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## Process of educational innovation: A micropolitical study of the implementation of a team teaching model

Bruce Steven Frana  
*University of Northern Iowa*

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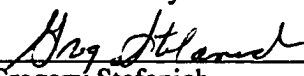
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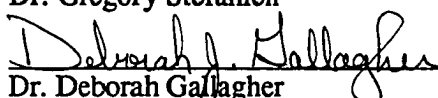
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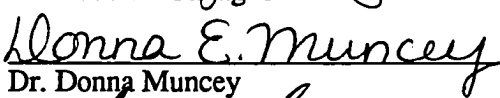
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\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. John K. Smith

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. David McCalley

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Gregory Stefanich

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Deborah Gallagher

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Donna Muncey

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Thomas Switzer

Bruce S. Frana  
University of Northern Iowa  
May 1995

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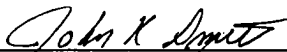
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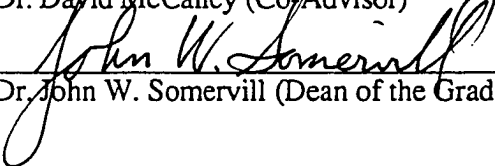
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Approved:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. John K. Smith (Co-Advisor)

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. David McCalley (Co-Advisor)

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. John W. Somervill (Dean of the Graduate College)

Bruce S. Frana  
University of Northern Iowa  
May 1995

## ABSTRACT

This is a two-year case study, conducted in a large school district (over 10,000 students), of an attempt to introduce interdisciplinary team teaching at the high school level. The purpose of this study was to examine what teachers do and think as they engage in the process of implementing educational reform. I believed initially that the success or failure of educational reform depended largely on the actual teachers involved in implementing that reform. Once I was in the setting, however, it was clear that administrators must be included because reform depends on much more than what teachers do and think.

To gain an in-depth understanding of the interactions among the key persons involved in the innovation process, micropolitics was selected as the guiding conceptual framework. Micropolitics refers to the use of both formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals. Also, given the nature of the problem, a qualitative approach was employed because it allowed me to focus on understanding--that is, it allowed me to focus on the complex interactions among teachers and administrators and on what these interactions meant to those involved.

As a nonparticipant observer, I collected data through interviews, observations, and from historical/archival documents. Over the course of the two-year study I interviewed on numerous occasions, both formally and informally, the participating teachers, building principals, and district level administrators. I employed an analytic inductive method to analyze the data.

My major findings as to the reason for the failure of this team teaching innovation are as follows:

1. The possibilities for the success of the innovation were diminished because of misperceptions on the part of teachers about the amount of support they were receiving for their efforts from administrators.



2. The “culture” of the three high schools in this district, with its focus on transmitting subject matter, was resistant to the student orientation of the team teaching approach.

3. The site-based decision-making structure in the district allowed individual principals to end an innovation even though it was highly desired by district level administrators and the teachers involved in the process.

4. The power and influence of people of higher socioeconomic status over building principals led directly to the failure of this team teaching innovation.

Table of Contents		Page
Chapter I: INTRODUCTION .....		1
Method .....		3
The Beginnings of an Innovation .....		7
The Administrative Players .....		10
Chapter II: THE INITIATION OF INNOVATION .....		28
Team Leaders Selection and Structure .....		29
Team Members Selection .....		31
Partners Planning .....		36
The Partners' First Year .....		40
The Teachers' First Year .....		40
The Administrators' First Year .....		59
Summary of the First Year .....		83
Chapter III: THE SECOND YEAR .....		87
The Partners Program Teams .....		88
Administrators .....		102
"A Done Deal" .....		114
The End of Funding .....		115
Chapter IV: REFLECTIONS ON THE DEMISE OF AN INNOVATION .....		128
Partners Teams .....		128
Administrators .....		135
Chapter V: ASSESSING THE FAILURE OF AN INNOVATION .....		154
This Case Study and Literature .....		154
Support .....		155
High School Culture .....		166
Site-Based .....		178
Social Status .....		184
Final Comments and Conclusions .....		190
References .....		199
Appendix A: District Strategic Plan for School Improvement .....		208
Appendix B: "My Vision for East High School" .....		210
Appendix C: Key Informants in the Study .....		211
Appendix D: Report to the Board of Education of the Instructional Advisory Committee .....		213

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

“Educational change depends on what teachers do and think - it’s as simple and complex as that” (p. 107)--Michael Fullan wrote these words in 1982 describing his perspective of educational change. My purpose as I set out to conduct this study was to follow Fullan’s lead and examine what teachers do and think when they are engaged in the process of introducing or implementing an educational reform. I, too, believed that the success or failure of educational reform depended largely on the actual teachers involved in implementing that reform. I now realize that this is not always the case. Fullan should have included administrators in his claim because educational change depends on much more than what teachers alone do and think.

Over the years researchers have examined the process of educational innovation from various perspectives. For example, researchers have studied the barriers and implementation problems involved in the innovation process (see, for example, Berman & McLaughlin, 1977; Gross, Giacuinta, & Bernstein, 1971; Hall, Hord, & Griffin, 1980; Havlock, 1969). One dominant characteristic of this literature is that it has focused at the macro-level, with the use of organizational models to study the process of innovation.

Despite the desire for, and research on, reform, basic ways of schooling children, and the schools themselves, have remained essentially unchanged over the past one-hundred years (Cuban, 1988; Silberman, 1970; Sizer, 1992). In an attempt to better understand the stability of the schooling process despite the desire for, and attempts to make, change, researchers have begun to study the process “on the ground”--that is, directly in terms of those involved in making or implementing change. Mangham (1979), for example, viewed human interactions as a key element in studying change. His belief was that “what an individual is and what an individual does depends upon her/his interactions with others.

Neither individuals nor their actions can be comprehended apart from an understanding and analysis of human interactions” (p. 41). Studies of the day-to-day interactions among key players in the educational setting have begun to appear with increasing frequency over the last several years (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1987a; Marshall, 1991). My research adds to this growing body of literature.

Blase (1991), in his book The Politics of Life in Schools, sketched out the driving force behind this line of inquiry: “Comprehensive research approaches (e.g., intensive case studies) designed to explore relations between and among processes and structures would be especially helpful in generating descriptive and theoretical understandings of school-based politics” (p. 249). Accordingly, Blase (1987a, 1990) has suggested further research in the following related areas: a) understanding political interactions among public school teachers, and b) examining the perspectives school principals and teachers have of everyday politics, particularly within the political context of the school, to better understand change and innovation. Among the important topics that need to be examined within this approach are educational reform and organizational change and, more specifically, the various forms of team teaching.

As Fullan (1982) has stated, what goes on behind the classroom door is the prerogative of the individual teacher. This implies that change is a very personal, individual act. As noted, I had set out in this study to look at the innovation process in terms of the teachers involved in that process. I wanted to see what was taking place behind the closed doors--to look at what has been called “the teacher side of the equation” of innovation (Corbett, Firestone, & Rossman, 1987). In accord with what Blase (1987a, 1990) has suggested, my intention was to focus on the political interactions among teachers as they engage in the process of innovation implementation. Originally, I thought the perspectives of school

principals and district administrators and their interactions, both among themselves and with teachers, would be a secondary aspect.

Instead, as is often the case in qualitative research, the study's emphasis changed because of critical discoveries of how individuals, most particularly administrators, can affect change efforts that are supposedly going on "behind closed doors." I realized early in my field research, that principals and other administrators were far more important than the teachers in the process of change. In other words, I realized that the interaction of administrators among themselves and with teachers, as part of the internal organization of schools, was the crucial factor in determining the fate of this innovation. This study thus became a story of innovation implementation in light of the interactions among the various levels of educators within a district--a series of interactions in which power was not shared equally.

To gain a more in-depth understanding of the interactions between the key actors in the innovation process, I selected micropolitics as the conceptual framework. A brief definition of this concept is necessary. Micropolitics is viewed in two related ways; as the examination of the internal processes in education (Willower, 1991) and as the interaction of administrators, teachers, and students (Blase, 1991). More specifically, micropolitics

refers to the use of formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organizations. In large part, political actions result from perceived differences between individuals and groups, coupled with the motivation to use power to influence and/or protect. Although such actions are consciously motivated, any action, consciously or unconsciously motivated, may have political "significance" in a given situation. Both cooperative and conflictive actions and processes are part of the realm of micropolitics. Moreover, macro- and micropolitical factors frequently interact. (Blase, 1991, p. 11)

### Method

I conducted a case study of an attempt to introduce interdisciplinary team teaching at the high school level in a large school system (over 15,000 students). Over a two-year period each of the three high schools in the school district developed a three-person team at the 9th

grade level. The purpose of these interdisciplinary teams, called the Partners Program (PP), was to assist 9th grade students in their transition from middle school, with its more “personal” philosophy, to a large high school, with a more traditional, less personal approach. Initial funding for the innovation allowed for a year of investigation and planning and two years of implementation. The project, begun in a pilot phase in the fall of 1991 and continuing over the 1992/93 and 1993/94 academic years, had as its goal to decrease the number of 9th grade drop-outs and the higher than desired student failure rate in 9th grade classes.

Given the nature of the study--i.e., an examination of school innovation from a micropolitical perspective--a qualitative approach was employed. My desire, as Common (1983) has stated, was to “go beyond the surface appearance of events in order to understand” (p. 208). A qualitative approach, in that it focuses on understanding, must go beyond the surface level by focusing on the complex interactions among the teachers and administrators and on what these interactions mean to those involved in the change process.

I used a triangulation method for data collection which included interviews, observation, and historical/archival documents (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). The historical and archival materials consisted of meeting announcements, proposals, teacher diaries/journals, survey results (parent and student), district and building research and demographic data, North Central Association (NCA) Reports, and building handbooks, as well as parent/community newsletters. I observed the teachers in their team planning times, large group meetings (i.e., meetings of all three teams), and during their attendance at local conferences. Finally, interviews were undertaken with all the major participants in the reform.

More details about my interview methods and selection of informants may provide more insight to the process. Key informants at various levels of the district structure were

interviewed. These informants included the participating teachers, building principals, and district level administrators (Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent of High Schools, and Assistant Superintendent for Development). Two methods of interviews were incorporated: informal conversation (Patton, 1990) and an open-ended interview guide (Yin, 1989) modified to a semi-structured approach. Formal interviews were conducted with nine teachers (3 three-member teams), three building principals, and three central district administrators.

I also engaged in informal interviews with various people not directly involved with the PP. Among the non-participating teachers interviewed, I included both supporters as well as non-supporters of the innovation. The names of these people were often suggested by team members. These teachers interviewed came not only from within the discipline areas of the participating teachers, but also included special needs teachers and teachers in rooms adjoining the PP rooms. The informal interviews provided an opportunity to cross-check what I was being told by the team members concerning other teachers' views of them and the PP. At the administrative level, I informally interviewed other administrators (assistant principals) and semi-administrators (i.e., counselors, department chairs within the high schools, and curriculum facilitators located at the district's central office).

All formal interviews were transcribed onto a computer disk and categorized with the use of the Macintosh version of HyperQual. Informal interviews and field observations were also transcribed and entered into the computerized data base. An ongoing data analysis was used to assist in the development of questions during the field research and to aid in the final case study report (Skrlic, 1985). An analytical inductive method was employed to analyze data during the collection period as well as for the final analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982).

I decided to use semi-structured interviews for two reasons. First, I believed that people would feel more comfortable if I posed the initial questions and, second, because this format easily takes on a conversational style that allows people to elaborate their concerns. I felt comfortable with this approach because I was able to go in the direction that the other person wished to go and yet I was able to return to any questions that I deemed necessary to explore.

I attempted to allow people to select the place for the interview(s). This usually meant that we met in their classrooms or offices. However, I also talked with teachers in their homes at night and on weekends, in planning areas within the buildings, and in the science prep rooms. The interviews with team members lasted 45 minutes to 90 minutes. I formally interviewed each participant four different times throughout the two year implementation time period. I also informally talked with participants in hallways and classrooms, over the phone, and at conferences over the time period. Administrators preferred to be interviewed either in their offices or in the meeting rooms adjoining their offices. I met with each principal three times, twice with a tape recorder and once without a tape recorder. These interviews usually lasted about 45 minutes to an hour apiece. My meetings with central district administrators varied in length from 30 minutes to 90 minutes, with interrupted interviews sometimes continuing over several days or weeks. I also met with them for three formal interviews, two with and one without a tape recorder.

A comment on the use of first or last names is necessary. Because of the complexity of the story and levels within, I use last names for administrators and first names for teachers. I did this because it is how the participants generally referred to each other, and, also, because I think this usage allows the reader to more easily follow the levels of conversation within the quotes and story.



The following story presents a story about the change process and the complexity of that process. The story, as researched and told through the micropolitical lens, provides another view to help us better understand educational change. The process of change is much more political and complicated than many people think it is--certainly it is more political and complicated than I thought would be when I began this study.

#### The Beginnings of an Innovation

The Partners Program (PP) innovation grew out of a previous innovation undertaken in the mid-1980s, i.e., restructuring middle schools. The 9th grade had been moved into the high schools in the fall of 1986 as the result of a district-wide change to the middle school concept, incorporating 6th through 8th grade in the former junior high buildings. A team teaching approach was implemented in the middle schools. The initial innovation led directly to the need for the current innovation. Changing to the middle school concept had the unintended consequence of increasing 9th grade failure and drop-out rates.

Jack Evans, a former Assistant Superintendent of Middle Schools, who had been in charge of the middle school transition, was familiar with the problems that could, and actually did, develop for 9th graders under this pattern. In particular, it was apparent to everyone involved that many 9th graders had difficulty adjusting to the less personal style in the large high schools. This adjustment problem was evident in higher course failure rates and a higher than anticipated drop-out rate for this group. Several administrators believed that the shift from a personalized, student-centered, team-taught middle school program to a wide open, self-directed high school was too difficult for many 9th graders. Apparently many students were unable to adjust to the decreased level of support and attention they received from high school teachers.

It was sometime during the 1988-1989 school year that Patrick Fields, principal of East High School, began discussing this 9th grade adjustment problem with Jack Evans. Both

Fields and Evans believed that something could and should be done to find a way to enable students to remain in the high schools and, of course, to do so more successfully. Fields posed to Evans the possibility that a solution might reside in using a team of teachers, in order to give students more attention--the kind and level of personal attention they had received in their middle schools. Evans agreed and they decided to develop some type of pilot project to test the idea.

### The Community and District

North Bend is a large (150,000) Midwestern city that has been tightly connected to the industrial sector of the state for the past century. After a recession in the early and mid-1980s, there was a successful diversification of the business/industrial sector in order to minimize the dependency on heavy industry. At present, the local economy is stable and growing. The community is predominantly middle class, with a growing white collar population as well as areas or pockets of low income scattered throughout the community; the low income areas tend to be in the old sections of the inner city or in expanding border areas of the inner city as urban renewal has taken place. The city itself has a small non-white population of 4.5%.

The North Bend Community School District (NBCSD) has received a significant amount of national acclaim. During the rapid expansion of the 1950s and 1960s, the NBCSD was led by a superintendent who supported the introduction of an innovative curriculum and enhanced staff development and teacher support services. The district gained national recognition and teachers from North Bend frequently presented at national curriculum and education conferences. The district also received recognition from the National Education Association for the innovative processes used for teacher workshops and inservice training. Retired district administrators reflect on this era as the most exciting times within the North Bend Community Schools.

The late 60s brought change to the nation as well as to the North Bend District leadership. A new superintendent with military experience and a bureaucratic view of leadership rearranged the structure and goals of the district. The bureaucratization brought more levels of management and a related autocratic form of leadership within each building. The end of the 60s ushered in a different leadership style and a more conservative approach to education. This time period also witnessed the loss of federal dollars that aided in the support of many new ideas and curricular materials. North Bend soon was to disappear from the national limelight it had basked in during the decade of experimentation. Successive superintendents, averaging a tenure of five years, maintained the conservative status quo under the strong influence of the School Board. Most changes in the district reflected the national shift toward increased requirements, emphasis on the college preparatory programs, and a decreased emphasis on the practical arts. During this time, the programs in the individual buildings reflected the interests of the individual principals as site-based management became prevalent. Staffing, budgets, and individual programs became the responsibility of the building principal. Thus, while buildings generally reflected the district curricula, other changes, such as Advanced Placement (AP) level courses and student-centered programs, were instituted by particular principals in their buildings. This “empowerment” continued to expand under the guidance of the superintendent who was in office during the time of this research study.

The members of the School Board are proud of the district’s accomplishments. They are pleased most particularly with the most recent standardized test results. “We just had [during the 91-92 year] every one of our elementary grades [reach the] aggregate goal of [being] over the 80th percentile” (Joel Ashman, Superintendent). The School Board has supported recent bond issues and levies for modifying schools and expanding programs. The community support for education has been repeatedly demonstrated over the years by

the passage of several bond issues. This support has enabled the district to offset some of the declining revenues from the state due to the state's fiscal problems.

Today the district serves over 15,000 students, pre-kindergarten through twelfth grade, in 22 elementary buildings, six middle schools, three comprehensive high schools, and one special high school. The district encompasses most of the city proper, one small adjoining community, two small neighboring communities, and some rural areas. The large majority of the students reside within the expanding city limits.

The key elements in the District's Strategic Plan for School Improvement, which was developed by the Superintendent and the Executive Committee, include the following:

1. An Instructional Program that ensures the integration and application of the following skills by every instructor for every student: . . . Teaming and Collaboration
2. An integrated curriculum that focuses on future oriented learning. . . .
3. A school improvement focus that . . . promotes comprehensive staff development
4. A supportive Environment that . . . promotes a positive, collaborative climate for all employees
5. School Community Relationships that . . . improve school-home interactions and support. (See Appendix A for the complete Strategic Plan.)

The elements that were included in the PP matched those of the District Strategic Plan. The PP idea, by having teachers of different disciplines work together, was to increase staff collaboration and reduce a sense of isolation. Moreover, it was thought by administrators that the PP would lead to increased contacts with, and involvement among, teachers and parents/guardians. Ultimately, of course, the intent was that students would have a more successful transition from middle school to high school. And, some leaders within the district saw this innovation as a catalyst to foster continued change in the high schools.

### The Administrative Players

#### Key Central Administrators

Superintendent. Dr. Joel Ashman is in his fifth year at North Bend. He is considered a very personable man, preferring to be called "Joel" rather than Dr. Ashman or

**“Superintendent.” He visits each school and meets with the building’s staff at least once per year. Also, he often drops in on the many district curricular and inservice meetings and various district professional development classes that are held in the central office building. He is a man constantly on the move, not only within the central office building and between district buildings, but he also meets constantly with city business people, school executives, building personnel, and district non-certified staff.**

Ashman has been described by the staff and by himself as a proponent of revolution and change in education. Since his arrival he has introduced changes such as early childhood programming and all day kindergarten, brought in two nationally known educational reformers to speak with district staff, and pushed for the district forging a union with one nationally known educational reformer. He summarized his perspective on change as follows: **“When you are doing things right, that’s the best time [to change]. See, that’s what makes you proactive, not reactive.”**

With regard to the team teaching approach, he has been very supportive:

**First and foremost, I don’t know of any way we can learn individually and in isolation. I think it’s almost impossible for teachers to learn in isolation. . . . So, I’m of the belief that the only way we can learn is in teams and that sure isn’t departments, because I know how departments work. (Ashman)**

Given this perspective, he convinced the School Board to endorse having teaming placed as one of the district goals for the future (see Appendix A).

Ashman also is a strong proponent of site-based decision making: **“I’m a believer in site-based management and having people site-based.”** However, he also realizes that when using this approach, change is slower and can’t be forced.

He depends on his administrators to make decisions which will reflect his philosophy for change within the district. His ideas and readings on educational reform, which he constantly shares, are his way of influencing the other leaders--central administrators, principals, curriculum facilitators, and so on. Ashman is cognizant of the building

principal's role in any attempt for change: "I think a principal plays a crucial role, more important probably than any other position. If the principals support or reinforce [the teams], it will go. I'm a minuscule player in the success of [the project] compared to principals."

This recognition of his limited role turned out to be correct in this case because, eventually, he was "left out of the loop" in respect to final decisions concerning the PP. Ashman had no participation in the final decision to end an innovation that he hoped would have teachers work together in teams and would decrease the problems faced by some 9th graders. The Superintendent and what others called his "wild ideas" were eventually marginalized by an influential building principal and, at the end, only tacitly backed by another principal--the very people that he noted were crucial for the encouragement of any change. This situation occurred because of his site-based philosophy and because he did not follow-through on his own support by providing additional funding or garnering additional support for the program within the hierarchy of the district. Soon after the loss of the funding for the PP had been decided, Ashman was announced as a candidate for the superintendency of a larger, out-of-state district.

Assistant Superintendent of High Schools. Mr. Michael "Mike" Bach is Assistant Superintendent of Middle and High Schools, a joint position he has held for three years. He has progressed through the hierarchy within the district from elementary classroom teacher to counselor to principal and, ultimately, to Director of Curriculum and Assistant Superintendent of Middle Schools. During consolidation of central administration, which occurred during Ashman's superintendency, Bach acquired increased responsibilities as other administrators retired. He is one of many executives with elementary or middle school experience rather than high school experience, a situation that many high school teachers find objectionable. In fact, prior to the appointment of Bach to the high school

position, a petition was circulated through the high schools requesting that the retiring Assistant Superintendent of High Schools be replaced with a person of comparable secondary credentials.

Bach does not reflect the athletic appearance of the other members of the district administrative hierarchy. He is slightly stooped at the shoulders, slender in build and soft spoken--the antithesis of the Superintendent and other assistant superintendents. He is busy, as one might expect, in that he deals with the public, the staff of the 10 middle/high schools, and is responsible for all serious disciplinary actions for grades 6-12. He is also viewed as the Superintendent's sounding-board concerning proposals for the district and any needed discussions with personnel.

Bach, who is still in the process of formulating a high school philosophy, believes he was appointed to this position because of his ability to work with people, to understand issues, and to assimilate ideas into a plan of action.

I don't think we could . . . demand restructuring as the way to get there. But obviously you're getting back to a Bach philosophy because I've seen myself do it at the two elementary schools: have a vision and then reinforce pieces. And all of a sudden somebody will say, "Whoa, we're not at the same place we were five years ago." . . . Slow, evolutionary process. But as a leader you don't even know what the pieces are, you just think, "Oh, that fits with this." And you say to that teacher, "Go for it!" (Bach)

The PP had already been initiated before he moved into his present position in that his predecessor had given approval for the venture and the initial stages of development had already begun. Notwithstanding his "late arrival," he could see the potential benefits for students and, at the same time, introduce an element of change.

It wasn't even my [idea] originally; it really was Jack's (Evans--Asst. Superintendent for Development). But I endorsed it because I saw it as the beginning stage of a possibility. I didn't have any ideas. And Jack and Bob DeCourten (former Asst. Superintendent of High Schools) started it before I even got the assignment. Jack went to Bob with it and Bob said "Okay." He didn't really probably agree with it that much but he knew that Jack and Joel (Superintendent) were pushing for something. And so Bob said okay. (Bach)

Bach came with a willingness to support the project for other reasons. “The purpose in my mind was to introduce the element of change. I wouldn’t identify any specific purpose that related specific function. I supported the concept to introduce the element of, ‘Let’s examine change in the ways that we structure things.’” As he said,

The most exciting thing is that I think we have a catalyst. And at the high school level for us to create something that may become a catalyst for change is a real success. Who knows where it will take us, where we’ll be 10 years from now? We may not have any 9th grade teams but what will we have? (Bach)

Although his role in the innovation began as a supporter for a project initiated by others, he saw the PP as an innovation that matched his own philosophy. He can best be characterized as having accepted, and verbally supported, a program initiated by a predecessor. However, much like the Superintendent, this acceptance and support did not lead to personal involvement in seeking funding for the program or in lobbying for the program with the building administrators. He made no attempts at intervening to resolve any problems--problems such as funding, a lack of leadership from Evans and building principals, and negative reactions from the teachers’ colleagues--which he recognized throughout the implementation process. In the end, he too succumbed to the influence of the “grandfather” of the principals when the latter moved to end the innovation.

Assistant Superintendent for Development. Dr. John “Jack” Evans has been in the district for 10 years. He has high school teaching and administrative experience as well as special education and team teaching backgrounds. He came to the North Bend School District as assistant Superintendent of Elementary Schools and later became Assistant Superintendent of Middle Schools during the transformation from junior high to middle schools. Throughout the three years of this innovation, he held the position of “Assistant Superintendent for Development,” which means he has responsibility for acquiring outside funding for district innovations. This position was created by Ashman, the superintendent, after Evans had suggested the need for someone to assist in raising money for innovation.



As such, he considers himself no longer a part of the “inside” administrative group since he had no direct contact with teachers and school administrators. He calls himself an “outside” person and most administrators generally are unaware of the range of his responsibilities. Evans believes he has the best position possible because of the flexibility, freedom, and ability he has to make contacts with people in the community as well as with nationally known educators (local people for grants and ideas; national people because of his desire to continue innovations and restructuring in education). His connection to nationally known reformers and educators results in his being aware of the latest educational ideas. He also views himself as an “idea broker” and would like to attempt more innovations within the district.

At the start of the research he had set two central missions for himself: “I think if I have any goals it’s probably a commitment with these three teams. And the other goal is: How does [teaming] contribute to transform our schools, particularly the high school level? I have a lot of concerns about high school education.” He has constant contact with friends who are high school educators in other parts of the country and who have been heavily involved in high school restructuring.

Evans refrains from taking credit for the team teaching idea. The building principals credit him, however, because he was able to obtain the funding to support the program for the initial planning year and the two year implementation period. The funding amounted to the Full Time Equivalency (FTE) of 1.8 teachers or approximately \$36,000 per year. This money supported an extra planning period for each of the 9 teachers, or .2 FTE per teacher per planning period for the duration of the funding. Evans managed to find an additional \$500 per team for extra materials to begin the first year.

His approach to finding the funding for this idea reflects his position in the district. As Bach described him, Evans

is a designer and a thinker and a prober. The middle school design worked; he did it masterfully. He was a designer from that perspective of introducing to the high school the potential for a year of study. . . . I think [he is a change agent]. He's a little thorn in the side that causes us all to sometimes [look at other perspectives]. (Bach)

But Bach continued on to mention that "Jack has more difficulty getting to the plan of action. . . . He falls in love with the ideas."

Evans was a key player in the district with respect to the development of the PP. He was the idea-person, the fund raiser, and the oft described change agent. After having successfully directed the district changeover from junior highs to middle schools, he viewed himself as the person who would change the high schools. And as a "change agent," who was often in the company of those promoting educational change throughout the country, he perceived himself as very knowledgeable about the change process. This perception became strained as the complexity of the implementation process unfolded over the two years. The influence and power he hoped and believed he had was challenged by the realities of high school cultures and the influence of more powerful people. His own unwillingness to challenge the major power in the high schools became another indication of the complexities of change. Evans' ideas were easily developed and his intentions were worthy, but his reluctance to confront the challenges within the hierarchy of the district reveals more insights about the complexity of change.

#### Building Principals and their Schools

Mr. Daniel Greene and West High School. Daniel "Dan" Greene, the principal of West, is relatively young (late-40s) and was in his third year as principal when the PP began. He had been assigned to West to finish out the school year in the spring of 1990 when his predecessor was reassigned to a central office position. Unlike his predecessor, Greene has introduced a more relaxed atmosphere within the school. He prefers to be addressed by his first name by all levels of the building staff and staff meetings are held under less stringent and structured conditions--for example, no assigned seats during staff

meetings and he seeks input from all teachers. Greene has a strong presence, partially because of his relatively tall stature and apparent good conditioning (he jogs whenever possible and competes in local road races) and partially because of his youthful looks. He attempts to keep himself visible to staff and students with his presence in the halls during class changes.

He was promoted through the ranks, moving from a junior high teacher to junior high assistant principal to assistant principal to Gary Brown at North High School at the time of the middle school transition--"[Gary (Brown) (principal at North High)] kind of liked the idea of bringing someone in who knew something about 9th graders and 9th grade programming and so I became sort of the token junior high guy at the high school."

Greene is the only high school principal without a terminal degree; he is presently ABD, forsaking the time for dissertation writing in order to be a high school principal.

Having worked with Brown at North High School, Greene admits to being most influenced by him:

Gary's been real influential with me, there's just no question about it. He has some skills, though, that you really can't emulate. . . . But that way of being able to get other people to do what you want them to do or to take a school or a philosophy or a department or whatever, and know where you want it to go and get somebody else to get it there for you, that's a real gift I think to be able to do that. . . . I learned a lot from him about dealing with people, about interacting with people and he's got a lot more patience than I do. He doesn't ruffle, at least on the surface much, and I do--I get ticked off. He could sit there and somebody can really rip him and I've heard him say that your ego has to be real strong. You have to feel good about decisions that you make and trust your judgment and then just kind of take it if people don't agree with you. (Greene)

He also admits, as does Brown, to being influenced by the Effective Schools research.

Unlike Brown, who has developed political savvy over the years, Greene is inexperienced in the political ways of a high school administrator. He has attempted some basic changes within his own school, but the responses from staff have frustrated him. He has not

developed the ability to “get other people to do what you want them to do” as Brown has done.

Greene inherited a staff that was accustomed to autocratic leadership. His goals are to have the staff become more student-centered, develop more parent-teacher interaction, and have the teachers take more responsibility within the building. However, because of the major philosophical and personality differences between Greene and the former West principal, the transition has been difficult for both the staff and Greene. As he has stated, “. . . there’s real security in having someone be real direct with you. . . . [Y]ou don’t have to contribute a lot, you just do what you’re expected to do and sit in your assigned seat when you have one.” A staff member at West presented the other view: “I don’t know whether he doesn’t have any ideas or he thinks that the best mode is putting control back into people’s hands; it just resulted in utter chaos.”

West High School presently has the largest enrollment in the district with over 1500 students served by over 100 staff members. The SES is predominantly lower or average middle class, with most parents working in the industrial sector of the city. Unlike North High, there is not much social class disparity among the student body. Overall, West has little cultural diversity, with less than 7% minority enrollment. Of the three high schools, it has the second highest free and reduced lunch program, with just over 15% of the students eligible. Many students attending West plan to follow in the footsteps of their parents who also attended West in the 1960s when this was one of the top athletic schools in the city and state. The staff takes great pride in the history of the school. The 70s and 80s witnessed a downturn in this legacy, but the 90s are seeing a resurgence in all male and female athletics. Perhaps the greatest source of pride for the school has been the continued accomplishments of the fine arts program, particularly its performing arts where state and national recognition has been accorded them. Asked why the school is so accomplished in this

area, Greene responds that previous leaders of West did not believe the school could compete with North academically so they put their efforts into the fine arts. This perceived academic-non academic comparison still pervades discussions by administrators at all levels.

Greene is a strong supporter of the team concept: “Quite frankly, some of the things that I’ve seen this 9th grade team be able to accomplish this [first] year, I think they are moving towards, and in some cases have already arrived at, some spots where I’d like to see us be as a school.” If possible, his eventual goal would be to have all the 9th grade students involved in some type of team during their first year in high school. He readily admits the middle school concept is an influence on his thinking.

He showed further support by funding a second team for the second year of the Partners Program. As realities of funding and other types of support had to be confronted during the second year of implementation, Greene was forced to rethink his own goals and ideas. The competition for the original funds and, in particular, an allegiance to his former principal rearranged his original perspectives on the viability of supporting the team teaching approach as originally designed. Yet, the team concept was consistent with values that he regularly affirmed he held.

Dr. Patrick Fields and East High School. At the start of the PP, Dr. Patrick (Pat) Fields was completing his third year as principal of East High School after having moved over from an assistant principal’s position at West. Prior to that, he had been the head coach of a major sport and an instructor at East. His short, stout stature reflects his past athletic ability; this also embodies his friendliness, ready smile, and constant presence in the halls to talk with staff and students during class changes. He dresses comfortably with pressed shirt and tie but always looks a bit ruffled as if he has been actively involved with kids or work before his day even begins at school. Fields is in his mid-forties and is

slowly bringing staff to his basic philosophy of education: students first and content second--that is, he believes in working on the affective needs of students before being concerned about the content and coverage of material within the classroom. He has taken charge of a staff which is very familiar to him and he prefers to be called "Pat" by the staff whom he considers as colleagues. Because of his familiarity with the faculty, he is aware that they are reluctant to change, particularly after their less than satisfying experiences with his predecessor who attempted to introduce Mastery Learning. However, he does believe that schools need to change as society and students continue to change.

As he describes his attempts to bring change to a somewhat entrenched staff, Fields often uses the metaphors common to his background: "coach" the staff through the change, "team work" to help each other, and the teachers will be the "coaches" of the students. These are reflected in his vision for East High School which he has shared with the staff. Among the 10 statements of "My Vision for East High School by the Year 2000" are the following which indicate the direction he wishes to take:

There will be Teacher time to think, plan, and collaborate.  
 The Student will be the Worker and the Teacher will be the Coach.  
 There will be extensive use of Cooperative Learning/Team Building strategies.  
 Teachers will work in Partnerships, not in academic departments. (See Appendix B for complete Vision statements.)

In line with these goals, Fields was another principal initially in full support of the teaming concept: he wanted to expand the program to the 10th grade.

Eventually my perspective is to see all 9th and 10th grade classes be involved with teams of teachers. And I have different perspectives maybe than a lot of people. I have two main goals for teaming in the high schools. One is sharing students so that teachers share concerns and learn more about kids and they're able to help diagnose learning styles, learning difficulties and talk about that. And two is to get rid of the isolation that teachers face in a regular school day. (Fields)

Besides the benefits to students then, he sees benefits to teachers--the loss of isolation and the ability to collaborate which would both energize the staff and decrease staff burnout.

The East High School building is the most modern of the three high schools, having opened in the mid 60s. Once considered the liberal and creative school in the system (many educators were the products of the 60s), many teachers have mellowed over the years and, with an average age approaching 49, have become more traditional in their teaching practices. In part, this has been due to decisions about curricula forced upon them by the experienced faculties from the other two high schools. And, in part, Bach also thought it was the result of control from central administrators: "I think that's where we got to the alienation of East High School faculty. They didn't agree with the perspective that was being prescribed from this central office perspective." Thus, the staff has gradually turned inward and have been reluctant participants in any change.

As mentioned above, previous attempts at change in the school met with limited success and ultimate rejection by the staff. Nevertheless, East received a state commendation in the late 80s for its overall educational programs. The second largest of the schools, East has 1,500 students enrolled and is served by approximately 100 staff members. Although East has the most heterogeneous SES membership in its student body compared to the other two, the school tends toward the newly affluent in its attendance area.

Throughout the study period, Fields openly showed his support of the PP and discussed its design with other staff members. The team members were asked to participate in staff inservices and were selected by their peers to serve on building-level committees. Fields also talked freely about the problems he was facing with his own staff and their problems with change. Furthermore, at the district level, he was open about the inner workings of the large district and the respective influence of administrators at building and central district positions. In particular, he did not agree with Brown's philosophy about change in the high schools nor did he appreciate what he saw as Brown's egocentric approach to new ideas--he felt Brown was not willing to test or seriously support ideas

unless they were his own. As much as Fields had a desire for change to occur within the high schools, he ultimately was forced to make a decision: to push for continued funding of the PP or redirect the funds elsewhere. The influence of another principal at the district level weighed heavily on his final decision. In the end, Fields began to learn the political intricacies of a large district and became a somewhat less politically naive principal.

Dr. Gary Brown and North High School Dr. Gary Brown, the principal at North, has been involved with the school for 11 years and is widely acclaimed as a leader and educator. He is also recognized as a “politician.” As the Superintendent, Ashman, describes Brown:

Gary is a superior politician to the other two [principals], and the only reason is he’s been in it 10 years. So he knows how to operate a school and then run with the flow and not turn into the flow. . . . He’s a pro. . . . Gary’s a real pro at working the system--[he] does a great job. (Ashman)

He is a man with a constant smile and well manicured, stylish but conservative appearance. He also presents a healthy, well conditioned appearance as a result of his daily running routine: yet his prematurely grey hair gives the first impression of a grandfatherly image rather than one of a man who is in his youthful late forties. He puts on a very formal appearance in his dress but is informal with staff, often addressed as “Gary” by all levels of building employees. Whenever possible he is in the halls talking with staff and students and he makes it a goal to know all students by their first names.

Brown has been with the district since the late 60s. He began his career at East as a teacher, became instructor and lead teacher of the experimental at-risk high school program in the mid-70s, and was then appointed principal at North in 1981. Due to his extensive and varied experiences, he is considered the “dean” of the district’s high school principals. He not only has the greatest length of service among his cohorts, but he also has gained most of that experience in a sometimes difficult school situation.



North High School was built at the same time as West and the two school buildings are structurally mirror images of each other. They are, however, much different in student composition and staff perspective. North is somewhat smaller in population, under 1500, but its attendance area encompasses the two extremes of SES in North Bend: North High has the majority of the low SES areas of the city in its attendance area and, on the other hand, the boundaries also include the older wealthy neighborhoods. Although the city does not have a large non-white population (4.5%), North has over 15% African-American, Asian and Native American student enrollment. Nearly a quarter of the students receive free and reduced lunches, again the largest percentage of the three high schools.

Molding North High into an “effective” school is Brown’s expressed goal. What he terms as “effective” and the outcome measures he uses to assess this goal are of interest: “My goals for the school are results oriented.” Using data collected, in some instances, over the last 20 years, he disseminates information to the staff about test scores, college achievements of graduates, attendance, and other quantitative data that he believes are necessary for making decisions toward the goal of developing North into a more effective high school. During his tenure North has been the recipient of state and national awards. In addition, Brown has received state leadership recognition. As the school handbook states: “Those awards are possible because of three elements of an effective school-- motivated students, interested parents, and capable staff members.”

The school is noted for its high academic standards and strong parental support. This parental support, however, goes beyond the typical booster clubs and parent organizations. Brown readily acknowledges the influence that the highly educated and more affluent parents have on him: “They have a great deal of influence on how I run this school.” As it turns out, this social class disparity and influence has a significant bearing on Dr. Brown’s decision-making.

Brown believes many innovative projects, designed and implemented by both teachers and administrators, are in use within the building for all levels of students, from high to low achieving. Two such programs were already existing at the 9th grade level prior to the introduction of the PP: “the Skills Lab which is our drop-out prevention program . . . [and] the SOS program [which] is a teacher assigned program that attempts to alert the parents of 9th graders about potential or grade problems.” With these other programs already in place, his support was for the teachers involved in the PP rather than the innovation itself: “My commitment is really not to the Partners Program; my commitment is to [the team members].” Brown’s attitude did not go unnoticed by the participating teachers; the three team members as well as non-participating teachers quickly questioned among themselves and with other colleagues about what support actually existed for the PP at North. And, as the program continued, team members further questioned the existence of support for the PP design since Brown placed many restrictions upon them.

His peers, other administrators, and teachers acknowledge his position of influence and power, not simply within his own school, but also within the district’s leadership. Administrators have referred to him as “a guru in the pecking order” and as the “grandfather” of the principals; another principal stated that “Gary is very influential in the way things occur in this district.” Teachers, within his building and in the other schools, often implied as one department chair at North matter-of-factly stated: “Gary [Brown] runs what goes on downtown.”

Brown himself indicates his opinion about the Superintendent and his own perspective about the PP.

One purpose of the pilot program is you humor the Superintendent. I mean, we have the top leadership of our district, and I say this fondly, the top leadership in our district is interested in trying things differently. Our superintendent truly believes in change for the sake of change and admits it. Hardly anybody does, but he does. (Brown)

Another administrator acknowledged that Brown often disagrees with Ashman about his ideas, but does so after the Superintendent leaves the principals' meetings: "Joel [Ashman] will pop in with ideas and after he leaves Gary will usually make negative comments and wonder how that will ever work here." Brown supports the Superintendent outwardly but marginalizes his authority and the ideas Ashman presents to the leadership of the district. His wide-scope of political influence played an integral part in the complexity of change for the PP innovation.

### Organization of Chapters

The following story tells the three year (1990/91-1992/93) progression of the PP innovation and how people at the various levels in the district, from teachers to central administrators, influenced the final outcome. The PP began with what appeared to be strong support. After the second year (1992-93) of implementation, however, funding was withdrawn, the program was officially abandoned, and it was left to the individual teams to either continue or disband within each school. In the end, only one team continued and did so in a way that only vaguely resembled the original PP design.

Chapter II begins with an overview of the initiation of the original idea, the process of design, development, and selection of people to be members of the teams. The chapter continues with a description of the initial year of implementation from the teachers' perspectives and followed by the perspectives of building and central administrators. These people tell their stories of an innovation designed by the teachers for the benefit of students--of the excitement of the teams as they go through their first year of implementation, as well as their frustrations and problems with students, parents, colleagues, and among themselves. One particularly important point concerns the confusion on the part of teachers about the level of support they feel they are receiving from

their respective principals. The story closes by focusing on the perspective of the administrators and how they view the program.

The PP innovation survives the first year, in spite of the loss of a member from each of two teams and the minimal support given by one building principal. The end of the first year, however, hints at some of the complexities of change: the problem of funding, the importance of the overt involvement and support from all levels of the educational community, the problems caused by a lack of knowledge by colleagues about the innovation, and the influence of some parents on an administrator and the eventual effects of this influence on the innovation.

Chapter III moves on to describe the second year of implementation. Although it appears that funding for the program will continue, this does not happen. As the PP team members total up their successes and begin planning a third year of the program, they are informed of the loss of any further funding. The teachers are confused by the decision and the actual reason for the loss of funding was never really understood by, nor explained to, them. The “reason” is actually a complex set of issues that are played-out at various levels of the system. Among these issues are the contradiction between the site-based model of decision making which was being espoused within the district and the way a few administrators made crucial decisions, the resistance of those favoring a “high school” culture to changes in standard high school procedures, and the power and influence of one principal on the decision-making process in the North Bend School District.

Chapter IV presents the reactions of those involved to the loss of the PP innovation. This chapter discusses the varying perspectives and lack of knowledge about crucial aspects of the reform on the part of people at all levels within the district. This chapter also delves more deeply into the multi-faceted and multi-leveled complexities of change. It is the human aspect of change that is included in this part of the story--the personal

interactions and reactions. These are the integral parts of change that have been discussed in literature, but usually in isolation from discussions of the innovation process. Human exchanges and reactions, as well as self-interests, are part of the innovation process. Here they are discussed within the context of the story to better understand the human side of the change process.

The final chapter first presents an overview of the change and innovation literature. Chapter V thus relates the issues that arose during the story and their connections to the current literature. The micropolitical lens is further discussed as an important perspective that gives additional insights into the personal politics, among teachers and among teachers and administrators, to further this evolving part of the literature base on innovation and change.

## CHAPTER II

### THE INITIATION OF INNOVATION

In the fall of 1990 three teachers from the district's high schools were brought together to study and decide what kind of team teaching approach could be used to reduce the problems for 9th graders as they made the transition from middle schools to high schools. The teachers were there because earlier in the year various administrators, in particular Evans from the central offices and Fields at East High, had decided that such an approach would assist the adjustment of 9th graders to high school (see Appendix C for diagram of Key Actors in Study). Superintendent Ashman supported this concept with enthusiasm because it fit perfectly with his personal dispositions which had been put forth in the District's long range goals (District Key Goals listed in Chapter I and Appendix A). Based on this agreement among some key administrators, Evans proceeded to explore potential sources of funds to support some type of venture at the 9th grade level. At the same time, because of the political nature of the high school system, Fields began lobbying the principals of the other two high schools to encourage them to support some type of an innovative program for the 9th graders. The principals readily agreed, as long as outside funding could be found so that the money did not come from their own building allocations. However, from the beginning, this ready agreement by the principals meant different things to each of them. Greene at West and Fields at East supported the concept because they believed in team teaching; Brown accepted the concept more out of deference for the Superintendent. As he said, "One purpose of the pilot program is you humor the Superintendent."

Evans, through an agreement with the Local Education Agency (LEA), was able to negotiate a contract providing funding for the program from monies owed to the district because of unused inservice funds. Part of this funding paid for 1.2 teachers, .4 in each of

the three high school buildings. This time off for each teacher was devoted to an initial year of designing and planning. Toward the end of the planning period, the remaining funds allowed for released-time for one three-member team at each of the three high schools and for an extra planning period for the PP during the two years of the pilot implementation.

#### Team Leaders Selection and Structure

During the late winter/early spring of the 1989-1990 school year, the three principals announced to their staffs the possibility of some type of team teaching at the 9th grade level. By late spring, Greene at West and Fields at East had a short list of interested teachers; Brown at North had one person interested in the innovation. Before the school year had ended, the agreement among the principals was that each would provide one teacher from the core courses for 9th grade students: East filled the math position first, followed by West's science teacher. This left North to supply the language arts teacher.

Although two district administrators, Evans and Bach, made suggestions for potential teachers and gave their approval for names suggested by principals, the final decision was in the hands of the building principals. Sharon Evans, wife of Evans, was selected by Fields because of her knowledge of, and leadership in, teacher workshops within the district, her leadership role at East in attempting to try new approaches within the math department, and her work with at-risk students the previous two years. She also had taught at the junior high level and had worked part-time and then full-time at East for seven years. As Sharon described the invitation:

It actually started when my principal asked if I would take part of my time last year, which actually was my afternoon, and work with two other people from the other schools to just see if we could come up with some things to make freshmen more successful. That was our ultimate challenge. He [also] was interested in restructuring and trying some different things so he definitely told me that if I wasn't interested in taking some risks that I didn't want to be involved in this. (Sharon)

Rod Jones seemed the logical choice for the science position because he had taught only 9th grade students since his transfer to West five years earlier. Greene explained the choice as follows:

I first went to Rod Jones and asked Rod to serve on a district team that was having meetings during that time . . . just knew Rod, had gotten to know him, liked his attitudes and his beliefs, he was a teacher who 9th grade kids really liked. . . . His certification is K-9. He's technically an elementary certified person, so he can't teach the upper classes, so when he came here that's all he taught was 9th grade science. . . . [B]ased on the conversations with other folks, thought I saw in him some of the characteristics and the visions of where we thought we would go. (Greene)

At North High, Karen Mitchell was the final choice because, according to Brown, "She had a 9th grade emphasis, she had taught a lot of 9th grade here, she had a been a junior high teacher before coming here. I consider her a very strong teacher, very innovative--all the qualities you look for in someone trying something different." Karen had moved to the high school with 9th graders during the middle school transition and therefore was experienced with this age group. But perhaps more important to her selection, however, was that she was the only person at North to express interest in the project.

Once the teachers were selected in the respective schools, their afternoons for the next six months of the 1990-91 school year were devoted to reading articles and books, attending conferences, and discussing potential ways of dealing with students and their transitional problems. As two of these members stated, their challenge was to see if they could "come up with some things to make freshmen more successful" (Rod & Sharon). Initially, administrators at all levels gave them the ideas of an outcomes based approach and teaming as examples to think about; ultimately, though, the teachers felt "we were free to each take whatever focus we wanted within our own building. . . . [W]e had no particular charge other than be prepared to come back and do something that would be different for next year" (Sharon). As the three members spent their afternoons in a meeting room in the central administration office building, poring over articles and books and exchanging



various ideas, central administrators often stopped by with questions and comments for them. Rod at West said that

I was pretty much in charge of [the development] under the auspices of the Assistant Superintendent for Development and building principal. We reported to them regularly, sometimes bi-weekly. I'm real slow to take responsibility for this, though, because whatever I came up with, or the three of us working down at the Board a year ago came up with, it was only because of the three high school principals and the Assistant Superintendent for Development and the Superintendent focusing us in that direction and asking us to be the ones that spearheaded that.

F: So administrators really did give you some type of focus or direction.

Two of the three principals. . . . The Superintendent is gung ho on this. . . . All three [principals] came to the meetings . . . , [two, (Fields and Greene) were always asking questions and involved]. Suggestions and very, very interested in our doings and where we're going and where we see this heading and what do we need to do to help you get there. . . . And the other [principal (Brown)] basically is very satisfied with status quo and doesn't see a need to change because "it ain't broke, don't fix it." (Rod)

It was during their participation at a conference put on by the Coalition of Essential Schools that they settled on the idea of a team of three teachers in each building, with the team sharing the same students during the "core" time. Their interactions with other educators at this conference, along with their reading of Horace's Compromise (Sizer, 1984), solidified the goals for the project. The final design was an integration and/or interdisciplinary approach for the three areas of math, science, and language arts. During the planning time, little was known about this project by other teachers in the buildings. The three taught their morning classes with the usual obscurity of high school teachers and worked with equal obscurity on their team design. However, as time drew near to start planning the 1991-92 schedules, all three began the process of finding like-minded people to become part of the individual building teams.

#### Team Members Selection

##### West High School

Rod took to the task in earnest. He began by interviewing individual teachers at West who seemed receptive both to the PP innovation and met his personal criteria.

I think the first criterion was they had to be someone who would agree, and be agreeable to working with other people every day. So, to that end, I looked for people who were currently teaching freshmen or wanted to teach freshmen that were compatible with me. There were several people in each of the two departments, math and language, that we considered, the principal and I. But ultimately we narrowed our choices down to the people that I thought would work the best with me. . . . Some of the characteristics were kid oriented, people who would be very accepting of the way that freshmen are, that would be willing to put extra work in above and beyond the call of duty with freshmen. . . . I looked for somebody who was creative, someone who I could bounce ideas off of and would spur me on to greater things and I, in turn, them. I looked for somebody with a sense of humor. I looked for somebody who I know relates well with the kids but at the same time is a very firm disciplinarian. (Rod)

As he interviewed various teachers, he would occasionally meet with Greene concerning who might be the best to work with on this project. Ultimately, two names were given to Greene. Rod was pleased with the selection results: "Then I was lucky enough that when I did sit down and say, 'Here are the two people I'd like,' that when [Greene] went to them they said, 'You bet.'"

Richard, the math teacher, had been Rod's teacher when he was a junior high student; therefore, he knew about Richard's strong interests in teaching and change and he met Rod's criteria used to select team-mates. Richard did not hesitate when Rod asked about his interest and then when Greene officially approached him.

Margaret, the other person, had mostly taught upper class courses. Rod approached her mainly because of her reputation for caring about and getting along with students. She did not agree immediately, but took some time to think about the potential of the program. When Greene finally asked her, she accepted because of her own interests in trying to attempt change in the schools, her own interest and experiences with team teaching, and, more tangibly, the guarantee of a teaching position for the next year.

#### East High School

At East, Sharon worked with her principal to determine possible team members, whom they then approached.

Dr. Fields and I had many sessions in trying to determine who the other team members would be. And we were mostly looking for people that we thought were willing to be risk-takers, were willing to work because we fully realized that any time you change and collaborate, it's going to involve more work. People that just weren't dead set in their ways, had tried other things already. We first approached Julie and with some deliberation, a little bit, she agreed. But she's a thoughtful person so she isn't going to tell you immediately that she'll do it. (Sharon)

Julie was highly respected within the language arts department, had a strong interest in reform and change, and had experience at the junior high level. The fact that she was asked to participate by Sharon and Fields, made her feel a twinge of obligation: "I think in a lot of ways I felt obligated to do so . . . because I respect Pat [Fields] a lot and it was like he was calling on me to do it."

Fields and Sharon then approached people in the other logical subject area--the science department--to become part of the program.

Then Pat [Fields] and I met with the science [faculty], not the whole science department but the people that taught freshmen science, and explained to them what we wanted to do. And Pat explained to them the freedoms that he felt like he could give them. And we couldn't get any of them to agree to do it. Because we were really looking for three core areas for freshmen requirements, we were really looking for some interdisciplinary type things from math, science and to work the language [arts] in there because we don't have a social studies at freshman level. And so when they turned us down, then we just were looking at courses that a lot of freshman take. And so Spanish came up. (Sharon)

Since 75% of 9th graders were enrolled in Spanish, Sharon met with members of the Spanish department and explained the proposed program. Eventually, Melissa, who was not at the Spanish department meeting when the idea had been discussed, heard from her colleagues about the proposal and expressed a desire to become a member of the team. She had experience at team teaching within both an English and AP Spanish class so she appreciated the strengths that teaming could bring to the situation. Melissa commented, "I have always been a person who has liked to change things. . . . I have also been a person who has liked to work with other people, plan things out, and organize things."

One problem arose for Sharon during this planning/selecting process: she became the object of concern from the members of her department. The math department had not been

involved with change. This department had been described by Fields as entrenched with traditional, homogeneous grouping of students. The suggestion of experimenting with a heterogeneous teaching approach, which the PP would do, was not acceptable to the other department members.

It was very difficult (pause) even to justify to them why I was doing this in the afternoons for one thing. And to a point where they held a meeting last spring, a math department meeting, and invited [the assistant principal] and Pat [Fields] and, thinking to me that it was just a regular meeting, I was the agenda. (Sharon)

At this meeting, she explained as best she could the goals of the innovation. Although they did not philosophically agree with her, the strength of her support from both central administration and the principal convinced them not to protest and they allowed the program to proceed.

#### North High School

Karen was given the go-head by Brown to find team-mates both with whom she could work and who fit certain other criteria. They did not share, however, the exact same criteria.

That was sort of my job [to select people]. I talked to Gary [Brown] about some possibilities of people. I was looking at possibilities of people from a little different perspective than he was. . . . One of the teachers, for example, had developed one of the skills classes and so he was a little reluctant for this person to be on the team because that meant this person would not be teaching those skills classes. I was looking for someone who was interested in trying something new and someone that I knew worked pretty well with kids, and someone who would be open to taking a risk in trying something new, that may or may not be successful. So I had to operate sort of within his guidelines, and his agenda was different than mine . . . people that worked with a certain group of kids because this involved three periods--that and only one other class. That didn't leave teaching too many other classes, so it couldn't be someone that was specialized, let's say, an Advanced Placement chemistry teacher; that made sense but there [were] some other things that didn't. (Karen)

Karen found her options narrowed considerably by Brown--no one involved in AP classes or teaching in the at-risk programs would be favorably considered by him. He apparently did not want to tamper with these special programs.

Karen eventually found a math teacher and a science teacher to participate. However, the selection of these two did not happen without some controversy within the respective departments.

I had a terrible 2-hour discussion with [the Science chair]. . . . He and [the Math chair] came to me. It was in the spring before it started. (pause) I really felt ganged-up upon . . . but one of [the science chair's] objections was that it was a middle school concept, and he was opposed to that. I think another concern maybe was science is pretty objective oriented, you are pretty material oriented and math is, too, and so that was a concern that, if we were doing interdisciplinary things, then obviously something was not being done and so those kids would not be where they [were supposed to be].  
(Karen)

Both department chairs were strong and influential people within the building and at least one of them had the potential for stopping the program, as Joan, the science member, explained:

[The Science chair] just raised Cain about the whole thing. In fact, he almost deep-sixed the program. He had Karen in for two hours, asking her what all this was going to be about and also sure that the objectives had to do something. . . . [The original science member, then,] had a very good way of putting things and he got [the science chair] very excited about this program. (Joan)

Steve, the science teacher selected, taught elective classes in the earth sciences. He had been at North for several years, was a coach of two sports, and was a highly regarded teacher. With all elective classes except for two of the 9th grade required science classes, he could easily fit into the schedule.

The last member selected, Scott, had been at North long enough to have the confidence to not concern himself with the math chair. He was a veteran teacher with experience at the junior high level and six years with the district's at-risk high school before transferring to North. Scott believed that a personal interest in students and a common thread in courses would make team teaching an interesting approach.

The selection process for Karen was different than for Sharon and Rod. She was restricted by her principal in ways that did not happen for the other two. Whereas other principals wanted teachers who were successful and highly regarded by their peers and

students, Brown was careful to protect many such teachers from participating because they worked with special groups of students, particularly in the honors or AP classes. Whereas the other principals sought teachers who were risk-takers, strong in their areas, and highly considered by their principals, Brown sought those teachers who were involved with electives or could more easily be freed from a basic schedule. In a sense, Brown's attitude toward the selection process--especially his concern to protect the AP program--foreshadowed the outcome of the PP.

### Partners Planning

During the last 12 weeks of the academic year (1990-91), the teams were released from one class so they could have a common time to plan for the next year. This common planning period was used to discuss philosophy, articles, purposes, and to design their goals, procedures, student selection, and timeline for the following school year. The team members also used these 12 weeks to visit other schools in the Midwest and to attend educational conferences--this usually meant one representative from each team attended and then returned to share ideas with fellow members.

The team members were keenly aware of the potential problems their proposed program might have with their colleagues in the high schools. Team teaching had been instituted and mandated in the middle schools when the reorganization took place. Many current high school teachers had "moved with the 9th graders to the high school because they wanted nothing to do with that teaming idea" (Julie at East). Greene, who as an administrator had moved with the 9th graders to the high school, concurred with this observation.

And, unfortunately, many of the middle school teachers, or then the junior high school teachers who were applying to come to the high school, the reason they wanted to come was because they wanted to avoid that teaming and that more personal approach. They wanted to come to where they could continue to be content specialists. (Greene)

The teams, under the influence of Fields at East, decided to call their program "Partners" to differentiate it from middle school "teams." The potential conflicts or

misunderstandings with colleagues led two groups to maintain a low key approach within their building:

[W]e chose in our building, and part of that was my desire, to go that route [of little publicity]--just to do this without necessarily making it a big deal. And I think the principal was comfortable with that, probably quite comfortable with that. I would say that there are probably staff people who don't have the foggiest idea that we're doing this." (Karen at North)

This concern also meant that they decided to forego any conversations with middle level educators about team teaching.

[T]he three of us who worked on this . . . deliberately chose not to go to the middle schools for a "How to"--how should we go about this?" We did that because of how middle schools are perceived in the high school. (Karen at North)

Eventually, however, the East team did meet with a teacher from one feeder middle school to gain some insights and the three groups were invited to a middle school by a middle school team to gain some understanding about planning and team work. These meetings were quietly conducted. Many other high school teachers, as noted, were anxious about the team-teaching concept moving into the high school. As several teachers and department chairs related, "high school is not for coddling the students--either they make it or they don't." These teachers viewed themselves as content-oriented educators, not "counselors" or "nurses" to the students. This attitude never wavered over the life-span of the PP.

The philosophy behind the teams was similar within the respective schools, at least from the team members' perspectives. All of the teams set out with the primary goal of finding ways to alleviate the problems that seemed to be increasing the failure rate for 9th grade students. For the teams, this meant creating more personal relationships with students. They interpreted this as three teachers who would know the students as best they could. The team members would be in regular contact with parents, guardians, or significant caretakers to inform them of their child's progress, as well as to inform them of

any problems that might be arising in their child's life; the team would meet daily to discuss individual students within their classes; and the classes would attempt to have a content or thematic connection among them so that students would realize the shared ideas and shared knowledge. The point was to create a more "family-like" situation for the students.

The schedules for the fall term were decided and sent on to the respective building principals during the last few weeks of the year. West's team planned first period and had classes during periods 2, 3, and 4. North's team taught periods 2, 3, and 4 and planned period 6. East's team selected periods 3, 4, and 5 and planned period 6. All teams realized their core classes had to be taught in the middle of the day so that students would be able to enroll in certain electives, such as the fine arts and performing arts classes that tend to be scheduled early in the day.

The final selection of students was influenced by one principal in one case. At North, "Gary [Brown] made it very clear at the start that this would probably be for average level kids, because we had programs for top level and we had programs for skills. So this would probably be for average level kids" (Karen at North). Students at North were selected based on average math skills as recommended by their middle school counselors. They were assigned to the PP for the next year without the students' or parents' knowledge. At East, the desire was to have heterogeneous classes. The students were selected from those enrolled in Spanish and this led to a heterogeneous mix of math and language arts abilities among the students. Letters were sent to parents of prospective students during the summer with an explanation about the PP and their child's participation. At West, the team referred to themselves as "the Extended Learning Program for the masses." The team had decided to select students from the three feeder middle schools based on average ability in math and to heterogeneously group them with equal



numbers of males and females. They also wanted an equal number of students from each of the feeder middle schools.

The West team had initially tried to find how the three curricula could be matched. As they spent more time planning, thinking, and discussing, they came to the conclusion that they would be most successful by attempting less. They decided to focus on certain essential skills for tying the three subject areas together rather than having integrated curricula drive the process. They identified technology, problem solving, citizenship, and communications as the essential skills they could most readily incorporate into their separate courses. They hoped to develop a list of observable criteria for each of the skills and award an extra 2.5 credits to students if they were able to meet these criteria. Their plan was the least elaborate and least ambitious of the three PP teams.

During one of the final meetings during the planning time, Karen suggested that the teams meet as a large group throughout the next year for mutual support and to become better informed about speakers and visitors coming to the district and about pertinent conferences that might occur during the year. She made the suggestion because she realized that teachers were often ignored or forgotten when area conferences or speakers were scheduled. Karen hoped that Evans would take responsibility to inform and work with them through the first year of implementation. He said he would do so.

As the school year ended and with the planning completed, Steve left North High School and the district. Karen was left scrambling for another science teacher. Brown had to change one of his criteria for teacher participants. He selected Joan, who was involved with a special program, as the science teacher.

The team had asked me to do it, but the administrators decided that was not the way they wanted. They wanted me to continue the Skills Lab, so they came down and told me that's what they would prefer. . . . What happens then is, as soon as Steve resigned, they had to get somebody very quickly. They knew that I knew everything that was going on with it because I had been in contact with Karen, and had heard what she had been doing all year. And so I stepped in the end of May. . . . So there was no

formal asking or anything. Gary just stuck his head in the door and said "You're doing it." (Joan)

Joan had been with the district only a few years, but was an experienced teacher. She worked in the home until her family was raised and then entered the teaching field. She had been at North H.S. for six years (10 years of total experience), the last three on a full contract. Her pre-PP assignment was in the Science Skills Lab, a science class for potential drop-outs and those with lower basic skills. Although she was aware of the PP innovation, she went into the 91-92 academic year with little preparation for it--no planning with the other team members for integration of subjects, no participation in the design and goal-setting for the PP, and no opportunity to observe or discuss the team-concept.

#### The Partners' First Year

#### The Teachers' First Year

The first year (1991-92) of the PP posed similar experiences for each of the three teams. Each had developed its own set of goals and approaches to reach those goals. The common idea was to ease the transition of, primarily, average students to high school life. The teams labored within their respective buildings with little contact among them, contrary to the earlier request. The hoped-for common meetings to share and support each other did not occur until mid-year. Evans, who had initiated the PP and had agreed to facilitate the meetings, neglected to organize any supportive get-togethers.

The teachers found their energies and time totally consumed by the enormous challenge of the PP--the magnitude of which they had not anticipated. It was during the first meeting in January that they realized the many similarities in their situations. As much as all three teams had plans to include some degree of interdisciplinary teaching, they all realized this had been difficult to incorporate. Individually, and as a group, they discovered that great demands and energy were required of them to attend to the same areas: the students, their colleagues, parents, and schedule problems. They also quickly realized that there was the

strong administrative support for the PP in two buildings, but that similar administrator support was lacking at North.

### Students

What was troubling for all of the teams was the magnitude of the students' problems, both personal (family, psychological, emotional) and academic. All but Rod at West, who was the only one of the nine teachers who had dealt primarily with average 9th graders in the past, were surprised.

I've never had three 9th grade classes. I've usually had some upper classmen which are kind of nice because you can be philosophical, you can interact without these emotional turmoils or the turbulence. . . . I guess we were assuming . . . the kids would be at a certain level and we could start from there, that they would be interested in school, that they'd want to learn, they'd be willing to go forward. No, what we've had to do is take two steps backwards and teach self discipline, classroom management, responsibility. (Margaret at West)

Karen echoed this point when she said that "I've never worked with three classes of average kids before. . . . And even though I've had some average, I've always had top level kids."

The emotional demands placed on them by their students, the lack of intrinsic educational drive on the part of many 9th graders, their lower basic academic skills, and other problems meant that students began to absorb more of their time than the teachers had anticipated.

I think we were real surprised at how much time we had to spend dealing with individual students. And so, some things that we thought we wanted to accomplish had to take a back burner. . . . We're still trying to figure out if it's because [of] this particular batch of students, or because we hadn't gotten as close to students before and hadn't realized the need for all of the intervention. But we had a large group of high risk kids. (Melissa at East)

Students became the central focus of the planning time: "When we were together, we spent a lot of time talking about the students" (Joan at North). All three teams quickly realized that they "couldn't use planning from last spring, couldn't use it all because they were not at that level" (Margaret at West). The students' immaturity meant the teachers had

to rethink many of their initial ideas. They knew the students had to be the focus of the program, but this was developing into a much bigger job than they had expected. They felt they were confronted with some problems for which they had not necessarily been trained. For example, the behavior of many students often interfered with their ability to perform in class as well as creating a distraction for their peers.

November, December and January we dealt with just an awful lot of student problems, parent problems and all of them sure haven't disappeared, that's for sure. But we've learned to cope with them better, I guess. Got people in touch with the right agencies and that kind of thing that was needed; and some of our problems disappeared because somebody moved, somebody gets in trouble with the police and then drops out to pay restitution for crimes and all that kind of stuff. (Julie at East)

The schedule surfaced as another problem with students in all three schools. Because of the block scheduling, students were restricted to taking electives outside of the three class-hour block. This caused problems with students and ultimately with parents and counselors.

There was a conflict with their schedule going from trimester to trimester. They wanted to take drivers ed and they couldn't because we took third and fourth. And they wanted to take wood tech. and we teach second, third and fourth so they couldn't take it. So "Why do we have to stay in this program, why can't we go on and take those things and just rearrange it?" (Julie at East)

This scheduling situation was a source of concern throughout the year and into the next year.

#### Colleagues--Counselors and Teachers

The students' scheduling problems led to a reaction by the counselors in all three buildings: more work was placed on them as the students brought their complaints to the counselors. This led to some friction between the PP members and the counselors.

I have concerns about the lack of support from counselors. I don't know that the counselors feel that high school students benefit at all from this but I think if you ask the counselors whether they feel that the pilot 9th graders are getting any better deal than anybody else, they would say "No, no better deal" . . . (pause) even though their learning experiences in the classroom are significantly or at least daily experiences in the classroom are significantly different than other classrooms. . . . And so all they see is that they have three teachers with high expectations and the reason that there are the

high expectations is because of the block. And so there is this negative response to the block, and the counselors also have not dealt, I don't think, positively with that. (Julie at East)

The PP teachers were not unconcerned about or unsympathetic to the scheduling problems of their students. They made some attempts to convince other staff members (teachers and counselors) of the need for some change on their parts in order to accommodate the students and the team schedule.

One of the biggest digs on us this year was that we've screwed up the scheduling process. Well, we haven't screwed up the scheduling process. We, as a collective group of teachers and principals, have not opened our minds to the possibilities that are out there. (Rod at West)

Overall, however, the PP members felt they were receiving little support from the counselors, especially when they approached the latter about student problems. As Sharon finally admitted, "We've tried to pull in our counselors. They're not very supportive."

At first, the other teachers in all three schools had similar reactions to the program. Despite the initial resistance in each building by the department chairs, most other teachers, to the extent they were aware of the innovation, were passive supporters or silent.

As time went on, however, concerns were raised by many teachers--depending on the department and the school. One common concern "was the feeling that I got an extra free period, a feeling that I was coddling these 9th graders, not giving them the full force of the 9th grade curriculum as we'd done since time immemorial" (Margaret at West). In retrospect, it appears that the math departments were non-supportive and language arts department members were generally supportive in all three schools; the science departments were mixed, with the department chair supportive at West, but chairs non-supportive at North and East. The one foreign language department--at East--was divided in its support based mainly on involvement.

The Spanish 1 teachers are totally supportive. In fact, one of the other Spanish 1 teachers wants to be on a team next year. . . . Spanish 1 teachers are very, very committed. Well, Spanish teachers, period. The rest of the foreign language department, I would say, is neutral to negative. (Melissa at East)

The members of the math departments continued to be the most reluctant about the PP:

“The math department, I think, they tolerate [the PP]” (Scott at North). Sharon did have conversations with the other members of her department and they did show some interest; however, they continued to question the need for the program itself.

There was a time this year when some of my math colleagues and I were planning an inservice for the math department and then [I] just brought up different things that I was doing and they were real interested and we talked about lots of things at that time. I think most of them, my math colleagues, do not buy into what I’m doing nor do they buy into that we need the team time. (Sharon at East)

Language arts chairs at the schools had mixed responses, but generally were not in favor of the PP as Margaret at West related: “Are we going to have to do this?” “It’s another thing that will die out in another year or so.” “Well, how is your thing going?” Others could only surmise about their department support:

In general, I don’t know; specifically, our department chair in language arts, Cindy Smith, might [be supportive]. I don’t think I’ve talked with her point blank about it, but, given her style and everything, she’s into people working together. To my knowledge she would be supportive. (Julie at East)

And the same types of reactions came from the science departments as the year progressed:

I’m looked upon as threatening by some [in the science department], curious by others, and, by a couple I know, I’m intriguingly curious, as in, “I think I might like this if I only thought I could do it.” I mean, it runs the gamut. (Rod at West)

One common feeling on the part of all the team members was that their busier schedules made it difficult to interact with their peers as frequently as they had once done. “I’m probably not seeing people that I worked with in the department more because this team is taking more time . . . so you do not have as much [interaction] with the others” (Joan at North).

Finally, a common comment made by many teachers expressed exactly what the team members had anticipated: the fear about a middle school concept moving up to the high schools.

[T]here are a lot of other high school people that see what we're doing as we're coddling 'em along, we're just fostering a middle school concept more and "You guys are just mothering these kids along and you're just making the problems worse for them later." They don't have the slightest idea of what we're doing. (Richard at West)

Over time the concerns raised by the other teachers in their buildings began to take their toll on the team members.

I think that we should have [had PR]--well, at least I can say now with hindsight the way that people reacted to us that supposedly, because we had an extra planning period, they thought we also had the cream of the crop, we had a real easy year. And I think it wasn't sold to the staff that much; it was just something [the administrators] were going to do and they were going to do it, regardless of what the people thought. . . [I]t's just that [it] looked on paper like we had so much extra time--two planning periods and maybe two preps, it's like, "Easy job." (Margaret at West)

### Parents

The three PP teams took different approaches to providing parents with information about the program. Two teams sent out prior information whereas the other did not. The eventual reactions from parents, however, were very similar in all cases. After some initial reluctance by a few parents to having their children in an "experimental" program, most reacted positively to more teacher and school involvement with their children.

I think most parents like it. At the very beginning of the year, we sent out a letter to each and every parent, kind of talking about some of our upcoming projects and things like that and then the three of us wrote a personal note about each kid at the bottom of the sheet. And the parents were just amazed that high school teachers--apparently they thought high school teachers were these aloof, remote kinds of people--would communicate that much with them. (Melissa at East)

One key benefit was that the teachers could talk about three classes rather than one when dealing with parents. They received numerous favorable reactions from parents about this approach during conferences and phone calls.

The parents soon discovered the willingness of team members to deal with them at any time or varying circumstances. As Rod said, "[N]ow I talk to a lot more of the parents than I ever did before. There's a lot more communication, both negative and positive, and both constructive [comments] and praise of what their kid's doing in class." The three teams were not only calling parents to discuss mid-term grades but also to deal with concerns

such as absences and class problems. This not only gave parents the opportunity to discuss their child's progress but allowed the former to gain more information about the PP.

The team members found that as parents were deciding on programs for their children for the next year, the word had spread about the PP. During the freshmen orientation near the end of the pilot year, there were various requests from parents to see if their children could be placed in the program.

At the recent freshmen orientation, again Greene didn't tell us how many, but he said numerous parents came up to him and asked, "What does it take for me to get my kid in that special program for the 9th graders?" And so the word is out and I think we've got some satisfied customers." (Richard at West)

These requests in all three cases were encouraging to the PP team members.

#### Building Administrators

The level of administrative support--at least as perceived by the team members--in the three buildings became a significant factor throughout the year. For the North team, which had various restrictions placed on them for team and student selection, the amount of support from their building administrators (principal and assistant principals) was suspect from the beginning. The other two teams initially felt a sense of support from the principals, at least to the extent that the latter accepted the teachers' suggestions for team-mates and student selection. However, this initial difference notwithstanding, as the year progressed all teams saw less of their building administrators, had fewer and fewer visits from them, and had little interaction with district level people. All of this led to a sense or feeling among the team members that the PP was no longer as high a priority activity as it had been when the year began.

West High School. Overt support was apparent from the West building administration, especially early in the year. Greene, the principal, attended many of the planning meetings,



told them of positive comments from parents, and seemed to champion their cause whenever possible.

He has supported us, he likes what we're doing, at this point the money is not coming out of his pocket. But he champions our cause. . . . He allowed us to, well, I'm not sure if it was even he did that, because downtown gave us money to have our different hours. . . . I guess if our principal hadn't gone along with it, it could have been a little bit more of a problem. . . . I know I feel like we can get Dan [Greene]'s support if we want it, but we have to go ask for it and know specifically what we want and he'll just come in and talk to us ad infinitum. (Margaret)

As the year progressed, they began to wonder, correctly or incorrectly, if the level of interest and support was diminishing. For example, by midyear the team members found themselves dealing with students' personal and family problems, attendance and tardiness situations, and scheduling conflicts for classes as the trimesters changed. When they approached their assistant principals for help in any of these student matters, they found little cooperation.

I don't think [the administrators] even care, it's just another thing that's going on, just another little program that will die out in a couple of years. . . . We've dragged [the assistant principal] in a couple of times to say, "Look, we've got to do something about this discipline"--nothing gets done. We asked specifically because of the registration problem . . . that the kids didn't have any electives to take. Nothing was done. . . . I feel like that could have been an administrative decision, since one of them schedules. (Margaret)

They felt that their relationship with Greene had changed over the course of the year. As noted, initially they found him to be very supportive of the team because he helped them develop the plan, was present at meetings, and verbally encouraged them. About midyear, the three began to question the situation. For example, at a meeting with him at this time, they felt he had begun to dominate all discussions:

We did not--and again this is my opinion, Rod and Margaret might disagree, I don't think so--we didn't get much support from Greene at all other than things that make him look good. And whenever we met with him we listened to him all the time, there was no real exchange. In fact, we got to the spot where we would pretty much write-off the agenda and write down what we wanted to say so that, in response to a question, we'd outline a few things and then hand it to him because we'd know we'd never really get to talk. (Richard)

They also believed that the support they were receiving from Greene had more to do with PR for himself and the school rather than with the educational worth of the program. As such, the team members did not believe Greene had a key role in the development or implementation of the PP.

I don't think [Dan Greene]'s been that crucial at all. I think the three of us have done most of it. I guess I should say that politically there are a lot of things that go on behind closed doors that support us that I never am privy to. But, because of that, I can't really give you any specific examples [of support]. I know we're supported by the development office and the people at the board and he obviously facilitates that. But in terms of us developing it here, no, nothing that I know of. . . . I feel right now as though we should have had a lot more administrative involvement. And I really believe it's not that we didn't go looking for it because we did. . . . I'm a little disappointed in the support we've gotten--not real disappointed but mildly disappointed. (Rod)

Another issue that bothered the team members was the lack of any feedback from Greene concerning the LEA consultants' interviews with students. The consultants, with some suggestions from the team members, had designed an instrument to interview at least half of the PP's students. The consultants met with students at the end of April. The interviews provided insightful comments from the students and some verification of the positive effects of the Program. The results had been shared with the team and given to Greene. By the end of the year they had not received any type of feedback from Greene about this report.

We gave [the student survey] to [the administrators] and we have no idea if they even read it. I don't know if that was given to Evans downtown or not. I don't think so. I know Greene got one. And we have no feedback from him at all. (Richard)

Although the team members spoke with confidence about the program and their involvement, they would have welcomed some direct and visible supportive comments from Greene as they came to the end of what they considered a difficult, yet successful, year.

On the other side, however, Greene was already making plans for the establishment of a second 9th Grade PP. The outside funding for the initial three teams would continue for

for at least another year, with the second team funded from Greene's own budget. Although the PP teachers had felt that Greene was no longer involved with them, this action on his part belied those feelings. The teaming concept would continue, expand, and did appear to fit into the future plans of the school. They were relieved to see this had occurred.

Toward the end of the term, the team members turned their attention to the upcoming year and at least one unresolved issue. That is, they had no idea of who their students would be. In contrast to their first year, they had been promised three ability levels of students. They wanted this mix because they thought it would give them an opportunity to try out some additional approaches.

We asked--I don't think this is going to happen but we asked--this time around to have a top group, an average group and a low group instead of three right out of the middle. And we thought that maybe we'd like to experiment with that. I think that's died because [there] was going to be too much involved in placating the department chairperson, mine in particular. "Well, if we're going to do this, then I don't want to mess up our top level program so I don't want to do anything with our top level program." And I think [the assistant principal] agreed to that. (Richard)

As the first year ended, the members, with some ambivalence, were concerned about administrative support. On the positive side, there was the funding of a second team. On the negative side, they were bothered by what they saw as the diminished visible or overt support by all the West High administrators. As they dealt with student problems, they often felt they were receiving little help from building administrators and counselors. They had attempted to help work out scheduling problems, but their suggestions were not accepted. They wanted to talk with administrators about their successes, but had no opportunity to do so. They, at times, felt forgotten and left-out. For example, when meetings were deemed necessary, time had to be scheduled with people far in advance and for such a special program, there seemed to be little special time. On balance, the feeling

had grown among the team that “in [the principals’] perceptions, as the year went on, we were a lower and lower priority for them” (Rod).

East High School. The team members at East were very satisfied with the support they received--again, at least at first. Although numerous frustrations arose relating to the building and the innovation (e.g., accusations from colleagues of preferential treatment for room assignments and students selected and complaints from counselors about scheduling problems related to the PP), the members saw Fields as supporting their endeavors in a variety of ways.

[Pat Fields has] been very, very much in favor of it, very supportive, very everything. . . . He has always indicated, at least to us, that he is very, very supportive and, in his actions, speaks that. But I think he’s also well aware that there aren’t a lot of people in the building who are interested in change. . . . [H]e helped us feel good about what we are doing rather than being either totally indifferent towards what we are doing or negative. On many occasions he said that he really strongly believes and acknowledges our efforts and all of that kind of stuff. And I think that’s important, especially when we’re working as hard as we are working and perhaps aren’t getting much support anyplace else. (Julie)

One area of tangible support was the visibility they had with visitors to their school. They continued to maintain a low profile within the building, but they were becoming the “showcase” for the district. School Board members, during their annual visits to the school, were brought directly to visit the classrooms. The same applied in the case of other visitors such as teachers and educational leaders from other districts.

Other actions that they felt indicated support by Fields were: (a) he made the philosophy of the program the focus of the school’s inservice programs--“[teaming] has been the total focus in the high school in-services. . . . I’m not sure about the other two high schools but it has been here at East” (Sharon); (b) he wrote a memo to the staff in support of the concept of team teaching--“In fact, there’s a memo out this morning that says if anybody else is interested in teaming next year that they need to make sure that he

knows" (Sharon); and (c), his statement in his "vision" for the year 2000: "Teachers will work in Partnerships, not in academic departments" (see Appendix B).

Fields' direct support prompted other teachers interested in the concept of teaming to come forward with their own plans. A second team hoped to pick up where the PP team left off and take sophomores into a team composed of Spanish/Language Arts and possibly one other academic area. Likewise, other staff members were coming forward and attempting to design other teams. However, support in terms of money and time had not yet been discussed or found for the budding groups.

As the year progressed the team members gradually became more concerned about this support issue. Whereas earlier in the year many visitors had come through their rooms, there was a decreasing level of involvement by their own administrators. This seemed a bit of a mystery to the team members. They began to wonder if the support was more "verbal" and did not run very deep.

Verbal support, I would say. . . . Pat [Fields] gave us a lot of financial support, too, I guess. I mean he's very, very pro team; I think he gives us lots and lots of lip service but maybe unfounded, I think, is what we feel because he doesn't really know what happens or what's going on because he isn't down here very much to see or find out. So he goes on what students or parents say, I don't know. And we've kind of been disappointed in that because we tried to schedule him to come down and meet with us once every two weeks and he wasn't able to pick a day where he was able to do that and so was going to just pick a day every two weeks and has not done that. So the times he's come down and visited with us was when we've physically gone and gotten him and said "We need to talk." And he's busy but we were kind of disappointed in that because we thought that we could really keep him abreast of what was going on and maybe even get suggestions or get him in there to help at certain times. But that part hasn't occurred at all. . . . And he said that he would, he just never did. So, it makes you think then that it's not a priority because it was more than once that we, Melissa or Julie or I, had the conversation about that with him and it just didn't occur and then we'd get busy too; but we would really, I think, like to have met with him more often than what happened. (Sharon)

They felt they were losing contact with the principal, their important source of support within their building, and the three members questioned why. Given the tremendous energy and time they were spending on students, on planning and development, and on

trying to ignore the reactions of their peers, they expected more support from him. They realized Fields was busy, but by the same token they were actively seeking some assurances. They felt they were not getting them--or at least enough of them.

By mid-year, Julie questioned whether she wanted to continue as a team member. She had not expressed this to her principal, but she had talked about the situation with other team members. The year had been difficult for her. She was taking the problems with students personally and believed she had lost some of her own teaching personality--her "identity"--by being a member of the team experience. Eventually, because of encouragement from Sharon and Melissa and her allegiance to Pat Fields, she decided to continue for the second year.

The team had to make some decisions about their second year at the end of the first year. They were under some pressure from counselors to change the schedule and break-up the block time for the benefit of the elective classes. To do so would make scheduling easier for the students and counselors. At the end of the year, the team members took this problem to the assistant principal in charge of scheduling. In some ways they saw this as a test of support for their program.

Linda Karal (assistant principal) does the scheduling and she tried really hard to make sure that the electives were outside of the block time. And we had been getting a little pressure from the counselors, I guess, to do away with the block time. And we decided we wanted to keep the block time and Linda and Pat [Fields] said "Fine, do whatever you think is the best." (Melissa)

They were relieved by this statement because they interpreted this statement by Fields to mean backing for their program.

However, as the year ended, the teachers weighed the support situation as a matter of some pluses and some minuses. As with their counterparts at West, they were tired and had experienced some stressful moments in that they had spent a lot of time and energy on this innovation. They were expecting a commitment from their administrators to talk with

them and perhaps help with any ideas as they progressed through the year. In essence, they felt they deserved some overt acknowledgment--a pat-on-the-back or some positive involvement with them--to reinforce them as individuals and as a team. They felt they had not received enough of this and, so, like the West team, the East team had very mixed feelings at the end of the first year.

North High School The year had started with the team at North sharing information about their pilot program with the staff during the staff inservice day. This had been interpreted by them as a sign of interest on the part of the school's administrators. However, very soon into the year, the team questioned this interpretation.

As far as anyone else, they probably have no idea what's going on. . . . Gary [Brown]'s stopped in a couple of times and he's chatted with us, curious what's going on. I think [the assistant principal]'s done that a couple of times also. . . . I think they probably were in our rooms and talked to us as much as they did to any staff members. (Scott)

The building administrators had not spent much time with the team and had little insight as to what they were attempting to accomplish with students, parents, and curricula. One assistant principal had some knowledge of the team's activities, mainly because of his responsibilities for schedules and discipline. As Karen noted, he "has probably an idea [about] an aspect of the program." However, she also noted that he did not have any in-depth knowledge or involvement. The team desired greater acknowledgment of their existence and more concern for the energy they were expending on the PP innovation. The general absence of such acknowledgment and concern heightened the teachers' doubts about whether there was much building support for what they were doing. "And even within the building, I'm not really all that sure that administration was all that excited about it. It's OK, it's about public relations going on" (Scott). The public relations had nothing to do with their own staff. The three had been a part of the initial staff inservice for the

school year but were not part of any additional staff inservice or staff meetings: “Building-wise, we’ve never been asked to explain the program to the staff” (Karen).

In March, Brown came to their team meeting to discuss with them his observations and comments about the team’s first year and the outlook for the next year. One point he raised concerned the selection of students for the next year--that is, who they would be able to choose for the program. He again placed limitations on who could be selected. This time he was quite explicit about his rationale.

Knock out top half immediately so end up with the bottom [half]. You can have some if you’d like but if a parent calls and says my child was selected for the upper level and can’t, I can’t buy this. We can’t say they were arbitrarily selected and then can’t move them back up. Our philosophy: We don’t fight with parents if they want something for their child. That sets up winners and losers and we don’t want that. (Brown)

He went on to add that he “really hadn’t seen anything different going on.” Outwardly, nothing was said directly to Brown about his comments. The team members, however, were not surprised by his comments for these reflected what they believed was Brown’s philosophy at North, which also reflected the parents’ beliefs.

[P]arents have beliefs about education that coincide with their own education because they were very successful under that system. [It’s] also a building that tends to place high regard on things that I don’t think matter a whole lot, such as ITED scores. And I don’t mean to say that ITED scores don’t matter, but if you’re looking at how a school is doing, ITED scores aren’t a very good indicator. And we seem to have a school that’s unwilling to take a look at what we’re really about. Rather than what the image is, we concentrate on the awards, we concentrate on the high test scores, we concentrate on where our kids go to school as the indicators of fine education. (Karen)

The team firmly believed they had had successes with various students in ways not measurable by standardized test scores, but this fact was not acknowledged by Brown during this meeting. Given his limits on which students could participate and the lack of acknowledgment, the team members felt that the PP was not a burning issue for him.

There is no attempt, as far as I know, to [expand]. In our building any interest in doing that would have to come from teachers who want to do that because the administration is not going to push or even suggest that. This is not a high priority program as far as our building is concerned, I don’t believe. . . . And the message that I get, and perhaps this is not right, is that it’s not terribly important to [Gary Brown]. . . . I know that



Gary will not do this out of his budget. It's just not that a high priority for him.  
(Karen)

Soon after, Karen again discovered the PP's place in Brown's priority list. In trying to replace Scott with another math teacher, Karen had the same problems as she had the first year when she had tried finding a science teacher.

[W]e have someone in mind that we would definitely like to work with us and we have run into Gary saying the very same thing that he said last year. "When I hired him, it was with the idea that he would work with . . ." so Gary's sort of dragging his feet. . . . And in that case, we are not going to use math. (Karen)

As the year ended, Karen reflected the other team members' feelings in her parting comment about assistance from the North High administrators, "We have had very little help, guidance, or interference."

#### Central Administration

The PP teachers believed that the central district administrators were behind them all the way. The Superintendent visited the few large group meetings of all three teams and long had been in favor of teams and interdisciplinary teaching in the high schools: "I understand after having talked to Ashman [superintendent] several different times that he is interested in seeing this team approach in the high schools" (Karen at North). Bach had told the teams about his rationale for any type of evaluation about the program.

When Bach came out, we asked him "How would the program be evaluated?" And we were thinking maybe he was going to say, "We want to get numbers on this and then work on that." But he said he was going to be real comfortable with the first few years going for informal observations kinds of evaluations, maybe even up to five years of that before they actually start gathering data. (Melissa at East)

These same comments also had been made by members of the North team. This gave all the PP members a sense of security in knowing the pilot program would have an opportunity to show what could potentially be accomplished over time. During the three large group meetings, Evans continually discussed and mentioned his philosophical ideals about education: his knowledge of other schools doing comparable restructuring with less money; his reference to people who were supporting the concept of team-teaching or

student-centered learning; his own involvement in past attempts to create team-teaching at one of the high schools; and his support for more teams but hesitancy without additional training and planning time for the new teams. All of this, plus the fact that he was the chief architect of the funding and concept development, led the team members to believe they were on solid ground with him.

Various messages of support came from other people. For example, the district's Technology Specialist mentioned to Joan that the district definitely supported the idea and wished for the program to progress even faster in the high schools.

I think [the district is] really interested in what's going on as far as the teams are concerned. That seems to be their big push from downtown. I think they really want it to move a lot faster than what it's going from what I got. . . . I got that [idea] from the technology meeting that I went to. [The Technology Director] said that himself. He was talking about [the Superintendent saying this]. . . . He said something about things not moving as fast as I would like to have them move. Also Dr. Evans said the same thing, that things aren't moving as fast as he'd like to. He says this is what he wants. (Joan at North)

As the year progressed, just as was the case in the buildings, doubts developed among the teachers about the central administrators.

In terms of the district, . . . I get the feeling that they think we do a great job but I'm not so sure who knows exactly what we're doing . . . because they really haven't been in the classroom a whole lot. Unless they're getting everything from Jack Evans, who gets it from Sharon, I don't know how they know what we're doing. . . . But then all of a sudden, somebody like Pat Fields one day said, "When Dr. Ashman talks about the great direction we're heading in the teams and how wonderful you are, he uses the East team as the example." He's never even been here. Well, maybe 10 minutes one day so he sort of [has an understanding] but he hasn't been around a whole lot either. (Melissa at East)

Such comments became more common from the team members as the year continued.

There were few cross-team meetings and they were not hearing any district-wide discussion of the PP idea.

The North team, which had received the least visible support of the three teams, became even more concerned about support issues after they met with the other teams. A comment by Karen represented the ambivalent attitude that flourished later in the year.

[A]nd perhaps a positive is that we haven't been bugged by people from downtown, although I find that even very curious. East is doing a community service aspect as part of their grant and I understand that there are people there all the time, stopping in to see. Other than [the Assessment Specialist] perhaps stopping in to see what we're doing, no one, as far as I know, has ever stopped to see what we're doing. In some ways I look upon that as being okay. I think, "Leave me alone to do what I need to do and the mistakes that I need to make" and whatever; but on the other hand, [I] also interpret that as not particularly interested and that makes me mad. . . . There are times that I get the feeling that . . . there are people at the [central administration] who have said, "Now that's done!"--not meaning done but, "I don't have to worry about that; I need to move on to something else." And I just don't get the feeling of support. Even in the sense of finding out . . . who's going to be here in the area speaking. That's poor communication between central office and here anyway. . . . I do sense just a lack of interest. I saw Jack [Evans] in this building a couple of weeks ago, the only time that I've seen him here all year. And I know that he is at East and I know that he is at West. You're getting my frustrations. (Karen at North)

One question that bothered Richard in particular was that it seemed a lot of agendas were being served by this process and most of these were from central administrative people.

I believe there's a lot of hidden agendas all over the place but I don't really (pause), but since I don't care about politics and I don't care about what's going on downtown, I'm immune to all that. I get a feel there's some things that Evans wants to have happen, the Superintendent wants to have happen, that there's little hidden agendas there and that's why we're being allowed to do some things and I'm not sure what all those little hidden agendas are. . . . I don't care. . . . But at the same time I think [Evans has] . . . hidden agendas; he really feels that's he's on a mission to reform the high schools in North Bend. That if people would only listen to him we would have so much a better high school and that's not to say he doesn't have some good ideas. But it's a little bit of a pompous attitude to come in and say, because he's got an elementary/junior high/middle school background, that he knows what's best for the high school. And there are a lot of people who just don't feel comfortable with how he's handled that with people. (Richard at West)

As much as Richard questioned motives, he jumped at the opportunity for their team to make a presentation before the School Board. In mid-May Evans asked the West team to make a short presentation to the School Board regarding the PP--about their experiences and reactions for the first year. The three members quickly put together a set of scenarios that reflected what they had dealt with over the past year. The presentation resulted in some exposure not only because the School Board meeting was broadcast over the local Cable Channel, but also because of the publication of a lengthy article on the PP in the education

section of the local newspaper. This brought many positive reactions. The reactions by their peers within the buildings and the administrators at West as well as at the district level buoyed their enthusiasm as the year was now coming to an end.

Wow! Powerful! All positive [comments from people concerning the Board meeting]. . . . Everybody! Staff, parents, students in our program. . . . Almost every one of [the School Board members] came up to me after it was over, during the break, and said something positive to me. . . . I think they're really buying into collaborative teaching. . . . I think the School Board members are really behind this. . . . Ashman (Superintendent) was so taken by it, and this is almost embarrassing, but . . . he took my little 12 minute segment out, showed it to the Executive Council on Thursday, which is every principal in the district, K through 12. (Rod at West)

Richard believed that this was a strong signal of support and an appropriate time to seek some of the support they had earned over the year.

I told everybody, "Let's start brainstorming as many things as we want and we need to now make our move for what we want to do next year." And we're in a spot to do that. We've worked our butts off this year and I think we can pull off some of the things I'd like to see us do. (Richard at West)

As Richard stated, this could be the ideal time for them to make suggestions for the next year while the support seemed to be so fervently for them.

At one level then, all three teams had received a positive boost of one sort or another at the end of the first year: comments from School Board members for the West team, flowers from Evans in response to student exhibitions at East, and positive comments from parents at North. All three PP teams felt they had undertaken an amazing challenge in their first full year. Yet, all wondered about how much support existed for them. And, as much or as little as they may have received, in many ways they perceived that it was not enough. They had expected overt demonstrations of encouragement from their principals and central district administrators for the entire year. Instead, their perceptions were that, as the year had progressed, they had become a forgotten group of teachers. They had begun the process and the year with so much verbal fanfare from administrators; but this excitement and support appeared to wane during the year at a time when the teachers grew weary

because of the unexpected challenges from colleagues, students, and the process of team teaching. At a stage when they believed they needed and deserved continued acknowledgment, the administrators had reduced their overt involvement. In short, as the first year came to a close, the teams members left feeling exhausted, yet believing strongly in the effects the teams were having on students.

Teachers felt the building administrators were divided in their support and belief in such a program--at North it seemed clear that only one assistant principal had any interest in the PP and that was marginal; at East, both the principal and assistant principal were supportive but had been negligent during the latter part of the year; at West, the team members believed only the principal himself showed any strong feelings toward the concept but felt that he too had abandoned them after the initial excitement. Team members believed the central administrators strongly supported the concept but were questioning their agendas for the PP. The teachers, all experienced in the life of change agendas during several building and district administrations, were cautious about the "other" agendas behind the Partners Program idea.

#### The Administrators' First Year

Of the three building principals, two saw themselves in favor of the innovation and as overtly supportive of the teachers. They had few doubts in their minds about either their philosophical agreement with the program or their support. The third principal, to the contrary, left few doubts about his indifference towards the PP.

#### Building Principals

##### Dan Greene, West High School

Quite frankly, some of the things that I've seen this 9th grade team be able to accomplish this year, I think they are moving towards, and in some cases have already arrived at, some of the spots where I'd like to see us be as a school. (Greene)

Greene at West was pleased to see the PP finally come to fruition. He had jumped at the opportunity when the idea was first discussed by the central administrators as a possible innovation for the high schools. He saw this as a chance to develop a program which fit his personal beliefs about education and educators. Moreover, he hoped and wanted some of the things embodied in the team concept to influence other teachers at West. He said that he supported the PP as much as he believed he could because

selfishly, from an administrative standpoint, one of my goals is that the program is so successful, and Richard and Rod and Margaret are so able to convince other members of the faculty of the benefits of these programs and how things are going, and convince the district of it too, that we continue to have support from the district, [and that] I'm able to continue to find teachers in the building who want to participate in those things; and that, ultimately, some of the benefits of the program will be shared in a more universal sense in the school, even if we can't do everything for everybody that we can do for these guys. We're not going to be able to provide everybody with an additional planning period to do that. . . . But maybe if we can just get teachers to just look at their role as a teacher a little bit more generally with the idea of integrating what they're teaching into the more global aspect of the kids' day at school and the kids' years at school that ultimately there will be some trickle down positive effect on kids and schools generally. (Greene)

Greene appreciated the fact that the central administrators were backing this program.

This meant a great deal to him.

These programs, and I can speak mostly for the West one right now, they are viewed very, very positively from downtown. And so if I go to them and say "Here's what I'd like to have," I'm finding a lot of support for that from the people downtown. I really appreciate that so I think that we're going to have to continue to do that. (Greene)

As with the other principals, Mr. Greene believed that the financial and philosophical support of the downtown administration was important for the success of the Program.

And that advocacy strongly existed for all the schools.

[B]eing more teacher or more student centered and more willing to integrate a lot of things--and that's the direction our district is going--there's a lot of support and direction from Mike Bach and Joel Ashman that this is the direction we need to go. So I feel real confident as I go talking to teachers that this is what we need to be doing. If they resist a little bit I can buy into their resistance but I can keep telling them, "This is the direction we're going, this is the direction the district goes. Let's look at the new 92-93 District Vision and it's 'Reading, Writing, Speaking and Listening across the curriculum spectrum.' . . . I know that's the direction the District wants to go so my allegiance to them causes me to be supportive of that . . . but I do think that's

something that the central office is pushing. I think this is a direction that Joel Ashman particularly [wants]; virtually every time we're together as an administrative group, he talks about the whole concept of integrating curriculum and teaming and collaboration and planning together and knowing what's going on in other people's departments so that you can relate what you're doing to what they're doing. (Greene)

The encouragement that Greene gave the PP continued to grow, at least from his point of view. He felt he had made himself available and responsive to team needs throughout the Fall term.

[A]s a group, if they come to me and ask for it, if there's some opportunity for them to go visit or whatever, I'm going to do everything I can to support that from within the budget, building level or going to Mike Bach. . . . [I]n the actual work-a-day aspects of it, I am at their beck and call. I stop in to their meetings in the morning periodically; I just listen to see what they have to say. They sometimes schedule days for me to come in if they have specific things that they would like to talk about. But in the sense of me giving direction, almost none other than the more global direction of how I envision the program working someplace down the line; I really have told them that they're the experts, they're the ones who are out there looking at it every day. So if . . . they want to suggest that we do this or that, I take their advice. (Greene)

Moreover, he felt he was doing a good job of defending the program to other teachers as well as counselors within the staff.

[T]here have been a couple of other [situations] where maybe a teacher will come in and be sort of decrying the fact that her classes either seem to be too big or seem to have too many of some particular kind of kid in it. They believe that it's because of the 9th grade program. I try to assure them that that's not the reason, that there must be some other aberration in the schedule that's caused this to occur. I defend that program to the hilt, to everybody else on the faculty and anybody else I can talk to about it and I build it up and talk very positively about it. (Greene)

As the year progressed, he became determined to develop more teams at the 9th grade level. Unknown to the staff, in his own mind he began pointing to a time when all 9th graders would be involved with some type of team situation.

What some teachers don't realize is that if we get a second or eventually a third 9th grade team going that even those kids who are not parts of teams will be, de facto, put into teams, too, because there won't be nearly the opportunity for them to choose where they're going to go. Their choices will become restricted and they'll get locked in with teachers, too. (Greene)

He saw the team fulfilling more and more of his personal educational philosophy. Students were the center of a philosophy he wanted to develop at West and this included

teachers as being totally concerned with the student. Greene had already observed “many of the benefits of this program, developing a connection with the teacher so that a teacher can get to know a kid better and a kid can get to know a teacher’s teaching style and adjust to it and so on.”

Greene viewed his willingness to start a second team from his own budget as testament to his backing of the program.

I think in at least two ways it’s important that I do support it. Number one, for the second team, I’m paying for their common planning time out of my allocation of teachers. And without that, the program dies. I think they have to have the common planning time to meet together or it doesn’t happen, I believe that. And the second thing is that I’ve got to take a stand with some of the other teachers in the building or, particularly, the department heads. (Greene)

This stand with department heads was a symbol of his championing of the concept and his position on change. In the spring, as word of the second team became known, he quickly had to deal with the math department chair who had not been too happy to see the first team develop and was even more concerned as the second team had now developed.

[The math chair] came and she said, “I’m going to have to have Richard and Mary teach five; I can’t just have them teach four, I’m going to have to have them teach five next year so that we can teach our classes.” And I said “No you’re not, you can’t do that.” But she says “I have to.” I said, “If we need two more sections of math, I’ll find the allocation, we’ll post the job and we’ll hire somebody but Mary and Richard are going to be part of the 9th grade program.” And [the math chair] was angry about that. She said I think you’re putting your priorities someplace else. Those are two of our very best teachers. And I said that’s why we’ve got them in these programs. This is a priority program for us. (Greene)

Greene said he was not willing to budge on this matter of the PP which he philosophically believed needed to be implemented for 9th grade students.

Greene believed he demonstrated his support through his dealings with department chairs and by telling the team members about the positive parent reactions. Based on these outward examples, he said he hoped the teachers themselves realized and understood his position. If not, he hoped the three would approach him about this subject.



I've not heard them complain. I hope they do come tell me if they don't feel like I'm being as supportive as I should be. Because I want them to feel that I support the program and that I think it's important; that it work well and that if they're having problems with it, I want to spend time and figure out how come so that we can try to fix it. (Greene)

The school year came to a very positive end for Greene. He was confident of the strong support from the central administration for the team concept at the high school level. He believed this was evidenced by the School Board presentation and the subsequent showing of the videotape to all the district administrators by the superintendent. The second team had been selected and next year he would have two PP teams in place. The money that Evans had secured for the initial team would continue and Greene had been able to develop a second team within his own building's teacher allocation for the next year. His personal support continued when he located building-level funds for further development during the summer: both teams of teachers would have the opportunity to meet and engage in further planning as individual teams and to share information between teams that would benefit the second team.

I've just been trying to calculate out my [budget] to see how many [hours] I have left from last year because I've got some set aside for the new team to have a couple of days to work together this summer; but if I can swing the hours, I want to invite the others to come back and be here with them so that they can work as a six person team to try to have some time. But I've got to manipulate the hours a little bit to make sure that I've got that time available. . . . [L]ittle things like that, if I can manipulate a way to send them to a meeting or something like that, I'll try to. I hope they feel as though I'm supportive of them. (Greene)

In reflecting about the first year for the PP, Greene had much to say.

I think [most positive or rewarding] has been the attitude of the teachers and what seemed to them to be almost a revelation of how much they have learned about a group of kids, and how they have worked together to solve problems, to work through issues, to make decisions. It's been a neat sort of chemistry that's developed, I think, among the three of them to the benefit of the students, honestly. And I just believe that as they see the success of the program, as they see the benefits of it, every one of them is the sort of person who, if they're riding in the car to a meeting someplace with another teacher or if they're sitting in the lounge, or if they're in a departmental meeting, they're going to be talking about the benefits. And that is the best form of persuasion as far as I'm concerned. (Greene)

His only frustration reflected a major problem that seemed to exist from the very beginning and would be a factor in the continuation of any innovation: "I'd be frustrated if we couldn't continue the program, funding or some other reason like that got in the way."

Pat Fields, East High School

[The purpose of the 9th grade program is to] share students [and] staff collaboration. That's the two main goals. . . . My personal goal is to have all 9th and 10th graders involved in this within five years. Whether I'll achieve that or not, I don't know. But that's my vision, to support kids and to support teachers. . . . Again, I'm not going to force people to go into it. What I'm trying to do is to look for different ways to make incentives for people to want to be in teams. For example, right now we allow our teams to have an extra planning period. (Fields)

Fields began the year excited about the PP. He saw this project as fitting perfectly with the personal goals he had set for East High School. As for support in other areas of the district, Fields was sure that the district central administrators were strongly behind the experimental program.

I think [the central administration] support it and I know they support it. And number two, they are providing the funds for the extra planning period. And I really believe that my two major superiors, the Superintendent and Mr. Bach, would do anything to help us improve that situation. I think it's 110% support. (Fields)

Fields readily admitted that the PP was not necessarily widely accepted by all high school administrators. North's PP, which had been facing problems throughout the developmental process, did not seem to be a high priority within that building's administration--at least this was Fields' perception based on administrative meetings.

I'm not sure every building believes in it as much as we do here at East. . . . That's a feeling that I have that West and East really are pushing it. And I know how much North is pushing it. I don't ever hear it discussed from their side. . . . Gary [Brown] never talks about it. (Fields)

Fields drew his understanding of what was happening at the other sites from the principal's comments at their usual meetings. He had also heard from his own team during the spring term when they were designing the PP about what had been occurring in the other two high schools.

Fields felt he acknowledged what the teachers were doing and accomplishing. His hope was that this change, if successful, would be a catalyst for broader change at East. In order for this to happen, however, the success needed to be known by others. Here Fields, despite his own desires, supported the wishes of the team to maintain a low-profile.

At this stage, I have a dichotomy here. I believe that I have to support the team the way they want. And they want it really low key. If I had my druthers, I'd be jumping up and down and shouting to the community and telling. I think that's one of the ways it's going to force other teachers to get involved, because when parents are going to come up and say, "Are you a part of the Partners?" or that type of thing. So I think I'll live with them this year and next year on the low key but after that, I really believe that we've got to publicize the hell out of it. Those people need to be rewarded, too, publicly for what they're doing for kids. (Fields)

He felt that this type of outward support was needed for the team itself because all had not gone as smoothly as everyone had expected. Some other teachers as well as counselors had not agreed with the PP approach to working with the 9th grade students.

In spite of concerns from counselors and indifference from many faculty members, Fields was pleased with how the team members had increased their contacts with students and parents. He had already seen the increase and thought it could positively affect the overall situation at East.

[If everybody wanted to team] we'd probably have less problems and we wouldn't need a lot of supervision because there would be so much communication with parents—that's one of the biggest problems I see in high school, is the lack of communication; the lack of teachers believing that it's their responsibility to communicate with parents. I'd say 80% of the phone calls I have from parents are because, "How come I didn't know this was going on in the classroom?" Or "How come the teacher didn't call me?" And I know that's hard on teachers. But yet in the Partners, they call people all the time. They have some extra time to do that type of stuff, too. (Fields)

As the year progressed, his interaction with students, parents, and, school board members reinforced his enthusiasm for the program. Both parents and students, for the most part, were supportive and enthusiastic about the concept.

We have people begging to get their kids in it. . . . I'm going to guess, maybe 15% of the number that could be put in there are probably people that have asked. [That's just by] hearsay because we're not advertising, we're trying to keep it real low key. Very low key. . . . [A]lso, we've had parents that come up and say to us, "It's the best thing

that ever happened to my kid,” and I expected that because those are three of our best teachers. (Fields)

Also, he believed support was strong from the school board, as well. Based on their annual visits to East High, “[the School Board members] love it. They think it’s great. I think their vision is of what [should be] happening in 9th and 10th grade, too.”

The staff at East was another story. “[My main source of frustration is] probably the rest of the staff not jumping up and down and seeing that it’s the best thing for kids.” It was not as if Fields lacked an understanding of the change process nor had neglected to lay the groundwork for change at East. A school transformation team had been formed and it was his idea “to start it here but it’s just from literature and I believe in shared governance; this is the way to govern a school and have staff involvement.” The transformation committee was another way to influence staff by having teachers talking with teachers about change. Fields had trusted the PP would pave the way for some change; however, even the perceived success of this program with its collaborative approach was not producing very much interest among the faculty.

Fields had an idea to change the situation. He discussed with district administrators the possibility of switching the schedule to a seven period day. This approach would ostensibly support the double planning that would be needed and/or desired for more teams to develop at East.

And [the team planning is] paid for by some fund outside the district even. And that upsets some of our people around here and I can understand that. So one of the ideas I’m toying with, and will try to sell our transformation team here, and there are some people that are interested, let’s go to a seven period day. . . . [T]his is a way for me to create an incentive for people who want to get involved [in teams]. (Fields)

Teachers would still teach five classes and have an individual preparation period. The second period would either be an assigned duty or a team planning time.

By the end of the year some of his actions began to bear fruit. The faculty had listed target strategies to develop and work on together. In the top five on this list was the idea of staff collaboration through a modified schedule.

We talked about for the last 1/3 of the school year, strategies for next year and targets for the year 2000. . . . [T]here must have been 80-90 targets. And then we went back and let the staff rank them and this is the way it ranked out. . . . One of the [the top five] strategies is an increased focus on 7 period day to create staff collaboration. And this is not administrative at all; this is completely staff. (Fields)

The year had come to an end and plans were being made for the following year. Money, from his budget, would be available for the three to meet for 20 hours during the summer. The change was slow, but he thought the PP was succeeding at what he had originally set as goals.

Student success [has been the most positive to this point]. And I don't just base that upon number of kids that are still in the program and the limited number of exhibitions I saw. I thought kids did a great job. And the second thing I would say is the collaboration between the three people. I think they've really grown close--lots of respect for each other, lots of sharing, [which is back to my original goals]. (Fields)

Gary Brown, North High School. Because the PP had strong support from central administration, Brown had agreed to the project. Brown acted on this agreement in various ways. First, he began the school year with the team being a part of the staff inservice to inform people about the program. Second, with the sudden loss of the original science member the previous spring, he went against his own criteria and selected a "skills" program science teacher, Joan, to join the PP. Finally, he allowed the PP to schedule students for a block of three class periods, which could be used as the team members desired. He did, however, have a say in selecting the students for the program.

They have some Skills Lab kids, the lowest group and from there up, but not any of the top third. It just isn't feasible [to have any other kids]; those other kids' schedules are different. The science waiver kids don't take the 9th grade science program so they can't be in it. The advanced algebra kids don't take the regular algebra so they can't be in it, and this year [there are] only two sections of those kids and that wouldn't have been enough. And the top level English kids are mostly in one of those other two. But also they would have liked to have taken some, they thought about it. I didn't say "No" but I didn't encourage it. (Brown)

In retrospect, however, Brown said he had failed to do one thing: “I haven’t really set any [personal goals], and that’s probably an error on my part. As I told somebody, my commitment is really not to the PP, my commitment is to . . . [the] teachers.”

This commitment to the teachers was distracted by the numerous other responsibilities for running a fairly large high school. Therefore, Brown made only an occasional visit to the PP classrooms. He viewed this as no different than what he did for any other instructor at North H.S.

[My role in the PP has been] limited. I try to be supportive, try to help make the staffing decisions. They did a lot with the number of kids they have to work with. That’s pretty much it.

F: When you say supportive, in what ways did you indicate that support to the team?

Well, now that you mention it, probably not nearly enough ways; I mean, I don’t know how I handled it. I’ve tried just to reassure them when we’ve met and things like that. . . I could make more of an effort to visit them more; it’s just that, it’s not disinterest on my part, it’s just priorities. Twenty-five teacher evaluations this year and all the ceremonies and events and there just isn’t, it’s not been disinterest. (Brown)

At the same time, he recognized that he had not devoted much time to the team teachers or students: “I could go out of my way to learn more about it, to observe those classes more, to get to know those kids more. I could do that and perhaps I will do that next year.” Moreover, Brown had not sought out any information from the students concerning their reactions to the program. “No [feedback from students]. I think that maybe the team’s going to do some surveying of students, I think they told me that . . . but I haven’t asked and I haven’t received any feedback.” However, based on brief, infrequent visits with the teachers and no solicitation of comments from students, he felt that he did not see any differences between their classes and other classes.

Brown continued to spend his time on other priorities rather than the PP. He had other responsibilities which included programs that were collecting more easily quantifiable data than the PP was and he preferred giving his attention to them.

[T]hat's why, when the science department and I worked out our science waiver program, which is intended to get freshmen out of general science and into the lab sciences so they can complete biology, physics, chemistry and a year of AP in one of the four, that has more interest to me because I can keep track, I can know how we're doing; I mean, it's tangible. (Brown)

Other administrators within the building had little knowledge of the team because they had other duties and a new program such as this was under Brown's jurisdiction.

I doubt [the other administrators] understand much about it. That sort of overseeing would be pretty much left to me in this building. [The associate principals] have tons of other things to do. That wouldn't be their daily work at all. [The associate principal for scheduling] would have the next highest knowledge to me about it. I don't think he would feel very involved in it. (Brown)

Support from others within the building similarly was mixed, neutral at best. He had not heard any overwhelming desire for any similar program or the expansion of the PP at North.

And I just haven't sensed that kind of enthusiasm here for it [as compared to West]. Extremely neutral, extremely neutral. No positives, no negatives. . . . Now I assumed that you had asked me if it was getting any positive feedback from parents, kids, other faculty members and that's absolutely neutral. (Brown)

He did realize that some negative reactions had been expressed by department chairs but he believed these had only been minimal.

Not much reaction [from department chairs]. What reaction there has been has been negative but it's been minimal. The math department chair is troubled by this financial support of a program for which there is no evaluation planned, that he's aware of. So it's no clear goals, no clear plan to determine whether goals are being met. But that's [the math chair] and he's eccentric in that direction although I think he has a somewhat valid point. No, pretty quiet, we've deliberately tried to keep the program pretty low key. (Brown)

Brown did not disagree with the low key approach that kept the program out of any limelight.

Brown was willing to support the team for another year, which he demonstrated by allowing a replacement teacher to be selected for the second year after the math member dropped out. He accepted the "need" for the additional planning time, especially in that

funds did not come from his budget. He did, however, raise questions about the ongoing need for an extra prep.

I think the extra prep period is a carrot that needn't be permanent. A common prep period would be essential but not necessarily an extra one. . . . We would never say that the prep period is the time that the teacher gets all their planning done anyway. It's just one little time to get started. (Brown)

Whereas there had been little overt interest shown at North by the staff, Brown was aware of the interest shown for the PP in the other schools. The backing was strong at West because of the willingness of Greene to fund a second team from within his own budget.

[I have a chance to talk to other principals about the teams in the other schools but] not in any great detail. The opportunity would be there. West, I think, is maybe the most positive experience because they're going to go with a second team. And that they're funding themselves, I guess. (Brown)

Brown gave no overt endorsement for the PP. In essence, he only acknowledged the program's existence and allowed it to continue. He did not see any visible differences between this and any other teaching occurring within his building. He had not received any glowing reports of success from anyone nor had parents been lobbying for the team concept. He had other priorities for his time and energy and, as a result, the team members saw Brown only when they requested meetings. When the PP ended the year in need of a new member, again Brown supported the replacement of the member but under the same conditions as before, which the team members did not favor.

[W]e have someone in mind that we would definitely like to work with us and we have run into Gary [Brown] saying the very same thing that he said last year: "Well, when I hired him it was with the idea that he would work with . . .," so Gary's sort of dragging his feet and in that case we are not going to use math. We're going to probably go with Spanish. (Karen at North)

Brown's support was certainly passive. He did make a weak commitment to visit the teams more often in the second year, but mainly for one reason: "Next year I see as much more a decision year than this year." As such, he had also stated that "we need to decide,



perhaps about this time next year or a little bit earlier, whether we think this is beneficial.” He implied that teachers within the program would have input to the continuation as well as the format of the PP.

Joel Ashman, Superintendent

Ashman continued to see the teams as a fulfillment of both his personal goals and the strategic goals of the School Board and other top district administrators. He realized the difficulties teachers would encounter:

Need to reinforce, they are like little isolettes out there getting beat up, ostracized, that’s just stupid. I know it’s happening; I’ve been out, I mean, I know teachers. “What department you in?” “How come you can’t come to my department meeting?” “My department meeting is more important than your team meeting.” It’s those kind of play-offs. . . . I’m guessing. I don’t know that. (Ashman)

He likewise had an understanding of the difficulties in convincing teachers to change their mode of operation.

You have to attack their basic belief systems. That’s very difficult to do. It’s very hard to do individually; it has to almost be done again by teaming, almost done collectively. Either colleagues have to do it or they’re put in a position that’s not an option. But you have to upset the organization for these people because some of them will never do it. . . . You’ve got to introduce anxiety is probably the best word. Introduce anxiety at a level that at least forces objectivity and attacks their basic belief. You’re an educator, teacher of kids, you have probably linear rationale. (Ashman)

Because of his understanding of the probable difficulties faced by the teams of teachers, he acknowledged that he must continue to praise and support them.

F: How actively are you involved with the Partners?

(pause) That’s a tough question, except every chance I get I support the concept. And I’ll support it with people, parents, principals and I’ll sit in on the [large team] meetings once in awhile (pause), so it’s passive support. (Ashman)

He saw his role as that of showing support by attending meetings of the teams, talking with parents who were in support of the teams, expressing his own interest in the PP directly to the teachers, and talking with building administrators about his philosophy of the concept.

Ashman had many other problems to be concerned with as the year progressed, one of the biggest was budget problems caused by state funding cut-backs. Although the initial funding for the PP had been secured through the LEA for three years of planning and implementation, continued financial support would have to come from another source, either the district or another grant.

F: What will happen after that funding ceases?

Creative people will find ways to continue it [within the budget or otherwise with] the present constraints to continue. [I'll give] you an example of how it could be done. . . . You force it maybe, and I'm one that if you can't get people's attention, then maybe you do something. What might that look like? You have to figure out how to change your organization. However, I'm a believer in site-based management and having people site-based. So that's even harder. See it's harder now to do in a middle school and a high school. But I'll give you an idea of how it could happen, where the incentive would work. And that is, suppose we went from a six period day to a seven period day. And everybody that wants to team in two or three member teams gets an additional prep. So now you teach five and you get prep two [periods]. Everybody that chooses not to then gets an assignment, that's a study hall, a club or something like that. So you get five teaching assignments and one [other], so now the incentive, if that's what it takes, the incentive then changes over; we add minutes to the day so we don't deprive instruction. That's an example of how a structure could change that. Another way is people just have to be willing to try. And it's not the old team teaching, I did that. It's not that concept, it's a different concept. True integrated. (Ashman)

In effect, he was saying that future funding for the teams would be left to the individual buildings and there was unlikely to be any financial assistance from the central administration, but that creative, supportive administrators could find ways to continue the program.

Ashman had worked out an additional scenario that he believed would work, if it could be developed. "I'm trying to figure out a way to expand [teaming] much more rapidly; that's why the transformational proposals." His plan called for staff at all levels to be involved in possible change through the development of transformational grants. In the late winter he announced this idea to all the principals.

What we did was this: we believe in site-based. We believe that many teachers have some grand ideas about change to help kids. So we said, "Okay, anybody that has some ideas about how to improve teaching kids that's of the transformational variety,

and we don't know what it is either, but we'd like to have you submit a proposal. And by submitting this proposal potentially we will fund the planning time it takes you to put it together. [Transformational is something that's] contrary to what you're doing now. We ended up with 22 schools and 30 proposals. And they were due May 1st and they were due April 1st. And we screened all of them and we ended up giving \$50,000 out and that will come under criticism because we've got no money anyway but I don't [care].

F: Where did this money come from?

I found it. Travel, sneaking, from other people. And [the proposals] were wonderful, just exactly what I want to happen, happened. . . . It might never happen. It might have happened, but all this is, is a little bit of money to sit with us and say, "There's nobody fighting you. Can you do it tomorrow?" (Ashman)

He was presenting an approach that he hoped would encourage bottom-up innovation and help teachers develop their ideas for change. This approach matched his personal beliefs concerning the efficacy of site-based management. The opportunity was given for teachers to devise their own "transformational" programs. The money, in spite of the budget problems, was found and made available to teachers. Ashman felt very positive about the possibilities for this approach. Unfortunately, in the first go-around of the grants, no one from the high schools applied because the word had not filtered down to the teachers. On the second round, one proposal was submitted by a 10th grade team at East High School and approved.

As for the PP teachers, he attempted to support them as best and as much as he felt he could, but this was difficult for him given his philosophy of site-based decision-making. He tried to visit the large group meetings in the District Administration Building on the few occasions they occurred. In his annual visits to each district school he tried to at least check about each team. During the twice monthly principals' meetings he would talk with the three high school principals about the teams.

Although Ashman believed in the team concept, he felt his site-based philosophy allowed him to offer only passive rather than active support. This philosophical disposition meant he had to wait for the principals to make decisions that would encourage the

expansion of the concept. Ashman realized the strength and influence each principal had within the district, but, at the same time, acknowledged that he still did not fully understand the individual principal's support for the PP. He used this more as a basis for guessing their personal feelings about the program. "I wish I knew the answer to [how supportive the principals are of the teams], empirically. Pat [Fields] and Dan [Greene] seem to support it with words and actions. Gary [Brown], I think supports it but I'm not too sure how committed--I'm not sure he is or I'm not sure he isn't."

#### Jack Evans, Development

Evans had been the fundamental driving force behind the funding and formation of the teams at the high school level. With an agreement for two more years of funding, the PP in place, and the year beginning, he felt good about the possibilities that existed. He believed the success of the program was nearly guaranteed because of the selection of highly regarded teachers for participation on the teams. Moreover, he thought the PP would "breed other teams--perhaps 4 or 5 over time" within each building. "All the pilot Partners are moving us to the norm."

Unfortunately, as the spring and summer had progressed, the district was again forced, through declining revenues, to cut central staff and assign additional responsibilities to people. Evans was assigned the additional duties of School Board Secretary, chair of the district assessment committee, and Director of Staff Development. This decreased his time and energy for some of his areas of interest, such as fund raising and involvement with educational change people from around the state and country.

Time seemed to slip away from Evans and the teams did not have the common meetings he was supposed to schedule. Also, the request by team members of the previous spring to be kept informed of conferences and speakers had been forgotten. A reminder from a

program facilitator near the end of October prompted the scheduling of the first large group meeting, which finally occurred in January.

As the remainder of the year progressed, and he facilitated two additional group meetings, he became concerned about the team members because they appeared to be frustrated with their students, peers, and administrators. Evans began to ask questions about the appropriate direction for the project. His original hope had been for the PP to spawn large scale change in the district high schools. Some change was occurring, but only on a small scale. As he said, “generally, people . . . aren’t really jumping on the parade.” He began to realize that this innovation would not be easy and that some of the team members, such as Julie at East, had already talked about leaving the project. He believed all he could do was “to continue to support this group until they determine, by it’s own natural state, [that it’s] breaking down. And I don’t know how long that will be after next year.” He felt his position and location made it difficult for him to lend much ongoing support for the teams; the ideal persons to be reinforcing the teachers were the building principals.

Throughout the year, Evans had ongoing conversations with two of the three principals, Fields and Greene, concerning the PP in their buildings. He knew they were supporting the teachers and he understood their positions to a point but, personally, Evans believed they could be doing much more.

*I think the principals have to take an awful strong position on [developing collegiality among our departments at the high school level]. And I think principals--it’s probably easy for me to criticize--miss a lot of great opportunities [to be] involved. . . . I think we’re so cautious about it. The principals may say very supportive [things] to you about it, but what are they doing publicly [within] the internal culture of that building? And again I’m not criticizing them so much from the standpoint they want to do that as they’re not taking the time to do it. And from my perspective, I have accosted two of them--I haven’t Dr. Brown--privately about that. (Evans)*

His relationship with Brown was much different than his relationship with the other two principals--much more distant and impersonal--”Gary [Brown] has never said a word

to me about there being a project.” He did hope, however, that perhaps peer support and success at the other locations would convince Brown to more actively support the PP.

And it’s [inertia for change] probably coming now, more grass roots are evolving up more from, in my opinion, at West and East than it is at North. But it’s such a comparative situation that it’s kind of like [another district principal]’s favorite words: “Sometimes you get shamed into doing things, whether you want to or not.” (Evans)

Evans had been the administrator responsible for locating the funding for the PP and had suggested that the monies would be available for at least three years. Now that the first year of implementation was ending, he was already wondering and thinking about the funding for future years if this project was to continue.

I think you heard me make some comments last night that if people want to do this, they can find a way to do this. I guess, I’m to the point where I’m not going to do this anymore. Now if I’m directed to try to find sources of funds, it was a focus for me, I would do that willingly. I don’t anticipate that happening. . . . I think that in the course of the next school year at the high school level, the high school people are going to have to deal with the issue and face up to the problem: How interested are we in this?-- particularly through the 10th grade. And then, “What are the innovative ways we can find to make it larger scale without 2/10s per teacher?” I know Pat Fields is figuring out some ways to get at that. . . . So I think within the next 15 to 18 months, they maybe are going to need to come up with some innovative ways to fund the planning because the planning is really the issue. How do you get teachers together? (Evans) For one of the last school board meetings of the year, Evans asked Rod from the West team to make a brief presentation concerning the first year. He knew Rod well and expected him to make an effective presentation. “Rod did the segment at the Board meeting and the Superintendent showed [the video] to the whole Executive Council. That kind of thing needs to go on and on.”

Evans realized one aspect of the PP had been neglected from the start. In his previous role within the district, he had been charged with the development of teams during the middle school transition; training in team building had been a major thrust. In the development of these three teams, this had been forgotten.

It’s a real omission, I don’t think it was by commission. I think they have a great need now, especially the three teams, to have a different kind of technical support next year and that they do some team building with the purpose being on team building, not how the team operates. And I need to introduce that notion to them because that’s a void. I mean, they’ve just done it because they personality-wise have kind of gotten along but they need some staff development in that area, I think. They need some development, both individually and collectively, because I’m seeing signs of [problems], because I’ve dealt with a lot of team training that there are needs of individuals not being met in

these teams, even though they're great people and you think they have all of this synergy. . . . I am probably going to try to orchestrate something like that, using an outsider who's going to be here a week in August now. It's one of those situations again where you've got to invite them if they want to discover it; if they don't, that's their choice. (Evans)

The year ended with many questions left unanswered for Evans. The team teachers raised issues that made him realize what he had neglected this first year. He tentatively set several goals for meeting teachers' needs during the next year which he hoped would encourage the continued success of the PP and also enhance the experience for all the teachers. Evans began developing goals for himself in respect to the PP.

I think group health has to be assessed and, again not to prolong this, I think that's a need next year for these people. . . . But somewhere there's got to be outlets created for them to express, to oral catharsis, and not about their kids and that stuff, it's about themselves as individuals and individual educators in this fish bowl. We did a lot of that early on at the middle schools and now I don't think we're doing any more. (Evans)

Another goal would be to make the teams more visible within their respective schools and his support more visible by being more involved with the teams on-site.

I have not tried to go into their turf much; I will next year. We learned this . . . that people pay attention when some of us walk into the building and I'm going to be there a lot more because I want to create some wonderment in the minds of other faculty members. Now if principals were to tell me "Quit hanging around," I'd probably respect that. But I don't think they would do that to me. . . . So I'm going to be more visible on their site rather than bringing them here next year. . . . I think next year's going to be a good year for these teams. I think they learned a lot and I don't know if we'll sustain them after next year. (Evans)

Evans was unsure of the future of the teams but he had decided on a direction he believed they needed to take within themselves and within their teams.

But now my focus, I guess, has shifted to, 'Let's do it for you.' I'm not even going to talk to you about kids because I think that will start to take care of itself. Let's talk about professional healing, breaking down isolation. (Evans)

The year ended and the change process had been slow. Evans was frustrated by the process and the problems that had erupted throughout the year. He also seemed confused about the future direction of the process, if he taken the correct approach to implementing a team program. At times he believed teams should be in all schools and that this was the

future direction for the high schools; and at other times he expressed some doubts about future directions.

I'm working at a lot of other angles on trying to put people together. It takes a lot of time to even get them into the theatre, that's my new [metaphor]. We don't even have them into the theatre much less looking at the screen. But I think we're getting some people moving toward the door of the theatre in their own way. But I don't think you say, "You will do this," unless you tell everyone in all three high schools, "We will do this." I'd like to; I could buy into that notion. I don't know where I want to go with it anymore.

F: What happens if one or two schools are very pro teams and another one may not be? What pressure will be put on all schools to be alike?

I don't think there will be a lot of pressure to do that. (Evans)

He firmly believed that this change needed to take place throughout the district and that "the answer is getting the principals to lead the parade." With this in mind,

I think the three principals, at some point early on next year, we need to have a somewhat of an assessment by dialogue or discussion about their level of commitment and ownership given the hypothesis that "I'm not going to find them continued funding, then what would happen?" (Evans)

He had realized that the principals' involvement was not going well and that such a systemic change would ultimately be difficult. It seemed he was the only one who realized this within the North Bend School District.

And there are other districts looking more systemically that, when we have kids 13 years, we've got to make a better contribution. . . . [W]e've got to start collaborating beyond that because the next level doesn't understand. . . . And I don't think very many people in the district have the same perspective I do about that. (Evans)

Evans felt others were responsible for the problems and slow progress of the PP. Yet, it is well to note that he had failed to convene meetings of the team teachers and he had not planned in any definitive way about what would happen in another year. He commented that the principals needed to lend their support, yet he would not talk with the senior and least involved principal, Brown. This absence of follow-through and direct engagement was observed and reacted to by at least one central administrator, Bach.



Mike Bach, Assistant Superintendent, High Schools

Basically, the district did absolutely nothing. In some cases the parents didn't even know their kids were in anything. And that was by design in some ways to not attract attention to [the teams]. I think we, as educators, are trying to figure out if you try to get the public's endorsement for things, because of their resistance to any change in education, . . . you can run into major obstacles. It's almost better if we let people be side-faced and they do some things effectively and, as they go along, they nurture, they communicate with the people who are the receivers of the service [rather] than dealing with the whole audience. (Bach)

Throughout the first year, Bach expressed his support for change within the district and his desire for the PP to be a catalyst for change. "I believe our premise has to be that anybody who steps out and wants to try something, we've got to reinforce them and trust the sites before we try to create grand designs and then force people into boxes." He supported the team concept and the individuality each group demonstrated within their settings. He was still hoping this small attempt at innovation would be the springboard or "provide the kernel of change process" within the high schools.

Tantamount goals that I have set for that program would be for those people to be so successful to create waves for additional change, barely secondarily, for them to be extremely successful in really meeting the intellectual, social, and emotional [needs for the 9th graders]. (Bach)

He believed certain aspects of his own educational philosophy, drawn from his child-centered philosophy, were being introduced into the high schools. This included heterogeneous grouping at all levels in the district. Other themes which he advocated, such as cooperative learning and a student-centered approach, had been shared with the middle and high school principals during pre-school workshops the previous year. He viewed the innovation as being student-centered; the PP at East and West represented cooperative learning; and the East team as well as all 9th grade Language Arts classes at East High were heterogeneously grouped. Bach viewed these changes as being the result of his ability to influence change in the schools with his philosophy: "All of my meetings with the high school administrators could be typified almost as dialogue." This dialogue was his way of

introducing ideas to the principals and creating discussions about his ideas which, he hoped, would eventually set some seeds growing in their minds.

He believed this influence with administrators also carried through to his philosophy on teachers and change: “reinforce the hell out of our people who are willing to step forward and try some things.” Bach believed that he was able to support the teams as much as possible during the initiation of the program. “I’ve attempted to communicate my psychological and emotional support.” This was done by conferring with team members one-on-one either when he was visiting in their buildings or when they were downtown for general team meetings.

During these conferences he reduced some of their worries about a short pilot program by telling them that this innovation would not be evaluated for several years, enough time to become established before any formal checks. These conferences, however, also gave him information from the teachers’ perspectives about a lack of support from another key district administrator, Evans. Team members were asking him about the lack of large group meetings that Evans had promised the previous year that he would organize: “A couple of them came to me not knowing how to go to him or how to get to that perspective or what his role was supposed to be.” Bach, too, was growing frustrated with the lack of meetings for the three teams; he found himself in a very awkward position. As secondary Assistant Superintendent, and therefore director for the teachers, members were coming to him for support. “They didn’t know whether to go to their principals, go to Jack [Evans], or go to me. They were puzzled all the way along.”

This surprised Bach because he believed the responsibilities had been explained.

They could have very easily applied for an Innovative Project grant which would have allowed them to meet regularly and be paid for that. . . . I suggested that directly. And again the person asked to provide the leadership didn’t do so. I will not allow that to happen again. . . . I have to respect a partner in the process. I cannot make a decision

ahead of time that the partner will or [will] not make decisions to more clearly articulate the expectations between us as partners . . . and [hopefully] nothing is harmed long-term. (Bach)

However, since the concept and inception had been Evans' idea, Bach held back from too much involvement. The responsibilities for the support and direction had been given to Evans:

You're identifying an issue whereby in my attempt to let him have ownership of that concept, to work with those nine people (pause), you would have hoped that those people would have been having a support group meeting regularly. All they needed was facilitation. It was discussed and that role was, I thought, very clearly given and shared with him. . . . Another person in the organization was prepared to take over that role and when she discussed that with him, I think the perspective got high enough that he finally realized what he was supposed to be doing. (Bach)

Bach knew that Evans was a great idea person but was less effective at following-through. He could not let this situation continue, not at the expense of the teachers involved. Yet this was a delicate situation among peers.

Jack [Evans] has more difficulty getting to the plan of action because, in my plan of action, I can look at the strengths of the people and see who can fit in which place and appreciate pieces of it. I believe I have a strength there in assessing [and] he falls in love with the ideas. . . . He's a change agent in that perspective. I believe my role is to take the idea and, in addition, add it to the "How can we get there in the reality of our situation." . . . And Jack can continually add other pieces in the dialogue that he and I might have that I can structure into that. It's important that I let him have as much ownership as possible of this particular 9th grade project. It's understandable that he--like everyone of us--has a need to feel some contribution. I can't simply take that away and say "Okay, fine, now you go away and we'll do this." We're back to collaboration. And if you're in an institution of this size where it's "who's above whom," if you weren't in a cabinet [in which] the Superintendent expects [everyone] to be very collaborative, that kind of change process would not necessarily be allowed to occur. I'll give him credit for the initiation of the ideas but I will take credit for the ability to translate it and to evolve it and support it and to nurture it. And I will make it into things that he may not have seen in dealing with a lot of things in assessment. . . . Eventually, I will be able to help together because of our double sets of strengths. We will make that fit. (Bach)

When the teams finally began their meetings, he was very relieved that the teams were able to discuss their personal situations. Bach stopped by for a few minutes at each meeting to listen and to add a comment or two. He wanted to at least visibly show his interest and concern for their well being.

The major issue for Bach was whether the administrators were really providing leadership for the teachers.

[What's been frustrating is] just wondering if we're doing the right things at the right time. If we were giving enough, from my perspective, leadership. Or you get real nervous about trusting that site-based development is really the right perspective and you have to reassure yourself that it is because I can look at it now at this point. There was nothing that any of us here could have done to have made it work or made it work faster. You have to really believe in your professional staff. And once they're willing to tackle something, you need to give them the time and latitude to do that. And if we go a wrong direction for awhile, that's okay. (Bach)

He again was advocating the concept of "time" for the development of their program.

He understood the different levels of support for the PP by the three principals. He realized that two administrators were strongly in favor of the innovation and wanted to expand their programs in whatever way they could within their budgets.

F: What has been the building principal's role in the team program?

The building level principals were to offer emotional support probably for the most part, participate in the decision making about how the kids were going to be selected as they saw fit. I think [there are] varying levels of principal commitment to this concept by observing where it's implemented and to what extent. . . .I believe that Gary [Brown] is watching more cautiously, believes . . . this was almost identical to some of [the programs] that were suggested and being owned by an entire faculty. . . . Pat [Fields] was very supportive of the concept because he was in dire need to introduce change . . . and that wasn't the case at North at all. . . . [Pat Fields]'s probably been very supportive in that perspective. . . . Dan [Greene]'s commitment, I think, is pretty obvious to us when he's figured out a way to put all freshmen into the same thing. (Bach)

Throughout the year Bach had refrained from being overtly involved in the PP and had deferred to Evans, who had originated the idea. Fortunately, various concerns notwithstanding, on the surface things did appear to be falling into place and his patience had been rewarded. The PP was developing support and expanding; the teams were meeting for peer support and central administrative support had finally been demonstrated through the group meetings held during the latter part of the year. Bach realized as well that additional change would require continued attention to reinforcing individuals: "We are going to reinforce the hell out of our people who are willing to step forward and try some

things. Because if you focus on the entrenched people, you'll never get anywhere." At the district level, however, site-based decision-making would influence individual schools. "Unfortunately, the other thing that's happening is, we don't have to have three identical high schools like we've had to have for 25 years." Therefore, a possible difficulty could develop with individual schools. Under individual leadership, each school could go in an independent direction and the possibility of district-wide change would be diminished. The year ended with Bach wondering where future financial support might be developed for the PP. He believed the Superintendent needed to find additional funding for the program that he wanted to continue and expand. Bach waited and allowed the team members, a group under his administration, to question what support they really had instead of meeting with Evans who had the experience as well as the "responsibility" to facilitate an innovation he had started. Bach verbalized his support for change that he believed needed to occur in the high schools and the need to be patient for the PP to discover what effects it would have on the students and the system. This philosophy and time requirement as expressed to the teams would become another unkept promise to them about the innovation.

#### Summary of the First Year

On the surface, the PP seemed to have gotten off to a reasonably good start over the first year. There were, however, some problems developing. For the teachers, there were mixed feelings about support they were receiving from the East and West principals, whereas the lack of encouragement from Brown at North High School was clear to participating teachers. All the teachers thought there was a decline in support as the year progressed. The team members also acknowledged that many of their colleagues did not favor the PP concept and that they had been marginalized somewhat by most department heads. This did not bother them excessively, however, because the teachers knew of the

favorable comments from parents and either the positive reactions or mild indifference from their students. Either way, it was loss of support from administrators, whether real or imagined, that upset the teachers more than anything else throughout the first year of implementation. The principals, during that first year, were not hesitant in expressing their positions for the PP innovation. Fields and Greene felt they had explicitly and overtly demonstrated their support both to the teams and on the teams' behalf with the other teachers. They both noted that they had visited and talked to participating teachers and welcomed visitors to their schools to talk with and observe the teams, had talked about the teachers with other administrators in their buildings and central offices, had intervened with other teachers, parents and students, and had supported the concept of furthering team teaching within their respective buildings. In the latter instance, Fields had done so by encouraging other teachers to the end of forming a 10th grade team, and Greene by supporting a second 9th grade team with his own building's funds.

Brown demonstrated his lack of support in less visible ways. As the North PP team had anticipated, Brown helped them mainly by compliance with program "needs" because this idea was funded from downtown. As Brown himself explained, the idea was from the superintendent and, since the money came from somewhere else, he would support the idea for the duration of funding. He viewed this as any other innovation within his building; therefore the teachers were worthy of his support rather than the innovation itself. Brown had little connection and little allegiance to the PP, which he demonstrated to his fellow principals in neglecting to mention the team's efforts at North High School. His power within the district and influence on the PP innovation, however, became more evident during the second year of implementation.

The central administrators explicitly showed their encouragement mainly through their brief visits during the large team meetings and by sending visitors to the sites. Ashman, as

superintendent, expressed his strong allegiance to the concept and had the West team make a presentation to the School Board with a summary of the PP concept and the first year of implementation. This he used as an opportunity to push the idea with School Board members and the district building principals. This overt demonstration, however, was the extent of his involvement with the PP innovation during the year. He acknowledged the need to support change by reinforcing the program and the teachers. The extent to which he did this was questionable, particularly in light of the next, and last, year of the PP.

Bach, as the Assistant Superintendent in charge of the high schools, also overtly acknowledged the PP and the concept of change. Like Ashman, he did so in brief signs of recognition through the short visits to meetings or short conversations with individuals. He deferred major involvement to Evans, the project designer and developer. Bach also recognized Evans as an idea person, but as one who lacked follow-through on his ideas. Bach was not willing to intercede for the teachers in gaining more outward assistance as they had requested, even though he recognized this as an important aspect of the change process. He did, however, contact a program facilitator in the district offices to prod Evans into more involvement with the teachers. The resistance of Bach to personally becoming involved with the teachers and in personally talking with Evans on behalf of the teachers and innovation was puzzling. Was this because of not wanting to seem like he was stepping on the toes of a colleague, as he mentioned, or did he not support the concept as strongly as he indicated to the teams and to others? This enigma was cleared up and answered during the second year.

Evans liked to think of himself as the change agent and his colleagues acknowledged this. He was responsible for the PP innovation, but was unable to follow through because he became overwhelmed with other responsibilities and interests. He was required to take on more district responsibilities at just the time when he initiated the PP. He found himself

more involved with outside restructuring projects which took him away from the district on weekends and occasionally during the week; these interests coincided with his hopes and desires to influence change in other areas of the state and region. Also, he soon discovered his own lack of power and influence within the district. He realized his district administrative position left him out of the loop with principals and, therefore, left out of any influence for change within the high schools. He had big goals for the teams, among them being the influence the PP innovation would provoke for change in the high schools. He appeared, however, unwilling or afraid to confront one building administrator as well as acknowledge his own inability to influence the high school culture.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE SECOND YEAR

In spite of concerns about the level of support from administrators and the unexpected loss of one team leader (Sharon at East), the teachers expressed relief about having the first year completed and the experience under their belts. Over the summer they recovered from the challenging year and re-energized themselves for the coming year, not unlike what all teachers do. There was one nagging question, however, that was lodged in the back of their minds: What were the long-term prospects for funding for the PP innovation? They had been assured that two or three years of implementation would not be enough time to evaluate the program. They believed the successes of their first year, particularly lower numbers of student failures and student drop-outs than in other freshman classes, would have to be taken into account when the funding issue returned later in the second year.

For central administrators, the funding issue existed, but no one seemed to want to openly acknowledge it, or, more to the point, take action. Evans seemed to recognize the financial constraints surrounding the continuation of the PP, but these concerns were not openly expressed to the teams until later in the school year. He continued to speak about the importance of what they were doing and their positions as trailblazers, even as promises he had made to himself about being more visible and influential in participating schools went by the wayside. His influence on the continuation of the program became problematic because of his lack of positional power within the district and his lack of insight as to how this could and would affect the PP innovation.

Other central district administrators continued to express their support for the PP and the change it could bring about within the district. By the end of the year, however, they were unable to find ways to continue the program. Ashman described himself as “out of the loop” and felt he could not intervene in site-based decisions. Bach, who had repeatedly

stated the need for change and the need for time to allow the PP to effect any change, could only speak of his regrets about the budgetary problem that explained, for him, the loss of funding for the innovation.

The principals of the three schools did not change their respective positions on the PP. Greene “walked his talk” and supported the second team. He continued to speak highly about the project to his superiors and even used data reflecting the decrease of failures and the increase in student retention as factors to further support the PP. Fields likewise continued his push for such programs in his school and personally believed in the results for students and teachers of the team approach. Brown, desiring other changes in his school, began lobbying the other principals and Bach to make alternative use of the funds. He wanted the money to serve other groups within his building. His influence and determination was crucial to the final demise of the PP during the second year of its implementation.

The question of funding came to a head in January and February of 1993. Evans, during the January large group meeting, implied to the teachers that continued funding for a third year was questionable. It was, however, at a meeting in February--a meeting between Bach and Evans from Central Administration with Fields and the team from East--that signals were sent of what was to come. The teachers were to reflect that these meetings were their first clear indication that support and funding for the PP was in serious jeopardy with Central Administrators.

#### The Partners Program Teams

During the summer months, each of the three teams had decisions to make. The primary one concerned how much information about the PP should be shared with parents and students. The North team, unlike the first year, specifically decided to make contact with parents and students before the beginning of the year, whereas the teams at West and

East decided not to do so. The teams made their decisions for different reasons. The West team believed their success spoke well of the program and therefore they did not need to send out early literature to “sell” the PP to the parents and students. The East team, under pressure from Julie, remained quiet about the program so that students and parents would not be turned off by a “special” program. Julie’s fear was that advance information could create problems before school even started, as had occurred the previous year. The North team did inform parents and students the second year because they believed their first year had gone well and they “felt more confident about it” (Karen).

Before the second year began, two of the teams were confronted with the loss of a team member. North knew of the loss of Scott before the spring term ended. The remaining two members had to find time to redesign some of their connections since the new team member was a Spanish teacher. They were able to secure extra funding through Evans for some summer planning. Most shocking to all PP team members was the decision by Sharon, the team leader at East, to apply for and then accept the Math Facilitator position at the central office building. This move occurred only two weeks before the start of the school year. Julie and Melissa quickly helped interview another math teacher, Zach, from outside the district. He believed in their approach and was hired to become part of the East team. Unfortunately, there was little time to prepare him, and the three as a team, for the new school year. All of this notwithstanding, all three teams began the second year with a feeling of confidence about their work.

### PP Design

The original goal of the PP had been to incorporate interdisciplinary instruction through shared and integrated ideas within a three hour block of time. The second year brought some minor changes. All three teams turned to some type of flexible scheduling. Also, some adjustments were necessary because two teams had a new member. At North, with

the addition of a Spanish teacher, Spanish became the component for a special program the team developed with an elementary school. The East team, because of Zach's interest in using computers with math, arranged flexibility in their block schedule to allow him to utilize the computer lab with all the PP students.

All three teams realized that interdisciplinary teaching had to evolve rather than be instituted or forced as a way of instruction. The members of each team were feeling more comfortable together and more at ease in discussing ways to integrate all three subjects. These factors, plus fewer distractions caused by student problems, allowed the team members to focus more attention on subject matter integration.

### Students

From the teachers' point of view, the students were more at ease with the program as the second year progressed.

We probably heard more negative things last year than we hear this year. And the kids were much more informed this year about the fact that they were in the same three classes and that kind of thing. But I don't hear negative things. I don't hear positive things. They just seem to be OK with it, probably more so than last year. And I think the problems last year had to do with the cliquy kids who didn't like the fact--and this came up in some of their letters--they didn't like the fact that three teachers knew them as well as they did. And we haven't seen that this year. There's not that kind of negative feel that there was last year. (Karen at North)

At West, students were much more accepting of the idea because two teams now existed and one group could no longer be identified as the "different" group. The teams also believed students were more willing to work and accept the challenges that three teachers could present to them. Related to this, Joan at North believed that the average student "maybe has more of a say in our program than they would outside of it . . . because they're all kind of grouped together and not just spread out amongst all the rest of them." In other words, they were receiving more attention and were more involved in the three classes than the students who were spread out in other freshman classes, where they received less attention from their teachers and had less involvement within those classrooms.

The team members, particularly at North and West, were also pleasantly surprised by the first year's students--the interest and involvement shown by them.

If we'd start counting heads, at least 30-50% of the kids are coming back, stopping in our room. . . . The kids felt comfortable coming to us and talking about, "I'm getting ripped off. What should I do about it?". . . . The kids are coming back, and they want to know our advice. A few kids even come back for a little extra math help. . . . One of our kids that last year was the one who was going to threaten to bomb the school, has been working with Margaret helping do some art work for the literary magazine and stuff. Some of the kids are coming back and doing things above and beyond. (Richard at West)

Similar comments were made by other PP teachers in the other schools.

In terms of their work with students, the second year of the PP was going much more smoothly for the teachers. All team members expressed a belief that this was partly because of the types of students they had in the second year. The East team did not have such a high percentage of special needs students, the West team did not see such serious family problems and psychological concerns with students, and the North teachers did not have students with as many attendance and behavioral problems as they had experienced the previous year. All were finding the second year of the program more enjoyable and relaxing.

### Colleagues

Although, in general, little information had been shared with other staff members about the PP during the first year, even less was given out in the second year. In their second year, no information via meetings, newsletters, or articles was shared with anyone. For the most part, if other teachers knew anything about the teams, it was through personal contact with the team members.

To my knowledge, no one is bad-mouthing us this year. Some did bad-mouth us last year. To my knowledge, that's not happening. The people that were bad-mouthing us, I think, are "live and let live, it'll probably die out eventually but we can put up with it for now." There are certain people who, in the building, however, have looked at what we're doing and said, "You know, you guys are really on target. This is a good program." I've even had a couple that have said, "You know, I'd like to be in that maybe some day if so and so ever would get out of it. Come and talk to me about

being in it with you next year.” Not a lot, a handful, 2 or 3 for sure. I think it’s been basically, “Second year, it didn’t fall on its face, so [it] looks like it’s going to be around. I might just as well let them go.” (Rod at West)

One positive thing that began to occur was the teams’ ability to provide insights about students to other faculty. For example, one teacher “asked for advice on a particular student, because we certainly have a lot more knowledge about 80-9th grade students than they do” (Joan at North). Teachers on the other teams had similar comments concerning the information about students they were able to provide administrators, counselors, social workers, and psychologists.

On balance, the team members found themselves going their own ways with no one bothering them and no one extremely interested in what they were attempting to do. And, as Karen noted,

It’s just sort of something that’s blown over. That’s one of the nice things about being in the closet. . . . There’s more, I think, acceptance that it exists. We don’t have people asking how things are going. We didn’t have very many negative comments last year, but there are fewer negative comments this year. (Karen at North)

Only one group was a source of concern to the West team. The department chairs, who had been quite vocal about their concerns with scheduling, had the last say for the fall schedule.

About half-way through the summer I actually came over and there was a bit of a problem because somebody said, “If we [PP teachers] pick all top level math, then they’re all going to be top level language arts, and so we’ll have a section of top level math, a section of top level language arts, and then that will mean those kids will all be together 2nd, 3rd and 4th.” I says, “No, it doesn’t mean that.” So I came over and I actually looked at kids and what they requested and what they were recommended for. I picked out top level math kids, some of which were top level language arts and some of ‘em which weren’t. We were able to create like a top level math that would’ve also had a top level language arts, science isn’t leveled at all, and the two classes would not be necessarily the same group of kids. I did all that, lined it all up, had the blessing from everybody. Some place during the summer somebody else came in and said, “Top level kids don’t need this program.” And somebody else says, “Oh, really? What shall we do?” And so the last person that hammered on the person who’s making the decisions, got it changed to pretty much what we had last year. . . . And that was another thing that got the year off to a rocky start. We were really quite frankly [ticked] off. We thought we had one thing. We were mentally ready to go. We get here to school, and we found out, “Oh, sorry, guys. That didn’t work.” “Why didn’t that work out?” “Well, the language arts department chair and the math department chair

really feel this program isn't for top level kids." "That's interesting. The superintendent and the principal really thought that was a good idea." "I couldn't convince those guys that's what we should do." "And so therefore, you decided to do what?" "The recommendation was we should do it like we did last year." And I said, "Wonderful." and I just walked out. I was furious. The department chairs pretty much made the decision because they were the last ones to talk to [the assistant principal]. (Richard at West)Parents

All three teams were told about parents--about three or four in each case--who had requested their child be in the PP. Given that parents usually are not very involved with the schools, this number of requests was gratifying to the team members. From the team members' point of view, "Every parent, both this year and last year, that we've dealt with has been nothing but positive about the way we have handled their kids. Parental support is always very high" (Rod at West). This continued to be true of all three locations as the teams contacted parents throughout the fall term. The fall conferences with parents also helped convince the team members that the parents were supportive of the project.

#### Team Problems

The PP teams experienced a few internal problems during their second year. The year began on a tentative note for the East team for two reasons. First, there was the loss of Sharon, their team leader. Second, there was the secretive approach, insisted upon by Julie, with which they began the year.

I fought very hard for this. I didn't want us to say anything about anything. I wanted the low profile approach . . . [b]ecause of the negativism from last year, and the fact that as soon as you make something, you name it and call it something, people can either like it or dislike it. They can want in or want out, there's all sorts of things, and I talked a lot last year about losing my identity as an individual instructor because of the team, and I think in a lot of ways, and I don't know if Melissa would agree with this or not, but I think Melissa gained identity because of it. And so her response was to go with it, that [it] was a positive thing for her. And it was a negative thing for me. . . . But I didn't want to feel again this year that we were selling a product nobody wanted, and so I don't really think it's camouflaging the product but it's certainly not advertising it. And that way the students weren't made to feel different. They're just like everybody else. And that's what they want. (Julie at East)

Her position was acknowledged by her teammates. "Julie had a very frustrating year, and so she really wanted to be more undercover" (Sharon at East). This situation did not

sit well with Melissa. She had wanted everyone informed about the nature of their group's goals. "I was crazy. It drove me nuts. I thought that if one of our goals was to have kids make connections that we should be telling them that that's what they should be doing" (Melissa). She had also been concerned about keeping the PP quiet with the parents but accepted Julie's demands for the "quiet" direction. This approach, along with a new person on the team, made the beginning of the year "real frustrating" for Melissa. In spite of both situations, the East Partners moved on and all felt very good about the success they had; so much so that Julie, who had intended to leave after the second year, had committed to continue with the team program.

At North, a change of one member did not cause any initial problems and the three continued to work as a team with the students. As the year progressed, however, the two original members found themselves most often meeting without the third member. The Spanish teacher seemed to have other agendas and often used the common planning time to deal with personal family matters or, because of her involvement with many activities at North, to meet with students or plan other projects that were outside of the PP. Karen commented:

She's a very pleasant person to deal with, it's just some of these little kinds of frustrations that we didn't have last year, not at all. So, not only are we dealing with different sets of problems with kids, we're dealing with different sets of problems within our group. . . . The big frustration is the lack of commitment. That's I think the problem. And Joan and I take turns at being more outraged than the other about that. (laughs) (Karen at North)

The team also found themselves split over a decision to add students to only the Spanish part of the team. This decision, made by a parent, student, and administrator, challenged the team and its work in several ways. Karen and Joan had not been consulted about the situation even though they had agreed beforehand that students would be in all three classes rather than one or two of the PP core. The two saw this as another intrusion into their decision-making concerning the PP classes. And this was another instance of Trish not



being a “team” member when it came to team decisions. This did not go well with Karen and Joan. The problems with the North team intensified as the funding question became more relevant.

### Funding

Because participating teachers thought the PP was going well, they expressed optimism about continued funding beyond the second year. However, at the same time, they also expressed some doubts as to whether funding would actually be there. All of them had heard of the money problems the district was facing because of State fiscal problems. The result of the latter was a significant cut-back in state aid to the district for the next year. By mid-year, concerns began to outweigh optimism about funding. As Karen at North said,

My feeling about funding is not very good, because it's February and we haven't heard anything about it. . . . I asked Jack [Evans] and got a very noncommittal kind of answer, and I haven't asked Gary [Brown], but I'm sure if Gary knew something that was positive, he would rush down to let us know. We do have to approach him about that. That's something we've got to do, probably before the end of the term, because last year our third term was sort of devoted to the future, rather than the past, and I would think that would take place also if we were going to be an item. (Karen at North)

During a large group meeting the end of January, the issue of funding was raised openly as the result of a direct question by Julie at East to Evans about the future of the funding. Evans commented that the money could be available for the next year, but it would only be for the three original teams. Since none of the principals had yet contacted him about the money, he did not know what the individual principals were planning to do. His reply did not directly answer team members' concerns and only furthered their doubts and uncertainties. And more particularly, his reply led some of the PP members to think that Evans was distancing himself from the project.

I told a couple people I thought Evans was sort of going through his little Pontius Pilot routine where he was more or less saying, “I want you to know that I'm going to wash my hands of this right now. The money's not there. I don't see big changes happening at the high school. Boy, I think what we're doing is pretty good, but if anything's going to happen, you guys are going to convince them now of what has to

go on. I'm going to find something else to do." He's washing his hands of this whole situation. I might be misinterpreting, but I don't think so. And it'll be interesting to see what all happens. And I think it was a subtle little way of saying, "Thanks, we gave this a shot; there's been some success, but there's not a ground swell of everybody wanting to do this. Therefore, I've got to think of some other way to go in and make changes at the high school. If you guys are going to do anything, you're on your own now. The money's not there and therefore I won't be involved." Or, "Because of negotiations and everything else, boy, don't count on any extra time next year. You've all told me already without the extra time, blah, blah, blah." So I felt it was sort of a subtle way of saying "We're about to quit what we're doing." I may be misinterpreting. . . . I had a sense he was sort of distancing [himself] from us. (Richard at West)

The comments from Julie at East were not as pessimistic, but she wondered exactly what Evans had been trying to tell them: "I never can figure out what Jack is saying. I thought he was saying that it was for sure continuing."

This meeting in January was the first direct indication to all the teachers that funding might become a big problem. In interviews with teachers shortly after this meeting, they indicated doubts about the survival of the PP and what this could mean to their peers, to administrators, and particularly to themselves.

It'll be disturbing to me if we lose the funding next year after two years. And educationally I guess it's given me at least personally a chance to try something different, because I don't like to do the same things all the time. . . . Educationally it's disturbing because, "We'll do this but, boy, when money becomes tight, I'm not going to give up this or this or this." And, of course, I don't have to make those decisions, so I'm probably real jaded when I say that, but that's why it's disturbing to me, because it's a message to me that it was not important enough to continue. (Karen at North)

In some ways the meeting solidified their doubts about the continuation of the PP. The funding problems within the district were well known to everyone. They all had a sense of fatalism, despite a strong conviction that the PP had been very successful helping 9th grade students with their transition to the high school. Again, one member attempted to predict what he believed would be the sequence of events which would occur in the following months.

My prediction is everybody is going to sit down and say, "OK, is this something we're going to be able to fund or not? And if we can't, then we've got to come back up a couple steps to figure out something that we can do that we can fund." . . . It'd be

interesting to see . . . the perception of the three administrators involved and the Superintendent [about] how successful all this is, and if they felt it was very successful. I'd like to know how they really know that (laughs). But anyhow, somebody's got to make a decision someplace along the line, and I think it'll become a money issue and then it'll become something that'll say, "We don't really have the staff in all the buildings that really want to do this. We really don't have the money. Let's back up. We got to approach this from a different angle." I think that's what's going to happen. (Richard at West)

It was also at this time that both Karen and Joan at North speculated about what it would take to convince their principal to support the continuation of the Program. "It's got to be a flood of parents calling and saying, 'We want this program!' I think, for it to be [continued]" (Joan at North). They realized that the program was in jeopardy and further realized that parent pressure would be needed to continue the PP. As they had mentioned in previous conversations, and as Brown had mentioned to them, parents would be the most influential factor in bringing about any change at North. Unfortunately, the team members did not believe the parent pressure would be there nor did they believe Brown would find ways to support the program: "I don't know what the plans are, because as far as I'm concerned when funding ends, we have to end" (Karen at North). This comment expressed the attitudes of several of the teachers from all three teams; others still believed some compromise could be reached and the concept, with administrative help, could continue.

#### Building Administrators

The support by building administrators did not change during the second year of the program. At North, the team members continued to wonder what Brown and the other administrators thought about their new approach, particularly with the change of subject area from math to Spanish and with their undertaking a service project at the elementary school. Their building administrators' understanding about the PP, however, had not changed for the second year. As Karen stated, "I don't think they ever did [understand]. And I think it's even less so this year." Their hope for any type of administrative

involvement did not materialize. The only “positive” comment about administrators was indirect--that at least they were not bothering the team.

Well, [Gary]’s support is only in terms of not bugging us, likewise with other administrators. And [the assistant principal], who does the scheduling, has not indicated ever that, because of what we do, scheduling is a problem. So that’s positive, I guess. And [the other assistant principal] never says anything. (Karen at North)

At West, two “administrative” problems occurred at the beginning of the year. First, the funding to bring the original and the new teams together for planning was lost in a communication snafu. Greene had secured funding, ten hours per person, for the two teams to meet and plan but had neglected to confirm this with the teachers before the summer break had started.

And I thought that they had each been given 10 hours . . . where they were going to have a couple of days that they could spend some time together. I went and talked to them about it and basically what happened was that I got the hours approved for them and forgot to tell them that they had it. So it was my screw-up. (Greene)

The planning meetings never took place. Second, there was a problem that centered around the students selected for the PP. An assistant principal, the same one who was in charge of the class scheduling, had been influenced by concerns raised by the department chairs; as a consequence, the team did not have the students they had expected and had been promised by Greene.

In spite of the problems and some residual doubts about where they stood with Greene, the team believed that he supported them and the team concept. This came across to them in three ways. First, Greene had started a second team with his own building budget. “Our team received money from our principal in the respect that the extra team’s planning period was paid for by him. We were not going to get an extra team unless he could find a way to come through with that funding, and that’s all the FTE formula” (Rod at West). A second manifestation of support was his acceptance of the team’s approach concerning their program’s development.

I don't think his support for us has waivered one bit. In fact, I think it has probably picked up. However, his contact with us this year has not been as great, and I think it's just because we're not a novelty any more. I think we're not a well-oiled machine either, but he knows what we're up to this second year. We have his trust. He just hasn't been visually as around as he was last year. . . . I think that our principal, I can't speak for the associate [principal]s because I'm not sure they really care, but I think our principal believed when we started that there was merit in teachers communicating with each other, and I think now he's convinced. I don't know that he necessarily thinks that all teachers should be required to do this, but I think that he believes it's a positive for kids and for the teachers both. (Rod at West)

His final show of support was that he always included the PP in the itinerary of any school visitors: "Whenever someone visits our building, the administration will invariably bring them down and we're kind of guinea pigs in that respect" (Rod at West).

The assistant principals remained uninvolved with the project: "I don't know that they really care (laughs). Pretty apathetic. I know for a fact that the other three [associate principals] could care less whether we're having a Partnership Program or not" (Rod at West). This comment by Rod reflected perceptions the teachers had of most of the assistant principals in the three schools. Only at East did this vary: Linda Karal, the assistant principal who was responsible for scheduling, always consulted the three PP teachers.

Pat [Fields] is just always really supportive. He thinks he's supportive of me as an individual teacher and supportive of the pilot. And when we made one request right away in August having to do with the lunch schedule, which is pretty sacred, and Linda [assistant principal] said, "This does not seem like a problem. We'll just do it!" and so that was a change over last year; that we requested and she acted on it. (Julie at East)

Some problems from the first year in terms of schedule had been taken care of by the assistant principals and principals in all the buildings. Students did not have as many problems scheduling electives as they had had during the first year. This was certainly helpful to all the teams. But team members also attributed many of the corrections to the new 9th grade counselor, a position which had been created at the start of the second year at two of the high schools, East and West. (North had a similar person the previous year.)

The teams thus found themselves in nearly unchanged circumstances with their building administrators during the second year of the innovation. However, their perceptions and reactions were different. The team at North knew the administrators did not support the concept and accepted it, even as they questioned whether the team could survive another year, particularly if funding was left to the individual building principal. The teams at East and West still perceived principal support. The support came verbally and through small actions rather than through overt involvement with the PP teachers and teams. But rather than interpret this as non-involvement and/or declining support as they did during the first year, team members praised their principals for whatever they were able to do during the year. Overall, their much improved second year seemed to give team members a positive outlook on their respective principals, even though the principals' overall comments had not changed a great deal from the first year. The same can be said of the assistant principals--as noted previously, they had little to do with the teams except in scheduling. Yet, even here the teachers gave credit to the new 9th grade counselors rather than the administrators for the improved class scheduling.

#### Central Administrators

Among central administrators, team members had the most contact with Evans. He convened the monthly large group meetings, which were held on a more regular basis than had been the case during the first year. Evans or Vicky Singleton (the district assessment specialist) scheduled monthly meetings after school for the teams to meet and share ideas as well as frustrations. "Vicky's been more visible this year because she's the one that's been setting up our meetings downtown, so we've had more information from her" (Joan at North). They also had some positive comments about the group meetings, such as "I always feel encouragement from Jack [Evans] that we're doing the right thing. And it's always fun to talk about the things you are doing because then you come away realizing

what you are doing” (Margaret at West). Most team members appreciated having more frequent meetings that gave them opportunities to share ideas and see what others were doing. There were, however, mixed reactions about the content of the meetings. One common complaint from team members concerned the lack of structure for the meetings. Julie, in particular, made comments that Evans spent much of his time talking about himself and his philosophy, which she grew tired of hearing each month. From her perspective, Evans’ personal philosophizing was a weak aspect of the monthly meetings. More importantly, there was still the problem of unfulfilled promises. Evans had offered several times to have meetings with other teams in the district and with a team from a neighboring district with goals similar to those of the PP. These meetings were never arranged.

It was during monthly meetings that the Assistant Superintendent for High Schools and the Superintendent had their only tangible involvement with the program. Both stopped in for a few moments from time-to-time to listen and ask questions discretely of an individual. Yet, they did not participate in group discussions. Rod would occasionally speak with the Superintendent at various athletic events or when he was in the Central Administration building. For the most part, though, this contact was incidental rather than planned. At least one team member was “a little put out that neither the Super nor Bach made themselves visible as a show of support” (Julie at East). Sharon, now no longer a team leader because of her new position in the central administration building, questioned the central administrators’ knowledge about the PP:

I still don’t know if the Superintendent and Bach really know what’s going on in those teams. I think they know they’re there. I think they know that there’s some positive things happening, so that’s the main things they’re concerned about. So, as far as the curriculum that’s happening in there or the projects, they don’t know. I don’t know that they’re. . . . I shouldn’t say that they’re not concerned, maybe it’s just confidence of the people that are involved, that they’ll do some things. (Sharon at East)

The East team, after the issue of funding was raised at the January meeting, set a meeting with Bach. They hoped to present their case and to gain some sense of what the Central

Administrator's thought about the PP. This meeting, for at least the East team members, left a strong signal as to what was to come for the PP.

#### Administrators

##### Ashman, Superintendent

Throughout the second year of the PP, monthly meetings of the Partners teams were next to or near Ashman's office. He often would sit in for a few minutes and listen. Only occasionally would he take time to quietly ask an individual teacher a question before he returned to his office. Essentially, he left the teams on their own and, he thought, in the hands of other members of the central administration. Everyone knew he supported the team concept, particularly given that he showed a tape of the PP's report at the Board meeting the previous spring to all administrators in the district. He believed he had overtly shown his support of the PP and that this would influence others to support the teaming project.

In large measure, his limited involvement was the result of many problems which demanded his attention, particularly the loss of State funds for education. Ashman found himself spending much of the winter months lobbying the state legislature for funds and, at the same time, trying to develop a budget for a growing district facing a decrease in funds.

##### Bach, Assistant Superintendent for High Schools

Bach continued to support the concept of the PP because he said he sensed the need for such a program.

I think the thing that is emerging is at least a push to provide more continuity for students [through assigning] a more common group of teachers, at least at grades 9 & 10, because I think the issues of the needs that kids are facing living in society says that a significant adult or a smaller group of significant adults, or a connection to an adult for an adolescent, is more critical than it ever has been in our society before. . . . In one way or another I think that my only vision [is] that the high schools are working to establish that kind of different connection between teachers and students. And that is



not because I believe that educators want to do that but that educators are responding to the recognition that they are going to have to do that. (Bach)

His philosophical belief in this approach to teaching had not changed over the year.

However, as was the case for the Superintendent, Bach too dropped in only briefly to the monthly PP meetings at the Central Administrative building. Unbeknownst to the teams, he also continued to support their meetings by reminding Evans of the need for the teams to meet to share and support each other's work.

The budget problems were a concern to Bach too and his time was occupied attempting to develop a budget for both the middle and high schools without knowing exactly what monies would eventually be available. By mid-year he was well aware of the financial constraints the district would be facing and what this might mean for the PP, particularly for the extra planning period team members were given. During an interview in February, Bach admitted that the funding problem facing the district as a result of State financial constraints was going to affect the continuation of the PP.

I can say that at least a part of that vision now is [that] the high schools are all talking about the resource problem. We can't provide a team planning for all 9th and 10th grade people at this point. . . . When I introduced [this], oh, four weeks ago, we've gotten into a dialogue with the high school administrators and the teachers [about] how long do we continue the Partners group and the prep time--and it was to be a pilot and even though it's a resource we received from another agency--should we continue to commit it there? Or, is there something else we should commit it to? (Bach)

Later, within the same conversation, Bach again raised the issue of "commitment" to the PP funding.

Jack [Evans] always negotiates the conference with the LEA and what we have to decide is whether we are going to commit to the same direction or we're going to change directions. . . . We'll have to [decide that] by the time we start doing staffing by the first of April. (Bach)

The budget issue forced Bach to look at other potential ways of developing the same or similar results for teachers and students without the added cost of the extra planning period for all the teachers involved. He desired some type of program that would facilitate collaboration and the loss of isolation which the team members were experiencing by

working together. “If we can help high school teachers work through the barrier of isolation regardless of when they see the collaboration, no matter what that means in terms of effort or energy, there is a human nature that responds to that.”

To continue to facilitate these twin ideas of loss of isolation and collaboration, Bach introduced the clustering concept to the building principals as an alternative to the PP.

[C]an we cluster kids so that a math, a science and a language arts teacher all have the same 90 kids, and if that allows them to connect with each other? . . . And I introduced clustering all the kids, because I went through and analyzed, for example, that all three high schools have 15 sections of language arts for freshmen, 15 sections of math and 15 sections of science. If you had five teachers teach 3 sections of freshman in each of those areas, you could cluster them and you could begin to look at some of the things we have learned about this arena. . . . And see I may really be talking the teaming even with the clustering. I mean, in reality, that’s what I am doing. But if Dan Greene walked out and said “I am going to put all of you on the team next year,” he’d have a problem; if he has the right two science people retire he can do that. If he puts them in a structure, then over time as key people change, all of a sudden you are in a teaming structure and you don’t know you’re in a teaming structure. And I know that seems deceptive but why take on a battle that isn’t worth taking on? Because some of [us] don’t keep our minds open to something when we see the benefits afterward. (Bach)

He had introduced this as a possible idea for the principals to consider as the funding for the teams became more problematic. Bach acknowledged one systemic change (a special 9th grade counselor) that had been introduced to improve the situation for the 9th grade students. He also recognized systemic “structures”--the use of special education teachers and teachers’ extra time after school--that could be looked at as possible solutions to the problem of providing the extra support for the 9th grade teachers and the time issue for planning.

We can’t provide a prep time but we are providing a 9th grade counselor. . . . Can we attach special ed and drop-out teachers to a team, rather than diffusing them to try and find these random kids? Principals are looking at “Could they schedule that?” Are we going to have say things like, the time between 2:45 when the kids leave and 3:30 or 3:35 is not additional prep time, but it’s a time when we have to dialogue about the kids a couple of days a week. [I have talked with all the principals about this] and they are looking at it. (Bach)

As the year progressed his suggestions “resulted in having the administration look at if they can cluster all 9th graders into a team-like organization” (Bach). The cluster idea would

perhaps satisfy those needs without the cost of the PP design. As the principals had more time to think about the clustering idea, they thought it had serious limitations. For one thing, although it varied from school to school, the high schools had tracked for the past 30 years and the teachers generally were not accustomed to teaching heterogeneously grouped classes.

So it's little things but it's a matter of . . . [the schools] approach language arts differently; they obviously also have different philosophies. East has heterogeneous grouping in language arts, the other two do not. North has three levels, West has two. (Bach)

Tracking, which had been taking place within the system throughout the years, would have to be reexamined by all the individual academic departments before such an approach could work. Bach also knew which departments and schools were most apt to fight such a proposal: the math departments in all schools and all departments at North. As had been the case at the beginning of the PP, math certainly had the most serious problem with a heterogeneous approach.

#### Evans, Development

The year began with Evans more involved with the teams because of the monthly meetings he initiated at the end of September. As the second year progressed, however, Evans found himself with added responsibilities within the budget-strapped district and he was less able to give attention to the groups. Vicky Singleton, who had been approached by Bach the previous year to lend her assistance to Evans for the group meetings, offered her help again. She became the organizer and meeting coordinator for the teams. Evans' conversations about the PP outside of the group meetings now became occasional and occurred mostly with Rod at West because of their personal friendship. Other interactions with the individual teams decreased because of his busy schedule and, given his wife's more central administrative position, he had little knowledge of the East team.

During the initial monthly meetings, he talked about his philosophy of change within the district and kept the teams informed of upcoming conferences in the area. In October he made sure the cost of attending a conference relating to systemic educational restructuring was covered for the three original teams.

The next two monthly meetings in November and December were not well attended. Evans expressed disappointment that only a few of the team members were using the opportunity to meet, in spite of their request to do so. Some of the very people who had requested the meetings, particularly Karen and Joan at North, were not making attendance at the group meetings a high priority.

I don't feel very good about it. I haven't asked them; I think they obviously think that someone will contact me and say "Let's get together." But I don't think attendance has been very consistent. People have let things get in the way and part of that may be a product of whatever they were projecting in the life-span [of the PP], if it was going to be here, or whatever. The only one I have really talked in depth about my disappointment, and I haven't recently, is Rod Jones. (Evans)

At the group meeting in late January, Evans asked the teams what their plans were for the next year. The North team, based on the lack of support from Brown and his desire to have Trish teaching other Spanish classes, had already surmised that they would not be around as a team of three. The other teams were still wondering what the funding would be. They had their suspicions of what was likely to occur, but still wondered what Evans knew. His response was that he had not been contacted by the principals and was waiting for some inquiries from them. He went on to discuss the importance "of the buildings finding ways within their own budgeting process to support such a project. . . . Why is this not a high priority with the principals?"

By this time Evans was aware of several problems brewing for the PP. First, the district's budget would be problematic for the next year, reflecting the State's financial problems. He knew continued funding for the PP would be a problem. Nevertheless,

the intervening variables always here are finances. And for next year, that's in a fairly critical stage. I can't deny that. I think we've got big financial problems. But I guess you always hope someone would come forth with "Here's an alternative, here's another way to do it" . . . (fades off) (Evans)

Second, he was fully aware that one principal was already lobbying to use the funding for other activities in his building. Evans speculated about how he might affect the decision:

I'm not sure [who will make the final decisions.] I will try as I read it to influence it. It is going to be interesting to see how [the decision] plays itself out. But I do know [the principals] said, "If I don't do it, I think we ought to all be in this together. Do we agree to this?" . . . I think Gary [Brown] was posing it; my sense was that Dan [Greene] and Pat [Fields] aren't real willing to acquiesce on that, yet. I just don't think they are. (Evans)

Finally, to his surprise, there had not been any grassroots support for the concept in the high schools. The principals and other teachers in the district were not strongly supporting the continuation of the teams.

[F]rom an idealist standpoint it would have been nice if someone besides me was enthused about it. So it's kind of a special project instead of being more of viewed by central offices as standard program. . . . I suppose I thought that even the successes we've had would have been more inspiring and a catalyst to people--the staff, the administration--saying, "We've got to expand it, not reduce it." (Evans)

Evans continued to support the program and realized the effect the loss of this program could have on the teachers themselves. He knew the team teachers had put a tremendous effort into the design and implementation of the PP, and he remembered the difficulties the teams faced throughout their development.

### Building Principals

#### Greene, West High School

The second team established by Greene started the year with the same set-up as the first team. Greene said he still hoped to team the entire 9th grade level to deal with the transition problems.

I don't think this program [will just pass by], at least at this school, because I think that there is a significant number of us that are really convinced that there's got to be a transition program of some kind for the 9th graders, where they come out of a middle

school program where they're so sheltered and mothered and taken care of. . . . But I think both [Pat Fields and I] agree that it's been clear, if you look at the data, that freshmen kids have struggled since the four year high school. And if you look at data about attendance, if you look at data about grade point averages, about failures, about drop outs in individual courses, the freshmen have not been as successful as we think they ought to be. (Greene)

He also continued to back the PP by ensuring a change in schedules for elective classes. This had been a major concern of the PP teachers during the first year since no elective classes had been available to their students because of their block schedule.

We've done a better job this year of going to the teachers of elective courses and simply saying, "Here are the periods of the day that you guys have to teach classes that freshmen can get into." And it's worked a lot better; there's been some grumbling. But frankly, for too many years here, teachers were allowed to make out their own schedule, designate when they wanted their prep time, kind of like a college situation and not really worry too much about conflicts, figure that the kids can work out the conflicts. If they have to make choices, they have to make choices. . . . But we're getting closer and closer to being able to tell them, "Listen guys, you as a department decide who's going to teach what classes. And we want you guys to have a lot of say in how your department runs; you can pick who teaches the classes but we have got to have the freedom to be able to determine when the classes are offered during the day so that we can accommodate kids." (Greene)

During a mid-year interview, Greene talked about the informal reports by the team members but that no formal ones had been given to anyone except the School Board.

The reports that we got were informal. We did not write up any formal report. We had a report from the team to the administrative team. We also had a report to the School Board by Rod Jones. . . . The substance of the report was that they really believed that they were, for the first time, able to get to know their students well enough and over a long enough period of time that they were able to effect some changes in a positive way. Just being able to have time to talk about kids, to communicate with parents, to communicate with the kids about what was going on in other classes other than just their own, clearly a sense of not being quite as isolated as high school teachers often find themselves being, teaching their subject in their classroom with their kids; where this was much more a sense of "we" than a sense of "I'm doing my thing with my kids." (Greene)

Although there had not been any formal report of any kind since the School Board meeting the previous spring, he was still aware of the positive aspects of the team approach based on his own conversations and interactions with team members, parents, and students.

However, Greene expressed more pessimism at this mid-year interview than he had previously. The district's budget problems were dampening his initial optimism about change. From the district standpoint, there were two major problems.

Projected enrollment is basically about the same but there are two other factors. The district has already made a commitment, because of the budget problems, to increase class sizes so even if we have exactly the same enrollment, our allocation of teachers will have to go down slightly. And then secondly, with the [contract] negotiations at the standpoint that they are right now or the standoff, we're a little nervous. (Greene)

The funding situation was having an impact on all facets of the district.

#### Fields, East High School

The second year at East started very well. Fields saw fewer problems with other faculty concerning the PP and felt there was more acceptance of the latter's efforts. "[W]e don't have any negative reaction. I just think it's the old timers that aren't interested in doing that kind of thing are just saying 'Uh huh, this is something new; it will pass if I wait long enough'" (Fields). Fields worked at showing his support for the PP because of his belief in this process and program.

I just think they have to believe in what they are doing so much, and you have to keep encouraging them and telling them what a great job they are doing and celebrate their change. And by that, it doesn't mean you have to have a formal celebration, which sometimes we do; but I think every time you have a chance you need to be in telling them how great a job they are doing. And every time you view them doing that you need to write them a note. I just think you have to pepper them--I do that more. I try to ignore the negative stuff. (Fields)

Two teachers received a Transformation Grant from the district to spend time during the year planning and designing a sophomore level language arts/social studies class. The implementation of this program would come next year. This also indicated to Fields that interest existed within the school for a PP-type approach in other areas and at other levels. In addition, the social studies department chair gave the developing team .2 FTE from the department allocation. Fields then allocated an extra .2 FTE of the Language Arts from a

reading specialist position to support the extra planning period for the new team's first year.

Another plus for the project had been an interest expressed by a science instructor in the PP. One of the PP teachers told Fields that one of the newer members of the science department was quite interested in becoming part of the program for next year. This certainly expanded the concept and expanded the possibilities for the team. Fields was pleased.

The PP embodied the approach to education he so desired for the building. And yet he realized the change he hoped for at East was going to be a slow process and would require patience on his part.

You know, myself, I would personally like to see us charge a little faster, but they are getting some things done and I think that it is more credible because they are doing it and not me. I think what we're looking at is, what one of their goals is [is] to really change instruction and curriculum in the building. And that's probably about as good a transformation as we can get. If we can get that done we wouldn't lose any kids and we wouldn't have any problems. So it is slower than I would like but yet I think that it is solid, if we look at that. They are really doing a research-based type of thing.  
(Fields)

By midyear, the reality of the situation became more obvious to Fields. As he had all along, he firmly "believe[d] that it's the best thing we've ever done with kids. The only thing that scares me is the financial aspects of it." This problem became an obvious reality based on meetings downtown in which the financial problems of the district and State became a concern. His discussions with the other principals also indicated that the money to support the PP would be a contested point.

#### Brown North High School

The second year was not unlike the first year for Brown as far as the team situation was concerned--they were left on their own to develop as they wished. He said he trusted the PP teachers because of their teaching abilities and experience.



I really didn't have any real specific goals for the team to tell you the truth. I mean [the three team members] are excellent teachers and whatever they do is going to be good. And whatever program you put them in is going to be successful. They're not teachers you worry about. Frankly, I knew that would be successful with those three involved, I knew it would go well. But I also know that they do well whatever we gave them to do. (Brown)

The previous spring Brown had mentioned that, because this was going to be the decision year for the PP, he would attempt to visit with the team members more often. As it turned out, he did not do so. "I don't think any more [visiting]. This was an evaluation year for Karen so I visited her classes several times. I've probably only talked with the team two or three times."

The PP team changed directions after the Spanish teacher was added and a partnership with an elementary school was initiated. This partnership involved a volunteer effort of the PP students working with students from one of the feeder elementary programs. Brown was indifferent to this program change.

I think they have branched out more this year. But I'm not sure it's any ways that are very transferable. But the things they've done have been some very nice interactions with [the elementary school], that you can never measure as improving anybody's achievement in academic classes--nice, fun things to do that are fine with me. But it's also fine with me if we don't do them. That's the kind of stuff they've done. Maybe because of some of those kind of things, maybe the kids in the program are a little more tied into school and a little more positive about school. Who knows? I mean, we'll never measure them. (Brown)

The extra work on the teachers' part was interesting, but he had other concerns to deal with as a high school principal. The PP was just another innovation, one that was one of the least of his worries.

You know, hardly any of my time [during] the day is spent thinking about innovations. In the lull of the summer, lull of evening, a day around here is just totally occupied. Keeping knives and guns out of the place and keeping [certain students] from attacking each other in the parking lot and, I mean, it's just trying to run a safe, orderly school in a fairly tumultuous social climate; that's what we do with the day. We don't think about this [stuff] much. We're just trying to keep a lid on things. (Brown)

As for the support or non-support of the PP by parents and peers, Brown had not heard anything from anyone: "Not one person, [staff and parents], has said one word to me."

What pressure the teachers had felt throughout this process was probably more self-induced than from outside. "I don't think [training] was a problem. I don't think that they were limited by lack of training or expertise in teaming. I think their limitations were the structure of a conventional high school and their own ingenuity" (Brown).

Brown had not really done anything to check on the impact of the PP on students nor had he spent any time with the teachers to show any kind of support; this was again consistent with the first year.

[At] West, their concern, according to Dan [Greene], was a high drop-out rate; they were losing lots of kids. We had no drop-outs last year in the freshman class, so we're not keeping more kids in school because they're in school anyway. West also, I haven't checked on this, they can cite a very high incidence of Fs, let's say 9th grade science, virtually all of them were not in the Partners. And I haven't actually checked on that and I should do that. But I haven't done that. . . . You see that's up to those teachers to do it. I mean, my interest is frankly, just not high enough. (Brown)

He continued, however, to support those projects that presented measurable data. "We've built several new bulletin board display cases. Just this year we had our first all school assembly for ITED achievement. A big tremendous push here is recognition and positive reinforcement" (Brown).

During a mid-year interview, Brown was very honest about his desire to use the PP funds for other things. He mentioned a possible industrial technology program and knew of at least one other teacher who had ideas for a team-taught, interdisciplinary class which would be a part of the AP program.

I'd say the world history/world study thing has kind of been mentioned downtown. And I haven't actually talked with [the social studies chair] but I heard he was kind of interested in AP U.S. and Humanities. So I think it's quite preliminary because I've not issued any call for volunteers at this point. (Brown)

This approach to change within North High School seemed to fit his personal interests and matched more with his personal philosophy for change than the PP. The proposed AP class matched his support for continued expansion of advanced classes. This would potentially be a more "measurable situation" than the PP which he described as "wishy-

washy” because of its softer approach with students. For him, if the PP should end,

I don't think it would raise an eyebrow in the rest of the school. I don't think anybody would even notice. I think those three teachers would be disappointed but they're all very positive people and they all understand the reality of school management and in my opinion the reaction should be “Hey, we had a nice thing for awhile and most good things can't go on forever,” with that. I mean there's no, I mean, I wish everybody had four classes and three preps! (Brown)

Brown was very aware that, given the clientele of North, the PP teachers were working with a group of students, and thus parents, who were not the type to be involved with school.

The other thing is they deal pretty much with the bottom 50%, [the less vocal parents to begin with]. It's the so called “middle level.” But since everybody wants to teach top level we just create lots of top level sections and anybody who's in the advanced algebra program or the science waiver program or top level language arts can't be in this program because it can't be scheduled--I mean it can't be easily scheduled. And so the parents who talk to me about their concerns, their kids aren't in the program. . . . These kids are all in the three bottom quartiles, that's for sure and most them in the bottom two quartiles. There might be a few above the mid-point. . . . I haven't had one phone call [from parents] . . . haven't had one letter. . . . I'm sure [principals] are getting [no correspondence]. . . . They'd tell me. (Brown)

This situation stood at the core of his concern for the non-Partners programs in his school.

Part of that is just survival on my part, I mean I'm not interested in [having] a bunch of parents who believe that they have top level kids call me and tell me that their kids are in a mediocre level program. [M]y philosophy on this school is not in concert with the national trend that vigorously opposes all leveling and tracking. (Brown)

Brown dealt with those who had his ear--the highly educated and affluent segment of North Bend--which he admitted had an influence in how he ran his school. Other administrators and teachers were also aware of this modus operandi from the “guru of the principals.”

This disposition also was reflected in his interactions with the team. He would not end the program but would leave that up to the teachers. He lobbied, however, for the PP funding to be used for other innovations at North High School--a move which would have effectively taken the decision away from the teachers. Brown spoke about the teachers needing to collect data about their own students' grades and achievements; yet, he

ceremoniously collected measurable data of students' achievements throughout the school. All of these actions left little doubt with the PP teachers about his support for the PP team within North High and with the administrators of the North Bend Community Schools.

#### “A Done Deal”

Bach became aware of teachers' concerns regarding the potential loss of funding for the PP after the large team meeting the end of January. It was shortly after this meeting that the East team and Fields requested a meeting with Bach.

I think Jack [Evans] raised the question to them a few weeks ago about what should the future look like, etc. And that made the teachers a bit anxious, obviously. And then they went to Pat [Fields] and asked to visit with me and with him. And then the other thing that you'll observe is an attempt to become more collaborative here, to demonstrate the same thing, so I asked that Jack be included in that so that we don't have two different directions going. (Bach)

Bach tried to express his understanding of, and concerns about, funding for the teams. He was well aware of their successes and certainly supported the team idea. Unfortunately, he had also realized the financial constraints the district was under and that these constraints potentially could become worse. “[T]his state isn't willing to listen to any of those arguments, or isn't able to at this point, and that is a reality that we and they, if there are two sides, deal with and wrestle with constantly.”

The East team and Fields requested the meeting with Bach to discuss their concerns, their successes, and their hopes for a continued PP. The impressions they took away from that meeting were not positive because the discussion centered on funding problems within the district and for the PP. The team members began to realize the end could be near for their program. As one member said, “I realized then that Mike [Bach] was creating a distance between us, something I had not experienced with him before. This gave me the impression that all the great anecdotes and comments that we were giving about the team were irrelevant because the decision had already been made, ‘a done deal’” (Julie at East).

Evans knew of the meeting and attended to support the teams. He believed the team members and Fields had presented a convincing argument for the continuation of funding. Yet, after this meeting, Evans gradually changed his position from one of some hope to one of little hope of any continued support.

I think that [the teams] feel they are in limbo, that's why East said they called the meeting and wanted to share their successes; but two, because they had talked to the North faculty and they had heard they aren't going to have it. I heard Mike [Bach] say that's still up in the air. I think there is a different attitude about it among the three principals. . . . I think Dan [Greene] and Pat [Fields] feel much more strongly about it than Gary [Brown] does. Dan by action felt stronger than Pat in that he has established his second one, but I don't think he can maintain the second one. . . . And I think Dan feels badly about it because he has looked at some data. . . . I think Dan's dilemma is, when I get that kind of statistic, I'd like to organize a whole 9th grade this way. And then Pat had articulated yesterday (at the February meeting) that he's got a sophomore pair that wants to move, that he could move it into the second year and if he had his druthers he would organize his whole 9th and 10th grade that way. So that's why I really think we've got to look so hard at other ways to cut this situation. (Evans)

By late February all the PP teachers were thinking along similar lines of there being little hope for continuation. The group meeting in January and the East team's meeting with Bach in February served to coalesce feelings and beliefs of all the PP teachers about the future of the program.

Funding continued to be the main reason advanced for the end of the PP. However, other problems and agendas, which were part of discussions between and among the administrators within the district, possibly were more crucial to the final decision.

### The End of Funding

#### Team Members

It was in early April, just before spring break, when the teams directly were informed by their respective principals of the problems concerning continued PP funding. Brown told the North team that it was possible that there would be no further funding. He offered them the option of a common prep time and back-to-back classes for next year. Karen was not too interested in this and it seemed that Joan was more interested in being on her own

as she had been before the PP had developed. By this time, Trish, the Spanish teacher, had found other activities to occupy the team planning period and had virtually left the project.

At West, Greene offered the team a common planning time without the extra planning period and the possibility of substitute teachers one afternoon each month so that they could have some extra time to occasionally meet and discuss their common students. The East team was still unsure of the direction they would take, but had been offered the same situation as the others.

It was during the all-team meeting in April that the three teams talked about the proposals that had been made to them. All had the option of existing as teams with a common planning time but no extra planning period. The West team seemed to think it was good to continue in this fashion. The North team thought they might continue as a twosome. Karen, obviously disturbed, said that Brown was hoping to use the money to start a new innovation; his rationale was that their group had already had two years of opportunity through the LEA funds. The other two school teams recognized that their principals had supported the PP, but all had heard that either all teams would be given funding or no team would. Julie, and later Melissa, said that Fields gave them the impression that Brown had pushed for this "all or none" approach. It appeared the principals, including Fields, would agree to this plan.

This situation was particularly troublesome for the East team members. They had already been asked to prepare a description of the program for the counselors to present to next year's 9th graders.

Linda [assistant principal] came in a couple weeks ago and said "I need to know what you want to do for next year so that when we start sending out counselors to the 8th grades we know what to tell them and what to have kids sign up for and things like that." So I think she just thinks that it's something we do. It's something that was going to happen; it wasn't like "I want to know if you're . . ." I mean, she said "if," but there was definitely support there for doing things. (Melissa)

Julie at East had also developed a paper that was to be sent to the parents informing them about the PP.

It was during this meeting that the teachers were visibly shaken and conveyed in their conversations the fears about the eventual outcome of the PP. Teams were already making plans to continue in scaled down fashion: continuing as a three-member team with only one planning period (West) or becoming a two-member team to attempt some of the same concepts but with one common plan (East and North). With schedules soon to be decided for the following year, teachers were forced to make their decisions. The decisions would not be easy, nor would they be the ones the teachers wanted to make concerning the future of the PP. All believed it was the funded support for the extra planning that made the PP concept so successful with students. Teachers used this period, not only to plan collaboratively, but also to discuss individual students and contact parents concerning student's work or behavior. Unbeknownst to them, as the teachers shared their reactions and discussed proposed offers from their principals for next year, Richard's prediction about the scenario from the administrators played out in their descriptions: "We don't really have the staff in all the buildings that really want to do this. We really don't have the money. . . . We got to approach this from a different angle." Team members likewise believed that administrators would meet and look at two key problems: the ability to fund the PP as it existed and therefore the need to look at less costly alternative forms, and whether enough interest by building staffs existed for continuation of the PP.

#### Administrators

##### Greenc. West High

The matter of funding for the PP had been discussed in the principals' meetings at least as early as the first week of March.

I think we're all at the point right now of saying there's no way we can continue funding the additional planning times. Mike Bach just brought it up at our last meeting

that we just about have to get out of that line of thinking because it's just too expensive, particularly if we want to expand. That we just can't have teachers teaching less than the amount of time that we can ask them to teach. I talked about the clustering concept including all kids into a program like that in front of Gary [Brown] and Pat [Fields] but I didn't get any feedback from them as to whether or not they thought they'd try that or not. I got the sense from at least one of them, but I honestly can't remember which one, that they thought that without the additional planning time that their program would just kind of fade away. But I think at least our team that's been together for 2 years, I think those guys would, if I said to them "We just don't have any funding for additional planning time for you guys but if I could work it so that you had a common planning period, would you want to continue trying to do things?" I think they unanimously say "yes." I think they would. (Greene)

Another aspect of the funding problem surfaced at this same time. The LEA monies were suddenly not to be available to the principals for the PP innovation--at least this was what Greene had heard from Evans:

We've got another problem, though, for next year and that is that Jack Evans has told us that he doesn't believe that we can continue to use the LEA money to pay for the additional planning time. It's kind of an innovative project grant idea and after you've done it for a couple of years, it's not innovative any more so it doesn't really qualify. (Greene)

Greene had other ideas. In a sense, he was not quite ready to give up on the personal approach for 9th graders. He had returned to the "cluster" concept which Bach had introduced to the principals. "We're tinkering with the idea, as soon as we get through this registration time and get into spring term, of putting all incoming freshmen into what we'll call a cluster." This concept would involve three or four teachers sharing the same students but they would not necessarily attempt to do any interdisciplinary teaching. Thus, they could share ideas about the students and their problems. Greene then was only slightly optimistic about the potential for the PP to continue. He realized budget problems were a strong constraint on the program. He had another potential approach to the problem and planned to consider it.

Greene was also becoming concerned about the potential effect of the loss of the common prep on other teachers as this became more widely known.

[T]he word is out that chances are we won't be able to fund the extra planning times and, frankly for teachers, that's one of the attractive things about it. If you're going to



do some innovative kinds of things, that you have the common time; and also as the teams have talked to our faculty at faculty meetings, they always talk about having this common time, to meet together or talk about kids and schedule parent conferences. (Greene)

Greene was cognizant of the message this loss could send to other teachers who might be interested in change. A related concern was still the reactions of the other teachers to the extra planning time and the teaching of one fewer class.

There are still many teachers cynical [who] question the need for an extra period: "How do you prove that it is actually effective?" This is still a bone of contention with staff. There are skeptics to the success with only four classes. [As they might say,] "I could be successful with only four classes also!" (Greene)

Because of the lack of funding from the LEA, he was faced with a problem concerning his funding for the second team. He believed the situation would be awkward in his own building. There would be one team financially supported from outside sources with prep time and the other, because of district problems, not being able to have the extra prep.

I believed that it would be tough when outside dollars are used for one team and not the other team, so how do I explain one team with the extra plan but not the other team? This became a reality because I knew my staffing allocation would be cut 4-5 teachers and therefore I would not have the money to support the extra plan out of my allocation. Therefore my idea of expanding teams had to change. (Greene)

Unfortunately, in spite of having some advanced knowledge that the monies would not be around to continue the PP, no one, including Greene, sought any types of alternative funding sources. Another problem with funding was the interpretation of what had happened to the funding. As with Fields, Greene believed the LEA money had been lost because the PP was no longer an innovation after two years!

#### Fields, East High

By midyear, the reality of the district's financial situation and its likely impact on the PP became more obvious to Fields from meetings downtown and through his discussions with the other administrators. As he had all along, he firmly "believe[d] that it's the best thing we've ever done with kids. The only thing that scares me is the financial aspects of it." The money probably would not be available for expanding so the three principals believed

they needed to make a choice as to their next step. The pressure seemed to be building to forego the financing and leave the individual schools to deal with the PP.

Some suggestions had been to use the money within the buildings at the discretion of the principal:

I think Dan [Greene] and I talk about [this] informally a lot but we as [a] principal group meet twice a month--the 1st and 3rd Thursdays--and usually it comes up in those discussions pretty regularly. But Gary [Brown] always puts a crunch on it. . . . I think Gary believes in the idea but he's not sold that it's the best use of the finances. . . . Gary was still pushing for the funds to be used in some other way of his choosing. (Fields)

The finances became even more questionable when the State made known the developing financial situation.

[T]he money that we've used to finance this right now has come from the LEA. And then Dan Greene had some extra staffing at West out of his own pool to finance another team. That's not going to happen because we're going to be the biggest school next year. So what's going to happen, his excess is coming over here. And one of the things that we've talked about as high school principals, we haven't even shared this with the teams yet, but if one team doesn't have outside financing we're not sure any should have it. In other words, if I would fight hard to say, "We want to keep it at East" and they would say, "Okay, we don't have enough to go around but we'll give it to East." We're saying that shouldn't happen. [So it's an "all or none" situation.] That's kind of what we're looking at, to stay in the same model. (Fields)

Fields had thought about other ways of developing a team approach without the extra funding.

If it came up that we didn't have the financing to do this, I'm kind of looking at a project, and I haven't even shared this with the staff yet, but a way of lumping kids together even though teachers wouldn't have an extra planning period--not so much for the interdisciplinary part like we're getting. I think we're getting two prongs out of there; we're getting the interdisciplinary plus we're getting the kids to share the teacher or the teacher to share the kids. More to share kids, where we'd have a "cluster" I'm going to call it, a cluster of 9th graders with four teachers. In other words, all these kids in cluster "A" would have the same science teacher, math teacher, language arts teacher, and foreign language teacher. (Fields)

His idea would attempt to gain many of the same advantages that he had seen from the PP, include one more subject area, and could be accomplished without extra funding. This "clustering" idea was the same as that discussed by Greene at West.

Fields was finally informed about the loss of funding, which he had already suspected, in May. As with the other schools, the teachers had no input into the decision about the funding, only whether they would continue under no funding. His belief from Bach and Evans was that “the funding from the LEA had been intended for innovation but, since there was not to be any more funding from the LEA, this stopped everything.”

This had been one explanation for the end of the PP. Because the final decision was made so late in the year he “did not have the time to find additional funding through grant writing. There is a committee within the school improvement to do just that which has evolved from what has happened to the teams. So I hope there will be grants written next year to fund some of these programs.” He had difficulty coming up with money to fund the PP from his own budget because he was forced to cut from Spanish and Math due to the district budget cuts. He found himself in a tough situation with other pressing deadlines and responsibilities in the school, and certainly with too little time to prepare a grant by the time the final decision was made.

#### Brown, North High

By mid-year, Brown was already pushing to use the funding for other possibilities within his own school. “I really think that what we would like to have would be the 6/10s [the funding dollars for the PP teachers’ extra planning period] without strings and we’d use it to start some other program.” The PP had been going for nearly two years now and the program would need to stand on its own or fold. “I think the future in extra preps is always going to be short term and it’s going to be for start up programs. If the program can’t ultimately survive without it, the program probably isn’t going to survive, being a realist.”

This perspective came through, as well, in his meetings with other principals. The three principals had spent time thinking and discussing what their next step would be since

the district budget was being limited by State problems. This meant that no new monies would be available for any growth in the PP.

[I]t's come up in two or three principals' meetings and the gist of it has been pretty much, I think, that West's sold on it but doesn't see how it can give the extra prep study. Everybody that's involved also would prefer probably not to give them to anybody. East and North don't feel strongly enough about it to resist that pressure so we probably would support Dan [Greene] and take it away here, too. Oh, I should say that we've agreed on that. We all say the same thing. We're not going to take the extra prep away at one school and not the others. We're all going to do the same thing. We're going to all have it or all not have it. (Brown)

At mid-year, then, the principals were deciding whether the three would keep the funding and continue of the teams; or, in a group decision, have no funding for the teams at all.

As for the teams themselves, the continuation without the extra funding would be their decision, not Brown's.

I think the decision, in my mind, the decision will be based (pause), I am ambivalent. I'm not going to end a program or continue a program; if the funding continues then I'm sure the program will continue. If the funding doesn't continue, it will be their choice. They still have two preps a day. I mean, we really consider we have an eight period school day and the first period is before most teachers have to be here; seventh period ends at 2:45 which is roughly the end of our day, so teachers teach 5 out of 7-- [the Partners] teach 4 out of 7. My feeling is, they could do essentially the program without the extra prep anyway and they cut out some of the glitz. See, the other thing about parent communication, I mean at the very time that we started the program, we just a year or so before set up parent teacher conferences. This year we added parent-teacher conferences at the winter term also. So, in a way, we kind of stole their thunder by making that school-wide anyway. (Brown)

But also, within his own rationale, the program duplicated other building-wide innovations; therefore the extra prep period was an expendable item.

Brown continued to hope that the funds might be used at the discretion of each principal. But Brown also said that he believed that the district budget problems caused the funds to be diverted from the PP innovation. And, as Brown related, Bach had informed the principals that the funds would be needed to support other programs within the district budget.

### Ashman, Superintendent

It was not until nearly the end of the school year that Ashman was informed by Bach about the PP decision: funds would have to be used elsewhere in the district and therefore funding would end for the PP. This decision caught him by surprise. As he later related, "I was left out of the loop!" First, he strongly expressed his concerns about this decision to Bach (his counsel and his buffer with the principals). Ashman then attended the next high school principals' meeting and directly expressed his strong feelings to them concerning the decision. But, because of his philosophical belief in site-based management, he said he felt that he had to accept their decision. Much to his disappointment, the situation would have to be resolved by the individual teams and their principals. Although he had been able to convince people of the need for teaming as an essential part of the district's long range strategic plans and had teaming also included among the newly released suggestions by the School Board Instructional Advisory Committee, he was not willing to go against his site-based philosophy and force the issue. It was shortly after the end of the school year that Ashman announced his candidacy for the superintendency in another state.

### Bach, Assistant Superintendent, High Schools

As noted earlier, Bach had already spoken to principals about the possibility of finding other ways of supplying the services provided by the PP in a different manner. The district's budget problems would make it difficult to provide the extra planning time in the current design of the PP innovation. In a May interview, Bach continually emphasized the funding issue as a major problem for the PP.

Funding has become the issue and that had to be dealt with. Part of the problem here is that the project was a pilot project that began under [my predecessor] and was to be in all three, I believe, because of equity. The problem is that the delusion has been given that the monies would be available for expansion after implementation. This could not happen because of the funding problems within the state after the decision was made to pilot this. The long range view was not taken to realize what the consequences of such

a pilot would be based on the funding required to support the planning for just the original teams without even considering the costs for expansion. (Bach)

He added that he could have foreseen this but the person in charge, Evans, did not concern himself with this. Bach also pointed out that the lack of foresight for funding and overall planning to keep it going were examples of the problems with pilot programs, generally. Ultimately, though, it was the lack of planning for the expensive part of the PP, the team planning, which made “the concept too costly. We have to get out of that line of thinking. The thinking ahead of time was not well planned out and the budget problems have increased since then.”

Bach openly talked about another problem he perceived throughout this process: the issue of site-based decision making. The schools could have decided on their own to continue the PP with their own building budgets, “however, as much as they say they want the power to be independent, they are also hesitant to go their own ways in this district.” The concept of site-based management, he believed, was so contrary to the modus operandi of the district for so long that principals were still too hesitant to be different from each other. “Principals want the power for site based but then are afraid to use it when they have it.” Ultimately the three principals made the decision that either all the schools would have the funding for the program or else no one would.

#### Evans, Development

All of Evans’ positive support and reactions, his work to gain the funding and secure the idea within the high schools as a pilot project still did not ensure success for the PP. By late spring the decision had been made by the principals to stop funding for the PP and reallocate the money. Evans had his own views about how and why this occurred.

I think there [are] varying degrees of support. But, a belief again of “one for all or all for one” and who will be the most convincing? I’m not sure how that will turn out. [My] sense is that [the PP] is going to die. Die from the standpoint of they don’t feel they can justify the additional planning period. . . . I think it is more of an issue of, due to the rest of the faculty at large, that it is that they don’t believe in it; it’s an equity issue with them. I don’t know that we have, or will, probe that deeply though. (Evans)

Evans stated that the money could have been available for the team to continue. In conversations with the principals, he had mentioned that they “needed to think about whether the teaming would ever be expanded and where would that money come from because you can’t continue expanding on soft money.” The principals, however, construed this to mean “that LEA dollars could no longer be used--dollars were intended for innovation only and, after 2 years, this is no longer an innovation” (Evans).

He was very disappointed to hear that the decision had been a consensus on the part of the three leaders. As previously noted, he believed that Brown had never been a strong supporter and that Fields and Greene had been strong enthusiasts for the program, citing Greene’s decision to support a second team from his own budget and Fields’ efforts to support the development of a sophomore team for the following year.

He speculated about what had taken place over the past couple of months. Although, “essentially, I think we’re going to have the base dollars to do what we’ve done for two years,” he had not explicitly told the principals the money would be available for the PP. (Evans did not often attend the Principals’ meetings.) The principals had taken his comments to mean the money could be in jeopardy. With Brown encouraging use of the funds for other innovations and Greene not capable of supporting the extra plan for a second team out of his own budget, the leaders were convinced by Brown to either give the money to all three schools or not at all. Since the project had been initiated in all three buildings, the principals decided it would be difficult to fund the program in one or two schools and not the other. Because of Brown’s strong influence within the district and since the principals decided they did not want the funding, Evans switched the monies to other areas of the district budget through a reworking of the contract with the LEA. The funds would be used to partially support two specialists. Although at least one principal

and several of the team members believed the funding was gone, it in fact was renegotiated for two other positions.

Evans candidly talked about the money situation and the developments of this “problem.” He realized that “the three musketeers” continued to show a solid front concerning the funding issue and the loss of the teams--an “all or nothing” approach to using the money in the three high schools. In other words, either all three schools would use the funding for a team or else no schools would receive funding for any type of project.

. . . one of the big things I think we need to talk about and explore is this movement to site-based this year. My concern being I don't know if we've developed the capacity, the critical mass in many, many of the buildings to let it go. I'm really damned concerned about that. . . . Decision making, resource allocations, systemic change--and it is not in a power way I'm saying this. . . . And between you and I, on a continuum of people who are ready, capable and of the orientation to handle that, I didn't have any in that room yesterday (a meeting with elementary principals). And, damn that concerns me. To empower and entrust people . . . and [then] they tell you, “Hell, I'm not ready to do this stuff.” I don't think that we can assume that everyone is going to be at the same place. And yet you know how we work here; it is just kind of a generic, blank thing, we're just gonna push things down [from the top], we're gonna push things down. If we do, are we going to have people ready, willing and able to tackle it? Sometimes, you can be willing as hell, and even have the orientation, but if you're not ready and able, I mean that's dumpin' a pretty heavy load on a person. (Evans)

During his attempts to implement the innovation, the complexity of the high school and the problems of site-based management had surprised him. As he reflected about the PP and its failure to continue as he had envisioned, he shared many insights, particularly concerning the roles and specific individuals and politics at all levels play in the process of change. In the case of individuals, he wondered why someone such as Brown has such influence within the district hierarchy, and why two principals could provide strong backing for the PP but perceive themselves as having no power to influence the direction of the funding for the innovation. The site-based governance of the district seemed to Evans a misnomer. The funds for the PP could have been used by the buildings as they elected but again the choice was all high schools or none, not a site-based decision at all.



Politics, he discovered, comes at different levels and in different types. Each school had different clientele to serve and he came to realize the clientele of North had significant influence on the school and on the leadership therein--an influence he personally had experienced in that same part of the city when he directed the junior high/middle school transition. He became even more cognizant about the politics of the different roles within the hierarchy as he realized the little influence his position accorded him. He discovered the Superintendent had been left out of the loop concerning an innovation he had supported. He also talked about the politics of selecting teachers to participate and how selection varied among the three schools--the respective positions within the "pecking order" in each school and which teams had highly respected, strong teachers versus those "lower down on the food chain."

In effect, Evans described his own discoveries concerning the micropolitics of the system. He openly discussed the guarded relationships between the district leadership levels and commented on the lack of interactions between himself and Brown, a lack of interaction which affected the knowledge each had of the PP team at North High and prevented any open dialogue between them about the innovation.

## CHAPTER IV

### REFLECTIONS ON THE DEMISE OF AN INNOVATION

All the team members and administrators acknowledged the demise of the PP by the end of the school year. In their reflections on what had happened, all involved were insightful, candid, questioning, and, in the case of one administrator, regretful to the point of expressions of guilt. In one sense, the various levels of reactions were not as would be expected (for example, talking honestly about personal feelings and reactions of fellow administrators); in another sense, they were totally expected (placing the blame for the loss elsewhere--on another person and on budgeting problems).

#### Partners Teams

#### North High School

Shortly after it had become widely known that the innovation would no longer be supported as it had been, the team members talked about what the PP meant to them. One prominent concern centered on the problem of "isolation." As Karen stated, she would be "back to fighting the battle alone." Joan likewise regretted going back to an isolated situation.

I know one thing that I'm so used to working with other teachers now and throwing ideas off of them, I would have a terrible time going back to [being] a solitaire. . . . Once you've worked with other people and things, you find out how valuable other people's ideas are to yours and how they can . . . they can be used and you also can give them things which makes you feel real good about yourself. (Joan)

Karen added that she was disappointed in the way everything was ultimately handled. "I was disappointed that there were no more meetings. The teams were just allowed to fizzle out with no real conclusion to things." The disappointment was an expression of her frustration with the entire change process within the existing setting:

You know, things that we do, don't make a whole lot of sense to me . . . and even made me be more interested in trying to do something different [in teaching]. I have come to the conclusion, however, that the fences are still so narrow that even doing something different within them is not much different. (Karen)

Both Karen and Joan had wanted to continue the PP or some type of team approach into the next year. Their efforts had been beneficial to them because they had found camaraderie and a chance to collaborate about students and subject areas. Moreover, they realized, because of parent comments, that the PP had been appreciated by many of them. Karen and Joan realized that it would have taken parental pressure--and only that--in order to continue the PP at North High School, "It's gotta be a flood of parents calling and saying 'we want this program'" (Joan). Both believed they had no influence in this decision. They felt they had no input into any of the final discussions for the PP funding and continuation at North High. They were left to decide only whether or not to continue the PP in a modified fashion. As Karen had said from the start, "I had to operate sort of within [Brown's] guidelines, and his agenda was different than mine. So I had to operate within that."

Both Karen and Joan had been at North High long enough to realize that parents received a great deal of attention from administrators. For example, during the second year the team had experienced the influence of parents on the teachers and administrators. Two parents had called, wanting their children transferred to the Spanish class of the PP. Although the three had agreed that no students would be given special access to only one class which would defeat the philosophy behind the program, the students were enrolled in only the Spanish class. This disturbed Karen and Joan but they had no participation in the decision. "You get parents who call and say [they want such and such], and Gary [Brown] has a hard time saying 'No'".

Within this climate, however, it was clear to Karen and Joan that some parents were more vocal and had more influence on Brown than others. The more educated and wealthier parents were very influential. Karen noted, for example, that

The thing that we run into here, that we ran into last year and that we've run into on a much more limited basis this year, is that it becomes a social issue. The boy that we

have this year that questioned [the PP]--not the boy but the parents--is in a social group that's different than most of these kids, and so his friends are in top level class, so they're not in his classes. They may not have been in any the same classes anyway, but they aren't. He's in an average class. They're probably in a top level class, so it becomes a social issue. And that came up more than once last year. (Karen)

Karen also talked generally about the leadership in high schools and, more particularly, about the leadership process at North High. She mentioned that a new committee had been formed by staff and administration for the purpose of discussing possible reforms at the high school level. This committee was to allow for more participation and more shared decision making by all concerned members of the school--parents, students and staff. Karen recalled one meeting which she had attended in the late spring. This meeting left her and other teachers' pessimistic about what could evolve from this process. In large part, this was because Brown again demonstrated his influence on the "shared decision-making" procedure.

[A]nd we talked a little bit about how setting up numerous committees often is a way of appearing to have people making decisions when in fact it's a way of giving people any power. It's a way of *not* giving people power, if that makes any sense. So we talked about that, and we talked about the kinds of decisions perhaps that teachers might want to be involved in or kids might want to be involved in.

F: What have been the administrative reactions to some of these?

Gary [Brown] sort of reacts like I would expect him to react. Sometimes he throws out, oh, he threw out something that I know he believed was a preposterous suggestion--I wish I could remember what it was--and most of us thought that sounded like a pretty good idea. It was one of Sizer's, I think. And most of us there thought that would be a pretty good idea, and I think he was appalled that we were starting to think about that in that kind of light. . . . He's not a change person, and so his comments are usually related to that. (Karen)

Karen summed up the feelings of many of the PP teachers in two statements. First,

Educationally it's disturbing because it indicates to me that it was a play thing, that it was expendable. "We'll do this but, boy, when money becomes tight, I'm not gonna give up this or this or this." And, of course, I don't have to make those decisions, so I'm probably real jaded when I say that, but that's why it's disturbing to me, because it's a message to me that it was not important enough to continue. (Karen)

And, second, "[I'm] back to fighting the battle alone." Her use of metaphors certainly presented a feeling that the change process is difficult, fraught with battlefields.

West High School

The team members had a difficult time understanding exactly what had ultimately led to the end of the funding. None of them were clear about the reasoning that had been given to them. One possibility was that “the dollars were incentive for innovation and that after two years, this would not be a novel idea; therefore, the money would need to be used elsewhere” (Rod). And, if so, “then there is no reason . . . to question the loss since, after two years, we are not a novel idea.” Margaret had trouble with this rationale. She could not understand how or why it would work this way because the teams had not been given the time to get the PP going.

Two of the team members reflected about the kind of message this situation sent to those involved in the PP innovation--and to others for that matter.

It sends me the message that we've asked people to come up with a better mousetrap. But, now we can't let them use it because we don't have the funds to make it anymore. And if that's the case, then you better be willing to settle for having a lot more mice around. And you better not ask teachers to do things now that you've paid them to do it, and given them the chance to see how good it can be, and then take it away from them, and still expect that same level. Don't get me wrong. I can understand why that is all happening. (Rod)

The message would be that money is more important than kids. The message would be that we're not doing what we're saying we're doing. We're just jumping through societal hoops with how much money they'll give us. When we've seen that there's been such a need and that we have met this need and then to suddenly say, “Well, I guess we don't need them any more.” That doesn't make any sense. I think I'd be very angry; I think I'd feel like I had been trying to prove something that nobody wanted to know. (Margaret)

All three team members made many positive comments about the Partners concept and about working with each other the past two years. Richard summarized his reaction to the program and, in doing so, summarized the team's rationale for attempting to continue under whatever conditions developed.

A chance to stop, reexamine my belief system in terms of education, and any kind of experience that forces you to stop and think about what you're doing, how you're doing it, what should you change, or what should you emphasize, that's a growth type of experience. So the whole last couple years, just because of the design of what we're

doing, makes you stop and think. And so philosophically, it's a growth kind [of] situation which I feel very positive about. (Richard)

The teams at West continued with the PP design and philosophy, but without the common plan they had enjoyed the past two years. They accepted the final decision and felt as Margaret had put it during the implementation period, that the district would find another new innovation and move on, just as they always have in the past, without giving anything a chance to become established.

### East High School

By the end of the school year, the East team members had made their individual decisions. Zach and Melissa would continue as a two person team and share the same students with a focus on Zach's access to computers for their overlapping classes. Their common planning time would be their usual planning period and they would each teach a fifth class again. Julie would not continue with the team program. She had decided to drop the team approach based on principle. The loss of the common prep had been, in her view, a loss of support and she would not accept the challenge of doing the same thing for students and with the curricula with less time. This did not seem reasonable to her: "I have better ways to spend my time because I already try to do so many things for and with students." And, to re-emphasize what she stated earlier, she was unhappy about an experience that had "forced me to stretch myself as a group person, and to a certain extent, to lose some of my individual identity." In spite of having committed to continue with the team as of late February, she now could not see herself continuing under the circumstances of only one prep period for any type of a team program.

Julie expressed her disappointment not only about the actions of her own principal, Fields, but also about those of the central administrators. She had been surprised when she heard in mid-April that the principals had come to a consensus decision for ending the funding for the teams. Although she firmly believed that Fields strongly supported the PP,

the consensus decision seemed to belie his commitment. On the one hand, she noted that “I firmly believe Pat [Fields] was very disappointed.” On the other hand, she was surprised that he did not respond to two questions she had sent to him in a note--a response not typical of him. The two questions were: “Why was this a unanimous decision when Mr. Greene and you both seemed to support the project so much? What could we do differently to make this more valuable to the district?”

Following the decision to end the funding, Julie questioned the meaning and implications of the site-based philosophy of the district. As she asked, “Why wasn’t the final decision up to individual schools instead of a unanimous agreement among all three?” She also speculated about other possible reasons for the demise of the PP, both from her personal observation of events and from what she had heard from others. She wondered if

perhaps the district’s long term planning did not include the teams. The teams had no strict guidelines like teachers had in the past with curriculum guidelines, which I experienced both as an instructor and as a writer of the guides, and, therefore, no one knew what was taking place. If there really was no game plan, then after two years this was no longer an innovation so it could be allowed to fail. Or, perhaps the PP did meet the district’s strategic plan but the dollars were no longer available to continue the program. (Julie)

Julie heard two explanations from administrators. She believed the first had been brought up by Bach at the meeting the East team had with him in the spring: “A project can only be an innovation for two years and then funding would have to move on to other things.” The second reason, she thought, was mentioned by Evans during the last group meeting:

“There was no way to document the success so this was another reason to stop the PP.”

From her point of view, this comment was unusual because the teachers had been told that “the time span needed for an innovation would be at least 3-5 years.”

In the end Julie concluded that “this is the typical cycle of education” and asked with a bit of cynicism,

Perhaps the West team is what the district was hoping to get to all along. From a management position, they would get all that for no extra time and perhaps that was

their goal all along, that all teachers would do the teaming without the extra prep.  
(Julie)

Sharon, the former team leader at East who had spent the past year in the central administration offices, was also wondering what had happened. She reflected on the two years, the first when she was a participant/team leader and the second as an observer. Although she could not give any specific reasons for the loss of the program, she had some ideas based on her vantage point as part of central administration. She thought that the central administrators did not work as a team and that communication had been poor among the Superintendent, the Assistant Superintendent of High Schools, and Evans. She felt this had contributed to the funding problem as well as other problems that had been kept from the Superintendent. For her the Partners' situation was a result or manifestation of deeper problems that existed within the district hierarchy.

Sharon firmly believed that "if there was a commitment to this project, a way would be found to continue it." Like other teachers and like Fields, her former principal, she did not believe there had been any serious long-term commitment for the innovation because little effort was being made to locate other funding for the project. This was a problem she saw with all pilot projects: "One problem with calling it a pilot is that it is easy not to make a commitment and just let it go!"

In the end Melissa and Julie were unsure why funding ended, but did agree with other team members when they restated what had been said to them: "This is no longer considered an innovation so the money will be used elsewhere!" The East team had attempted to influence the final decision in their meeting with Bach but they realized the meeting had been fruitless. That all three principals agreed to end the funding was evidence enough that the demise of the PP "was a done deal" (Julie). They agreed with Karen at North High that the fate of the PP had been decided during the winter months when



everything was “dropped like a hot potato,” and the Partner’s end was decided long before the teachers were ever informed.

**Administrators**

**Building Principals**

**Brown, North High School**

During the summer after the PP ended, Brown talked about his position concerning the innovation as well as with regard to reform within North High and the district. As for the funding of the PP, he stated that “the three principals ultimately decided that none of the schools would receive the funding.” In part, this was because the three decided that it would not be fair for all the teams not to receive funding and the situation would not allow any new teams to receive any monies to continue. Another part of the problem was due to the district’s overall financial problems. The LEA dollars would need to be used in other areas within the district. Although the high schools had been the recipients of the money, “the money would be directed elsewhere since central administrators were in charge of this aspect.” Brown did not know any details, but believed the money would be allocated away from the PP.

Brown acknowledged the need to end the funding for the PP. He had mentioned during the first year that a couple of years would not be enough time to determine if the PP would make a difference. At the end of the second year, however, he said that “this type of innovation just will not go because the extra planning time will not work because of cost, so it would never be able to expand” (Brown). He mentioned that in the past he had supported various innovations, “things that seem intuitive as positive things” such as the SOS program for 9th graders, a special 9th grade facilitator/counselor, and the slower paced algebra classes. Apparently, the PP innovation did not fit with his intuitive feeling about a successful innovation because he had pushed for the funds to be diverted.

He acknowledged the lack of teacher involvement in the final outcome of the program. Although the teachers had been given the opportunity to design the program for assisting the transition of the ninth graders, they were not given any input into the final decision. "The teachers were not involved at all in any of the decision. I visited with them quite often and they discussed this earlier, but the decision was made without any of their participation" (Brown). Even so, he firmly believed the teachers were appreciative of the opportunity to do the PP. This was something he felt they had enjoyed for the two years they were able to do it and now it would be back to their five classes, as he believed it should be.

The extra plan was a perk and really could not be maintained because of the financial situation. I really could not support such a set-up because it is something that will never continue because of the cost. Teachers would have had to go back to five classes anyway. (Brown)

Brown discussed his relationship with parents and, eventually, how this factor related to the PP. He said that "The parents who make most contact are the PTA people, booster groups--which there are many--the African-American parents, which also has a parent group, and some of the special ed parents" and that it tends to be the better educated people who are involved and who contact him because they are "the parents who have the time to be involved in the school." Within the same context, Brown continued on to say that "they are the ones who have the greatest influence on how I run this school."

As far as the PP goes, Brown said

All the positives, I guess, have come from the teachers themselves. . . . The other thing is they deal pretty much with the bottom 50%, the less vocal parents to begin with. It's the so called "middle level." But since everybody wants to teach top level we just create lots of top level sections and anybody who's in the advanced algebra program or the science waiver program or top level language arts can't be in the Partners Program because it can't be scheduled. I mean, it can't be easily scheduled. And so the parents who talk to me about their concerns, their kids aren't in the program. . . . These kids are all in the three bottom quartiles, that's for sure and most [of] them in the bottom two quartiles, there might be a few above the mid-point. (Brown)

Brown said that after the PP funding had been terminated, he had not received any comments from the PP team members, from parents, and from other staff--"I haven't had one phone call, haven't had one letter." This was just as it had been throughout the two years of the program. His response to the fact that the PP teachers had heard positive comments from parents, he said matter-of-factly that "it would be inconsequential because their kids would move on and they would no longer be at the ninth [grade] level." He went on to mention that these same parents could have other children coming to North High but he had "not heard from these parents all year and these are the parents that usually don't say much." These were not the parents who had much influence on him.

For Brown, it is the better educated and more affluent who have the free time to be involved with the school and are able to meet with him and contact him about their concerns. These are the people who he "listens to" throughout the year. This long had been obvious to his own staff, some of the team members in all three high schools, and to others not involved with the innovation.

In the end, however, Brown said that the core reason for the failure of the PP innovation was that it was "another example of what happens when an innovation comes from downtown or from the top down. This would be a good case study of the failure of innovation."

#### Greene, West High School

Greene gave the impression that what actually happened with the innovation had been much different than he had anticipated. He had discussed other possible ways of achieving a team approach at the 9th grade level--such as clustering groups of students and teachers which would result in de facto teams. He had discovered by the end of the year, however, that a major obstacle to this and other alternative plans was the "leveling" or tracking that was entrenched in West High. The clustering idea would not work because the math

department was not willing to abandon the tracking. This had been the *modus operandi* for years. Clustering would require either all heterogeneous classes or all tracked classes. He believed that tracked classes, however, would be contrary to the heterogeneous classes that he and the district had been moving toward. Greene sensed the math teachers at West High were a long way from changing.

A second possible approach was to go to a seven period day, which would allow for an extra period for team planning. This design presented some problems. The most important of these problems was that he did not have an agreement from the staff to switch from 6 periods to 7 periods. Moreover, Greene thought that not enough classes would be taught, because teachers would still teach five periods but students would be taking classes for seven periods. Some students would want only the minimum number of classes, and, therefore, they would be in too many study halls. Finally, another problem would be that a longer day with shorter class periods would require curriculum rewriting. Although he had spoken with excitement about both ideas--clustering and a seven period day--it was clear that both possibilities presented almost insurmountable problems.

Greene also talked about trying to support the PP from district monies. The cost for the original teams would not be that large of a commitment given the size of the overall district budget. If the teams were to expand to include all 9th graders, then the extra planning period "would be needed for at least 4 to 5 more teachers at the 9th grade level." Greene was not opposed to this program, but he knew that in addition to the fact that not all teachers favored teaming, this was also an expense the district could not, or better said, would not handle. His hope for a team approach for all 9th graders had diminished considerably by the time of the PP demise.

Greene was concerned that no one had sought any types of alternative funding sources.

No one, as far as I know, has sought other sources of funding. There are no funding dollars for such a program in the future. I have also heard that middle school staff

allocation may have to change but teachers there say that would be the end of the middle school concept if that does occur. (Greene)

Greene had been the strong believer and advocate of the PP. He had encouraged the team concept, but he could not or would not rearrange his priorities or use his “site-based power” to continue the funding for the PP. In fact, he believed that all three high schools must be on the same schedule, leaving site-based to apply to something other than each school having its own unique programs. He did not fight for the funding to be continued for the innovation but had suggested the “all schools or no schools” philosophy for funding. Finally, he realized the difficulties of change and the interwoven aspects structural change demanded.

#### Fields, East High School

During the summer, after the PP had been sent on its way, Fields had more reactions and candid comments to share about the demise of funding--the lack of which led to the loss of one more PP team member at East. His comments also provided more insights into the complex micropolitics of the process of the PP innovation. Brown had been a strong influence concerning the use of the money, eventually influencing the Assistant Superintendent of High Schools to support his option that it be used elsewhere in the buildings. Throughout the PP implementation, Brown had continued to raise the question of redirecting the funding into an innovation of his choosing rather than the PP. However, it must be remembered that this all became a moot point when the funding was redirected entirely.

Fields also described how Brown marginalized Superintendent Ashman after discussions the latter would have with the principals. He noted that Brown continued to question, negate, and/or criticize ideas for change that Ashman presented to the principals. Fields talked about Brown’s political prowess within his school and within the district, his ability to please his affluent constituency at, perhaps, a cost to other SES levels within his

own building. Fields also provided insights concerning the Superintendent's lack of knowledge about the final decision concerning funding of the PP, as well as about the Superintendent's subsequent interactions with high school principals and other district administrators concerning the final decision. As with Evans, Fields talked candidly about problems with communication between central administrators and how this contributed to Ashman being left out of the loop with respect to final decision about the PP innovation. In terms of funding, Pat Fields thought that if the "district is truly committed, money would be found to continue the program. . . . The district commitment is not there because they would find a way if there was a commitment." He, however, was willing to accept some of the blame for the loss and the final decision. In doing so, he was the only principal to accept any personal blame for not attempting to rearrange his own building budget to include the PP. "Perhaps there is no principal commitment since we will not rearrange our own budgets to fund the program."

He also talked about the possibility of cutting other programs in order to continue the PP. But, like Brown, he realized that certain parents had a strong influence on programming within his school.

If you talk to Ashman about funding, he would support the schools cutting whatever they want to cut in order to fund the PP. But then, he doesn't have to live with the reality of dealing with those cuts. . . . I could cut Industrial Tech and would hear something for a week maybe, but that would be it. If I cut an AP class, like I and other teachers would like to, the parents would have me out of here in no time at all! (Fields)

A further approach he mentioned for encouraging teaming was the clustering idea. As much as Fields and other staff members supported heterogeneous classes, the math department at East, as in the other schools, would not easily accept this approach. The clustering idea would be difficult to accomplish if classes were leveled as they were in the math area.

I would still like to do [clustering] and am working on it somewhat through the school improvement committee. The big problem here is the math department because this

needs to be done heterogeneously and they are not willing to do this. The LA, Spanish and science already are heterogeneous in their classes. The math is traditional and want to work with homogeneous classes. I am already fighting them because they believe they have too many Algebra 2 classes which means they have more heterogeneous classes. (Fields)

That Fields was not willing to compromise on this philosophy was clear when he said that “I could cluster by homogeneous groups to bring in the math but I will not do that!”

Ultimately he was very candid about what he realized had happened with central administrators and about the influence of Brown on the decision to end the PP. As for Ashman’s position in all of this, he had often been

kept out of the chain of information. This may be partially because it was a high school situation. When he did find out and seemed concerned about the loss, he expressed concern to Mike [Bach] and the principals at our meeting. Mike’s response was that extra funds were provided the middle school people to fund their extra plan and therefore the same should be done to high school if that’s desired. But at present, Joel [Ashman] has asked Mike to cut teachers at the high school so that becomes difficult to continue the program. (Fields)

Fields, who had been in the district for many years before becoming an administrator, was familiar with Brown at North High. Since becoming a principal, Fields had seen how Brown reacted to outside ideas at their regular principals’ meetings. When Fields mentioned an idea that had been implemented with success at East, Brown often would distance himself from that idea. Fields, in paraphrasing Brown’s comments, said “These ideas may work at one of the other schools but it will not work at North.” And yet, later, the same concept might possibly show up at North with no acknowledgment given to East and Fields. Fields mentioned that he personally had learned to be more political about how he presented ideas within the group--not as ideas from himself but ideas gained from other places.

As far as Fields was concerned, Brown was able to exert two lines of influence. The first was a personal influence upon Fields himself. As much as Fields believed in what the Superintendent was trying to do with change in the District, a choice between the latter and Brown would be difficult. “If I had to make a choice between Joel [Ashman] and Gary

[Brown], that would be difficult because of Gary's position within the power structure. The Superintendent could leave any time but Gary will be around in this District for some time. Who do I support?"

The other line of influence was one that Fields believed Brown exerted on the Assistant Superintendent of High Schools. He felt the Assistant often supported Brown over the other two principals when a difference of opinion arose. Fields had endorsed the team concept and had openly committed to the idea by including teaming and collaboration in his own stated philosophy. His endorsement of the funding question, however, clearly indicated who he decided to support between the Superintendent and Brown.

#### Ashman, Superintendent

I try to "walk my talk" in how I deal with people. I express my ideas and interests to people and try to convince them rather than dictate what they will do. Ninety-five percent of the time, people make the decisions I would like them to make and I have to accept that as great. . . . I do not have a lot of power in the district because I empower others to make the decisions within the site-based model. (Ashman)

By mid-summer, news came out that Ashman was a finalist for a superintendency in a very large school district several states away. He subsequently was hired and spent part of his summer making plans for his new location and spent little time in his office. Before his departure, he discussed the PP and what this innovation had meant to him. "People learn best by working together and the Partners have demonstrated how this can be done." He thought the PP had had a positive impact on the students and for this reason, as well as the School Board's support of the team concept, he believed that some form of teaming would return to the high schools. "The anxiety that this has produced will bring about some type of change and the eventual return of this in some form."

He did, however, acknowledge the difficulties of making this kind of change given the culture of high schools. "High school teachers are too content oriented and certain department chairs, particularly at North, are too driven by data." Changes that required



different approaches to scheduling and teaching were difficult to introduce to high school teachers.

There are politics within each of the buildings--the non-support by those who did not like the idea of the extra prep period for the teams and the department chairs who are really driven by data and a system that is not ready to look at other options of breaking the mold for class periods and class day. . . . And heterogeneous grouping challenges their pedagogy which they have a hard time then dealing with. (Ashman)

As Ashman discussed the influence of various people on the funding for the PP, he quickly turned his attention to the “grandfather” of the principals. “Gary [Brown] has probably been the most influential in the cessation of funding because he has not really been supportive of the teams.” Ashman did not believe that Brown had been sold on the program and “thus, a self-fulfilling prophecy took place. The other two were sold on it and therefore the programs went well there.”

Ashman knew that parents of participating students were supportive of the concept. This was not from direct contact with parents, but through the principals and teachers who had presented him with anecdotal evidence from the year. But he also recognized that “these parents are the ones who are non-verbal.” In doing so, he acknowledged that these parents would not be contacting administrators about their support for the continuation of such a program.

He was even more concerned about the effect on the teachers who had spent so much time and energy on the PP: “Frustrations of such situations can cause problems for further involvement by teachers and that concerns me.” He had been supportive and had been nourishing the idea of change for the high schools. The loss of the PP could potentially lead to a set-back for any progress in that it would allow the nay-sayers to solidify against any change.

As far as he was concerned, problems arise when an innovation is allowed to die before it is subject to any type of analysis or evaluation.

A program must be given at least three years to be checked--it takes that long for any type of effect to finally come into place. The first two years are qualitative in nature for results and need to depend on testimonial. Quantitative may come in after three years. The big problem is people want to normalize after a short time--attendance, scores, grades, etc.--but this will not work. You need to ask the right questions to see what has really taken place: What has happened to attitudes about school, classwork, involvement, etc. that are qualitative in nature? This is a big fault that some wanted only numbers and data when it was too soon to do that. (Ashman)

The final issue he discussed was that of his philosophy of site-based decision-making. He noted that the final decision was not site-specific, but rather a consensus by all three principals of the high schools.

The site-based is still being learned by the principals. Gary [Brown] is the grandfather and is the role model for the others and he then has a lot of influence. Pat [Fields] and Dan [Greene] are gradually becoming their own people and they are beginning to get things going in their own schools. (Ashman)

The real problem was that the idea "was probably a bill of goods sold to all of the schools and they all agreed to go along with it. All three had bought-in or, at least, that was the way it was promoted" (Ashman). As such, the final decision would also be up to all three since it was agreed that the funding would be shared by them.

Ashman concluded with a bit of philosophizing about people and change. "People are humans and a scientific approach just will not work. . . . This is a people situation and people are who you are dealing with. Things will take place slowly and people must be convinced of the change." Unfortunately, his approach to convincing people was to cite the latest book on change he was reading and expect this to influence other administrators to undertake change. In the end, this approach, in the face of site-based decision making, was not effective in terms of integrating the PP into the high schools.

#### Bach, Assistant Superintendent, High Schools

Bach, during the summer after it was known that two of the three teams had either disbanded or modified their design in a way that was much different from the original idea, talked about several aspects of the PP. The first concerned the PP and other district high school innovations. Other high school innovations were being piloted and yet the PP had

been the only one piloted at all three schools. According to Bach, what made this program different from the others “was the Bob DeCourten [previous Assistant Superintendent of High Schools] issue. I inherited the program which was at three high schools because of equity” (Bach). DeCourten had, with Evans, agreed to the PP in all three schools as a matter of equity so that all three school principals would agree to the innovation. Other innovations, such as Tech Prep and a team-approach for World Literature and World History, were being tested in individual schools where interested people had started the programs. Another issue raised by Bach, as it had been by team members and by at least one other administrator, was that of the concept of “site-based decision making.” Most people believed that this implied that each school could make decisions based on its own particular needs. However, since the decision had been made that either all schools would have the teams and share the funding or none would, this appeared to be a contradictory situation.

The site-based is actually small in practice. The schools could have decided on their own to do the teams from their own budgets; however, as much as they say they want the power to be independent, they are also hesitant to go their own ways in this district. Two other things: a pilot may be done in one school such as North and the others would say they would not use it for a variety of reasons (different clientele or such) and parent constituency makes a difference in what they may be able to try. In terms of the site-based management, it is in name only or just a minor bit of site-based. The district controlled everything for so long that it is difficult for administrators to change. I wonder also if teachers really want to take the responsibility that comes with the shared decision-making. Principals want the power for site-based but then are afraid to use it when they have it. Thus, as you ask, the “same schedule in all buildings” attitude. (Bach)

A third issue that continued to be a problem for Bach was the lack of foresight by the two leaders who had developed the program. No plans had been made for additional funding to support the original program at the end of the initial funding. Moreover, nothing had been done to secure funding for a potential growth of the concept.

The funding issue became the problem and that had to be dealt with. The problem is that the delusion has been given that the monies would be available for expansion after implementation. This could not happen because of the funding problems within the

State after the decision was made to pilot this. The long range view was not taken to realize what the consequences of such a pilot would be based on the funding required to support the planning for just the original teams without even considering the costs for expansion. I could have foreseen this but the person in charge did not bother with this. Right now I am being directed to look at the feasibility of taking the extra prep from the middle schools because of the budget problems. This is an example of the problems with pilot programs and the lack of foresight and funding to keep it going. (Bach)

Bach went on to discuss a closely related fourth issue. In the past, people had been led to believe that money could be found for anything for which the district was committed to implementing. Given the State's current revenue problems, which could lead to the loss of an additional 1.4 million dollars in state aid to the district, this belief would have to change.

But that said, Bach also noted that the decision to end the PP had essentially been made earlier. His statements to principals had represented a shift in his thinking.

F: One principal said you had mentioned that the team planning is too expensive and we have to get out of that line of thinking. How accurate is this?

This was accurate. Again, the thinking ahead of time was not well planned out and the budget problems have increased since then. . . . As it is, I am being asked to cut back on high school staff and increase PTR (pupil-teacher ratio) at all levels and, for Eileen (Assistant Superintendent for Elementary), the same problem. I have pointed this out to Joel [Ashman] that he wants to continue the team funding but he has also asked me to increase PTR and cut staff. Somewhere choices will have to be made, so does all day kindergarten get cut or the middle school common plan? (Bach)

Ultimately, Bach believed that there were two main causes for the demise of the PP as it had been imagined from the start. First, there had been the lack of funding resources coupled with other priorities by the principals and administrators for the dollars. Second, there had been a lack of foresight on the part of the initiator of the program. As to the former cause, Bach thought the district could exercise little control because this was determined by state resources. If this problem had been expected or predictable, either alternate funding could have been secured or the project could have been undertaken in a different fashion. The issue of other priorities by principals went in two directions. First, Brown had recommended the funds be used by the individual schools for their own innovation priority. And second, the principals had been unwilling to use their existing

funds in different ways, such as redirecting funding from AP classes. As for the district administrators, they decided to use the LEA funds to support two district facilitators, one of whom was a State Representative on leave from his district teaching position.

The second problem, concerning the initiator of the PP, was one that could have been controllable. However, Bach thought that Evans had made some poor decisions along the way. His headlong pursuit of this innovation without thinking things through had interfered with the process of implementation. As Bach had mentioned, he had foreseen the potential problems and yet the process was allowed to proceed: "Jack [Evans'] a thinker, he is not the doer." In the end, Bach acknowledged the lack of direction and coordination Evans had given the PP innovation throughout the implementation period.

During the last interview, Bach presented his perspectives on redirecting other funds within the schools, such as from the area of Advanced Placement (AP) classes to that of the team projects. He was aware of the teachers' concerns, within each school, about the increased number of AP classes being taught. For the teachers involved with non-AP classes, this meant fewer students for the AP teachers and more students for them. He said that "these [AP] classes are funded within each building by the staff allocation and principals decide how the staff will be used." But, also, "the parents really don't say much about classes in the schools. They really support what is going on and realize we have very good schools--could the problems with parents by principals be a perception rather than reality?" As he also mentioned, "parents really aren't concerned about the schools unless it deals directly with their child. The district is very successful and therefore not much is said." As for how the teachers would possibly react when they learned the funding had actually been redirected away from them, Bach thought this could have an impact on their feelings about future innovation. This could be "a frustrating message" for the PP teachers.

F: What becomes the effect long-term, even short-term, when teachers are put in a position where they are trying all this stuff which has been supported and then all of a sudden the rug is pulled out from under them?

I don't know yet. I think those are the issues we're wrestling with. (pause) And the outcome may be different in each school. . . . I think there are some differences on the administrators part on how they perceive [the outcome of the PP] and what I have to listen to [is] if there are, on all the team members part, of how they perceive [the outcome]. (Bach)

In reference to the issue of the need for sufficient time to determine whether an innovation was successful, he admitted that the PP had not been allowed to proceed long enough. But he felt there was little to be done because finances were the problem and they had no control over this.

In a comment similar to one made by the superintendent, Bach was not about to go against his personal philosophy of leadership. He could facilitate, but not direct the principals.

And what is the ultimate goal? I would respond that I am facilitating change at the high school level. I don't like the word directing. . . . Because, the reason I would say that is, the only person who's going to direct that change eventually is going to be the high school principal. . . . Nobody here is going to direct that change because the institution will resist it. And can! It's just totally impenetrable by anybody sitting in this building to facilitate that change. What is the ultimate goal? High schools that are more responsive to the needs of adolescents as they prepare for the adult world.

F: It's interesting that in talking to the administrators, there are at least two of them who are saying that is their ultimate goal, again reflecting you. They're saying "content second with students first" and "What are we here for?"

And one of them is not sure yet why they need to change. . . . But he's (Brown) got an outstanding high school at this point. (Bach)

Throughout the final interview, he returned to his stated philosophy: teams of teachers at the ninth and tenth grade level were still a concept he continued to support. Teams above that might not be as effective because the students mature and can be more independent, but not so with the transition into the high school. As part of the teams, he hoped to see more collaboration between teachers. This, however, would have to be something that occurred as an idea supported by and implemented by the schools. He realized the teams had been

successful, as shown by the data assembled by Greene at West High. However, he tended to believe the better grades and passing rates were probably more influenced by the teachers involved. In a sense, Bach implied that the PP had not changed anything. Rather, it was the individual teachers who made the difference and this was true regardless of the teaming approach.

This belief notwithstanding, Bach believed the model of schools would need to be changed. He understood the difficulty of transforming the schools because educators would have trouble parting with their old ways of doing things.

But, you see, to really create a transformed high school, you'd almost have to become a model like [Howard Gardner's] and start fresh. [To change the existing model,] [if you try to tinker within it, nobody can part with their structures and time. (Bach)]

He further explained "that as rapidly as society is changing, we've got to look at improving what's occurring there so our kids can be better prepared to get there." He realized this was a process approach rather than a content approach but he "was not willing to take on the content specialists at the high school level." Related to this part of the discussion, he opined that "many teachers do not want to change the status quo," such as tracking, collaborating, and the present high school schedule. For the change to occur, it would require additional inservice activities and professional development.

In the end, Bach focused on Evans, the initiator of the idea. Bach recognized and realized that the "idea person" was not an action person. He knew of Evans' problems in these types of situations. He took more of a "I told you so" attitude about the loss due to the poor planning by Evans. He admitted to recognizing the poor planning, short term and long term, but did not make any suggestions to anyone about these problems. He used political etiquette as one explanation for not wanting to intervene in a colleague's idea. Bach had discussed his philosophy of "facilitating" ideas rather than directing them through the principals. He facilitated the "clustering" concept but never indicated having

discussions with principals about the potential pitfalls of the approach. He accepted the PP innovation but he did not “facilitate” any discussion of planning, funding, or troubleshooting with principals. Bach had hoped the PP would be a catalyst for change and was not as interested in the PP as an innovation itself. He did not, however, facilitate any other method of change during the study time nor was he involved with any type of funding for additional change. His position as facilitator and supporter of the catalyst for change did not follow from words.

#### Evans, Development

For Evans, the end of funding and the end of the PP led to a great deal of reflection. He said that the last year had been the “most frustrating and least enjoyable year so far.” He had prepared a year-end summary, or “self-evaluation”, of his activities for the superintendent. He felt that his extra duties had distracted him from the projects he enjoyed most, such as the PP and the grant writing he had completed for other district projects during the past several years.

Evans went on to discuss his frustrations with the superintendent and the lack of organization for the changes Ashman had been attempting in the district. To him it seemed that Ashman was just jumping from idea to idea. There was little direction for or in-depth development of the most recent ideas presented to the administrators. What most frustrated him about the central administrators was the lack of open discussions and dialogue among them. He had come to realize through his efforts with the PP that the conversations between principals and the top administrators had been “guarded”—no one was speaking openly about their positions on any ideas. A case in point had been that both he and Ashman were not involved in any substantial way with the final funding decision for the PP innovation.



Evans also talked about the PP teachers and their involvement over the three years of development and implementation. He knew, based on their conversations with him during the two years, that they had enjoyed the experience and had gained much from it. The loss made him feel guilty.

I know the people appreciate it by the way they talk to me; I think they feel more fulfilled as teachers; I think they feel like it's more substantive; they don't want to give it up. And then on the other hand, I feel kind of guilty about [creating it], if [the end] is what it turns out to be. That bothers me immensely. (Evans)

He foresaw the possibility that they would just return to their own positions and do what they could in their own settings. The loss would have some effect on the teachers but he believed, in the long term, they would recover and go on with their teaching careers.

I think the short term effect will be pretty damn damaging. Even though they say, "We would have taught like this anyway and probably have. We just can't accomplish what we can in this environment." I can't speak to the long term. You just go back to the way it was and do the best you can. You probably forget about it. (Evans)

Evans also realized from his meetings with the team members that the teachers believed they were having an impact on students and on themselves.

I think that we've made the 9th grade year, which is really the transition year in adolescents, a more effective time for the kids that have been involved. I think they were assimilated more quickly. I think they were supported better from faculty. I have not looked at the data. I'm starting to hear from principals; they're starting to look at data relative to their student achievement. They seem to be, on the basis [of] teacher-given grades, out achieving their non-team counterparts. I think we gained some knowledge relative to what integration and curriculum is all about. I think that was a real plus. But from the teacher's standpoint, I think we have very effectively impacted this teacher isolation and loneliness issue. And I think they'd all tell you that. (Evans)

All of these seemed to him as strong and convincing arguments for the continuation of the program.

The final outcome for the LEA funding was still a mystery for him based on information he had from the principals and teachers. He explained that in the agreement he had brokered with the LEA, the money had been stipulated for two things: the PP and the district teacher who was on leave because he had been elected State Representative. The

contract had to be renegotiated in the spring. He had waited for the principals to decide if they would want to use the monies for another year to fund the teams. Since they had decided to forego any funding at all, he had rewritten the agreement for an additional facilitator's position, as well as for the leave for the Representative. He did not quite understand where the "it's no longer an innovation" perspective had developed because this had not come from him. He could only guess. He had talked to principals earlier in the year about the difficulties of expanding the PP on "soft money" from the LEA. Perhaps his comments which had preceded this soft-money discussion had been misconstrued by them. Whatever had happened, he firmly believed the money would have been available for another year to fund the original three teams. Somehow and somewhere this had been lost on everyone.

Evans talked about the loss of the support for the program, particularly in terms of the apparent turnaround by Fields. Fields had been one of the originators of the team idea and one of its strongest advocates. And yet, he apparently sided with the other administrators about ending the funding. For Evans, this decision was the antithesis of the site-based decision process the district was developing. The three principals were not using site-based management because, if they were, "they would have plunged ahead on their own. They would have continued using the money for the teams whether the others had decided to or not." That no one was willing to push his own team unless all continued with the program funding led him to refer to the principals as the "three musketeers."

Evans could "not understand how the PP can be ignored when it fits so well with the district's Strategic Plan!" There had been the report to the School Board by his advisory committee which had very strongly endorsed the PP concept (see Appendix D for full Committee Report). This report came on the heels of the announced redirection of funding away from the innovation. This announced loss of funding, as Evans said, had caught the

School Board by surprise. They had expressed to him their disappointment, particularly in light of the committee's recommendations.

Evans also talked about the influence of Brown and how this certainly had an effect on the final outcome of the PP. As the senior member of the principals and the most powerful of them, Brown's leadership seemed to him to carry influence over the other principals and the Assistant Superintendent of High Schools. Although he had not spent much time in the principals' meetings, he had insights from the few he had attended and from his interactions with the principals outside of the central office building. He said that "Gary [Brown]'s silver tongue is as silver as his hair." The implication was, as far as Evans was concerned, that Brown could convince people to go along with his desires.

In the end, Evans questioned what level of commitment the district leadership, from the central administration to the building principals, had for any change. "If the district is committed, and the principals are committed, the funding or creativity would be found to keep teams going. . . . I just don't know how much longer I can hang in there for change in this district."

## CHAPTER V

### ASSESSING THE FAILURE OF AN INNOVATION

The PP, although begun with much enthusiasm on the part of the teachers, certain central administrators, and at least two of the three high school principals, lasted only two years. In the face of the ostensible support for this innovation, the question, of course, is what happened? There seems to be four reasons for the demise of this program.

First, the teachers, either correctly or incorrectly, believed that the support they were receiving from administrators, especially the building principals, began to diminish shortly after the innovation began. This led to a climate of uncertainty and, possibly, misperceptions may have diminished the chances for success. Second, the nature of this innovation, with its interdisciplinary team approach and its student centered emphasis, ran counter to the “culture” of the high school which focuses on the transmission of subject matter. Third, the site-based decision making structure of the district allowed the individual principals to decide the fate of the innovation. This was so even in the face of the desires of various central administrators to continue the innovation and to even use it as a catalyst for further change in the high schools. Finally, the influence and power of the more affluent members of the community, as exercised through the most powerful of the three principals, had a direct and decisive role in the ending of the innovation.

#### This Case Study and Literature

The following is not intended to be a comprehensive review of the literature. Rather, the story continues with the discussion and elaboration of the intricate relationships among the many facets within the story of educational change and district innovation. This case study has revealed the many issues that arise with intended change and restructuring and how these issues are interrelated. All of these contribute to the difficulties inherent in the

change process and are more visible when viewed through a micropolitical lens--the implicit becomes more explicit, the covert more visibly overt.

### Support

#### Emotional Support

Support, whether by a principal or another significant individual, is important in the success of any attempted change (Blase & Kirby, 1992; Crandall & Loucks, 1983; Gross et al., 1971; Hall & Hord, 1987; Huberman & Miles, 1984; Louis & Murphy, 1994; Newmann, Rutter, & Smith, 1989; Rosenholtz, 1989; Stapleford, 1994). This case study clearly presents a dichotomy--the perception of support by the administrators and a perception of little or no support by the teachers. The following discusses how this misperception may have occurred and how it affected the teachers involved in the PP innovation.

Because the teachers all found themselves in new and unexpected roles, they were also uncertain as to how they were progressing and whether they were meeting the expectations for teachers. They were expecting some type of feedback from their administrators-- "When you're looking at school transformation, I think it's real important to know that my administrators are reading professionally and could give me materials that could help me...because that's part of helping people know that they're on the right track" (Julie at East). As David Hargreaves (1980) states:

Because the teacher's role is diffuse, being both multifaceted and very unspecific in some of its goals, there are acute difficulties in obtaining the feedback by which a teacher can judge his effectiveness. Direct forms of unambiguous feedback are scarce so a teacher, much more than a doctor or lawyer, sees his work as requiring an act of faith. (p. 136)

Unfortunate as this may seem, teachers then look to others for some form of acknowledgment of their work. The principals had been the ones closest to the teachers, had selected the teachers for participation, and had encouraged the PP pilot program within

the schools. This was not out of line as an expectation for teachers who were putting themselves in such a situation.

Reinforcement of the vision by the leadership desiring change is very important for the success of change (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991; Louis, Marks, & Kruse, 1994; Vandenberghe & Staessens, 1991). Teachers must understand and be supported through the understanding and implementation of the vision (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Fernandez, 1994; Louis, 1992). As stated earlier, teachers rely on feedback from others, including their administrators, for affirmation of what they are accomplishing within their classrooms.

In this case study, each principal had a different perspective on his role in the building and his role with the innovation. Two principals, Fields at East High and Greene at West High, were strong supporters of the innovation and were excited about the opportunity to introduce this type of change into the high schools. Their personal educational philosophies paralleled the philosophy behind the Partners Program. They endorsed the concept and worked with the teachers, parents, and students in regards to the program. Brown at North High was ambivalent to the concept and had his own reasons for accepting the innovation and selecting the teachers to be involved. He had few overt reactions to, or involvement with, the implementation--he had few interactions with students, teachers, or parents about the concept. If it was to survive, it would do so on its own. The following sections discuss explicit and implicit actions and reactions by the principals to the team teaching concept in the high schools and the reflections of literature to this aspect of change.

By their reactions as the year went on, this became evident: administrators believed they were giving a lot of visible and verbal support to the teachers (which was contrary to the teachers' perceptions). Two of the principals had "visions" of teaming becoming the

norm within their schools. In order to do so, both realized the importance of recognizing the teachers involved in the PP and extolling the attributes of this innovation as they applied to their own visions for the high school (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991; Louis et al., 1994; Vandenberghe & Staessens, 1991). This they realized would be important to slowly change the existing culture within each building (Leithwood et al., 1994; Pink, 1994; Vandenberghe & Staessens, 1991). Unfortunately, the participating teachers refused to allow the principals to explicitly and overtly bring attention to the innovation. Nevertheless, Fields included teaming in his vision of the school (see Appendix B) and discussed the concept during his building staff meetings. He believed that he provided support to the PP teachers without calling attention to the program itself, just as the teachers had requested. Greene at West also believed he was supporting the teachers as they had requested.

An unfortunate situation, however, developed in this case study. Two of the principals wanted to openly support the PP but the teachers wanted it “quiet.” The participating teachers refused to allow the principals to explicitly and overtly bring attention to the innovation. The teachers feared additional negative comments/reactions from their colleagues. This, however, reflects what has been written by Waller (1932) and Lortie (1975) about teacher insecurities and uncertainties and how these could perhaps prevent teachers from wanting the recognition within the framework of their schools. This also relates to the egalitarian beliefs held by teachers. The other related problem was that the teams were expected to be something which they did not wish to be--leaders for change and were put up on a pedestal as such (Dunne, 1994; Muncey & McQuillan, in press; Schwartz, 1971).

Teachers gain much from their feelings about their success with students and success in the classroom. Their sense of efficacy--the extent they believe they can affect student

achievement (Dembo & Gibson, 1985) and the belief that one has the requisite skills to bring about the desired outcomes (Bandura as cited in Dembo & Gibson, 1985)--is very closely related to this perception. Teachers, however, rarely receive any form of feedback from students, colleagues, or administrators. Because of this lack of feedback, teachers must rely on their own judgment concerning their teaching (D. Hargreaves, 1980; Lieberman & Miller, 1978). Problems for teachers arise from two situations relating to efficacy: student connected responses and adult related responses. The dichotomy is that the teachers in this study wanted privacy concerning the program and yet they were in search of praise from their principals. Teachers are accustomed to isolation and protect their privacy, but by doing so, also deprive themselves from any sources of praise and support (A. Hargreaves, 1992a).

Prestine (1994) provides further insight into the situation where teachers may find themselves when involved in innovative change:

. . . the governance/organizational changes . . . affect school and administrative concerns that are somewhat removed from individual teacher's primary arena of activity, the classroom. Thus they can largely be accommodated without changes in individual practice or a challenge to personal beliefs and are basically seen as accruing to the overall benefit of teachers. [Curricular pedagogical] changes strike more directly at the individual teacher. Teacher identity is largely inseparable from the instructional act. Change in these areas involves personal change, including an implicit acknowledgment that what had been practiced was less adequate or desirable and a strenuous and time-consuming effort to discard old ways and learn new. (pp. 21-22)

The teachers were experiencing the dramatic changes in their classrooms--procedures, pedagogy, autonomy, student responses--and were wanting and expecting the acknowledgment for these efforts. The principals believed they were responding to these changes with some verbal and visual signs of support. However, it was not the principals' "identities" being challenged daily and therefore they could not empathize with the teachers' immediate needs for administrative acknowledgment. More specifically, the teachers were willing to take risks for change they believed needed to be done. Nevertheless, teachers



involved in such restructuring must be supported for their risk-taking if change is to be sustained (Louis, 1992).

Julie at East High talked about the loss of her individuality as a participant in this innovation. Some of her self-worth depended on the reactions from students and parents to her teaching (Little, 1992). With the team approach, she was not receiving the responses from parents and students as she had previous to the PP. This is not unusual in light of research by McLaughlin (1993) and Raudenbush, Rowan, and Cheong (1990) who found that efficacy does change from class period to class period and is dependent on the relationship with students in the classes. In a sense, Julie had lost control of one feedback mechanism she had relied on.

In spite of the administrators' sincere beliefs that they had done as the teams had requested, the teachers themselves felt maligned. This is an important finding for this aspect of the research literature. At what point is attention too much or not enough? The principals perceived that they responded to every request of the teachers and were providing the needed support for change (Crandall & Loucks, 1983; Gross et al., 1971; Hall & Hord, 1987; Huberman & Miles, 1984; Stapleford, 1994). But when asked how often they visited the teams, the response was similar: whenever the teams asked. The principals were busy with many other problems and concerns in their buildings. Brown explicitly noted that he had "other priorities and everyday problems to deal with." The teachers were hoping for continued visible support--emotional, verbal, physical--but when this did not occur, they "felt uncertain and directionless" (Muncey & McQuillan, in press).

Blase and Kirby (1992), in their book, Bringing Out the Best in Teachers, make suggestions for principals based on their research in which they asked teachers what effective principals do "that leads to improved teacher motivation, commitment, and innovation" (p. xvi). Some of the suggestions from their book are:

- (a) Praise sincerely--praise that is not contrived or awkward
- (b) Schedule time for teacher recognition
- (c) Write brief notes to compliment individuals
- (d) Show pride in teachers by boasting
- (e) Target praise to teachers' work
- (f) Communicate consistently
- (g) Seize and create opportunities
- (h) Generalize expectations: personalize feedback
- (i) Emphasize that autonomy is extended out of a sense of professionalism and confidence. It is not an abdication of authority--principals should offer advice when asked and intervene when individual problems are detected
- (j) Use other influence strategies in conjunction with autonomy--such as conveying expectations, involving groups of teachers in schoolwide decisions, providing professional literature related to improvement, and providing opportunities for professional development
- (k) Assist teachers in evaluating newly attempted techniques.

In the initial months of implementation, both principals and teachers described actions that would meet many of the criteria listed by Blase and Kirby. Midway through the first year, however, teachers were experiencing very few of these criteria listed. When asked about what they were doing in respect to the teachers, none of the principals suggested more than one or two of the criteria. Fields, because of his vision statements and change committee, was practicing several of the suggestions, but with all staff members rather than the team teachers individually. As much as the principals perceived themselves as showing support, their actions did not convey to the team members any of the criteria suggested by Blase and Kirby. The administrative support, which is so often expressed as important for change to occur, was not as visible and pronounced as the principals believed.

Principal support is an important ingredient in change. Another closely related concept, because this depends on the administrators and the power they have to provide this, is time (Corwin, 1983; Dunne, 1994; Fullan, 1990; A. Hargreaves, 1994; Sarason, 1990). In this study, time was a problem in that longevity, or the time to develop and prove themselves, was promised and then reneged upon. Bach had explicitly told the teachers that time would be needed, at least several years, before the results would be checked. Ashman, as superintendent, had made a similar statement and Brown, a known non-supporter, had also

mentioned the same thing. The teachers took these statements as a symbol of patience and support for at least several years of funding. Time came to a halt when funding became an explicit issue within the district after less than two years of implementation.

Another problem within the process was the lack of continued discussion and understanding for the reasons for the change. Prestine (1994) notes that it is imperative to maintain these connections between changes instituted and the reasons behind these changes. Since no one in the schools seemed to know the reasons for the teams, the teams were known by only a few and the concept was not accepted by many. No overt explanation was given to the members of the three staffs and there were no reports ever presented to them concerning the outcomes or progression of the teams. Evans maintained this was to be one of his goals but failed to follow-through on this with the principals. And, as reported by the principals themselves, very little time within their bi-weekly administrative meetings was devoted to discussions about the teams so they, as well as the other administrators and teachers, did not revisit the reasons for the teams. Assistant principals knew little or nothing about the PP.

### Training

The teachers involved in the Partners Program had little or no training in some aspects of their experiences and expected needs for the pilot program. As discussed previously, the teachers were in relatively large high schools and all were members of relatively large curricular departments. Although nearly all of them had some aspect of junior high experience, only a few of them had experience at teaching in an interdisciplinary situation. Only three had taught in a team teaching situation. And yet, they were expected to know how teams worked and how they were effective. The expectation was that "they are all excellent and experienced teachers, they will figure this out." Indications during the

research were that this did not necessarily occur. Several situations arose to better demonstrate problems in this area.

The teams had hoped for heterogeneous teaching and had tried to select a cross-section of abilities. Only the East High team came close to this approach. Their goals were honorable but their eventual first year experiences left them wondering and tired from trying to do so much with such a diverse group. Their diverse group included emotionally disruptive students integrated into their classes which they had not experienced on such a level. Sharon had not experienced the attempt to teach a heterogeneously grouped set of students in math. The problem became almost too much for her. As Andy Hargreaves, Wignall and Macmillan (1992) state, "Mixed ability grouping requires changes in teaching strategies which in turn requires professional development for teachers" (p. 5). The teachers were attempting this but without the advantage of any special assistance through professional development or through any type of consulting expertise. The math and LA teachers had taught leveled classes in the past and were experiencing heterogeneous classes within the PP: this caused stresses as indicated by them: frustrations with less feedback, frustrations with spending time on teaching several levels of math in the same class, and frustrations of preparing students for "next year's classes and teachers."

When asked why they had not sought any type of assistance for the new situation, several reasons were given. First, they did not know what to expect. Second, when they had to confront the problems, they relied on each other rather than outside expert help. This is not unusual. As David Hargreaves (1980) has reported, when teachers encounter problems with mixed ability grouping, they do not seek help because of the cult of individualism:

... the cult of individualism and the enhanced competence anxieties serve to inhibit the emergence of co-operative teacher solutions which are essential in the success of mixed ability grouping and leave many teachers working alone in a state of deep anxiety and stress, resorting to individual strategies for coping and surviving. (p. 145)

Sharon was faced with the many difficulties of the situation and yet relied only on her team without seeking any assistance elsewhere. Third, they did not know who to contact for expertise in team or group training. They had met with one middle school team but for only a brief time. The West team did meet with the science and math consultants from the LEA on a monthly basis but usually the consultants observed the team meeting and asked questions. This team and interdisciplinary approach was new to the consultants, as well.

Another concept that was new to most of the team members was the contacting of parents on a regular basis and involving themselves with family problems. They were accustomed to parental contact via the annual parent-teacher conferences, which in itself was a relatively new idea in all three high schools. This added expectation was a concern for most of the teachers. They talked about the lack of expertise they had for dealing with family problems and the stress this added to their personal teaching lives. The teachers mentioned the lack of training they had in this area and had suggested to Evans that this be addressed in future training. It is important to note that, in spite of increased parental contact by all high school teachers, either during parent-teacher conferences or as part of academic interventions, no type of training had taken place for anyone within the district. The need for this type of training, teacher-parent interactions, has been suggested (Blase, 1987b; Dembo & Gibson, 1985).

Another goal, interdisciplinary teaching, became problematic as the experience progressed. The overall personal expense to the teachers in terms of time and energy became overwhelming, although only the West team recognized this and scaled down their goals to what they considered a reasonable level. West abandoned the interdisciplinary attempt and accepted that this would take too much of their energies, not unlike what Dobbins (1971) had to say about a similar program: "Our goal was commendable, the task extremely taxing. . . . The problem is exacerbated by the charge to develop interdisciplinary

content” (p. 519). As suggested by Dunne (1994) and Prestine (1994), to have change occur, particularly a complex change, requires help. The teams had gone into this with some avenues of help in the form of some extra funding, up-front planning time, and an extra planning period in their day, but there was no time or any extra funding set aside for training of the teachers before, or during, the implementation of the PP. They were left to their own devices and creativity to solve their individual and group problems.

One of the major problems which had developed during the first year of implementation had been the students. Students were no longer in the control of one teacher but of the three. The students were not “my” students but “our” students. The students became a concern beyond the traditional 55-minute class; they became a concern of the team of teachers for three-periods per day as well as 24-hours per day--something they were not accustomed to nor prepared for. They realized the lack of control they had of students well beyond their classrooms and the impact the outside was having on their school attendance and actions. This lack of control became even more stressful for the East team when the teachers realized the number of special needs, hyperactive students they had in their group. They were not accustomed to, nor trained for, “controlling” such students within their classrooms. They questioned their skills at dealing with students in a way they had not experienced since their “initiation years” as beginning teachers. McLaughlin (1993), reporting on research conducted for the Center for Research on the Context of Secondary School Teaching, states: “Teachers’ comments about the aspects of their students that had the greatest impact on their classroom practices focused on . . . the demands, difficulties and pressures associated with today’s students.” The teachers on the PP teams often spoke about the issues and problems they had to confront with their students in personal ways that had been unknown to them in the past, or had been neglected, because this had not been an expectation of them as classroom teachers.

The process of change for people is difficult, as attested by this case study and other stories contained in the large database covering this topic. Teachers go into the unknown with high hopes of success. They, however, become hardened to the results of the constant changes desired by others and yet they are expected to implement the innovation (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991). Authors have written about the teacher as the center of this change process (Fullan, 1982; Sarason, 1971, 1982). But, as discussed by Andy Hargreaves (1992a), teachers are involved in a culture where they also need the support and verbal acknowledgment by their principals and leaders. This tangible knowledge is important for them as they struggle through the hardships of change. The teachers in this case believed this existed for the initial implementation period and then the support waned. Looking more closely at this situation is important because it also illustrates the micropolitical problems that existed at the support level of change. Change literature, particularly organizational change, has looked at the differences between first-order and second-order changes (Cuban, 1988). First-order changes represent “incremental modifications that make sense within an established framework or method of operation” (Bartunek & Moch, 1987, p. 484). Second-order changes “represent actual modifications of the framework itself, fundamental revisions and restructuring of interpretive schemes and bases of organizational understanding” (Prestine, 1994, p. 28). Key people in the PP-East and West High principals and district administrators--were hoping to use the PP as an impetus for a second-order, or systemic change, but without the explicit support needed for such a drastic change.

Bach and Evans set out hoping to change the way the high schools work--that the PP would be the catalyst for change. But, as has been noted by others, a systemic change requires a substantive redesign which throws open the culture of the schools (Dunne, 1994; Mirel, 1994; Muncey & McQuillan, in press). None of this was taken into account. Dunne

(1994) believes three assumptions for change must be considered: (a) desire does not transform tidily into change, (b) help helps, (c) change is ongoing and people involved need tools for this change. In retrospect, Evans realized he had neglected all of these but could only move on with hopes that the PP teachers would accept the inevitable loss.

### High School Culture

The teachers in this study were not unique in their reactions to the introduction and involvement in change, innovation, and restructuring. The literature is replete with examples of case studies about teachers at all levels undergoing the problem of innovation and/or restructuring (Aiken, 1942; Dobbins, 1971; A. Hargreaves, 1992b; Muncey & McQuillan, in press; Redefer, 1950; Schwartz, 1971; Wasley, 1994). Many of these cases deal with only the teachers and their reactions to, and the effects upon, the innovation during the process of implementation.

The teachers' interactions and relationships with their colleagues, both in their respective buildings and within their departments, place a major demand on them because of the innovation (Pray, 1969). Teachers are accustomed to the autocracy and power they wield within their own classrooms (Lieberman & Miller, 1978; Lortie, 1975; Peterson, 1966; Sarason, 1990; Waller, 1932). The teachers in this story, however, discovered they were powerless in the district and within their schools to control criticism from others. This was exemplified in several ways. First, collectively, they were not willing to be up-front with their own staffs about the PP because they feared resentment, criticism, and failure with their colleagues--that is, their participation would isolate them and, if the project failed, would reinforce the belief that change is doomed to fail. Second, jealousies from their colleagues came through in various parts of the story--the extra computers, extra materials, extra planning time, the extra attention, the extra extras! Teachers are believers in egalitarianism (Lortie, 1975). This set the teams, and therefore the teachers, apart and



made them vulnerable to comments by others. Before the PP had started, team members experienced some negative reactions from their department colleagues. The teachers stated that this did not bother them; they later reported the comments and pressure had subsided. Contrary to this, however, were comments by administrators and by Sharon, former team leader at East, that indicated many of the problems persisted throughout the three years.

David Hargreaves (1980) notes that “[occupational culture] has led us to underestimate the significance of the teachers’ culture as a medium through which many innovations and reforms must pass; yet in that passage they frequently become shaped, transformed or resisted in ways that were unintended and unanticipated” (p. 126). Three key areas relating to the culture of high schools evolved throughout this study. In most situations, the participants were not aware of how the culture affected the implementation of the PP and the teachers themselves. However, all three were explicitly discussed by the different levels of the school district throughout the three years. First, was the attitude of the “middle school concept” being introduced to the high schools. Second, were the influence and cultural beliefs of the subject department members, particularly department chairs, on the innovation and the teachers themselves. And third, was the egalitarian beliefs of high school teachers. The following is a discussion of these three major issues relating to culture that arose for the team members within their schools during the two years of the study. In this case, the problems continued to be only part of the story rather than the story itself.

#### Middle School Attitude And High School Culture

The PP was intended to be an innovation to increase the success of 9th graders by offering a better transition for the students as they entered the traditional four year high school. This concept, however, was met with a common reaction by many of the high school teachers: a middle school concept moving into the high schools. This was said in a

negative, demeaning way and reflected their perceptions on what middle schools meant: team teaching with a student-centered approach by the teachers. Why would this elicit such negative reactions? As one informant stated, "Those who did not want to be in middle schools fought to get into the high schools during the transition."

The middle school approach is student-centered and teachers at this level tend to be developmental educators while those in junior high/high school are subject specialists and tend to prefer older pupils rather than "mothering younger ones" (A. Hargreaves, 1986, p. 207). Informal interviews supported this perspective, particularly among several department heads who felt it was not their "place to mother the high school students--they must sink or swim once in the high school." Their beliefs were that of subject specific and not student-centered (A. Hargreaves et al., 1992; D. Hargreaves, 1980). This is interesting to note because of the backgrounds of those teachers who were members of the PP teams. All but one had elementary and/or junior high experience and all had made some comment during interviews of being "student-centered." High school staff members who were not supportive of the program were fairly independent in their thinking of what school "should look like for students" and supported a departmentalized organization, not unlike what Mary Haywood Metz (1990a) has described as perceptions for what is considered a "real school"--that is, the team members had strayed from what the other high school teachers perceived as the standard way of doing things.

The team teachers had a purpose of a student-centered philosophy, one in which they believed that, perhaps, they could make a personal difference in the success of 9th graders (Miller, 1990). This in itself is contrary to what has been found regarding many high school teachers who regard their positions as one of content specialist rather than being an advocate for the students (Stager & Fullan, 1992; Stiegelbauer, 1992). The participating teachers were motivated to be involved in a team-approach with high school students, a

marked change for the oft described “impersonal” approach of large high schools (Sizer, 1984).

Teachers at various levels--elementary, middle and high school--are socialized groups within their respective settings (A. Hargreaves, 1992a). At East, the staff had weathered the attempt of a previous administrator to introduce Mastery Learning and they were expecting to do the same with the PP and team teaching. At North, the culture of quantitative results and AP classes did not mesh with a perception of the PP as a “wishy-washy” approach to learning which had no measurable results (Brown at North). Greene, principal at West, found himself trying to undo the autocratic culture which his predecessor had developed; he discovered a staff unfamiliar with a shared culture--the teachers were accustomed to instructions from the principal rather than left to their own creative devices.

The culture of a system prevents the invasion of innovation (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Dunne, 1994; Marshall, 1991; Sarason, 1971, 1982). In this case, the teachers were part of a high school group and the idea of moving a “middle school” concept to the high school was antithetical to the sub-culture of departments and separate subject areas (A. Hargreaves, 1992a, 1994). It is the “culture” of high schools which can make change difficult because of the marginalization of any members who attempt to defect to another system and the departments themselves create a culture of separation (Johnson, 1990; Prestine, 1994; Riseborough, 1981; Siskin, 1990, 1991). It was these “sub-cultures” that had one of the greatest impacts on the teachers themselves.

#### Influence of Departments: A Sub-Culture

“Because of its large and differentiated nature, the high school is, in fact, particularly vulnerable to the informal balkanization of its teachers. This is why agreed whole-school policies are so difficult to secure in that setting” (A. Hargreaves, 1992a, p. 223). The high school subject area and department structure itself creates its own culture (Goodson, 1983,

1988; A. Hargreaves, 1992a, 1994). Andy Hargreaves (1994) has called this the “balkanized form of teacher cultures” (p. 213). He identifies four characteristics for these cultures: (a) low permeability (groups strongly insulated from each other), (b) high permanence (existence and membership are clearly delineated in space and strong permanence over time, e.g., primary teachers, chemistry, Special Education), (c) personal identification or socialization into a group--” . . . singular identification with particular sub-groups undermines capacity for empathy and collaboration with others” (p. 214), and (d) political complexion: “Teacher sub-cultures are not merely sources of identity and meaning. They are repositories of self-interest as well” (p. 214).

An attempt to set up a core group of teachers in the high school, such as the PP, can expect to face problems because of the strong subject identities (D. Hargreaves, 1980; Johnson, 1990). In the case of all three schools, the culture of departments and content importance was very obvious. At all three high schools, the math departments were concerned about coverage and preparation for the next level, to the point that Sharon at East spent the last month of the year preparing students for the next year’s math teachers: “. . . we still feel responsible to have the kids with certain skills by the end of the year” (Sharon). Science department chairs at both East and North High Schools were not favorable toward the PP concept. The chair at North eventually accepted the idea but did not support it, and the chair at East used his influence to prevent a science teacher from participating.

These problems should not be surprising, for two reasons. First, “The increased size of departments and the emphasis on producing ‘success’ measured in public examination success rates will reinforce subject expertise against the weak classification required in the integrated code” (D. Hargreaves, 1980, p. 144). Second, Brown, as the educational leader at North, pressed hard for the outward measures of success in visible data which he

did not see in the PP (Edmonds, 1979; Lezotte, personal communication, June 27, 1991; Louis & Miles, 1990).

One desired outcome for the PP innovation was a change in the way high school teachers interacted with each other. Both assistant superintendents, Evans and Bach, were hoping for a loss of isolation and an increase in collaboration between teachers. Fields at East likewise was hoping for more communication between teachers. This aspect succeeded for the team members; however, the high school balkanized cultures marginalized and reputed the need for the interdisciplinary core groups.

Schools with innovative programs which try to establish core groupings of students and schools-within-schools, for instance, might destabilize existing department structures. And schools deliberately seeking to develop collaborative work cultures across departments may also lead to interesting modifications in the traditional balkanized pattern. (A. Hargreaves et al., 1992, p. 8)

As these authors surmise, the collaborative culture may breach the bulkhead of the traditional balkanized high school cultures. The findings of other authors are also not as optimistic for the effect of a school-within-a-school approach to change because of its attendant problems (Muncey & McQuillan, in press; Timar, 1990; Wasley, 1994). In this case, the departments, particularly the core subjects, marginalized the PP to prevent this from occurring.

Another related aspect for culture was the reluctance of experimentation. Most of the teachers and administrators reported a lack of interest in trying things differently. The academic departments were secure in what had been done in the past and the teachers desired the same. The department community, however, has the greatest significance on teachers for their norms of practice, and attitudes about teaching and students (McLaughlin, 1993). Little's (1982) research in particular suggests that innovation and improvement are likely to succeed only where "norms of collegiality and experimentation" already exist among the staff of the school. Several teachers and principals mentioned the aging of their

staffs and unwillingness to change. They also knew their colleagues spoke about “the cycle of reform and the PP innovation was just part of the cycle.” At least one team member talked about her own involvement in team teaching when she first entered the teaching profession in the early 70s; the PP for her was a return to team teaching but in a different way. The teachers had a feeling from the beginning that the “cycle” would occur and the PP would be a part of the cycle once again.

I do think [the PP] will be short lived until we get people who are convinced that they want to share, want to work together. . . . I just [believe our staff] thinks it’s kind of a “one more little thing we do in education that, if you wait ten years, it will go away.” (Margaret at West)

The PP would fail just as everything else in the cycle had before it and the same would happen to any future innovations (LeCompte & Dworkin, 1991). In informal interviews, teachers were not necessarily against change, per se, but not in favor of this kind of change--the culture of departments as well as the merged culture of the junior high and high school, a traditional system, was a greater issue in controlling any change (A. Hargreaves, 1986).

The preferred culture, such as collaboration in schools that was desired by Fields and Greene, was against the prevailing context of teachers work (A. Hargreaves, 1991; Little, 1982). In the case of the teams, they were given an extra period designed for collaborating about students and their three subject areas. This was contrary to the context of how teachers work and against the traditional situation of teaching one less class.

When I first came to East, there was a philosophy here that every man was his own island, so to speak. And, while there was collegiality amongst the department members, for example, you pretty much did your own thing in isolation from everybody else. That was foreign to me. Having been nurtured in the elementary and junior high setting, I worked with people all the time; and it was, it was culture shock, I’ll call it, for me to come here [to the high school]. (Rod at East)

Teachers talked about their collaboration within the teams as being much different than discussions they would have with colleagues in the lounge or office. Teaming brought out

professional, in-depth conversations rather than the typical surficial, anecdotal talk about students (A. Hargreaves, 1992a; Lieberman & Miller, 1978). They enjoyed this professional aspect of their PP experience and realized this as a strong positive part of the team concept. Again, however, the culture of the “balkanized” subject areas interceded for any effective long term aspects of this interchange.

The participants and Evans, who developed the PP, were bothered by the lack of interest shown by the other high school teachers, the negative reactions by colleagues, and the mounted pressure by many department heads toward the PP. The cultures of the subject areas greatly influenced how the team was perceived and how other teachers reacted to them. Their approach to students was different: they certainly knew much more about their group of students than many other teachers in their buildings. As reported by Hoy, Tarter, and Kottkamp (cited in Louis et al., 1994), high schools have a segmentation of departments, which have a “non-articulated” view of students leading to a lack of sense for a student’s progress through school. Also, because of subject matter specialization, teachers share less tasks and experiences (Louis et al., 1994). These also contributed to the isolation the teams experienced. And, in respect to the lack of interest, the teachers themselves had wanted silence about the teams for fear of the reactions, the “cultural” responses, they would receive from their colleagues. As has been noted by others (A. Hargreaves et al., 1992; Muncey & McQuillan, in press) change similar to the PP was successful in small high schools in which the ties within departments were weak.

Another aspect of the high school culture readily explains problems encountered by individuals within the teams. The concept behind the PP could threaten the status quo of departments or weaken their present strength (Johnson, 1990). The teachers involved with the development of the PP had the intention of providing some special attention for average students by developing a heterogeneous 9th grade approach (A. Hargreaves et al., 1992;

Miller, 1990). As the West team noted, they wanted this to be the Extended Learning Program (ELP) for the masses. There were special classes for the AP-type students and classes for the special-needs students, but what was special for the average students? The teams had set out with the goal of not only being student-centered but also to make this group of students feel “special” within their settings. A problem that became more obvious as this study evolved, however, was the enculturated tracking at all three high schools. This was readily admitted by Brown at North, Fields at East, and Bach in central administration.

For at least the East team, which was attempting heterogeneous classes, some internal conflicts arose within the math department. The math department members were not in favor of mixed grouping and were not in favor of Sharon participating in the team program. Fields acknowledged the department’s concern about any change away from ability grouping, a model which he believed was “the easy way for them to teach math, not necessarily the best way to teach for the students.” This certainly threatened the established program of ability grouping practiced within the math department (A. Hargreaves, 1986; A. Hargreaves et al., 1992). Andy Hargreaves and Macmillan (1992) call this the “political complexion” or repositories of self-interest (p. 169). Riseborough (1981) has similarly noted that major innovations may divide teachers into supporters who will benefit from the innovation, and opponents who may not gain anything by it. Ball (1987) likewise has discussed how the dynamics of power and self-interest within such cultures are major determinants of how teachers behave as a community. In this case, the math department’s self-interests were certainly threatened by such an innovation. How did the teams attempt to deal with this issue?

The three teams did not intentionally set out with this issue as a goal but certainly ran into the ramifications of dealing with this. The West team had problems with at least one of



their members working with a group of students that were, according to the math department chair, below his ability level. In other words, he was being wasted at the 9th grade level and would best serve students in upper level classes (Ball, 1987; A. Hargreaves, 1994; A. Hargreaves et al., 1992; Riseborough, 1981). The team at East encountered problems because they were attempting heterogeneous classes in math, an approach strongly opposed by the math department members. At North, the teachers had the problem of not having the best students in a “heterogeneous” class because of perceived parent pressure for students to be in more challenging classes (Johnson, 1990; Metz, 1990a). This meant their children were not to be in classes for average or below average students. The “tradition” had been for ability grouped classes for many years (Tye, 1985).

But in North Bend in the '60's there would have still been just as much tracking as there is at this point. . . . This district had a very strong tracking propensity. And so to me, the heterogeneous grouping at East is a major breakthrough. Because even while we were in junior high, the tracking of 7th, 8th and 9th grade was horrendous. (Bach)

Concerns with this approach came across in formal and informal interviews of teachers within the buildings. A major issue became the differentiation of staff responsibilities and funding. Teachers were concerned that the AP classes were receiving priority in the schools, represented by smaller classes, on the average, than the non-AP classes. Teachers of regular classes sometimes had to bring in extra chairs for their classes (perhaps 35 or more students) and yet saw AP classes with enrollments in the mid- to upper-teens. These classes were most often taught by department chairs or the academically, specialized teachers (Allen, cited in Riseborough, 1981; Ball, 1987; Riseborough, 1981).

Andy Hargreaves (1992a, 1994) terms the status between certain subjects as the “high and low status subjects”--the academic and practical subjects which also represent the high and low status knowledge (Apple, 1990; Goodson, 1983). In a similar way, teachers in this study were cognizant of the different status given to regular and AP classes. The AP classes had the better students and smaller class sizes which gave the other teachers an

advantage with discipline and time. This played out in other areas that were implicitly expressed by teachers. These teachers had fewer students but the funding was equal, whether there were fifteen students or thirty-five students--in this sense, more funding was allocated to the academic areas (Byrne, cited in Goodson, 1983). This ratio also gave the teachers of smaller, academic classes more time-per-student as well as fewer demands for class preparation which was perceived with inequity by other teachers. Unfortunately, as expressed by the teachers and at least two principals, the high SES parents were the ones most apt to be concerned about the placement of their child in advanced classes rather than the average classroom because of their desire for these classes as college preparatory (A. Hargreaves, 1992b).

A hidden agenda by Bach for the PP had been for a systemic change to occur and abolish this old system of tracking and teaching. Unfortunately, tracking was part of the “culture” of the district and he had to admit the possibility of changing this looked very bleak as the funding period drew to an end. As Stager and Fullan (1992) stated, “The change agenda for the future must revisit the age-old problem of whether the educational system is a passive reflection of society, or an active agent of societal change” (p. 211). In this case, however, contrary to the hopes of Stager and Fullan, the system continued to reflect society rather than change society. The PP teachers had hoped their program would be a means of changing some aspects of the students’ involvement with school and change some aspects of this situation by being student-centered (Johnson, 1990). But, as they realized, the change was difficult. Unfortunately, they were not cognizant of the levels of change they were attempting within the culture of strong, high status departments (Goodson, 1983; Johnson, 1990).

### Egalitarian Beliefs--“Favored Teachers”

Another aspect of “political complexion,” as Andy Hargreaves and Macmillan (1994, p. 169) label it, is the haves and have-nots, or “favored group” (Cambone, 1995; Miller, 1990; Peterson, 1991). The PP teachers began the first year of implementation with added extras for development of the program. They were happy to receive these specials because they believed the extras would certainly help them in their approaches. At East, a few extras were a computer loaned to them, a rearrangement of room locations, and student selection; for the West team they received graphing calculators and were allowed to select students; for the North team, they had one room change but, again, just their involvement was an issue. For all the teams, the extra planning period was an extra that most colleagues outside of the teams did not understand, nor readily accepted, as problems regarding funding and student ratios developed within the district. And in all locations, the perception existed that the teams had been given the better students to work with as part of the program, even though this was not true (Aschbacher, 1992; Muncey & McQuillan, in press).

These reactions should have been expected and anticipated. Blase (1987a) found that “principals who practiced favoritism toward ‘selected’ teachers precipitated feelings of anger, jealousy, suspicion, and futility among the faculty” (p. 294). Muncey and McQuillan (in press) have termed teachers in this position as having problems with “political naiveté” for not realizing what would potentially occur when receiving extras outside of the established norms for the group. In their study, Muncey and McQuillan also found that extras seemed to alienate people more from a school-within-a-school innovation. Lortie (1975) states: “Teachers continue to oppose internal differentiation in rewards on grounds other than seniority or education” (p. 102). Other case studies support the problems that teachers have when perceived as being the “favored ones” or receiving extras

compared to other teachers (Mirel, 1994; Stapleford, 1994). The culture of the high school is an egalitarian belief for materials and recognition, in spite of what actually occurs; however, as discussed earlier, the equality seemed to end when comparing AP classes and the caseloads involved with the average ability classes.

Stapleford (1994), in his study of reform in two high schools, discussed three crucial ingredients for change that were problems for the district leadership. These three were political problems, financial limitations, and administrative support. In this case study, the financial support waned after three years--a situation not unusual (Aschbacher, 1992; Corwin, 1983; Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991; LeCompte & Dworkin, 1991). The administrative support, as discussed earlier, existed in part by two principals and two central district administrators. When choices had to be made, this support also waned. Political support existed in name only. The school board had explicitly gone on record as supporting team teaching (Appendix D) but did not politically become involved in the hard choice to continue the PP. These various aspects of support--political, financial, emotional, and physical--were contributing factors to the problems that existed. However, in spite of these situations, the teachers themselves were willing to continue the Partners Program and did so in some manner within two of the schools. But, as Stapleford (1994) has suggested, another aspect for the problems of change is the political reality. The following sections discuss two additional aspects of political problems: the political realities of site-based management, and the political involvement of high SES parents.

#### Site-Based

Ashman, as superintendent, had introduced site-based management to the North Bend school district. This entailed giving power to the individual schools to be the primary decision-makers for individual school budgets and the hiring of their own staff members as needed (David, 1989). Portions of this practice had been in place prior to Ashman's start

but he continued to explicitly empower building principals to handle more of their building's decisions. At the high school level, the eventual outcome had been to allow each school to develop their own calendar for building-level inservice days outside of the district-wide scheduled days, and the individual buildings to design some of their own professional training activities. The most visible aspect of teacher involvement in site-based decision making had been their participation in setting annual building-level goals, part of the School Improvement Plan required by the superintendent. All of these steps met various perspectives of what has come to be called site-based management and decision-making (Astuto & Clark, 1992; Astuto, Clark, Read, McGree, & Fernandez, 1994; Cotton, 1992; David, 1989).

Within this study, several aspects of site-based management became problematic within the success or failure of the innovation. First, the relationships between the three building principals, in respect to the PP innovation, did not represent a site-based decision-making model. The principals controlled their own budgets and buildings, and yet they could not, or would not, make a unilateral decision about the innovation. Second, the site-based philosophy did not translate into any empowerment for stakeholders, particularly the PP teachers, within the buildings (Lichtenstein, McLaughlin, & Knudsen, 1992). And third, the site-based management inhibited the continuation of an innovation that was to be a district-wide change for an identified district-wide problem.

The first issue was the relationships among the administrators in this study and the site-based model being implemented. As for the superintendent, he eventually had no power within this decision and within the high school structure because, in this case, he was more of a figurehead than a facilitator for change. "I believe in site-based. I express my ideas and interests but I do not dictate to the principals what they will do--this would fly in the face of my philosophy. . . . You convince people what to do and hire people with the same

philosophy” (Ashman). He had been marginalized by Brown with the other principals and had been left “out of the loop” by the principals and Bach (Corbett, 1991). As much as he had hoped to facilitate change through the teams and facilitate the concept as a district goal, the end result clearly showed it was easy for the structure to circumvent any influence by him. He was not made aware of the problem until the funding had already been redirected. The case could be made that he was pre-occupied with the potential of another position. However, other informants within the district acknowledged that he had been left out of the discussion, just as Evans had been left out of the inner circle of decision-making, on this innovation.

In this study, Brown held sway over not only his own building but proved to be influential within the entire school district. Much as the innovation was accepted, this did not guarantee support, much as Muncey and McQuillan (in press) found with their six case studies. Passive acceptance, rather than committed support, can very quickly turn into opposition. Brown’s stated support was not for the innovation but out of deference to the superintendent. His acceptance later became a point of non-support and pressure to redirect the funds. This influenced the funding decision away from the innovation.

Brown, as the experienced and eldest of the three principals, maintained the high status position. He had the “power” in his way of controlling what occurred within the district as perceived by his own building staff, by central district administrators, and by his colleagues. He also had the status as being the principal of the “powerful” high school in respect to the affluent and influential people within the community. These perceptions put Brown in two positions. He had power over, or influence upon, the principals, and he had strong influence upon the district administrators as indicated by Fields from East High and by the superintendent himself. His positional power had a direct influence on the district site-based model in such a way as to have a strong control over the decisions made by all

administrators about district level programs with which he was concerned. His influence carried through to how Bach would go along with the direction supported by Brown when decisions were made for the three high schools. "Mike [Bach] often supports Gary [Brown] rather than Dan [Greene] or me when we may have differing opinions about ideas" (Fields). Ashman recognized the influence Brown had on the funding for the PP and how he influenced the three high schools. Brown's political ability was also widely known, again from all levels of the district.

The second fundamental aspect of site-based management is the empowerment of the teachers (Astuto et al., 1994; Blase & Roberts, 1994; Lichtenstein et al., 1992). Fields and Greene gave power to the teachers of the PP and, in their own ways, showed this to the teachers. Both Fields and Greene selected teachers who were highly regarded by their colleagues and who they believed had some power within their own departments. Both principals acknowledged the teams with their colleagues and with the teachers' peers. They intervened in problems that developed during the two years of implementation, such as scheduling problems and disagreements with department chairs. Both found extra funding for the original teams and, in the case of Greene, funded a second team. Fields had also developed a school transformational team in which teachers had selected representatives to participate in school-wide issues. This involved teachers participating in discussions related to his stated vision for East High (Astuto & Clark, 1992; Astuto et al., 1994; Wohlstetter & Mohrman, 1993). At West, Greene had replaced an autocratic principal. In his own mind, Greene wanted to change the politics from a principal driven to a teacher-principal driven school. Throughout the two years of this study, however, teachers perceived his attempts to share power as a sign of weakness and the lack of leadership skills.

Brown had developed two aspects of empowerment at North High. A staff “planning committee” designed to discuss restructuring ideas had met during the first year of the PP innovation. However, teachers who had attended these meetings believed their ideas and discussions which did not fit Brown’s effective schools philosophy were marginalized (Astuto et al., 1994). Likewise, a student program for meeting and discussing with Brown, initiated at the same time, appeared to teachers to be more political than effective since the teachers believed it was a chance for students to talk but not to have any effect on the traditional workings of North High (Astuto & Clark, 1992). Brown did have meetings with parents and involved them in the decisions of the school (Astuto & Clark, 1993; David, 1989), but he stated that it was the influential and affluent parents who met and directed him in his running of the school. The team members themselves questioned what empowerment he had given the team members. Karen had little cooperation from Brown in selecting team-mates, the team had little say in students permitted in the program, and the teachers had little choice in dealing with parental demands--Brown and others had the final say on this subject. In the end, however, none of the team members had any involvement in the decision regarding funding and they were never informed as to the factors used to decide the funding issue.

The third issue related to the district-wide problem for 9th graders in their transition to the high school. The problem was acknowledged by Fields and Greene, and the PP concept had been agreed upon by the three high school principals. In the end, the site-based process, as it was envisioned in the district, was very helpful to Brown. He was later able to use this as an argument for each principal being allowed to use the money as each saw fit (he had hoped to use the funds to finance a different program of his own interest). But the argument was then used that all schools should either have the same program or no program at all, the antithesis of site-based decision-making. As Evans



referred to them, the “three musketeers” made the decision together about the funding in spite of the espoused site-based process. It is also important to note that a Tech Prep program, an applied math program integrated into the curricula, was being piloted at West High, the “blue collar school”, at this same time. The issue of funding for such a program in only one district high school was accepted and never discussed as a problem. However, Fields did comment that he wished he “would have known about the Tech Prep money. I would have liked the dollars [at East] to try the same program but I never knew about the project!”

Although site-based decision-making was a stated concept, problems seemed to exist throughout the district. As Ashman had stated, “the principals are still learning how to do site-based.” This may be true, but the political powers appeared to know how to use the site-based to the advantage of North High School. Unfortunately, Fields’ inexperience and lack of confidence became more apparent in his discussions about Brown and how he had taken a different direction when working with him. In his own words, he had learned to be more political when dealing with innovation issues in the presence of Brown: “I bring up ideas not as my own ideas but from other situations . . . because Gary [Brown] usually states that ideas that work here won’t work [at North].” A case in point was that only two people knew that the PP had been a joint idea between Fields and Evans. Fields’ political approach became more obvious when he admitted he would be forced to decide between Brown and the superintendent when it came to certain issues, particularly the funding issue for the PP. Unfortunately, his “political” way of dealing with Brown over the PP could also be construed as lack of confidence as well as lack of power. This also reflected a problem within the site-based philosophy because decisions were not made with the site in mind but with the overall district as the driving force. “One of the things we’ve talked

about as high school principals, we haven't even shared this with the teams yet, but if one team doesn't have outside financing, we're not sure any should have it" (Fields).

This story uncovered the problems of territory, self-interests, and power for the administrators in a different manner than with the teachers (Corwin, 1983; Pink & Borman, 1994). In this case study, the school district was supporting site-based decision-making but pushed a centralized curriculum; the district supported site-based decision-making but principals were keeping all schools alike, afraid to change and become independent because of competition and insecurity. These results are not surprising in view of Cotton's (1992) review of literature. She found that teachers want but still have little influence on district curriculum under site-based management. In similar fashion, Raywid (1990) reported that it has been difficult to shift authority from the central administration to the school sites. In the case of power, the power was held by those who had the information about the teams and the funding. Evans had been the negotiator for the funding but had no real say when and where the funding would go when the other administrators decided the funding would not be used for the PP. He had been left out of this part of the decision. He was eventually told to renegotiate the funds for other areas within the district. Site-based management was "viewed largely as a political reform that transfers power (authority) over budget, personnel, and curriculum to individual schools" (Wohlstetter & Mohrman, 1993, p. 2). No real involvement and empowerment occurred for the teachers (Fish & Allard, 1993) and students; in the end, two of the principals did not have the power to use the funds as they wished. As for influence within the district, one principal became the power over the innovation.

#### Social Status

"The rich folks are the ones who decide how the poor folks live" is a quote from a young girl interviewed by Robert Coles (1980, p. x). Coles was interviewing families of

affluence because they were the ones who made the decisions that ultimately affected the other people. This statement reflects aspects of the findings for this study. The educational system is intended for the education of all students, rich or poor. A closer examination, however, raises the question of who most benefits from the system as it exists and who would benefit most if the system should change. Throughout the research period, staff at all three high schools as well as administrators spoke about the influence of the affluent people at North High and how this seemed to be a part of the driving force for the direction education was taking in the school district.

Sarason (1990), in his book, The Predictable Failure of Educational Reform, states that

Schools will remain intractable to desired reform as long as we avoid confronting (among other things) their existing power relationships. . . . Avoiding those relationships is precisely what educational reformers have done, thus ensuring that the more things change, the more they will remain the same. This does not mean that if you change power relationships, desired outcomes will be achieved. It is not that simple. Changing existing power relationships is a necessary condition for reaching goals, but it is not sufficient. (p. 5)

These power relationships, as Sarason discusses within his book, are those that exist among teachers, administrators, students, and parents.

One power relationship, however, is more implied than stated by authors: the power relationship between parents and the school (although there are some exceptions--Lindle, 1994; Metz, 1990b; Peterson & Warren, 1994; Timar, 1990). Therefore, another caveat for the predictable failure of educational reform is the avoidance of the power relationship between educators and the influential "rich" parents who are able to use their positional power to affect change by maintaining the status quo--the system that is presently serving them well.

Ashman, in his parting interview, talked about the situation at North High.

The competition model is what drives North and causes the bi-modal distribution of the students. The middle SES and upper SES both thrive well on competition. Therefore, the scores and other quantitative data of these students are constantly going up. However, the low SES does not succeed under those conditions and their scores are

rising very slowly, leaving them behind. I have tried pointing this out to Gary [Brown]. . . . You can't have a competitive system and a cooperative system at the same time--you can't, so the low SES suffers. (Ashman)

He added that he believed Brown had trained the high SES to want high success through the use of data, something that Brown had ostensibly made clear to everyone as a sign of a successful program.

Coles (1980) describes one young boy and how this typifies the fashion in which rich families prepare their children to live in a competitive system.

In the fourth grade, for instance, his teacher had written on the blackboard (and kept it there for weeks): "Those who want something badly enough get it, provided they are willing to wait and work." The boy has been brought up to believe that it will be like that for him. He knows that others are not so lucky, but he hasn't really met those "others," and they don't cross his mind. What does occur to him sometimes is the need for constant exertion, lest he fail to "measure up." The expression is a family one, used repeatedly. No matter how difficult a task, no matter how frustrating it is for others, one "measures up" when one does it well. One "measures up" when one tries hard, succeeds. One measures up because one must. No allowance is made for any possible lack of ability or endowment. (p. 406)

Their children, as students, have a competitive edge because they come from a competitive training situation. Coles describes other instances of the preparation children of the richer class receive. In describing a young girl: "Those parents wanted her to give an enormous amount of attention to herself--to her thoughts, which she has been taught are worthy of being spoken" (p. 385). These children reflect their upbringing: "Even as a migrant child or ghetto child learns to feel weak and vulnerable, a child of well-off parents learns to feel, in many respects, confident" (Coles, 1980, p. 395).

Much as these children interviewed by Coles had been raised to succeed in a competitive system, the system at North, a system very much influenced by the high SES parents, continued to be a school for the children who could best compete and succeed. Ashman himself had realized this and stated during his last interview that he had attempted to make Brown more cognizant of this situation. Ashman's philosophy may best be described as follows:

There is [a] . . . view of education that sees schools as communities of learners, young and old, committed to supporting one another in the quest to fulfill their human potential. The accumulated evidence in successful schools and student achievement strongly suggests that competitive environments shatter the conditions of trust, caring, and cooperation that are most conducive to learning, innovation, and creativity and that those environments have the most negative consequences for those learners least able to compete successfully. (Astuto et al., 1994, p.14)

The team-members at North High School had experienced the situation when parents wanted their children in a specific class with a specific teacher--“There were two parents who wanted their children in the Spanish class only . . . [although] our agreement had always been that the kids would come into all three of our classes” (Karen). The PP teachers spoke about the affluent parents who questioned their children being in a program for the “average” students and who then transferred their children out of the program.

The thing that we run into here, that we ran into last year and that we’ve run into on a much more limited basis this year, is that it becomes a social issue. The boy that we have this year that questioned [the Partners Program] . . . not the boy but the parents...is in a social group that’s different than most of these kids, and so most of his friends are in top level class, so they’re not in his classes. They may not have been in any of the same classes anyway, but they aren’t. He’s in an average class. They’re probably in a top level class, so it becomes a social issue. And that came up more than once last year. (Karen)

Brown, during his meeting with the team, frankly talked about the “winners and losers,” those parents who would not be allowed to move their children from the Partners Program would be the possible losers--again, those of the affluent families (Apple, 1990; Johnson, 1990; Metz, 1990b; Muncey & McQuillan, in press). As he also had stated, “I’m not interested in a bunch of parents who believe that they have top level kids call me and tell me that their kids are in a mediocre level program.” He had not been contacted by parents to drop the program but perceived that this was not a program meeting their wishes. Brown, in his way of keeping statistics for an effective schools approach, facilitated a competitive situation, one that was much more compatible with those students groomed to succeed in such an environment (Talbert & McLaughlin, 1993). As Coles described, the children of rich families are groomed for such an approach or life-philosophy.

One teacher at East High described her loss of self when she did not have parents talking with her about the success she was having with their children; she was accustomed to this because she had usually taught upper level courses. What parents would typically be involved with their child's education and be in touch with the school and teachers? Julie discovered, without realizing it, that the difference she experienced was the difference between the lower and middle class parents lack of involvement with their children's education versus the more affluent parents who are most concerned about the success of their children in the educational program (Johnson, 1990; Metz, 1990b).

Fields explained his reality of parental politics in view of the desire by many of East's faculty and himself to decrease the number of AP classes offered. He believed that the parent reaction to a cutback in AP classes would be difficult to deal with while, on the opposite end of the spectrum, the dropping of classes such as industrial technology, would result in mild and short term reactions from parents (Sarason, 1971, 1982). In discussing this issue with the other high school principals, the issue of AP classes was not to be touched as a potential change. AP classes were a "sacred cow" that could not be cut or changed in any status. As Fields said, "I would be out of here in no time at all if I attempted to cut the number of AP classes." The principals recognized and validated a curriculum that best served a specific population (Apple, 1990).

The team members and principal at West had no such comments or experiences. Two possible explanations can be made here. The teachers selected only the average students in math which would imply average students in most subject areas. These parents, as suggested by teachers and administrators in all the schools, were not the type of parents to be involved with the school (Metz, 1990b). A second explanation deals with the school and its demographics. The student body of West High School was predominately

composed of children from “blue collar” families, middle class families who are not as involved with school and their children’s education (Metz, 1990b).

The status of the PP can be measured by the support given to it by the parents and administrators--specifically, who was willing to fight for its existence. Lindle (1994) discussed in her case study of restructuring that, in controversial change, innovations elicited responses by those most influential. Parents of high SES were the most vocal and the most involved with the introduction of an innovation--other parents did not express their views. In this study, the less affluent parents of PP students asked for advice at North High on their next step to ensure continuation of the PP. Unfortunately, they did not go any further (Metz, 1990b). The building and central administrators heard nothing from the parents, “just as you would expect” from this population (Brown at North).

Both participating and non-participating teachers at North concurred that it was the more affluent families who were the most involved in intervening in the placement of students in classes or with teachers. Administrators at North also accepted the fact that high SES parents were involved and influential in the school program and every-day management. As Brown himself had mentioned to the team members, the parents would be the ones who would decide if their children would be involved in the PP and would have the most influence on placement of their children. If an AP class was where they believed their children needed to be, so be it. The PP, in his eyes and the eyes of the parents, was not a status class to be in. It did not have the AP status nor did they believe it had the status of a challenging 9th grade curricula. The classes within the program were not designed for, nor were they serving, the “cream of the crop” students. By their own admission (all three high school teams and administrators), the “average” students were being served. And, as the North High group admitted, they did not have parents who usually contacted the administrators or made waves about their child’s education. Since the

PP was not a status program nor was it serving the influential clientele, the loss of such a program did not raise the ire of the right people. In fact, at North High, Brown quietly made sure this would not occur by, first, not allowing the above average student into the program; and second, by quickly intervening in any potential parent concern and submitting to their wishes before any scene could ever develop. The status of the Partners Program was guaranteed a lower position in the district through these actions.

Parents, those who supported the concept, were political neophytes at best, but actually were apolitical in the realm of high schools. As in other cases (Lindle, 1994, Metz, 1990b), the high SES had influence on the district and, thus the PP, by pushing an agenda not inclusive of this type of innovation in the high schools. This is a problem not addressed by people supporting the need for parents to be involved in the decision-making process (David, 1989; Sparkes & Bloomer, 1993). As Mirel (1994) states:

. . . education reform is always political. . . . Reform also confronts deeply held values and exposes some of the most fundamental passions surrounding parents' hopes and fears about their children. Only by dealing directly with these fundamental issues and concerns can we discover how educational reform, like politics, can become the art of the possible. (p. 518)

The fundamental issue is how to involve all parents of students so that the concerns of the various constituencies can be addressed. The democratic process must be used by everyone and not abused by those who most know how to use their power to achieve their self-interests for their own children rather than for all children.

#### Final Comments and Conclusions

Much has been written historically how schools and education have not changed (Cuban 1982, 1988; Sizer, 1992; Tyack, 1990; Tyack & Tobin, 1994). Authors have explained why education and the high schools have not changed (Tyack & Tobin, 1994). And there certainly is a plethora of research on what has been called the change process--how change is implemented, how people change, and how change becomes



institutionalized (Berman & McLaughlin, 1977; Crandall & Loucks, 1983; Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991; Gross et al., 1971; Hall, Hord, & Griffin, 1980; A. Hargreaves, 1992b; Louis & Miles, 1990). Others have taken another view and looked at the errors made in the change process (Dunne, 1994; Sarason, 1990, personal communication, November 4, 1994).

As Huberman (1993) has stated, "Traditional form of schooling is a complex, coherent, and resilient ecosystem . . . [with] an awesome capacity to wait out and wear out reformers" (p. 44). Fullan (1982) has implied that teachers are at the basis of what happens in change, and it is as simple and complex as that. He has discussed further that change is a complex set of issues and problems that are all part of the complexity of change. This case study has shown that change is very complex. It is more than a technical problem requiring a technical approach. As a micropolitical view indicates, change requires a technical, cultural, and political approach--all must be dealt with in the process of change (Tychy, 1983).

Additionally, systemic change requires a contextual approach. Schools are interconnected systems and the entire structure must be attended to when attempting a major change (Raywid, 1990; Sarason, 1990; Sizer, 1984). At the same time, the individual site and setting must be considered (Cuban, 1988; Iannaccone, 1991; McLaughlin, 1990; Pink & Borman, 1994; Sizer, 1984). Sarason (1971, 1982) argues that reform often fails because change agents disregard such factors as the culture of schools, the behavioral and programmatic regularities within schools, the insights of administrators, and the degree to which teachers are willing to join the process of change. He maintains that unless reformers build constituencies for change both within the schools and within the community, most reform efforts will fail. A careful look at the process used for this hoped-for reform reveals that essentially all aspects as suggested by Sarason were ignored.

I set out in this case study to view the change process of innovation through a different, more in-depth lens and to search for the “why’s” of failed change and reform. As Noblit, Berry, and Dempsey (1991) state, “The close study of micropolitics also suggests that implementation and innovation studies can be reinterpreted. This reinterpretation tells a story not of failed intent, but of political achievement” (p. 393). I followed this innovation through its three years of funding, interviewing and discussing the process with the key actors involved with the ongoing implementation of the PP teams. This longevity provided the opportunity to observe and understand the politics, both micro- and macro-, that occurred during the implementation of this innovation. This also provided the opportunity to study the district-wide effects of innovation at all levels of the bureaucratic structure by studying the people involved in the process. I viewed the change at all levels of the district and how these levels affect an innovation and how these levels micropolitically interact with each other throughout the process of implementation. The details leading to the final decision regarding the PP innovation provide insights to the “political achievement” as well as political failure of individuals and groups during the implementation process.

The culture of the department/subject areas had a strong influence on teachers and change and represented some semblance of political achievement within this study. The culture of the departments placed pressure on teachers to not participate, or to stay within the bounds of the cultural expectations for the traditional school setting--the “tight fences” (Karen at North). The department chairs exerted their influence to restrict, as much as possible, student selection and participation in the PP. Although these “cultures” are strong and influence how teachers act and learn within their respective departments (A. Hargreaves, 1986, 1992a; D. Hargreaves, 1980; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1993), this factor alone was not influential enough to stop the innovation. The team members, as they had stated and showed by their actions, wanted to continue the PP without the support of the

departments and their colleagues. Marginalization had occurred within their respective schools and yet the teachers were willing to continue a program they believed was succeeding in the ways they had intended with the 9th grade transition problem. In essence, the culture of the departments limited participation but did not cause the innovation to fail.

Site-based management was more problematic and played an integral part, particularly within the political ramifications, for the failure of the innovation. Four specific examples typify the problems. First, Ashman had pushed for site-based management in the district. He did this as part of his philosophy of leadership; however, by this process he lost influence on the high schools as seen by his marginalization throughout the process. He did not have any influence on the high school leadership and he had been left “out of the loop” for the information about the PP funding. This occurred in spite of his professed support for the concept in the high schools. Second, Fields did not have the experience or power to contend with Brown and his influence within the district hierarchy. Although site-based was the model, there was also an unspoken model for the high school structure in the district. Fields ultimately had to make a decision for the direction to place his support; the final outcome indicated the direction he chose since he supported Brown’s position concerning the funding. Third, Evans had thought he had power to influence a high school change but discovered he had little or no knowledge of what it would take to change such a large, enculturated system. With site-based decision-making, he had no influence on the final decision or the principals; his only connection was in securing funds for the innovation.

Fourth, Brown continued his political achievement through his ability to have power and, eventual influence, on the other principals and district leaders for the funding and direction of change in the district. Both Fields and Greene were strongly supporting the PP

and the potential change it could bring to high school education, both for the teachers and students. However, “individual schools can make amazing strides in their restructuring efforts but these are not likely to be retained if the school remains an anomaly within the larger district configuration” (Prestine, 1994, p. 29). East and West High Schools could have become the “anomalies” for attempting to change the status quo but the principals and teachers realized the influence of Brown and the influence of the high SES people upon Brown and themselves. Site-based would imply that each school could go its own direction; however, Brown led the way for the direction schools would go in this district. A key finding here is how site-based management can be used to inhibit district-wide reform, particularly in respect to the push for site-based decision-making in education today (Cotton, 1992; David, 1989; Peterson & Warren, 1994; Wohlstetter & Mohrman, 1993). An apparent neglect in site-based management is that “not much thought is put into this approach and administrators gloss over the problems encountered in the process” (S. M. Hord, personal communication, March 30, 1995). The case for site-based management, as espoused by reformers today, inhibited the chances for this innovation to succeed.

These four situations, which arose because of site-based decision-making, prevented, to some degree, the successful implementation of the PP innovation. The three district level administrators were all part of the process but had no power within this model to circumvent the philosophy of the process. And, the other building principals were not politically powerful to over-ride Brown’s influence. Ultimately, site-based management was directly connected to the fourth finding, the influence of the high SES on the decision-making process.

Politically speaking, the parents of the lower SES students, the parents who believed in the program and had expressed concerns to the North High team about the loss of the program, did not overtly become involved in the final outcome. This certainly fits the

findings of Metz (1990b) and Johnson (1990). This finding, however, supports the major cause for the loss of this innovation. Without power and influence, the people most in favor of the program and the people whose children seemed to gain the most from the changes, were marginalized by those with political knowledge and positional power.

The high SES parents continued their influence on change in the district. This was demonstrated through the perceived influence they had on “the most politically astute” principal in the district, Brown at North High School. Evans related his same experiences with parents at North when he had directed the junior high-middle school change.

My name still may be held in vain in a lot of households in the North [side] in terms of the position I took and the victory I won with things like foreign languages in middle school. I had three or four doctor's wives and high falutin' wealthy people wanting my head. And so I know what Brown feels and they're with him now. And, you know, it's just a classic case of affluence and “By god, you're going to respond to my needs or I'm going to make life just miserable for you.” (Evans)

It was this influence that became the deciding factor for what would happen to the PP innovation.

Teachers at North, both team members as well as other teachers, had experienced situations where they believed Brown was strongly influenced by parents for the educational direction of the school. Brown himself had talked about this with the team members and implied how important the parents wishes were for him. Brown had explicitly talked about the influence parents had on him: “The parents who make most contact are the PTA people, booster groups--which there are many--the African-American parents, which also has a parent group, and some of the special ed parents.” He admitted it tends to be the better educated people who are involved and who contact him because they are “the parents who have the time to be involved in the school” such as serving on the PTA and volunteering to assist with various activities at North High. And within the same context, Brown continued on to say that “they are the ones who have the greatest influence on how I run this school.” As indicated by Brown, it is the better educated and more

affluent who have the free time to be involved with the school; they are the parents who meet with him and contact him about their concerns. These are the people who he “listens to” throughout the year. This situation certainly reflects what the educational system has been in the past and who gains from this system (Johnson, 1990; Metz, 1990b). This also reflects what Blase (1987c) found in his research.

Teachers accepted the fact that principals must engage in certain legitimate political activities, but they did not believe these should include being political, that is, acquiescing to the demands of powerful others, especially parents. Politically oriented principals attempted, for instance, to please people to avoid conflict or to ingratiate themselves for career purposes. Such principals were often concerned more with “images” than substantive issues. (p. 170)

On the surface, it seemed only Brown had power over his staff and the other administrators, both principals and central district. Brown, likewise, admitted the effect that his constituents had on his leadership within the confines of North High. Unfortunately, these influences were visible within the district through Brown’s influence on district leadership concerning a variety of issues. One major issue was the PP innovation. Another issue was the increasing number of AP classes in North High and the subsequent planned expansion of AP classes at West High. The expansion of this approach to education would benefit a select group of students and would affect the distribution of funds. This was most indicated by teachers who were complaining of larger class sizes as the number of AP classes, classes that traditionally had smaller class sizes, continued to expand. Brown had also gone on record during one interview stating that tracking was an appropriate method in education. With AP classes, however, who was benefiting the most from the “tracking” approach (Oakes, 1986a, 1986b; Oakes & Guiton, 1995)? The PP team teachers and both Fields and the staff at East, who desired to decrease the number of AP classes there, believed the affluent were most benefited by this philosophical and educational approach.

Pradl (1993) states: "Educators at any level who are committed to changing school practices must understand that such change depends upon a prior political commitment. Democratic beliefs and attitudes must come to characterize all the various networks of social relationships that mark the teaching/learning enterprise: teacher and student, teacher and teacher, teacher and administrator, school and university" (p. xxii). What should be added to this is the parent-school-district connection. This social relationship has an important influence on the educational enterprise, as indicated by this research and yet has mostly been ignored up to this point.

"Will a school reform movement that is child-centered and that brooks no talk of failure in caring for our children cost money? Of course it will. But it is no more than parents are willing to invest in their own children." Clark and Astuto (1994, p. 520) rhetorically ask and answer their question. This may be true but who is most willing and able to do this? As this study and others (A. Hargreaves et al., 1992; Johnson, 1990; Metz, 1990b) have indicated, not all parents are involved and, ultimately, those who are involved are the ones who invest in their child's future. Unfortunately, the investment may be to continue the present educational system which serves and does a very good job for the competitive and influential members of the school system. "The interest of the consumer parent or the consumer community will be specifically in the maximization of immediate satisfaction from what the school is able to offer students in terms of their own economic advancement in a competitive marketplace" (Angus, 1993, p. 29). Those with the political base are the ones who have the educational system they want and that best serves their children.

As Mirel (1994) has stated, "there are aspects of the reform process that are equally as important to successful change as attending to the culture of schools and involving key constituent groups in planning and implementation. These aspects include the fundamental governance, financial, and contractual aspects of American education" (p. 484). This may

be true, but if only the high SES parents are involved in the planning and implementation, or, as in this study, the only ones who are involved in the day-to-day governance of the schools, who is ultimately served in this fashion? The system will not change but will continue as we know it--a system that best serves the competitive, affluent constituency, much as Coles (1980) has related. As stated earlier by Sarason (1971, 1982), a strong constituency must be developed within the community for reform to succeed in education. A major finding in this study is that, unfortunately, the constituency most involved in schools are those people who are best served by a competitive system. The system works very well for those who have the power and have the ability to influence and control a "powerful" principal. As many people indicated in this study, Brown, the principal at North High and the principal in a high SES school, greatly influenced the direction of the district high schools. Unless we can find a way to involve all constituencies in a system that serves all constituencies, we will continue to have "the schools we deserve" (Ravitch, 1985).



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# COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT STRATEGIC PLAN FOR SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

\* 1992-93 Key Improvement Priorities

The mission of the Community Schools is to prepare all students to enter various adult roles such as effective citizens, informed consumers, lifelong learners, responsible family members, and productive workers.

To be effective in the pursuit of this mission, we shall strive to establish the following conditions:

1. AN INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM that ensures the integration and application of the following skills by every instructor for every student:
  - \* Reading, writing, speaking, and listening
  - \* Teaming and collaboration
  - \* Technology selection and application

Identification and management of fiscal, material, and human resources

Information acquisition and application

Decision-making, creative thinking, problem solving, and reasoning

Personal and self-management qualities
2. AN INTEGRATED CURRICULUM that focuses on future-oriented learning through which students
  - Demonstrate expected mathematical competencies
  - Demonstrate expected scientific competencies
  - Gain an understanding and appreciation of the fine arts
  - Grow in awareness and understanding of cultural diversity, global interdependence, and world issues
  - Develop other knowledge and skills in preparation for career development

3. A SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT FOCUS that
  - \* Defines expected competencies using outcome-based assessments to evaluate student progress

Integrates short- and long-term planning at all levels of the organization

  - \* Includes a variety of intervention programs for at-risk students

Promotes comprehensive staff development
4. A SUPPORTIVE ADAPTIVE ENVIRONMENT that
  - Provides flexible instructional arrangements to accommodate individual differences
  - Provides comprehensive guidance and counseling services
  - Promotes a positive, collaborative climate for all employees
5. SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS that
  - \* Foster broad-based community support
  - Improve school-home interaction and support

APPENDIX A

*Leaders in Educational Excellence*

Mission Statement - 1991-92

The mission of the Community Schools is to teach basic knowledge and skills to all children so that they can become successful, productive citizens in a democratic society.

To be effective in the pursuit of this mission, we shall strive to establish the following conditions:

1. A FUTURE ORIENTED CURRICULUM through which students
  - \*1a. Demonstrate expected communication competencies.
  - \*1b. Demonstrate expected mathematical competencies.
  - 1c. Demonstrate expected scientific competencies.
  - 1d. Gain an understanding and appreciation of the fine arts.
  - 1e. Learn and improve thinking skills.
  - 1f. Grow in awareness and understanding of cultural diversity, global interdependence, and world issues.
  - 1g. Learn to use and apply new technologies.
  - \*1h. Develop other knowledge and skills in preparation for employment, further schooling, and lifelong learning.
  
2. A SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT FOCUS that
  - 2a. Integrates short and long term planning at all levels of the organization.
  - \*2b. Incorporates outcomes-based assessments to monitor and evaluate student progress.
  - 2c. Includes a variety of intervention programs for at-risk students.
  - 2d. Provides comprehensive staff development.
  
3. A SUPPORTIVE, ADAPTIVE ENVIRONMENT that
  - 3a. Nurtures healthful personal and interpersonal development.
  - \*3b. Provides flexible instructional arrangements to accommodate individual differences.
  - 3c. Provides comprehensive guidance and counseling services.
  - 3d. Promotes a positive climate for all employees.
  
4. SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS that
  - 4a. Improve school-home interaction and support.
  - \*4b. Foster a broad-based community support.

## APPENDIX B



MY VISION FOR HIGH SCHOOL  
BY THE YEAR 2000

1. The academic focus will be on real life performance activities not content coverage.
2. There will be Teacher time to think, plan, and collaborate.
3. The Student will be the Worker and the Teacher will be the Coach.
4. There will be extensive use of Cooperative Learning/Team Building strategies.
5. We will be using a Flexible Calendar and Schedule.
6. Site Based Management will be used.
7. Parental and Community Involvement will be significant.
8. Outside of school learning will be expected.
9. Teachers will work in Partnerships, not in academic departments.
10. Belief by ALL that: ALL students can learn and succeed at High School!

Dr.  
Principal

Working Paper as of 9/19/91

**APPENDIX C****KEY INFORMANTS IN THE STUDY**

**Dr. Joel Ashman, Superintendent**

**Mr. Michael “Mike” Bach, Assistant Superintendent for Middle and High Schools**

**Dr. John “Jack” Evans, Assistant Superintendent for Development**

**Dr. Gary Brown, Principal at North High School**

**Dr. Patrick “Pat” Fields, Principal at East High School**

**Mr. Daniel “Dan” Greene, Principal at West High School**

**Mrs. Karen Mitchell, Team leader at North High and LA member of team**

**Mrs. Joan Miller, Science member of the team at North**

**Mr. Scott Thorson, Math member of the team at North (first year)**

**Mrs. Trish Olson, Spanish member of the team at North (second year)**

**Mrs. Sharon Evans, Team leader at East and Math member**

**Mrs. Melissa Allen, Spanish member at East (Team leader second year)**

**Mrs. Julie Corchoran, LA member at East**

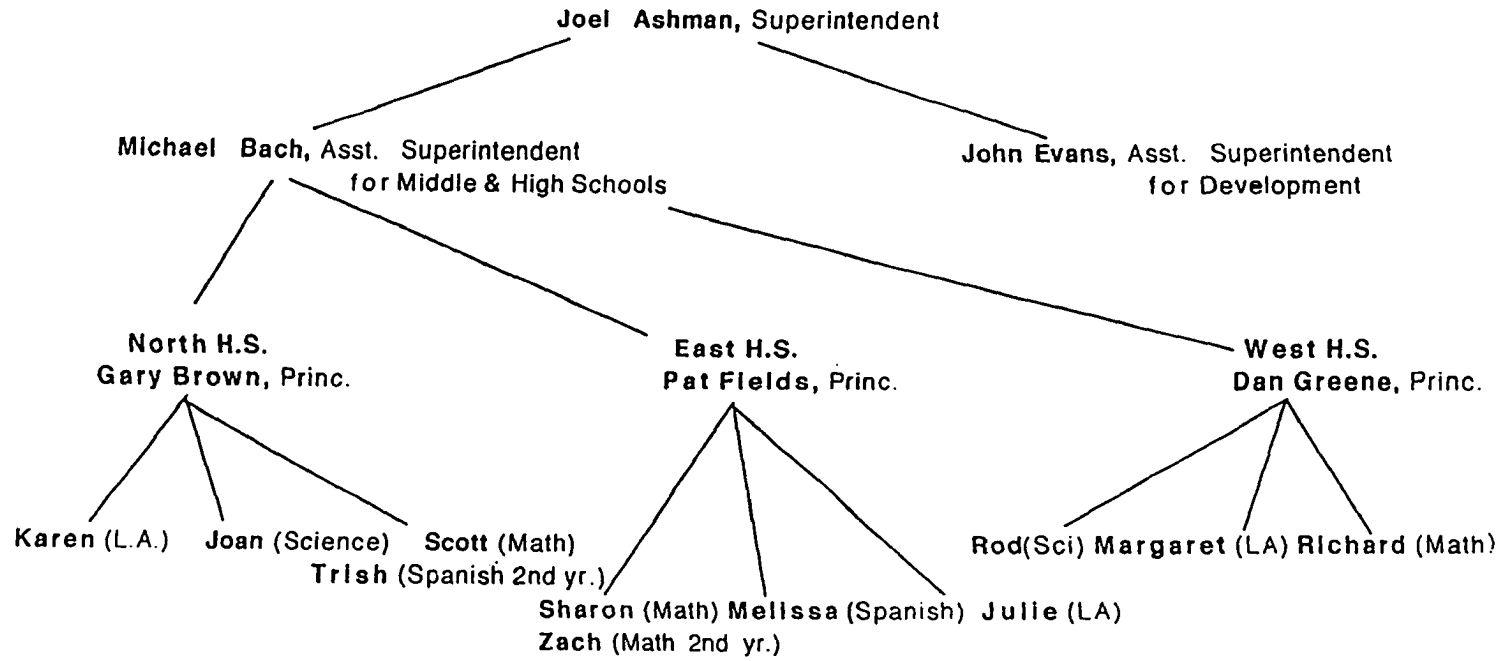
**Mr. Zach Lacey, Math member at East (second year)**

**Mr. Rod Jones, Team leader at West and Science member**

**Mrs. Margaret Williams, LA member at West**

**Mr. Richard Hansen, Math member at West**

### Key Informants--North Bend Community Schools



APPENDIX D

Report to the  
Board of Education

OF THE

1992-93 INSTRUCTIONAL  
ADVISORY COMMITTEE

COMMUNITY SCHOOL  
DISTRICT

## INTRODUCTION

The Instructional Advisory Committee started the 1992-93 year with a survey of its members' individual opinions regarding the abilities and skills that should be taught their children before graduation from high school. The resulting list was then compared with similar lists from current educational sources, including the Secretary of Labor's SCANS Report. Our conclusion was that we agree with the basic competencies enumerated in the SCANS Report, and adopted in abbreviated form as the Community School District "Strategic Plan For School Improvement".

After considerable discussion the Committee decided to concentrate on an examination of the curriculum at the High School level this year, with the objective of reporting to the Board its view of how well the Strategic Plan was being incorporated into the curriculum. The report that follows is a compendium of our personal views and concerns. It begins with a summary of our recommendations, which are then supported with our point-by-point commentary on each section of the Strategic Plan.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We support the Community School District "Strategic Plan For School Improvement" as a long term objective.
2. In order to provide a supportive, adaptive environment a personal advisor / advocate should be provided for each student throughout his or her High School experience. Each staff member should be assigned a mix of students from each grade level.
3. More flexibility in scheduling is needed; the fifty minute period is no longer an appropriate framework for all High School course work.
4. Each student has the right to be challenged to the maximum of his or her abilities. This may be accomplished through tailoring instruction to individual learning styles, and through use of relevant subject matter.
5. All students must fully utilize all four years for their educational, career and personal development.
6. There is a large need for staff development to learn new teaching methods, teaming, collaboration, and relevance of their discipline through real world applications and experiences.
7. Students must be more actively involved in the learning process; learning should be relevant to real life experiences.
8. Long term (five year, minimum) graduate follow-up studies must be conducted to evaluate the educational system's success in meeting students needs.



## COMMENTARY

### I. Integration of Reading, Writing, Speaking and Listening

#### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Team teaching projects such as the 9th grade Partners Program at .
2. Most - courses
3. Limited integration through class reports in most subjects

#### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. Reading and writing are emphasized over speaking and listening in all schools, except possibly in speech classes; the latter are not taught in a formal manner and there is little evidence of any formal integration of all four of these outcomes into all study areas.
2. In the absence of understanding, many students do not perceive the need for formal listening skills.
3. Many staff members appear unwilling or unable, due to lack of development or time, to critique the student work they receive from a holistic viewpoint and limit themselves only to the subject matter.
4. Language Arts curriculum appears to be too literature oriented; there is a lack of technical communication skills proficiency.

#### C. General Comments

1. Speaking and listening skills are critical today, but a major effort will be necessary to accomplish this objective. It will have to begin with staff development to not only teach these skills and their importance, but also to allow staff to practice these skills for themselves.
2. Techniques such as allowing interactive communication in place of some lectures, and "mirroring" to demonstrate that what one says is not necessarily what another party hears, would be very helpful.
3. As is the case with most material, helping the student understand its relevance to their lives would increase their interest considerably.

### II. Teaming and Collaboration

#### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Teaching technique of role-playing in small groups used in the AP History course at , the team graduation projects at , and the Humanities course that brings special needs students into the regular classroom are all fine examples. Student-built homes and the co-curricular programs are others.

2. Staff teaming and collaboration is demonstrated by Team Teaching projects, staff's Friday staff meetings to discuss students' progress, and various special staff project teams.
3. Co-curricular programs do a good job of creating parent collaboration, and the cooperative ventures with local businesses are another good sign - although there was very little evidence of either in the high schools.

#### B. Perceived Weakness

1. Although members of the committee were individually aware of many teaming and collaboration efforts in the elementary and middle schools they disappear in high school. The emphasis on ranking all students individually is a strong detriment.
2. Lack of resources and staff development are barriers to creation of innovative models in this area.

#### C. General Comments

1. We saw evidence at all the high schools of the desire to create an environment that would encourage these skills, reinforce them, and evaluate their impact on learning. It will be extremely important to develop methods of measurement.
2. Staff development programs in this area will face the challenge of helping staff and administrators become comfortable with these concepts. Parents, too, will need to become involved and given specific responsibilities.
3. A mentoring program would be of considerable help in developing these skills.

### III. Technology Selection and Application

#### A. Demonstrated Support

1. The "Choices" program both demonstrates the use of technology and provides valuable information to the student.
2. The Industrial Technology program in the Middle Schools is excellent and remembered very favorably by some High School students - but it is not being taught with uniform quality.
3. The drop-out prevention programs include integrated learning system labs that utilize technology.
4. Job shadowing programs ("Career 101") introduce students to current technology in specific industries.

#### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. Many instructors neither utilize technology themselves nor explain its application.

2. The "student to computer" ratios are much too high, and yet the equipment that is there is not being fully utilized. We heard of no cases where technology was being integrated with standard academic curriculum.
3. Current video technology is under-utilized, as well.
4. We heard numerous examples of students signing up for word processing and similar courses but there were no teachers available to teach the class.
5. "College track" students may be least prepared to understand and utilize technology because of curriculum demands, both actual and perceived. At the incoming freshmen were told it was not necessary to get a foreign language immediately; the result was formation of several additional sections of "Introduction to Technology".
6. There is little time and equipment for training of either staff or students. The staff needs to know what is available and how it can be used if they are to promote it properly.

#### C. General Comments

1. A long range program for instructional technology (five years or better) must integrate technology into the schools. This program should address:
  - a. Integration of technology into academic curriculum;
  - b. Use of technology to bring information to the classroom;
  - c. Possible mandatory courses in introduction to technology appropriate to the age levels and needs of the students to include "generic" word processing, database and spreadsheet applications;
  - d. Ways high schools can build on the base established in the middle schools.
2. All students will need a high comfort level with the use of computers in their day-to-day lives if they are to achieve success after graduation.
3. We believe it might be possible to independently raise funds for technological integration, equipment and staff development from the business community and the public in general.

### IV. Identification and Management of Fiscal, Material, and Human Resources

#### A. Demonstrated Support

1. programs for drop-outs to enable them to continue their education along with their other responsibilities, and the graduation projects.
2. Innovative staff-developed programs, with due recognition from the administration.
3. Lots of staff are very creative with limited resources.

### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. Although there must be examples we did not witness any formal instruction in these areas.
2. On the administrative level we believe a weakness is the difficulty in moving teachers out of the classroom when there is no other way to enable a necessary change.

### C. General Comments

1. We feel this is a crucial objective, but that it needs additional clarification in order to determine a measurable outcome. A possible source for this might be the SCANS reports.
2. The more budgets are cut the more difficult it is going to be to provide a quality education and to please all participants. This budget-cutting process should involve students and staff along with the administration, because it will be a learning experience.
3. More educational opportunities for students should be provided by utilizing summers, evenings and more flexible hours.

## V. Information Acquisition and Application

### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Courses like AP History at \_\_\_\_\_ with historical role-playing built around the development of source documents and their relevance to our needs today.
2. Access to school, city and \_\_\_\_\_ media and resources for students willing to work at obtaining the help.

### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. Many students fail to see relevancy in their courses, especially math, and therefore do not acquire any more information than necessary to pass the next test.
2. Access to media is difficult for students with a full course load.

### C. General Comments

1. Establishing the relevancy of their subject should become a fundamental teacher responsibility in each course. One form of assistance would be individuals from the community who can demonstrate practical, current application.
2. Electronic media access will become more and more necessary if students are to get up-to-date information, and may also encourage learning and application of the information.

3. Further clarification of this area would enable better forms of measurement; students already appear to be information-rich and knowledge poor.

## VI. Decision Making, Creative Thinking, Problem Solving and Reasoning

### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Dr. . . . 's student discussion groups at . . . to address problems, and higher-level math instruction at . . .
2. Careers 101 and use of the "Choices" program for career investigation.
3. Staff problem-solving sessions on Friday at . . .
4. The student process of course selection.

### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. We observed very few examples of these processes being specifically taught to the students on a day-to-day basis. Evidence of logical problem-solving and critical thinking skills was not very visible.
2. We question whether student creativity is appreciated in the high schools, or whether "just getting by" gets the student through more easily.
3. There is a lack of time for Curriculum Coordinators to visit on-site with staff and students, as we were able to do, to get comments first-hand.

### C. General Comments

1. The MacCCSILE project at . . . should be reviewed for possible expansion into other schools.
2. Students need more help with course selection to insure the quality of their education. They are primarily leaving such decisions to peer pressure, and need adult mentors or advisors to help them focus on beneficial choices.
3. General staff development is necessary in this area to assist in their own growth as well as to learn how these skills can be integrated into their course work.

## VII. Personal and Self Management Qualities

### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Many students are able to carry full loads plus extra-curricular work and to do it well.
2. We saw many examples of staff motivation for self-improvement to enhance both personal and school effectiveness.

#### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. There is a strong tendency to challenge only the college track students.
2. Many staff members appear to do take minimal advantage of self-improvement opportunities without additional compensation.
3. Students are not availing themselves of job shadowing opportunities.

#### C. General Comments

1. Expectation levels for all students must be high, not just for those on the college track. All students have the right to be challenged no matter what their capabilities or learning styles. This must have parental and general public support, and will take time to implement.
2. There should be more opportunities for students to make choices, and then take the responsibility for living with their decisions.
3. Mentoring and advocacy programs - even peer counseling - would do much to help build these skills.
4. Job shadowing programs must be enlarged and promoted.

### VIII. Demonstrate Expected Mathematical Competencies

#### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Upper-level math programs at
2. Industrial Technology and Physics courses integrated math into their curriculums.
3. The Applied Mathematics pilot program at appears to be a good start for broadening the programs to address individual learning styles.
4. The advanced Mathematics programs appear to be extensive and rigorous.

#### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. A number of students told us that middle school did not prepare them well for High School-level math, and if they had trouble there was neither time nor help available to catch up.
2. Many students did not see the relevance of higher math.
3. Many math courses incorporate repetition and drill assignments that are no more than "busy work".

#### C. General Comments

1. Community resources - accountants, cashiers, CNC machine operators, engineers and the like - might visit classes to demonstrate relevancy.

2. Staff development should include a focus on development of math connections within other fields of study to assist in proving relevancy: proportions for an artist, probability for social studies, etc.
3. The NCTM standards are helping math instructors with these problems.
4. More emphasis on statistics (including probability), measurement systems, and basic accounting (including interpretation of financial reports) is necessary for all students.

## IX. Demonstrate Expected Scientific Competencies

As a committee we did not have the opportunity to examine science curriculum specifically. We are concerned with the demonstration of relevancy of the material, the opportunity to have "hands-on" lab experiences versus lecture time, and whether it adequately teaches the scientific method of problem solving. Increases in the number of Technology courses may assist the non-college track student gain competencies in this area.

Our committee members from the college sector feel that our graduates are not ready for the transition into college level labs and courses - in part because many fulfill their science course requirements early, often two years before they re-enter at the college level.

Possibly new technologies that allow the students to perform computer simulations will be valuable.

## X. Gaining An Understanding and Appreciation of the Fine Arts

### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Extra-curricular activities are the best opportunity for this outcome. Parents have a strong influence on whether a student is involved in these activities.
2. Humanities courses give the students some basic appreciation for the arts.

### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. Lacking parental support, many students do not participate in fine arts activities.
2. Demands of some of these activities are so great that they endanger academic progress, or limit opportunities to investigate new areas. On the other hand, many students do not participate at all in these activities.
3. Some students felt there were not enough courses available - Interior Design, Art History, etc.

C. General Comments

1. The Fine Arts should be integrated more into Social Studies, Language Arts, Foreign Languages and/or Humanities and possibly as a requirement.
2. A wide variety of methods to demonstrate this competency, as is evident at Metro, would expand the numbers of students who are successful.

XI. Growth In Awareness and Understanding of Cultural Diversity, Global Interdependence and World Issues

A. Demonstrated Support

1. The wide cross-section of students at            and
2. Channel One as a reference, when it is used and given attention.
3.            graduation projects that happened to be focused on these issues.

B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. Lack of definition and methods to measure this outcome.
2.            and            students who had very little empathy for those who did not learn at the same speed or required different teaching styles.
3. Inability to help students challenge traditional or peer -based attitudes.

C. General Comments

1. It will be as much of a challenge in some cases to develop the staff as it will be to integrate this objective into the curriculum.
2. Some of this awareness will come from experiences in the workplace environment.
3. Teachers need to be more sensitive to gender differences in teaching methods and expectations.
4. Career counseling should include the influence of global economics on specific jobs, as in directing students away from those likely to move out of the country and towards those which should stay in high demand in the U.S..
5. The Board should make a strong commitment to the affirmation of diversity, and initiate both student and staff programs to build sensitivity to, and appreciation of, differences.



## XII. Develop Other Knowledge and Skills in Preparation for Career Development

### A. Demonstrated Support

1. Job shadowing programs; many students commented favorably on their experiences.
2. Careers 101
3. Junior Achievement and Applied Economics models.
4. Willingness of the staff to mentor graduates who returned to ask for help.

### B. Perceived Weaknesses

1. Job shadowing and Career 101 are too small to include the students who need them.
2. Teachers, parents and even students resist making classes different so they might respond to specific needs.
3. Students with whom we spoke were mostly very uncertain about their career paths, and had few primary goals let alone alternative plans. This is true even though the average graduate will change careers five times.
4. Many students demonstrated unrealistic goals, even though information was available to help them.
5. Students need to be shown the academic requirements of the careers they select.

### C. General Comments

1. We need more career development and exploration opportunities, and expansion of the Career 101, "Choices" program and job shadowing.
2. Careers 101 should be district-wide as soon as possible.
3. Staff development tasks should include opportunities for staff to learn the relevancy of their specialty in specific careers, because frequently they are more theoretical than application-based in their experience.
4. Mentoring programs are needed to assist students with these choices, along with more help from parents and families. Staff networking might enable gaining access to individual counselors with the specific experience that is required.
5. Proper measurement of this outcome will require studies of graduates several years after leaving school. Several individual programs have been attempted; they need system-wide support.