has Gatti completed the training himself, but he has also agreed to be videotaped teaching a lesson to be used as part of future district training efforts. Administrators we interviewed stressed the substantive value of these sessions for them. Teachers pointed to the symbolic value; participation in joint training activities signaled to teachers that administrators cared enough about evaluation, respected the skills involved, and were committed to evaluation and improvement as tasks for all to work on, not just teachers. Teachers in Santa Clara and in the other districts point to the important function played by joint training in breaking down long standing barriers between teachers and administrators in schools--the distancing and lack of trust that frustrate teacher evaluation.

Joint training also makes an important strategic contribution. It provides a common language with which all personnel in the district can discuss instructional practices (Little, 1982). Joint training produces shared capacity because it provides the tools administrators and teachers can use to examine together classroom activities and understand them. A Mountain View-Los Altos Vice Principal offers an analogy:

> (It is the same problem teachers often have with their students) Very often as a teacher you'll teach a lesson and think that you've just done a great job. And then you'll give a test and find that only 30% of the student passed. And you'll think to yourself, "Darn. How come they did so badly?" So then you go back and you talk to the students and ask them in different words the same questions that were on the test and then you find out that they actually do know the material. You say to the students, "Why didn't you

> perform better on the test?" And they'll say "because I didn't understand the words you were using"... [It's the same with principals and teachers.]

Shared language also fosters collegiality among participants, and allows evaluators to anchor their feedback in shared and specific notions of expert practice. This specificity adds important clarity about expectations and supports an evaluation system in which teachers feel comfortable that there will be no surprises.

In Santa Clara Unified, joint teacher-administrator training occurs in conjunction with the district-wide staff development program, Effective Instruction and Support. Part of the program involves teaching a demonstration lesson and being coached by another individual, often their building administrator. Without exception, teachers found the observation and coaching experience in conjunction with the Effective Instruction and Support program much more beneficial to their professional practice than observations that had not been conducted in this context. The shared training provided a framework and a focus for discussion that benefitted both participant and coach. For example, an elementary teacher in Santa Clara said:

> (The participation of teachers and administrators in the Effective Instruction and Support program) has added another dimension to the evaluation process. Evaluations are more clear. They are more fair. I feel I know what I am being evaluated on. It has given me a good feeling and I know now what is expected of me.

A colleague at the high school level mentioned the symbolic as well as the substantive value of joint training:

> (Joint participation) really made the whole evaluation experience more meaningful for me. Knowing that we both

> participated (in the Effective Instruction and Support program) made a difference (in how I perceived my evaluator's expertise)...because most administrators have been out of the classroom for so long it means a lot to know that your evaluator has had to participate in some kind of actual teaching experience. (It also) gives us some basics that we can both focus on.

Another teacher in Santa Clara underscored this important result of the district's training efforts:

> (Evaluation) definitely has changed for me because of the clinical support program. Rather than come in and make broad, general, and rather meaningless statements--rather than talk about classroom atmosphere, whatever that means, he now talks about specific things that we can both understand. If I ask poor questions, he can explain to me why and suggest ways I can improve my questioning techniques...We provide each other feedback as a result of our involvement (in joint training experiences). He knows that he does a good job and he's able to tell me that I am doing a good job in specific terms. He can now say things like "Your class is managed well because..." and then follow that with specific suggestions.

The benefits of a shared instructional language between administrators and teachers are readily observable in Moraga, where Glickman has explicitly based the evaluation system in a model of shared training between administrators and teachers. According to one veteran middle school teacher:

> (EEI) brought the teaching staff together, like we use to do a long time ago...It helped strengthen ties. It crossed lines; even the administration was there. It was a cohesive experience that made us feel like a family again.

As a result, "teachers and administrators now talk about instruction at faculty meetings....we could all share and talk because we had a common grounding."

Shared training also is important to clarify the rules of the game for all participants. Before any evaluation system can succeed, staff members must fully understand the procedures to be used in arriving at evaluative judgments. As Charlotte's Phillip

Schlechty states, "The ideal evaluation system first teaches teachers about the evaluation process." Thus, Charlotte-Mecklenburg requires every staff member, including administrators, to complete an effective teaching workshop based on Madeline Hunter's work.

Mountain View-Los Altos provides an instructive contrast on this point, especially as pressed administrators ask "how much training is enough? who should participate?" Mountain View-Los Altos has conducted several training programs for teachers and administrators, but their approach has been less systematic. The consequences, at this point in the process, are apparent. Participation was voluntary, encouraged by the availability of an incentive pay program. Not every teacher participated in the programs, nor did every administrator. As a result, both teachers and administrators are sometimes unclear regarding the criteria upon which the evaluation will be based, and which workshops lay at the core of the evaluation process. Given the uneven exposure, it is not surprising that teachers sometimes perceive that the evaluation process differs considerably depending upon who conducts it.

This lack of clarity contributes to some nagging doubts among teachers about the overall fairness of the evaluation system. For example, one Mountain View-Los Altos teacher, who has always received excellent evaluation results, stated that each of her five evaluations, performed by different evaluators, differed considerably along each of the following dimensions: number of observations, timing of observations, goal setting process, focus

of the observations, and use of student survey results. For this teacher and several others in the district, the absence of a common language with which to discuss instruction limits the usefulness of the evaluation process as a professional improvement tool.

District-level administrators have already identified this need, however, and a task force of teachers and administrators has submitted an extensive list of criteria that delineate superior and inferior teaching. Current management goals reflect Sakamoto's commitment to providing staff development training in support of identified district needs. Together, these strategies promise to increase the effectiveness of the evaluation system.

The fact that each of our sample districts has carefully attended to training aimed at increasing the clarity and specificity of evaluation practices speaks to the critical importance of this design feature. The four districts we have studied underscore the importance of training in evaluation skills and effective teaching techniques in constructing a meaningful teacher evaluation system. Such training serves as a necessary input to the evaluation process, insuring that individuals possess the knowledge and expertise required to make the system work.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

The evaluation programs we observed all attempted to develop a system of checks and balances to promote reliability and validity of the evaluation process as well as perceived fairness.

In each district, the procedures developed functioned to give teachers a sense of safety—that a bad day or a less than perfect performance would not be the sum of an evaluation or result in unreasonable consequences. Without a sense of professional safety, teachers may divert attention away from experimentation that might improve their performance, focusing instead on maintaining low-risk teaching strategies that meet minimum requirements for success.

Each district used different strategies to provide checks and balances in their evaluation system using different strategies. In Mountain View-Los Altos, evaluations are based on multiple sources of information including 2-3 classroom observations, student surveys, teacher made materials, student grading distributions, and samples of student work. Every administrator we spoke with described the time consuming process of gathering together all of the information relevant to a teacher's objectives and then using it to document specific commendations and recommendations. Validity and reliability increase because each piece of information sheds additional and substantively different light on goal attainment by the teacher. As long as no one information source receives heavier weighting, teachers perceive the process as fair.

The experience of a department head in Mountain View-Los Altos illustrates the value of multiple sources of information in insuring fair evaluations. This individual asked a substitute teacher to distribute his student survey forms. All students did

not take the exercise seriously, so that the teacher received low ratings in several categories. Yet the teachers' response to the appearance of these low ratings on his year end evaluation demonstrate his trust in the total process. "I don't really get upset because ...it's not really of any consequence. I know I'm not going to get a bad evaluation as a teacher just because of my student surveys." This teacher indicated that he had often received valuable feedback from his students in the past, yet he also learned an important lesson about the context in which the survey is administered.

In Santa CLara, teachers view the presence of a remediation system as a check on building principals. Since remediation teams are composed of at least 2 and sometimes three teachers, each one serves as a validator of the others' judgments.

Of the four districts included in this study, Charlotte employs the most sophisticated set of checks and balances in their evaluation system. This strategy reflects Schlechty's commitment to what he calls "the overarching principle of reasonableness." A teacher's advisory-assistance team is composed of three members, one of whom is a peer. Multiple membership forces each individual to hold the others accountable. In addition, observer-evaluators serve as a check to the advisory-assistance team's judgments. Each discrepancy between classroom observations made by observer-evaluators and advisory-assistance team members must be explicitly addressed before a summative judgment can be made about a teacher's performance, and two separate review committees composed of teachers and

administrators must validate the findings of each school based advisory-assistance team regarding a teacher's level of competence. Finally, the superintendent's signature ends the entire review process. This complex system of checks and balances reflects the undergirding principle of the evaluation process in Charlotte-Mecklenburg; multiple evaluations are conducted by numerous individuals employing multiple and explicit criteria over a long period of time.

Statements from individuals at every level of the school district indicate that this notion of professional safety and checks-and-balances has been effectively communicated even in the early stages of implementation:

> (From a district-level administrator)
> Observer-evaluators serve the need of evaluating the evaluations produced at the school site level. (They serve) as external validators of principal and assistant principal for instruction evaluation reports...They serve a key role.

> (From an observer-evaluator)
> (The area review committees) are a critical part of the evaluation process because the advisory-assistance teams have to defend the summative judgments they make based on the data in the reports that will be reviewed by the area committee. We give data. We don't evaluate. One of the reasons we have (multiple) observations is to allow for a teacher to have a bad day but the rest of the observations showing what their true performance is like.

> (From an assistant principal for instruction)
> The observer-evaluators serve as a check of (teachers') jobs here at the school. (They) hold us accountable. As API, I read over all the observer-evaluator reports and work with the teachers based on their comments.

> (From a provisional teacher)
> I think the observer-evaluators are almost unnecessary because the advisory-assistance team makes the final, ultimate decision. I guess the observer-evaluator is a check. This is the role it serves.

Checks and balances, in short, play a number of important functions. They defuse the "gotcha" quality possible in an evaluation and they increase teachers' comfort and thus their openness about their performance. The presence of checks and balances also signals the district's appreciation of the complexity of the teaching task and intention to undertake evaluation in a serious, professional manner.

ACCOUNTABILITY STRUCTURE

If evaluation is to be taken seriously in the near-term, and if it is to be institutionalized in the long-term, an accountability structure for evaluation is essential. An evaluation process that supports teacher learning formalizes the dual commitment to expert and formal authority by making it part of a system of accountability that extends from the top to the bottom of the district. Holding evaluators as well as teachers accountable for their performance not only focuses attention--it reinforces the fact that top leadership sees evaluation as serious business and thus spends time monitoring their activities.

Charlotte, again because of its size, has the most elaborate system of accountability, extending into the fabric of the evaluation program itself. The checks and balances that insure a sense of professional safety described in the previous section serve the dual purpose of holding evaluators accountable for the quality of their evaluations. Advisory-assistance teams bear the ultimate responsibility for conducting a teacher's evaluation.

They not only make the summative judgment regarding the teacher's status, but they also must provide the teacher with all possible assistance in making the grade. When discrepancies between observer-evaluator and advisory-assistance team reports arise, the advisory-assistance team must decide if unique, extenuating circumstances caused the divergence, or if they have been remiss in managing the evaluation process. The following comment from an area superintendent indicates that such occurrences will not be taken lightly:

> If there are differences, then we can probe them more deeply to see if there is a need for us (the district office) to provide some assistance. I don't let them (advisory-assistance teams) off the hook. I insist that they arrive at a decision that they can justify...They must make the final decision. All we want to do is review it.

This accountability structure insures that the evaluation system functions as planned.

The small size of Moraga and Mountain View-Los Altos make administrative accountability for evaluation results a simpler process. Central office administrators, including the superintendent in both districts, read the evaluation and observations reports of teachers prepared by administrators and critique their quality. Administrators are explicitly evaluated on the quality of these evaluation reports. In Mountain View-Los Altos, skill as an evaluator represented a major criterion used in selecting a new principal for one of the high schools. Principals in Mountain View-Los Altos are clear about expectations for their

performance as evaluators:

> Because of the demands par nts make in this system, the evaluation system is under a lot of pressure. And this is focused all the way down through the system. My bosses look at the evaluations I write; we actually discuss these evaluations sometimes in our management meetings. So accountability filters all the way down through the system from the superintendent down to the teachers

The positive effects of holding evaluators accountable for evaluation results is best illustrated in Santa Clara. When the remediation program was first introduced eight years ago, principals did not refer any teachers during the first year. Yet Gatti knew that incompetent teachers existed in the system. Thus, he and his line administrators placed several building principals on remediation for their failure to execute their evaluative responsibilities. Not surprisingly, eight teachers were placed on remediation the following year.

But as we have already discussed, Gatti's attention has been diverted from the evaluation system in recent years, and our interviews reveal that the attention of some building administrators to teacher evaluation has waned. Administrators receive little feedback on their evaluations of teachers. Those in the central office lodged with the responsibility for evaluating principals do not routinely view teacher evaluation reports prepared by principals. As one central office administrator put it, "I suppose we should get copies of the evaluations here, but we don't so we have to rely on (the personnel director). This may be a weak point in our process." Insuring that the quantity of evaluations completed by administrators meets minimal expectations takes priority over

their quality. As one result, teacher evaluation is conducted somewhat unevenly throughout the district's schools.

EFFECTIVE FEEDBACK

Feedback is the process of giving back information for the purpose of bringing about change--for changing the behavior of those receiving the information. Teacher evaluation potentially is such a powerful feedback mechanism because evaluation is a way of giving meaning to activity. But it can play this important role only if it is received, if it is heard, and if it is acted upon. As the experiences of school districts across the country testify, most feedback associated with teacher evaluation does not serve this purpose and so can promote neither improvement nor accountability.

What is effective feedback? The teacher evaluation activities we observed and those reported in the Rand Corporation study, join with the general literature on organizational behavior to suggest that effective feedback is:

- o timely,
- o specific,
- o credible,
- o perceived as non-punitive.

Timeliness is important because motivation to change as well as anxiety about outcomes are highest immediately following an evaluation session. Feedback provided immediately after a classroom observation--when event are fresh in the minds of both

teacher and evaluator, has maximum learning potential. Follow-up that comes weeks or months later is too late to be of any use.

But to be effective, feedback must also be geared to the rhythms of the classroom. Feedback at year's end loses its impact when summer vacation intervenes. The timing of feedback in Mountain View-Los Altos illustrates the problems associated with a typical evaluation format. Follow up conferences are routinely held within 5 days of any classroom observation. However, the rich, descriptive data regarding a teacher's performance that flow from the multiple sources of information that evaluators employ in preparing evaluation reports is not shared with the teacher until just prior to summer recess. Its usefulness to the teacher for professional growth purposes is limited because no time remains to act on the findings while they are fresh and meaningful. Since teachers are evaluated only every other year, most of our respondents reported that they rarely attended to results of their evaluations until just prior to the following evaluation cycle. The notable exceptions to this were those individuals who were rated as unsatisfactory--they remained on a yearly evaluation cycle until acceptable performance emerged.

Specificity is important to effective feedback in all organizations (see, e.g. Argyris, 1982; Kerr and Slocum, 1981); it is especially critical in education where teachers, as clinically-based professionals, judge their effectiveness primarily in terms of student responses (Lortie, 1975; McLaughlin, et al., forthcoming). Generalities or theoretical abstractions have little meaning for teachers as assessments of

their performance or as a guide for growth. The comments of this Charlotte teacher capture of teachers' views on this point:

> (Before the new evaluation system was implemented), all I got were these check in the 'excellent' column of my year-end evaluation with comments such as 'excellent teacher.' The problem was that there was never any help for my professional growth. I'm a teacher with seventeen years' experience and I knew I was good, but the lack of feedback was really distressing. Later on in my career it was just too easy to sit back on my laurels and accept where I was and not try to improve anymore. Let's face it, there is always room for growth no matter where you are or how good you are...(this new process gives me the information I need to do that).

Specificity also is critical because it enables the evaluator to engage the evaluatee in assessment of evidence. Whereas interpretations may be disputed, data closely tied to the observation or event allow individuals to draw their own conclusions. And where disagreement occurs, evaluators and teachers can refer to what actually occurred and interpret it together. In this way the specificity of evaluative feedback encourages open, constructive confrontation and can defuse the defensiveness that often makes teachers unwilling to hear an evaluator's comments. One administrator in Mountain View-Los Altos found that preparing a draft of a teacher's final evaluation report as a basis for discussion was particularly beneficial in this regard. With concrete evidence as the basis, she never failed to engage the teacher in a way that both find worthwhile. Presenting material in draft form minimized defensive behavior and allowed evaluator and evaluatee to match interpretations and perceptions of the evidence at hand.

Specificity of feedback also signals that the evaluator has

taken evaluation seriously. In fact, teachers find general, apparently casual evaluation insulting. The comments of a teacher in Santa Clara were echoed by teachers in each district who had experienced superficial evaluation:

> I had only one observation [this year], but I never had a chance to sit down with my evaluator and look at what he wrote. This year he just caught me in the hall and said "I'm going to drop by and see you sometime this week." Then two weeks later he dropped into my class unannounced... several days later he stopped me in the hall and said 'You had a great observation'. To be honest, I felt somewhat brushed off. In fact, I was downright offended because when you evaluate someone that way, you're basically talking about the dignity and worth of the individual. If evaluation is going to have any meaning, there's a need to have more face-to-face contact. After all, I probably have areas where I'm not really as effective as I could be, and there are things that I'm doing in my classes that I must may not be aware of. I really missed not having any professional exchange with someone who was trying to look for those things ... after all, it's very hard to be an effective self-evaluator...I really missed the feedback from not being evaluated carefully this year and I also felt offended.

Charlotte provides teachers in the career development program extensive feedback--provisional teachers may receive as many as 40 classroom observations and follow up conferences in a single year. Mentors, assistant principals for instruction, the principal, observer/evaluators, and area program specialists are all involved in providing feedback throughout the year. Both the quantity and quality of the feedback provisional teachers receive accelerates their maturation as effective teachers. One principal estimated that his provisional teachers displayed the characteristics of "three year veterans" at the end of only one year of participation in the Career development program.

Career candidates, however, are assumed to be proficient in

classroom pedagogy, and the evaluation process extends to other aspects of teachers' professional life as identified in their Action Growth Plan. Observer-evaluators conduct 9 classroom observations, both announced and unannounced to verify the competence of the candidate's classroom performance, while the advisory-assistance team assists the teacher in completing the Action Growth Plan. Periodic meetings of advisory-assistance teams with the career candidate provide an opportunity to discuss progress in achieving goals set by the teacher. In this manner, credible feedback is linked to a support structure designed to foster growth.

Credibility is a central and obvious feature of an effective feedback strategy; feedback that is not seen as credible, reliable or valid is dismissed out of hand. For an individual to recognize a problem or acknowledge a needed change, they must first perceive that feedback comes from a respected source with legitimate claims to expertise.

An effective feedback system, then, must be characterized by expertise-based authority. Teacher must respect the judgment of their evaluators in order to act on their diagnoses for performance or prescriptions for change. Even positive comments are meaningless and ill-received if a teacher perceives an evaluator as lacking substantive expertise. As one Santa Clara teacher illustrates:

> There was never much trust I had in his competence. I never paid much attention to what he said about anything in my instruction. Most of the time he made very broad statements like, "She did an effective job," things that really don't have much meaning...Teachers get very upset when they are

> evaluated (by my principal). In fact, even when he said positive things, they told me that it was an insult to their intelligence because he didn't have any skills at all. He didn't know beans about classroom instruction so the pat on the back he gave them was just an insult.

The most critical feature of effective feedback involves teachers' perceptions of its intent. Any evaluative situation where important consequences hang in the balance will produce anxiety for those involved. If teachers perceive evaluation be punitive then the value of concrete feedback might have become lost in an effort to subvert the system and hide shortcomings. A Mountain View-Los Altos teacher with 10 years experience who has always received excellent evaluations described the negative effects of an evaluation system that teachers perceive as punitive:

> (Evaluation) is something that they (the administration) use to try to get rid of people that they don't like. It's not focused on instruction and it's a waste of teachers' time... I believe that instruction suffers because we as teachers get tense and nervous and waste time polishing up apples for the administrators when we could be spending that time more productively preparing our lessons.

When teachers rightly or wrongly perceive evaluation to be punitive, they exhibit a rational and adaptive response; in an attempt to find safety and protection, they become defensive, try to hide errors, and minimize risk taking. Ironically, evaluation perceived as punitive can actually generate incompetence in the course of trying to prevent it. Being candid and up-front about an individual's performance without appearing that you are "out to get them" requires a delicate balancing act for evaluators. Good intentions are not enough; teachers must believe that they will be supported in their change efforts, with success the

ultimate goal.

Teacher reactions to evaluation in Mountain View-Los Altos illustrate both the critical importance of perceived emphasis and the value of credible, specific feedback. Year-end evaluation reports range from 4 single-spaced pages of narrative documentation for teachers rated satisfactory, to over 20 pages for someone rated unsatisfactory. We spoke with teachers in both categories who found the care and precision with which their evaluator documented their teaching to be valuable. For example, one teacher rated highly effective by one administrator described her evaluation this way:

> (My evaluator) wrote careful pages and pages of detailed observations and data. He not only talked about the student survey, he analyzed it. He looked at test results and analyzed them from my language class and also looked at the test results from my AP class...He quoted in his report things that I and my students said in an effort to document my effectiveness. He examined class materials that I produced and student products--notebooks that they made...And he wrote this all up with great humility.

But some Mountain View-Los Altos teachers see evaluative feedback as a punitive device rather than an occasion for reflection and growth, and these perceptions appear to have a basis in fact. According to one Mountain View-Los Altos administrator, grievances filed in reference to evaluation procedures have been a driving force in recent changes in the evaluation process. As a result, the teacher evaluation system has taken on a "legalistic" focus during that time. Several administrators specifically mentioned the legalistic focus of recent summer workshops. Another administrator felt that this focus partially explained the negative attitude toward evaluation

that had been particularly acute the previous year:

> The focus (of evaluation) is on documenting things that stand up in court rather than letting teachers know what kind of job they are doing...In fact, we were told by one legal consultant to be very careful about using positive comments because this can have an adverse effect in a court case and actually be used against us....This legalistic approach to evaluation has rubbed off. It's created a very negative morale situation in the district.

As one teacher put it, "It (evaluation) is almost an adversarial situation." Another veteran, male teacher who has always received excellent evaluations from his principal described the deleterious effects when the perceived emphasis of the evaluation process shifts towards a rule-driven system:

> Most important of all is that evaluations be approached on a level such as, "I am here not to put you down but to see how well you are doing. Not just to implement the contract but to see if there is anything you can do for yourself through a process of self-awareness that will help you improve in the classroom. I'm not here to be a threat." If evaluation techniques take place within this context not only will it be fair, but it will also be useful. Unfortunately this has not been the case with teachers in the district (and evaluations lose any value they might have).

Some Mountain View-Los Altos administrators feel very constrained by the standardized, legal framework within which evaluations must be cast, reducing their ability to affect teacher growth in a positive manner. Though these measures have increased the likelihood that evaluation results will stand up in an administrative hearing, they also function to depress risk-taking and "public" response to evaluation outcomes. Superintendent Sakamoto admits, "We've had several attorneys as consultants and I would admit that they may have had a greater impact than they should."

Recent movement away from a punitive, "legalistic" focus for teacher evaluation In Mountain View-Los Altos is noted by teachers,however. We interviewed several teachers who approached their coming evaluation with trepidation, only to be reassured by the fair and totally thorough procedure that ensued. Having experienced the benefits of evaluation first-hand, their trust in the posit ve orientation of the process has strengthened.

Superintendent Sakamoto, along with several building administrators, believes that much of the apprehension experienced by teachers stems from the necessity to "start somewhere." Anytime performance standards rise, anxiety increases. But administrators in the district are aware of the need to manage teacher perceptions regarding the focus of evaluative feedback. The fact that 95% of the teachers in the district recently indicated that their most recent evaluation was fair and objective indicates that a turnaround is occurring. According to one building administrator:

> Bringing consistency to the (evaluation) process is something that we may be able to do a better job on. There are just lots of things that we have to deal with. But teachers are correct in their complaints--we do expect a lot more of them now than we did five years ago. And so the root of the problems we are experiencing in teacher satisfaction has to do with the fact that we started mid-stream.

According to the president of the local Teachers Association:

> I don't think there are any major problems (with evaluation). I think things have changed over the years and evolved. We have less complaints about evaluation this year than we did last year, so hopefully things are improving.

Within Charlotte's Career Development Program, we also encountered individuals who perceived the evaluation process to

be punitive. Not surprisingly, in every instance, their advisory-assistance teams had failed to support them. In some cases they had failed to meet on a regular basis; in others, team members failed to understand the role they were expected to play. In either case, the teachers involved found evaluation to be a negative experience, and the feedback they received, useless.

In summary, the nature of feedback associated with teacher evaluation practices has an obvious and central role in the outcomes of teacher evaluation. Timing, specificity, credibility and intent are central to the effectiveness of feedback. In addition, we found two design characteristics to be especially important in the provision of feedback judged effective by both teachers and administrators--flexible instruments and development resources linked to evaluation.

FLEXIBLE INSTRUMENTS

The districts we observed used two kinds of evaluation instruments--open-ended strategies and the more traditional check-lists. The instruments both teachers and administrator-evaluators found most useful were flexible and allowed evaluators to tailor comments to the specifics of a teacher's classroom. In fact, the evaluation "instrument" perceived as most effective in all four districts was a blank page. Evaluators recorded activities and teacher behaviors as they occurred and used this classroom specific documentation to assess a teacher's performance, point to areas of strength and weakness, and to illustrate patterns in classroom activities.

In each district, the structure for this apparently unstructured evaluation comes from two sources: the goals teachers established for themselves at the beginning of the year and the instructional percepts conveyed in the district's training activities for administrators and teachers. As a result, the evaluation was driven not by the evaluation tool, but by the teacher's personal goals and by the specifics of the classroom.

Each district moved toward this open-ended style of evaluation because they felt that standardized checklists were unable to capture the nuances and complexities of the teaching task. Evaluators in each district reported that only open-ended instrumentation of this sort could provide the concrete, situation-specific information necessary to effective feedback.

Similarly, evaluators in all districts reported dissatisfaction and problems with the standardized instrumentation included in their evaluation program. For example, a Moraga administrator called the district's year-end form, a checklist with more than 25 items, a "dinosaur." In Moraga as in other districts we visited, principals respond to the forced-choice assessments with inflated ratings that undermine the entire process. Moraga plans to eliminate the form at the end of a review process, but its inflexibility is cited by teachers and administrators as a major problem with the current evaluation system.

Likewise in Santa Clara Unified, the year end evaluation form requires the evaluator to make a summative rating of the

teacher--meets district standards, needs improvement, or remediation required. Recently, the district modified the summative checklists in an effort to curb inflationary ratings. The Evaluation committee removed an "outstanding" category from the form in response to complaints by administrators and teachers that it generated problems. Yet the first year of the new revised form produced just as many complaints from teachers who felt that their performance was not being adequately recognized.

In all districts, administrators find summary categories constraining--focus on the summative rating removes attention from the documentation of strengths and weaknesses. And teachers find little motivation in such a scheme. One veteran teacher commented: "It's just not necessary to do this 'unsatisfactory' stuff to force a person to improve." It was evident that the lists that appear in policy manuals primarily serve bureaucratic purposes or due process, but have little meaning for teachers. For example, though the year-end evaluation form in both Moraga and Santa Clara Unified contain lists of over 25 specific teaching expectations, none of the teachers we interviewed could name more than one or two of them.

Yet some kind of standardized instrumentation is necessary to join the dual evaluation goals of accountability and improvement. Charlotte and Mountain View-Los Altos appear to have come closest to a solution of developi instrumentation that could serve both formative and summative purposes. Their year-end instruments provide a summative assessment of teachers'

performance, as does the year-end instrument in other districts. But instead of standardized checklists, they have developed a form that requires detailed, narrative statements about a teacher's performance on specific teaching competencies identified by the district, stressed in training activities, and integrated with the teacher's individual goals and objectives.

However, the importance of flexibility should not be interpreted to mean lack of structure or clarity. Teachers and administrators commented on the importance of a high degree of formalization and consistency in the evaluation system--but that formalization involved the evaluation process and evaluation objectives, while permitting evaluators flexibility in identifying the issues and emphases specific to each evaluation. In every district, evaluator training activities focused on skills that increased inter-evaluator reliability. Each summer in Mountain View-Los Altos, for example, administrators actually sit down and critique evaluation reports prepared the previous year. Evaluation outcomes that appear to vary with the identity of the evaluator quickly lose credibility, rendering evaluative feedback useless.

INTEGRATION OF EVALUATION AND DEVELOPMENT RESOURCES

Integration of district-wide staff development resources with the evaluation process constitutes a final important design feature we saw to be central to the outcome of a teacher evaluation system. In many school districts, staff development, if it exists, remains isolated within the organization. Development efforts often lack a consistent focus, ultimately

becoming fragmented and uncoordinated (Hyde and Moore, 1982). In contrast, districts that conduct teacher evaluation as we have described it focus all management activities on organizational goals that turn on individual improvement. Staff development therefore is a high priority. According to the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel in Charlotte-Mecklenburg:

> You can't separate individual development from organizational goals...We expect teacher to perform (according to system-wide goals), but we not only expect them to, train them so they are able to do it. Teachers are evaluated on the way they present material. This is how the two systems (staff development and evaluation) are linked.

We have already discussed the role that development plays an input to the evaluation process, but development resources play an even more important role in support of evaluation outputs. Without training resources to support evaluative feedback, neither evaluator nor evaluatee will be motivated to invest time and energy in the evaluation process. Without the support of development resources targeted to the feedback they receive, teachers see evaluation as a no-win situation. An effective evaluation system enables teachers not only to identify a problem but also to act to solve it. In fact, teachers believe it unethical to point out performance weaknesses without providing resources for improvement.

Resources are important to an evaluator's perception about the task of evaluation. We have seen that evaluators are less likely to provide honest, critical assessments of teachers' expertise unless they know they can ultimately support improvement efforts with resources at their disposal. Without

the knowledge that resources exist to assist a teacher in their improvement efforts, evaluators see themselves as "playing god," or as providing empty critique, a role few managers enjoy.

Integration of development resources and teacher evaluation requires a shift in the way many school districts define staff development. Most administrators, when asked about their district's staff development efforts, will point to programs and workshops--often one shot treatments targeted to a particular district problem. But if teacher evaluation is to serve as a source of teacher learning, staff development resources needs to be conceived in much broader terms. Fellow teachers, community resources, district workshops, professional conferences--any and all of these resources exist to support professional growth in any district. However, rarely do schools assist teachers in identifying domains for future professional growth in light of organizational needs, nor do they match these needs with available resources and provide the time and incentive for teachers to pursue them.

Staff development, conceived in this fashion and linked to the evaluation process, redefines the role of the evaluator from that of inspector to that of a manager of opportunities for professional growth based on evaluative feedback.

Charlotte tightly relates evaluative results to district development resources. The main purpose of the advisory assistance team is to serve as a broker of staff development resources in support of the teacher. Through the evaluation

system, new ideas, new methods, and enthusiasm is being generated which is then channeled back into district improvement efforts. As Charlotte's Phillip Schlechty states, "What we need to do is to make the good teachers resources for the ones that have difficulty in given situations . Thus, in one school, based on the results of first semester evaluation reports, the district staff development office planned five school-site workshops to support career candidates there.

The assistant principal for instruction in each of Charlotte-Mecklenburg's schools plays a critical role as the broker of district staff development resources. Their actions in each building determine the quality of the support a teacher receives in responding to evaluative feedback. API's meet periodically to discuss their concerns and share resources and ideas they might bring to bear to support evaluative feedback. Their formal role in the evaluation process has enabled them to expand on the support services they assist teachers in identifying, because their knowledge of specific needs is more complete. For example, one API in a high school stated:

> We have provided specific assistance (to provisional teachers) such as assertive discipline workshops and I'm not sure that some of these teachers would have been referred to them without having this evaluation system in place. For example, last year I didn't refer anyone to specific workshops in the district. This year, I've done it at least 5 times.

The remediation process in Santa Clara Unified illustrates very clearly the value of placing training resources at the disposal of evaluators to support recommendations for a teacher's improvement. Remediation specialists have a virtual

free hand to utilize any resource to support the improvement of the teacher they are supervising. Remediation team members allow the teacher to obtain released time to observe other successful teachers. They refer the teacher to workshops offered by the district and the state education office. They recommend university courses or courses such as the Bay Area Writing Project or Assertive Discipline workshops to the teacher which the school system will pay for. According to one remediation specialist, "I got a blank check agreement that I could use all the substitute time I wanted and that the teacher could have a substitute if she wanted to observe us." Because of this support, all the remediation team members we talked with agreed that if a teacher was not able to improve, they should not be responsible for students in the classroom.

Mountain View-Los Altos couples their staff development program even more tightly as an output to the evaluation process. The current series of staff development workshops arose from careful inspection of the previous years year-end evaluation reports for teachers. Topics such as "teaching for higher order thinking skills" and "classroom management techniques" assist teachers in implementing the recommendations of their evaluators. According to one veteran teacher:

> There is no doubt in my mind that evaluation does help teachers improve. The workshops, the suggestions from the principal, the materials they make available to you--all of these are good...There is certainly lots of assistance in this district for improvement...it is sort of hand and glove. They provide you help and then they evaluate you on what you have learned.

Linking staff development to evaluative feedback in this

manner helps teachers to maintain existing performance expectations and increases the likelihood that they will attempt to improve. One necessary step in both accountability and improvement is for teachers to recognize a problem. The next critical step is for them to be able to identify a response--to act on the feedback provided through evaluation. Resources tied to evaluation are a necessary part of that problem solving activity.

SUMMARY:ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE FOR TEACHER EVALUATION

For most school districts, teacher evaluation will require fundamental change in the values and practices that characterize the organization. A necessary set of enabling conditions--a triggering event, environmental stability, leadership committed to strong teacher evaluation together with active teacher involvement in the design and implementation of a teacher evaluation effort--combine to produce an environment of visibility for evaluation, trust, communication, and commitment. Without these organizational conditions, there is little chance that teacher evaluation can become a force for positive individual or institutional change because long standing norms governing teacher and administrator interaction in schools will thwart it. A culture for evaluation is necessary to the success of any teacher evaluation scheme.

But in the presence of these enabling conditions, certain program design considerations contribute to the success

of a teacher evaluation effort. Teacher evaluation strategies that are based in joint training of administrators and teachers, that provide checks and balances, that hold administrators accountable for their evaluation activities, that provide effective feedback, that rely on flexible instrumentation and resources to support evaluation support the broad goals of accountability and improvement.

The next section discusses in greater detail the multiple outcomes associated with teacher evaluation practices having these characteristics.

V. ACCOUNTABILITY AND IMPROVEMENT:OUTCOMES OF EVALUATION

"Accountability" and "improvement" figure prominently in every educator's vocabulary and in the objectives adopted for state and local reform initiatives. The way these terms are used suggests consensual meaning and straightforward implications for practice. However, the experiences examined in this study warn that this is not the case. How these objectives are conceived matters critically to the operation and outcome of a teacher evaluation effort. Usual conceptions, we have seen, are inadequate as a guide to practice and are in fact often counterproductive. This is perhaps one of the most important conclusions of this examination of teacher evaluation practices.

Each of districts we studied adopted accountability and improvement as the broad goals for their teacher evaluation system. Each has achieved these goals in varying degrees. But more important than their differential success, per se, their experiences highlight the problems that result from facile or unexamined conceptions of "accountability" and "improvement". The experience of the districts we studied suggests how these limited conceptions contribute as much as any other factor to the disappoin ing outcomes of most teacher evaluation efforts.

Accountability has come to be seen as quality control from the top and to be defined in terms of minimal competencies. A district is thought to be "accountable" if it is using teacher evaluation to identify and eliminate teacher incompetence. However, the experience of the districts we studied underscores

the fact that accountability is and must be more than inspection for minimal performance.

Accountability, these districts remind us, means to render an account of individual and institucional performance. Thus accountability means more than giving bad grades for inadequate performance. It means marking competent and excellent performance as well. The four districts included here demonstrate that teachers want and require accountability of this comprehensive sort and, moreover, that the ability of a teacher evaluation system to meet accountability goals in a minimalist sense depends importantly on the extent to which it acknowledges good performance as well.

The experience we observed also demands rethinking of traditional notions of "improvement" associated with teacher evaluation. Improvement typically has been taken to mean remediation--improving the skills of teachers whose performance is judged below par in some respect. The districts in our study demonstrate that, like accountability, notions of improvement must be extended to all teachers if the evaluation system as a whole is to be seen as legitimate. Teacher evaluation that frames improvement only in terms of the incompetent teacher, like an accountability objective framed in minimalist terms, is viewed as punitive and inconsistent with professional values. It also is viewed as irrelevant by most teachers in the district and as unrewarding inspection by evaluators.

The experience of the districts we studied also illustrate that improvement is a complex notion with three important features. Individual improvement has at least two components:

one, reflection about teaching and areas of strength and weakness and two, motivation to change, or to act on the results of reflection. But if individual improvement is to result in institutional improvement, individual goals and development efforts must have a third characteristic: a high level of integration with district goals and priorities. District plans, then, must acknowledge these three aspects of improvement if improvement is to occur at the institutional level.

How do these themes express themselves in practice? Evidence from the four districts provides rich and concrete illustration of the importance of conceptions of accountability and improvement and of the individual and institutional benefits associated with meaningful teacher evaluation.

ACCOUNTABILITY

At the least, effective teacher evaluation systems must provide quality control at the institutional and individual level (Bridges, forthcoming.) Accountability for minimum, acceptable performance levels is a stated and important goal of virtually every teacher evaluation system (Wise et al, 1985; ERS, 1978).

Accountability operates at both the individual and the institutional level. At the individual level, objective feedback provides teachers accounts of their work they can compare to their own personal standards. Regardless of a teacher's competence level, specific, concrete and credible information serves this purpose. At the institutional level, evaluation identifies and documents professional performance below district standards, thereby making the institution accountable to its

con· .uency when subsequent remediation or dismissal procedures are effective.

A somewhat surprising finding of this study, given vocal teachers' concerns about evaluation processes and procedures and public cynicism about accountability in education, is the high level of teacher support for strong evaluation-based accountability procedures. (Our finding is consistent with Bridges, forthcoming and is consistent with case studies contained in Wise, et al., 1985) For example, a Moraga teacher said: " I wouldn't like it (if there were no evaluation)...I'd feel that [administrators] di l not care enough to check and make sur. things are right...it is management's responsibility to make sure. I want some accountability." A Mountain View-Los Altos department coordinator asserts tl at:

> The view that teachers are °professionals' and shouldn't be subject to administrators who inspect and evaluate what they do is (hogwash). We need people to come in and check on us just like anybody else. As long as it is done in a positive and constructive manner, all it can do is benefit education.

A teacher in Santa Clara commented:

> A person shouldn't be given responsibility to take care of kids in a teaching responsibility if they can'. teach. The others of us work too hard. If you can't cut it, you should get out of the profession.

An administrator in Santa Clara reinforces this view, but from a somewhat different perspective. He notes that ineffective teachers often are glad to hear specific comments about areas of weak performance:

> It's tough to give people negative evaluations, but I'm amazed, actually. I've actually given more °needs

before...I'm amazed that once I put everything on the table, teachers are often relieved that someone has finally told them in a candid manner what they think of their teaching.

Although popular notions of teachers and accountability run counter to these views, they are not at all surprising when viewed in light of the incentives and rewards that characterize the teaching profession. For most teachers, a desire to serve students lies at the base of professional incentives. Ineffective classroom performance, whatever the cause, robs teachers of the rewards that drew them to the classroom in the first place. Few incompetent teachers enjoy their jobs. Yet in the absence of evaluation and careful documentation, teachers often rationalize their poor performance, usually blaming the students for their failure. For example, remediation specialists in Santa Clara Unified described their first observation of a poorly performing teacher in just this manner. At the end of a disastrous lesson, the teacher's initial comment was, "See how bad those kids are?"

Teacher evaluation promotes individual accountability by forcing teachers to confront objective accounts of their own teaching practice. Careful, detailed, and formal documentation of classroom events can make what is invisible to the teacher, visible. We found that when coupled with resources to assist them in improvement efforts, teachers usually seek ways to improve and feel positively about the challenge. For example, a

teacher who had just recently completed a year of remediation in Mountain View-Los Altos commented:

> I'm really excited about getting a fresh start next year I really believe I have to (make changes in my teaching behavior), if only for my own happiness.

One teacher likened the teacher evaluation process to an accountability system familiar to all teachers--grading students:

> There are some students that you can give a low grade to and they will accept this if they perceive the total process as fair and equitable. Well the same is true with the evaluation of teachers. If the process is perceived as fair and accurate and is treated as a matter of fact and not in a personal way, and everything is clear and up front, then if a person gets a less than satisfactory evaluation, this can be OK.

We also found that the same norms and values that lead teachers to improve on the basis of evaluation feedback also lead teachers to resign voluntarily when fair, credible evidence suggests that they are not well-suited to teaching. Among the three California districts we visited, none has been forced to institute formal dismissal proceedings for incompetence against any tenured teacher. However, each district has secured voluntary resignations from several teachers in conjunction with the evaluation process.

This individual response to evaluation evidence translates into accountability for a minimal level of teacher performance at the institutional level. For example, in Moraga, Glickman estimates that more than 10% of the district's teachers have resigned over the past four years on the basis of evaluation evidence that showed them to be ineffective. The personal interviews she held each year with her professional staff

revealed important career goals for each individual. Without exception, the poorly performing teachers were unhappy in their current position, yet economic pressures prevented them from giving up their teaching position and maintaining a comparable standard of living. The district was able to craft an individual package involving early retirement, career counseling, and benefit packages for each individual that secured their resignation, and that according to Glickman and other districts respondents, enabled them to leave with positive attitudes.

In Mountain View-Los Altos over the past eight years, 10 teachers, approximately 3% of the teaching force, has been induced to resign in a manner similar to Moraga. Approximately 4% of the district's teachers receive an unsatisfactory rating in any given year. Many of these individuals improve to a satisfactory level in the following year.

In Santa Clara Unified, Assistant Superintendent of Personnel Nicholas Gervasse reports that 24 teachers have been referred for formal remediation within the district over the past 8 years, with one-half of them voluntarily resigning either during or at the end of the process. In addition, approximately 12 other teachers have chosen to resign rather than participate in the remediation process. In each case, Gervasse stated that he attempts to secure a voluntary resignation in lieu of a formal dismissal so that both parties come out a winner. According to Gervasse, the strength of the remediation process is the detailed

documentation it produces regarding a teacher's performance that is coupled to intensive assistance from knowledgeable peers.

In Charlotte, institutional level accountability is revealed in a slightly different manner than the California districts. Provisional teachers require anywhere from three to seven years to obtain tenure, which comes with the attainment of Career Level I status. Eighty-six of the district's 350 provisional teachers have voluntarily resigned, in part due to the extensive feedback generated by the evaluation system. Some decided that teaching was not the career they wished to pursue. Others moved out of the area. Charlotte's director of Career Development estimates that 6% of the the Provisional teachers were induced to resign as a direct result of negative evaluative feedback. However, the new evaluation system must be operative for several years before more complete statistics will be generated to compare the current evaluation system to past practices.

The 150 Career Candidates voluntarily participating in the Career Development program in its first year were nominated by their supervisors and peers as exemplary teachers (one of several conditions for participation in the first year). Thirteen of these individuals did not attain Career Level I status. Five voluntarily dropped out of the program during the school year, and 6 voluntarily agreed to extend their status as career candidates for a second year before going through the formal review process. Two individuals were denied Career Level I status at the end of the formal review process. Maintaining high performance standards remains a central goal of the Career

Development program, and these initial results seem to indicate progress in this direction.

In summary, our data reinforce the notion that commitment to professional standards and norms can serve as a powerful source of organizational control. Teacher evaluation that produces information consistent with professional values--what we have called effective feedback-- supports "accountability" of the most fundamental kind because it works through the systems normative structures, rather than through rule-based, bureaucratic procedures.

But our districts caution us that accounting and accountability must mean more than giving and responding to bad grades. Good grades are a necessary and usually overlooked aspect of an accountability effort. Accountability is not reserved for the incompetent. We found that excellent teachers with high performance standards placed great importance on the feedback they received from a credible evaluator--on the account rendered to them.

Even though most teachers claim that the most important indicator of their success lies in the responses of their students, external validation plays an important role. The following comments from teachers in each of our districts describes the power that teacher evaluation holds for recognizing excellence and validating effective performance:

(From a Santa Clara teacher who received an average evaluation) I've never had an evaluation as thorough as this before...it made me feel a bit more worthwhile. It really gave me a boost.

You always want acceptance, and not just from peers. It's important for the administration to give you an 'atta girl' and this helps motivate you...If the administration doesn't care what I do, then I'm not going to care as much either.

(From a department head in Mountain View-Los Altos)
If you are a person with high standards, you need to have a pat on your back now and then. Without evaluation, I would get very few strokes on my performance and getting these strokes helps me be a better teacher and put things into perspective. This year in particular was a tough year and the positive strokes really helped me.

(From a career candidate in Charlotte-Mecklenburg)
I need the reassurance of people looking at what I am doing. If we are not looked at, we get the attitude that nobody cares. I think it can bring about a lack of motivation and I think this has happened to many teachers.

(From a Moraga elementary school teacher)
I want the administration to be interested in what I am doing...It gives a teacher a sense of importance when (an +administrator) feels what they're doing is important enough for him to drop in to see how it is going.

(From an English teacher in Mountain View-Los Altos)
I think the strength (of evaluation) is the time that the administrators take in doing evaluations. It is really used as a reward for those who do well...we all need positive strokes and for me, (evaluation) served as a real reward this year...It was an attempt to show that he (the principal) appreciated me. He praised me tremendously and wrote careful pages and pages of detailed observations and data.

Validation of practice, accountability in this positive sense, is equally important at the institutional level. Feedback regarding the effectiveness of district programs, especially when they achieve stated objectives, serves the same purpose that it does for teachers. So often, district administrators hear only complaints about poorly implemented policies. But when teacher evaluation becomes a central activity within a district, it generates feedback regarding the effectiveness of district programs. For example, in Moraga, administrators have a plethora of information regarding the effectiveness of the Elements of

Effective Instruction staff development program due to its integration with the teacher evaluation system. Administrators and teachers employ Effective Instruction terminology during the evaluation cycle, and principals clarify areas of misunderstanding. According to one administrator:

> It (EEI) was the best inservice ever in Moraga. The content was useful and valuable. It had something for all...a common way of looking at teaching--a vocabulary. We talk at faculty meetings...and evaluation becomes part of the clinical supervision process.

The teacher evaluation system in the other districts generate similar feedback regarding program effectiveness. In Charlotte, teacher evaluation has validated the district's effective teaching staff development programs of recent years, and demonstrated the value of the position of assistant principal for instruction in each school. Similar validation of Santa Clara Unified's Effective Instruction and Support training program emerges as more and more principals and teachers who have both participated in the program work through an evaluation cycle together.

The experiences of the four districts we studied, in summary, demonstrate the potential of teacher evaluation for meaningful accountability--for rendering a comprehensive account of district practices--and show how accountability operates in tandem at the individual and institutional levels. However, by achieving accountability in this comprehensive sense, these districts have achieved much more. They have laid the groundwork for producing organizational and individual improvement through this same evaluation system.

IMPROVEMENT

Improvement is a complex and multifaceted concept. Yet evaluation systems with the stated goal of fostering professional improvement for teachers often assume that it is a simple process that magically follows when the teacher reads the "Recommendations for Improvement" section at the end of an observation or evaluation report. Teachers' responses to formal evaluation in our sample districts are consistent with the literature on adult learning that suggests at least two stages necessary for improvement:

- o recognition of potential areas of growth through a process of reflection, and
- o motivation to change or engage in learning activities..

In addition, such improvement strategies are seldom performed in a vacuum--teachers are members of an organization. Thus, the bureaucratic nature of teaching requires that improvement efforts not only benefit the teacher, but also hold the promise of contributing to the life and goals of the larger organization. Individual improvement translates into institutional improvement only if individual and institutional goals are congruent. The teacher evaluation efforts we examined provide abundant evidence of the capacity of a teacher evaluation system to stimulate the necessary conditions for improvement--reflection, motivation and integration. Coupled with resources for development, the experience of these districts suggests that teacher evaluation can result in substantive change in overall organizational capacity for improvement.

Reflection. Like most professions, teaching is poorly organized to promote reflection among its practitioners (Schon, 1978). The press of the classroom demands constant teacher attention, such that little if any time remains for them to exchange ideas with colleagues, much less a quiet moment to engage in professional improvement. Further, most teachers become socialized at an early stage to shun reflection that might lead to innovation, forced instead to employ techniques that achieve short term goals of classroom control or protection within the institution. Argyris notes both the irony and difficulty associated with productive reflection:

> Without reflection, there can be little learning... However, reflection is not easy because most of us reflect not so much to learn as to alter our actions in order to win and not lose, in order to remain in unilateral control, and in order to protect ourselves from feeling vulnerable. (1982:456)

Reflection is a necessary first step in professional growth and improvement, yet it occurs only rarely in the public schools. Our data provide rich examples of evaluation providing not only the opportunity for reflection, but also creating an arena in which to reassess priorities. Received in a climate of trust and face-to-face communication, expert feedback provides an opportunity for teachers to stand back from the daily routine--5 lessons a day, five days a week--and examine both the short and long term effects of their actions for their students. Teachers we interviewed stressed the importance of reflection provided through evaluation for all teachers, even the most skilled and experienced. Listen to the comments of teachers from each district:

(From a department in Mountain View-Los Altos)
Evaluation makes you sit down to think about what is really happening in your class. You say to yourself, "What am I doing?" Rarely do we have an opportunity in this profession to get introspective. But this process makes this introspection happen. It makes us think about what the purpose of our lesson is, and I think that this is very valuable. Most of this usually gets lost in the rush of day to day activities. The real value of the process is it makes you think.

(From an elementary school career candidate in Charlotte)
The observer-evaluators are like holding up a mirror....it's like getting dressed in the morning. It's hard to know what you look like and hard to put on your makeup without a mirror.

(From a junior high school provisional teacher in Charlotte)
Evaluation makes you think long and hard as you prepare for each lesson and makes you analyze what you are doing carefully. And I guess this wouldn't always be the case if you weren't participating in the (Career Development) program.

(From a remediation team member in Santa Clara Unified)
Even strong teachers need to be challenged every now and then and the evaluation process can do this. I think the evaluation process provides a way of looking at teaching in new ways.

(From an elementary teacher in Moraga)
[Evaluation] really has made me more conscious about how I do things in my classroom. [Because of evaluation] I am much more conscious overall about my practice and I think about my lessons more systematically...

(From an elementary teacher in Moraga)
The impact [of evaluation] has made is that it has made me more aware of what I do and what I don't do. For example, starting a class on time...I'm more aware of this and the need to do it.

To the extent that a teacher evaluation stimulates teachers to reflect upon their practice, it can be a powerful force for self-improvement. We saw that this individual-level reflection also provided important perspective on district-level practices at so supported reflection at that level.

Bureaucratic structure reinforces the inertia of all the individuals that comprise it. School district officials all too rarely reflect about long standing policies; teacher evaluation

can stimulate reflection at the institutional as well as the individual level. For example, in Charlotte, teacher evaluation as part of the Career Development program is creating a need for staff development, according to Schlechty, "not because staff development is mandated, but because skills are mandated." Prior to Career Development, no mechanism existed to expose this need; no arena existed where the district could compare organizational and professional needs. According to the director of staff development, the district has been forced to rethink the entire delivery system for their nationally acclaimed staff development program as a result of the teacher evaluation program.

Motivation to Change. Reflection in the absence of action fosters little improvement. Action depends on individual willingness to change. Our data highlight the fact that powerful internal motivation to learn or change can be stimulated by the external pressures associated with teacher evaluation. Teachers stress the importance of an external nudge, even in the face of strong personal commitment to do the best for youngsters. In talking about the importance of evaluation as an external motivator, many teachers drew analogies from the classroom. For example, a veteran elementary school teacher in Santa Clara said:

> Evaluation has an important purpose for everyone, I think it helps keep you on your toes as a teacher. (For example,) I think I might sit back on my laurels. After all, I've been teaching for 32 years. At this stage, it would be easy for me to (relax). Just like the kids when pressure is taken off, adults can tend to coast too. So I think the pressures of evaluation and the expectations it places on you are good.

A teacher in Mountain View-Los Altos said:

> Accountability is very important to me. I take my work very seriously. I am self-directed, but even I need a push every now and then as well--I want to grow.

Just as students need the proper "level of concern" to motivate them to learn to the best of their ability, so too does teacher evaluation as we have described it provide the impetus for teacher growth. As a teacher in Moraga remarked:

> If the level of concern [for performance] is low, people won't grow. Evaluation is a tool to place the level of concern at the right level--(and it is important to understand that) you can't grow out of fear."

Many teachers felt that teacher evaluation stimulated them and provided a necessary push to maintain their effectiveness. For example, a provisional teacher in Charlotte sees teacher evaluation in these terms:

> It is motivating. It keeps me on my toes. You aren't allowed to be sloppy....(Without it), I think I would get in a rut. I'd probably get bored. Evaluation is an incentive that pushes you to improve.

One twenty year Mountain View-Los Altos veteran who has always received acceptable evaluations stated:

> What the evaluation does is keep you from taking the easy way out and sloughing off on your job. I really think evaluation is good for education as a whole. To be honest, without evaluation, I think my job would be easier. I might not put as much work in as I do now.

By identifying specific areas for improvement and professional growth, evaluation moves teachers beyond reflection into problem solving and concrete action.

But evaluation also stimulates action at the institutional level because each new evaluation presents a new opportunity for learning, and an opportunity to define standards of acceptable practice within the district. Because of this inherent tension, evaluation can do more than motivate individuals, it can mobilize organizational action.

The tension associated with teacher evaluation and its potential for providing validation as well as amendmen also enables teacher evaluation to serve as an ever-present trigger, creating a self-generating mechanism to promote organizational maintenance and problem solving when districts take it seriously.

Unfortunately, this inherent tension in the teacher evaluation process and its potential for generating conflict disposes most school districts to pay little if any attention to evaluation activity. But conflict within an organization can be healthy to the extent that it stimulates discussion, reflection and problem solving, and then motivates individuals to select a course of action that contributes to the overall health of the enterprise. Disagreements and discussions between evaluators and teachers may reveal weaknesses in district curricula, gaps in staff development training, or a lack of clarity in effective teaching criteria. Districts committed to teacher evaluation have no choice but to act on the evidence uncovered in the evaluative setting or risk degeneration into the empty ritualism that characterizes evaluation in all too many school districts.

In Charlotte, the district has institutionalized the tension inherent in teacher evaluation in the relationship between school

based advisory-assistance teams, observer-evaluators, and the district review committees. Their joint recommendations can mobilize district resources in support of an individual or the career development program itself. Their disagreements can shock the system and test the very fabric of the school district. Each year, a new test of the system will occur, and no one can predict the outcome. In one school, the evaluations of provisional teachers highlighted the degree to which extracurricular activities, especially coaching, can divert attention from classroom performance. Yet this school has traditionally relied on new staff members to fill such positions. Confronting this issue will force this school to closely re-examine its priorities and devise new methods for administering school programs.

We encountered other examples in Charlotte where the reports of observer-evaluators conflicted with those generated by the school based advisory-assistance teams. Rather than destroy the system, or stimulate efforts to circumvent district policy, in every instance the disagreement stimulated reflection and problem solving among the teacher, their peers, and their advisory-assistance team. For example, one young career candidate related the following description of a disagreement:

> One time I had an observer-evaluator write down that the only evidence of success that my students produced was their ability to answer my questions. Now that's strange. What else did she want me to show? As it turned out, she wanted me to assign written work. As it turned out, I had just been absent for two days and the students had had two full days of nothing BUT written work. The last thing they needed was more, but the O/E didn't know this. Now I have planned to rebut that lesson and have my rebuttal placed in my file. I haven't turned it in yet because I want my API to look at it first.

But later in this same interview, this teacher proclaimed her support for the observer-evaluators:

> I think it's good that they (the O/E's) come in from the outside. The observer should not feel intimidated by the teacher that they are observing...The observer-evaluators are going to be less prone to bias in their evaluations. so observer-evaluators help make the system valid and keep bias from creeping in...Holding people accountable is the beginning to bringing about improvement in the district.

In Mountain View-Los Altos, evaluation and the tension it generates has also served as a trigger, forcing both teachers and administrators to re-examine existing routines and act to change them. Increased attention to evaluation prompted wide-ranging discussions among teachers and administrators about acceptable performance levels and the proper role of evaluation. For example, standards of acceptable practice have come under scrutiny, and been raised. As one administrator put it, "We do expect a lot more of teachers than we did five years ago....We believe in high standards in this district." Teachers have been forced to re-examine their own beliefs regarding teaching standards. As one teacher stated:

> I have really mixed feelings about this (higher evaluative standards) because it has caused a controversy among the staff. But the way I see it, I'm an effective teacher and I want this to be a good school. I do believe that those that have been targeted through the evaluation process have really deserved to be targeted.

The tension that increased attention to teacher evaluation has generated has forced this district to continually examine district practices and modify them to promote improved professional practice. Thus, recent staff development programs, taught by Mountain View-Los Altos teachers, reflect both

individual and district-wide needs as revealed in the year-end evaluation reports of teachers. Planning these staff development programs came about as a direct result of the need to support teachers in their attempts to conform to increased professional standards within the district.

Serious attention to teacher evaluation in Moraga revealed glaring problems with the form traditionally used for year-end ratings of teachers. The formation of a committee of teachers and administrators to construct a new form came about as a direct result of evaluation reform in the district.

Transforming reflection into active problem solving by teachers and administrators, whether in their own classrooms, in school buildings, or at the district level, becomes a natural consequence of teacher evaluation as we have described it. Evaluation rooted in expert authority taps both professionally based improvement incentives and intrinsic rewards in motivating individuals to maintain their effectiveness and strive for excellence. And though it holds the potential for generating individual anxiety and organizational conflict, it also focuses attention on system-wide improvement needs.

Integration of Individual and Institutional Goals.

Teacher evaluation can generate individual and organizational improvement because it creates an environment where reflection motivates problem solving and concrete action. But change in individuals does not necessarily enhance organizational goals. An effective teacher evaluation system must also insure that professional improvement contributes to the life and goals of the

school district. Integration of organizational and individual activities is a consequence of teacher evaluation as described here and is important to overall improvement goals. It can serve as a significant factor in the initial and continuing socialization of teachers (see Lacey, 1977:47). Teacher evaluation becomes an integration mechanism that operates across school, classroom and individual "boundaries" to support a collaborative culture and institutional cohesion.

Teachers in each district described how the evaluation process had helped them focus their improvement efforts on the classroom. The goal setting process that lies at the heart of each evaluation system, when approached seriously, enables teachers to integrate their own professional growth with improved classroom practice. According to one teacher, "Evaluation has helped me look back at what my own goals were (compared to those of the district) and help to keep me on track. It has refocused me."

In Moraga, virtually every teacher reported incorporating elements from the Effective Instruction staff development program into their teaching repertoire. Continued focus on effective teaching techniques through the evaluation system helped to integrate new material into existing repertoires, to translate theory into practice. Teachers in Santa Clara Unified reported similar experiences with the Effective Instruction and Support program in that district. According to one 20 year veteran elementary school teacher and remediation specialist who had just

the night before for a career candidate in the school. The meeting lasted beyond 6:00 P.M., and he likened the process to "giving birth." Together, the teacher and her advisory-assistance team had been through so much during the year, and had worked so hard with the sole purpose of assisting the teacher in advancing to Career Level One status, that the culmination of the process was truly an emotional experience. Eventually, Career Level One and Two teachers will exclusively serve as mentors and peer members of advisory-assistance teams, thus forming a self-perpetuating system of quality control, high standards, and collaboration within the district.

The other districts we visited have less developed mechanisms for integrating teachers with the organization through the teacher evaluation process, but we observed this effect nonetheless. For example, a science teacher in Mountain View-Los Altos had worked closely all year with the assistant principal on a district sponsored curriculum development process. As a result, the administrator had a firm, working knowledge of this particular curriculum. His assignment as the teacher's prime evaluator for the year made the evaluation process particularly useful for both individuals, resulting in a great deal of fine tuning, adjustment, and reflection. This experience highlights the value of integrating all district management activities into the teacher evaluation process.

There is little doubt, in sum, that teacher evaluation as it operates in the four districts in varying degrees supports reflection, motivation to change and integration between

individual and district goals. By all reports, teacher evaluation contributed significantly to individual and institutional improvement. Further, we saw that this improvement or learning extended beyond remediation of weak practice or fixing of ineffective policies to include continuing growth for effective teachers and finetuning of effective policies. Teacher evaluation of the sort pursued in these districts thus supports improvement of the most comprehensive variety because it represents more than running to stay in place. When extended to all teachers and to institutional activities, it represents qualitative improvement in overall district capacities.

SUMMARY

Like the enabling conditions we described earlier, the consequences of designing and implementing a teacher evaluation system for accountability and improvement create a self-generating mechanism for organizational and individual learning. Such a system promotes bottom-line accountability and recognition of excellence, coupled with a process of reflection on practice and problem solving at the individual and institutional level. Evaluation thus becomes an integrating mechanism that merges organizational and professional concerns. In this way, teachers' professional growth efforts enrich the organization and help to achieve its goals.

The districts we studied, even though they were at varying stages of the process of implementing teacher evaluation reform, underscore the importance of a comprehensive conception of accountability and improvement because that conception guides

> The teacher career development program actually grew out of efforts to provide more effective coordination of diverse staff development components...The program has merely identified these successful elements and suggested ways of organizing them to systematically improve the quality of school programs and school performance (Schlechty et al, 1985).

In this respect, evaluation is an attention getting device. It uncovers organizational needs and focuses individual action in directions that contribute to school system goals. It is not surprising, then, that we encountered several examples of teachers in Charlotte who had integrated their professional growth efforts with district goals and priorities. Over one-half of the career candidates in the district chose to focus their action growth plans on the new writing and math programs within the district. Several other teachers had developed new curricula, and plans were being made to share their results with other teachers in the district. In each of these cases, self-evaluations and discussions with advisory assistance teams revealed areas where professional growth and organizational priorities came together. This district administrator, who had reviewed all of the Action Growth Plans in her area, estimated that every teacher had focuses his plan on at least one district-wide goal, with writing goals, math goals, and computer goals leading the way.

Advisory-assistance teams in Charlotte are another critical mechanism for integrating individuals into the organization and providing a structure for socializing new members into the collaborative norms and values of the school system. In one school, the principal described the final summative meeting held

described the manner in which the principal integrated staff development training with the formal evaluation process:

> I have changed as a result of the effective teaching and clinical support program. That has changed my teaching. I can think of several areas where I have changed my classroom instruction as a result of my participation in that program...It has been important to me that the principal now comes in and can focus on specific things that i'm doing and speak in language that he and I can both understand.

In Charlotte, the new director of the Career Development Program commented that evaluation and the attendant professional development activities have "...opened up the classroom door."

At the institutional level, the overarching value of teacher evaluation lies in its potential for merging organizational and professional goals. Evaluation, as a component of the formal authority structure, communicates district priorities, "what people care about." At the same time, teacher evaluation that focuses on classroom practice, professional reflection, and student learning taps powerful professional motivations and incentives. A social studies teacher in Mountain View-Los Altos, said, for example: The goals of the district are my goals. I've always felt that, but going through the evaluations has reminded me of what I'm doing and has helped to focus me on what I should be doing in the classroom. Evaluation thus becomes the focus for individual learning within the district that contributes to the overall health of the organization.

The following statement from Charlotte-Mecklenburg's administrative staff illustrates how evaluation and the Career Development program have become the central, unifying force there:

planning and allocation of resources for evaluation. The districts we observed also demonstrate that when accountability is approached as rendering an account for all--the exceptional, the average and the weak--the evaluation system is more likely to be accepted as a tool for professional reflection and improvement follows as a consequence.

More than any organizational practice, teacher evaluation is the arena where a school district acts out the norms and values of the organization and reveals organizational priorities. Within that arena, traditional, ritualistic teacher evaluation practices reinforce norms of isolation and conservatism. In contrast, the created culture of teacher evaluation as we have described it transforms the classroom as a workplace. In the final section, we elaborate on the implications of our model for teacher evaluation reform efforts.

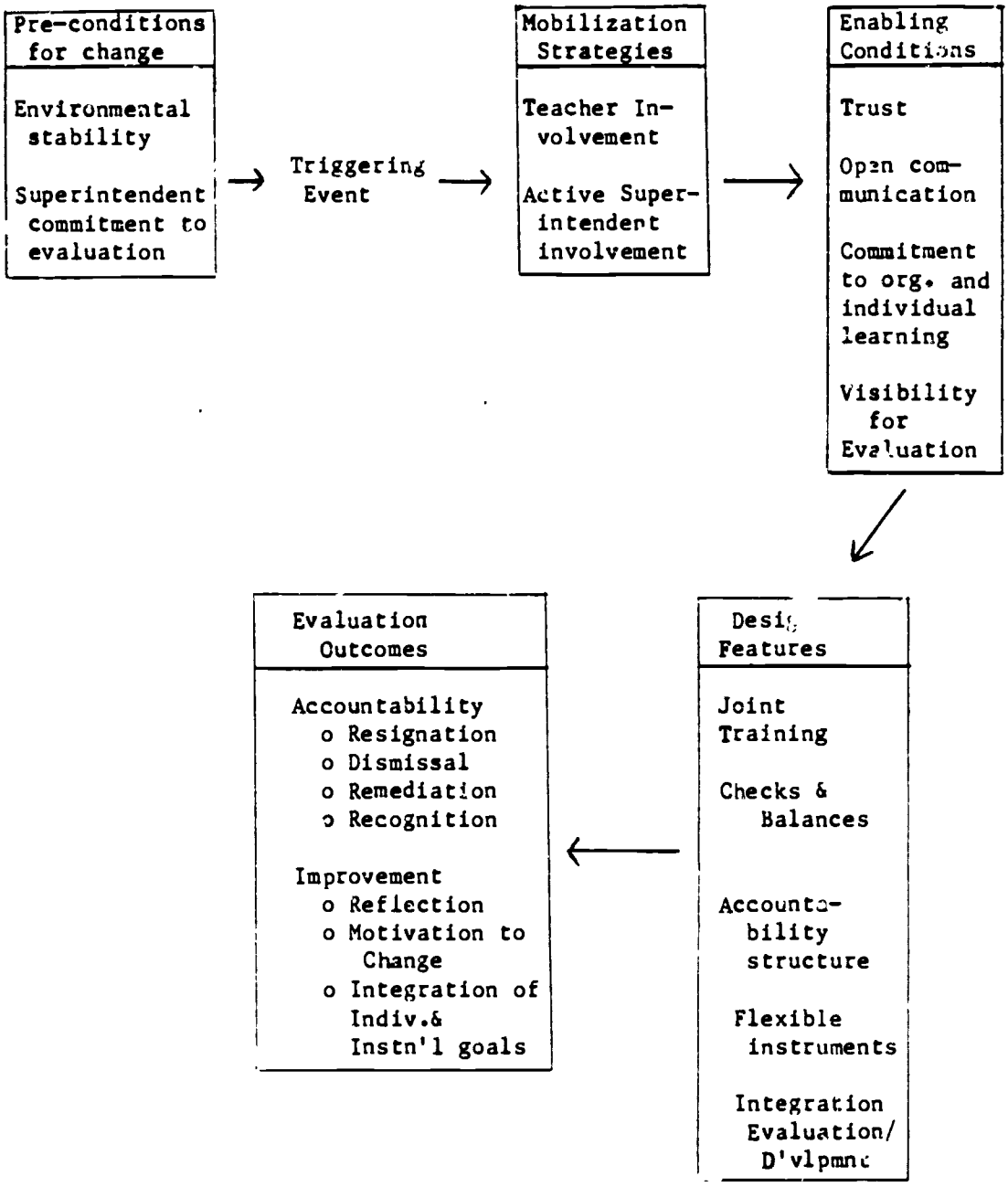
VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

We have described a set of enabling conditions, planning and implementation strategies, and evaluation activities that work together to promote accountability and improvement. (Figure 1 illustrates these relationships.) We have seen how a primary difficulty in crafting, implementing and sustaining a meaningful teacher evaluation system stems from the often dysfunctional authority arrangements found in many school districts. Bureaucratic authority often takes precedence over professional authority, substituting bureaucratically-derived rules or standards for professional judgment. Efforts to reduce "effective teaching" to a series of checklists have not been successful because the operating rules of effective teaching cannot be specified in advance. Thus teachers view organizational controls based in such rules or specifications as meaningless and threatening. Further, teachers perceive that they have little effective authority or influence. These attitudes establish conditions of unilateral administrative control that discourage candor and risk-taking.

And it seems that rules breed rules in environments characterized by low levels of trust. For example, collective bargaining agreements and district mandates often do more to shape the teaching workplace than do professional conceptions of best practice. In such an environment, it is no wonder teacher evaluation typically is viewed as threatening and irrelevant by teachers and administrators. For performance assessment practices to move beyond ritualism, teacher evaluation reform

FIGURE 1

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE FOR TEACHER EVALUATION, IMPROVEMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY



must be approached as a problem of fundamental organizational change.

Below, we offer a summary of our argument and formulate a set of conclusions based on our analysis of teacher evaluation practices in four school districts. Although none of the districts we visited has solved all of the problems associated with developing and carrying out a meaningful teacher evaluation program, each has made important strides toward doing so. Each district, while at different stages in the undertaking, has been successful in initiating a change process that addresses organizational practices that block teacher evaluation reform in most settings and provide evidence of substantial institutional accountability and improvement. Table One summarizes central features of each district's context for evaluation and evaluation plan.

Summary

Organizational change of any stripe is difficult to motivate and manage. Because teacher evaluation is a highly charged issue, altering existing practices requires a set of enabling organizational conditions to increase the probability that a given strategy will succeed. Moraga and Mountain View-Los Altos demonstrated the importance of trust between teachers and administrators if evaluation is to be perceived as non-punitive. Charlotte revealed the benefits of open communication at all levels of the district hierarchy and the commitment to risk taking it engenders. Santa Clara highlighted the variation in

TABLE ONE

A COMPARISON OF DISTRICT EVALUATION PROCESSES AND CONTEXT

	CHARLOTTE	MORAGA	MVLA	SCUSD
District mgt. style	Very open responsive	Very open cmprd to past practice	Open responsive	Very open responsive
Level of Trust	Very High	Transition increasing	Transition increasing	High
Teachers' role in evaluation planning	Central Role	Minor role in revision of yr end form	Shifting role over time	Represented on all planning committees
Who Evaluates	Peers, Admin., Observer/Eval.	Principals	Administrators	Administrators
Sources of Eval. Info.	Multiple obs. by Admin. & Peers + Action Growth Plan	2-3 observ. of classroom teaching	Many sources inc. observ., student rtgs. Teacher Prod.	2-3 observ. of classroom tch. except for remediation.
Evaluation Instrumentation	CTPAS Observ. use unstruct. form	Blank page w/ yr end form to be revised	Unstructured based on tchr goals	Unstructured Yr end form a checklist
Development resources tied to evaluation?	strong ties	uneven tie to findings	strong ties	strong ties
Accountability for evaluation Quality	Multiple lvls AA teams, O/Es Dist. Reviews	Sup't holds principals Accountable	Sup't holds principals Accountable	Little admin. Accountability currently
Evaluation a Super. priority?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Now but not in recent years
Environmental Stability	Stable since desegregation	Stable despite declining enrol & school closing	Stable despite declining enrollment	Very unstable
District Mgt-Union relations	Very Positive	Transition toward +++	Strained in recent years	Positive wking relationship
Triggering event for eval reform	Impending State merit pay program	Change in leadership	State passage of collective bargaining	Change in leadership

evaluation outcomes that result when the visibility of evaluation policies and procedures fluctuates. The absence of any of these conditions allows for misinterpretation of a districts' motives and purposes for evaluation that can frustrate even the most carefully and well intentioned teacher evaluation efforts.

Despite the diverse approaches to change taken by the sample districts, four elements combined within each of them to "unfreeze" existing organizational routines and help to create a supportive institutional climate--or the enabling conditions--for evaluation reform. Each district required a triggering event--a change in leadership as in Moraga or an externally imposed threat to operations as in the imposition of a state mandated merit-pay program in Charlotte--that offered district leadership an opportunity to launch the process of change. Because change is frought with uncertainties and errors, a degree of stability both within the organization and in its external environment must also exist so that inevitable setbacks and minor failures will not swamp the district and lead to chaos. Thus, the strength and stability of Mountain View-Los Altos allowed continued commitment to teacher evaluation despite a period of difficult relations between district management and the local teachers' association. And high public support for the public schools in Charlotte-Mecklenburg enabled that district to design a career development program even though it was likened to "building an airplane while in flight."

Each of the districts also illustrated the importance of strong leadership if evaluation reforms are to take hold. Paul Sakamoto's vision for evaluation, Rudi Gatti's commitment to open, face-to-face communication, Judith Glickman's ability to translate her vision into concrete practices, and Jay Robinson's open, participative management style all combine to form a leadership mosaic that ultimately shaped a climate that fostered learning in each of their districts. This leadership style broke down conditions of defensiveness and lack of trust. But teacher evaluation reform occurred only because it was a priority for the Superintendent and the superintendent demanded it. The superintendent's strong and explicit commitment to significant teacher evaluation activities is an irreducible requirement for reform.

Finally, meaningful and extensive stakeholder involvement in the planning process for evaluation completes the necessary activities we found to be associated with creation of an organizational climate that supports change. Such involvement fosters ownership and generates commitment to evaluation reform. Lack of extensive teacher involvement produced problems for both Moraga and Mountain View-Los Altos, while extraordinary measures to obtain input and disseminate information during the deliberations of the Career Development Steering Committee in Charlotte paid handsome dividends as this large, urban district tackled this extensive reform effort.

Together, these components of a successful organizational change strategy combine to foster, in Phillip Schlechty's terms,

an "evaluative culture" that supports rigorous teacher evaluation for learning and control. They help to install the enabling conditions necessary for an effective evaluation program.

Our research confirmed past findings that no recipe exists for effective teacher evaluation. The diverse approaches we encountered rested on different defining strategies--from multiple sources of evaluative information in Mountain View-Los Altos to peer remediation teams in Santa Clara Unified--that proved to be appropriate for the specific district context. Despite their differences, several general design features were evident that worked with the enabling conditions to promote effective teacher evaluation.

Joint training of teachers and administrators fosters authority relations rooted in shared expertise rather than bureaucratic position. It establishes classroom instruction as an organizational priority over and above administrative convenience, and provides the common language regarding methodology that is critical to improving professional practice. Both as a substantive and symbolic tool, staff development training serves as an important input to the evaluation process. Moraga's EEI program and Santa Clara's EIS program join with Mountain View-Los Altos' and Charlotte's long standing commitment to staff development to provide a necessary component for meaningful evaluation.

But our districts also highlighted the need to move beyond traditional conceptions of staff development as merely district-

wide programs, to a conception that defines staff development as a diverse array of opportunities that are closely integrated with evaluative feedback. As an output of the evaluation process, staff development supports evaluators' judgments and enables teachers to act on evaluative feedback. The role of advisory-assistance teams and the assistant principal for instruction in Charlotte as brokers of district resources supporting career development serves as the most dramatic example.

The nature and form of evaluative feedback as perceived by teachers will determine its effect on their performance. Staff development efforts that are closely coupled to evaluation practices essentially serve to demonstrate a school district's commitment to providing teachers with feedback they will perceive as useful. The value of Santa Clara's remediation process rests on this premise. Remediation team members provide timely, credible, and concrete feedback on the teacher's performance. Similarly, provisional teachers in Charlotte believe their professional development is accelerated because of the quality and quantity of the feedback they receive. And most importantly, feedback that teachers perceive to be punitive quickly loses its value as a source of professional growth, as demonstrated by the experience of teachers in Mountain View-Los Altos.

Three additional design features stand out as essential to a strong evaluation system. An accountability structure that incorporated checks and balances at each administrative level contributes directly to teachers' feelings of safety and fairness while being evaluated, and allows each district the flexibility

to employ evaluation instruments that do not over-specify the teaching act. Thus, in Charlotte, observer-evaluators serve as a check of school based advisory-assistance teams, and recommendations for advancement on the district's career ladder must withstand the scrutiny of two separate district-wide review committees. Principals are specifically evaluated on the quality of evaluation reports prepared in Moraga and Mountain View-Los Altos. The multiple sources of evaluative information in Mountain View increases the validity and reliability of evaluative outcomes.

The set of organizational change factors, enabling conditions, and evaluation design features just described combine to support effective teacher evaluation. But what of the outcomes? The ultimate test of any district's teacher evaluation system lies in its consequence for the quality of education available to student. Our analysis demonstrates that the traditional conceptions of evaluation goals--accountability and improvement--mask a more subtle and complex outcomes at both the individual and institutional level. Accountability implies responsibility for and recognition of performance across all levels of competence. Effective evaluation strategies, therefore, not only demonstrate an ability to document and eliminate incompetent teaching, they also validate excellent performance and recognize it in both formal and informal ways. Each of our sample districts offered examples of these outcomes and illustrate how this broad conception of accountability is

essential to teacher and administrator acceptance of an evaluation plan as well as their ability to profit from it.

Improvement also breaks down into reflection that identifies potential areas for growth, and motivation to change that leads to concrete action. The external "nudge" that serious attention to evaluation provides joins with professional motivations and incentives to produce improvement. At the institutional level, the tension inherent in the evaluative setting represents an ever present trigger that challenges the status quo and institutes a self-generating cycle of organizational improvement. While varied, the success to date of our sample districts in producing this broad range of evaluation outcomes suggests that the conventional wisdom which recommends separation of accountability and improvement oriented evaluation strategies may sell short the potential of this powerful tool for educational improvement. Instead, we saw that individual and institutional growth is a natural consequence of a comprehensive conception of an accountability plan--one which renders a meaningful account to all.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The experience we examined suggest four broad conclusions about the nature of the teacher evaluation problem, and the role of teacher evaluation in promoting improvement and accountability in school districts. These conclusions are relevant to policymakers and practitioners struggling with teacher evaluation issues because they suggest fundamental

rethinking about what teacher evaluation is, how to promote it, and what it can accomplish.

Defining the Correct Problem. Policymakers and practitioners identify the right goals for teacher evaluation--accountability and improvement--but frame the deliberation in terms of the wrong problem and, consequently, focus on the wrong solutions. Ineffective teacher evaluation efforts typically are diagnosed in terms of ineffective instrumentation and design; policymakers and practitioners pressed to put a strong teacher evaluation system in place accordingly frame solutions in terms of the instrument and ignore underlying, causal factors that inhibit effective evaluation.

However, we have seen strong evidence that the primary problems preventing teacher evaluation practices from achieving their goals are not technically based but are organizationally based. The most critical obstacles to effective teacher evaluation lie in the attitudes of teachers and administrators about each other, about the role of feedback, about performance, and about the possibility for significant improvement. Thus Charlotte framed the evaluation problem as one of providing a more effective delivery system for the district's extensive staff development program. Moraga approached evaluation as a problem of building trust between teachers and administrators. Mountain View seized the opportunity to raise performance standards, and Santa Clara now wrestles with the problem of regenerating commitment to a once valued organizational practice.

Making teacher evaluation a meaningful and useful experience involves changing basic organizational norms and values; it requires creating a culture for evaluation. Efforts to change a teacher evaluation strategy will be accomplish little unless they are preceded by change in the institution's governing values and attitudes. Defining the teacher evaluation problem in terms of organizational change, then, is the first, essential step in developing an effective teacher evaluation program.

Joining Accountability and Improvement Goals.

Conventional wisdom holds that a single evaluation system cannot serve accountability and improvement objectives simultaneously. Our observations suggest that this is not necessarily true, that traditional conceptions of accountability and improvement misspecify these terms, and further, that an evaluation system built on an assumption of incompatibility will be unable to serve either purpose as effectively as it might. We have seen that accountability and improvement are harmonious and reinforcing goals, not competing objectives. We base our conclusion in the observation that accountability of a fundamental kind--organizational control of the most essential stripe--occurs through strategies based in improvement or learning.

The rationale for this apparent contradiction is highlighted by most school districts' experience with evaluation strategies. Most teacher evaluation schemes create an organizational climate where little learning or control can take place. This is the

case because teacher evaluation in most districts effectively is a no-win game. Teachers have incomplete information or information too general to be useful about areas in which change is needed. They have few if any resources to make the changes suggested by an evaluation. Principals lack resources to respond to their findings. Both are afraid they will look bad; both feel they have more to lose than gain from a strong teacher evaluation effort. Control thus is minimal and learning rare.

"Winnings" under this model are slim at the institutional level as well. Most teacher evaluation schemes assess teachers' performance against minimum standards. This makes evaluation an irrelevant exercise for the 90-95% of the teachers in the district judged competent; thus evaluation can do little to boost the quality of performance in the district's classrooms.

Traditional systems of evaluation thus distance teachers and administrators from responsibility for problem solving and from subsequent learning. In such a climate neither control nor learning--neither accountability nor improvement-- can occur with any regularity or predictability.

Teachers, we found, support the same accountability goals demanded by legislatures and the public. Each of the districts we studied used evaluation to eliminate incompetent teachers from the school system. Their evaluation procedures conformed to the legal requirements of due process (see Bridges, forthcoming). But accountability objectives can also be applied to teachers at other levels of effectiveness, as we found most notably in

Charlotte and Mountain View-Los Altos. Evaluation properly conceived and supported with organizational resources can validate and provide recognition for excellent teaching as well. Indeed, to define accountability in any other way suggests a punitive approach that is inconsistent with professional norms.

The same, detailed, descriptive evidence that documents a teacher's deficiencies or effectiveness also can stimulate professional reflection. Advisory-assistance teams in Charlotte operate on just such a model. The detailed evaluation reports prepared by administrators in Mountain View-Los Altos supported unsatisfactory ratings, validated and provided recognition to excellent teachers, stimulated reflection about classroom pedagogy, and served as an external "nudge" based in professional pride to excel in the presence of a fellow practitioner.

Teachers, like other professionals, want to be challenged and want to grow. When excellent teaching is recognized and the necessary supports for improvement are present, evaluation ceases to be a source of frustration and becomes an opportunity for continuing professional development. Within the districts we visited, we saw that the same process of concrete feedback that points the direction for professional growth and that validates effective teaching also supports decisions to leave teaching.

Teacher evaluation as we describe it serves both improvement and accountability objectives because it joins knowledge and power at all levels of the system from the classroom to the central office and because control, in this

case, is located within the individual as well as in the institution.

Organizational Control and Professional Incentives. The creation and distribution of incentives, both intrinsic and extrinsic, are critical issues for organizational control. In any organization, but most especially professionally-based institutions, performance motivated by volition rather than by compliance is more predictable, more uniform and generally more effective. To this point, a teacher summed up volumes of research and speculation about teachers' response to planned change efforts and instructional innovation by saying simply "You've gotta wanna..."

For teachers, the most powerful incentives are those related to the achievement and development their students (see, e.g., Lortie, 1975). When benefits to their students are clear, teachers typically will expend considerable effort in changing present practices or acquiring new skills (see,e.g., McLaughlin 1985). Teacher evaluation systems as we have described them establish both intrinsic and extrinsic incentives for teachers to engage in meaningful evaluation and act on its results. At the broadest level, they do this because they shift the authority structure within a school district from one based in rules and one reliant on coercion and compliance --a command-and-control model--to one based in professional norms, values, and incentives. In this manner, evaluation works because it brings congruence between sources of organizational authority and professional motivations. Intrinsic motivation thus is

stimulated by concrete, clear feedback and reinforced by the presence of a legitimate evaluation strategy and its attendant extrinsic incentives.

Ironically, a bureaucratic inspection system coupled with the application of external sanctions designed to improve the profession by getting rid of the "bad apples" may actually diminish the profession by frustrating competent teachers to the point of departure. Teacher negative reaction to past evaluation practices in Moraga linked to the district's merit-pay provision in the 18th and 23rd year of service illustrate this point. Because such an approach is inconsistent with teachers' incentives, it produces alienation.

In contrast, teacher evaluation of the type we have outlined establishes a more effective strategy of organizational control because it aligns organizational goals with professional authority. Thus, Charlotte's Career Development program links salary increases to increased professional status through their careful design of an evaluation system that involved teacher input at every juncture. In this manner, teachers participate as full partners in defining standards and administering the process. In this sense, teacher evaluation becomes a powerful strategy for socializing new teachers (as well as veteran teachers) to the district's and the profession's primary norms and goals.

The Self-Evaluating Organization. Few school systems evaluate district-wide programs systematically. Few teachers are challenged to reflect on and improve their instructional techniques. Instead, most school districts are defensive,"self-sealing" systems, where trust and inquiry are low, frustration and wariness are high. The organizational costs of teacher evaluation in such a setting are considerable--most particularly, hostility and frustration on the part of teachers, and support for organizational entrophy instead of growth.

But as we have described it, teacher evaluation becomes the arena for professional and organizational reflection, with teaching effectiveness at the heart of the inquiry. Teacher evaluation can be the stimulus for new learning and new problem solving at both individual and institutional levels as individuals recognize problems, see solutions, act on them, and evaluate the results.

When the evaluation system is fully integrated into a district's management activities and policy system, teachers' attitudes and the quality of their instructional practices become the ultimate test of district and building level choices. Similarly, within this institutional context, diagnosis of an individual problem is seen for what it is--diagnosis of a systemic problem. Thus a problem with an individual teacher's classroom performance can be reframed as a problem with broader district practices--recruitment policies, staff development opportunities or supervisory practices, for example. Such a view was apparent in Charlotte, where the Assistant Superintendent for

Personnel balked at answering a question that required him to assess the effectiveness of teachers and administrators in the district. "That's really not the appropriate question." he quipped, "Our people are only as good as our district's commitment to training. Let's talk about that."

In a climate of trust and support, face-to-face communication, and commitment to the evaluation process, teacher evaluation generates information that identifies areas of institutional strength and weakness, directions for new activities, training efforts, and revisions of existing policy. Every evaluation thus comprises a test of the system. Effective teacher evaluation puts both the individual and the school district under scrutiny. It institutionalizes the inherent tension between the individual and the organization, confronting the status quo head on.

From this perspective, the reasons why technically based teacher evaluation reform efforts fail to realize both accountability and improvement goals become clear. Evaluation systems rooted in rules and procedures attempt to remove the tension inherent in the evaluation of an ambiguous enterprise like education. Technical solutions attempt to substitute decision rules for professional reflection and judgement. They establish "cut-off" scores that determine eligibility for organizationally based sanctions and use the process-product research findings regarding effective teaching for legitimation. The "numbers" determine evaluation outcomes. Any dissatisfaction

gets channelled into debates regarding the rationality of the evaluation process, sidestepping the truly important issues that focus on definitions of effective teaching to promote student learning. Technically based evaluation reforms mistakenly attempt to remove conflict from the evaluation process.

But conflict can also be healthy in an organization, given an enabling organizational climate. A system of checks and balances that requires professionals to wrestle with evaluative judgments that must withstand the scrutiny of still other professionals, institutionalizes the tension associated with evaluation and provides a forum where conflict can be aired. Thus, in Mountain View-Los Altos, commitment to high evaluative standards has indeed produced the seeds of conflict, but rather than cripple the system, the reflection and problem solving that has resulted has made the district stronger.

Teacher evaluation conducted in an institutional context of mutual trust and support for evaluation thus initiates a cycle of self-evaluation at both the individual and institutional level. It not only provides feedback regarding individual and organizational effectiveness, but it also serves as a institutionalized trigger to stimulate routine reflection about the assumptions, norms, and values that support professional practice in a school district (see Figure One). Evaluation becomes self-generating because individuals are constantly sharpening their competence and ability to learn and thus their ability to recognize and solve problems. The self-evaluating

school district becomes a place where excellent teachers become better and the incompetent leave or avoid.

At both the institutional and the individual level, the self-evaluating institution engages in learning of the most basic kind. This learning is reflected on three dimensions: and change in strategies, as the institution modifies policies such as staff development or recruitment and the individual alters professional practices; change in competence, as institutional and individual areas of weak performance are addressed; change in apsirations, as goals are clarified and performance is mapped against them (see Levinthal and March, 1982). It is through learning of this sort that teacher evaluation stimulates a self-renewing process of problem solving, action and examination that leads to accountability and improvement of the most fundamental kind.

REFERENCES

Argyris, C. , Reasoning, Learning, and Action, Jossey Bass: San Francisco, 1982.

Berman, P., and M.W. McLaughlin, Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, The Rand Corporation, R-1589-HEW, 1978.

Bridges, E. , The Incompetent Teacher: The Challenge and the Response, Falmer Press: San Francisco, forthcoming.

Educational Research Service, Evaluating Teacher Performance, Arlington, Va., 1978.

Etzioni, A., A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, The Free Press: New York, 1975.

Glidewell, J.C. and T. McLean, "Professional Support Systems: The Teaching Profession," in A. Madler, J.D. Fisher, and B.M. Paulo, eds., Applied Research in Help-Seeking and Reactions to Aid. Academic Press: New York, 1985.

Harris, L. and Associates, The American Teacher, Metropolitan Life: New York, 1985.

Herndon, J. Notes from a Schoolteacher. Simon and Schuster: New York, 1985.

Hyde, A.A. and D.R. Moore, Making Sense of Staff Development: An Analysis of Staff Development Programs and Their Costs in Three Urban School Districts, U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 1982.

Lacey, C. The socialization of teachers, London: Methuen, 1977.

Lawrence, P.R. and J.W. Lorsch, Organization and Environment, Richard D. Irwin, Inc.: Homewood, Illinois, 1969.

Lawton, , S.b., E.S. Hickox, K.A. Leithwood, and D.F. Musella, Performance Appraisal of Certificated Education Staff in Ontario School Boards, Non-Technical Report, Ontario Ministry of Education: Toronto, Canada, 1984.

Lewin, K., The Conceptual Representation and the Measurement of Psychological Forces, Duke University Press: Durham, North Carolina, 1938.

Levinthal, B., and J.G. March, "A Model of Adaptive Organizational Search, Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, 2: 1982, 307-333.

Little, J. School Success and Staff Development: The Role of Staff Development in Urban Desegregated Schools, Center for Action Research: Boulder, CO, 1981.

Lortie, D.C. "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in A. Etzioni (ed.) The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, Free Press: New York, 1969.

Lortie, D.C. Schoolteacher, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1975.

Lundberg, C.C. "On the feasibility of cultural intervention in organizations," in Frost, P.J., L.F. Moore, M.R. Louis, C.C. Lundburg, and J. Martin, (eds.), Organizational Culture, Sage Publications:Beverly Hills, California, 1985. 169-185.

McLaughlin, M.W., R.S. Pfeifer, D. Swanson-Owens, and S. Yee, "Why Teachers Won't Teach," Phi Delta Kappan, forthcoming.

McLaughlin, M.W., "Teacher Evaluation and School Improvement," Teachers College Record, 1985.

Meyer, J.W. and B. Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," American Journal of Sociology 83: 1977, 340-363.

Schlechty, P.C. and D. Crowell, Understanding and Managing Staff Development in an Urban School System, (Final Report, Contract 400-79-0056) National Institute of Education: Washington, D.C., 1982.

Schon, D.A. Beyond the stable state, Random House: New York, 1971.

Schon, D.A., The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action, Basic Books: New York, 1983.

Stiggins, R.J. and . Bridgeford, "Performance Assessment for Teacher Development," Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 1985.

Wise, A.E., L. Darling-Hammond, M.W. McLaughlin, and H.T. Bernstein, Teacher Evaluation: A Study of Effective Practices, Rand Corporation: Santa Monica, California, June, 1984.

SEPI

STANFORD EDUCATION POLICY INSTITUTE

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

86-SEPI-5A

TEACHER EVALUATION: LEARNING FOR IMPROVEMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY-- CASE STUDIES

Milbrey W. McLaughlin
R. Scott Pfeifer

January 1986

86-SEPI-5A

TEACHER EVALUATION: LEARNING FOR IMPROVEMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY-- CASE STUDIES

Milbrey W. McLaughlin
R. Scott Pfeifer

January 1986

Milbrey W. McLaughlin is Associate Professor of Education and Associate Director of the Stanford Education Policy Institute (formerly the Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance), Stanford University.

R. Scott Pfiefer is a doctoral candidate in the School of Education, Stanford University.

The research reported here was conducted with funds from the Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance under a grant from the National Institute of Education (Grant NIE-G-83-0003). The analyses and conclusions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of either Institute.

STANFORD EDUCATION POLICY INSTITUTE

The Stanford Education Policy Institute (SEPI) conducts research on current and emerging concerns in education policy. SEPI strives to produce timely reports responsive to the needs of policymakers, practitioners, scholars and other members of the education policy community. Present work focuses on four critical areas:

- the education of children at risk;
- the quality of teaching and effective schooling;
- education and industry; and
- the effectiveness of the education policy system.

To develop a more complete understanding of the problems and and issues in these areas, SEPI draws its researchers from such diverse disciplines as economics, sociology, political science, history, anthropology, psychology and law. SEPI is administered through the School of Education at Stanford University, and succeeds the Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance (IFG).

ABSTRACT

This document is an addendum to "Teacher Evaluation: Learning for Improvement and Accountability" report. It provides the supporting case studies and the report methodology. The four case studies examine teacher evaluation in three California school districts, Santa Clara Unified, Mountain View-Los Altos and Moraga, as well as one school district in North Carolina, Charlotte-Mecklenberg.

APPENDIX A

STUDY METHODS

We selected the four districts included in this study because of their commitment to a meaningful teacher evaluation program and because they have undertaken a comprehensive approach to teacher evaluation that includes both accountability and improvement as objectives. None is exemplary; each has made significant progress toward developing and installing a strong teacher evaluation system.

We spent approximately between two to three weeks in each district except Charlotte, where a two week interview and observation schedule was crammed into six days. We began in each district by contacting the central office administrator with responsibility for teacher evaluation in order to obtain an overview of teacher evaluation practices and policies. We explored the district's expectations for teacher evaluation, operating assumptions, implementation issues, strengths and weaknesses of the plan. We also collected diverse record data about the teacher evaluation program and the district. For each site, we reviewed district evaluation plans, instruments and policy statements, collective bargaining agreements, training manuals, training materials, and examples of completed evaluation reports.

After reviewing this material, we interviewed other central office staff concerned with teacher evaluation, the personnel director, the superintendent (excepting Robinson in Charlotte), principals, officers in the teacher' organizations, teachers in

diverse school sites, and knowledgeable local education news reporters.

We selected our sample of teachers, administrators and schools with help from central office personnel. Although they made many helpful suggestions about individuals and schools to contact, they did not constrain the development of our final sample. The strategies we used to identify respondents for the study varied according to district size. In Moraga and Mountain View-Los Altos, relatively small districts, we interviewed principals and their assistants in every school, together with five to six teachers selected to represent a range of experience with the evaluation system. In Santa Clara Unified, six administrators in three of the district's twenty schools were interviewed, along with fourteen teachers. Three remediation team members also served as respondents. In Charlotte-Mecklenburg, we visited four high schools, four junior high schools, and five elementary schools located in diverse neighborhoods and at different stages in implementing the Career Development Program. In all, we spoke with eight building level administrators, ten central office personnel, and twenty four teachers in Charlotte.

While we pursued issues specific to each district, we followed a common protocol in all sites. From all respondents, we sought their perceptions of the role teacher evaluation played in improving the overall quality of instruction in the district and in maintaining the quality of the teacher corps. From central office respondents, we obtained a formal description of teacher evaluation policy and practices, descriptions of its

development, and the rationale for adopting a particular design and strategy. We also collected information about the community's political context, the district's management style, and the way in which evaluation was or was not coordinated with other district activities, expecially staff development and personnel.

From building level administrators, principals, and assistant principals, we sought information about the role teacher evaluation played in their day-to-day life, its impact on the school's instructional program, and on the professional development of teachers. We also asked building level administrators about the issues associated with an evaluator's role and how their district's particular evaluation policies related to that role. Building level administrators also provided information about the implementation of formal evaluation policy, the resources at their disposal to implement and respond to evaluation, and the ways in which teacher evaluation contributed to or obstructed their ability to attain instructional and other school goals.

From teachers, we sought understanding of the role evaluation played in their professional life, its impact on their sense of satisfaction and efficacy, and the general manner in which the district's teachers evaluation policy supported their professional goals, or did not. We were particularly interested in teachers' views about the validity, reliability, and usefulness of teacher evaluation practices. Teachers' organization officials provided us with important history about

labor/management relations in the district, the organization's role in developing a teacher evaluation program, and their perception of the general response of teacher to the evaluation effort. We also used these teacher representatives to check the perceptions we had gathered f[illegible]achers about the fairness and usefulness of district teac[illegible]aluation practices.

The case studies and the technical report were submitted to district administrators for review and comment.

APPENDIX B

THE SANTA CLARA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT TEACHER EVALUATION SYSTEM (SCUSD)

POLICY CONTEXT

The Santa Clara Unified School District lies in the heart of the Silicon Valley just south of San Francisco. Formed in 1966 with the consolidation of 4 smaller school systems, the district is currently comprised of 20 schools and an adult education center, which operate with an annual budget of approximately 44 million dollars. The 13,000 students are dispersed in two senior high schools (10-12), two junior high schools (7-9), 14 elementary schools, and a continuation high school.

The surrounding community is a mixture of high, middle, and low socioeconomic status areas, and the schools reflect this ethnic diversity. Currently, approximately 44% of the student population is minority, with 15% of hispanic origin and 13% of asian decent. After almost 20 years of decline, enrollments appear to be stabilizing at this time.

Constant Change and Fiscal Crisis

Declining enrollments and the fiscal crunch caused by Proposition 13 have combined to make the management of this school system quite a challenge over the past decade. The overall fiscal health of SCUSD can be contrasted to neighboring San Jose, which declared bankruptcy several years ago. Student enrollment in the district peaked in 1968 at 24,000, falling steadily to its current level of almost half that amount. As a result, the district has closed 15 schools since 1974 and

undergone two major reorganizations. They have sold some sites and leased others, producing revenue that the district has used to renovate existing facilities and maintain its instructional program despite severe budget cuts and reductions in force. Teachers at the bottom of the seniority list in the district have 15 years of experience, and their average age is 47. Their salaries have increased an average of 5% every year over the past decade, now ranking in the top 6 of the surrounding school districts in Santa Clara County. Salaries range from $21,000 for a beginning teacher to almost $40,000 for a 30 year veteran.

As if the fiscal crisis over the past decade was not enough, major changes in the ethnic composition of the community also forced the district to adjust curricular offerings and confront issues of racial integration. Minority enrollments within the district increased from 20% to 40% of the total student population from 1973 to 1984. Achievement test scores declined for the first five years of this period, but a concerted effort by teachers and administrators to teach basic skills has raised scores on the California Assessment Program from the 52nd to the 67th percentile by 1983-84. Major curricular reform programs at both the elementary and secondary level in recent years have also helped to increase student achievement.

Change over the past decade has occurred rapidly in Santa Clara, much of it externally imposed. Yet, district management and the local teachers' organization, an NEA affiliate, share a positive relationship in spite of these stress provoking conditions. Both parties cooperated extensively during the

recent district reorganization. According to a union official, "The teachers' association has worked very closely with the district to solve problems. The relationship has been very postitive." A continual effort within the district to build and maintain trust among all affected parties has been necessary to maintain effectiveness in a constantly turbulent environment.

ESTABLISHING CONDITIONS TO SUPPORT EVALUATION

Building trust between parents, teachers, and administrators within the district has been no easy task. The referendum that brought about the consolidation of four smaller school districts to form SCUSD passed by only 35 votes. The first 8 years of the district saw 3 superintendents come and go before the present superintendent, Rudi Gatti took over in 1974. He partially attributes his long tenure to his efforts to address problems of communication, community relations, and resource constraints within the district from the very start, with teacher evaluation serving as the backbone.

Gatti believed that through all the turmoil that occurred in the early years of the district, teachers had taken the brunt of the criticism and blame. He had once served as personnel director within CUSD, and knew the territory well. He states:

> Before I decided to take the job, I sat down with the Board and we talked about what we thought were priorities in the district and what needed to be done. Before I took the job, I got a commitment from the Board to what my agenda was going to be for bringing about a situation that would have teachers treated fairly....I wouldn't have taken the job if I had not gotten that commitment from them.

Gatti's primary agenda item was opening up channels of communication between the Board of Education, his management

team, and the teachers. He immediately turned to an old colleague, Don Thomas, superintendent of the Salt Lake City Public School System at that time, and secured his services as a management consultant for the district, a service he would provide for seven years. Thomas was well known for his philosophy of shared governance that he put into practice in Salt Lake City, and Gatti hoped to adapt Thomas' philosophy in Santa Clara. Even today, Gatti refers to the relationship between the teachers and the district managment team as a "shared governance" relationship.

Thomas concentrated on opening up communications in an effort to solidify the district. He employed a strategy of meeting separately with members of the Board and the Management team, discerning areas of agreement and disagreement. By focusing on commonalities, he engineered consensus regarding goals and priorities. An important outcome of this process was a commitment to establish a remediation program for poorly performing teachers, modeled after the Salt Lake system.

Superintendent Gatti had held a vision of the potential teacher evaluation could play in any program of school improvement since his days as a high school principal. He shared Thomas' commitment to open, face-to-face communication, and believed that it was through teacher evaluation that he could demonstrate to teachers that he deserved their trust. He described the roots of his vision this way:

> I can remember when I was a principal, I really didn't have any special skills regarding evaluating teachers and I prpbably didn't put as much energy into it as I could. But then one day I decided that it was worth making a commitment

> to teacher evaluation because it would get me into the classrooms and help me to improve the instructional program in my school. I started spending a lot more time and energy on evaluation but it was only because I decided personally to make a commitment to it.

This commitment to teacher evaluation as a school improvement strategy has extended into Gatti's role as superintendent in Santa Clara.

Change is very difficult without resources to support it, but financial resources were in short supply when Gatti arrived. Advance planning for declining enrollments and school closures, coupled with astute real estate management, enabled Gatti not only to support existing school programs and services but also to implement new ones. Committees of teachers and parents hammered out tough school closure decisions early on, and Gatti turned these properties into sources of revenue for the district--slack resources he could call on to support change efforts such as teacher evaluation.

But closing schools places a heavy burden on school-community relations. Gatti tackled this problem by establishing an accountability program in 1978. This adaptation of a management information system brings together a variety of information regarding staff and student performance in an effort to keep the Board and community informed about the attainment of district goals.

In theory and in practice, accountability flows all the way through the school system. The basis for this measurement-reporting system is an annual needs assessment survey administered to all students and staff members, and a sample of parents. Using this data, along with the results of student

achievement testing, evaluation of district programs at both the building and district level occurs. Teachers and administrators then establish goals for the following year based on priorities set by the Board. According to one district administrator, "It's sort of a chain reaction, flowing from the superintendent, through us, to the principals and teachers." The uperintendent reports the results on a system wide basis in an "Annual Progress Report to the Community."

Based on the results of the Accountability program, parent satisfaction with district programs (basic academic skills, school discipline, attendance procedures, pupil responsibility, and instructional and administrative leadership) has steadily climbed over the years. In the spring of 1984, over 90% of the parents surveyed expressed their satisfaction with district programs. District administrators believe that the district's accountability program is crucial in maintaining the support of the community by providing a vehicle of communication and input at all levels of the system.

A broad range of factors have combined to produce a climate in SCUSD that supports evaluation reform. Together, the efforts of Don Thomas to facilitate communication between district managers and the Board of Education, Rudi Gatti's leadership and astute management skills, and the adoption of a district wide Accountability Program, all represent efforts designed to increase communication and trust among stakeholders in the educational process--Board members, parents, community interests, district and building administrators, teachers, and students.

Despite a turbulent and crisis filled journey, these efforts appear to be successful. Every teacher rated the relations between teachers and superintendent Gatti as positive. Assistant Superintendent for Instruction Louis Martini summed things up this way:

> (Evaluation) works because (the management team) has a good working relationship with the teachers. I think now we're almost on an extended honeymoon. I don't think relations could get much better. It's not uncommon for one of us to get a note from a teacher thanking us for the kinds of things we do in the district. They really appreciate us...I think there is a lot of trust in this district.

Officials of the teachers' association corroborate this assessment.

In recognition of their outstanding accomplishments, both Gatti and the Board of Education have received national recognition. The Executive Educator Magazine recently selected Gatti as one of the top 100 school administrators in America, and the U.S. Department of Education designated the SCUSD School Board as one of seventeen exemplary boards in the nation.

But a climate of trust and open communication is not enough to insure an effective teacher evaluation system. Below, we outline the strategy Gatti employed to produce evaluation reform in SCUSD.

THE STRATEGY

Teachers and administrators emerged from the management retreat conducted by Don Thomas in 1975 committed to installing an evaluation system for the professional staff in SCUSD that was based on peer assistance. A committee of teachers and administrators set out on a two year journey to design and

implement a remediation program in SCUSD modeled after the one used in Salt Lake City. Teachers had extensive involvement in the planning process. In fact, a teacher chaired the committee which drafted the remediation guidelines. Teachers perceived their involvement as an opportunity to exercise control over their own ranks and refocus the district's recently constructed evaluation system toward a philosophy of assistance and support. According to one committee member:

> There was just a felt need among teachers to improve evaluation in the district. Back at that time, there were many principals around who did very little if any evaluation and it became clear to us that if you were going to do a first class job with evaluation, administrators are going to have to know their business....It was sort of a professional thing among teachers. There wasn't really a huge community or board of education outcry to weed out incompetence; we just felt that we wanted to police our own ranks.

Upon visiting Salt Lake City, committee members realized that implementing the system in SCUSD would require modifications. According to another committee member:

> We saw a lot of problems in Salt Lake City. They were putting people on remediation because they had been put into an impossible situation....That's grossly unfair, and we were particularly tuned in to those kinds of problems here because our enrollment started to decline. We knew that teachers would be forced to move around because of riffing and seniority causing people to have to teach in areas that they weren't necessarily experienced in.

Despite some reservations, committee members remained committed to the construction of a remediation program in SCUSD; they felt that remediation teams composed of teachers represented the best way to insure that the evaluation program retained a positive and supportive focus. The committee drafted a plan for teacher remediation in SCUSD which the board approved. Teachers in the

district nominated 75 excellent teachers from their ranks to serve as potential remediation specialists.

Besides teacher involvement, two additional aspects of SCUSD's implementation strategy were instrumental in establishing a successful remediation program. At first, principals were very reluctant to place a teacher on formal remediation. They did not recommend a single teacher during the first year the procedure was available. Yet Gatti knew that incompetent teachers existed in the district, so he responded by placing four principals on formal remediation due to their failure to carry out their evaluation responsibilities effectively. The following year, 10 teachers were placed on formal remediation. Holding administrators accountable in both word and deed was critical to making the system work.

Seeing the program actually work was a second important step in implementing the remediation process. The first teacher to undergo formal remediation represented an important "test case" within the district. This individual, though his remediation team recommended retention with some modification in teaching assignment, decided to resign in response to the feedback he received. Both the teacher and the district were completely satisfied with the final outcome, something that had rarely occurred in similar cases prior to the presence of remediation.

THE TEACHER EVALUATION SYSTEM

The following statement from the manual of the SCUSD Uniform Evaluation System describes the philosophy of teacher evaluation in the district:

> Evaluation is a positive process which aids professional educators to improve skills related to their areas of responsibility. The entire process involves describing professional responsibilities, assessing performance, comparing this performance with established standards, and providing assistance for improving performance.
>
> An additional intent of evaluation, as set forth in the Stull-Rodda Professional Competency Act, is to promote and document the accountability of district certificated employees. The employee and the entire system will be held accountable for its high mission of educating its children and youth.

This statement reflects a philosophy of evaluation similar to most school districts across the country. Professional improvement and accountability for acceptable performance levels serve as joint purposes. SCUSD implements this philosophy in the following manner.

The policy and procedures of teacher evaluation are outlined in a district manual entitled "Certificated Employees Uniform Evaluation System." Teachers begin the process by submitting a list of objectives for the year, and administrators observe their teaching a minimum of two times. Conferences occur subsequent to each observation and at the end of the year, when the teacher receives a summative rating of "Effective," "Needs Improvement," or "Remediation Required" in each of seven categories:

1) The teacher as assessor of student needs;
2) The teacher as planner of instruction;
3) The teacher as presenter of instruction;
4) The teacher as controller;
5) The teacher as evaluator of student progress and instructional purposes;
6) The teacher as communicator of the educational process;
7) The teacher as professional.

Under each category, from 4 to 8 statements further explicate role expectations--36 statements in all. (See Appendix A for a copy of this year-end form.) In the event an administrator rates

a teacher as needing improvement or formal remediation, they must provide additional documentation. Evaluators may also attach commendations for any area of the teacher's performance if they desire. Tenured teachers undergo evaluation every other year, beginning the cycle by reviewing their previous evaluation results.

Individuals familiar with teacher evaluation systems will notice that the process described above differs little from that found in many school districts across the nation. What is unique, however, is the process of formal remediation that administrators may invoke if a teacher experiences particular difficulty in the classroom.

Any certificated employee, both teachers and administrators, may be referred by their supervisor for formal remediation if informal attempts to improve deficient performance fail. Before any employee may be placed on formal remediation, the supervisor must document that they have informed the employee of their deficiencies, and provided assistance. For teachers, principals may provide direct supervision, refer the teacher to district-wide inservice programs, or ask for assistance from a department head or mentor teacher. Many schools participate in the state sponsored "School Improvement Program" which makes available substantial amounts of money at the school site that the principal can use to support the remediation efforts of staff members. One principal we spoke with went so far as to pay the tuition of one teacher for a class at a local private university because it held the potential to improve a glaring weakness in

the teacher's performance. If such attempts to secure improvement fail, formal remediation results.

Two meetings initiate the formal remediation process. The first involves the teacher and the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel, who informs the teacher about the mechanics of the process and its consequences. The teacher selects members of his/her remediation team at this time. The Personnel office maintains a list of volunteer teachers and administrators from which the individual referred for formal remediation may choose two or three to serve on their remediation team. Other individuals mutually agreed upon by the Assistant Superintendent of Personnel and the teacher may also serve as remediators.

If the individuals selected to serve on the remediation team agree to participate, a second meeting takes place involving the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel, the remediation team, and the teacher to discuss the upcoming remediation period. The remediation team then begins the process by reviewing with the referring administrators the documentation of the teachers deficiencies. Remediation team members have access to any resources within reason that they deem necessary in assisting the teacher. Substitutes to allow for visitations, professional reading materials, access to professional workshops, or other instructional aids are available. All actions of the team must be thoroughly documented, all parties receive a copy, but strict confidentiality is maintained. Numerous observations and conferences occur between the remediators and the teacher. The form and amount of intervention varies depending on the specific needs of the teacher and their remediation team. At the end of

the 60 day remediation period, the team presents their findings and decides if the teacher has been successfully remediated. Their responsibility ends with this determination. The ultimate responsibility regarding the future employability of the teacher rests with the superintendent.

The collective bargaining agreement between the teachers and the school board contains no mention of the remediation process. A teacher may not file a grievance to protest an evaluation outcome. Grievances are only allowed regarding deviations from negotiated evaluation procedures. Thus, the teachers' union has no direct role in the remediation process, though the teacher may request to have a union representative present at the initial conference with the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel. The union becomes involved only if the administration violates any of the evaluation procedures in the collective bargaining agreement, or if the teacher wishes to contest a decision for dismissal. No such circumstance has ever occurred within the district. However, the president of the teachers' union believes that a more formal role for the teachers' association in the remediation process would improve the outcomes.

Before discussing the outcomes of the evaluation and formal remediation process, a brief discussion of district-wide staff development programs provides some information necessary to interpret those results.

A New Direction--Effective Instruction and Support (EIS)

"Continuing to provide comprehensive staff development for the improvement of district programs" has been a staff Priority

Goal for the past 3 years in the district. During that time, the district has dramatically increased the staff development opportunities available to teachers and administrators. Total funding of staff development, approximately $60,000, is now part of the district's operating budget, and a full time staff development specialist coordinates the program.

This new focus on staff development began in 1983 with the support of a Packard Foundation Grant, when the district initiated a staff development program for teachers and administrators based on the instructional variables of the effective schools research. Entitled "Effective Instruction and Support," this program facilitates the mastery of new skills and concepts by participants through a system of observation, feedback, and coaching.

EIS is loosely coupled to the evaluation process in the district in several ways, and represents a major shift in the focus of past district staff development and evaluation strategies. Based on the responses of teachers and administrators within the district the impetus for this recent focus on staff development relates to the demographic make up of the professional workforce and their developmental needs. According to one remediation team member in the district:

> Six or sever years ago, some teachers had some .... problems and so we set out to fix them with remediation. Now, with clinical teaching, we are not just focusing on the bottom end. Now the focus is to make all teachers more effective so that people don't even get to the stage where they need remediation at all....I think it is very important for any teacher to be refreshed at certain times during their career.

Coupled with this emphasis on maintaining the effective performance of experienced teachers is the influx of new teachers that will accompany the soon to come growth in the student population and the retirement of a large cadre of older teachers. According to one district administrator:

> The emphasis these days in this district is on staff development, not remediation so much, and one of the reasons for this is that we're going to need to concentrate on new teachers in the near future....We want to train these new teachers and pick up where the universities have not always done a super job. We want to use our better teachers and we want to develop their skills as teachers through clinical supervision.

A cadre of district administrators and teachers conducts the program and serves as coaches. After a three day classroom session, participants team up with an experienced, trained coach who assists them in developing and presenting a lesson based on effective teaching principles grounded in the work of Madeline Hunter. The coach provides critical feedback and support through classroom observations and conferences for three lessons. In addition, teachers have at their disposal a variety of resources to assist them, including a bank of written and videotaped lessons prepared by prior participants that serve as models and instructional aids.

Teachers who have not yet participated in the program are skeptical about its value. But those who have received the training are unanimous in their praise. The direct instructional model "made sense" to them, and served to validate effective practices they already employed in the classroom. And several teachers indicated that the experience brought about improvement

in their performance. According to one 16 year veteran junior high school teacher:

> I really believe that I did change the way I teach as a result of my participation (in the EIS program). It forces you to break down the teaching task into tiny steps, and by doing this, I realized where I was jumping too far ahead of the kids. I really believe the kids learn more as a result.

All administrators, including the superintendent and his central office staff, have received the training and have taught several lessons in district classrooms. As a result, all administrators became certified as competent evaluators in compliance with California law. In addition, approximately 25% of the district's teachers have participated. According to Gatti, all certified personnel will eventually complete the program.

Some administrators actively employ the techniques they obtained through the EIS training process in their evaluations of teachers. Many teachers ask their principal to be their coach, and combine their formal observations as part of the evaluation process with the EIS coaching system. One veteran high school administrator states:

> All those things they teach you in EIS help me in my observations....they give me something to focus on. So I've been able to tie EIS into my regular observations because now I can focus on the introduction to the lesson, the words the teacher uses, and how they follow through. Now I can dissect what the parts of a lesson are.

Two-thirds of the building administrators interviewed felt that the EIS training had dramatically improved their skill as an evaluator. According to one assistant principal:

> Looking back to the past, I have to say that I did a poor job (of evaluating teachers) because I had no skills in the area. But then I got involved in the EIS program. For the

> first time, I felt like I saw a good teaching model....it has given me some excellent tools that I can use in evaluation. Before, I can say that I would focus on things...that I really cannot say were related to teaching....Now I really focus on pedagogical processes.

But some building administrators report that they have transferred few EIS techniques to their formal evaluations of teachers. For example, one evaluator saw little value in taking a script-tape (a verbatim transcript of a lesson) when observing a teacher as part of their formal evaluation, even though this is an important technique used in conjunction with the EIS program. Another administrator indicated that many principals were resistant in their adoption of improved evaluatior skills, and felt that the district needed to provide addtional follow up activities. This individual had been recruited as an EIS trainer, and she candidly admitted that it was only after the additional training she received as an EIS trainer that she began to incorportate its precepts into her evaluation activity.

Despite these negative comments, our interviews suggest that the process of evaluating teachers has evolved over time in Santa Clara beyond a focus on the remediation of incompetent teachers. Teacher evaluation now encompasses a complex web that includes the Uniform Evaluation System, curricular monitoring programs, and staff development, particularly the EIS program. Thus, both the accountability and improvement purposes outlined in the philosophy statement prepared by the committee that revised the evaluation system are addressed. Below, we discuss the specific outcomes of these programs within the district.

OUTCOMES OF EVALUATION AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

All respondents in the district acknowledge the value of the remediation program in strengthening the teacher evaluation system. Over the past 10 years, approximately 26 teachers have been placed on formal remediation, and one-half have voluntarily resigned as a result. The remaining individuals have been successfully remediated. The Assistant Superintendent for Personnel, Nicholas Gervasse, quickly points out, however, that these figures understate the impact of the remediation process on achieving accountability goals within the district. He cited several examples of teachers who never participated in the remediation process, but who nonetheless resigned when faced with the possibility. The specter of being placed on formal remediation provides a clear, unambiguous message regarding the unacceptability of a teacher's performance, thus serving to eliminate some incompetent teachers from the district.

Teachers acting as remediation specialists believe that they serve an effective role in the evaluation process. Each one believed that, as a peer, they are in a much better position than administrators to assist a teacher in improving their performance. For example, one remediation team member stated:

> In looking over the administrative evaluations done (of the teacher undergoing remediation), they were right on target about what her problems were and their recommendations for improvement. But the teacher put up such a barrier that anything they suggested didn't do any good. But he's been real receptive to us as remediators.

Every remediation specialist felt well-supported by the district, and had access to any resources they felt were necessary to assist the teacher. According to one remediation specialist, "I

got a blank check agreement that I could use all the substitute time I wanted and that the teacher could have a substitute if she wanted to observe us."

Remediation specialists also expressed their belief that an administrator should never allow a teacher to deteriorate to the levels of incompetence that they observed in the teachers with whom they worked. They believed that their efforts to assist the teacher would have a much greater possibility for success if principals could call them in earlier in the process. One told us:

> Principals just wait too long (before referring a teacher for remediation) and I think this is because it is very difficult to document extensively a teacher's weaknesses. A poor teacher gets to be too poor for too long before they're finally referred...This teacher is so poor, she is so far off the mark, she needs total retraining.

Despite these problems, the remediation specialists we interviewed believed they performed a valuable service--to the district, to the teacher undergoing remediation, and to the teaching profession. Other teachers in the district share this sense of pride and professionalism regarding the formal remediation process, as evidenced by the following comments:

"This is the way we want things to be in the profession;"

"Remediation is a very positive aspect of the system;"

"I think it is good professionally to have it in place."

"There's a need, I believe, to police our own ranks. It's important that teachers see other teachers who need help getting that help. A strong instructional program and a strong profession needs to have people doing a good job and receiving support and assistance if they need it.

Despite the overwhelmingly positive review the remediation program receives, few administrators have invoked this sanction in recent years compared to rather active use of this tool in the past. In 1984-85, less than 3% of SCUSD teachers received a rating of "Improvement Needed" in at least one of the seven areas on the final evaluation form and only one principal placed a teacher on formal remediation, the first in two years. Respondents cited disinclincation on the part of some building principals to make teacher evaluation an active priority as the cause of this problem. According to Assistant Superintendent for Personnel, Nicholas Gervasse:

> Principals [can] be the weak link in the system....The (remediation) program is really waning now--this year we only had one teacher placed on remediation, and I feel that there should be more, maybe 5 or 6. I don't think we've given enough attention to it recently.

Superintendent Gatti agrees with this assessment. He has publicly committed himself to reading and signing every evaluation report prepared by principals in the coming year in an effort to re-focus attention and hold principals accountable for the quality of their evaluations. He states:

> The real problem with evaluation is that people [resist making tough, hard-nosed decisions]. You can have the best teacher evaluation system in the world, but if you don't have principals and administrators who are committed to it, it just isn't going to fly.

Though Gatti and Gervasse emphasize that attention to teacher evaluation has always remained part of the district's priorities, they also point out that the massive district reorganization in 1981 which involved the transfer of over half of the professional staff prevented them from focusing as much attention on teacher evaluation as they had in the past.

According to Gatti:

> You can't do all this and give evaluation as much attention as you did in the past, but it was still a priority....I've just gotten bogged down with too many other things. When something like evaluation stops being the top priority of the person at the top, it starts to fall away.

To insure that building administrators attend to teacher evaluation, all final teacher evaluation reports cross the desk of the assistant superintendent of personnel. In addition, teacher evaluation is one of several components that comprise an administrator's year-end evaluation. But building administrators are not directly evaluated by the assistant superintendent for personnel. He does provide principals some direct feedback regarding the reports they file, but this represents the exception rather than the rule.

Interviews with the line administrators at the district office responsible for evaluating principals suggest that meeting deadlines regarding evaluation reports in accordance with the collective bargaining agreement serves as the primary criterion in judging administrative competence as an evaluator. Prior to the introduction of the EIS program, few principals had received any systematic, critical feedback from their superiors regarding the quality of their teacher evaluation methods or results. As one central office administrator with the responsibility for evaluating principals put it:

> I suppose we should get copies of the evaluations (of teachers written by building administrators) here, but we don't so we have to rely on (the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel). This may be a weak point in our process.

The amount of administrative attention placed on evaluation varies somewhat from school to school. High schools, with their

expanded span of control, display the greatest variation.

Several teachers cited the cursory nature of the evaluation they had recently received. One teacher described her current evaluation this way:

> I only had one observation, but I never had a chance to sit down with my evaluator and look at what he wrote. This year, he just caught me in the hall and said, "I'm going to drop in and see you sometime this week." Then, two weeks later he dropped into my class announced for half the period. Several days later, he dropped by my office and asked me if I had all my GIS forms completed and if I had turned in my Stull Packet. When I said yes, he said, "Well, that's good, you had a great observation." Now that was the extent of my evaluation.

This teacher felt insulted because her evaluator failed to take the time to conduct a thorough evaluation. Several building administrators agreed that teacher evaluation does not receive a high priority in their work agenda, especially for teachers who have received acceptable ratings in the past.

But other teachers report that evaluation has been a powerful force in their professional development. A junior high school teacher who had received average ratings commented:

> I've never had an evaluation as thorough as this before and I think the result for me is that it made me feel more worthwhile....It really gave me a boost.

For others, evaluation was a validating experience, as evidenced by the comments of this department coordinator:

> I think it's important for the administration to give you an 'atta boy' or an 'atta girl' and this helps motivate you and reinforces the fact that you're good. I know that the principal respects me for what I do because she commented on each area of the evaluation and documented all the comments that she made.

Interestingly, in virtually every instance such as this where a teacher found their evaluation process to be a

professional growth experience, both they and their evaluator had completed the EIS training. For example, one high school special education teacher told us:

> Both he (the evaluator) and I have participated in the EIS program. I think that this has helped us both look at teaching in a similar way....I think it made the whole evaluation experience more valuable for me....because most administrators have been out of the classroom so long, it means a lot to know that your evaluator has had to participate in some kind of actual teaching experience....It gives us some basics that we can both focus in on.

Teachers agreed that, when both they and their evaluator had participated in the EIS program, the evaluation experience increased in value. In the majority of these cases, the administrator was serving as the teacher's coach as part of the clinical support process. The process of sharing and coaching increases teachers' feelings of efficacy, and removes a measure of uncertainty from the teaching act. Another teacher with over 20 years of teaching experience expressed her feelings this way:

> It has been important to me that the principal now comes in and can focus on specific things that I'm doing and speak in language that he and I can both understand. Most importantly, he is not able to validate what I am doing and I find that very reinforcing. I think I know that what I'm doing is good, but it's important that an outside observer comes in and basically puts that rubber stamp and says 'Yes, you're on the right track.'

Rather than feeling constrained by the model, teachers believed that it enabled them to experiment with their teaching to a greater extent than before.

The experience of Santa Clara Unified with teacher evaluation demonstrates the critical importance of building principals in implementing any program. It also underscores the role of district leadership in focussing attention to evaluation at the building level. District administrators must maintain

teacher evaluation as an active priority for building principals to invest the time necessary for credible evaluations. If principals are not given clear signals about district level commitment to a strong teacher evaluation effort, it is not suprising that their attention and concern diminishes as competing demands require their attention.

In summary, the responses of teachers and administrators in SCUSD paint a picture of shifting priorities and constant change. Top-level attention in recent years to declining enrollments, fiscal retrenchment, and curricular accountability have prevented the once highly visible formal remediation program from remaining an active priority. Meanwhile, staff development efforts in the form of the EIS program serve to bolster the skills of an aging workforce and maintain the effectiveness of all teachers. Having come full cycle, with curricular accountability programs almost fully implemented, skill levels maintained, and new teachers about to be hired, the district stands ready to embark on another round of professional accountability through the evaluation system.

APPENDIX C

THE MOUNTAIN VIEW-LOS ALTOS UNION HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICT'S TEACHER EVALUATION SYSTEM

POLICY CONTEXT

The Mountain View-Los Altos Union High School district serves approximately 3,000 students in grades 9-12 who reside in an affluent community that straddles the Silicon Valley area south of San Francisco. Most residents occupy professional positions in this mecca of high tech industry, but a substantial minority population at one end of the district contributes to an overall picture of ethnic diversity in the schools. Eleven per cent of the student population is hispanic, 7% is black, and 7% is of asian decent. The district board of trustees takes pride in their ability to maintain a balanced curriculum that serves the needs of this student population in the midst of the economic hardships endured by California schools in the wake of Proposition 13. The current per pupil expenditure rests at $3,200, with an overall operating budget of 12 million dollars.

Parents are also proud of student achievement in the district. Approximately 85% of the students attend a two or four year college upon graduation, with most of the remainder securing full time jobs in the area. Student test scores within the district are well above California averages, and approximately 20% of district graduates receive a grade of 3 or better on Advanced Placement exams.

Parents take an active role in their child's education. In the past year, the MV-LA Education Foundation raised over $48,000

with which they financed the remodeling of the science facilities at both high schools. Each school employs someone part-time to coordinate parent volunteers within the school. Approximately 100 volunteers perform a variety of functions within each school. Parents demand excellence from their schools, and they are willing to commit their own time and money to insure it

The district employs 200 teachers with an average age of 43 and and average experience level of 14 years. Teacher salaries range from $18,000 to $35,000, with an average of $28,000, which ranks close to the median among surrounding school districts. A 40% decline in student enrollment since 1968 has reduced the number of professional staff from a high of 350, but retirements and resignations have kept pace so that the district has never been forced to lay off anyone. In fact, in the coming year, the district anticipates the hiring of 16 new teachers.

Both district administrators and representatives of the District Teacher's Association (DTA), an NEA affiliate, characterize their relationship as positive, but "typically adversarial." Contract settlements are rarely reached prior to the start of the school year, but a strike has never occurred. Until recently, increased administrative attention to teacher evaluation had served as a source of contention between union officials and district administrators.

Overall, despite a volatile environment of declining enrollments and fiscal retrenchment, LAMV has managed to retain a great deal of stability. This is reflected in a recent message from the superintendent, who stated that the mission and goal statements produced by students, parents, community members, and

staff members in 1973 accurately describes district priorities today, despite the passage of twelve years.

ESTABLISHING CONDITIONS TO SUPPORT EVALUATION

Teachers and administrators acknowledge that the leadership of the current superintendent, Dr. Paul Sakamoto, played a major role in bringing about evaluation reform in the district. He sets the tone. According to one department head:

> He (Sakamoto) really runs things in this district. His philosophy pervades the whole district and he sets the style. He really believes in it.

Staff members refer to him as "an expert manager," "an instructional leader," "a friend," and "a caring, human being who is tireless in his devotion to the school district." According to one teacher, it is not uncommon to find him at noo time eating lunch with students in the school's courtyard. Another teacher commented on the total commitment toward the district Sakamoto displays:

> The superintendent is totally committed to this district. He is single, and he makes it very clear that the district is his family as far as he's concerned. He is well respected by the staff.

Sakamoto personally visits the classrooms of over 90% of the district's teachers each year. Since his arrival in 1975, he has earned the lasting respect of teachers, administrators, board members and parents within the district.

Sakamoto's management style reflects an underlying commitment to the worth of the individual and the value of open, face-to-face communication. He articulated this philosophy in a 1981 document referred to as his "Management Practices Plan,"

which describes a set of administrative guidelines designed to develop "A unique organizational culture which believes in excellence through people and which develops a sense of family among its members." He believes that adherence to such practices as:

- o Being sensitive to the individual's feelings,
- o Having an open door policy,
- o Making the department the basic unit from which a sense of loyalty, pride, and commitment will be built, and
- o Seeking suggestions for resolutions to problems from those people most directly involved.

will produce higher staff morale, improved teacher performance, greater student and parent satisfaction, and an overall increase in the achievement level of students within the district. Over 22 additional guidelines comprise this comprehensive management plan, which Sakamoto adapted from Japanese and American management techniques that have proven to be effected in industry and business. The principles closely match those found in local Silicon Valley high-tech firms.

Even before Sakamoto became superintendent in MVLA, teacher evaluation was considered an important part of district management activity. He continued to make evaluation a top priority within the district, viewing it as a natural corollary to his overall management philosophy. He states:

> Evaluation is the key to any comprehensive program of instructional improvement...the key to what goes on in schools. If high levels of student achievement are really our goal, then we should be focusing here. Teachers feel isolated, that no one cares, and just close the door. Evaluation opens the door up

Throughout his tenure as superintendent, Sakamoto has made teacher evaluation a highly visible and central activity within MVLA, as we describe below.

THE STRATEGY

The purpose of teacher evaluation in the district is stated in the collective bargaining agreement:

> The primary purpose of evaluation shall be to improve instruction and encourage professional development. It is further understood that this purpose can be more readily achieved by a manifest willingness on the part of the parties to the evaluation process to improve instruction in a spirit of mutual trust and professionalism.

Administrators echo these comments when asked about the purpose of evaluation within the district. Teachers, on the other hand, are divided in their assessment of the purpose of evaluation. The results of a survey of teachers conducted in 1984 by the DTA reported that a majority of teachers felt the purpose of evaluation was "to either satisfy the State legal requirements or to harass teachers." Several building administrators agreed that evaluation had taken on a "legalistic" focus within the district in the past several years. Below, we discuss the evolution of teacher evaluation practices in Mountain View-Los Altos.

When asked to identify the impetus for teacher evaluation reform within the school district, teachers and administrators alike referred to the "Stull Bill" (AB 293). Passed by the California legislature in 1971, this bill required school districts to establish a uniform system of evaluation and assessment of the performance of certificated personnel. Prior to this time, evaluation in MVLA was more ritual than reality.

Principals merely filled out a checklist at the end of the year regarding each teacher, and more often than not, no formal observation of the teacher's work occurred.

In response to this legislation, the district experimented with many evaluation models. A central aspect of the teacher evaluation process that still remains today is the use of a student survey to obtain information used in evaluating a teacher's performance. Teachers and administrators jointly constructed the student survey instrument, and they have cooperated in revising the form on several occasions so that the information gathered would more accurately reflect a teacher's classroom performance during the year. Students rate their teacher from weak to very strong on 40 separate items in the following ten categories:

1) Teacher preparation,
2) Student-teacher relationship,
3) Individual needs of students,
4) Teaching methods,
5) Clarity of communication
6) Control of the class,
7) Classroom atmosphere,
8) Class Procedures,
9) Ideas and skills to be learned
10) Value of skills taught

This information is used along with other indicators of a teacher's performance to arrive at a final evaluative judgment.

Though teachers express some anxiety over the use of student evaluations as part of the overall teacher evaluation process, Sakamoto believes the student survey to be the "strong point of our evaluation system in this district. They are a strong force and the ones that teachers are most sensitive to." This view is also supported by Robert Madgic, Director of Curriculum and Instruction within the district, who championed the use of the student survey as an evaluative tool while a principal within the district. He states:

> I think it is really difficult to do an evaluation of a teacher without this (student survey) input....I think our focus has been to involve students as clients of the teacher's work. It reveals things that otherwise would not be revealed during the evaluation process. We eliminate some of the haphazardness that characterizes evaluations in other districts.

Early experimentation with teacher evaluation methods also included the use of a collegial model of evaluation for several years prior to the passage of a collective bargaining law in the state. Under this system, teachers were free to select a colleague who would work with the principal in observing the teacher and offering suggestions for professional improvement. Several teachers alluded to the positive impact this process had on their teaching performance. However, district administrators and the teacher's union jointly agreed to abandon this practice while negotiating the first collective bargaining agreement. Evaluation became the primary responsibility of the administration at that time, with the formative aspects of the evaluation process becoming expressed through the development of a strong staff development program within the district.

A Commitment to Training

Staff development training for teachers receives high priority in MVLA, reflecting the belief that effective training is a necessary prerequisite before accountability is possible. Sakamoto operationalized this commitment in two ways. First, he instituted a comprehensive program of staff development training for teachers in the district. For three years beginning in 1981, teacher were offered a $500 salary increment for participating

in district-wide staff development efforts at a total cost to the district of over $90,000. Over 80% participated in a program entitled "Equal Educational Opportunity . the Classroom," which was based on the instructional theories of Madeline Hunter of UCLA. Several teachers and administrators travelled to Los Angeles to receive training. Upon their return, they then served as trainers for the rest of the professional staff in the district.

Several other programs also received wide participation from staff members. One workshop focused on the work of Jane Stallings and effective use of instructional time; another dealt with effective use of small group instruction techniques. A $16,000 grant from the Packard Foundation, augmented by approximately $12,000 of local funds, financed these programs.

Currently, 5 different workshops taught by MVLA staff members are available to teachers in the district, who now receive an hourly stipend for their participation. District administrators selected the following topics, based on a systematic analysis of teacher evaluation results from the previous year:

1) Motivating and Expecting Higher Achievement;
2) Classroom Management and Discipline;
3) Teaching for Higher Level Thinking Through Interactive Instruction;
4) Testing for Higher Level Thinking;
5) Teaching for Different Learners.

Teache had uniform praise for the districts staff development thrusts in recent years. According to one 20 year veteran:

> I learn something brand new in every workshop. What's most valuable ...is hearing what's been successful for other people and simply seeing the fact that ...other people are also groping for the same kinds of solutions.

Another teacher who had been recommended to several workshops as part of a remediation plan felt that the district's staff development programs represented one of the best features of working in this district. He stated:

> I find that talking with other teachers so that they become a source of new ideas is probably more critical than anything else in helping (me) improve. I think the workshops provide a vehicle for that exchange.

Teachers consistently pointed not only to the process but also to the content of workshops as a source of professional stimulation. They are expected to demonstrate the effective teaching behaviors presented in these staff development programs in their classroom. In contrast to district-wide staff development in many school systems, the experience is a positive one for most teachers within this district.

The second way in which Sakamoto has attempted to improve evaluation practice in this district is through training administrators. Week-long summer workshops for the past 8 years have focused on improving administrators' evaluation skill, and on bringing consistency to the quality of evaluations throughout the district. Rather than focus on a model of clinical supervision, training methods attempt to improve the ability of administrators to objectively gather information regarding teacher performance and to accurately assess that information as evidence of goal achievement. To this point, the rationale from one administrative workshop stated:

> Priority in evaluation procedures is on specificity and objectivity; that is, all parties to the process should know what is being communicated, observations and recommendations should be specific and realistic, and personal biases should be minimized. The completed evaluation packet should represent a valid documentation of the teacher's overall performance.

Administrators evaluative skills are honed in several ways. Attorneys serve as consultants, providing feedback on past evaluation reports prepared by administrators. They provide suggestions to improve these documents as sources of evidence in an administrative dismissal hearing. Administrators also observe video-tapes of lessons, and receive critiques of their documentation skills from their colleagues. Past evaluation reports are also analyzed and feedback provided regarding exemplary efforts and areas needing improvement. The purpose of all of these efforts is to increase both the reliability and validity of administrators' evaluations of teachers.

Administrators unanimously agreed that district training efforts were valuable in increasing their evaluative skill. The following comments of one building administrator are representative:

> I think reviewing the evaluations of past administrators has really helped me a lot in evaluating teachers....For example, we discovered that we were all writing up the results of the student survey quite differently from school to school. We've also tried to talk about what you look for when you walk into a classroom.

But several administrators also expressed some concern over the "legalistic focus" of the workshops. For example, these feelings were expressed by one administrator whose evaluative skill was praised by one of the department coordinators in his school:

> The focus (of evaluation) is on documenting things that stand up in court rather than letting teachers know what kind of job they are doing.... In fact, we were told by one legal consultant to be very careful about using positive comments because this can have an adverse effect in court and actually be used against us. This legalistic approach to evaluation has rubbed off. It's created a very negative morale situation in the district.

Even Superintendent Sakamoto admits that "We've had several attorneys as consultants and I would admit that they may have had a greater impac in they should." As a result, some administrators feel constrained by the standardized, legal framework within which evaluations must be cast.

In sum, teacher evaluation is not a passing fad in MVLA. The superintendent has made it a priority and backed it with training resources. The district has been willing to experiment with alternative methods and has adjusted its practices based on feedback obtained. We describe the current evaluation process for teachers below.

THE EVALUATION PROCESS

In accordance with California law, teachers are evaluated only every other year. If a teacher has received an unsatisfactory evaluation in the previous year, they are placed on a yearly cycle. The evaluation process begins in September when teachers are informed who their prime evaluator will be. In both of the district's schools, approximately 60 teachers each year undergo formal evaluation. The building principal takes prime responsibility for approximately 20, the assistant principal, 20, and the two deans-of-students, 10 each.

In September, principals publish a detailed letter to teachers informing them of the procedural requirements for the evaluation. Each teacher then prepares a list of objectives that they wish to serve as the basis for the coming evaluation. Objectives must address at least three areas:

1) Teaching of subject content;
2) Maintaining learning environment;
3) Other school related activities.

Teachers must refer to previous evaluation results and address any recommended areas of improvement from those evaluation reports. In addition, the content of district staff development workshops and curriculum guides should serve as guidelines in the preparation of objectives in the area of content, learning environment, and instructional methods.

Assessment methods for all objectives must also be specified. Administrators gather documentary evidence using the following methods:

A) Evaluators conduct a minimum of 2 classroom observations which may or may not be announced. Most teachers receive 3, and teachers experiencing difficulty may be observed as many as 8 times. Post-observation conferences are standard practice.

B) Teachers submit student work samples, including test results, sample projects, and homework assignments. Most administrators ask for samples from students of ranging ability.

C) Student achievement data in the form of grading distributions are inspected. Comparisons within and across departments to reveal identifiable, persistent patterns to document student progress. An agreement with the DTA precludes the direct use of student test scores on district wide criterion-referenced achievement test to evaluate teachers.

D) Student survey results provide a wide range of data that are used to assess teacher performance. Teachers may administer the survey themselves or ask their evaluator to administer it. Each school receives a school-wide, teacher by teacher summary of the student's ratings of teachers.

E) Additional methods include teacher self-assessments, teacher products such as tests and worksheets, student interviews, and anything else jointly agreed to by the teacher and evaluator.

The time lines specified in the collective bargaining agreement require evaluations of probationary teachers to be completed by February 28, and tenured teachers by May 1. As a result, most data is collected in the first semester of the school year. As the deadline approaches, administrators check to insure that the teacher has submitted all of the documentary evidence that they agreed to in the objective setting conference to start the year. Then, the evaluator gathers together the data and determines the extent to which the teacher accomplished their objectives.

Evaluators must use their own judgment in weighting the various sources of information that document a teacher's performance. No standard formula is used, and administrators agreed that approaching the data in a qualitative manner strengthened the overall process. Judgment was needed to take into account the specific context--subject area, teacher experience, class composition--so that an accurate rating would be produced. Each administrator described the manner with which he approached the data in a similar manner. The following description is representative:

> The first thing I do is lay (all the information) out on the table: the last year's evaluation, grade summary, the objectives we negotiated, the examples of student work, the results of the student survey, my observations that I conducted, and I re-read all of it and write up the final summative evaluation according to a format that I have

> preparation and then go through all the objectives and document them whether or not they have met them or not....I then summarize the entire student survey and make any additional commendations and recommendations at the end of this based on everything that I've said before hand.

Another administrator prepares a draft and receives input from the teacher before she writes the final evaluation. If any evidence conflicts, that is noted in his report.

Administrators refer to the guidelines published by the district in preparing their final report. Evaluation reports range from 4 to 8 single spaced pages, not including supporting material such as the write-ups of formal observations. Data supporting the accomplishment of each objective is discussed in detail, and summary commendations and recommendations are included. Teacher and evaluator then hold a conference, usually in late April or May, to review the results of the evaluation process, and discuss areas of strength and deficiency. Evaluators are instructed to include recommendations for improvement in the final evaluation report of every teacher.

Teachers receive a summary rating of satisfactory or unsatisfactory based on the evidence gathered during the year regarding the achievement of their objectives. In the event a teacher receives a rating of unsatisfactory, a detailed plan of remediation is specified for the teacher. They must undergo evaluation in the following year, rather than the normal two-year cycle. Any teacher who receives two successive ratings of unsatisfactory automatically has their salary frozen, with no increases until satisfactory performance is displayed.

Evaluators have a variety of resources at their disposal as they construct a remediation plan for teachers rated as

unsatisfactory. Department coordinators work with teachers at the request of the principal. Their expertise, especially in the teacher's subject area, often represents a valuable resource. One respondent who was a department coordinator felt h intervention was instrumental in helping one of his teachers to improve. District staff development workshops are also available to assist teachers. Given that they are designed based on the results of evaluation reports, they serve as an extremely targeted source of assistance. Evaluators may also draw on additional district resources to provide released time for teachers to observe effective colleagues and attend other workshops.

Teachers who receive a satisfactory evaluation are not formally evaluated in the following year. Administrators are strongly urged, however, to include recommendations for improvement in the evaluation of every teacher. These should then serve as the basis for the the teacher's professional development activity for the following year. Administrators focus subsequent evaluations in areas of recommended need.

EVALUATION OUTCOMES

District administrators offer several pieces of evidence to document the effectiveness of the teacher evaluation process in holding teachers accountable for minimum performance levels. Over the past eight years, 29 unsatisfactory evaluations have been given to a total of 18 teachers within the district, which represents approximately 7% of the workforce. Ten of these individuals were induced to voluntarily resign, with the

remainder following remediation plans that enabled them to earn a satisfactory rating on a subsequent evaluation. During 1984-85, two unsatisfactory ratings were given. One teacher has just had their salary frozen as a result of two consecutive unsatisfactory evaluations.

When asked if any poor teachers still exist in the district, the majority of teachers and administrators respond with their own question: "What do you mean by poor?" They then continue by discussing the high expectations that exist for teachers in this district. According to one building level administrator:

> In this district, we see the average teacher as someone who needs improvement. Here, in Los Altos, satisfactory just isn't good enough....The superintendent here makes it very clear that we want only the very best teachers in this district.

Thus, poor teachers may exist, but only in relation to the high degree of expertise displayed by most of the professional staff.

Because of high performance standards, evaluation in Mountain View-Los Altos applies the concept of accountability to teachers of all effectiveness levels, not just the minimally satisfactory. The careful documentation of teacher performance joins with professional incentives to excell in the presence of peers to provide an external "nudge" which teachers believe to be important in maintaining their effectiveness. To this end, we were somewhat surprised that teachers embraced accountability goals so vigorously. The following comment from one teacher who had just received a satisfactory evaluation is illustrative:

> The view that teachers are professionals and shouldn't be subject to administrators who inspect them is (hogwash). We need people to come in and check on us just like anybody else. As long as it is done in a positive and constructive manner, all it can do is benefit education.

Several teachers who were rated as effective teachers by their principal also commented what a positive and validating experience evaluation was for them. In this respect, accountability meant not only giving "bad grades," but "good grades" as well. Teachers could not believe that their evaluator had spent so much time and effort in documenting their performance, and they felt that they had really been given a boost as a result. One teacher exclaimed:

> I was scrutinized, but it was not a negative experience. This year, (my evaluator) spent a great deal of time on my evaluation, he attended to detail, he cared, and approached the task with thoughtfulness, and it was very accurate....He had nothing but praise.... and I really needed the strokes.

Another teacher, a veteran of 23 years stated:

> I had the best evaluation experience ever this year. It was totally thorough; it was fair; and it was very postive...(my evaluator) respected my integrity as a teacher.

Together, the evidence is persuasive that teacher evaluation in this district achieves its stated goals of accountability conceived in the broad terms we have described.

Teachers are mixed in their assessment of the evaluation system as a force for professional improvement. For certain teachers, evaluation is not a salient part of their job; for others, it means "playing the game the way administrators like us to play it." As one young math teacher commented:

> I have to admit that I am fairly apathetic about evaluation. Mine have always been OK, so it really isn't that much of an issue for me.

Yet several teachers who had received an unsatisfactory evaluation in the previous year stated that the evaluation process was a powerful force for improvement for them, even though it did produce a great deal of anxiety. According to one teacher with over 17 years of experience:

> There is no doubt in my mind that evaluation does help teachers improve. The workshops, the suggestions from the principal, materials they make available to help you--all these are good...there certainly a lot of assistance in this district. I think it is sort of hand and glove--they provide you help and then they evaluate you on what you have learned and offer recommendations for improvement.

Another teacher commented:

> (The principal) was very clear in stating his expectations, in recording observations, and making inferences clear. Even if they weren't all complimentary, I could see that the process is fair. Evaluation is good--It makes you grow. After (so many) years, you do get in a groove. I feel as though I really benefitted professionally this year.

But just as accountability goals applied to teachers of all effectiveness levels, improvement, too, is not only reserved for poor performers. The careful documentation and extensive feedback generated by the evaluation system in Mountain View-Los Altos also prompts teachers to stand back and take a long, hard look at their performance--a necessary precursor to improvement. For example, listen to this comment from a teacher with over 20 years experience:

> Evaluation makes you sit down to think about what is really happening in your class. You say to yourself, 'What am I doing?' Rarely do we have an opportunity in this profession to get introspective. But this process makes this introspection happen....The real value of the process is it makes you think.

For this teacher, as well as others, evaluation had initiated a process of professional improvement.

In sharp contrast to these teachers who found evaluation to be either a positive, or at worst, a meaningless experience, some teachers in the district have strong negative feelings on the subject reflecting their perception that evaluation was a punitive tool. Every teacher who felt positive about their experience with evaluation was also quick to point out that other teachers within the district felt differently. Some felt that older teachers within the district had been targetted for harassment. To this point, at the close of the 1984 school year, the outgoing president of the DTA sent a letter to the board of trustees, pointing out the negative impact the district's evaluation policy was having on teachers. In particular, he argued that the district's aggressive evaluation policies placed teachers under such stress that serious health problems resulted. He cited the case of a teacher who collapsed in the classroom while being observed to support this claim.

Other teachers felt that those with reputations for good teaching had different, less stringent criteria applied to them in the past. One 19 year veteran teacher who had received an unsatisfactory rating felt he had been singled out, despite the fact that he improved greatly during the year. He stated:

> You are put in a certain mode and stuck there no matter what happens. I feel that last year I could have been observed any time, and when I was observed, I'd have to pitch a perfect inning just to get rated sat. factory, whereas other teachers could just coast along. It is just not necessary to do this "unsatisfactory stuff" to force a person to improve.

Teachers complained that inconsistencies existed in the way evaluations were conducted from school to school and evaluator to evaluator.

But several effective teachers believed that teacher complaints regarding the evaluation system were unfounded. According to these individuals, those teachers who had received unsatisfactory ratings deserved them. This opinion was even shared by some representatives of the DTA. As one teacher stated:

> (Some teachers) could never trust an administrator if their life depended on it....Some people are just paranoid. These kinds of actions by administrators are not done capriciously, they're done for cause.

Union officials believe that many of the inconsistencies in past evaluation practices in this district have been rectified by district administrators in the past year by holding building administrators accountable.

The Superintendent and the Director of Instruction indicated that they do carefully scrutinize every teacher evaluation report prepared in the district, and provide administrators with feedback regarding the quality of these reports. Administrative training workshop held each summer focus on explicit areas of weakness. For example, over-reliance on student survey data in preparing the final evaluation reports posed a potential problem in recent years, but careful review of past errors and explicit attention to rectifying them during summer workshops has enabled building administrators to now place this information in proper perspective.

Thus, continual monitoring and adjustment of the teacher evaluation practices and procedures in recent years has markedly reduced the number of teacher complaints. A recent survey of teachers in the district revealed that 95% felt that their most recent evaluation was conducted in a fair and objective manner. The comments of the teacher below suggest that "seeing is believing" for most teachers. When they experience the positive benefits of careful evaluation, their perceptions of fairness increase:

> I have to admit that I was very concerned (about my evaluation) this year. The principal and I had some major disagreements when I first came to this school....and there were lots of rumours around that said I had a lot to worry about....(Instead), I had a very positive experience with him this year....His observation notes were very extensive and there was lots for me to discuss and his analysis took into account both my strengths and my weaknesses in a very balanced approach.

Though several teachers have received unsatisfactory ratings in the current year, union officials do not anticipate any grievances to result because of unfair practices. Thus, the president of the DTA stated:

> I don't think there are any major problems (with evaluation). I think things have changed over the years and evolved. We have less complaints about evaluation this year than we did last year, so hopefully things are improving.

Administrators believe that the large amount of their time spent on evaluation is well worth it. Every one identified evaluation as the number one priority in their job. They all expressed the desire to be given additional time so that they could attend even more closely to their evaluations. Each one spends an average of 20% of their time on teacher evaluation. Building administrators are unified in their belief that students

and teachers benefit from this focus on the quality of classroom instruction. According to one veteran:

> I believe what we have here is a good process. I'm proud to be part of this system and part of this evaluation process. I have always seen evaluation as being a helping relationship and I've always started the process every year with the idea of helping the teacher to improve by pinpointing areas that they can focus on.

One additional item completes the description of teacher evaluation in Mountain View-Los Altos. Teachers unanimously agreed on one item--the elimination of the student survey from the evaluation process, just as administrators unanimously believed that it provided invaluable information and should be retained. The following represent the range of teachers' comments regarding the student survey:

Student's don't take it seriously and I know this for a fact because I have my own student aides and others who tell me how various kids will fill out those evaluations. Students don't even understand what all the categories mean.

For me, I could live with the student evaluations, but...I get along well with my students. I worry about how it works for other teachers.

It causes such wide-spread discomfort, I wonder if it's worth it. Now I ask, are students really qualified to make the judgments we're asking them to make?

I'm torn (about the student survey). In one way, it's very good, but I can see some students who don't take it seriously enough. Fortunately, it not the only basis for judgment.

Regardless of a teacher's own experience with the student survey, eliminating it seemed to represent a rallying point around which all teachers gathered. Though no teacher could recount an incident where student survey results formed the sole basis for

documenting a deficiency, teachers united behind the call to come up with a better alternative.

Taken together, the responses of teachers and administrators in the district paint a complex picture. Teacher evaluation is more than an empty ritual in this district. Some teachers see evaluation as a force for professional improvement, a mechanism for formal recognition, or a tool for maintaining effectiveness. Others see it as a form of administrative harrassment. Teachers' views regarding evaluation vary depending on their personal experience with their most recent evaluation. Variations in the quality of evaluations across evaluators produces a wide range of opinion regarding the value of teacher evaluation in the district. General anxiety associated with the way in which student surveys are used to evaluate teachers appears to be a persistent problem.

Yet the district administration is aware of each of these problems and has taken specific steps in recent years to address them. They constantly monitor the teacher evaluation program and elicit feedback that they can use to improve the system. Thus, over time, the evaluation process continues to improve, and increasingly serve as a source of both accountability and improvement for teachers.

APPENDIX D

THE MORAGA SCHOOL DISTRICT TEACHER EVALUATION SYSTEM

POLICY CONTEXT

The Moraga School District serves the town of Moraga, a small bedroom community for Oakland and San Francisco, which nestles between the hills that surround San Francisco bay. The school district is a small, elementary district, composed of two elementary schools and one junior high that together teach approximately 1400 students.

Moraga is an affluent community. Housing prices average well above the already inflated bay area market. As a result, the population of school aged children in Moraga has steadily declined over the past several years, since most couples with young children are unable to afford to live in Moraga. Two years ago the school board was forced to close one of its schools, and several teachers have been laid off. Dealing with declining enrollments is a continual concern, and forced lay-offs of youn, talented, and energetic teachers has been a frustratiing experience for everyone within the district.

The vast majority of parents who live in Moraga work in white-collar, professional jobs in Oakland or San Francisco, and they maintain high expectations for their children and their school system. They play an active role in their child's education, as manifested in the following indicators:

- Recently, a foundation set up by the district to raise funds to supplement state appropriations raised over $70,000 through a direct phone campaign.

- One elementary school's parents club conducted fund raisers that provided over $20,000 for the school to operate special programs.
- Another elementary school has over 150 parent volunteers who regularly work with students in the classroom.
- 100% of the individuals interviewed in the district named parent support and involvement as the best part of working in the Moraga school district.

Thus, parents play a visible and, in terms of funding, a critical role in the education of children in Moraga.

Curiously, the high level of parent involvement in Moraga sometimes becomes a problem for teachers and administrators. Especially at the elementary level, over one-half of the teachers mentioned excessive and intrusive parent involvement as the worst aspect of teaching in this school system. As one teacher stated:

> The counter to this (bright, motivated, students) is (assertive) parents. We pay for it. Kids like to learn, but there is lots of parent input that we don't want.

Every district administrator saw one of their major roles as being a facilitator between parents and the school. One principal noted:

> I need to be a facilitator between parents and the teachers. This is a powerful community, and parents often go straight to the top. Thus, I try to teach political skills to my staff.

This tension between parent intrusion and parent support is something of which board members, administrators, and teachers are keenly aware.

Parents, therefore, play an active role in the education of their children in Moraga. Through the school board and local fundraising efforts, they maintain firm control over the financial resources of the district. Their active involvement in the classroom allows them to closely monitor the performance of

teachers in the district; they complain quickly if they are unhappy with a teacher. Parent involvement represents a central aspect of education in Moraga.

Organizational Context

Prior to the arrival of the current superintendent, Dr. Judith Glickman, teacher evaluation practices in Moraga exhibited the same problems found in most school districts in this country. Teachers agreed that the former evaluation process, characterized by infrequent and brief observations and lack of follow-up, had little effect on their teaching. Over one-half of the teachers with whom I spoke could not even name the five broad areas in which they were evaluated. As one teacher stated: "I guess the year end form can't be very important if I can't even remember what's on it." The comment of another teacher seems to sum up the feeling of the staff regarding past district evaluation practices, 'It wouldn't make any difference to me if evaluation never happened."

Thus, in the past, teacher evaluation achieved neither accountability nor improvement goals for teachers in Moraga. Principals felt they lacked proper training and support to do valid evaluations. Most teachers saw the evaluation process as inconsequential to their performance in the classroom, but they also acknowledged that the existence of a salary schedule in the district that included some merit based steps sometimes transformed evaluations into an unfair, politicized, and punitive tool.

Merit Pay in Moraga

The collective bargaining agreement between teachers and the board of education in Moraga contains a unique provision related to the evaluation process. Referred to as the 18th and 23rd step provision, it denies a salary increment of $750 at the end of the seventeenth and twenty-second year of service if a teacher does not receive a "good" or better composite year-end rating, or receives an unsatisfactory rating in any of the sub-categories. No appeal is allowed; however, teachers must be given notice one year in advance if the possibility exists that they will be denied the salary increment.

School board members view this provision as one of their only tools for sending teachers a clear message that their performance is unacceptable. Teachers, on the other hand, feel it is unfair to wait so long to send an individual the message that they are not performing acceptably. As one teacher stated:

> Why do they wait until the 18th year to tell you you stink. What's worse, everybody in the district knows it if you don't get it. It only creates dissension and hard feelings. It is not a reward. It is a punishment. It has not helped any poor teacher improve.

Principals, too, shared strong negative feelings regarding this aspect of the evaluation process:

> I don't believe it (18th, 23rd step provision) does anything it was intended to do. It forces me to make judgements I can't make in a valid way. It is a bribe, and highly politicized. It is demeaning. It forces teachers to grovel--it has no place in an open organization.

Several respondents alluded to the possiblity that in the past, parent complaints and pressure on the school board and superintendent at that time resulted in the denial of the salary

increment for some individuals. The feeling that arbitrary decisions of this kind were being made "upstairs" surfaced in the form of tremendous distrust of district management. Several respondents related the story of a teacher who was told he would receive the salary increment, only to be denied when the principal returned from a meeting at the central office. To this end, one respondent reported:

> There has been a long history of poor relations with the superintendent. Principals, in the past, were seen as victims--caught in the middle. The superintendent would decide who would get dinged and expected the principal to legitimate and communicate this decision to the teacher.

Regardless of the truth of such stories, the fact that teachers believed them to be true demonstrates the lack of trust that existed between teachers and district management in Moraga prior to the arrival of the current superintendent. As one board member put it, "Before, the teachers thought the board didn't like them. The attitude was that we were out to get them." Seventy five per cent of the respondents specifically mentioned distrust of the central administration as an obstacle to improvement in the past.

Another board member seemed to completely capture the fractionated and adversarial nature of teacher-administrator-school board relations prior to the arrival of the current superintendent in the following comments:

> Parents wanted perfect teachers for their kids. They wanted to get rid of the bad teachers. The teachers circled their wagons and banded together in reaction to parent criticism. ...The superintendent tried to zero in to get rid of the bad teachers. His message was "I'll get you if you slip up." This pushed the teachers closer together, while the principals got stuck in the middle of the entire process.

As enrollment continued to decline, and it became clear that some teachers would have to be laid off, pressure from the community to eliminate less than satisfactory teachers increased. Trust levels within the district tumbled to an all time low. Little agreement existed regarding organizational goals, teachers saw evaluation and supervision as unfair and politicized, and external pressure from parents was rising. This situation faced Glickman as she took the job of superintendent of the Moraga School District.

ESTABLISHING CONDITIONS TO SUPPORT EVALUATION

> Now we don't talk about good or bad teachers. Instead, we talk about skills. Teachers, parents, and administrators work together more now. We work on goals instead of personalities. Now, we try to build the best house, not determine who the best subcontractors are.

This comment made by a board member, and guardedly shared by most of the teachers in Moraga, reflects the changes that have come about in the last several years under the Glickman's leadership. The School Board wanted to hire someone who could serve as an instructional leader for the district. They desired a superintendent who would improve both the staff and the curriculum. This was clear from the start, according to Glickman, and attracted her to this district:

> I sensed in my interview that they (the board) wanted a cohesive, long term plan for staff development and curriculum improvement. This was up front from the beginning. They knew they wanted results, but didn't know how to get them.

This match between the educational philosophy of the board and the professional values of the superintendent set the stage for

major changes in the form and focus of district management in Moraga.

Glickman realized that the lack of trust between teachers and the central administration posed a major obstacle to instructional improvement in the district. Thus, she took several important steps to address this problem:

- She held a personal conference with every teacher in the district to discuss their educational philosophy and professional goals.
- A management team composed not only of central office staff, but building principals as well was formed in an effort to increase involvement in district decision making.
- The superintendent now spends two days each month in classrooms in the district, observing teachers.
- She instituted a formal, goal setting process. District goals became translated into goals for the superintendent, which became goals for principals, and finally teachers.

These efforts on the part of the superintendent attempted to bring an openness and clarity to district management that had previously not existed in the district.

The problem of institutionalizing trust in any organization is a difficult one; the need to deal with several incompetent teachers in the district only exacerbated the problem confronting Glickman. Yet principals, who had daily contact with the superintendent, warmed quickly to her open style. The following comment is representative of all the district administrators:

> This is the best management relationship I have ever worked under. She (Dr. Glickman) delegates responsibility so that I feel part of a team. I am valued, heard, and my concerns are addressed. I feel my school is a part of the district and aims at district goals. I trust her and share her vision.

Teachers, on the other hand, do not totally share this overwhelming postive response to Glickman's management style. The following represents the range of teacher comments:

"She has strong opinions and plans. She takes input and makes strong decisions--but the input means little."

"Compared to the former one, she is a breath of fresh air. She has a clear direction and leads."

"She is trying to make a two way street--she asks for input."

"She is professional and polite. She plays no favorites. But she is like the tundra in the summer time--go down a foot and she's as hard as a rock."

Teachers have differing opinions about Glickman. "Reality" appears to be in the eye of the beholder. For example, two teachers with opposing opinions regarding Glickman's openness to teacher input cited the same example of a meeting regarding education foundation priorities to support their respective positions. In this faculty meeting, the principal had asked teachers to break into groups and brainstorm ideas for the use of these extra funds. These ideas would be combined with those from other schools and used by the school board to set priorities for the coming year. While one teacher felt this represented an excellent example of the input teachers had in the district, the other saw it as the administration's attempt to provide the "appearence" of input. According to this teacher, "The decision had already been made."

Thus, past experience has conditioned Moraga teachers to be guarded in their trust of district administrators. Though no teacher could cite an example where the superintendent had

betrayed a teacher's trust, most remained wary, nonetheless. Continuing to gain the trust of teachers remains a high priority for the superintendent.

THE STRATEGY

The district management team decided from the very start that they needed a common focus for the district that would place administrators and teachers on common ground if the evaluation process was to be effective. Thus, improving district staff development activities, coupled with intensive administrative training in clinical supervision skills became the agreed upon course of action. According to Glickman:

> Staff development articulates what is appropriate instruction....Formal evaluation serves to get someone's attention...and can be used to prove fairness to other teachers. Clarity and openness are the key to success.

The district management team agreed to adopt a staff development program developed by another school system, based on the work of Madeline Hunter of UCLA. The entire management team and seven exemplary teachers from the district received training that focused on clearly identified instructional skills that were based in the research on effective teaching. These individuals then became trainers for the rest of the teachers in the district, entitling the program EEI--Elements of Effective Instruction. The district paid teachers to attend a three day workshop before the start of classes in September for two consecutive years. Though teachers attended voluntarily, the district informed them that this training would serve as the focus for teacher evaluation in the future. To date, 97% of Moraga's teachers have participated in the EEI training.

During the two years that teachers received EEI training, administrators in the district developed clinical supervision skills using the model of Richard Mannatt. The district retained an adminstrator from another district to serve as a consultant who assisted the principals in applying EEI principles to their classroom observations of teachers. Building principals were unanimous in their praise of the consultant's efforts, and the felt confident that their evaluative skills had improved considerably as a result of the EEI and clinical supervision training.

But the investment of district resources and administrative time and energy on training had an additional effect on buiding administrators--it symbolized a shift in district priorities. Glickman now expected principals to spend time with teachers in the district's classrooms. She modeled this behavior herself. She reads every evaluation and observation report prepared by administrators, and offers feedback when appropriate. Principals in the district know that evaluating teachers is a valued activity, and believe the superintendent holds them strictly accountable for these duties. As one principal put it:

> (The superintendent) makes her priorities very clear. She really knows what goes on in every school building. But evaluation tops her list. She holds me accountable and I take extra care with evaluation as a result.

Together, an emphasis on training both principals and teachers, coupled with a system of accountability for evaluation quality combined to change traditional teacher evaluation practices in Moraga.

THE TEACHER EVALUATION SYSTEM

The common language for teachers and administrators provided by EEI, coupled with clinical supervision training, have produced a number of changes in the process principals use to evaluate teachers:

- o Pre-observation conferences with the teacher to negotiate specific areas of focus are now standard practice.
- o Principals observe and comment on specific teaching skills rather than global, unobservable criteria.
- o Principals now have complete autonomy in determining the improvement needs of individual teachers on the staff.
- o Written script-tapes accompany all formal observations.
- o Principals carefully plan post conferences. At the end of each conference, they share recommendations and these become the focus of the next observation.
- o Principals now conduct 3-4 formal observations during a teacher's evaluation year, rather than the 1-2 that occurred in the past.

Moraga has focused their evaluation reforms on the evaluation process, and not on specific forms or evaluation instruments. In fact, principals use nothing more than a blank page in writing up a formal observation. Thus, they avoid many of the problems inherent in rating scales. Additionally, none of the above changes required any alterations in the collective bargaining agreement in the district.

But evaluation in the district has become much more formalized when compared to past practices. Feedback must be rigorously documented, and this means that principals spend increasing amounts of time on evaluative activity. Each principal indicated that the time spent on teacher evaluation has doubled over the past several years.

Principals still use the year-end evaluation form--a checklist--that has been in use for many years in Moraga. But they now support ratings they give with evidence gathered through classroom observations. This form is not consistent, however, with the content of recent training efforts in the district, and not surprisingly, this causes some problems for principals. A new year end instrument is now in the planning stages.

OUTCOMES OF THE TEACHER EVALUATION AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

Outcomes of the Staff Development Process

Generally, teachers reacted positively to the EEI program, but interestingly enough, their reasons differed considerably. One teacher mentioned that the workshop was boring:

> They told you things that you already knew--things that you were already doing. There was nothing exciting for me....EEI was make work.

Yet this same teacher also commented later on that given the future plans to link the EEI training to the evaluation process, it was most appropriate for this purpose. He stated:

> To evaluate on EEI...makes things clear. Other kinds of inservice wouldn't be appropriate. EEI is better...It is good, clear, and simple.

The majority of teachers agreed that their participation was a "validating" experience. That is, they found it reassuring that research on teaching had identified techniques that they already used in the classroom. As one teacher put it:

> I found it (EEI) to be very useful. I realized that there were so many fabulous teachers in this district. It validated what I'm already doing--it was reinforcing for me

Teachers throughout the district continually pointed out the value that positive reinforcement held for them. They felt that the district had acknowledged the importance of the job they do by spending money outside of the normal school year to increase instructional skills--in sharp contrast to the fiscal conservatism of the past. The presence of Moraga teachers as trainers also had symbolic meaning for some.

Teachers identified several additional effects of the EEI training. Over half of the teachers said they actually have changed the way they teach day to day as a result of the training. Some things "made sense," so that teachers incorporated these ideas into their daily lesson plans; examples included checking for understanding from one activity to the next. the use of sponges, effective use of instructional time, changes in lesson planning, the use of questioning techniques to encourage higher level thinking skills (even in kindergarden), and increased use of guided practice.

Other teachers found the value of the experience to be its impact on collegial relations in the district. The following comment suggests that one effect of the EEI program was the lowering of barriers that isolate teachers from one another:

> It brought the teaching staff together, like we used to do a long time ago. We rarely do things together anymore. It helped to strengthen ties. It crossed lines; even the administration was there. It was a cohesive experience and made us feel like a family again.

Several teachers mentioned that conversations in the faculty lounge now focused on instructional matters to a greater extent

than before. In fact, the entire bulletin board in the teacher's lounge at one school was devoted to "The Ultimate Five-Step Lesson Plan," a theme from the EEI program.

Whether or not the district management team intended to produce all of the positive effects just described, teachers' comments suggest that the overall experience was a valuable one. The strengths of the program resulted from its grounding in basic principles of effective teaching practice, and a presentation "process" that was consistent with shared, professionally based norms and values. Rather than the "show and go" approach, the program emphasized collegiality and shared experience from the classroom. In many ways, it brought a common focus to the efforts of the professional staff in the district.

Administrators reacted quite differently than teachers to the EEI program. They felt empowered as a result of this training. Though they admitted that teachers still retain the power to monitor and change their own teaching, EEI has now provided a basis for dialogue that previously did not exist. One administrator described the impact this way:

> (EEI provided) a common way of looking at teaching--a vocabulary. (Teachers and administrators) can now talk about instruction at faculty meetings. For example, we just finished discussing how one teaches independence--we could all share and talk because we had a common grounding.

Teachers and administrators now share a common focus on instruction and a common vocabulary for discussing it. Because this clarity of purpose exists, administrators in Moraga now believe they can fill the role of instructional leader in their school in a meaningful way. To the extent that information

collected during classroom observations results in a collaborative discussion between a teacher and an administrator--joint problem solving--EEI has set the stage for a re-alignment of influence spheres that prevented this dialogue from occuring in the past. As one mentor teacher in the district put it:

> The principal has made (evaluation) an ongoing process this year...There is no territoriality--that is, I don't see my room as mine alone. He is aware, he knows, he sees, and this lends to fariness and reliability. I value his feedback.

Follow-up to the EEI program has not materialized as the superintendent would have liked. Though each principal described follow-up activities conducted with their staff during regularly scheduled faculty meetings, over half of the teachers claimed that a major weakness of the program was the lack of follow-up. One intermediate school teacher put it bluntly:

> With EEI, the district has dropped the ball because they didn't bring the teachers together again until January. By then, much of the enthusiasm was gone for all participants. There was just no follow up.

The administration has encouraged teachers to conduct collegial observations or video-tape their lessons, but few teachers have taken advantage of this opportunity. Respondents mentioned lack of time and lack of training in observation and evaluation skills as major impediments to participating in these activities. According to one administrator:

> I have the clinical supervision part. The teachers don't. They don't understand the whole process. Collegial observations are not working because teachers don't know what to do.

Although the initial funding for the EEI program came from the education foundation in the district, the school board designated

only limited funds from this source for follow-up activities.

Outcomes of the Teacher Evaluation Process

As an accountability tool, revisions in the evaluation process have paid off. Over the last three years, 10% of the teachers in the district have been induced to resign as a direct result of evaluative feedback. Not one of the respondents in this study indicated that the district acted unfairly in these cases. Instead, failure to meet clear, openly communicated criteria resulted in the voluntary exit of these teachers from the school system.

But holding teachers accountable was not reserved for the incompetent. Effective teachers, as well, wanted to know how they were doing from an objective source, and the new attention to evaluation in Moraga provided many teachers an important source of recognition and validation that had been lacking in the past. An elementary teacher told us:

> I want the administration to be interested in what I am doing...It gives a teacher a sense of importance when (an administrator) feels that what they're doing is important enough for him to drop in to see how it is going.

Both teachers and principals welcome the changes in the evaluation process for two reasons. First, they provide clarity to the process, and the increased emphasis on documentation contributes to the fairness of the entire system. The union president commented:

> I'm glad to see a formalized and thorough evaluation. Writing things down is good--it is there in black and white. Not only the administrators, but the teachers, too, have something to refer to.

This comment is reinforced by another teacher with over 20 years of experience:

> Tying evaluation to the Elements of Effective Instruction has given us a scaffolding to hang evaluations on. It prevents misunderstandings.

One example, in particular, illustrates the changes that have occurred in Moraga. Prior to Dr. Glickman's arrival, the board had denied a salary increment to a particular teacher, based on parent complaints regarding their performance. Last year, however, this teacher finally received the increase based on the results of evaluations done by the building principal. The documentation of the teacher's improvement provided convincing evidence that they deserved an acceptable rating. Thus, the evaluation system not only helped this teacher to improve, but it also provided evidence to counter-balance parent complaints.

Teachers and administrators also commented that the changes in the evaluation process made to date have the potential to support teachers in their efforts to improve and maintain their effectiveness in the classroom. Pre-conferences allow teachers some degree of control over the focus of their observations, script-tapes (verbatim transcripts of the lesson) serve as excellent sources of feedback to the teacher, and follow-up from observation to observation keeps attention focused on desired changes. According to a teacher in the intermediate school:

> (Evaluation) really has made me more conscious about how do things in my classroom. I am much more conscious overall about my practice and I think about my lessons more systematically.

None of the teachers in the district felt constrained in any way by the evaluation process or its focus on the principles of

effective instruction as stated in the EEI program. Though the potential for standardization exists, teachers trust the principals in the district to allow them the flexibility to innovate.

Remaining obstacles to Teacher Evaluation Reform

Teachers and administrators in Moraga must still overcome several obstacles before they successfully implement a teacher evaluation system that serves both accountability and improvement purposes. Currently, a major stumbling block in the evaluation process is the year end form, a vestige of the former evaluation process. At the end of the year, the principal must complete this checklist for each teacher undergoing evaluation, rating them from excellent to unsatisfactory on 25 separate items in the areas of instructional skill, student relationships, staff relationships, parent relationships, and professionalism. Currently, the form does not match in any way the criteria used during the year. One principal described the situation this way:

> The end of the year form is a dinosaur. It's this way because of the previous posture of the district toward teachers. We will change it, but now, the form doesn't fit the (instructional) model we use. But things take time, and I feel we are on target at this point in time.

The comments of this veteran teacher reflect the feelings of most of the teachers we spoke with:

> Getting rid of the end of the year form is key (to further improving the evaluation system). Currently, it is a waste of time. Till then, I'm sure the principals see evaluaiton as a nightmare.

Teachers and administrators are currently negotiating a new end of the year evaluation form, which they plan to complete by the end of the current school year.

Addressing the issue of the 18th-23rd step merit pay provision also presents the district problems in the future. We have already described the negative reactions of teachers ai administrators regarding this provision of the teacher's contract. Superintendent Glickman acknowledges that this feature is not consistent with her overall management philosophy, and has vowed to come up with an alternative that both the teachers and the school board can embrace. Until then, in the words of one teacher, "it remains a vestige of past management practices in the district."

Failure to adequately address issues of administrator time and resources to support evaluation efforts represent the other set of obstacles that Moraga must overcome in implementing teacher evaluation reforms. Principals admitted that they receive no special resources to assist them in addressing teachers' improvement needs arising out of the evaluation process. Principals have also had difficulty finding the time to implement the new evaluation process consistently with every teacher on their staff. Instead, they have focused limited time and energy on those teachers most in need of attention.

Several examples illustrate the uneven implementation of the evaluation process from teacher to teacher. One teacher reported receiving a great deal of assistance from the principal throughout the formal evaluation process. Both agreed that this assistance had helped the teacher improve considerably. Yet,

another respondent, identified by the principal as an excellent teacher, was quite upset because her evaluator was unable to provide her the help and assistance she requested. He was supposedly too busy and lacked the training. She states, "I was furious. Why couldn't he help. He could have helped, but his priority was not really helping."

Another teacher reported that her observations in the previous year were "normal because the principal was working on developing his own skills." Finally, some teachers reported that they had observed no change at all in the evaluation process over the last several years.

The reports of teachers and administrators illustrate that the steps taken to date to improve evaluation--establishing priorities, building trust, developing a common language, training evaluators, EEI training--represent necessary, but not yet sufficient conditions for producing instructional improvement. Every teacher acknowledged that teacher evaluation had the potential to serve as a force for professional improvement, but limitations of time, resources, and training for both teachers and administrators have prevented the evaluation process from fulfilling that purpose.

Summary

The preceding description of Moraga's attempts to reform their teacher evaluation process displays a curious bias toward staff development in the district. This bias, however, illustrates the conscious effort on the part of the superintendent to attack the problem of evaluating teachers by

first increasing the level of expertise of both teachers and administrators in the district. Improving the evaluation process represents the district's long term goal, but the initial steps have focused on staff development. This is reflected in the district goals and objectives over the past three years. Staff development topped that list in the first two years, and only now do issues associated with evaluation reform appear.

Overall, teachers being evaluated in Moraga this year feel the process is more fair and reliable than in the past because principals are in their classrooms more often, they have more skill, and are more confident and open in their feedback. As one teacher put it, "The principal has made evaluation an ongoing process this year. Now, there is no territoriality; I don't see my room as mine alone."

One teacher who has taught in the district for over twenty years described the current relationship between teachers and administrators in the district using the following metaphor:

> Schools are like a dark room with a large globe in the center. All the actors--teachers, administrators, board members, and parents--stand around the globe with flashlights. If we all use our flashlights and shine them on the globe, we light the place up and we all can see. But if only one or two flashlights are on, we grope in the dark.
>
> So often, only the management uses their flashlights to try and find the way, and they never ask us to use ours. We've just begun to take advantage of one anothers flashlights here in Moraga.

APPENDIX E

THE CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS TEACHER EVALUATION SYSTEM (CMS)

POLICY CONTEXT

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, a large, urban public school district, serves approximately 72,000 students who live in the city of Charlotte, North Carolina and surrounding Mecklenburg county. In 1982, it ranked as the 30th largest school system in the U. S. The enrollment is relatively stable at this time, though it declined in the past decade from a high of 90,000. Forty per cent of the student population is minority.

The school district employs 4,200 teachers; the average length of service of secondary teachers is 15 years, elementary teachers--12 years. The district projects a need to hire from 1600-2000 teachers over the next five years as a result of a modest enrollment increase, teacher retirements, and normal turnover.

Funding within the district depends on state, local, and federal sources. The school district's average per-pupil expenditure of $2,745 is the second highest in the state. A state salary schedule for teachers exists, but school districts may add supplements locally if they wish. Local expenditures by the school district must be approved by the Mecklenburg County Commissioners. Of a total operating budget of $223,990,838, local funds contribute 33%. Before the implementation of the Career Development program in Charlotte, teachers salaries ranged from

$16,738-$27,000, with an average of $22,720. Salaries for teachers under the career development program range from $16,738 to over $34,810.

There is no collective bargaining law in North Carolina. State law, however, does specify evaluation procedures for teachers in the state. Three professional organizations for teachers are active in the district. One is an NEA affiliate, another an AFT affiliate, and the third is a local association called the Classroom Teachers Association. Representatives of each association agreed that the working relationship between the teachers' associations and the superintendent could not be improved upon. Even in the absence of collective bargaining, each association has maximum input in the formulation of district policy. Such was the case with career development. As one union representative put it:

> My organization's relationship (with the superintendent) is as good as it could be. It is very productive. I would say this about no other superintendent, but I believe that collective bargaining could actually get in the way and would inhibit the relationshop that we have right now.

ESTABLISHING CONDITIONS TO SUPPORT EVALUATION

The people of Charlotte take great pride in their progressive community. They have a long history of creativity and innovation regarding their approach to social problems dating back to their implementation of a model plan to desegregate their schools through busing in the early 70's. Several respondents indicated that they entered teaching in this district precisely because of their commitment to racial integration.

Experimentation and creativity continued with the school district's commitment to staff development. Since 1976, the school system has developed and maintained a locally financed Teaching Learning Center which routinely serves 1,000 teachers a month. As part of this center's activities, in the past three years, every teacher and administrator in the school system, including the superintendent, has participated in a workshop series on Effective Teaching, a program which illustrates the lesson design and presentation princ' es of Madeline Hunter. In addition, a Curriculum Research Center, a system level collection of professional materials to stimulate innovation in curriculum design and teaching methods, is also available to the professional staff.

One entire school building has been converted into a Staff Development Center which provides classrooms and office space not only for the wide variety of district staff development programs, but also field based degree programs for several universities and the Metrolina Education Consortium. Four trained psychologists also staff an employee assistance program. The fact that local funds support most of these programs demonstrates the district's long-standing commitment to staff development (see Schlechty et al, 1983 for a complete description of staff development opportunities in Charlotte-Mecklenburg).

A final illustration of this district's commitment to staff development is revealed in the response of the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel to a question regarding the level of effectiveness of teachers and administrators. "That isn't an appropriate question," he replied. "Instead, you should be

asking about our commitment to training. How outstanding (our people) are depends on how committed the district is to producing and training outstanding individuals." This philosophy undergirds Charlotte's approach to management.

Charlotte's dedication to innovation and experimentation is finally mirrored in its efforts to design and implement a model Career Development program. This program grew out of a belief that attracting and retaining effective teachers would require a new career structure that incorporated fundamental changes in the way that teachers are trained, evaluated, and rewarded. A unique evaluation process is the major innovation employed in the Career Development Program; most of the training resources already existed as part of the district's well developed staff development program. Career development has merely identified the most successful elements and systematically coordinated them to improve the quality of school programs. District administrators are quick to point out that the development of the career ladder program was only made possible due to the pragmatic approach to decision making routinely employed in this district. Phillip Schlechty described the district as "organizationally strong." This made it possible to tolerate mistakes that inevitably occur in the planning of any innovation.

The superintendent, Jay Robinson, receives much of the credit for the district's accomplishments from teachers, parents, union representatives, and administrators. His associates describe him as a "risk taker with a bias for action." His management approach creates an environment where innovation and

creativity are not only likely, they are expected. According to one administrator:

> ...accidental inventions more frequently occur in well-prepared labs. Charlotte's lab is well prepared and ready to embrace invention.

This spirit of invention is captured in a statement by the principal architect of the Career Development program, Phillip Schlechty, who likened Charlotte's experience in the first year of the program to "building an airplane while it is in flight."

Organizational Setting

CMS is decentralized into five geographic regions, each administered by an area superintendent. Each area also employs an Area Program Specialist who coordinates curriculum and staff development activities. These individuals play a major role in implementing the Career Development Program in the district.

Teacher involvement in district level decision making has always been high in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Teacher advisory councils provide ongoing teacher input at both the area and district level. Each school elects a teacher to the area level advisory council, where they voice concerns regarding school or district level practices. Each area advisory council then elects a representative to serve on the superintendent's district level advisory council, which also includes teacher union representatives. Each month, day-long meetings of this group are used to disseminate information as well as to get input on future district level decisions.

Two organizational features are crucial to understanding Charlotte's installation of a Career Development program. One

additional manifestation of the district's commitment to staff development training can be seen in the presence of an Assistant Principal for Instruction in every school. These 94 individuals, originally referred as coordinating teachers, are explicitly charged with the responsibility for conducting and managing staff development and curriculum development activities at the building level. They work directly with Area Program Specialists at the area level as brokers of staff development and curricular resources for teachers.

The existence of these pre-existing roles into which the functions necessary for the implementation of an effective teacher evaluation system could be embedded has been critical in this district. Assistant Principals for Instruction (API's) are the key personnel at the school site who oversee the evaluation process for teachers. Without the presence of such a resource at the school site, it seems likely that the new evaluation procedures might not succeed.

Finally, the joint leadership of the superintendent, Jay Robinson, and Phillip Schlechty, the University of North Carolina professor who took leave to serve as the Special Assistant to the Superintendent to plan and implement the Career Development program, was instrumental in getting this innovation off the ground. Their teamwork capitalized on the strengths each one brought to the job. Schlechty brought his expert knowledge regarding the shape of the teaching workforce and the sociology of organizations to guide the Merit Pay Committee through difficult deliberations. Robinson's hard-nosed, open, management style and his political saavy helped to make the Career

Development plan a reality. Their joint effort demonstrates that a successful marriage between research, theory, and practice is possible. Schlechty described their working relationship as follows:

> Jay, as a manager with a bias for action, and myself as a university professor with a bias for reflection interacted quite well and modified each other in the process. I learned to act more quickly even if I didn't have all the information I wanted and Jay learned to pause sometimes and wait before he acted. We met somewhere in the middle.

In summary, three important contextual factors directly contributed to Charlotte-Mecklenburg's success in planning and implementing their Career Development program: 1) a strong commitment to staff development, emphasizing instructional excellence; 2) the presence of technical expertise, most notably the managerial skill of superintendent Robinson and the theoretical knowledge of Phil Schlechty; and 3) the impetus provided by impending state actions regarding a state-wide merit pay plan for teachers. From the very beginning, however, district planners realized that the success or failure of Career Development hinged on the successful implementation of an evaluation system for teachers.

THE STRATEGY

The original impetus for the career development program with its focus on teacher evaluation began in 1981 with the formation by the superintendent of a district-wide committe to study the prospects of instituting a merit pay plan. Made up of respresentatives from institutions of higher education, the

business community, the Board of Education, the PTA, the presidents of the three local teacher organizations, and other teachers and school administrators, the committee concluded that no system of merit pay currently existed that would work in Charlotte. The following excerpt from their letter to the superintendent in December, 1981, portrays their sentiments:

> 1) There is no existing system of merit pay in schools that can provide a model for CMS. Indeed, there is more evidence to support the assertion that merit pay has had harmful and disruptive effects than that it has had positive effects.
>
> 2) In spite of these facts, ther is strong evidence that some form of merit pay will be imposed on CMS and every other school system in the state in the near future.
>
> 3) If CMS is to escape the negative consequences that are likely to flow from such a state mandated program, the system has two options: a) prepare a strong statement, based upon available evidence against merit pay and resist the imposition with logic and political power, or b) endeavor to capture the momentum created by the present statewide concern with teacher evaluation and merit pay to create a comprehensive system of incentives and evaluaiton that is logical and that would work if it were implemented.

As a result of the committee's initial recommendations, the superintendent charged them with drafting the latter alternative.

Probable actions regarding merit pay at the state level and their perceived harm to the district played a major role in Charlotte's development of a career ladder program and teacher evaluation reform. In an effort to anticipate future events, both the superintendent and the Merit Pay Committee attempted to take fate into their own hands. The prospect of a state-wide merit pay program in the future provided the impetus for the planning of an alternative in this school district.

A central concern of the Merit Pay Committee was teacher evaluation. They believed that the evaluation system in

operation in the district at that time contributed little to the district's ability to meet its goals of instructional excellence. They also believed that revision of the evaluation system would be meaningless unless the district linked evaluation results to positive as well as negative sanctions. The following excerpt from their report reflects this stance:

> ...performance evaluations that are not linked to positive rewards or to the potential of positive rewards are inherently punitive. Put directly, if positive evaluations are not used to enhance one's reputation or status, if positive evaluations are not used to make one eligible to accept new responsibilities and gain enriched job assignments, and if positive evaluations are not used to determine expanding career options, then the only evaluations that count are those that are negative. Unfortunately, the way schools are now organized, negative evaluations are the only evaluations that count since positive evaluations are not linked to any rewards that count.

These recommendations prompted the district to make teacher evaluation reform the linchpin of the new Career Development program.

An ad-hoc committee was selected to design the specifics of the Career Development program, including the form of the evaluation system for teachers. This 21 member steering committee worked during the summer of 1983 to develop the evaluation system. The district obtained a planning grant from the U. S. Department of Education which the district used to pay for the summer work of the steering committee and the salaries of 6 regional liaison teachers who served as conduits of information between building teachers and the steering committee. Each school formed a liaison committee solely for the purpose of funneling information between the steering committee and the schools. School level representatives were called together on a

monthly basis for day long meetings with the steering committee to exchange ideas and criticisms. The Career Development program and its teacher evaluation component are the result of the work of these committees over a 12 month period. The impact of this approach on teachers' attitudes reveals itself in this comment from a veteran elementary school teacher who is participating as a career candidate in the program:

> The crux of this program so far is teachers making decisions...I watched the planning process closely, and I just don't see how the whole developmental process could have had more teacher input. I say this even though some felt there wasn't enough, but I don't think that they're being reasonable.

The Steering Committee recommended that participation in the Career Development program should be voluntary for all permanent teachers hired in CMS prior to the 84-85 school year. This decision reduced the anxiety older teachers might experience, and allowed them to observe the mechanics of the evaluation process before they would decide to participate. Additionally, limiting initial participation to new teachers and volunteers from the experienced ranks precluded the possibility that implementation of this complex program would outstrip the capacity of the district's human and financial resources.

The Steering Committee devised a selection procedure for experienced teachers so that the initial pool of 150 would reflect the ethnic balance of the school system. To be selected, a teacher not only had to volunteer, but they also had to be nominated by their principal or their teaching peers as an outstanding teacher. Eventually, the district plans to provide every experienced teacher the opportunity to enter the career

development program. Meanwhile, all teachers new to the district who lack tenure under North Carolina law are required to participate in the new evaluation process.

Teachers new to the district begin as provisional teachers, advancing over a period of years to become Career Nominees, Career Candidates, and Career Level I, II, or III teachers, based on the results of their evaluations. Each new position involves additional responsibilities and increased pay. The school district obtained a waiver of the state's teacher tenure law from the legislature, enabling them to postpone the decision to grant tenure until the fourth to the sixth year of a teacher's career, depending on their progress in attaining the requisite skills of an effective professional. Attaining Career Level One status is accompanied with the awarding of tenure. Decisions to pursue Career Level II and III status are voluntary for all teachers.

Experienced CMS teachers who choose to participate in the Career Development program skip the Provisional and Career Nominee stage. They enter the process as Career Candidates, and undergo an evaluation process adapted to reflect their participation in the program without passing through the preliminary Career stages. (see Schlechty et al, 1984-85 for a more detailed description)

Three basic principles undergird the design of the new evaluation process. First, teachers function as managers. Thus, the district should only hold them accountable for those results over which they have control. The basic evaluation tool is the

Carolina Teaching Performance Assessment Scale (CTPAS), which is directly based on the research on effective teaching. It measures teacher performance in five skill areas:

1) Managing instructional time.
2) Managing student behavior.
3) Presenting instruction.
4) Monitoring instruction.
5) Obtaining instructional feedback.

Adopting the CTPAS as the evaluation instrument saved district planners both time and resources. Rather than viewing the state instrument as a constraint, they took advantage of the time, research, and validation that had gone into its construction, and focused their energy on other issues. As one administrator put it, "(The CTPAS) is just common sense; there is really nothing wrong with it. ...like a preflight checklist, it is a necessary but not sufficient condition for effective teaching."

A second principle undergirding the evaluation process is that teaching is a developmental career. Demonstrating competence in skills identified in the effective teaching literature rests at the base of that developmental process, but experienced teachers should be expected to grow beyond this point. Thus, 14 additional competencies form the basis for the evaluations of more experienced teachers.

The overall evaluation process is constructed in such a way that it takes into account teacher growth and professional needs at various career stages. According to the Director of Career Development:

> ...this is a total program and this is only the start. In the beginning we have to ask teachers to demonstrate that they have the ability to display the science of

> teaching. Then, later in their career, they can build upon this and develop the art of teaching, taking advantage of their own creativity and individual needs. ...Our goal is to build in flexibility to the instruction that teachers bring to kids, and we want teachers to build on a base of effective teaching....I think this is the strength of the program.

Thus, the teacher evaluation system not only becomes a force for improvement for the teacher, but it also helps them to maintain their performance as well. By allowing for and encouraging flexibility and creativity at later stages in a teacher's career, the CMS evaluation system is truly a developmental process, and consistent with teachers' professional norms and values.

The last principle guiding the construction of the evaluation process states that teacher evaluation cannot be conducted outside the context of human judgment. Thus, to insure quality, multiple evaluations are conducted by numerous individuals employing multiple and explicit criteria over a long period of time. Schlechty revealed this underlying philosophy when he stated:

> We did not approach evaluation as a legal and technical task, instead we approached it as a political and moral task. Issues of reliability are less important than issues of validity.

To address this point, the steering committee crafted a system of checks and balances and multiple levels of accountability that insured the quality and accuracy of teachers' evaluations, which we describe below.

THE EVALUATION SYSTEM

The conviction that teaching is, at its heart, a developmental career prompted the steering committee to differentiate the evaluation process for provisional teachers and

career candidates. Therefore, below we describe each system separately.

Provisional Teacher Evaluation

The evaluation process for provisional teachers begins at the start of the year where the entire process is explained to teachers new to the system during a one-week workshop. Once at their respective schools, an advisory/assessment team consisting of the principal, the assistant principal for instruction (API), and a mentor teacher chosen by the administration directs the development and evaluation of the provisional teacher throughout the year.

At an initial meeting, the teacher is asked to submit an Action Growth Plan that will serve as the basis for their evaluation. This professional improvement plan must address specific goals consistent with the overall goals of the school system, and contain precise statements regarding the nature of the evidence that the teacher will produce to document that they have achieved the desired results. The advisory/assessment team assists, supports, and encourages the teacher in the development of and success in achieving the goals of the Action Growth Plan. They meet at least twice each semester for formative evaluation conferences regarding the teacher's progress toward achieving their goals. In addition, summative evaluation conferences are held at the end of each semester.

Multiple indicators are used to assess a teacher's progress toward stated system wide and personal goals. Every provisional teacher must maintain a portfolio of evidence to document

successful performance. Specific products to be included in the portfolio must be designated in the Action Growth Plan. Members of the advisory/assessment team conduct formal and informal observations using the CTPAS during the year. Mentors receive one-half day of released time each month to observe and confer with the teacher. API's observe and consult with each provisional teacher at least twice each month regarding their progress. The principal is expected to spend at least one-half day each semester with every provsional teacher in his/her school. These expectations represent minimums designated by the school system. More time may be needed depending on the needs of the individual teacher. All observations are written and included in the teacher's portfolio during the year.

The activities of the advisory/assessment team remain constant throughout the school year. However, during the second semester, 3 different system-wide observer/evaluators conduct observations of the provisional teacher. The first one is announced, the next two are unannounced. The school system has released these 12 former classroom or coordinating teachers full time to conduct detailed assessments of teaching performance. They have received one month of intensive training in how to conduct classroom observations and how to prepare objective, accurate portrayals of classroom activities and teaching performance. They place written reports of each observation in the teacher's portfolio. Announced observations are discussed with the teacher, but the teacher can also request a conference after an unannounced one.

Observer/evaluators essentially use a blank page in conducting classroom observations, using the criteria of the CTPAS to structure their comments. A script-tape of the lesson serves as the data upon which summative judgments are based. The teacher receives a rating of 1 (Bottom 10%) to 5 (Top 10%) in each of the five CTPAS skill areas. Narrative statements justify the summative ratings given by the observer. Ratings of 3 or below represent less than satisfactory performance.

Training is inextricably entwined with the evaluation process for provisional teachers. They have a variety of resources at their disposal to assist them in their development during the year. All provisional teachers attend classes on effective teaching after school or on Saturdays during the spring semester. workshops on topics from assertive discipline to teaching reading in the content area are also available. API's refer the teacher to materials in the system's Curriculum Resource Center, and arrange for visitations to other classrooms to observe exemplary teaching techniques. Mentors serve as friendly critics, advisors, and role models throughout the year.

At the close of each semester, the advisory/assessment team must make a summative judgement regarding the provisional teacher's progress toward successful achievement of the goals in their action growth plan. They must document extensively the rating they give the teacher. Special attention must be given those cases in which disagreements occur between the reports of the observer/evaluators and the members of the advisory/assessment team. In many cases, the team will be aware

of contexual factors that may have influenced a given observation.

This year, a provisional teacher's contract is either renewed or terminated based on the committee's recommendations. If their contract is renewed, the teacher retains their provisional status for another year. In future years, the committee will have the option to terminate the teacher, retain them for one additional year under provisional status, or advance them to Career Nominee status. Options available to provisional teachers in this first year of the Career Development program are different so that all experienced teachers in the district receive the opportunity to achieve Career Level One status before any new teacher. Any member of the advisory/assessment team may file a minority report.

Though the responsibility and authority for all summative judgements rests with the advisory/assessment team, additional checks and balances beyond the reports of system-wide observer/evaluators insure the quality of the evaluations. Both an area-wide and a district-wide committee review the recommendations of every team. Both teachers and administrators serve on these committees. In this fashion, the integrity of the system is insured.

Career Candidate Evaluation

The basic structure of the evaluation process for career candidates is similar to that of provisional teachers. However, the requirements are more rigorous because achieving the status of a Career Level I teacher certifies the professional excellence of that individual and is accompanied by a $2,000 salary

increase. In future years, attaining Career Level I status will also involve the awarding of tenure under North Carolina law.

Each career candidate also has an advisory/assessment team that assists and supports them throughout the evaluation cycle, composed of the principal, API, and a colleague chosen by the teacher. Each candidate also writes an Action Growth Plan similar to that asked of provisional teachers. However, Career candidates must focus on the 14 competencies they are expected to demonstrate. Rigorous measurement and documentation requirements are enforced. Not only the advisory/assessment team, but also an area committee composed of the Director of Staff Development and the five Area Program Specialists must review and approve each improvement plan.

Members of the advisory/assessment team only observe a teacher at their request. It is assumed that as an experienced teacher, the candidate already possesses the instructional skills that form the basis of effective teaching. To verify the presence of these skills, 3 observer/evaluators conduct a total of 9 formal observations of the teacher--6 in the first semester and 3 in the second. Three observations are announced, and six are unannounced. Written reports become part of the teacher's portfolio; conferences are scheduled only after announced observations, though conferences may be requested at any time.

The teacher may meet with their advisory/assessment team at any time if they desire. However, the only required meetings occur at the beginning of the year and the close of each semester. At this time, the team must make a summative judgement

regarding the teacher's status for the following year. Based on the observation reports of the observer/evaluators and the documentation provided by the candidate in fulfilling the requirements of their Action Growth Plan, the advisory/assessment team recommends either advancement to Career Level I status, or continuation as a Career Candidate. Teachers may voluntarily withdraw from the program if they wish.

Advancement to Career Level I status requires rigorous documentation. Advisory/assessment teams, for example, must specifically explain any rating below a 4 given by an observer/evaluator on any portion of their observation report. The decisions of all advisory/assessment teams are reviewed both at the Area and District level. The superintendent extends final approval.

Training resources available to Career Candidates are similar to provisional teachers. The advisory/assessment team attempts to provide whatever assistance they can. Both the API at the building level and the Area Program Specialists at the district level work closely with each career candidate to link them with the resources necessary for them to fulfill the requirements of their action growth plan. A copy of a portion of such a plan is included in Appendix C.

EVALUATION OUTCOMES

1984-85 represents the first year of implementation of the Career Development program in Charlotte. In many ways, it has been a learning experience for teachers, building administrators, and central office personnel. In some schools, the staff has a

clear understanding of the goals and procedures of the evaluation program; in others, varied levels of confusion exist.

The majority of the professional staff in the school system react postively to the program, and believe that it represents a force for both accountability and improvement in the district. Visitors to the district become infected with the enthusiasm of the majority of teachers and administrators participating in the Career Development program. However, depending on specific circumstances in individual schools, some teachers are vocal critics.

Eighty-six of the district's 350 provisional teachers have voluntarily resigned, in part due to the extensive feedback generated by the evaluation system. Some decided that teaching was not the career they wished to pursue. Others moved out of the area. Charlotte's Director of Career Development estimates that 6% of the Provisional teachers were induced to resign as a direct result of negative evaluative feedback. For example, in one school, a teacher resigned the day before his mid-year summative evaluation conference, which he knew would be less than satisfactory. His major interest in the teaching profession was the opportunity it gave him to be an athletic coach; the focus of the evaluation process on classroom instruction demonstrated his deficiencies in this area. The efforts of his advisory-assistance team to provide help were unable to bring about appreciable improvement.

Of the 150 Career Candidates participating in the program, 137 reached Career Level I status. Five teachers voluntarily dropped out of the program during the school year, and 6

voluntarily agreed to extend their status as career candidates for a second year before going through the formal review process. Two individuals were denied Career Level I status at the end of the formal review process. Given that all of these individuals had originally been nominated by their peers or principal as outstanding teachers, the fact that almost 10% did not achieve Career Level One status attests to the high standards and rigor with which the evaluation system is being applied.

Respondents at every level of the school system felt that the new evaluation process focused their attention on instructional excellence in a meaningful way. According to one central office administrator:

> ...I believe we've opened up the classroom door. Teachers are now excited about their professional growth. Those who have really tried to use this program as designed are getting excited and it's reducing the possibility of burnout.

At the building level, Assistant Principals for Instruction unanimously agree that the new evaluation process has finally enabled them to perform their duties as coordinators of staff development and curricular resources. As one put it:

> For the first time in 29 years, we are saying things that should have been said all along, and we are making classroom expectations clear. I have never seen new teachers get as much support and help as has happened this year.

A principal in another building felt that the involvement of his staff in the Career Development program as Career Candidates, Provisional teachers, and members of advisory/assessment teams had a positive impact on collegial relations in his school:

> I think we see better communication between teachers in the school (as a result of Career Development). They talk to each other more...and professional topics characterize their

discussion more often. It has been really exciting for me to see people that treat each other as colleagues.

Representatives of the local teacher's organizations also agree that the new evaluation process is a positive force in the district. A representative comment from one of them stated: "The main focus of the evaluation system IS to help teachers improve... However, if they do not improve, then they are forced out of the system."

Teachers are somewhat divided in their assessment of the impact of the program on their instructional performance. Most complained about the stress they experienced during the year from undergoing so many formal observations. For a few, the benefits they derived from the evaluation process were not worth this cost. For example, one provisional teacher who received excellent ratings from an observer/evaluator expected to leave this district and teach in another as a result of her stressful experience in the Career Development program and the failure of her principal and API to support her. She states:

> I am thinking about leaving teaching because of this program here, yet I feel I am really worth having around and if I leave they're going to lose a good teacher.

In spite of the stress, all but one teacher acknowledged that the combination of evaluation and staff development experiences they had during the year either improved their instructional practices or re-affirmed and sharpened existing skills. Some teachers felt that evaluation provided an important "nudge" to their performance. One provisional teacher stated:

> I believe I've really changed the way I teach as a result of the feedback I've gotten....(The evaluation process) is motivating. It keeps me on my toes. You aren't allowed to

be sloppy....I think evaluation is an incentive that pushes you to improve.

Several teachers mentioned that evaluation "kept them on their toes," something they felt was beneficial. For others, the evaluation process provided important feedback that validated the effectiveness of their classroom practice. In this respect, evaluation extends the notion of accountability not only to minimally competent teachers, but to excellent teachers as well. To this point, a career candidate who had received excellent ratings from observer-evaluators told us:

> I need the reassuracne of people looking at what I am doing. If we are not looked at, we get the attitude that nobody cares. I think it can bring about a lack of mativation and I think this has happened to many teachers.

But beyond accountability, evaluation in Charlotte stimulated teachers to carefully examine and reflect on their actions in the classroom, making adjustments and improvements when areas of need became visible. "Like holding up a mirror in the morning," evaluative feedback provides teachers glimpses of their performance that can serve as the basis for future improvement. A provisional teacher told us:

> Evaluation makes you think long and hard as you prepare for each lesson and makes you analyze what you are doing carefully. And I guess this wouldn't always be the case if you weren't participating in this program.

Another teacher, a career candidate who received all excellent ratings from the observer/evaluators stated:

> I think (evaluation) made me more conscious about how I did things in my classroom....I was much more conscious overall about my practice and I thought about my lessons more systematically. It helped me to avoid from getting lazy.

Together, these comments suggest that the evaluation component of the Career Development program in Charlotte contributes to the

achievement of both accountability and improvement goals for teachers of all effectiveness and experience levels.

Checks and Balances

A strength of the evaluation process is the multiple levels of accountability that operate to insure the integrity and fairness of the system. The building administration, the advisory/assessment teams, the observer/evaluators, the area review committees, and the district review committees combine to form an evaluation system that fosters professional growth in the context of high performance standards.

The primary responsibility for evaluation rests with the building level advisory/assessment teams. AA team members consider it their professional responsibility to provide the teacher undergoing evaluation every bit of assistance necessary to succeed. No longer must an overburdened principal take sole responsibility for conducting observations and providing professional support. As one principal stated:

> In the past,, any possibility that successful growth would occur in a teacher as a result of evaluation depended on a personal relationship that would exist between the principal and the teacher. The old system was a relationship based system--now we have a professionally based system. Now, we involve other people in the process.

The majority of AA teams in the district work effectively with teachers being evaluated. One enthusiastic teacher stated:

> They (the advisory/assessment team) have been my right arm. I couldn't have done what I've done without them...My chairperson has contributed so much. I feel badly using those people free of charge...Yesterday morning we had a meeting at 6:45 a.m.

Without exception, those teachers who were dissatisfied with the evaluation process received little support or guidance from their advisory/assessment team.

The presence of system-wide observer/evaluators introduces an accountability factor that brings some degree of standardization throughout the district. The comments of one building principal echo the sentiments of administrators and teachers alike:

> I believe the observer/evaluators are the key objective link that holds the whole system together. They measure how consistent the AA teams are across the district...They also help to give the AA teams feedback. The O/E's provide a check for what these teams are doing....We spend time comparing the O/E reports with our own and carefully try to explain any differences that exist.

Her comments are reinforced by this high school career candi[illegible]

> I think that it's good that the observer-evaluators c[illegible] from the outside. They help make the system valid and keep bias from creeping in...Holding people accountable is the beginning to bringing about improvement in the district.

The observer evaluators take great pride in the care they give to their observations. Each hour long observation takes an average of 4 hours to write. They view their roles as outsiders who provide an objective "snapshot" of a given lesson as the key to the system's integrity. As one observer-evaluator put it:

> We give data. We do not evaluate. (Though) we do place value when we circle a 1,2,or 3, we don't have the power to make any final judgments and we believe this is the key to the success of the process. One of the reasons we have 9 observations is to allow for a teacher to have a bad day.

Observer/evaluators are critical in insuring the integrity of the sytem.

Finally, the area and district level review committees serve as a final check that the evaluation system is being implemented

consistently with district goals, and this is supported throughout the year by area administrators. According to one area superintendent:

> I don't let them (advisory/assessment teams) off the hook. I insist that the school-based committees arrive at a decision that they can justify....I have my area program specialists work in the schools and meet with teams and teachers to make sure they understand what is expected of them.

In this manner, Charlotte-Mecklenburg has overcome a problem that plagues teacher evaluation in many districts--the fact that a teacher's evaluation often depends upon who is doing it. They have succeeded in implementing their basic plan of conducting multiple evaluations by numerous individuals employing multiple and explicit criteria over a long period of time.

Peer Involvement

Peer involvement represents one end of a continuum formed by participants in the evaluation process. Peers serve as the base of the formative component of the evaluation system, followed closely by the API. As one moves to the principal, the observer-evaluators, and the area and district review committees, the summative aspects of the evaluation system receive greater emphasis. The collegial support provided by the mentor insures that evaluation remains consistent with the norms and values of classroom teachers. Not surprisingly, AA team members often build a deep emotional attachment with the teacher they work with. Advisory/assessment teams believe that the performance of a teacher during an observer-evaluator observation reflects their own professional competence.

One principal likened the role of the advisory/assessment team to that of a doctor who helps a woman through labor in giving birth to a child, or the unhearalded offensive line of a football team. He states:

> The career candidates go through high and low periods during the year. But now the baby has finally arrived because we have completed the evaluation process, ans as you would expect, we are all excited about that. It's been a long hard labor. The process here at this school has really been a team approach and the quarterback is the teacher. She calls the shots and we are the blockers that make it possible for her to be a winner.

Peer involvement on advisory/assessment teams as well as district-wide review committees helps to insure that professional standards, not bureaucratic convenience, drives the evaluation system.

Training

Charlotte-Mecklenburg has also acknowledged that training and evaluation cannot be separated in an organization. Good evaluation is seen as equivalent to good staff development. The teacher career development program actually grew out of efforts to provide more effective coordination of what were once diverse and sometimes unrelated staff development components. Career development has merely identified the successful elements and suggested ways of organizing them to systematically improve the quality of school programs and school performance (Schlechty et al, 1984-85). Thus, the staff development office in the district coordinates all of the training for observer-evaluators, advisory/assessment team members, career candidates, and provisional teachers. The Director of Staff Development works closely with the Area Program Specialists to insure that teachers

are supported in fulfilling the recommendations of their advisory/assessment teams. Staff development, as both an input and and output to the evaluation process, is an integral part of professional life in this district.

The melding together of staff development training and evaluation displays additional benefits. In the past, being targeted for special assistance was a sure sign of incompetence, and the stygma attached to this dissuaded many adminstrators from acting. Career Development now makes staff development a routine part of evaluation. One Area Program Specialist spoke of a career candidate who received intensive assistance without triggering any negative overtones on her staff. Provisional teachers are vigorously supported in their attempts to respond to evaluative feedback. For example, one junior high school provisional teacher who had received some feedback regarding her teaching of writing offered the following example of the type of service an assistant principal for instruction can provide in brokering staff development resources:

> Because they have such a writing emphasis in the school and in the district, they are going to send me to observe a writing teacher in another school. It was the assistant principal for instruction who arranged this and got the sub to cover my classes. I really believe that I need this help and I am looking forward to it...Any issue I need to address, the API has helped me. She has been wonderful. I really haven't had any lack of resources.

In another school, the principal requires interim teachers and long-term substitutes to participate in a school based evaluation process that mirrors the career development program because the benefits are so great.

As a result of teacher evaluation and career development, the operations of other district functions have taken on a common focus. For example, the Director of Staff Development stated that the entire delivery system for district-wide staff development has changed to support career development. Already, a series of ten, school-based workshops targeted to the needs of provisional teachers in one large high school have been planned. Such offerings never existed in the past. Another API offered this description of how Career Development has changed the way she brokers staff development resources:

> "We have provided specific assistance (to provisional teachers and career candidates) such as assertive discipline workshops and I'm not sure that some of these teachers would have been referred to them without having this evaluation system in place. For example, last year I didn't refer anyone to specific workshops in the district. This year, I've done it at least five times.

Much of the staff development training conducted in the district this year was targeted to increasing the skills of participating in career development. In fact, one area program specialist fears that those teachers not participating in career development may feel "left out" because so much district activity is targeted to career development.

Remaining Obstacles

Implementing the new evaluation procedures in CMS for over 450 teachers meant that a large number of individuals--the participating teachers, principals, API's, observer/evaluators, and advisory/assessment team members--required special training. This placed a tremendous burden on the staff development resources of the district, even though these resources were quite

extensive to begin with. As a result, the significant actors in the evaluation process did not all receive adequate training. For example, mentors participated in a one day workshop after the school year began about their role, and received no other training. One mentor denied she had been given any training at all, even though district records confirm her participation. Mentors consistently felt they could benefit from more training. Thus, one mentor teacher in a high school stated:

> One wish that I have is that we had better instructions on how to rate the teacher when we observed them. I don't know what we're supposed to be doing...Literally I was handed a form and told "Go observe and rate the teacher,' and they handed me some sort of manual. I've had no training.

Several teachers also felt that advisory/assessment teams needed more training to clarify their role in the evaluation process. In several schools, both teachers and API's were unclear regarding the ultimate responsibility for making a summative judgment regarding a teacher's performance.

The remaining training needs in the district represents a short run problem, however. The career development program is designed so that career level teachers will eventually occupy the roles of mentor and CAA team members. As more teachers go through the evaluation process and attain career level one status, they will be able to fill these roles.

The Down-Side of Flexibility

The flexible attitude the district adopted in implementing the Career Development program was a double-edged sword. Though in many ways it represents a strength of the system, it has at times been a liability. Every career candidate expressed

frustration with the district's handling of the Action Growth Plans. Early in the year, Area Program Specialists realized that the specificity and length of action growth plans varied tremendously from building to building. In an effort to bring about some standardization, reduce paperwork, and clarify procedures, the district formed a committee to review and approve all action growth plans. Some career candidates had to go through 3 iterations before their plan was finally approved. One respondent had amassed extensive documentation for her plan before she was informed that most of it was inappropriate. She could not talk about this experience without tears filling her eyes. Obviously, most teachers felt as though administrators should have anticipated this problem, making expectations clear from the beginning.

The Special Needs of New Teachers

New teachers, especially in secondary schools, have traditionally been expected to fulfill a variety of other roles necessary to the school's total program. Coaching and club sponsorship, in particular, require a new teacher to spend a great deal of time in addition to that necessary for instructional planning. The additional demands of time and energy required by the evaluation process for provisional teachers creates a situation that many provisional teachers find difficult to cope with. Both API's and provisional teachers commenced that the district's demands on them were unreasonable. After school coaching and cheerleading sponsorship commitments often made it difficult for teachers to find time to meet with API's or mentors

to discuss instructional matters. One provisional teacher who sponsored the cheerleaders and the junior class told us:

> I do need more time. After all, my primary goal and duty her at school is to teach...But every time we have a work day they have some workshop we have to attend, but what I need is time to implement what I've learned already. I need time to think and work on these things.

Many provisional teachers were forced to attend required Effective Teaching classes on Saturdays because no other time was available.

The district's focus on instruction therefore, has created a dilemma for teachers and administrators alike. Provisional teachers must make a choice regarding their priorities, yet building principals still rely on them to perform duties outside their normal classroom assignment. Presently, the district has not addressed this problem in any substantive manner.

Administrator Accountability

Although CMS removes a great deal of responsibility for teacher evaluation from the building principal, they still remain the key figure in implementing the evaluation process according to district plans. Not surprisingingly, teacher's attitudes regarding the evaluation process vary depending on the school in which they teach and the commitment of their principal in insuring the process is operating smoothly. The presence of observer/evaluators and area review committees imposes a certain amount of accountability, but principals' involvement in the Career Development process still varies appreciably from building to building. In some cases, principals spend as much as 30% of their time on teacher evaluation, while in other buildings,

teachers had not talked with their principal at all regarding their progress through the evaluation process. A principal's lack of attention to evaluation sends a powerful message to teachers regarding the low priority he/she places on instruction--even here in Charlotte where the responsibility for evaluation is dispersed among many individuals. For example, one career candidate said:

> If the principal is not involved in the evaluation process, teachers in the school probably won't see evaluation as being important. How the principal spends his time sends a powerful message to teachers about the priority that something has in the school. The principal serves as a symbol. If he arranges his schedule to spend time on (evaluation), then teachers get the message.

Plans exist to institute a Career Development program for all professional staff in the district below the level of Assistant Superintendent. The district steering committee decided to implement the plan for teachers first, because they were in most need of the additional rewards attached to the process. However, the additional accountability for principals that their participation in a Career Development evaluation process will introduce should have a significant impact on the manner in which teacher evaluation is implemented across the district.

Summary

Any innovation of the scale of the Career Development program requires time before its ultimate impact can be assessed. Six years must pass befors Charlotte's staged implementation plan installs the entire program. Some aspects of the program have yet to be specified. For example, the section of the district's

Career Development Handbook describing the duties, selection, and evaluation procedure for Career Level II and III teachers contains one page that states that these policies will be developed at a later date.

Effects of the process on student achievement, teacher turnover, and community support for education have yet to be determined. Yet positive comments by teachers and administrators regarding the first year of implementation of the new evaluation process outnumber the negative ones by a three to one margin. In every instance, negative comments result when the program is not being implemented as planned. Leadership by a principal commited to the Career Development program seems to be a key to success.