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ABSTRACT

Findings of a study that identified Massachusetts teacher leaders and their needs are presented in this paper. The research was conducted to inform the design of a teacher leadership program to be sponsored by the Massachusetts Field Center for Teaching and Learning. Methodology involved a literature review and a survey of 67 K-12 teachers identified as leaders. A total of 42 usable responses, an approximately 63 percent response rate, were received. Findings indicate that participation in teacher leadership promoted improvements in self-confidence, teaching, attitude toward work, and expanded teachers' knowledge and perspectives. Drawbacks included the high amount of energy and time required, which detracted from the classroom. Most teacher leaders expressed the need for communication skills, understanding of group dynamics, and knowledge of restructuring. A conclusion is that teacher leadership opportunities in schools must go hand in hand with a serious look at restructuring the school--its organization, governance, professional roles, responsibilities, and relationships. (Contains 39 references.) (LMI)

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ASSESSING THE NEEDS OF TEACHER LEADERS IN MASSACHUSETTS

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ASSESSING THE NEEDS OF TEACHER LEADERS IN MASSACHUSETTS

INTRODUCTION

"There have long been teacher leaders in schools. These teachers have traditionally held positions as department chairs, team and grade leaders, curriculum committee chairs, and more" (Gehrke, 1991, p. 2). With the advent of efforts to reform both schools and teacher education, new leadership roles are emerging. These roles are an attempt to challenge the traditional nature of teaching, the structure of schools, and the routine of daily practice (Lieberman and Miller, 1991). Teachers at all levels are beginning to redefine their roles and responsibilities within the classroom and beyond. These roles include, among others, teacher researchers, workshop leaders, consultants, adjunct faculty at colleges/universities, grant proposal writers, curriculum developers, and special project coordinators.

Shukong Ou teaches mathematics to high school students while also mentoring a first year teacher in his building.

First grade teacher Donna Machado facilitates a district-wide study group on improving public relations for 14 teachers thanks to a grant proposal she wrote last year.

A teacher of 11th grade, Anna Barnes is also conducting a research project in her classroom on gender bias.

Dalva Duarte, an elementary teacher, spent one year conducting workshops on multi-cultural education in schools across the state.

Ben Coplon, fifth grade math and science teacher, is a member of the MA Academy for Teachers and will spend one year with K-12 teachers from across the state studying current topics in the area of science.¹

¹Teachers' names have been changed to respect their anonymity.

All of the aforementioned individuals are classroom teachers with different responsibilities teaching at different grade levels in different parts of the state of Massachusetts. All are teacher leaders who have stepped outside their classrooms to work with colleagues to improve education by opting to take on a role defined by the state or district or by redefining their own professional roles and responsibilities. These teachers are all struggling to have a greater effect on the wide range of issues surrounding the conditions of teaching and learning in schools, and a greater say in their own professional growth.

BACKGROUND

Since the release of the report "A Nation at Risk" in 1983, scores of task forces have been convened resulting in scores of reports asserting we are not doing enough to prepare our children for life in the 21st century. Private citizens, elected officials, school administrators and teachers, and business leaders were among those who assumed the task of reforming American schools.

Entrusted with the responsibility for school funding, states throughout the country enacted education legislation mandating school improvement as a means to assure quality public education. Massachusetts passed two comprehensive legislative acts: Chapter 188: The Public School Improvement Act of 1985; and in 1987, Chapter 727: An Act Enhancing the Teaching Profession and

Recognizing Educational Achievement.² Together the two acts established a foundation for change at the school level which included efforts to create: new forms of school governance, assessment measures on student performance, incentives for teachers' professional development, and leadership opportunities for teachers. The fourth item, teacher leadership, is the focus of this paper.

What was noteworthy about the Massachusetts reform movement was its recognition of the interconnectedness between teaching and learning, that both require simultaneous change. Underlying a great deal of the Massachusetts reform initiatives was a belief that teachers must play an integral role in improving education and making teaching more of a profession. The demand for their participation necessitated new leadership roles for teachers which included curriculum development, membership on school improvement councils, fellowships to lead statewide inservice workshops, teacher mentors, and grant writing. The policy makers assumed that these more varied roles and professional development opportunities would provide incentives to attract and retain more talented teachers (Leading the Way, 1987). This approach, they believed, would ultimately help improve the overall quality of education for students. (Making Teaching a Major Profession, 1987).

²Though enacted, many components of the legislation were either insufficiently funded or had funding withdrawn -- a cycle which teachers have come to expect. Inadvertently, this cycle has forced teachers to create their own leadership opportunities as the more formal leadership roles generated by the reform legislation often take teachers away from their primary mission as teachers. Working effect larger organizational units at the school, district, or state levels makes less sense to teachers than working to impact what goes on in their classrooms.

To engage kindergarten through grade twelve teachers in discussions of school reform, the Massachusetts Field Center for Teaching and Learning was established by the Governor's Office of Educational Affairs in 1985. The mission of this statewide teachers' network is based on the belief that teachers are important partners in school reform and that opportunities for teachers' professional growth can enhance efforts to improve schools and teaching. Through conferences, forums and publications, the Center fulfills its mission of gathering the collective knowledge, concerns and recommendations of teachers; supporting their continuous professional development; and promoting teacher leadership opportunities at the school, district, and state levels. The Center is committed to bringing the voices of teachers to the center of discussions about school improvement and educational policy.

What we learned from our formal and informal conversations with teachers over the years is that the many of the teachers we encouraged to take on leadership roles were in great need of support. These teacher leaders talked about the lack of peer support they received in their schools. Because of their unique roles, the teacher leaders stood out in their schools and districts as different, and oftentimes threatening (Lieberman and Miller, 1990). In addition to being inadequately supported, these teachers also felt inadequately prepared to be successful in their new roles. Frustrated by the culture of schools which makes it unacceptable to turn to colleagues to discuss educational and

professional issues in the teachers' room (Little, 1987), these teachers sought support outside of their schools by contacting the Field Center.

It is within this context that the Center's Program Advisory Committee (comprised of school and university teachers and administrators) became interested in developing a program in which kindergarten through grade twelve teachers from public and private schools could gain systematic support, in addition to knowledge and skills in leadership while maintaining their roles as teachers. Such a program is critical at a time when recent efforts to improve schools and teaching have resulted in attempts to shift the traditional forms of school organization, governance, curriculum, teaching methods, teacher preparation and professional development -- all demanding new roles and responsibilities. It is critical at a time when 63% of teachers in Massachusetts are over the age of 41 and 41% have been teaching for more than ten years. The veteran nature of the teaching force also demands new roles for teachers and a different kind of staff development. Current staff development which focuses on the correction of deficits rather than on professional growth (Howey and Vaughn, 1983), must be replaced with opportunities for veteran teachers to continue to grow professionally and share their expertise with the next generation of school teachers.

To inform the planning of this program, the Center launched a study to generate a snapshot of teacher leaders in Massachusetts, and to better understand their specific needs and recommendations.

The study was comprised of two major components: (1) a review of the research literature; and (2) a survey conducted with a sampling of kindergarten through grade twelve teachers associated with teacher leadership. It sought answers to questions such as: What is a teacher leader? What does teacher leadership look like? Feel like? Where does it come from? What could the Center do to advocate, develop, and sustain teacher leaders?

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Teacher leadership is currently of interest to policy makers seeking ways of reforming schools. Indeed, two of the major reform reports of the last decade, Tomorrow's Teachers (the Holmes Group, 1986) and A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (Carnegie, 1986), highlighted the importance of coupling any restructuring of schools with a restructuring of the role of the teacher in the organization. They warned that projected high retirement rates of veteran teachers and the distressingly low quality of new teacher candidates could spell disaster for the nation's already troubled educational system. They suggested that schools would be better able to attract and keep the best and brightest teachers, and improve the education of children, if teaching were professionalized and leadership opportunities were made available to teachers.

The Carnegie Report went so far as to state that "the key" to the successful reform of schools "lies in creating a profession...of well-educated teachers prepared to assume new

powers and responsibilities to redesign schools for the future" (p. 2). Recognizing that without such teachers "any reforms will be short lived" (p. 2), the report suggested sweeping changes in education policy which would, among other things, "restructure schools to provide a professional environment for teaching..." as well as "restructure the teaching force and introduce a new category of Lead Teachers" (p. 3).

The California Commission on the Teaching Profession, in its study Who Will Teach Our Children? (1985), and Devaney's "The Lead Teacher: Ways to Begin" (1987), a paper prepared for the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession for the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, provided hypothetical sketches of restructured schools and classrooms where a reorganized school day and a multi-level career path for classroom teachers offered new stimulation and avenues for teachers' professional growth. They presented less rigidly structured organizations where teachers' roles were flexible and extended beyond the boundaries of the classroom.

Though the literature is replete with suggestions for the reform of teaching, and many agree that the reform of teaching is essential to successful school reform (Barth, 1990; Maeroff, 1988; Johnson, 1990), few teachers have taken leadership roles in developing plans for restructuring their work or the schools in which they teach, and the voices of teachers have been noticeably absent from the school reform debate.

Recent interest in shared decision-making in schools, teacher collegiality (Little, 1987), and the idea of the school as a

"community of learners," (Barth, 1990, p. 37), though, signal increased interest in teacher leadership in schools. Terrence Deal states that "School improvement ought to emphasize building from within" (Deal, 1986, p. 127), and Roland Barth (1990) maintains that

...confidence is growing--by default as well as conviction--in increased governance and decision making at the school site. Many are coming to believe that those closest to students, and those most likely to be affected by the decisions, should make them (p. xiii).

Studies have begun to appear that analyze the experience of teachers who assume formal leadership roles. One of the earliest, conducted by Ann Lieberman, details the experience of 17 teacher leaders (Lieberman, 1988) who had been relieved of teaching duties in order to work with other teachers in small groups and on a one-to-one basis.

Specific "entry characteristics" were shared by the teachers as they embarked on their leadership roles. All these teacher leaders were accomplished professionals with many years of teaching experience who had already learned a great deal about the complexity of school cultures from their broad experience at many grade levels, and their work with both adults and children. They were risk-takers--"willing to promote new ideas that might seem difficult or threatening to their colleagues" (p. 150), and they had strong interpersonal skills--"they knew how to be strong, yet caring and compassionate" (p. 150).

Once they took leadership roles they had to master conflict mediation and confrontation skills, as well as a myriad of

organizational and administrative skills. They learned "without exception...about the school culture as if it were a new experience for them" (p. 150). They discovered how hard it was to develop trust and build consensus among teachers, and "they were confronted with the egalitarian ethic held by most teachers-- the belief that teachers are all alike, differing only in length of service, age, knowledge, role or responsibility" (p. 151).

Patricia Wasley's (1990) study of three teacher leaders supports Lieberman's findings and provides a more in-depth understanding of the dilemmas and demands confronting teacher leaders. Two of the three teachers she studied had been designated as teacher leaders by school administrators, and she discovered that

Although...teacher leaders have the potential to be a valuable leadership resource...most (other) teachers are unresponsive to top-down efforts to improve their instruction through administratively created teacher leadership positions (p. 160).

Thus, despite the current rhetoric about how effective school change can "come up from the teachers" (Maeroff, p. 52), the institutional roadblocks to teacher leadership are many, models of teacher leadership in organizational restructuring are few, and the skills necessary for this form of leadership are taught neither in pre-service nor in graduate-level teacher education programs.

These findings, suggesting a national need for teacher leadership training, indicated to Field Center staff that they should proceed with a Teacher Leadership Survey aimed at identifying the particular needs of Massachusetts teachers.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Sample

Sixty-seven teachers were identified by the Field Center to participate in this study. Each teacher received a letter outlining our intention and a survey with instructions for completion and a stamped-return envelope. The survey was confidential and anonymous - none were assigned codes. The sample consisted of 38 elementary teachers, four teachers who taught at the junior high or middle school level, and 25 at the high school level in demographically diverse communities across the state of Massachusetts. 23.3% of the surveys were distributed to minority teachers. All of the teachers had been identified as leaders through their association with the Field Center. And, they all had three things in common: (1) they taught full-time while assuming leadership responsibilities; (2) each took a pro-active role in influencing education beyond the four walls of their classrooms at the local or state level; and (3) they were members of the Field Center's network of educators actively engaged in improving teaching and learning.

Since we were using a significant number of open-ended questions on the survey, we purposely chose a small, though representative, sample as a way to gain a more in-depth understanding of teacher leaders in Massachusetts. It was our intention to later work more intensely with a sub-group of these teachers who were interested in helping us design a leadership program. We acknowledge both the benefits and the limitations of

a small sample size and present our results within the context established by these limitations.

Survey Instrument

A nine page, four-part survey was designed for use in this study. The first three sections of the survey were intended to obtain a more detailed profile of teacher leaders in Massachusetts, their ages, and number of years in teaching, the level at which they taught, the kinds of schools in which they worked, and their experiences in these schools and school districts with other teachers, administrators, and the community at large. A previous survey conducted by the Field Center in 1986 served as the prototype for the first three sections. Section four queried teachers about the experience of teacher leadership, the supports and obstacles they had encountered in their leadership activities, the effect of their leadership activities on their teaching and on their relationships with others in their schools. Teachers were asked to enumerate the kinds of skills and knowledge they thought would be most useful to prospective and current teacher leaders, and to develop a vision of how a teacher leadership program would look.

The survey was comprised of both multiple choice and open-form questions. Once the data had been entered, the statistical analysis was done using SPSS/PC (the statistical package for IBM/PC). The numbers that appear in this paper are percentages based on the frequency distribution of different responses to the

multiple choice questions. For our immediate needs, frequency analysis was all that was necessary. A cross-tabulation of specific items will be completed in the future. The open-form questions provided an appropriate opportunity for teachers to reflect on their personal beliefs and perceptions about their roles as teacher leaders and their visions of a teacher leadership program. The responses to these questions were synthesized by hand by the researchers. This paper will analyze both the quantitative and qualitative data received from the teachers.

SURVEY FINDINGS

Forty-two teachers (62.6%) completed and returned the surveys. The majority of teacher leaders who responded were female (76.2%). The respondents ranged in age from 31-60, with 50% clustering between the ages of 41 and 45. Ninety percent of the respondents were white; 9.5% were African-American or Hispanic. 83.3% of the teachers possessed at least a Masters Degree. 64.7% had taught between sixteen and 23 years with 54.7% of those years in the same school district. The majority of the respondents (73.8%) taught grades K-6; 26.2% taught grades 7-12. Most of the teachers taught in either suburban (50%) or urban (35.7%) districts.

Results of the survey were highly informative. The range of activities in which the teacher leaders engaged was broad. The majority of the teachers had taken leadership in curriculum (97%), grade-level or department decision-making (85.7%), and staff development (76.2%). Some teachers mixed union activities with

curricular leadership. The vast majority had conducted workshops or seminars for other teachers, predominantly in their own schools, but also in other school districts, at colleges, and at local, state, or national conferences. A number of teachers had had experience teaching at local colleges; most had been mentors for other teachers; many had published articles, and one had written a book on her work.

Most of the teachers had received grants to support their work (85.7%). Though some had received state or national recognition, and a number had been given sabbaticals to pursue their projects, the majority of teachers had received only small grants. Whether the grants were large or small, teachers emphasized the importance of these grants to the work they had been trying to accomplish. In the words of one teacher: "receiving grants from outside researchers validates that my ideas are on the right track."

The majority of teachers were relatively satisfied with relationships in their school communities among teachers, administrators, and parents. They were most satisfied with their relationships with students (90%); 57.1% reported that relationships among teachers were good; 52.4% reported good relationships with parents. Relationships with administrators were more varied, with 26.2% reporting very open relationships, 35.7% reporting good relationships, and 26.2% reporting strained relationships.

When asked to assess their working conditions, the teachers reported they were most satisfied with their role in curriculum

development, and reasonably satisfied with their opportunities for professional growth. They were least satisfied with their role in the school decision-making process, the development and implementation of school procedures, the amount of time available to them for preparation and meetings, and feedback and evaluation of their performance.

The teacher leaders were asked to rate the impact of individuals both inside and out of the school community with regard to sustaining and encouraging them in their leadership roles. Colleagues at grade level/department were rated as important, but individuals outside the school and district were rated as even more valuable in sustaining and encouraging the school leader. The principal appeared to be much less important to the teacher leaders than any other individual. Several respondents noted that their principals perceived them as a "threat" or "personal watchdog."

Many of the teachers had received some remuneration for the workshops, courses, and other leadership work they had undertaken (61.9%). No teacher mentioned that the income from this work was substantial, and in most cases, the teacher mentioned that the remuneration barely covered expenses, but all the teachers who had received remuneration felt the income had been important because it had made them feel "valued" for the work they had done. And, one teacher stated that "compensation helps to pay for outside expenses, like baby sitters," incurred because her "leadership activities require time away from home."

The teacher leaders were asked if and how their teacher leadership roles had affected their teaching. Teacher leadership had affected 90.5% of the teachers, and the effects were overwhelmingly positive. Most often cited as benefits of the leadership roles were: increased self-confidence, improved teaching and attitude toward work, increased knowledge and a broadened outlook. One respondent reported: "it [leadership] has forced me to better assess and articulate what I do with students; I have grown personally and professionally through contact with other teachers." The majority of the teachers listed no negative results of their leadership. However, when negatives were enumerated, they all revolved around the following problems: leadership took teachers out of the classroom, consumed enormous energy and time, and sometimes detracted from work in the classroom.

In 90.5% of the responses, teachers' relationships with others in their schools had been affected by their leadership roles. The effects were both positive and negative. Though many of the teacher leaders felt their colleagues had learned from them and gained from their leadership work, many others felt subtle resentment from their peers for the work they were doing.

Teachers were asked if their gender had affected their experience with leadership. Here, the answers were very mixed. The majority of teachers saw little or no relationship between their gender and their experiences of leadership. It was a slim majority, however, with many other teachers referring passionately to the difficulty they had experienced as women assuming leadership

in male-dominated school hierarchies.

Most often cited as a roadblock to leadership was lack of time (17 cases). Teachers referred again and again to the difficulties involved in taking leadership when no time was allocated during the school day for their activities. The second most frequently cited roadblock to these teachers' leadership was other teachers. One teacher stated the problem as, "other teachers with an 'us vs. them' attitude." Another remarked that "professional jealousy" was a factor, and one teacher stated that it had been difficult for her as a teacher to "gain acceptance from my peers." Administration was cited less frequently than teachers as a roadblock, but the principal's perception of the teacher leader as a threat to his/her authority was clearly one of the difficulties that the teacher leaders had encountered. Finally, lack of money was cited in a few cases as a roadblock to leadership.

Asked what was the most valuable support for leadership, the majority of teachers responded that it was other teachers -- their "positive feedback," "encouragement and enthusiasm," and "goodwill" that had sustained them (21 cases). This is particularly interesting, given the responses from the previous question, which indicated that other teachers were also a source of difficulty for the teacher leaders. Administration was seen as particularly supportive in eight cases. Outside institutions, such the MA Field Center, the Educators' Forum and "university communities" were cited as important in four cases.

When teachers were asked to name the greatest sources of stress, it is not surprising, given the answers to the previous two questions, that colleagues and administration were the most often cited source, followed by lack of time and other resources.

A number of teachers referred to the "petty jealousies of colleagues and administrators," "cynical teachers who have tunnel vision and can't see beyond their classrooms," "lack of appreciation for working with colleagues and time to do the work properly," and "always having to use after-class time to assume leadership positions."

Responses to the question "Is there anything you know now about the experience of teacher leadership that you wished you had known before you assumed leadership?" complemented the previous answers, and highlighted the need for a close look at interpersonal relationships and authority roles in schools when teachers take leadership. Many of the teachers wished that they had had a better understanding of the politics of schools before they embarked on their leadership roles. Others wished they had known about team building and how difficult it was to work effectively with other adults. A few teachers noted how "lonely" they felt as teacher leaders, and some wished they had known how much time and energy leadership would consume. On the other hand, a number of teacher leaders remarked that they wished they had known how "tremendously empowering" teacher leadership could be, how it could increase self-confidence and enrich their lives.

Perhaps the most informative section of the survey was the one that asked teacher leaders to define the skills and knowledge they thought would be important for teacher leaders to have. The need for communication skills and an understanding of group dynamics were far and away the most often selected responses for skill development. An understanding of interpersonal relations was cited as well as the importance of developing "effective sales techniques," as one teacher put it. The need for presentation skills and organizational skills was noted by many of the respondents, and one teacher remarked that a skill she needed to learn was "how to control a team of horses [teachers] going in all directions."

The kinds of knowledge the teachers most often selected revolved around school restructuring and how to make effective, long-term change in schools. Though the teachers were interested in curriculum reform and the latest research in the content areas, it was issues revolving around school restructuring, power and authority, and new roles for teachers that they cited most often as knowledge they wanted to have.

Lastly, teachers were asked to describe their visions of a teacher leadership program. Teachers were unanimous in their desire to establish such a leadership program. Teachers most often wanted the program to begin with a summer academy followed by lengthy workshops during the year. They wanted the academy to be situated away from their schools, and many suggested that a camaraderie or "groupness" needed to be developed among the

participants so that they could support each other in the difficult process of taking leadership.

The findings from this survey are hopeful and specific. It would seem that already-recognized teacher leaders see the need for a leadership program, both for themselves -- to hone their leadership skills, and for those teachers who are interested in becoming leaders. The enthusiasm reflected in teachers' responses to the survey, and their stated willingness to be involved in the development of the teacher leadership program, bode well for the success of such an enterprise.

CONCLUSION

This research was undertaken to gather information from teacher leaders in Massachusetts that would inform the design of a teacher leadership program to be sponsored by the Field Center for Teaching and Learning. It was based on the belief that teacher leaders know best what should be included in such a program. It also demonstrated that they harbor tremendous, yet untapped, potential to strengthen schools and teaching and need to be supported in their efforts. Our research indicated that teachers who have already assumed leadership in their schools have strong opinions about the skills and knowledge they need in order to become more effective leaders. This research generated information which has important implications for not only the work of the Field Center, but for schools, districts, and state policy makers as well.

A closer look at current teacher leadership efforts around the country indicated that few teacher leadership training programs exist, formal teacher leadership positions are extremely limited in number, funding for such positions is often insecure, and the choice for teacher leaders has frequently seemed capricious to other teachers. Furthermore, according to Wasley, "without significant systematic contextual change, these positions have as little chance of effecting serious educational change as all their older, dreary reform relatives" (p. 159). Teacher leadership requires changes in traditional roles, attitudes, and school organization: roles which enable teachers to take on alternative responsibilities without leaving the classroom, attitudes that value teachers' work with adults as well as students, and school organization that provides time and professional support for the new roles.

Clearly then, teacher leadership requires a shift in authority relations in schools. According to Kenneth Leithwood, the causes of Sarason's "predictable failure of educational reform", rest in large measure on existing power relationships in schools" (Leithwood, 1992, p. 8). School leadership needs to be reconfigured to include teacher leadership as a means to confront the complexity of issues facing schools today. The teachers we surveyed showed a striking interest in school restructuring and new roles for teachers. The opportunity to engage in school leadership offers possibilities for improving teaching conditions, it replaces the solitary authority of the principal with collective authority; it provides a constructive format in which adults can interact that overcomes daily classroom

isolation; it helps transform schools into contexts for adult as well as children's learning (Barth, 1988, p. 136).

However, the issue of time, and in particular the lack of time for teacher leadership, looms large for teachers whose primary concern is the instruction of children. Efforts to increase teacher leadership opportunities in schools, therefore, must go hand in hand with a serious look at restructuring the school -- its organization, governance, professional roles, responsibilities, and relationships.

Another challenge before us is to consider how teacher leadership can improve teaching and learning. The teacher leaders we interviewed saw a direct relationship between their enthusiasm for teaching, the quality of their teaching, and their experiences with leadership. Leadership experiences empowered them, increased their self-confidence and their willingness to take risks in their classrooms. We would posit that children are the direct beneficiaries when teachers take leadership responsibilities that in the words of one teacher "put my teaching in perspective and provide richer classroom interactions."

It is imperative that educators and policy makers at the school, district, and state levels work together to find ways to "overcome the many impediments facing teachers and principals that block teachers' leading and find conditions under which teachers will exercise leadership" (Barth, 1988, p. 131.) What is known about what matters to teachers in their schools must be translated into "policies and practices that work" (Johnson, 1990, p. 26).

The findings of our research will enable the Field Center to develop a statewide program that will be based primarily on the professional knowledge and skills teachers identified through our Teacher Leadership Survey as important to their work. A major goal of the program will be to develop a network of individuals interested in professional growth that will enhance their sense of efficacy and give them a stronger voice in decisions affecting them as classroom teachers. It is but one approach to assist teachers in their quests to become effective agents of change at the classroom, district, state, and national levels.

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