This collection of papers examines the current issues in urban education as suggested by on-site studies of programs in sixteen different cities between 1977 and 1980. An overview of the problems in urban education and their causes is presented in the first paper. The second paper discusses program improvement strategies and several examples of efforts to adapt curriculum and instruction to the differences in the cultural backgrounds and personal characteristics of students. Basic skills, bilingual and special education programs are examined. Also discussed are the characteristics of successful school environments. The third paper reviews the conditions necessary for systemwide renewal with emphasis on career centers, alternative schools, school community collaboration, staff development and school management. Strategies for optimizing educational resources through school community interactions and new approaches to inservice education are discussed in the fourth paper. The fifth paper discusses the evaluation process and objectives of evaluation, with emphasis on strategies for improvement. The final paper further explores systemwide renewal and the measures needed to meet the demands on education in the 1980s. (JCD)
EDUCATIONAL QUANDARIES OPPORTUNITIES

1977 — REPORT — 1980
URBAN EDUCATION STUDIES
EDUCATIONAL QUANDARIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Francis S. Chase
Director

URBAN EDUCATION STUDIES

Sponsored by
The Council of the Great City Schools
and
The University Council for Educational Administration

Supported by
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September - 1980
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PREFACE

This report is offered with the hope that it will impart some added impetus to the valiant efforts now being made to match education to the needs and potentials of all children and youth in our diverse urban population.

The American public is aware that the present quality of public education in our cities leaves much to be desired. Many thousands of able and conscientious workers in these school systems are even more dissatisfied with the inadequacy of present provisions for education and deeply sensitive to the resulting damage to individuals and to society. Despite the multitudinous problems, there are in every city, schools in which high expectations for behavior and academic performance are realized to a remarkable degree. There also are many examples of skillful adaptation of curriculum and instruction to the cultural values, previous experiences, personal characteristics, and aspirations of students from diverse backgrounds. Some of the systems studied during the past three years are now moving vigorously to create the combination of elements and conditions which are essential to system-wide equity in educational opportunity and excellence in educational achievement.

The Urban Education Studies were undertaken because of a conviction that public education is, and must continue to be, an indispensable foundation for government by, for, and of the people and for continued progress toward a just, open, and humane society. Recent developments in the sixteen systems studied offer basis for hope that public education in our cities is slowly moving to higher ground.

Francis S. Chase
September 1980

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The contributors to whatever is of worth in this report include many who were closely involved with preparation for, and conduct of, the preliminary and on-site studies, and a host of others whose ideas have found their way into the assumptions underlying the studies, the modes of inquiry, and the conclusions reached. Identification of contributors, however, will be restricted generally to specific, direct, and essential contributions of organizations and groups of persons; and names of individuals will be used only where there was close and continuing involvement in the conduct of the studies.

We are indebted to the Spencer Foundation and the National Institute of Education, first, for the grants and contracts which have made the studies possible, and second, for moral support and understanding of the problems encountered.

The Council of the Great City Schools has served throughout as the chief sponsor and administrative agent; and in these roles has made substantial contributions. Thanks are due to the CGCS Board of Directors, Executive Committee and the staff headed by Executive Vice-President Samuel B. Husk. The University Council of Educational Administration, in its role as co-sponsor, has made important contributions to the studies and the conferences for school administrators. Sincere appreciation is extended to Executive Director Jack Culbertson and his colleagues.

We are deeply appreciative of the generous assistance provided by the general superintendents of schools, the official liaison persons, and thousands of other staff members in the school systems of Atlanta, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dade County, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New York City, Norfolk, Oakland, Philadelphia, Portland, and Toledo. In all of these systems, there was a generous response to requests for information, gracious hospitality for the site-visit teams, and open access to plans, operations, and problems at every level.

We acknowledge gratefully the time given by the 120 persons who participated in from one to eleven site visits (See Appendix for names, positions, and number of visits made). This report reflects the fruits of their inquiries. Thanks are due also to all who presented papers and participated in
the discussion of issues at the 1979 Workshop and the 1980 Conference for City School Administrators (See Appendix).

The Urban Education Studies recruited on short notice a young, able and dedicated staff which was maintained at a level of three to five persons. Special thanks are due the following:

David Schwandt, who served ably as assistant director from the beginning of the studies in the summer of 1977 until April, 1979, when he resigned to accept a position with the General Accounting Office;

William E. Bell, research associate, who joined the staff in the fall of 1978 and, since then, not only has participated fully in the major phases of the studies, but also has been chiefly responsible for organizing the data related to the studies for the use of those preparing reports; and

Mary Sale, who served faithfully and conscientiously as secretary and accountant for the entire period of the studies.

Marjorie Buchanan made important contributions during the early months of the studies and Linda Soliz and Valerie Knox made valuable contributions during the academic year 1978-79.

The Urban Education Studies were fortunate to be able to obtain substantial time from the following persons, each of whom brought a rich scholarly background to his special assignment:

James E. Walter, who served ably on a half-time basis as a staff member, site-visitor, and member of the writing team for the final reports;

Egon Guba, who participated in a number of site visits, conferences, and other special assignments and prepared documentation, including Chapter I of this report; and

Daniel Stufflebeam, who participated in several site visits, the 1979 and 1980 conferences, and prepared the chapter on evaluation for the final report.

Ralph W. Tyler offered valuable advice in the early stages and subsequently; and William E. Cooley and Gary Gappert reviewed documents and rendered other services.
INTRODUCTION
The Urban Education Studies 1977-1980

Francis S. Chase
William E. Bell

The Urban Education Studies were initiated in the spring of 1977 with the support of a grant from The Spencer Foundation made in response to a proposal submitted by Francis S. Chase on December 14, 1976. The Council of the Great City Schools — a consortium of urban school systems — was selected to administer the funds and serve as chief sponsor; and The University Council of Educational Administration agreed to become a co-sponsor. After the initial year, the Studies were continued under a contract with The National Institute of Education, with supplementary support from The Spencer Foundation. The central purpose of the Urban Education Studies throughout their history has been to identify, and to impart added impetus to, strategies and developments which seem likely to contribute to the revitalization of educational institutions, personnel, and practices.

TYPES AND MODES OF INQUIRIES

During the three year period, 1977-80, the Urban Education Studies gathered information on promising programs and developments in large school systems; and gave special attention to the conditions and factors which seemed to offer promise of system-wide improvement. A brief description is given below of the types of inquiries conducted:

1. In the fall of 1977, data were collected on programs and strategies believed to be unusually successful in improving opportunities for learning and increased achievement. In response to a request addressed to large school systems, thirty city public school systems provided information on a total of 599 programs, or an average of approximately twenty per school system. Tables 1-3 show the number and types of programs reported and indicate the racial/ethnic characteristics of students enrolled and sources of funding.
### Table 1. Distribution of Reported Programs by Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Area</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action-Learning</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-the-Job Training by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and Industry</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Services</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Skills</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Skills</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Pluralism</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual and Multicultural</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elimination of Bias</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercultural Interaction</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Community Interaction</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-Based Experiences</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared Planning</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Network</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Successful Programs</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Programs Reported</strong></td>
<td>599</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2. Percentage of Reported Programs by Area and Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Area</th>
<th>Black %</th>
<th>White %</th>
<th>Hispanic %</th>
<th>Other %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action-Learning</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Skills</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Pluralism</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Community Interaction</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3. Percentage of Reported Programs by Area and Source of Funding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Area</th>
<th>Federal %</th>
<th>Federal and Other %</th>
<th>Non-Federal* %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action-Learning</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Skills</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Pluralism</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Community Interaction</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*or not identified as Federal
2. On-site studies were conducted during 1977-78 in the five cities of Atlanta, Dallas, Milwaukee, Oakland, and Toledo. The site-visit teams included the Director of Urban Education Studies with two Research Associates and six or more additional team members made up of administrators from participating city school systems and professors from urban universities. In each city four substitute teachers or graduate students also were recruited to interview students enrolled in the programs studied.

3. Another set of on-site studies, focused on promising programs and developments, was conducted in six cities during 1978-79. These cities included Chicago, Columbus, Detroit, Indianapolis, Norfolk, and Philadelphia. The studies were directed toward identifying factors which contribute to the success of program implementation and continuing adaptation as well as to appraising the effects on the target populations. The site-visits covered a school week; and the visiting teams were from participating school systems, faculty members from universities and the director and other staff of the Urban Education Studies.

4. A three-phase study of research and evaluation was conducted in seven urban school systems during 1978-79. The school systems participating were Atlanta, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbus, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Portland. The first phase involved collection of basic information on research and evaluation conducted during the past five years; the second phase consisted of administration of checklists to program directors, principals, and teachers in order to obtain perceptions of the actual and potential use of R and E data (Chicago did not participate in this phase); and the third phase involved on-site investigations of mechanisms and processes for communication and application of knowledge. The on-site studies were conducted for three-day periods following the studies described in item 3; and the teams included two or three nationally recognized educators and staff of the Urban Education Studies.

5. During the school year 1979-80 more intensive studies covering a variety of innovations and strategies were conducted. In Dade County (including Miami), Denver, and New York City, two separate visits of one week in duration were made by six or seven member teams—the first in the fall of 1979, and the second in the winter or spring of 1980. During 1979-80 return visits of several days were also made by teams of four or five to Atlanta, Milwaukee, and Oakland; and three-day repeat visits were made to Chicago and Toledo by two-member teams. In all of these visits special attention was given to the factors that appeared to be associated with prospects for system-wide renewal.
The Urban Education Studies have conformed mainly to what has been called the "naturalistic paradigm" which, as Guba and Lincoln\(^1\) have noted, is based on three assumptions: (1) **the assumption of multiple reality** (attention to multiple realities forming an intricately interrelated pattern; (2) **the assumption of subject-object interrelatedness** (interrelationship of the inquirers and the entities investigated); and (3) **the assumption of contextuality** (a belief that phenomena are contextually determined and require a focus on the understanding of particular events).

Among the characteristics of this mode of inquiry, six seem especially relevant to our studies: (1) dependence on qualitative technique, (2) use of theories derived from real-world data and information, (3) focusing on holistic, emergent patterns, (4) making each step contingent on what has been discovered in the preceding step, (5) sorting through naturally occurring situations to find examples of the circumstances to be tested, and (6) being open to all factors that can influence the outcome.

**Site-Visit Procedures**

As has been noted, the site-visits in 1977-78 were focused chiefly on programs in action-learning, basic skills, career education, school-community relations, and other programs believed to be unusually successful in meeting educational needs. In 1978-79, studies focusing on promising programs were conducted in an additional six cities; and studies of Research and Evaluation were conducted in seven cities. In 1979-80, three new cities were visited and revisits were made to several of the cities studied in previous years. Table 4 indicates the number and the length of site visits made to each of the sixteen cities, and the major focus of inquiries during each visit. The school systems visited were selected from those expressing a desire

---

\(^1\)Based on "Naturalistic Inquiry", a paper delivered by Egon G. Guba to the National Society for Performance and Instruction, Spring 1980.
Table 4. Dates and Foci of Visits to the Several Cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Study Foci</th>
<th>Study Year</th>
<th>Dates of Visit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>Nov. 7-11, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>System Renewal</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>Mar. 12-14, 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>Mar. 5-9, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crisis Management</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>May 15-19, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>Research and Evaluation</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>April 4-6, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>Jan. 22-26, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dade County</td>
<td>System Renewal</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>Dec. 3-7, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Miami)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feb. 4-8, 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>Sept. 26-30, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>System Renewal</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>Nov. 11-16, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>May 5-9, 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>April 30-May 4, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>System Renewal</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>Oct. 3-5, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>April 10-May 2, 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>Dec. 4-8, 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakland</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>Dec. 5-9, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>System Renewal</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>Jan. 16-18, 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>Research and Evaluation</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>Feb. 5-7, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo</td>
<td>Exemplary Programs</td>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>Oct. 10-14, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crisis Management</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>May 5-7, 1980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to participate in the studies. In making the selections, consideration was given to geographic distribution, and a range of demographic and other characteristics.

Prior to each site visit, the host school system provided descriptive, evaluative, and statistical reports on the system and on the particular programs and activities to be observed. This information was forwarded to the members of the study teams prior to commencement of the site visit. The team members were also given advance information on the current thrusts of the Urban Education Studies and the types and modes of inquiries considered appropriate. After the site visit teams had assembled in the city to be studied, the Director outlined the purposes of the studies, made assignments, and gave brief instructions; and at the same time distributed forms on which to make reports. In making the assignments, every effort was made to utilize the special talents, expertise, and experiences of individual team members.

Typically, part or all of the first day on-site was spent in briefings from administrators and program directors in the areas to be studied. During the remainder of the visit team members pursued particular lines of interest. In all cities studied site team members not only visited central or area office personnel, but made several visits to schools and classrooms where they interviewed principals, staffs, and students. On the final day of the visit the study team and members from the school system's administration (frequently including the general superintendent and area superintendents in decentralized systems) would meet to discuss the study team's impressions and observations. Rich and informative exchanges between the participants were characteristic of these meetings.

Participants in the Study

The site-visit teams were made up of persons from participating school districts, academic personnel from urban universities, and members of the staff of the Urban Education Studies. Thus, 57 administrators from city school systems made a total of 75 visits;
47 university-faculty members made a total of 67 site visits; 10 representatives of other educational organizations participated in 14 visits; and staff members of the Urban Education Studies took part in 58 on-site studies. In addition, interviews were conducted in five cities by a total of 20 graduate students or substitute teachers.

Highlights of the first two years were discussed in August, 1979 at a Workshop for City School Administrators, which was planned by the Urban Education Studies staff and sponsored by the Council of the Great City Schools and the University Council of Educational Administration. The discussion centered on such topics as Early Childhood Education, Basic Skills, Reading Programs, Alternative Schools, Career Education, Instructional Management Systems, and Research and Evaluation. Crucial developments and new approaches were also described by representatives from the eleven participating urban systems.

In May, 1980, a second Conference for City School Administrators provided an overview of the Urban Education Studies and offered sessions focused on such topics as: Coping with Obstacles to Educational Revitalization, Applying R & E to Educational Decisions, Significant Alternatives to Traditional Schools, Mobilizing Resources for Effective Education, Redesigning of Governance and Management in Urban School Systems, Accelerating Achievement in Basic Skills, Characteristics of Effective Schools, Increasing School Effectiveness, and Cycles in the History of American Education. There was also a session on national and international developments in education presented by the University Council of Educational Administration.

Each of the chapters of this report represents contributions of many persons, including some 120 members of site-visit teams and thousands of others who provided information. The chief responsibility for presenting the findings and inferences, however, is shared by the UES Director and Research Associate Bell with Professors Egon Guba, Daniel Stufflebeam, and James E. Walter, all of whom participated in several on-site studies and in the analysis of the data on the current status and prospects for urban education.
ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This report on the Urban Education Studies is presented in six chapters.

In Chapter I, Guba takes a searching look at the enormous difficulties facing urban education, analyzes causes for the present state of affairs, and discusses the varied responses which urban systems are making.

In Chapter II, Chase reflects on prospects for progress and discusses several examples of attempts to adapt curriculum and instruction to differences in cultures and personal characteristics. The latter part of the chapter focuses on the characteristics of effective schools.

Chapter III continues the discussion of elements and conditions essential to system-wide renewal, with attention to career centers, alternative schools, school-community collaboration, and professional development. Planning and management are discussed as instrumentalities for effective goal attainment and efficient use of resources.

In Chapter IV, Walter enlarges on the theme of optimizing resources for education through school community interactions and offers examples of four types. Inservice education is defined to include all adults involved in the educational enterprise, and examples are given of different approaches to organization, programming, staffing, funding, and evaluation of inservice activities.

Stufflebeam, in Chapter V, brings a rich experiential background to his treatment of evaluation under the headings of conceptualizing, organizing, selecting appropriate methods, and promoting the use of evaluation. The discussions of the several topics is illuminated by examples from the cities studied.

In the final chapter, Chase explores further the prospects for system-wide renewal and the measures crucial to meeting the demands on education in the '80's.

All of the authors participated in site-visits, served as speakers or consultants for conferences for city school administrators, and spent extended periods analyzing the data gathered from the several systems. The chapters which follow reflect their findings and inferences and provide examples of developments which hold promise for educational development.
I.

CHALLENGES TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

Egon Guba

The average American citizen would, if asked, likely render the judgment that schooling, particularly in large urban school systems, is moribund. The widely-shared stereotype has it that today's children leave school unable to write or to cipher, and that they are unprepared to cope with the economic, social, emotional, or vocational conditions that they will encounter in the real world. Schools are said to be unsafe. Dope addiction is common, it is asserted, and sexual abuse is rampant. Teachers are charged with incompetence, or at the very least with lacking the dedication needed to put whatever competence they may have to work. School principals, administrators, and boards are not responsive to the legitimate complaints that are lodged against the system, it is asserted. To add insult to injury, these officials are believed to be fiscally inept and to display a careless attitude toward the husbanding of public funds.

That citizens should feel this way is not surprising. Lacking any sound knowledge of what schooling is like or what the conditions are with which teachers and other school functionaries must cope, they have little recourse than to believe what the newspapers trumpeter, what their neighbors whisper over back fences, or what scores derived from norm-referenced tests of dubious validity proclaim, about the apparent failure of the schools. If one adds the many difficulties brought about by the need to desegregate and by the brinkmanship involved in maintaining fiscal solvency, all of which are brought to the public's attention in the minutest detail by the media, it is a wonder not that citizens should believe the worst about their schools but that there
are any children left in them at all. Surely, given the fiscal capability and the logistical opportunity to place their children in private schools—or in some other public school substitute—most parents would hasten to do so.

This report is intended in large measure to act as an offset to this depressing posture and the lack of information from which it so largely emerges. It intends to tell the other side of the story. It is not designed to deny that there are problems in the schools—the evidence to the contrary is too well known. It is intended to describe what school people are doing to shape a new education that will adequately take account of and overcome them. And let there be no mistake about the fact that many such responses have already been launched and many more are in the making. This report will describe a number of exemplars in support of that contention and, on that basis, will make an argument, hopefully persuasive to the many stakeholding audiences to which schools are accountable, that schooling is not only not moribund but is making significant strides toward recovery. All of the remaining chapters of this report are directed toward that end.

To put that positive story in a proper perspective requires, however, that the hearer understand what current conditions are. This chapter, therefore, will be devoted to a brief overview of the factors to which many of the later-to-be-described program, administrative, organizational, and staffing innovations are responsive. Attention is given first to the question, "What is it like to keep school in large urban systems in 1980?" Secondly, there follows a discussion of some of the reasons for this state of affairs. Finally, the responses which have already emerged and are being tried in many school settings are categorized as a basis for organizing the material to follow in subsequent chapters.

DIFFiculties Facing Urban Education in 1980

Every school person from the board president to the classroom teacher is beset by a variety of urgent problems, any one of which is sufficient to undermine the commitment of all but the most determined individuals. The following list, by no means exhaustive, illustrates the difficulties...
that confront school people daily:

1. **Money.** Schools are not immune to the fiscal exigencies that beset the nation. Inflation, rising labor costs, and soaring energy prices make budgets obsolete almost before they are printed. A significant proportion of the staff in school business offices is devoted to finding ways to make the dollars stretch just a few days longer. The costs of servicing short term paper have reached inordinate proportions. It is not surprising that a few schools have begun to engage in "creative accounting"—unauthorized inter-fund borrowing, hiding personnel costs under the figment of "dollar-a-year" consultants or outside vendors, or even, in one case, simply adding a so-called "pro-rata" line to the budget which, effectively, adds back the amount needed to make the budget appear to be in balance. At the same time state legislatures continue to mandate new services without always making concomitant appropriations, and local citizens continue to show a remarkable reluctance to vote new levies.

2. **Pressure for desegregation.** That desegregation of the schools should be given the highest priority if beyond question. The proportion of school people who take issue with this goal is assuredly tiny. Yet desegregation poses a formidable array of fiscal, logistic, and emotional problems which are exceedingly difficult to resolve even by the most committed and competent practitioner. Citizens often do not understand why the neighborhood school concept appears suddenly to have been invalidated and why their children should be bussed—even if on a voluntary basis—to some distant and apparently inferior school. The feeling that they have lost control of their children's lives is widespread. Attempts to reorganize school systems to come into compliance with court decisions and moral mandates, for example, through school pairing and bussing, are met with resistance and even with civil disobedience. The costs of moving children from school to school to achieve better balance are enormous and daily growing larger. Teacher transfers are difficult and are typically resisted by teacher organizations. Meanwhile, the courts, the Department of Education, the Office of Civil Rights, the Justice Department, the Departments of Education, state departments of public instruction, and other agencies and action groups continue to exert pressure for further desegregation and equitable access to education.
3. **Demands for efficiency.** That urban schools are in general undergoing fiscal crises is apparent to everyone. Simultaneously, their appeals for more funding are coming at a time when everyone is acutely aware of an enormous erosion in his own buying power, and is having to make strenuous efforts to make the dollars stretch just a bit further. It is not surprising, therefore, that schools find themselves under pressure to husband their resources more carefully, to become more accountable, and above all, to be more efficient in their operations. Schools have often been accused of paying more attention to "frills" than to "basics," but never more than at this moment in history. Their publics, reflected particularly in the boards that are currently being elected, are demanding that they stop "trying to be all things to all people" and, instead, to establish "realistic priorities." School people are urged to run their enterprises like businesses, with the most immediate attention being paid to the "bottom line."

4. **Negative public perceptions.** There are many. Schools are seen as abetting segregation. They are accused of supplying below-standard education to a large proportion of their clients. The image of the teacher as a "Mr. Chips" has long since dissolved. Chambers of Commerce see the schools as leading culprits in the losing battle of attracting new business and industry. Realtors fault them for declining property values. And so on in a seemingly endless litany. In reaction to these negative perceptions parents engage in a flight to suburbia or place their children in private schools, which are believed to be magically free of those debilitating symptoms. That flight of course exacerbates the schools' fiscal dilemma and continues the vicious circle.

5. **Value pluralism cross-fire.** Urban centers house diverse populations—multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-almost everything. It is not surprising that they should also be multi-valued. As a result, virtually anything that the schools do or could do runs afoul of some group's values, so that that group, at least, will label the school as ineffective. Note that the conflicts that result are irresolvable and inevitable; so long as value differences occur in the community, and to
the extent to which those values are themselves at odds, it is impossible for the school to escape conflict or to do anything about it. Of course the school can work to achieve consensus, but the history of American society, particularly since Viet Nam, argues against the probability that consensus can be achieved.

6. Inadequate plant. Big cities are also older cities, and much of the school plant is also old. School administrators are castigated for not closing antiquated buildings that are difficult and costly to maintain, but are equally castigated should they propose to erect new structures to replace them, especially in view of today's high building costs and declining enrollments. Moreover, the space that does exist is relatively inflexible, difficult to adapt to proposed new programmatic or organizational innovations.

7. Political pressures. Schools are big business; their budgets, in the large urban centers, typically are in the range of hundreds of millions of dollars, and the number of employees of all types may fall between 50,000 and 100,000 persons. School boards, moreover, are typically independent taxing bodies. School boundaries often are contiguous with municipal boundaries, so that there is direct competition for the citizen's tax dollar. Schools receive funding from both state and Federal governments and form themselves into powerful lobby groups to influence, for example, the nature of the state equalization formula or of Federal categorical programs. It is no wonder, then, that schools should themselves come under close political scrutiny, and be subject to a variety of political pressures, ranging from such simple matters as parental requests to assign their child to the class of a favored teacher to appeals from the mayor to help him keep his promise of "no new taxes."

8. Union demands. The big cities have also traditionally been strong union towns, and it is no surprise that their schools should be unionized also. The board may well find itself having to bargain with from ten to fifteen different unions, including teachers, administrators, custodians, cooks, electricians, carpenters, and so on—virtually everyone except students and parents. Teachers unions have
proved to be a formidable force, particularly over the last decade. It is also the case that in the early years of teacher bargaining, school systems were represented by naive bargaining agents (often a team consisting of the superintendent and several board members, none of whom were experienced in or knowledgeable about labor negotiations) who failed to grasp the full implications of the "give to get" principle. As a result they tended to give away too much and to enter into what are often now called "handcuff" contracts. Tight union contracts tend to militate against the kind of creative, self-initiating activity that must characterize a professional group if it is to function at peak levels. Today, even fiscal problems cannot be dealt with without carefully differentiating contract from non-contract items; virtually every non-contract item must be severely slashed before unions will consent to reopen negotiations.

9. Dissatisfied teachers. The phenomenon of "burn-out" is much discussed today; the professional literature directed at the teacher is replete with case studies, often self-studies, of persons who have undergone the burn-out experience, and of psychological analyses seeking to understand why it happens. But whatever the reason, it is clear that many teachers, and particularly those in urban systems, suffer from burn-out in varying degrees. Many have given up. They no longer believe that they can cope with the students who confront them in their classes (and "confront" is often an apt descriptor!); the name of the game, they would say, is survival. Many have left teaching altogether; others have simply ceased trying to deal with teaching and are content to keep order. And of course giving up on students is, in the final analysis, a self-fulfilling prophecy—it is certain that students will not learn once teachers have decided that they cannot be taught. Persuading these teachers, once again to take up the challenge is, for all practical purposes, akin to religious conversion—a difficult task requiring not only rational but emotional approaches as well.

10. Struggle for the Federal/state dollar. Many school programs are supported with Federal or state dollars that come in the form of categorical
aid, as for example, for disadvantaged or handicapped youngsters. Acquisition of these funds is by no means automatic. Elaborate grant proposals are typically required, and the programs must be evaluated and reported. To carry out the requirements for each of these steps is no simple matter. Particular Federal or state goals are invariably involved, and the proposal (and hopefully the program) must reflect these priorities. Various orthodoxies exist, for example, about what constitutes appropriate evaluation, and these must be taken into account. Reviewing authorities have their own biases about what is likely to work and what is not. Many of the activities associated with acquiring, expending, and accounting for these categorical funds thus take on the air of a ritual dance, performed to fulfill all of the protocol and to achieve legitimacy, but not necessarily best designed to cope with local problems. Moreover, the sheer time and effort involved in carrying out the rituals represent a significant proportion of the resources available; many persons regard them as "rip-offs" on resources that would be more profitably expended on additional program efforts, as for example, by enlarging the number of children served. But whatever the local attitude may be, it is clear that the processes of keeping informed about the availability of outside funding, and tapping into it, are complex and require a great deal more than token effort to carry out.

11. Revolving door programs. So many new programs are being introduced into the schools that a daily computer printout virtually is needed to keep up. Many of these new programs have been mandated, for example, Title I, mainstreaming, career education. Many are mounted in response to the public's virtually insatiable demand for services: Schools are asked to recreate, feed, baby-sit, provide doctors, dentists, nurses, psychological services, social services, and—almost forgotten—to educate. Others are mounted to combat the plethora of criticisms that are being heard. Schools seem determined to rid themselves of the stigma of graduating illiterate or non-numerating students. Still others are mounted to deal with students who require resocialization—delinquents, truants, and the like. Finally, a variety of alternatives
to "regular" education are being tried, although sometimes they are alternatives only to suspension or expulsion.

While it is true that the sheer number and scope of these new programs poses severe logistical problems for the schools, it is probably the interaction that these programs have with the regular program and with the budgeting process that produce the more difficult situations. It should be noted that these new programs are replacements for or supplements to the previously existing programs. Their adoption carries the implication that the previous programs are inadequate in some way, or that the personnel working in them are ineffective. Resentments are bound to exist. Furthermore, the new programs must be articulated with those older program elements that do remain, producing a variety of logistical and resource reallocation dilemmas. With respect to budget, it should be noted that these new programs are typically supported with outside funds and hence are not subject to cuts or reallocations when fiscal exigencies emerge. Categorical programs thus come to occupy a larger and larger proportion of school curriculum and time; the phenomenon of the tail wagging the dog becomes an increasingly likely prospect.

12. Unresponsive students. It is an American cultural stereotype that "kids don't like school," but in the urban systems of this country that problem seems to be even more pronounced. Some students seem to be in continuous rebellion against the system. They cannot or will not learn. They are discipline problems. They are truant or delinquent. Many leave school as soon as the law permits, but then cannot find jobs. Even those that complete school in a formal sense cannot read, write, or cipher. Many have no marketable skills. While it would be a mistake to assume that a majority or even a large proportion of the students enrolled in urban systems are of this sort, it is clear that they exist in sufficient numbers to pose continuing problems for teachers and principals. It is largely this group of students that has earned for the system the reputation of ineffectiveness and that has led to the burn-out phenomenon among teachers.

13. Declining enrollments. Finally, at a time when every dollar
counts and so much of the money that comes into the school system is geared to a headcount, public school enrollments are in a severe decline. Enrollment drops of 40 or even 50 percent over the past ten to twelve years are not uncommon. In part these declines are due to the declining birthrate; in part they result from middle-class white and black flight to suburban or private schools. As a result, there are too many teachers and too many buildings; and, even after school closings, many systems still have under-utilized buildings. Because of the existence of alternative programs, schools within a system may actually get into the business of competing with one another for bodies since maintaining head counts means maintaining budgets and personnel. Indeed, the current emphasis on efficiency and accountability, already noted, poses a severe threat to any program or building confronted with a possible loss in size; shrinkage and even elimination inevitably result.

SOME CAUSES FOR THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

If the preceding section approximates the current state of affairs in urban school systems reasonably well, one may ask why it is that these conditions exist. What are things the way they are in the great cities of this country? There is no definitive answer to that question. There is surely no single cause, and causes may be explicated at many different levels of discourse. Further, the reasons that might be advanced are so complexly intertwined that no one can disentangle them with any real assurance. Nevertheless, an effort will be made to deal with some of the more apparent factors below.

The reader will note that the list which is provided might best be categorized as "contextual" factors, that is, factors over which the schools largely have no control, but which are produced by more general economic, social, environmental, or governmental forces acting on them. An unabashed critic of the schools might conclude that the list represents a whitewash, that it attaches blame anywhere except where it properly belongs: on the lazy, incompetent, inefficient, and uncaring persons who are manning our schools. Now there is not doubt that teachers, school board members, administrators, and others concerned
with the schools' operation vary among themselves on such dimensions as competence, dedication, and energy, but there is no reason to believe—certainly there is no supporting evidence for—the contention that these negatives characterize the profession as a whole. On balance, teachers, administrators, and others in the schools are probably as professionally competent and committed as are, say, physicians, attorneys, engineers, accountants, or any of the other major groups that require some level of professional training to do their jobs. To characterize school people generally in such pejorative terms is both unrealistic and unjust.

The "causes" that are described below represent a congeries; they should not be thought of as a "necessary and sufficient" set, and indeed, they vary along a variety of dimensions such as level of discourse and theoretical-practical. Nevertheless the case could be made (although it is not made here) that the list represents what many people believe are among the most important determiners of the present state of affairs in urban education. To proceed:

1. **Value Pluralism.** The "melting pot" concept of American culture has given way to the realization that ours is a pluralistically oriented society. There is no such thing as "The American Way" nor any such entity as the "American point of view." There are many points of view, each different, and each based on its own unique value system. The southern Baptist, the urban black, the Caribbean and Asian immigrants, the middle class white, all view the world differently. And each of these groups is further divided along other dimensions, for example, sex, age, education. The schools' clientele make demands from all of these different perspectives, and judge the schools' responses from them as well. It is little wonder that the schools get mixed signals for action, and mixed reviews when they do act.

2. **Single program focus.** For too long (if not now) schools tended to mount one program that was assumed to be appropriate for all. Equal opportunity was taken to mean exposure to the same program under similar circumstances and to the same degree, rather than the attainment of some equal minimal level of competence in the essentials with which schools...
are concerned. It was equality of resources and not equal access to learning that seemed to be guaranteed. The assumptions undergirding this posture are simply not compatible with a pluralistic society peopled (as of course all societies are) by individuals with different degrees of ability, motivation, and background.

3. Loose coupling. Organizations have often been viewed in the past as systems, using the metaphor of the machine to explain how organizations work: There is an overall goal; each sub-unit is geared to make its own contribution to that goal; the outputs of one unit become the inputs for the unit next in the sequence; there are overall monitoring mechanisms; and so on. But scholars of organizations have recently proposed the concept of "loose coupling," which makes radically different assumptions about the nature of organizations. Often organizations are mere holding companies for sub-units that form and dissolve coalitions as it seems useful to do so; which are fundamentally independent of one another; and whose success or failure is not interdependent.

Schools seem to be prime examples of loosely coupled organizations. The budgeting process carried out at the level of the Superintendent is more likely to be concerned with such things as energy costs, union demands, and maintenance and transportation costs; while lower echelon units are much more concerned with program. Subdistricts or individual buildings are unrelated to one another—what happens at School X, for example, has little relation to what happens at School Y, nor is Y's success or failure likely to depend on X's. School systems are typically operated under principles of what might be called "negotiated normalcy"—gentlemen's agreements, as it were, rather than by directives from superordinate levels of the bureaucracy. Even such conventional operating practices as "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," typical of interdependent units, is replaced in the schools by, "You leave me alone and I'll leave you alone," a kind of laissez-faireism that works only for essentially independent entities. Good communication, strong means for redirection, unified efforts, agreed-upon goals, are all uncommon in loosely coupled organizations: When a crisis strikes, the unit is virtually powerless to organize itself to deal with it.
4. **Inadequate knowledge.** Not enough is known about learning, motivation, teaching strategies, and the like to make it possible to mount an effective program of response to many of the schools' problems. Part of the blame for this state of affairs can be laid at the feet of those who have resisted research, closed the schools to it, failed to help to attract or provide the resources necessary for its support. But the research community must itself shoulder a proportionate share. Researchers spend their time testing hypotheses drawn from ungrounded theory instead of paying attention to what goes on in real classrooms. This tendency is reinforced by a university culture which rewards "basic" research and denigrates "applied" research or "mere" service. At any rate, nearly a century of educational research has resulted in few discoveries that have application in the school; and in little aggregatable wisdom.

5. **Inappropriate information.** The agencies on which schools have depended for management information—largely the research and evaluation offices—have not produced very useful data. Often they have limited their attention to scores derived from tests of dubious curricular or contextual validity. Their studies have been more appropriate to the laboratory than to the septic world of the classroom. In their concern with scientific objectivity (and the legitimation that phrase implies) they have ignored vast quantities of useful information, including human and political information, on the grounds of its "subjectivity." A false sophistication and pretentious vocabulary sometimes characterize their reports, rendering them next to useless. In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that such behavior is sometimes forthcoming in response to expectations, often laid on by the Federal government, for "objective-scientific" research. Moreover, these units are notoriously underfunded and understaffed: A research and evaluation unit in a major school system that is supported with even one percent of total funds is virtually impossible to find. But whatever the reason, it is apparent that R & E units have not produced the kinds of information which school decision makers need to inform the many crucial decisions that are now required of them.
6. **Lack of an in-service training mechanism.** It is inconceivable that an engineering firm, hiring a graduate of a school of engineering, would expect that graduate to be able to perform any task in which company staff might engage; or that an accounting firm would expect such behavior from a newly-graduated accounting major. Instead, such companies expect to move their personnel through an orderly chain of increasing responsibility; and to provide for additional training, often on company time and at company expense, to facilitate each advancement. But, the analog to that process simply does not exist in the schools. Indeed, school systems and their stakeholding publics seem to expect that the graduate of a teacher training institution is de facto able to take over any teaching responsibilities, including for example, a difficult inner-city classroom. Now both experienced school administrators and front-line teachers understand the absurdity of that position; however, schools are simply not funded or equipped either to provide the needed additional training or to free the teacher from everyday responsibilities so that the training may be obtained elsewhere. Teachers learn their craft in the school of experience, or sometimes in the teachers' lounge, where their instruction is most likely to be administered by battle-weary veterans who have long since burned out.

7. **New populations.** Urban public schools are often invidiously compared to suburban and private schools on, for example, test norms. But such comparisons are grossly unfair; since not only are the populations of these two types of schools sharply different, but in fact the youngsters that now attend urban schools are sharply different from groups that have attended the public schools at any time during this century. At least two new populations have emerged demanding education. On the one hand, there are those who have migrated to the cities from rural areas, fleeing the loss of jobs and general reductions in the means of subsistence that have occurred there. On the other hand, schools are confronted by a variety of handicapped and other "special" youngsters who, because of the mandate of Public Law 94-142, have easier access to education than before. Of course these populations should be served; there is no doubt about that. It
should be noted, however, that their sudden entry has posed enormous problems of adjustment to the schools. To be sure, there is a great deal of Federal money available to help; yet it takes time to develop the programs, train the teachers, install procedures, and do all the many other things that need doing when such a tremendous readjustment is called for. It is likely that the schools have not had to make an adjustment of similar magnitude since the time of World War I, when more stringent labor laws, more strictly enforced school attendance laws, a reduced job market, and a new wave of immigration produced an influx of new kinds of students, particularly at the secondary level. Lead time is urgently needed.

8. **Sheer size.** Most urban systems are inordinately large. These systems often enroll hundreds of thousands of students and expend budgets of hundreds of millions—even billions—of dollars. Even with decentralization most urban systems are beyond the control of one person. Problems of communication and of monitoring increase exponentially with size. This fact would hold even if we were talking about, say, a manufacturing operation, but schools are involved with people, with all their foibles and unpredictability. If schools everywhere are facing problems, it is little wonder that urban systems, enormously large and complex, are having even more difficult times.

9. **Fiscal cutbacks.** Inflation, recession, increasing costs of all kinds—particularly energy costs—are raising havoc with school budgets, and therefore with the programs that those budgets support. School budgets are hardly projected before new retrenchments are mandated. Schools are labor intensive operations; thus, it is not unusual for 80 percent or even 90 percent of the budget to be tied up in line-item personnel costs. There is little "fat" that can be trimmed: Budget reductions mean personnel lay-offs, and that in turn produces its own ramifications—problems with the unions, depressed local economy which makes it even more unlikely that school levies will be supported; overloads on remaining personnel that make it even more unlikely that other problems will be dealt with satisfactorily.

10. **Categorical funding.** In most school districts less than half
the total budget is likely to come from general fund sources. Quite possibly an equal amount is derived from state sources via equalization formulas, while a very large proportion is derived from Federal sources: Title I, vocational education, Public Law 94-142, Emergency School Assistance Act, to name but a few of the more prominent. We have already pointed to several consequences of this pattern of funding.

11. Political pressures. Schools are sometimes wishfully described as being beyond the pale of political pressures, but that is nonsense, of course. If they seem to be outside the political arena at times, it is simply because political pressures are best handled quietly, behind the scenes, invisibly, under cover. Yet all school people are intensely aware of their omnipresent nature. Schools become pawns in a variety of power games—integration, urban renewal, real estate sales, campaign promises of "no new taxes," to name a few. Schools are attacked as godless or immoral, and pressures to bring their programs into conformity with this or that world view are felt every day—sometimes complete with book burnings. School board members who view their tenure on the board as a stepping stone to some other position in politics do not wish to do anything that might alienate a potential constituent. Vendors who sell supplies to the schools do not want to see buildings close and sales disappear. These examples could literally be repeated a thousand-fold. And recalling that political pressures often take contrary forms simultaneously, it is little wonder that school people often feel immobilized by them.

The list of reasons offered here in partial explanation of the plight of urban school systems is undoubtedly incomplete; working urban teachers and administrators would be able to extend the list with ease. But the list is sufficient to make the point: Urban school systems are in a difficult situation that is largely beyond their control and certainly not of their own making (although they undoubtedly contributed their fair share). It will not do to hold the schools completely culpable; society has contributed to the dilemma in many direct and indirect ways, and will have to assist if these problems are to be resolved.

WHAT RESPONSES ARE URBAN SYSTEMS MAKING?

To their credit, urban school systems are not allowing themselves to
be immobilized. They are moving ahead despite the obstacles that confront them. They exhibit increasing acceptance of the belief that all children can learn and display increased efforts to help children fulfill that promise. They understand that the educational system must be redesigned to permit continuing modification if it is to survive and grow. Schools cannot be permitted to plateau simply because some new elements have entered the picture that seem to pose difficulties. To stand still is to lose ground—recall what has happened to the railroad because the advent of the airplane was permitted to cast a long shadow. Fear of failure is almost always a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Indeed, a variety of creative, even ingenious, responses have been mounted in urban school systems, and others are being developed. Some of these responses involve taking advantage of serendipities; as the proverb has it, every cloud has a silver lining, and the clouds of adversity that hang over the schools now seem to have their uses as well. Other responses involve constructed interventions based on a careful analysis of problems and the development of rational counteractions. We shall deal with each class in turn.

The Uses of Adversity

One cannot use adversity until its particular form is known; only then can one reasonably concoct a strategy to take advantage of it. The examples given below are therefore more or less random, but they illustrate moves that have been made in some cases to offset what might otherwise have been quite negative effects:

1. **Renewed emphasis on the role of the principal.** Personnel cutbacks accompanying fiscal retrenchments tend especially to affect administrators at system or district (sub-system) levels. Many of these personnel carry on communication functions, provide liaison or coordination, or supervise instruction. As a result, these duties devolve upon the principal, whose traditional role encompassed these functions, but whose role in recent years has shifted heavily into a school managerial mode. Thus these middle-management personnel readjustments provide an opportunity to redefine the role of principal
and to restore to it many of the educational leadership functions of which it has been divested. It is a truism that a good principal willing to exercise initiative can make the difference between a mediocre and an excellent school; perhaps that aphorism can be tested again.

2. **Renewed openness to teacher inputs.** Teachers have been systematically demeaned as professionals since Sputnik, at which time distrust of them led to such concepts as "inserting a quality floor in the schools" and developing "teacher-proof" (read, "fool-proof") materials. Now much of the supervisory mechanism is likely to disappear, and/or fewer new materials will be introduced because of the lack of funds to purchase them. Teachers will once again be called upon to exercise their own professional initiative—to teach, rather than merely to purvey what someone else thought appropriate to the classroom. Placed on their mettle, it seems likely that teachers will respond productively, not only in terms of their own classrooms but in providing inputs to the system as a whole.

3. **Reclaiming defectors from suburban and private schools.** White (and other types of) flight have taken many children from the public schools to suburban or private schools. But inflation and large increases in energy costs have made many parents think twice about those changes. Private school tuition has moved out of reach of many; the high costs of driving gas-guzzling autos from suburbs to downtown stores and offices have made suburban living prohibitive. At the same time, via urban renewal (see below) modern living quarters have become available in center city areas. In some cities there is an appreciable return flow. School systems need to make it apparent to persons who might fit this category that the schools are improving, and ought to enlist these returned defectors in working to make the schools even better.

4. **Using school closing testimony.** These days hardly anyone has anything good to say about the schools until the system proposes to close a particular building; then, as if by magic, dozens, sometimes hundreds of persons will appear at a public hearing to give testimony to the need for that school and for a continuation of the essential services which it has been providing to its community. Unsolicited
testimony of this kind must be among the best evidence which a school system can muster in its own behalf; and, since school closings are virtually inevitable as enrollments and money decline, many opportunities will be provided to collect it.

5. **Urban renewal.** Many cities are engaging in urban renewal: New office buildings, industrial complexes, condominiums, and high rise apartments are appearing in every urban scene. Each of these efforts is based upon a plan, often involving municipal authorities in its development, and, of course, financing agencies, developers, builders, agents, and the entire coterie of organizations and individuals needed to carry through the renewal from conception to occupancy. The point to note is that a large number of persons build a stake in that renewal—both personal and fiscal— and they will do what needs to be done to protect that stake. These stakeholders are almost always aware of the fact that the success of their planning depends, as much as on anything, on the availability of quality schools. For without them people cannot be attracted. The lesson for the school to learn is how to co-opt these resources in its own behalf.

6. **School busing.** School busing has become a permanent fixture in the urban education scene, for court-ordered or voluntary desegregation, to transport students to magnet schools or vocational education centers, to make better use of existing facilities, and for other reasons. If school children are to be bussed in any event, some use might be made of that fact to assure that good student role models are found in every school in the system. Teachers and principals seem to be agreed that classes that have in them both good white students as well as good students from minority groups turn out unusually well. Busing provides an opportunity to achieve this better role model mix.

7. **Personnel reallocation.** A variety of circumstances exist that free up personnel for reassignment. Redefinitions of the student/teacher ratio, closing of older school buildings, reassignment of administrators back into the teaching ranks, and the like—all likely products of fiscal retrenchments—provide opportunities to reallocate those personnel in more productive and creative ways than they had been used formerly. There
is no reason, for example, simply to assign them back into their usual roles, more or less at random. Instead, they can be assigned to new programs or projects that might otherwise be difficult to staff but that give promise of being productive. For example, teachers released when a school is closed might be used not to staff other buildings but to man a new program to provide reading remediation. Or, with some retraining, they might be used as resource teachers to help regular teachers who have had mainstreamed youngsters assigned to their classes develop strategies for teaching them. Other examples will no doubt come to the reader's mind.

**Constructed Interventions**

In contrast to the serendipitous interventions exemplified in the preceding sections, virtually all school systems are also engaging in *reconstructed interventions*, usually devised only after a careful study of the problems which the counterintervention is intended to resolve. Only the briefest outline of such interventions will be offered here by way of overview; many of these interventions will be described in more detail in subsequent chapters.

The class of process interventions is less concerned with specific interventions to be mounted than with processes of identifying what needs to done and providing mechanisms for doing it. Four major categories emerge:

- **Research and evaluation.** Research and evaluation offices have existed in virtually all urban systems for some time. These offices are now being systematically expanded, are collecting data well beyond the traditional test scores which have, in the past, often been their only products, and have opened communication links not only with the system's central administration but with individual building principals and teachers. A major function of these offices is to develop and make available an adequate data base for the system as a whole. Another emergent function is the conduct of various kinds of needs assessments, to support not only applications for grants of various kinds but to provide a basis for planning decisions in the system itself.

- **Planning.** The formal planning function has become so important that in many school systems an assistant or associate superintendent has been designated to deal with it, sometimes solely and sometimes in conjunction with other offices, most typically R & E (building on
their data bases and needs assessments). Elaborate planning models have been devised which frequently tie together budget making (see below) and program planning. As one result of planning, priorities are being thoroughly overhauled. Further, as planning proceeds, school systems typically become more rationalized and efficient, but of course, also more bureaucratic.

- Management. More advanced planning of course makes possible more advanced management techniques. Plans can be regarded as a set of specifications against which operations can be checked via a monitoring process. Further, the combined setting of specifications by planning and testing of adherence to specifications by monitoring provides a basis for accountability that simply could not exist under other circumstances. These accountability moves include teacher and/or administrator evaluations (in many instances), and the development of performance contracts between teachers and principals for which the teacher is accountable. In a growing number of school systems management is also vested in building teams often called by such names as action teams, leadership teams, or decision teams. In fact, in some cases such teams also participate in the planning process and may request information of various kinds from the R & E unit to assist them for any purpose. These teams provide a further example of how teachers may be more adequately utilized to provide inputs to the system.

- Special projects. School systems are increasingly mounting special projects of various types intended to improve the schools in some way. In some cases proposals are solicited from teachers and principals; and in others the Superintendent or his staff may propose some activity and "challenge" the professional staff to respond. In the ultimate form of special support, contingency funds may be made available to each school building to be allocated as the principal and/or the staff see fit.

Of course there are many interventions that are more substantive in nature. We will distinguish eight categories within this second major class, of which the first is the most common and extensive by far:

- Programs. We may distinguish four sub-categories of program interventions:
  + Re-emphasis on basics. This re-emphasis is responsive both to those who believe that schools have failed to teach basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to those who believe schools should, in the name of efficiency, reduce the range of activities in which they engage. Frequently these back-to-basics reforms have used some variation of a mastery curriculum.
  + Provision of alternatives. Since so many publics have taken issue with "regular" instruction, and sometimes as a boost to desegregation, many school systems have provided alternative programs at both elementary and secondary levels. At the elementary level such alternatives as continuous
progress and Montessori are common. At the secondary level, one frequently encounters vocational school options, such as "skill" centers, and "magnet" schools, which offer an exemplary curriculum on a city-wide basis in a special field such as performing arts, health sciences, or computers. At both levels, but especially at the secondary level, options are provided for gifted youth. Field experience or internship programs are also common.

+ **Provision for remediation.** At both elementary and secondary levels most school systems make provision for the remediation of students who have fallen behind scholastically. Follow Through and extended day programs are typical. Children who are predicted to become remediation cases are often given special help before the fact, as in Head Start. Remediation in the form of resocialization is offered for truants, delinquents, drug users, adolescent mothers, and other special classes of what are deemed to be "disruptive" students.

+ **Special programs.** Such programs are typically categorically funded by the state or Federal governments. Head Start and Follow Through, placed in the remediation category above, could as easily be classified here, as can Title I, mainstreaming, and similar programs.

**Materials.** Modern teaching must be supported with a wealth of materials. Most materials used in schools of course come from commercial publishers, but others come from such miscellaneous sources as Federally supported R & D Centers and regional laboratories, schools and colleges of education, state departments of education, and from other school systems. Materials are also being developed in house, sometimes on so grand a scale as the provision of reading mastery materials for an eight-grade sequence. The materials are supported by teacher manuals and with teacher in-service training. Many of the newer materials in fact incorporate whole new instructional strategies, such as games, simulations, and computer-assisted instruction.

**Organizational strategies.** For some time now most urban school systems have been decentralized, that is, divided into sub-systems often called districts, each of which is headed by a superintendent with a great deal of autonomy and responsible only in the most ultimate sense to the general superintendent. In many cases the flow of autonomy downward has also extended to the principal. This decentralization was intended largely to move administration of the schools closer to the ultimate constituency and to provide more direct access for them into school governance processes. As might be anticipated, however, given fiscal stringencies and greater pressure for accountability, some moves toward recentralization may now be noted, for example, in the reduction of the number of districts, or by simple reassignment of responsibilities upward by fiat. In a different
vein, many urban school systems that have resisted the movement to replace junior high schools with middle schools are now climbing on that bandwagon, presumably because middle schools can more easily be redirected toward the solution of some of the learning difficulties which children begin to manifest in grossest form during this time period.

○ Community involvement. Community involvement has moved well beyond the stage of convening a monthly PTA meeting. Many Federally-supported activities are mandated to be serviced by a community or parent advisory committee. Schools have found these so useful that they have extended the practice to non-mandated areas as well. Parents and community members are also used to support actual teaching, as either volunteer or paid aides (and in the latter case, the school may make a significant contribution to the community's lagging economy), or to provide teaching, as in the case of an artist-in-residence or similar functionary. Parents receive training through parent workshops; and home visitation teams of teachers and administrators communicate information about the school or particular child and may also invite input to the school's decision process. "Adopt-a-school" programs, under which businesses and industries in the community take particular schools "under their wings" are also growing.

○ Finance. Three separate (but not mutually exclusive) strategies seem to be emerging in response to the fiscal exigencies confronting urban systems:

+ Retrenchment. Most school systems are making strenuous efforts to live within their means; in some cases these systems are getting help from court or legislatively appointed oversight boards to see to it that they do in fact not overspend. These systems have usually adopted a method of budgeting commonly called by such names as zero-based budgeting, decision-oriented-budgeting, or program budgeting. A major feature of this form of budgeting is that it does not simply consider increments to existing budget (common in the traditional methods of making budgets) but requires each program to return to "ground-zero," as it were, and to justify every dollar being requested. It is commonly believed that his method of budgeting is both fairer and more objective, although these claims remain to be authenticated in experience.

+ Refinancing. In general the term "refinancing" seems to imply tapping sources of income not previously tapped, or not tapped as deeply as possible, rather than the renegotiation of existing loans--a more common meaning of the term. Refinancing strategies include, of course, the conventional approaches of seeking new levies and of pursuing sources of "soft money," for example, foundations and government programs, more assiduously. Newer strategies include, for example, attempts to achieve redistricting (on the model of "unigov" by which previously distinct municipalities are related for certain, but not all,
purposes) and the use of school vouchers, although most public school people seem to agree that the use of vouchers would mean the death-knell of public education. And of course the practice of issuing short-term tax anticipation paper continues.

++ School closings. When it is possible to close certain school buildings either because they are no longer needed to service declining enrollments or because they are inefficient to operate, considerable economy can be affected. We have already noted the political difficulties involved in managing to pursue this strategy successfully. Under very adverse conditions some systems have been forced to shut down completely for a month or more; of course no school system elects this option voluntarily. In at least one state (Ohio) such complete shutdowns are now illegal.

Cooperative efforts among districts. Several examples of voluntary cooperation among adjacent school districts have emerged. School districts have joined forces to make available to children from smaller (usually suburban) districts the facilities and programs of larger (urban) systems, both in the regular school plant and as mediated by the school in the community (schools without walls, internships, and the like). In some instances adjacent districts (systems) have also worked out patterns of voluntary desegregation, with children being bussed back and forth between the two units. In at least one state (Wisconsin) the state legislature, in an effort to encourage other districts to engage in this practice, has authorized counting of such pupils in the average daily attendance (or equivalent) reports of both districts, in calculating the state aid formula.

Teacher/administrator retraining. Many of the ventures undertaken by the schools in an effort to ameliorate their problems require that personnel be trained in new methods and new techniques. A variety of forms of such retraining are being mounted both for teachers and administrators, ranging from conventional workshops and seminars, through in-school support systems for retraining, for example, resource teachers, to special new centers (including the Federally supported teacher center program). In urban centers union contracts forbid such extra activities without reimbursement; despite this impediment, however, most systems are finding means for getting this job at least well under way.

Marketing the schools. Most urban school systems have had public relations or public information offices for many years, but the concept of actually marketing the schools, that is, aggressively acquainting the various stakeholding publics with what is going on in them, is relatively new. The need for such marketing becomes especially acute when levys have been placed on the ballot or some other public response is sought, but there are, as may be inferred from some of the preceding discussion, many other opportunities, for example, in recapturing defectors or in coopting urban renewal efforts. A few school systems have
began to work in this arena very actively, and while it is too soon to come to any firm conclusions about the prognosis, there seems to be little reason to doubt that it will succeed.

**BASIS FOR HOPE**

Is there hope for the continued existence and growth of public education in the urban centers of the United States? If one believed all of the things one hears about schools the answer to that question would surely be no. Money is in short supply. Schools are under enormous pressure to desegregate but the process is fraught with difficulties. The public demands efficiency and accountability; while other groups—politicians, unions, students—exert pressures of their own. Federal and state dollars are available but are tied with a variety of strings. Programs shuttle in and out as the schools struggle to respond.

There are good reasons for this state of affairs—other than the stereotype that schools are operated by ignorant, lazy, uncommitted people. A pluralistic culture makes conflicting demands that simply cannot all be satisfied. Neither theoretical nor practical information is available in sufficient quantities to help much. New populations pose new challenges and demand a variety of services which schools are neither competent to provide nor are funded to provide. Declining birthrates further sap the dollars available, while both state and Federal governments mandate ever new things to do—and only sometimes do they appropriate funds to do them.

Despite the fact that many of the reasons for today's state of affairs are beyond the school's control, they have not avoided making every effort to respond. Good use is being made of the adversity that now confronts them, and a variety of interventions have been constructed—process interventions such as R & E, planning, management, and special projects, and substantive interventions such as program innovations, new materials, organizational strategies, community involvement, financing strategies, cooperative efforts among districts, teacher/administrator retraining, and marketing of the schools—that give reasonable promise of success.
EDUCATIONAL REVITALIZATION
A Search for Promising Developments

Francis S. Chase

For the past three decades the public schools in our cities have steered an uncertain course amidst recurrent crises, mounting criticism, and often irreconcilable demands. They are blamed for lack of discipline, declining achievement as measured by test scores, the graduation of illiterates—and failure to inculcate in all children and youth the values and behaviors which the critics admire. Yet, knowledgeable observers are aware of many constructive forces at work and are able to perceive signs of vigor and vision in the pursuit of equity and excellence.

Evidence gathered by the Urban Education Studies between 1977 and 1980 revealed many shortcomings in provisions for mastery of basic skills, adaptation to individual and cultural differences, and equitable allocation of resources. Investigation also indicated deficiencies in system-wide planning and management, curriculum development, and implementation, and in the continuing education of teachers, principals, and other personnel. Many new programs, career centers, magnet schools, and other types of alternatives were in operation; but, in many cases, these innovations were not accompanied by reliable information on the extent of implementation or the effects produced.

The Urban Education Studies, however, revealed that in all of these systems there are many excellent schools, many dedicated, highly competent teachers and other staff members, and serious efforts to improve educational performance at every level.

REFLECTIONS ON PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS

The pilot studies in 1977-78 identified a number of developments that seemed to hold considerable promise for the revitalization of urban
education. Among these were (1) a deepening concern for needs not well served by traditional schooling; (2) a significant increase in the number of community agencies and groups collaborating with schools to develop enriched environments for learning; (3) numerous innovative programs and alternatives which appeared to be producing significant changes in the character of educational experiences provided at both elementary and secondary levels; (4) improved concepts and technologies of planning, management, and evaluation; and (5) the initiation of better planned and more extensive programs for the continuing education of teachers and school administrators. These impression were strengthened by the continuing on-site studies in 1978-79 and 1979-80.

Data revealed that high proportions of the innovative programs were either initiated or expedited through Federal grants and contracts, and/or mandated by Equal Opportunity requirements or court decrees. It was concluded, however, that local and situational factors are crucial to program success. Among the factors identified as of great importance were program leadership, strong commitment on the part of the program staff and school principals, and the effectiveness of program implementation. Imaginative local entrepreneurship was evident in the more successful programs; and the amount of local commitment and support appeared to reflect the amount of local planning and initiative that preceded the obtaining of external funds. Another observation that grew out of the early studies was that continuous program evaluation is essential to continuing staff development and adaptation to student needs. It was also observed that most of the highly successful and promising programs represented significant departures from traditional schooling, especially through emphasis on student choice and responsibility, experience-based education, and greater use of resources outside the school.

While the Urban Education Studies identified many developments and attitudes which hold promise for greater educational effectiveness, it was clear that many formidable barriers impede progress in making education equal to the demands and needs for education in our great cities and elsewhere. Among the obstacles are "the institutional qualities of school life". In a recent article, Popkewitz examined institutional
barriers and concluded that:

The problem confronting educational reformers is complex and profound. Schools contain systems of thought, action, and privilege which resist efforts to change. Efforts to change become slogans and rituals that are incorporated into the existing order. The rituals create an illusion that the school is responding to its constituency while the needs and interests actually being served are those embedded in the structures of schooling.

He adds:

...Educational planning involves giving attention to the social, political, and educational complexity of schooling. Where reform programs do not consider the underlying patterns of school belief and conduct, innovations may only rearrange the technological surface.¹

Fortunately many educational planners and administrators are aware of the realities of institutional life and are devising ways of overcoming the inertia in large school systems. Institutional inertia, however, is not the only obstacle to educational reform; and the complexity of human nature and human society make impossible any final solution, any perfect plan, or any complete match of educative experiences to human needs. There is, however, a growing recognition that it is necessary to engage in a series of never ceasing quests (1) to gain better understanding of the full range of human capabilities, with special attention to the potential that has been submerged by disabling previous experiences or lack of appropriate challenges; and (2) to create home-school-community environments conducive to the full development and constructive use of the capabilities of all members of the population. In their efforts in these directions, city school systems are using a combination of concepts, strategies and technologies which raise hopes for increasing the relevance, scope, and quality of educational experiences.

The efforts are no longer confined to experiences provided in, or

under the control of schools; but embrace also experiences offered in homes and by an array of community agencies. Many of the new approaches involve complex partnerships or other relationships with agencies with which school personnel have not been accustomed to work. Consequently, educators have had to learn to work with those from other occupations and cultures who often hold divergent views of the roles and functions of schools and other social agencies. It is not surprising, therefore, that every innovation, however promising, brings with it new sets of problems.

Among the developments, which manifest themselves strongly in one form or another in all city public school systems, are:

1. The formation of partnerships or other collaborative relationships between schools and other community agencies and organizations;
2. Active involvement of parents and other citizens in educational planning, curriculum development, and instruction;
3. The establishment of new types of schools which offer alternatives to neighborhood elementary schools, middle schools, and comprehensive high schools;
4. Extended provision for early childhood education;
5. New emphases on the teaching of basic skills;
6. The introduction of bilingual and multicultural programs;
7. The initiation of new programs for the handicapped;
8. Broadened roles for the creative and performing arts;
9. Installation of instructional management systems; and
10. Initiation of approaches to system-wide planning, management, and evaluation.

The extent and effectiveness of these innovations vary widely, however, within cities, as well as among cities.

DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HOLD PROMISE FOR RENEWAL

System-wide renewal ideally consists of well-directed and coordinated efforts to assure conditions favorable to realization of the full, constructive capabilities of every member of the population served. Among the essential elements of system-wide renewal are the following:

1. Adaptation of curriculum and instruction to each individual's
stage of development, cultural values, and past experiences; and continuing experiences designed for optimum realization of capabilities.

2. Membership in a school, or other social unit, which promotes learning through supportive social interaction, provides adequate learning materials and facilities, and sets high expectations for learning behaviors and achievement.

3. Provision for coordination of in-school and out-of-school experiences, through treating parents as partners in learning and the school and community agencies as complementary settings for learning.

4. Alternative programs and/or schools to enable students and their parents to choose the educational opportunities they believe best suited to their needs and aspirations.

5. System-wide provision for continuing education of teachers, principals, and other staff members so that they become more perceptive of educational needs and more ingenious in finding ways of meeting the needs.

6. Close collaboration with a wide variety of community agencies and services so that the resources and opportunities offered by the society—business and industry, cultural and social institutions, and persons from a wide variety of cultures and occupations—are brought to bear on the continuing enhancement of education for all.

7. Systematic processes of planning, management, and evaluation which stimulate and monitor improvement (or reveal shortcomings) in the functioning of schools, service departments, and other units.

There are many other ways in which the elements or components of system-wide renewal might be expressed and the foregoing list is by no means complete. The studies in sixteen school systems reveal attention to all of these elements, but in none of the cities have the elements as yet been put together to maximum effect. In the next section, discussion will center on adaptation of curriculum and instruction to facilitate learning through mastery of the basic skills and otherwise, to respond to cultural differences, and to provide more adequately for those with special gifts or handicaps. Subsequent sections will focus on the characteristics of effective schools, the importance of community collaboration.
in education, the necessity for continuing personnel development, and
the applications to education of planning, management, and evaluation.

ADAPTATIONS IN CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

Schools in all times and places have functioned largely by identifying
those with the aptitudes for the learning tasks set by the schools
and providing practice in the use of the manifested abilities. Thus,
they have provided opportunities for advancement of those with the
motivations and capabilities demanded by school tasks. At the same time
they have tended to label "dull" those with less aptitude and inclination
for the cognitive learnings prized by the schools. Under the spur of
recent criticisms and demands, schools are undergoing changes of various
sorts. In fact educators today are much like the man who jumped on a
horse and rode off in all directions. More fundamental and far reaching
changes will be required, however, if the experiences provided by the
schools are to facilitate optimum development for all members of society,
so that curriculum and instruction instead of being "enabling" for some
and "disabling" for others may facilitate the recognition and development
of the talents of all.

In his exposition of mastery learning, Professor Bloom has stated the
case for a new responsive mode of instruction in these words:

Modern societies no longer can content themselves with the
selection of talent; they must find the means for developing talent.2

Other writers have made the same point in different ways. David Tyack
emphasizes the social basis for a new responsiveness on the part of the
schools by noting that new groups are reaching for power and seeking greater
control over their destiny. He predicts that:

...Unless school systems find ways to become more responsive to
these disenfranchised people, endless and bitter conflict lies ahead...3

2 Benjamin S. Bloom, Human Characteristics and School Learning (McGraw-Hill

3 David Tyack, "The 'One Best System': A Historical Analysis", Rethinking
Urban Education. Walberg and Kopan (Eds.) (San Francisco: Josey-Bass,
The theme of adaptability to diverse needs has been set forth with increasing urgency in recent times. Glaser, after noting that the process of education must consider "individual differences along all the various dimensions in which they are manifested," asserts that

The fundamental educational task is to design settings for education that are flexible and adaptative enough to handle these differences which derive from an individual's cultural milieu and his or her own uniqueness among other human beings.4

Another concept which is receiving increased attention is that the school curriculum is complementary to educative experiences in the home, in churches, and other community organizations, and in the community at large. Lawrence A. Cremin emphasizes this point when he reminds us of the "multiplicity of institutions that educate" and the tendency that often occurs for these institutions to relate to one another in what might be called "configurations of education." The idea of educational configurations leads Cremin to an ecological approach and prompts him to conclude that the theory of education is really a theory of the relationship of "various educative interactions and institutions to one another and to the society at large."5

Emphasis on Basic Skills

The primary function of schools, and one that is prerequisite to the performance of other functions, is to develop mastery of the basic skills for learning. Yet, no contemporary criticism of city public schools is heard more often than that they have failed to develop the essential skills in reading, mathematics, and language arts. "Back-to-the-Basics" has become a political rallying cry which has been heard by legislatures and other state agencies, with the result that minimum competency testing is now required in almost four-fifths of the States.

A recent publication provides a variety of opinions on the consequences of Minimum Competency Achievement Testing. In the Epilogue to this book, the emphasis tends to be on the negative effects, featuring comments such as the following:

...the authors warn of many serious, if not dire, consequences of minimum competency testing...

...Minimum competency testing may signal the beginning, or the acceleration, of a move to centralize control of all public education...

...we are in danger of "having the minimum become the maximum..."

...By imposing minimum competency testing, then, we may well be "blaming the victim"...  

The editors give less weight to positive statements by several distinguished authors. For example, H. S. Broudy says that the minimum competency testing movement "might just prod our educational leadership to become interested in education." He adds, however, that it is conceivable that we might regress to "a two-tiered system of public schools with minimum functional literacy for the masses" and a different curriculum for the upper classes. W. James Popham ventures to suggest that:

...the curricular impact of minimum competency testing may illuminate the necessity to create tests which measure higher-order skills and understandings, and then to establish at least some sorts of sanctions associated with students' performance on those measures.

Observation of the ways in which minimum competency testing is being used in a number of cities tends to support the view that the effects depend on how the tests are used and what is done with the information obtained. Reference will be made to some constructive uses of test data in a subsequent discussion of instructional management systems.

In all of the systems studied, there is renewed emphasis on the teaching of the basic skills. The three programs, which are described on the following pages, are all characterized by services to large

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7Ibid, p. 116.

8Ibid, p. 123.
numbers of students, by enthusiasm on the part of staff and students, and by evidence of increased achievement.

Philadelphia's Early Childhood Education Program is operated under the Associate Superintendent for Early Childhood Education. It enrolls 50,000 children in 14 programs, three of which operate on a twelve month basis, and the others for ten months or longer. The funding for five of these programs comes from local operating funds, while others enjoy either partial or total support from ESEA Title I or other Federal and State programs. In terms of numbers served, the largest programs are Academics Plus which serves 14,000 students in 29 schools; Kindergarten which serves 17,000 children in 193 schools; Parent Partnerships which serves 30,000 children and involves 21,000 parents in 200 schools; and Follow-Through which reaches 11,000 children in 42 schools.

Several of the Early Childhood Education programs are housed in the Durham Child Development Center, which offers an infant-toddler program, a pre-school program, a K-5 elementary program, a teacher-parent center, a travelling teacher center, and learning centers for approximately 1,500 students. The learning centers also provide training for up to 5,000 teachers.

In order to insure positive reinforcement of desired behaviors and a token economy in which the learning of specific skills and staying on task are rewarded, the School District of Philadelphia has devised a Behavior Analysis Model to enhance social and academic development. This is based on the concept that low-income children, under favorable conditions, can achieve in the basic skills as well as middle class children.

One notable feature of the Philadelphia Early Childhood Education Program is continuing evaluation of plans, processes, and outcomes by a comprehensive Early Childhood Evaluation Unit. This unit was developed through the collaboration of the Director of the Office of Research and Evaluation, and with full support of the Superintendent of Schools. The members of this Evaluation Unit join the program directors in regularly scheduled planning sessions in which evaluative data are applied to program improvement. The periodic evaluations have also provided assurance of program effectiveness.
The Dade County Extended School Program (ESP) offers all Title I students carefully planned after-school sessions (instead of pulling them out of regular classes). The Dade County Public Schools were the first of the major urban school systems to use Title I funds in this manner. Among the characteristics of the after-school instruction are the following: (1) a low student-adult ratio—15 students to one adult; (2) supervised independent activities to instill the habit of regular reading and practice of skills; (3) provision of incentives such as a book, an educational field trip, awards, and other forms of recognition; (4) close involvement of parents; (5) instruction by carefully selected and especially qualified teachers; (6) materials of instruction which include detailed, specific skills lessons; (7) a five-day a week schedule of two forty-five minute instruction periods and an intervening one-half hour teacher-supervised snack period.

UES observers were impressed by the skill of the instructors, the close attention of students to the assigned tasks, and evidence of understanding and zest in learning. More than twenty-five young students, who were questioned, expressed their liking for the after-school program: saying that they had good teachers, that they were learning more, and that they enjoyed the after-school program more than the regular day.

The Chicago Mastery Learning Reading Program (CMLR) applies the concept of Mastery Learning, as defined by Benjamin Bloom, as part of its Continuous Progress Program. The basic assumption of the Bloom model is that all students can learn well if given appropriate opportunities. The Department of Research and Evaluation assigned staff to the preparation of instructional materials, consisting of guides for teachers, student activity sheets, formative tests, enrichment activities, and remediation exercises. Basal readers and other reading materials also are used in regular instruction and in enrichment activities. Mastery of the objectives is measured by the criterion-referenced tests developed by the Chicago schools. The completed CMLR instructional materials have
been supplied to each of Chicago's 500 elementary schools and basic skills centers. City-wide staff development and inservice training continues, with over 4,000 teachers having received direct instruction. And, CMLR materials are used exclusively in Chicago's mandatory 8th year review summer school as well as in the ESEA Title I Summer Learning Centers.

After observation in schools and conferences with principals, teachers, reading specialists, and others, UES observers concluded that the program was enabling nearly all students to make good progress in reading. The design of the instructional materials makes possible rapid implementation of the program after a short training period for teachers. Teachers express high satisfaction because the well-designed materials enable them to keep students on task and provide the reinforcement of success in each stage.

Other Basic Skills Programs, which give evidence of effectiveness, include the following:

1. Denver's Mastery Learning in Basic Skills Project relies upon careful training of principals, resource specialists, and teachers. Evaluation indicates increased involvement by principals, improved instructional techniques, and improved achievement by students.

2. New York City's Learning to Read Through the Arts is an intensive individualized arts/reading program, which began in 1971. This program was chosen by the American Institute of Research as one of the twelve exemplary reading programs in the Right to Read Effort and selected by HEW as one of thirty-three exemplary Title I programs in the nation.

3. The Programmed Tutorial Reading Program in Indianapolis is carried on in collaboration with a staff member from Indiana University. It relies heavily on training non-professional tutors to begin tutorial instruction immediately upon contact with the student and to keep the student on task for the entire period. The evidence is that the tutorial program has reduced non-readers in a disadvantaged population from approximately 10 percent to less than 0.1 percent and cut the proportion of first grade failures by 40 percent or more.
ADAPTATIONS TO DIVERSE NEEDS

In the previous section, emphasis was given to the development of basic skills for learning as an essential element in system-wide renewal. Another essential condition for system-wide educational renewal or reinvigoration is adaptation to the diverse needs arising from the personal and group characteristics of the populations to be served in our great cities. Among the diverse needs with which urban school systems are now wrestling are those arising from differences in cultures, languages, and previous experiences; those arising from differences in physical, emotional, and mental characteristics; and those which represent creative talents or special gifts.

Bilingual and Multicultural Education

In recognition of the dramatic changes in the demographic characteristics of the student population in large city school systems, the Urban Education Studies recognized cultural pluralism as one of the characteristics of our society to which education in the past has given inadequate attention. A series of landmark court decrees (Brown in 1954, Escobedo in 1964, Rodriguez in 1971, and Lau in 1974) in effect mandated the incorporation of the concept of cultural pluralism into American education. Inherent in these great court decisions is the insistence that schools must strive not merely for the attainment of equal opportunity for all, but also must move toward the goal of genuine acceptance of diverse cultures, with mutual appreciation and cooperative exchanges among cultures.

In the last two decades political and other factors have operated to replace the "melting pot" concept with the concept of cultural diversity; and court decisions and civil rights legislation have pushed the schools toward equalizing opportunities through bilingual and bicultural or multi-cultural instruction. Federal aid through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Emergency School Assistance Act has given added impetus to these developments. The numbers enrolled in bilingual and multi-cultural programs have increased dramatically; but the effectiveness of such instruction appears to depend upon strong administrative and community support with continuing attention to curriculum development.
and the selection and training of teachers. The literature on cultural pluralism, multicultural education, and bilingual education reveals wide differences of opinions regarding the objectives, content and modes of instruction; and these differences sometimes operate to reduce program effectiveness. The UES site-visit team gave high ratings to several multicultural and bilingual programs, which were observed in the five cities studied; but concluded that few of even the best designed programs are fully implemented. To realize the high potential which was perceived in several programs in the five cities, attention should be given to the clarification of program goals and objectives and to program implementation and renewal through continuous staff and curriculum development.

Cultural Pluralism, as now understood and as it is being used here, is a relatively new concept in human societies. For many generations the young in European and American countries grew up with an implicit belief in the superiority of Western civilization, and an even narrower commitment to a national culture. In the United States, for example, we had a deliberate policy of "Americanization" for immigrants from other countries; and, as late as the middle of the current century, textbooks and teaching emphasized Anglo-Saxon middle-class values and traditions as models for emulation by all. This ethnocentric orientation still exercises a powerful influence in our schools.

In 1975, the National Society for the Study of Education devoted a section of seven chapters to the subject of pluralism. In the introductory chapter, Havighurst and Dreyer take the position that we are in a period which favors recognition of ethnic differences and identification by young people with an ethnic group. The authors acknowledge that cultural pluralism can take negative as well as positive forms; but they believe that social and political reforms may be moving toward a more ideal cultural pluralism.

Elizabeth Douvan, Professor of Psychology at the University of Michigan, defines pluralism as a "theory that values diversity within

a coherent and consensual larger society", but concedes that the concept of a pluralistic society is "highly ambitious":

It imposes demands on individuals and subsystems to function at a level of complexity, sophistication, generosity, and good will which may indeed be beyond human capacity.\[10\]

Douvan is right in calling attention to the demands on individuals and groups which are implicit in the creation of a genuinely pluralistic society. What is happening in America, however, offers grounds for hope. Testimony to this effect comes from an observant British writer, Henry Fairlie. Fairlie thinks that as a result of the operations of the American Constitution, and other more or less political factors, "there has been a revolution, in attitudes as well as policy", and he believes that "America is demonstrating...that a multi-racial society can be created". If so, as Fairlie also observes, it will be the first genuine one the world has known."

There is reason to think that cultural pluralism in education now has a real chance of succeeding; and many persons in the sixteen cities studied are working toward that end. It involves, in Fairlie's apt phrase, "the preservation of cultural pride, without the imbecility of racial prejudice."\[11\] Further support for the necessity of creating a multicultural society comes from Willis W. Harman, Director, Center for the Study of Social Policy, Stanford Research Institute:

A simple society can have a single culture; a complex civilization such as the United States cannot. Thus, the question is not whether we shall have a multimodal culture with a variety of behavior patterns and norms in different socioeconomic, educational, religious, and ethnic groups--no doubt we shall. Rather, the real question is whether we shall have mutual hostility and exploitation of weaker groups by stronger ones, or we shall have mutual respect and cooperation between diverse groups.\[12\]

\[10\] Ibid., p. 283.
Havighurst and Dreyer suggest that two necessary conditions for a healthy pluralistic society are that (1) youth understand and accept "one's own parent group as the primary source of self-esteem, values, and beliefs"; and (2) that they come to understand and "tolerate the fact that other groups have a right to share in the resources and privileges of the total environment."13 These undoubtedly are minimal requirements. In addition, if the conditions essential to a healthy pluralistic society are to be met, education at all levels must help students to gain an understanding and appreciation of:

1. The ways in which values, modes of behavior, and other cultural characteristics evolve as responses to particular environments in particular times and places;
2. The values, conventions, and traditions in cultures other than one's own; and
3. The distinctive contributions of the several cultures to the strength, variety, and vitality of American society—past, present, and future.

Bilingual and Other Language Programs. In order to recognize the cultural diversity in American society and to remove racial and ethnic biases from the school curriculum and instruction, all of the school districts visited have introduced programs in bilingual and/or multicultural education. The U. S. Supreme Court ruling on Lau (1974) requires a school district with non-English speaking students to provide language instruction in the child's native language. This decision has resulted in most schools instituting transitional type bilingual programs. Dallas has developed a transitional program in Spanish for its students from Spanish-speaking homes and multi-media packets of materials for multicultural social education in grades K-6. A combination of district, state and Federal funds allows Dallas to provide bilingual education in thirty-two schools, K-6, and bilingual teacher aides in twenty-seven Title I schools. In addition, supplementary computer-assisted

13Youth, op. cit., p. 274.
instruction and parent awareness programs are being implemented. The programs offered to meet the language, cultural, and educational needs of both the other-than-English language origin and the English language origin students in the Dade County Public Schools are:

1. English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) -- a full language arts and culture program which includes listening comprehension, oral expression, pronunciation, reading, and writing, as it supports the skills and concepts presented in the regular English curriculum.

2. Spanish for Spanish Speakers (Spanish - S) -- designed to teach Spanish language arts skills to Spanish language origin students and to other students whose proficiency in Spanish allows them to profit from the program.

3. Elementary Spanish as a Second Language (Spanish SL) -- a language and culture program designed to provide instruction in Spanish to English language origin and other non-Spanish language origin students.

4. Secondary Foreign Languages (Secondary FL) -- designed for students of English language origin or other language origin who wish to study one or more foreign languages, such as French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, Russian, or wish to initiate or to continue the study of Spanish as a foreign/second language.

5. Bilingual Curriculum Content (BCC) -- a program designed to provide in a language other than English selected basic skills and concepts which are generally offered only in English.

The Dade County Language Programs are of exceptional scope and should provide a good foundation for the design of broad multicultural programs. The thirty nationalities and the fifty-seven languages provide a rich resource.

Multi-Cultural Programs. Milwaukee has a multi-ethnic social studies program which includes a seventh-grade course emphasizing cultural pluralism and human relations, a bilingual social studies program, Afro studies, and a new multi-ethnic approach to U. S. history. The program is implemented in grades K-12. It was initiated with Federal
funds, but is now supported largely by local funds. Dallas has implemented a Multicultural Social Studies Program in all Title I schools. The project consists of a set of instructional materials specially selected from the social science disciplines which provide a conceptual structure through which children of all ethnic backgrounds can relate, reason, and understand. In addition, the program provides four staff members to serve 1,216 teachers and 34,900 students.

Various programs which were classified as Cultural Pluralistic were directed at overcoming discrimination and racial conflict. The Toledo and Atlanta schools have established outdoor camp programs serving 1,700 and 850 students respectively. The objectives include the reduction of racial and cultural biases through the interaction of all races in outdoor camping environments. Sixth-grade children are transported to camps where they live, study, and work together on environmental projects. The activities include recreational activities, human relations projects, and exercises in self-concept. Surveys of attitudes indicate that ethnic and racial barriers are being removed.

The Oakland schools have entered into a partnership with the California Museum to utilize the museum's rich resources in the study of the California cultural evolution. The museum provides an example of the intersection of the social and natural sciences in tracing the development of the various cultures and their influence on present California cultures. Students are given pre-visit instruction by a teacher, provided by the district, who works full-time in the museum. This is then followed by four days of activities on the museum site.

Programs for the Handicapped

As a result of Public Law 94-142 in 1975, public school systems have been charged with the responsibility of providing an appropriate education for all handicapped children. Observations made during the Urban Education Studies indicate that the school systems visited, not only are moving towards compliance with state and Federal mandates, but, in many cases are vigorously pursuing ways to meet adequately the special needs of these populations. The UES observers noted--in
Columbus, Dade County, Denver, Oakland, and elsewhere—many schools in which "mainstreaming" appeared unusually successful. In these cases they became aware of the enthusiastic support of the principals, the competence and sensitivity of instructors, and the cordial interactions between the regular and special education students.

The **Columbus programs and services for the handicapped** have been expanded, improved, and closely integrated into the total education program. Since 1960, the enrollment in special education has grown from less than 1,700 to more than 7,000. Classes for children with severe and multiple handicaps were established in 1974; a family learning center was opened in 1975, with services for multiple handicapped infants and their parents; and a plan for providing appropriate programs and services for all school-age handicapped children was approved by the Board of Education in 1977.

The UES team examined three special education programs: (1) the Autistic-Like-Severe Communication Disorders Program; (2) the Special Education Workstudy Program; and (3) the Total Communication Program. It was evident that the Columbus Public Schools are moving in a vigorous and systematic way to strengthen the education of the handicapped.

The **Exceptional Student Education Program in Dade County** shows evidence of careful planning and sensitive adaptation to the needs of the students served. The staff includes consultants and specialists for the different types of handicaps and program coordinators for the several programs (including the program for the gifted). Each also has a program director for exceptional education. Among the programs visited was that offered for Trainable Mentally Retarded (TMR) students in the Citrus Grove Occupational Training Center. The TMRs are taught skills in manufacturing and assembling products for various businesses and agencies, and emphasis is given to self-help skills. The students have their own cooking facilities at the Center and many are adept at preparing delicious and attractive meals. Constructive interactions are promoted between the students at the Center and those at the junior high. All programs which the site-visit team was able to observe appeared to be ably staffed; and all teachers and administrators displayed great sensitivity to the personal attributes and potential of the students.
The Dade County programs for exceptional children are conceived in terms of identifying and developing capabilities rather than in terms of disabilities.

The Chicago Early Assessment and Remedial Project (EARLY) was initiated in the fall of 1975 with a twofold purpose: (1) to identify pre-kindergarten children who are likely to experience learning difficulties in their schooling; and (2) to ameliorate such learning difficulties before children enter kindergarten. A screening and diagnostic procedure was developed and field tested by administration to 800 preschool children. The screening test was supplemented by questionnaires from approximately 400 parents of preschoolers and teacher ratings of four-year old children in their classrooms. When the evidence indicated that potentially disabled pre-kindergarten children could be identified with reasonable accuracy, the EARLY project staff began the development of an intervention program. The completed program is now in use and the results are being evaluated.

Programs for the Gifted and Talented

Advanced placement programs, acceleration, and enrichment have been available to the academically gifted in most school systems for many years. Boston's Latin Grammar School, the Bronx School of Science, and other schools for the academic elite have been a part of American education for generations. The current rush to meet the needs of the gifted, however, has taken on new dimensions; and continues to expand, with a boost from Federal funds and the desire to check the flight of the college-bound to suburbia and private schools. Every system included in the Urban Education Studies has a variety of provisions for the talented and gifted. In a number of cities there are special city-wide schools, such as the Renaissance High School in Detroit and the Rufus King High School in Milwaukee—both of which offer programs characterized by academic rigor and opportunities for self-direction and self-expression. Schools for the gifted and/or college-bound have also been established at the elementary level, but in most elementary schools, the programs for the talented and gifted are offered on less than a full-time basis.
The Denver Public Schools offer twelve program options for the gifted: a Library Reading/Discussion Period, an Extra Subject, a Core or Block Program, a Period or Two with a Special Teacher, Honors Program, a Half Day in a Special Class, a Gifted Section of a Grade, Rapid Advance Classes, Advanced College Courses, Independent Study, Mentorships, and Special Schools for the Gifted. Many of these options have been available for a long time, but generally the options have been not quite so numerous or so well-organized as is now the case in Denver. Moreover, Denver's current program is intended to serve students who display a variety of traits that indicate creativity, and not simply those of college potential. It, therefore, has moved away from the I.Q. test as the chief measure and uses multiple criteria for selection of students for the several programs. The identification of gifted students is made by regular classroom teachers, teachers of special subjects, and through parent-inventory and student self-nomination forms. Among the features of Denver's program is the use of Renzulli's Enrichment Triad Model and emphasis on "brainstorming" as a tool in creative problem-solving.

The Norfolk Public Schools, with an enrollment of less than 40,000, have developed one of the most extensive and varied programs in the country. Under the title of Designated Gifted Alternatives (DGA), four programs are offered at the elementary level: The Field Light- house program, a weekly three-hour academically oriented program conducted both at home schools and at city-wide centers; the Monthly Workshops, designed to develop thinking skills through interdisciplinary studies at city-wide centers; Time Blocks, set aside daily for accelerated programs in math and language arts; and Interdisciplinary Labs, on a weekly basis for from one to two hours. In addition to these four DGA programs, there are in-school programs which provide for (1) acceleration; (2) individualization; (3) Junior Great Books; (4) art enrichment; (5) school clubs. There is also a summer city-wide enrichment program K-12.

The Norfolk program was supported by Title IV-C funds from 1974-1977. Since that time it has continued to expand under local funding, with some state support. The program is broad in scope and the conceptual
underpinnings have been drawn from a wide number of sources. The content and process skills are comprehensive and clearly delineated. The management of the program is excellent and staff members are well-trained and enthusiastic. There is reason to believe that Norfolk's process approach (which emphasizes the development of thinking skills, methods of inquiry, and decision making) might prove effective with students of less obvious ability. It has much in common with mastery learning concepts which are demonstrably increasing the achievement of slow learners in Chicago and other school systems.

The programs for the gifted and the handicapped, like the programs for cultural and linguistic minorities, are part of a continuing quest for better ways of developing the full constructive capabilities of the diverse populations in our cities. While the accommodation to diversity is as yet only partial, there are signs of increasing acceptance of the twin beliefs that all children can learn and that educational institutions must find ways of meeting the needs and furthering the aspirations of all. Each of the city school systems is engaged in its own way in identifying poorly met needs and, in the process, finding that expectations for performance have, more often than not, been set too low.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

On the assumption that the school is the primary setting in which learning takes place, the site visitors of the Urban Education Studies in all cities spent a major part of the time available in visiting schools. During these visits efforts were made to identify unusually effective schools and to ascertain the factors contributing to effectiveness. The importance of the school as the basic educational unit has long been recognized; and in his recent book *What Schools Are For*, John I. Goodlad has underscored the centrality of the school in these words:

The center of the educational enterprise is the individual school with its principals, teachers, and students. All of the rest of the district is superstructure, good for providing support,
encouragement, and avenues of communication; but it is not where schooling and the education of the young take place.14

Goodlad also describes the following characteristics of effective schools:

...each school assumes responsibility for the quality of its own existence and is responsive to its immediate community...

The principal is central to development of a sense of mission, unity, and pride in the school...

...a high level of agreement exists between the principal, and the teachers regarding policy decisions affecting the school, and the teachers play a significant decision-making role...

...Healthy schools have a healthy surrounding infrastructure. The superintendent recognizes the school as the key unit for change and improvement...15

A three-year study of a dozen secondary schools in inner London throws some light on the characteristics of effective schools. The carefully designed and documented study showed that the schools "varied markedly with respect to their effects on their pupils' behavior, attendance, exam success, and delinquency." Moreover, the differences in effects were associated with the characteristics of schools "as social institutions": the ways pupils were treated as individuals and group influences related to the "ethos of the school."16

Two sessions of the May, 1980 Conference for City School Administrators (sponsored by the Urban Education Studies) were devoted to the subject of effective schools. The focus of the first of these sessions was on the characteristics of effective schools revealed by the studies of Brookover, Clark, Edmonds, Mann, and others. The characteristics described from a synthesis of numerous studies were partially summarized as follows:

1. The case study literature refutes the contention that determinants of school success or failure are beyond the control of the school. In fact, the data suggest that most school features related to success can be manipulated at the building level.

15 Ibid, pp. 84-87.
2. Hence, the case study literature suggests that schools can be improved by focusing available energies and resources on student achievement in basic skills instead of expending such energies and resources over a wide spectrum of activities.

3. The successful interventions...involved multiple tactics to attain the goals. Usually, several curriculum/instruction and personnel variables were manipulated in concert.

4. Such multiple-tactic change strategies necessitate effective planning and coordination.17

The second session involved presentations on several approaches to increased school effectiveness: the School Improvement Project in New York City Public Schools; a Self-Correcting—Self-Renewing System, which is now being used in the East Oak Cliff Sub-District of Dallas; and school planning and management strategies as developed in the Columbus Public Schools. Other presentations during the Conference highlighted numerous examples of effective schools.

Characteristics Observed on School Visits

During the site visits, many schools of unquestioned excellence were observed. Some systems appear to have an unusually high proportion of schools in which students, with few exceptions, appear to devote their time mainly to well structured learning tasks. Those who participated in many on-site studies ranked Denver and Milwaukee among the cities in which nearly every school exhibited factors conducive to learning, such as competent teaching, resourceful leadership, and positive attitudes on the part of staff and students. Many highly effective schools were noted, however, in all cities. Among the factors which seemed to be operating to keep the schools at a high level of effectiveness were the careful selection and evaluation of principals and effective provision for the continuing education of personnel.

1David L. Clark, Linda S. Lotto, and Martha M. McCarthy, Exceptional Urban Elementary Schools, Sponsored by Phi Delta Kappa, Funded by Lilly Endowment, Inc., Indianapolis, Indiana (June, 1979).
Conversations with the principals in the effective schools showed that they had a lively sense of the characteristics and special competencies and personality traits of all teachers. As these principals passed through the halls, they were greeted by name by many students and very often were able to respond with the pupil's name and with some word of praise or admonition. In such schools, visitors were impressed with the detailed knowledge the principal seemed to have of what the special needs of the student populations were and how well these needs were being served; also of the strengths and weaknesses of each staff member. In some of the least effective schools the principal seemed to have little knowledge of the population being served, of the kinds of homes from which students came, or of the abilities and other characteristics of teachers and staff members. In visits to classrooms of the highly effective schools, it was observed that typically more than ninety percent of the students in each class appeared to be proceeding with understanding of what was required. This impression of students' attention to task was reinforced by observation of the work being performed by students and conversations with the students. Moreover, the teachers' attentions were quickly drawn to students who seemed to be having difficulty, and help was given promptly.

In some of the more effective schools great pains had been taken to make the surroundings as attractive as possible. In many of the Denver schools, for example, the maintenance crews at the request of the schools had painted attractive murals. In other schools, there were plants and/or attractive exhibits of student work; and the care which students took of the building seemed to reflect pride in attractive surroundings. In such schools the walls tended to be free from markings and there was an absence of trash on the floor. Moreover, conversations with teachers, students, and other staff reflected great pride in the school and a sense of liking to be there. Many teachers in the more effective schools referred to their satisfaction in working in "this school" or with "our principal"; or commented: "All of us work together here." Another characteristic of these schools was the strong sense of achievement exhibited by both students and staff members.
Site visitors who had occasion to revisit several schools, after intervals of a year or more, found that the schools characterized as effective had made changes between the visits. In some cases, less competent instructors had been replaced or had been helped to become better planners and managers. In other cases, a merely adequate principal had been replaced by a more dynamic and energetic leader. New instructional materials, improvements in the library/media center or improvements in learning centers, were likewise noted. Frequently, parents or other citizens were observed tutoring students or performing other services.

The schools and systems that seemed to be moving most rapidly toward meeting educational needs effectively were characterized by a continuing search for capabilities and talents that might be developed, recognition and reinforcement of achievement, and high expectations for every member of the organization, including both staff and students. Moreover, steady and continuous progress toward identifying, and responding to, needs seemed more characteristic of these schools than the formulation of elaborate and difficult-to-implement plans. The schools considered excellent were of many different types. For example, the highly rated elementary schools included such diverse types as open-area, self-contained classrooms, ICE, Montessori, and creative arts. Among the middle schools there were similar variations; and the outstanding secondary schools included both comprehensive and specialized schools. In each case, however, the principal, teachers, and students expressed great satisfaction with the characteristics of the school and demonstrated ability to adapt their behaviors to the requirements of the particular situation.

Recapitulation and Prognosis

This chapter has dealt at some length with two of the elements believed essential to system-wide educational renewal:

1. Modifications in curriculum and instruction to assure mastery of the basic skills and to take account of cultural diversity and individual characteristics; and

2. The characteristics of school environments which affect motivation and learning.
The following chapter will be addressed to other elements which are essential to any continuing thrust toward system-wide renewal. Among these are the following:

1. The establishment of career centers, magnet schools and other alternatives in order to create environments and programs which will contribute to racial/cultural integration and provide enlarged opportunities for workplace education and experiences related to a variety of career aspirations.

2. The involvement of business, industry, museums, theaters, government and social agencies in ways which will increase significantly the community-wide resources for education;

3. The creation of well-planned programs of personnel development which will increase the capabilities for instruction, management, and problem-solving; and

4. The application of planning, management, and evaluation technologies for continuous adaptation and increased effectiveness of educational institutions and practices.
Other Steps Toward Improvement

Francis S. Chase

Among the more conspicuous of the current trends in urban education is the multiplication of schools, and programs within schools, which offer institutional settings that differ significantly from the comprehensive high school or the neighborhood elementary school. The new secondary schools are identified by a number of labels such as career centers, city-wide schools, and magnet schools; and the alternative elementary schools carry descriptive terms such as fundamental, open education, IGE, creative arts, international, or Montessori. The new types of schools represent another aspect of contemporary efforts to adapt the curriculum and the settings for learning, needs, and preferences of a diverse population.

CAREER CENTERS AND ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

American secondary education for generations has offered choices among curricula identified as academic, vocational, or general; and further choices among the electives within each curriculum category. The newer options reflect such concepts as cultural pluralism, action-learning, and career motivation. These concepts are not new, but the difference is that they are applied much more broadly than in previous periods. Vocational high schools have a history of more than half a century in our cities; and city-wide secondary schools designed to serve other specialized needs also have a considerable history. Examples that come to mind include Baltimore Polytechnic, the Bronx School of Science, and the Denver Opportunity School. The concept of workplace education or cooperative work-study programs also has a long history. Distributive Education has been one of the more successful of such programs with a history going back to
The early decades of this century. Although there are earlier prototypes for many of the new schools, it still may be said that in no past era has there been such a profusion of new types of schools and programs directed towards such a diversity of populations and needs.

The concept of career education received impetus from the strong advocacy of Dr. Sidney Marland, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, and derived additional support from the Vocational Amendments adopted by the Congress in 1972. Career Education differs from earlier forms of vocational education in that it usually is organized in clusters or families of occupations so that different levels of entry and exit are feasible. For example, a health professions center may attract students whose career aspirations range from practical nursing, dental technology, and other occupations which may be practiced with little or no post-secondary training to cardiology, orthodontics, and other specializations, which require post-graduate specialization and extended periods of internships and residency in hospitals or other specialized institutions. Similarly, a construction cluster may provide experiences which will lead to such diverse occupations as cabinet making, interior design, electricity, plumbing, or architecture. Again, the admission requirements might differ for the several occupations and the entry to some careers might be postponed for many years of specialized preparation beyond secondary school and college.

The term "magnet school" is usually applied when one of the purposes (under court order or otherwise) is to promote desegregation; but the characterization of "magnet" is also applicable to the drawing power of institutional environments attuned to career aspirations, if one envisions a career in the arts, public administration, science and technology, social services, and so on. Most of the career centers or magnet schools devote themselves to one particular family of occupations such as the health professions, merchandising, or others such as those named above; but some centers offer a combination of career clusters on a single location. Moreover, some centers and magnets operate on a full-time basis and offer academic as well as career courses, while others provide part-time career training for students who meet academic requirements at other locations.
Brief descriptions follow of schools or centers in several cities which seem to fit the classification of career centers:

The Skyline Career Development Center in Dallas was conceived as an opportunity to embrace the career education concept by providing a modern building structure with facilities and equipment representative of the various career clusters available to students. The Center opened with 25 clusters and added a few others later. Some of the curriculum materials for the clusters were developed under contract with RCA; and others by selected DISD personnel. Among the clusters were Aeronautics, Business and Management, Computer Technology, Electronic Sciences, Food Services and Management, Medical and Dental Career, World of Construction, Photography, Child-related Professions, Cosmetology, Performing Arts, Visual Arts, and World of Fashion. This is one of the more comprehensive career centers with a history now extending over nearly a decade.

Park West High School in Manhattan is listed as one of 22 vocational-technical high schools in the New York City Public Schools. Actually, it meets fully the usual definition of a career center in that it enrolls college-bound students as well as those who will seek employment upon completion of high school. It offers preparation for careers for the Automotive occupations, Aviation, Electronics, Culinary Arts, and Maritime. It also offers a cooperative workstudy and a college-bound program which offers smaller classes and tutorial services to entering ninth and tenth graders with academic potential and reading levels which range from two years below grade level to above level. Park West High School opened September, 1978 in a new building on West Fiftieth Street and incorporated the clusters which had a previous history as the Food and Maritime High School. The UES observers noted that Park West has strong leadership and staff deeply experienced in the careers in which the students are being prepared. The level of performance was extremely high in the clusters observed. The student population of Park West is 48 percent Black, 48 percent Hispanic, and 4 percent White.

The Clara Barton High School for the Health Professions is one of six coeducational New York City high schools which provide options
in secondary education. It is open to students city-wide without entrance examinations, but the present enrollment comes chiefly from Brooklyn. It is located in a well-kept building which requires remodeling to provide laboratory and other specialized facilities for programs in dental technology, medical laboratory technology, and other health professions. The school appears to have excellent leadership; and a good environment for learning is being established.

Columbus has four Career Centers which serve students sixteen years and older on a split-shift program with first-year students attending in the morning and second-year students in the afternoon. The staff is composed heavily of persons recruited from the trades, business, industry, and the professions. For example, experienced journeymen, with at least seven years' experience, were recruited in the machine shop and other skilled trades (and subsequently enrolled in teacher education courses at Ohio State University). The responsibility, which the senior teachers have for student placement and follow-up, leads to continuing interaction with work places. Placement rates are exceptionally high, ranging up to 100 percent placement in the first job upon graduation. There was evidence of strong, continued support of business, industry, unions, and other community agencies. Visits to classrooms in all four centers revealed excellent facilities, competent staffs, excellent working conditions, and high morale. The close collaboration of business, industrial, professional and civic leaders improves the quality of decisions, provides essential resources, and keeps administrators and instructors alert to the conditions and demands of the trades and careers for which students are preparing.

The Dallas Creative Arts and other Magnet Schools were mandated by the decree of the Federal District Court in 1976. They were able to get off to a quick start through the transfer of clusters from the Skyline Career Development Center. One distinctive feature of the new magnets was the appointment of outstanding directors with established reputations in the particular career fields. The Arts Magnet High School, for example, was able to retain the part-time direction of the Director of the Dallas Theater Center, who is also a professor on the Art Faculty at Trinity University. The visual arts cluster with its director, staff, and students was transferred to Skyline High School. The same was true of the Performing Arts
and Music. As a result of its central location and its appeal to students interested in the arts, the Arts Magnet High School is almost perfectly integrated, with proportions of Black, White, and Hispanic corresponding closely to the percentages of those groups in the total Dallas enrollment.

Of seven Dallas magnet high schools, the four started in 1977-78 have enrollments ranging from slightly above 400 to more than 1,000. One of these, the Creative Arts Magnet, has been unusually successful in meeting the goals set by the court for integration. It has 46 percent Black, 44.7 percent White, and 9.3 Hispanic. The health Professions Magnet, with 517 students, has 23.7 White, 64.7 Black, and 11.7 Hispanic. Transportation has also made progress toward desegregation with 57 percent Black, nearly 23 percent White, and slightly over 20 percent Hispanic. But, Business and Management has slightly over 75 percent Black. The other three magnets are newer and apparently less attractive to students as they enroll among them a total of only 423 students.

The Board of Education has recently asked the Dallas Chamber of Commerce to appoint a special career education task force of business and professional leaders to develop a plan for the DISD Career Education program for the 80's. All existing career programs are to be reviewed, and the adequacy of the facilities examined, and thought given to minimum and maximum student loads, and other aspects of operation. Particular attention is to be given to the magnet high schools. It is interesting to note that the Dallas Chamber of Commerce's participation, which goes back to 1965, has influenced strongly the development of the Skyline Career Development Center and the magnet schools.

Essentials to Success

Observation of career centers, magnet schools, and other alternative schools in a number of city school systems indicates that, for optimum effects, close attention must be given to the following matters:

- enlisting the active participation and support of community leaders and organizations
- careful identification of the needs to be met, the populations to be served, and the opportunities for appropriate placement of graduates
the choice of a director with the requisite background and capabilities and an established reputation in the career field for which preparation is to be offered

--a management staff of highly qualified persons who can be welded into an effective team to provide leadership for continuous curriculum and staff development

--early selection and appointment of staff, with special attention to recruiting instructors with the necessary knowledge and expertise in the occupations for which they are to provide instruction

--commitment to matching schools and programs to student characteristic and aspirations

--adequate communications to prospective students regarding the experiences to be offered, the performance standards expected, and the criteria for admission

--provision for increasing the basic learning skills (or reducing the learning disabilities) of students for whom the alternative school may represent a fresh start

--careful weighing of the possible losses, as well as the gains, from narrow specialization along career lines

--system-wide consideration of the probable effects on other schools in the system in order to promote concerted action to improve all schools.

Among the factors which seem to account for the unusually high student motivation and morale in the career centers and magnet schools are the following:

1. Enrollment--In each school is determined by the freely made choices of the students. This is important in making adolescents feel that they can make important choices regarding their own education. This act of self-determination imparts motivation to "make good"; to cope with the consequences of one's choices.

2. Students are able to perceive a direct relationship between school experience and their career and life aspirations. This reduces the usual complaints often expressed in terms of "This stuff is not going to do me any good".

3. The opportunities for action-learning or hands-on experiences are much greater than in the typical high school. This feature has strong appeal to students who are turned off by spending so much time in verbal
learning and performing tasks set by teachers for reasons which students often regard as arbitrary.

4. The "lock-step" and regimentation of the usual classroom is replaced by much greater freedom of movement and more self-directed activities. The student in an arts studio, an auto mechanics shop, an office situation, or a health clinic begins to feel like a responsible adult engaged in self-chosen activities.

5. The interactions with fellow students of other races and cultures take on added meaning in the variety of activities provided in the several career clusters. Students may sit together for a whole year in many traditional classes without becoming really acquainted with the strengths and values of those from other ethnic groups. When teamed in business planning, a dramatic production, a motor tune-up, or laboratory analysis, however, the students quickly "size up" their fellows and begin to develop appreciation of diverse characteristics and capabilities.

Recapitulation

Seven developments, which are perceived as holding promise for system-wide renewal, were listed on pages 36-37 of Chapter II. Up to this point, examples and discussions have been offered on three of these: (1) adaptation of curriculum and instruction to individual and cultural characteristics; (2) effective school management; and (3) alternative schools and programs which provide career motivation and action learning. In the following sections, discussion will be focused, first on school-community collaboration as a basis for the creation and maintenance of total environments conducive to learning; second, on continuous personnel development to increase the effectiveness of educational services; and third, on planning, management, and evaluation as instrumentalities for stimulating and monitoring improvement in the performance of all educational functions.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

School-community relations have been an important concern of school administrators and teachers since the founding of the public school systems. At times, the emphasis has been on winning support for school policies and objectives, which sometimes deteriorated into trying merely to create a favorable image for the schools. At other times, the emphasis has been more on improving the programs and services of the schools, with public involvement to this end. The community school movement has had a history going back to the Sloan Foundation projects in Kentucky and elsewhere in the first half of this century; and this movement received fresh impetus...
and took new forms from the Mott Foundation's support of community schools which took shape in the 50's and 60's in Flint, Michigan, and continues to exercise influence. Other forms of school-community interactions also have a considerable history. The rise of vocational education in this country led to the involvement of agriculture, business and industry in various types of cooperative work-study programs. These programs also represented an early form of federal intervention through the Smith-Hughes Act and other legislation.

All of the historic forms of school-community interactions are found today in one degree or another in both urban and rural education. New types of school-community interaction in our cities have been engendered in recent years by the desegregation orders issued by federal courts and by the requirements of the federal programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Emergency School Assistance Act, and the Office of Civil Rights. Local initiative has reinforced and supplemented the requirements of federal and state agencies; and, as a result, complex networks of school-community relations have developed in all of our large cities. Sometimes these networks are well coordinated and orchestrated so that they involve a wide variety of organizations and representatives of all socioeconomic levels and ethnic groups. In other cities the coordination of activities leaves much to be desired, and important elements in the community are left without an effective voice. Often, the situation is mixed, with many positive and some dubious or negative relationships and effects.

Twenty-nine of the forty-three large school districts in the United States, in response to a request from the Urban Education Studies, listed 137 successful programs in the general area of school-community interaction. Of these, thirty-seven were said to be "designed to ensure citizen understanding and utilization of educational programs and processes"; forty-nine represent ways "in which community organizations, parents, and other citizens are sharing in education planning and decision making"; and fifty-one are described as "programs, which provide valuable learning experiences through community agencies and resources".

Among the dramatic instances of citizen participation in the making
of educational policy is the work of the Dallas Alliance -- a tri-ethnic committee. Judge Taylor, the presiding judge in the United States District Court, made skillful use of this lay group (representing business and civic interests of Black, Mexican Americans, and Whites) to build a basis for a decree which would represent an approximation of a consensus regarding what might be done to reduce racial segregation and improve the quality of education. As a result of the Court's decision (and subsequent actions by the several chambers of commerce, business and industrial leaders, PTA's, civic organizations, and school leaders) there was an unprecedented mobilization of public opinion to translate the Court's mandates -- and the hopes resting on them -- into reality. Reference was made in the previous section to the part played by the Dallas Chambers of Commerce in the development of the Skyline Career Development Center and the magnet high schools.

In Milwaukee, the Committee of 100 played an important role in moving Milwaukee toward district-wide desegregation; and the Coalition for Peaceful Schools, with its own federal grant, served as an important channel for communication with, and cooperation of, a large number of community organizations. Advisory councils and committees in the cities studied undoubtedly are influencing -- sometimes to a marked degree -- decisions with respect to curriculum, school services, and many other aspects of education. In Atlanta, business and industry are providing important resources for alternative education programs, including Youth Challenge, Executive High School Internships, Project Propinquity, and Schools Without Walls. The same thing may be said of the Student Services Assistant Program (CETA) and other programs in which community organizations are working closely with the Atlanta Schools in providing educative experiences. In Oakland the Chabot Science Center and the Museum School are outstanding examples of how community cultural and science resources can be made available to students through school-community cooperation. The new Art Center in Milwaukee is another outstanding example of the cooperation of schools and community.

In many cities, instructional and administrative personnel are now being recruited to an unparalleled extent from business and industry,
technical occupations, and from professions other than education. The
directors of Dallas' first four magnet high schools include an M.D. with a
background in school health services; a professor of the performing arts,
who is also managing director of a theater; a business leader with a law
degree; and a man with wide experience in automotive sales and services.
Atlanta has recruited a leader in social services for one of its top ad-
ministrative posts. All of the cities studied are bringing technically
qualified people into positions such as coordinators, resource persons, and
instructors for the new alternative programs which are being developed.

Numerous examples can be given of programs that represent a prom-
ising beginning in meeting needs which schools of the past have usually
considered unmanageable. The mainstreaming of the handicapped under the
prdding of federal and state authorities is one example. Several of the
cities visited are making provisions for the handicapped equal to those
formerly found in expensive private schools. The same thing may be said for
other services such as those provided by Toledo Public Schools through the
Crittenton Center for unwed mothers and through a highly successful practi-
cal nursing program developed with the active collaboration of community
hospitals. The Adopt-A-School program in Oakland is a notable instance of
school adoption by a business corporation. In Dallas, some 200 schools
have been adopted by churches and/or business organizations which provide
personnel and other resources.

The Dade County Public Schools have embraced the concept that the educa-
tion of children and youth can be accomplished only through close collabora-
tion of schools and other community agencies. The plan calls for (1) advi-
sory committees at each school to work with the principal in identifying
and dealing with, educational needs and concerns, (2) two Regional Advisory
Committees in each of the four administrative areas to serve as resources
to the Area Superintendents in identifying and meeting areawide educational
needs; and (3) a County Advisory Committee to provide a district-wide per-
spective on educational needs. These committees compose an extensive network
for citizen involvement in educational planning and decisions. The County
Committee includes three individuals elected from each of the Regional Advisory Committees, fifteen persons appointed at large by a selection group, plus eight students, three teachers, and two administrators. There are also advisory committees for special curriculum areas, such as Vocational and Adult Education, Special Education, and Title I programs.

In accordance with the 1973 mandate of the Florida Legislature, the Dade County Public Schools have organized some 150 citizens advisory groups. Consequently, it may have the most highly organized network for citizen participation of any school system in the country. The Rockefeller Foundation found sufficient merit in the Dade County plan to justify a $435,000 grant to support the advisory committees. The visiting team members who attended the County Advisory Committee meeting and other advisory committee meetings found the discussions lively and provocative.

The Dade Partners is another aspect of community collaboration, to which the site-team reacted enthusiastically. While the UES team was in Dade County, the 100th Dade Partner was recruited. The Partners include several banks, chambers of commerce, professional associations, civic clubs, colleges and universities, and a wide variety of business enterprises. The services provided by these Partners range from jobs and training opportunities for students, through inservice training for teachers, to a wide variety of other educational resources. There are few school systems in which the collaboration of community agencies is as widespread and effective as in Dade County.

A third type of community involvement is represented by the school volunteers. Dade's School Volunteers Development Project was awarded a Title III grant to enhance the school instructional program through the use of volunteers for critical instructional needs in reading and math. Tutoring was thus provided for students in grades 2-6 who were below the national norms in basic skills. Other volunteers offer a wide variety of educational services. A tri-level training program is used to prepare principals, teachers, and volunteers for effective cooperation. The volunteers number more than 10,000. The collaboration between the schools, business, industrial, civic, cultural, and social organizations is a long step in the
direction of making Dade County a total environment for learning.

Another interesting example of extensive business/industry collaboration is represented by Philadelphia's High School Academies Program. The program began in 1968 under the auspices of the Philadelphia Urban Coalition. Its organizers elected to target a quintessential inner-city high school for the establishment of an Academy of Applied Electrical Sciences. The school chosen, Thomas A. Edison High School, was in the unenviable position of having the lowest average daily attendance, the highest dropout rate, and the lowest basic skills performance of any high school in the City of Philadelphia. It was overwhelmingly black and poor. Its students, for the most part, were unable to pass the admission tests for the established vocational schools in the city. The academy organizers reasoned that given the proper mix of school and industry expertise, plus a marshalling of all the resources that were deemed necessary for appropriate training, such high risk youngsters as were represented by the student population of the school could be effectively trained in electricity and electronics and developed into productive members of the work force.

A project team composed of representatives of corporate business and industrial firms in the electronics industry and School District officials planned the academy program, decided on the curriculum components, and determined a budget for the operation that substantially exceeded the normal School District funding available for this kind of training activity. The business and industry group then proceeded to raise the additional required funds. From the beginning, the academy programs have been a partnership effort of the schools and industry. In effect, school people have given up some of their "sovereignty" in the sense that the decisions about the program and the delivery system are determined jointly by the school and industry representatives who comprise the project team.

The level of business/industry involvement can perhaps best be understood in terms of the executive-on-loan policy that has been a part of the academy operation since the beginning. During the first year of the
Electrical Academy, the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania released a middle management executive on a full-time basis for the purpose of organizing the business/industry side of the program. In the second year, this individual was replaced by a senior engineer from the Philadelphia Electric Company, who has been with the academy programs ever since. He now serves as Director of the High School Academies, on a loaned executive basis, for the Philadelphia Urban Coalition. Two other academy programs have developed in the intervening years --- The Philadelphia Business Academy, concentrating on the development of office and clerical skills, and the Academy of Applied Automotive and Mechanical Sciences. The Business Academy operates in two inner-city high schools, University City and South Philadelphia, while the Automotive Academy operates in Simon Grantz High School.

Supervised work experience for every youngster is considered to be an integral part of the total educational program. In the Electrical Academy, this goal is partially realized through the operation of an in-school "factory" that functions after school hours daily during the school year and five hours a day during the summer months. The results of this teamwork have been impressive; the average daily attendance in academy programs is between 85 and 90 percent -- and this in schools where the average daily attendance ranges anywhere from 55 to 70 percent. The dropout rate in the academies hovers near zero, and the employment record of academy graduates is impressively high. Currently, a Feasibility Study is in progress to determine the most effective way of expanding academy operations in Philadelphia schools.

Summary Observations

In summary, it may be said that the studies in sixteen cities provide abundant evidence for the following trends:

1. Participation in educational decisions involves more people, and significantly larger numbers of minority groups and the poor, than have been involved in the past periods.

2. School boards and school administrators are listening more attentively to advice from without the educational profession, and to the voices of dissent which formerly failed to receive a hearing.
3. Chambers of Commerce, business and industrial corporations, hospitals, museums, theaters, dance companies, orchestras, and other community agencies are collaborating with schools in many cities to an extent that is unparalleled.

As a result of these and related developments, the concept of the city as a total environment for learning is coming closer and closer to realization.

NEW EMPHASIS ON PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

In the early decades of this century, formal provision for the continuing education of teachers, administrators, and other school personnel consisted primarily of requirements or incentives for enrollment in college or university courses. Traditionally, however, all schools and school systems have used professional meetings, bulletins and a variety of other approaches to inform, stimulate and instruct school personnel. Moreover, counseling and supervision for many decades have been used with varying degrees of success as means of improving instruction, classroom management, and performance of other functions. Other forms of staff development which have long been used, include participation in curriculum development, involvement in dealing with problems such as disruptive behavior, failure, and drop-outs. All of these traditional forms of staff development are still in use; but they are now supplemented by more recent forms of professional development through teacher centers, management academies, instructional resource teams, and other types of arrangements. In the following paragraphs, brief descriptions will be given of several of the more promising approaches to continuing education and increased professional competence.

Teacher Centers

The concept of teacher centers was developed in England where hundreds of such centers have been functioning for years under the British Schools Council. Many American educators visited these centers in the 60's and 70's and returned to advocate the establishment of such centers in the United States. Among the more ardent advocates were Stephen K. Bailey, currently professor of education at Harvard University, and president of the National Academy of Education, and Albert Shanker, president of
the American Federation of Teachers. The basic premise on which the centers operate is that teachers are interested in their own professional growth and will avail themselves voluntarily of appropriate opportunities to become more effective in the performance of educational functions. In recent years teacher centers have spread rapidly, and many large school systems now have several such centers. The characteristics described below for the centers in New York City and Oakland will provide some insight into the underlying philosophy, management, and services of teacher centers in general.

New York City Teacher Centers were established in 1978 by a consortium made up of the United Federation of Teachers, New York City Board of Education, and 29 New York universities. The Teacher Centers Consortium received an U.S.O.E. grant in the amount of $868,000 for the first year of operation, a $900,000 grant for the second year, and promise of funding through fall, 1981. A $55,000 grant was used to plan a program to assist classroom teachers in mainstreaming handicapped students into regular classes. This led to a $230,000 grant from the Carnegie Foundation, plus matching funds from the State Education Department to implement the program. Another $29,000 grant was awarded for "Higher Education Resource Assistance". The Policy Board represents the members of the consortium, but a majority of the 29 members are classroom teachers. At present there are six centers serving teachers in elementary schools, one junior high center, and one high school center. The staff consists of a director, two coordinators, and eight teacher specialists.

According to a May 1979 Progress Report issued by the UFT, the three main components of center activities are as follows:

1. After School Workshop Program. Workshops are organized according to the concerns of participating teachers. Workshop leaders may be classroom teachers, university specialists or consultants with specific skills. Where possible and needed, graduate-level courses will be taught by qualified instructors.

2. Individual Professional Development (IPD). Teacher specialists work with individual teachers in developing and implementing new curriculum and teaching strategies. These specialists are teachers who were carefully selected by examination, performance and leadership criteria, and they themselves are undergoing intensive in-service training.
3. **Clearinghouse and Resource Component.** Information, materials and research will be gathered at a central clearinghouse, including materials produced by teachers in this project. A telephone hotline will be installed to answer all inquiries.

One special project operating under the teacher centers is the Master Learning Pilot Project of District 19, Brooklyn. Training sessions were conducted for 156 teachers and reading specialists, with the assistance of two members of the Chicago Public School system who had participated in planning and implementing the Chicago Mastery Learning Reading Project. The cost of the classroom materials were financed by a grant from the New York Economic Development Council. The training provided has made it possible to implement mastery learning programs in reading in the third and fourth grade classrooms in District 19.

The Oakland Teacher Shelter uses a learner-centered and developmental approach to staff/curriculum development. This organization was moved to Oakland from San Francisco where it started in 1969 under the name of the Teachers'Active Learning Center. When the center moved to Oakland in 1974, it was rechristened the Teacher Shelter. The Shelter aims to encourage teachers to identify their own professional needs, to control their own professional development, and to engage in self-evaluation and classroom research. The assumption is that teacher training keyed to the questions raised and the problems encountered by staff members is more likely to be effective than training programs imposed from above. Individual teachers come to the Shelter to raise questions or problems regarding materials, techniques of instruction, or any other aspect of curriculum on which they need information or other forms of help. An individual or group of teachers may use the Shelter to develop apparatus for use in classrooms or to learn how to use calculators, Cuisenaire rods, electromagnetic kits, or other apparatus. The Shelter responds as fully as possible to the request of individual teachers and helps to plan workshops and other group activities.

**Management Academies**

At the present time there are only a few fully functioning management academies in urban school systems, but as pressure continues for
accountability, many systems are struggling to incorporate modern management concepts into their operations at all levels. The Urban Education Studies identified management academies in Dallas, Detroit, and Dade County. Both the Dallas Academy, which has been in operation for several years, and the Detroit Academy, which was established in 1978, seem to be making contributions to improved management of schools and educational support services. The Dade County Academy has been selected for discussion, however, because it was subjected to closer observation than any similar organization in the other cities studied.

The Dade County Management Academy actually started operations in August, 1979; but careful planning enabled it to move quickly toward effective operation. In recognition of the importance of effective school management, the Florida Legislature requires school boards to provide professional development programs for school-based managers. In compliance with this mandate, the Management Academy was established to provide school principals and other administrators with experiences designed to (1) sharpen managerial skills, (2) increase ability to deal with changing role expectations, and (3) implement school based management. The Academy is focusing on skills basic to administration as defined by the Dade County School System; those necessary for effective performance of current duties, or for promotion. Training is focused on needs defined by individuals as well as on those common to school management.

The staff of the Dade Academy consists of a director, a staff development consultant, and a teacher on special assignment. There is a Management Academy Steering Committee of fifteen members which reviews program activities and makes recommendations. There are also Ad Hoc Advisory Committees (composed of temporary representatives from units concerned with the training programs under consideration) which help to design and conduct specific training programs and to establish appropriate communications networks. An Ad Hoc Local Leaders Advisory Committee of eleven members reviews Academy activities and recommends external resources for training programs.

Developments to date include the following:
1. Identification of needed competencies via needs assessment (input from managers themselves, supervisors, central office, university, local leaders), publication of needs assessment data;

2. Identification of needed programs (elective and required) and establishment of a linkage network for obtaining resources and instituting a delivery system for providing the training for specific managers;

3. Extensive involvement of area office personnel in identification of needs, organization, training, and monitoring;

4. Identification and use of exemplary administrators (in-house resources) as trainers of their peers;

5. Assessment and interrelation of existing programs at institutions and agencies already involved in school resource management and managerial training on a continuing basis; e.g., A.M.A., Florida International University School of Education, Florida Power and Light Company;

6. Identification and scheduling of seminars, workshops, training components for 1979-1981; offering of individualized management program components - (a) commercially available, (b) written by in-house experts;

7. Cooperative liaison with Citizen's Advisory Committees to enhance understanding of Academy purposes and to raise level of community support for school managers and district managers as key factors in providing effective delivery of services to students; and

8. Establishment of cooperative link with Teacher Education Center to enhance understanding of Academy purposes and to collaborate on factors which affect both administrators and teachers in providing effective services and in meeting systemwide objectives.

In spite of the professed preference for using local leaders as workshop leaders, the Management Academy contracted with the American Management Association to conduct several workshops on general management processes and behaviors. Overall the reaction was favorable, although there was some disenchantment with one or two of the presenters. Not all the staff development for administrators is sponsored by the Dade Academy. Area offices put some effort into helping their principals
become more proficient. The regular visits by the Area directors and meetings of Area feeder pattern administrators also contribute to staff development. In some cases, notably the North Area, Area personnel have requested that the Management Academy provide inservice workshops on topics relevant to the Area. The conceptual basis of the Management Academy is pretty well established and accepted. Its general processes are competently managed; and there is high visibility since the Academy director reports directly to the superintendent. The perceptions held by principals and Area administrators are mixed; but excellent programming in time should produce increased support.

New York City in recent years has supplemented the federally funded programs under the Education Professions Development Act with several programs designed to help educational administrators improve their leadership and management capabilities. As David Rogers notes, these programs "tend to converge around a few common themes", such as the need for principals "to learn how to delegate many administrative functions" in order to concentrate on leadership for improvement of instruction, or to become more effective in planning and organizing; also the need to develop more minority principals who can relate constructively to minority students. The five management programs listed in Rogers' inventory are:

1. The Principals as Leaders Project, funded primarily by Chase Manhattan Bank and involving Bank Street and the Learning Cooperative as co-participants;

2. The Instructional Administrators Program at Fordham, funded by the Ford Foundation, to train and upgrade minority supervisors;

3. The Creative Teaching Workshop's recent work on principal leadership training, resulting from the recognition that its earlier teacher training programs needed this additional component;

4. The Economic Development Council's Management Studies of principals' leadership styles and preferences, done for the Division of High Schools and aimed at improving administrative training and promotion practices in high schools; and

5. The Center for Educational Management's Supervisory Training Programs within the Board of Education, done with taxa levv
monies to improve the management skills of community superintendents, principals, and assistant principals.¹

The Educational Management Center has been involved for many years in management training activities. During the early years of decentralization, it inaugurated a program to train Community School District staffs in business management techniques. Later, this program was taken over by the Economic Development Council and the Deputy Chancellor and expanded to include management training programs for Community superintendents, principals, and assistant principals. According to Rogers, it has been involved in three programs:

1. the training of supervisors in performance planning, in the context of the Chancellor's edict that a system of measuring supervisors' effectiveness and accountability be devised;
2. executive development institutes for Community superintendents and elementary and junior high school principals; and
3. a voluntary after-school professional development program for mid-career staff to upgrade themselves and for staff involved in special education programs.²

The Executive Development Institutes were initiated in 1972, with support from tax levy funds and a grant from the Ford Foundation. Agenda for the Institutes were developed by the Community District superintendents. All 32 superintendents, plus 64 principals (two from each district) participated in the Institutes, which were focused on critical issues facing the districts and schools.

Other Approaches to Professional Development

The emphasis on school-based planning and management has led several districts to provide training sessions for planning teams composed of representative teachers, parents, and students. In Atlanta leadership teams composed of the principal, teacher representatives, and other staff members, meet regularly to plan and to monitor progress toward goals. An associate or assistant evaluator from the Research and Evaluation Department participates in these sessions. Often these sessions provide opportunities to learn how to define problems, identify needs, obtain essential

²Ibid., p. 170.
data with the help of the R & E staff, and interpret the information so that it may be used for improvement of instruction and school operations.

New York City has established an Instructional Management Project (IMP), which uses a systems approach to help teachers in organizing instruction and assessing student mastery of objectives. At present the IMP is being used to improve mathematics achievement; and the expectation is that computer-scored criterion-referenced tests will be used to measure progress. It appears to be a model of successful collaboration between the decentralized community districts and the central administration; and it enhances accountability without being threatening. It also is an example of the close linkage between curriculum development and staff development.

Another New York approach to staff development and to effective school management is the School Improvement Project (SIP). This is a two-phase effort to facilitate the establishment of practices and conditions essential to student achievement. Technical assistance is provided through school-based change agents who work with the school planning group. The planning, monitoring, and evaluation processes enable the staff to identify and make needed changes. This project is based on the research of Ronald R. Edmonds; and the project is described in a Board of Education bulletin prepared by Edmonds, Loughran, and Blumner.

In Denver, an Instructional Resource Team, composed of two or three curriculum specialists, provides concentrated assistance to building staffs working on curriculum improvement. In Atlanta, resource teachers from the Area Offices meet with school staffs and individual teachers to help plan curriculum activities and to provide technical assistance. These follow a regular program of school visitations and respond to requests to assist a school in improving instruction in the basic skills and other subjects. In Detroit, reading specialists work directly with teachers and administrators to strengthen the reading program. Denver also has a program, called CAKE, which appears to be successful in helping teachers in planning teaching, and classroom management. Services to teachers are also provided through the Denver Diagnostic Teaching Center.
The newer approaches to personnel development and inservice education incorporate features that distinguish them from earlier attempts to upgrade the performance of teachers through supervision, released time programs, and required attendance through sessions planned for objectives determined by top administrators.

The characteristics described below were observed in inservice programs which seemed to be contributing significantly to better planning, management, more effective administration and instruction, and gains in student achievement:

1. There is an underlying assumption that the teachers, principals, and others for whom training is designed are professionally motivated and desirous of becoming more proficient in the performance of their several roles and functions.

2. Those responsible for organizing professional development activities cast themselves in roles as providers of desired resources and facilitators rather than as administrative or professional superiors.

3. Advice, from those who are to be affected, is sought with regard to the needs or objectives to which training programs are to be directed; the topics or problems to be dealt with; the scheduling and staffing of sessions; and the kinds of presentations and other activities which are likely to be most fruitful.

4. Careful provision is made for evaluation of the appropriateness and usefulness of the training experiences provided; and of reported or observable changes traceable to participation in the activities designed for development of professional perspectives and skills.

The programs mentioned in this section are believed to incorporate most of the four features described above. Other features noted include a focus on problem-solving or on specific roles or tasks. For instance, in a number of school-based staff development programs, efforts are directed toward finding ways of improving attendance, achievement in basic skills, or constructive cross-cultural interactions. In other cases, the training sessions are designed to insure effective implementation of curriculum changes. Another characteristic of many of these training programs is the use made of evaluative data. In the Atlanta
Public Schools, for example, the school leadership teams use test and other data (provided through the evaluator assigned to work with them) to identify needs and to formulate corrective procedures. In the New York School Improvement Project the staff development reflects the studies of Edmonds and others on school effectiveness.

Among the programs which illustrate both the focus on specific targets and the attention to program evaluation is Denver's Instructional Improvement Project. This project, funded by ESAA funds, is carried on school-by-school on a voluntary basis. With the assistance of an Instructional Resource Team, the school staff focuses on the mastery of strategies for instructional improvement, dealing with affective concerns, and collaborative problem-solving. The general design of the program is an intensive inservice session of several days duration, followed by on-site technical assistance to groups and individuals. The evaluation design covers six major categories, including perceptions of the value of the training and skills developed, assessment of school climate, and academic performance of students.

An additional characteristic of many inservice education programs is that they extend to paraprofessionals, parents, citizen volunteers, and student leaders. The result is often a team-directed effort to improve the performance of all roles and functions through a concerted attempt (1) to identify and meet educational needs and (2) to analyze and solve problems which impede educational progress.

PLANNING, MANAGEMENT, AND EVALUATION

Among the elements or components identified as essential to system-wide renewal are well organized and staffed programs of systematic planning, management, and evaluation. These instrumentalities for continuing effectiveness and revitalization are applicable to every school, every support service, every effort to improve curriculum, instruction, administration, facilities, or any other factors affecting the quality and effectiveness of learning. They are indispensable to the orderly and wise formulation of policies by boards of education, to the central framework for the administration of policies, and to the interrelationships
within each school system and between the school system and the supporting society with its multitudinous agencies, enterprises and services.

Pressure toward greater accountability, effectiveness, and efficiency has led large school systems to embrace, at least rhetorically, the planning and management methods and technologies developed in business and military organizations. The adaptations to educational systems has been less than perfect and the results have been varied. In 1976, in a paper on educational planning, the director of the Urban Education Studies observed that the adoption of new concepts and technologies of planning might become "one of the most significant developments in education during the next decade." He added, however, that "If we attribute to the new technologies powers which make unnecessary the exercise of imagination and evaluative judgments, we are heading for certain disillusionment."

Other points made in 1967, that still seem valid, include the following:

1. Those responsible for the planning and administration of education cannot escape the obligation to press toward greater precision and specificity with regard to outcomes sought, resources to be allocated, time required, and indicators of performance; and they have no acceptable alternative to improvement of data processing and communication through the use of the most sophisticated technologies available.

2. Like older technologies, the new instruments may be used either to clarify or obscure bases for decisions, to reveal or conceal alternatives, to centralize or decentralize controls, and to increase or decrease the achievement of important social objectives.

3. Perception of the difficulties need not lead, however, to a rejection of the new concepts and technologies; and failure to apply the new approaches is certain to create serious disadvantages in the competition for resources.

4. To the extent that the new processes increase effectiveness of operation, they make careful attention to the effects produced even more imperative.

5. Planning should continue to reveal new, or still unmet, needs and to bring into view as nearly as possible the full range of effects so that actual operations may be modified.
to approximate ever more closely the values to which edu-
cational institutions are committed in a genuinely open and
self-renewing society.13

The following paragraphs offer (1) some comments on the movement
toward data-based decisions and (2) brief descriptions of selected as-
pects of planning, management, and evaluation in a number of the
school systems studied. The examples and the related discussions are
intended to highlight both the present status and the prospects for more
effective future application of these instrumentalities to the improve-
ment of education.

Movement Toward Data-Based Decisions

Planning, in its essence, is an attempt to close the gap between
what is and what might be. It originates in dissatisfaction with the
present and is exercised in anticipation of more attractive future pos-
sibilities. Management serves as the handmaiden of planning by institut-
ing a system of controls to expedite the attainment of what is desired;
and some form of evaluation is an inescapable accompaniment of planning
and management decisions. The great pyramids, the early irrigation
canals, the medieval cathedrals are among the monuments that remind us that
the propensity toward complex enterprises, which require high levels of
planning and management, has been manifested throughout human history.
The concept of education itself is an exercise in foresight or antici-
pation of knowledge and skills which will be required to meet future con-
tingencies.

Educational institutions and practices, on the other hand, seem to
have evolved somewhat tardily under the impetus usually of major changes
in society produced by new technologies of production, transportation,
communication, and information processing. The history of education in
the United States, however, offers examples of fairly sophisticated plan-
ing and management based on careful analysis of available data. It also
offers numerous examples of innovation introduced in response to political

13Francis S. Chase, "Educational Planning in the United States", paper
delivered to the Phi Delta Kappa Symposium on Educational Planning,
November, 1967.
pressures or current fads. Some of these innovations were adopted in the absence of adequate analysis of the needs supposed to be met or consideration of possibly superior alternatives. Moreover, such innovations often were initiated without careful calculation of the resources and measures essential to effective implementation; or, even worse, without weighing possible undesirable effect as well as the benefits claimed for the innovations. Examples, which come to mind are the adoption of social promotion, the rush to build open-area schools, and a multiplicity of curricular changes without adequate staff preparation or careful pre-testing.

All school systems within the past few years have experimented with a variety of concepts and technologies of planning, management, and evaluation. Many of the new systems have been required by federal and state authorities or made conditions for funding of programs. Sometimes the new approaches to decision-making have been so elaborate and time consuming as to deflect personnel and other resources from needed attention to instruction, learning, school operations, and essential support services. One problem has been a shortage of personnel trained and experienced in the uses of the new processes. Another problem has been that political pressures often influence decisions more than rational analyses of data. Genuine progress in improving educational decisions at all levels depends, therefore, not only on application of the best systems for reaching sound educational decisions, but also on educating the professional staff and the general public in ways of reconciling the directions indicated by analytical processes with cherished traditions and values.

Some Promising Approaches

Within the limits of the Urban Education Studies, it was not possible to make anything approaching a comprehensive study of planning, management, and evaluation in the school systems surveyed. Close attention was given during a number of site visits, however, to salient aspects of these processes as related to curricular and staff development, school management, and school-community relations. In the comments that follow no attempt will be made to delineate fully the planning, management and evaluation systems now operating in any district. Most of the
examples cited are chosen to illustrate procedures or structures that appear to be improving the quality of educational decisions, operations, and/or performance. At best the selected examples represent only limited perspectives on complex operations. There is no claim that they portray fully either the characteristics or the effects of planning, management, and evaluation in the cities mentioned.

The Dallas Independent School District established a Department of Planning, Research, and Evaluation in 1968. The technical capabilities of specialists in systems analysis, data processing, and evaluation were utilized; and suggestions were solicited from the entire staff and the general public with respect to needs and priorities. A large staff of persons trained in planning, research, evaluation and data processing was recruited. Dallas also established two research and development centers: (1) the Dunbar Community Learning Center for research and development directed toward improving curriculum and instruction in elementary schools, with special emphasis on disadvantaged populations; and (2) the Skyline Career Development Center for programs in career education.

The new processes and technologies undoubtedly contributed to the success of career education, magnet schools and other curriculum changes; but, belatedly it was recognized that the anticipated gains in the mastery of basic skills had not been realized. Consequently, Superintendent Linis Wright has taken vigorous steps to have top-level administrators spend more time working with schools; to give greater emphasis to the basic skills; to improve teacher training; to hold principals responsible for creating conditions conducive to learning; and to focus planning, management, and evaluation on school management, instruction and learning.

In the Milwaukee Public Schools, the planning process may be initiated in the semi-annual retreat/seminars for Board members and high-level administrators through a series of distinct steps more or less in the sequence indicated by the following list of procedures:

1. New program thrusts are initiated by the Superintendent and his staff after consideration of evaluation data, communications from professional personnel, and community groups.

2. A draft of a position paper is prepared by a task force in the context of Board policies and goals, the desegregation ruling, contracts with organized professional groups, and other factors.
3. A working session with the Board of School Directors provides an opportunity for the administration to receive feedback before seeking formal, official approval; and may lead to a second draft of the position paper.

4. After approval by the Board, the position paper is released to community and professional groups for reactions through hearings held at local school sites, and other means of communication.

5. Based on the feedback, the position paper is redrafted to complete the policy phase and initiate the implementation.

The review sequence encourages participation and the beginning of identification with the proposed program; and the process allows the leadership to assess the "political" reaction, determine the sensitive areas, and build a support base. Implementation of the plan is turned over to program personnel — sometimes in the latter stages of the policy phase, with a steering committee responsible for preparing the final draft of the position paper. Some inservice is provided, limited consultation help is available, and there is some formative evaluation.

In Detroit, the Superintendent's Achievement Program is the basic planning process used by all schools. Its purpose is to improve school operations and student achievement through wide involvement in systematic planning. The Program was launched during the 1973-74 school year, following a comprehensive study of ways to improve learning for urban youths. The planning process uses specified procedures to identify and respond to high priority needs. Each school has an achievement committee which provides leadership in developing the annual plan. The committee includes a mix of staff, community, and students. The plan will usually include (1) goals, (2) objectives, (3) strategies for obtaining the objectives, (4) implementation schedules showing the use of staff and other sources, and (5) a monitoring and evaluation system so that needed changes in the school program can be made.

In May and June, each school conducts an evaluation of the attainment of school objectives. The plan is then reexamined and redeveloped for the following year based on the evaluation findings. To support school improvement efforts, the regional offices and central office units
also develop annual plans with goals, objectives, implementation schedules, and monitoring and evaluation strategies. Thus, the Achievement Program is a system-wide effort, with considerable community support, to promote improved learning for students. In accordance with the concepts of Management by Objectives the Research and Evaluation Department compiles a review of attainment of each year's objectives, noting those completed on time, and those unfulfilled for lack of personnel or other reasons. Each annual review of attainments is followed by recommendations for follow up and a section on Goals and Objectives for the following year.

The Dade County Public Schools have adopted a major system of objectives which provide a platform for action and are related to decisions on the budget, facilities, and educational programs. The system objectives are supplemented by area objectives and, at the building level, by school goals, performance planning, and appraisal. The objectives fall under four major categories: Teaching and Learning, System of Values, Community Partnership, and Administration. Several objectives are stated under each category: To illustrate, the sixteen objectives under Teaching and Learning include to improve basic skills, to ensure a balanced curriculum, to meet requirements in bilingual education, to intensify efforts in migrant education, and to advance equal educational opportunity; and under Community Partnership, there are objectives bearing on intensification of the Dade Partner effort, citizen participation, and cooperation with youth-service agencies. The "System Objectives" are supplemented by plans for implementation in various aspects of the curriculum and for various target groups.

The Denver Public Schools use an annual planning cycle, with "Points of Emphasis" and attention to building plans. In the fall of 1979, a Long-Range Planning Committee was established with a small full-time staff. The Committee embarked promptly on a three-phase study. Phase I included a study of grade-level organization and a demographic study of Denver; Phase II was directed toward agreement on educational goals and priorities; and Phase III concerned pupil assignments to schools. The Committee also formulated a coherent planning model to facilitate the identification of
problems and opportunities, effective collection and analysis of pertinent data and definition of tasks in forms conducive to the monitoring of progress and results.

The grade-level study was conducted with the assistance of a steering committee, an advisory board, special task forces and consultants. Grade level options were presented, with careful specification of objectives and alternatives. The demographic study drew on existing student data bases, district census information, city planning office data, Denver Regional Council of Governments information, data from the major utilities, and demographic consultants. High technical quality was maintained and appropriate analytical methods were employed to identify a range of possible developments, which led to cautious conclusions. Phase I continued with involvement of participants in a problem-solving process to force critical thinking about the issues and a design of a 62-question evaluative sheet which addressed eleven major areas of concern. With the evaluative sheet in hand, a combined task force of community and administrative and teaching personnel was convened to: review the alternatives, discuss the options, use a force-field analysis, and establish priorities. The work of Phase I culminated in the adoption of district-wide four-year high schools, middle schools, and a Staff Academy for ongoing inservice training and development.

Phase II of the long-range plan concerned itself with researching, through the various audiences the school district served, educational goals and priorities. Occurring simultaneously with the final work on Phase II, is the development of Phase III -- that of student assignments to schools. Using a planning model, an ad hoc committee of community and staff appointed by the Board of Education is in the process of developing guidelines for student assignments. The completion of this three-phased planning project is projected for early 1981.

In the New York City Public Schools there are indications of reasonably effective planning by several of the 32 community school districts and a number of well thought-out program plans at the level of the Chancellor's Office. The sheer size and complexity of New York City -- with
its 32 decentralized elementary school districts, its high school division, and the functions under the control of the Chancellor's Office -- make coordinated planning and management almost impossible. Progress toward educational effectiveness can be made only through collaboration of many agencies and groups, political leaders, parents and other citizens; and active collaboration cannot be engendered without a shared vision for utilizing the entire resources of the metropolitan area for the optimum development of those growing up in New York City. A beginning has been made through participation in planning of such groups as the United Federation of Teachers, the New York Urban Coalition, the United Parents Association, the Economic Development Council, public and private universities; and business, cultural, and social agencies of many kinds. Efforts also are being made to develop (1) a systematic process for identifying present and future needs; (2) an open and public process for translating identified needs into goals and objectives; and (3) assignment of responsibilities for developing and testing instrumentalities for the achievement of objectives.

The absence of a system-wide management information system renders difficult the coordination of plans and operations between the Board of Education and the Community School Districts; but the plan for the Metropolitan Educational Laboratory calls for the creation of an Administrative-Instructional Data System, implemented throughout all New York City Public Schools. If carried out according to plan, this system will operate a student information module which eventually will update the student data base continuously by use of school-based computer terminals. The information system will also have an instructional management module to support a Comprehensive Instructional Management System.

The Toledo Public Schools, under the leadership of Superintendent Donald Steele, have recently established a "Model for Quality Education", with six components: (1) a needs survey covering goals, time and money allocations, assessment of school performance, and services; (2) a measurement catalog, with a section on measures of student growth and achievement and another section relating to management services; (3) a curriculum redesign model, to deal with assessment of learning contexts and needs,
curriculum development, implementation, and evaluation; (4) an evaluation model, for analysis of information on demographic variables, program variables, test scores, program implementation, and technical services; (5) a public information component for two-way communication; and (6) decision-based budgeting, which requires budget requests in the form of "decision packages" with a variety of supporting information.

Recapitulation

Chapter II focused on two of the elements essential to system-wide renewal; effective schools and adaptation of curriculum and instruction to diverse needs. This chapter has offered observations on four other crucial elements: Career centers and alternative school-community collaboration, personnel development, and planning/management. Chapter IV by James Walter provides fuller treatments of school-community relations and inservice education; and Chapter V by Daniel Stufflebeam gives a cogent analysis of educational evaluation. Both Walter and Stufflebeam draw illustrations from the school systems studied.

The final chapter of this report will summarize the findings of studies in sixteen city school systems during 1977-1980 and offer further comments on progress toward establishing the essential conditions for accelerated movement toward system-wide revitalization of education.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESOURCES FOR EDUCATION
Through Community Collaboration and Inservice Education

James E. Walter

Among the developments mentioned in Chapter II as holding promise for educational renewal are two which will receive further attention in this chapter:

Close collaboration with a variety of community agencies and services so that the resources and opportunities offered by the society—business and industry, cultural and social institutions, and persons from a wide variety of cultures and occupations—are brought to bear on the continuing enhancement of education for all.

System-wide provision for continuing education of teachers, principals, and other staff members so that they become more perceptive of educational needs and more ingenious in finding ways of meeting the needs.

This chapter is divided into two parts: The first part focuses on school-community collaboration; and the second part deals not only with continuing education of staff but with inservice education for all persons who are cooperating in the educative processes. The intention is to highlight some of the ways in which the resources represented by persons and by a wide variety of community agencies can be enlisted more fully in the service of education. The urgency for fuller utilization of total community resources for education is underscored by the challenges and problems described in Chapter I.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY COLLABORATION FOR MORE EFFECTIVE EDUCATION

Some observers have noted that schools are a barometer of urban life. There appears to be a high correlation between the quality of education and the fortunes of the city. For example, while the emigration of residents from cities is in part racially motivated, it is also due to perceptions of inferior education. Similarly, while high taxation levels discourage business and industry, the perceived quality of education is also a factor in decisions on locations of offices and production facilities. On the other hand, the willingness of civic and political leaders,
and business and industry to assist and support schools in performing educational functions is an important factor in the success and effectiveness of schools.

A Typology of School-Community Interactions

The available data on the wide varieties of ways and means by which schools and communities collaborate suggests four major types of resource interactions:

1. **The community provides services to schools.**

   Volunteer programs involving parents and other citizens, businesses "adopting" schools and programs, groups providing job and career counseling for students, and similar activities are examples of this type of interaction.

2. **The community participates in policy development and program planning, development, monitoring, and evaluation.**

   In this type of interaction groups and organizations by invitation and/or on their own initiative, provide input into the decision making process. District wide advisory committees serve as sounding boards for proposed policies. Court ordered committees monitor desegregation plans. ESAA advisory committees propose plans and monitor their implementation. Externally funded groups analyze the school budget and advocate and lobby for alternative allocations. School level committees help plan, manage, and evaluate school action plans.

   Sometimes these groups and organizations are welcomed by the schools and sometimes they are not. Many are initiated by the schools and others are organized because of state and/or Federal mandates. Some are funded by the schools and some obtain funds from state, Federal, and foundation grants.

3. **The school District informs the community of its intentions and current efforts.**

   In its simplest form this kind of interaction is carried out through press releases, publicity documents, and other forms of public relations. Ombudsmen, hot lines, and similar devices are reactive ways of informing communities. The multitude of advisory councils are another avenue to satisfy the need of the community to know and understand what schools are doing. Another example is school-community coordinators -- sometimes these are community residents -- that conduct neighborhood meetings and visit in homes.

4. **The school District contributes to the community.**

   There is a sense in which all school systems contribute to a community through the education of the children and youth and the general benefits that education provides.
However, in a more specific sense schools make a variety of other contributions. Local school buildings can become community centers that provide personal growth and enrichment programs for citizens. Schools can provide jobs (other than professional and support personnel) to parents and other citizens as aides, for example. Schools support art and cultural activities such as youth concerts and galleries and theater facilities.

Schools have also been the instrumentalities for redressing many social problems. While some schools have not always been willing to participate in such efforts, they have nonetheless contributed to affirmative action in employment, to serving the nutritional needs of poor children, and similar efforts.

Some of the school-community interactions in each category are school initiated, while others are community initiated. Volunteer programs, for example, have been initiated by school districts and by community organizations that have offered their services to the schools. When schools initiate they do so out of their own beliefs and as a result of state and/or federal mandates and requirements. In some cases, school-initiated activities from state and/or federal requirements go well beyond the requirements and in other cases there is minimal compliance.

The interactions are almost always problematic for both the schools and the communities. In the schools such activities consume time and resources that could be allocated to other activities. Sometimes educators feel threatened by the interactions because they are perceived as interventions in matters that only professionals should handle; or at other times because they require behaviors and understandings that school people do not have. In some instances, schools simply do not have the resources to attend fully to the interactions. From the community perspective, the schools are cumbersome bureaucracies that are closed and insensitive. Policy levels are too remote from local schools. The responses are often perceived as token efforts or professionals' cooptation of lay persons. As the schools and communities interact with each other more fully, mutual accommodation usually results; and through negotiation, compromise, and sometimes, litigation, the parties develop the rules and understandings to govern the interactions. Thus, through experience and the sharing of concerns, all parties learn how to interact more productively.

Current Examples of Interactions

The examples described in the following section are based upon descriptions of programs nominated by the several cities and from field notes of
site-visit team members. Every district is involved in a variety of interactions with the community; but the Urban Education Studies did not attempt a comprehensive survey of such interactions in all the cities. Thus, while there are references to several cities, not all the cities that have such activities will be mentioned specifically. The activities and interactions, which are described, were selected to illustrate elements or features which hold potential for extending the reach and effectiveness of education. Other programs and activities of great significance are omitted either because of lack of space or lack of information.

Community Services to Schools.

On the basis of the available data, four major ways in which communities provide resources to school systems were identified: volunteer programs, speaker bureaus, programs for specifically targeted students, and business and industry contributions.

Volunteer Programs. Volunteers represent a vast reservoir of human talent and skills that districts have found valuable in numerous ways. Volunteers from two major segments of the community--parents and senior citizens--provide help in a wide variety of areas. Volunteers not only contribute their time and talents, but do so with eagerness as attested by the number of hours they contribute. For example, 3,500 Volunteers in Portland Schools (VIPS) provide some 250,000 hours in assistance in tutoring, coaching, taking attendance, and helping in libraries, nurses offices, lunchrooms, playgrounds, and reception offices. In Dade County, Florida, some 5,700 volunteers, parents and senior citizens, have given 415,000 hours annually to the school system.

The Dallas Independent School District has recruited and trained some 8,000 volunteers who provide many hundreds of thousands of hours of services on a regular basis during the school year. A new booklet called "The Volunteer Connection" explains the roles of central staff, principals, staff volunteer leaders and chairpersons, teachers, and volunteers. Training and orientation sessions for staff members and volunteers included 106 teacher orientation sessions and 93 volunteer workshops as well as slide-tape presentations, 5-10 minute orientations on the classroom
enrichment program, workshops for the volunteer chairpersons, individual training of new staff volunteer leaders by their facilitators, and a number of other ways of assisting both staff persons and volunteers to relate to each other in mutually supportive fashion. Dallas has also established an annual School Volunteer Appreciation Day.

Speakers Bureaus. Recognizing that many individuals in the community have knowledge, experiences, and skills that can enrich and supplement the curriculum, some districts have formed speakers bureaus. Artists, business persons, representatives from ethnic and cultural groups, labor leaders, and others represent the kinds of resources available to schools. Dade County is among the many districts that have organized speaker bureaus. It has a list of over 400 persons who have agreed to make presentations to students in a wide variety of areas. In Hawaii, the Multicultural Awareness Project has developed a pool of community resource persons who enrich and supplement the multicultural curriculum.

Services for Targeted Groups. School people and lay persons in some cities have realized a need to provide services for specific groups of children and youth. Potential delinquents and students who are involved in drugs, for example, benefit from coordinated services from several agencies. Racial and ethnic groups link with schools to provide services for their young people. In New York City, two groups initiated by the community focus on providing help for Hispanic speaking students. Aspira of New York was organized to improve educational opportunities and services for Hispanic students. The program includes a Parent Training Institute, a Student Motivation Center, and an Educational Opportunity Center for counselling seniors who desire to go to college. As the result of an Aspira-initiated suit against the schools, a consent decree was issued requiring the school district to identify and classify Hispanic students and provide education in their native language. The Puerto Rican Forum provides adult education for youth 16 years of age or older. The program includes bilingual/bicultural drug abuse education, job referrals, and clerical training. The San Francisco County School Attendance Review Board attempts to improve services to prevent juvenile delinquency. Representatives from the community, the Department of
Social Services, the Juvenile Court, and the school district meet with students and families to resolve attendance and behavioral problems.

**Contributions from Business, Industry, and Other Organizations.** For years business and industry, as a result of the Vocational Education Act, have made substantial contributions to schools. They have contributed to curriculum development and changes, places for students to learn in real-life settings, and materials and equipment. In more recent times, however, business, industry, and other organizations have been encouraged to collaborate with school in areas beyond vocational education by "adopting" schools and/or programs.

A contemporary example of the way schools and business and industry can cooperate is the High School Academies Program in Philadelphia. The program began in 1968 under the auspices of the Philadelphia Urban Coalition. They selected for the first academy a high school that was characterized as the lowest in basic skills performance, lowest attendance, and the highest dropout rate. The purpose was to give training to high risk youngsters in electricity and electronics. Representatives of the electronics industry and school officials planned the program. Since the budget was much higher than the district could afford, the business and industry group raised the additional amounts. The program has expanded to include an Academy of Applied Automotive and Mechanical Sciences and a Business Academy in two high schools.

Three operational features of Philadelphia's Academies program are noteworthy. An executive-on-loan policy releases management executives from business and industry full time to organize and coordinate the business/industry side of the program. The business and industry partners provide the basic tools and equipment to each student, and if the student successfully completes the program, the student keeps the tools. Finally, the Electrical Academy operates an in-school "factory" that functions after school hours. The factory operates on an industrial model and secures contracts for assembly line rehabilitation of electrical/electronic components. The results have been more than satisfactory. Daily attendance is between 85 and 90 percent as compared to 55-70 percent in comparable schools. The dropout rate is nearly zero and the employment record is high.
Another Philadelphia program sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and nine other organizations is the Counselors' Seminar: World of Work. In this activity the counselors from the school district visit various business and industrial sites to learn about what employers look for in prospective employees.

In Dallas, part of the impetus for a changed and more involved role of the business community came as a result of the Court order for desegregation. The Chamber of Commerce assumed a leadership role "to mobilize resources, people, time, and money to accomplish peaceful and smooth implementation of this very significant decree." Hundreds of businessmen and women were involved and coordinated by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and the Dallas Citizens Council. Because of the support of business and the community, and the leadership of school officials, the Dallas desegregation plan was implemented without the violence and hostility found in many other communities. Moreover, more than two hundred business and religious organizations have "adopted" schools.

Denver's Adopt-a-School program grew out of an earlier program called People Let's Unite for Schools (PLUS). In 1974, as Denver was in the early stages of desegregation, forty-nine community organizations formed PLUS to help diffuse problems arising out of the desegregation efforts. A full-time community worker was employed and the program included efforts to increase communications, organize parent groups, and interventions in situations that could become significant problems. As the desegregation process became accepted, several leaders realized that community organizations could and would make important contributions to schools in a variety of ways. These persons heard about the Adopt-a-School program in Dallas. After visiting the Dallas program, they began to organize a similar effort in Denver. In 1977, with a Federal grant, the program was started with eight schools and ten businesses. It has since grown to include thirty-one organizations including business and industry, service clubs, hospitals, professional associations, radio and TV stations, an Air Force base, and the University of Colorado.

The Adopt-a-School program in Denver was incorporated as a non-profit corporation in 1979. The participating organizations contribute funds that support two staff members. The school district provides a
consultant, a secretary, office space, supplies, and printing. The board of directors is composed of representatives from the organizations, the school district, and parents. The chief executive officers of twelve businesses comprise an advisory board. Each "adopted" school has a coordinating and monitoring committee composed of parents, school personnel and business/industry representatives.

A variation of the adopt-a-school idea is Dade Partners. In order to counter the impression that the poor reputation of schools might be discouraging new business and industry from locating in Dade County, negotiations began in 1978 between school officials, Chamber of Commerce leaders, and others. As a result, the Dade Partners program was initiated and began a multi-faceted approach, rooted in the belief that schools and other community agencies must cooperate more closely to improve the quality of education and life. Activities subsequently sponsored by business and industry are of a wide variety, including career information and exploration, inservice for teachers and others, free concerts, landscaping schools, assisting in school public relations, management advice and training, student awards and field trips, summer jobs and job placement, publication of student poetry and other written works, executives on loan, and shoes for needy students. As of early 1980, some 130 organizations had adopted schools and programs.

Dade Partners is coordinated by a staff of two persons employed and located in the Office of Community and Informational Services under an assistant superintendent. A needs assessment procedure helps identify needs and then organizations are located to provide resources to address the need in either a school or a program. Negotiations between the district and the organizations result in a proposal that is monitored regularly and reviewed at the end of the year.

The Community Participates in School Control

Traditionally the community's influence on the policies and practices related to the schools has been through the local board of education — at election time and at open meetings of the board. Some observers have noted that the "control" of schools shifted from lay control in the early part of the century to professional control in later decades and, more recently, to a wider array of stakeholders, including unions, state and
Federal legislatures, and the courts. Many parents and citizens perceive themselves as too far removed from the decision-making processes, and numerous advocacy or pressure groups were formed to push for their concepts of equity and excellence in education. Gradually, the protests began to be heard, and efforts were initiated in all cities to give parents and other citizens greater opportunities to influence educational policies and operations. In this section attention will be devoted to describing a variety of arrangements by which citizens are involved in school from local school levels to district wide concerns. Several arrangements are common to all districts. These include legal mandates such as the Parent Advisory Councils for ESEA Title I. ESAA advisory councils, trade and industry committees for vocational education, and other legislation providing categorical funds. These legal mandates will not be discussed. Instead, attention will be focused on community involvement arising from general educational concerns, special interest group concerns, and concerns regarding particular schools.

Involvement in General Educational Concerns. For many years, PTA's and similar organizations provided the main avenue for the interaction of professional school personnel and lay citizens. Many alternative arrangements have developed in recent years, sometimes at the initiation of educational leaders, and sometimes at the initiation of non-school agencies. In New York City, business and industry play active parts through many avenues and agencies. For example, one of the more active contributors to educational improvement is the Economic Development Council. The vice-chairman of the Council and its chief education advocate has been on full-time loan to the Council for several years while his salary continues to be paid by Union Carbide. The New York Urban Coalition, among other initiatives, has sponsored local school development projects. In fact, New York City has a long history of educational initiatives by community organizations of many kinds; and the New York City Public Schools were originally organized and managed by the Free School Society, composed of civic leaders. The New York Legislature in 1826 granted a charter to the Society and changed its name to the Public School Society. This society continued to govern New York City Public Schools until the close of the Civil War.
Another example of community-initiated involvement in New York is the Public Education Association (PEA), founded in 1895. It has been an advocacy group conducting research and lobbying for educational reform since that time. The PEA has been interested in educational policies, management decisions, and budgeting processes. It conducts research, makes analysis, and builds coalitions to propose changes in budget priorities for schools. It has also been concerned with collective bargaining issues, improving personnel selection and evaluation, school-site management, and better integration of school and other youth service organizations. Another, and recent, example of community-initiated involvement is the Educational Priorities Panel, which was established in the mid-1970's to influence budget decisions. The Panel is a coalition of sixteen major civic organizations and conducts external budget analyses. It has taken the stance that as the professionals (including the unions) represent the educational establishment, the Panel represents the interests of the clients of education. The motivation behind the budget analysis is that funds need to be allocated more directly to schools in order to increase school site productivity.

The community-initiated United Parents Association in New York works on behalf of parent interests and provides technical assistance, and lobbying for parents. It also has a legal component that handles parent and student grievances and provides access to attorneys.

The District Advisory Committee in Dade County -- involving over 1,500 persons in 250 committees -- is one of the most complex and intricately organized approaches to wide involvement in educational policies and other decisions. The Dade County school system is divided into four areas -- and for purposes of the advisory committees -- each area is divided into two regions. Each school has an advisory committee, from which representatives are chosen for the regional committee, which in turn is represented on the district-wide advisory committee. The various levels of committees (comprised of citizens, students, teachers, and administrators) participate in planning, setting goals, and identifying needs. To improve the effectiveness of the committee, a leadership development program has been conducted to increase knowledge about the system,
develop intervention and conflict management skills, increase group communication skills, and build teaming norms.

In Denver citizens participate directly in educational planning processes through a state mandated accountability committee comprised of parents and non-parent taxpayers. The city-wide accountability committee is charged with monitoring the school system's progress toward objectives. Another avenue for community involvement is through Project Focus. This project, initiated by the superintendent, provides the superintendent and the board with recommendations about the direction of the school district for the subsequent year. Telephone and written surveys of staff and community are the means for generating the recommendations which become the Points of Emphasis for the next year. Once these have been developed, schools and other units are to prepare annual action plans that address these concerns as well as needs determined by the school or other planning unit. With these activities and experiences as a backdrop, the school system has moved rapidly toward gathering relevant data for long-range planning.

Special Interest Groups. While several groups and organizations are concerned with general educational issues -- such as budgets, district goals, and similar matters -- there are also a variety of special interests on which schools and communities interact through advisory groups and otherwise. These include special education, food programs, guidance, bilingual matters, and other specialized concerns. Sometimes these groups are topic-oriented and sometimes they represent particular groups of people. Several cities have groups, both school and community initiated, that are organized to advise or lobby in relation to surplus property. Hawaii has a Guidance Task Force to develop plans for a comprehensive guidance program. In Denver, the Hispanic Education Lay Advisory Committee and the Black Education Advisory Committee provide a mechanism for the respective groups to bring their concerns to the superintendent and the board. Staff persons in the superintendent's office are assigned part time to serve as executive secretaries to these two committees.

Special education has been an important topic in several cities. Milwaukee has organized an Exceptional Education Task Force and New
York has a community initiated Special Education Project of its Citizens Committee For Children. This group of professional and lay experts in fields of child care monitor and study the division of special education in the school system. Four other organizations in New York City are representative of community-initiated special interest groups. The Community Council of Greater New York and the Children's Services Monitoring Committee are both interested in school food programming. The Committee on Education of the Community Service Society focuses on aspects of education that affect children who suffer the greatest disadvantages, such as the handicapped, minority, low income, non-English speaking, and so on. This Committee conducts studies that serve to monitor various programs that affect these groups of children. Finally, the Alliance for Children is a political action group organized to strengthen decentralization and achieve greater parent involvement. It is also interested in obtaining a more effective role for community school district boards in bargaining.

School-Site Involvement. In addition to interactions that take place at the district level and in relation to special interests, there is an increasing move to involve citizens in school-site operations. In some instances there are persons designated to serve as liaisons between the schools and the community as in New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Buffalo. In these systems, parents are hired to serve as liaisons and coordinators to work with parents and community groups in school attendance areas. In other instances, parents and others are involved in helping with and advising in the opening of new schools. More extensive types of school-community involvement are found in New York, Detroit, and Dade County. In Detroit, the Superintendent's Achievement Plan requires each school to submit annual plans which address both district-wide goals and goals which deal with local needs. The annual school plan is prepared by a committee which must include citizens representing the school's attendance area. Citizens not only participate in the planning, but also in the monthly meetings to manage, monitor, and evaluate the school's program.

Community advisory committees are required by law in Florida, but Dade County has gone far beyond the legislative mandate. Instead of just one committee there is a series of committees as described earlier. Each school is required by district policy to have a community advisory committee.
Schools may create such a committee or use an existing organization such as the PTA or PTSA. Some schools have both an advisory committee and one or the other of the existing groups. When schools with PTA or PTSA groups have their regular "advisory" meetings, the meetings must be open to all citizens, not just members. The activities of the community advisory committees go substantially beyond fund raising and social events. While they are not so directly involved in the annual planning required of principals, they do deal with substantive, educational issues such as discipline, attendance, and curriculum.

As previously noted, the New York Urban Coalition has developed and is currently implementing a Local School Development Project. This project is guided by a council representing teachers, building principals, community school district superintendents, central office, independent civic groups, the state education agency, and businesses. The primary premise of the project is that the local school is the most important component of the school system; and a corollary is that parents and other constituents of the local school must participate, and have ownership, in the full school operation from planning to implementation to evaluation.

The Schools Inform the Community

All of the school systems have vehicles for communicating information to the community. Press releases, media announcements, brochures and other documents, news conferences, and other mechanisms are all common. A public relations or public information office typically exists to manage such affairs. Other vehicles are also utilized to inform the community. The various arrangements described earlier as school and district advisory committees provide an excellent means to transmit information and encourage discussion and dialogue on the intentions and results of the school district's efforts.

The time has come and gone when the major avenue of the school's communication to the community was through the periodic report card. Today, in contrast, student achievement scores (and often school rankings) are found in the daily newspapers. As a result of demands for accountability, open records legislation, and the schools' own recognition of the need to be open and informative, schools have sought and even created new information delivery systems. Communication and informational services departments
serve a variety of functions including coordinating media releases, developing and distributing information pamphlets, and many other services. Dade County Public Schools, for example, has its own television station and in addition to providing educational programming it serves as a forum for school-community issues. The school board meetings are also aired for the public. Cincinnati, in a similar vein, uses air time on the local Public Broadcasting Station in which the superintendent of schools addresses issues of interest to the school and community. School systems also develop film and slide presentations and make them available to community groups and other interested organizations. During the early stages of court-ordered desegregation, Dallas created an action center which served as an information link between the school and community — the success of the center has assured its continuation and expansion. Other systems have similar arrangements.

Schools Contribute to the Community

Schools contribute to the welfare of a community as employers and purchasers, as well as through the graduates of the district's programs. Schools also contribute in more direct and immediately visible ways. An increasingly common contribution is providing opportunities for persons of all ages to pursue vocational, avocational, recreational, social and cultural interests. Most frequently these are offered in after school and/or evening programs. In some instances community education or community schools provide the vehicle for such efforts. In New York a coalition of public and private agencies working through the Department of City Planning has begun to implement community education as a means of encouraging multiple use of school facilities. Denver's community schools involve local community advisory councils in determining needs and coordination programs. In Milwaukee the district sponsor Concerts for Youth. In New York the South Bronx Community Action Theatre is housed in one of the schools.

Summary of Observations

It is obvious that with more information, parents and other community representatives are becoming highly sophisticated constituents of the schools. As this progresses, schools will continually be faced with the necessity of responding to new demands. Moreover, it is axiomatic that schools cannot perform their instructional and socialization functions...
alone. Nested as they are in their communities, schools can perform only what the community requires, desires, and permits. Collaboration is, therefore, essential for the professionals to understand the needs and desires of parents and other citizens and translate them into educational programs. Collaboration also enables parents and other citizens to understand the constraints, needs, and desires of the professionals. Many of the contemporary challenges to education, however, lie beyond the local community and will require careful reconsideration of the allocation of resources and powers between the private and public sectors and among local, state, and federal authorities.

**NEW APPROACHES TO INSERVICE EDUCATION**

Changing student populations, emphasis on cultural pluralism, pressures for greater accountability, expectations for more precise planning, and other demands on school systems have given impetus to increased efforts in inservice education. In the face of these changes, certificated and classified staff, members of citizen advisory committees, and volunteers are faced with new situations calling for new knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to become competent and fulfill their roles with confidence. The purpose of this section is to discuss the major aspects of inservice education as it is being carried out in several large urban districts. After considering some of the major forces that have given impetus for increased efforts in inservice education, attention will be given to a description of major components of inservice education. The section will close with a discussion of the school as a context for effective inservice education. The primary focus will be on the promising strategies and practices now becoming a part of planned inservice activities in many urban school systems.

**Dimensions of Inservice Education**

A broad definition of inservice education in large school systems might be stated as follows:

Informal and formal activities which help the adults engaged in the educational enterprise acquire knowledge, learn skills, and develop attitudes which are beneficial both to the individual and the institution.

This definition emerges out of the interviews, observations, and document analyses conducted during the course of the studies. It is
intended to capture the wide variety of activities, the diffuse and coordinated aspects, the range of target audiences, and the many purposes of the inservice practices across the several districts. The term "inservice education" has purposely been adopted in preference to "staff development." The latter term was seen as too restrictive in terms of the clientele or target audiences for the kinds of efforts described in this chapter. Staff development connotes efforts focused on the staff or paid employees of the district. While the major thrust of inservice is aimed at such persons, a substantial effort is being made in many districts to increase the competencies of a wide variety of non-paid community persons who are "in service" to the district. The term "adults" recognizes that inservice involves persons from many roles. Volunteers, members of community advisory committees, as well as classified and certificated personnel are participants of inservice.

All of the districts engage in what might be called informal inservice. In this case "informal" is intended to convey the notion that many activities do not arise out of a comprehensive needs assessment nor are they part of a larger systematic and coordinated program. Rather they grow out of spontaneous and planned interactions such as when teachers exchange ideas and materials or when an area supervisor meets with a principal to review his/her personal appraisal plan. Many inservice activities are included in the monthly or weekly meetings that principals have with their staffs. Formal inservice education refers to the coordinated and focused activities, planned and carried out for specified target audiences. The degree of formality varies widely from district to district and from program to program within a district. It may include on-the-job or at-elbow technical assistance, or an exchange program for assistant principals, or a program of activities provided by a teacher center or management academy.

The reference to knowledge, skills, and attitudes is intended to reflect types of inservice content. One of the needs of personnel is job or role related information. Another need is developing or increasing skill proficiency such as in diagnosing children's academic needs, preparing building plans, or conducting effective meetings. Often attitude changes are needed in working with children and youth from different cultures,
implementing desegregation plans, or changing from one kind of instructional methodology to another.

The benefits of staff development accrue to both individuals and the organization. Typically, there is no attempt to attribute direct benefits for children and youth to staff development. This is not to say that children and youth do not benefit, but it is to say that such benefit is indirect or transmitted through adults. Adults benefit individually as they develop a greater-sense of competence and confidence. In turn, organizations benefit from the knowledge, skills, and attitude changes that contribute to more effective and efficient performance.

The Impetus for Staff Development

Historically, there has been some emphasis on providing continuing education for persons who are "in service." Post-baccalaureate coursework, workshops prior to the opening of school, and professional conferences are a few of the earlier forms of staff development. Over time, school calendars included released days, summer workshops, and curriculum committee work. Federal funding has provided an additional push for inservice education and is a continuing force: Several current conditions are increasing the impetus for the continuing education of professionals and providing growth opportunities for classified staff and community persons.

Some of the major forces include declining enrollments, federal and state opportunities and mandates, societal demands upon education, research related to successful program implementation, and the increasing competence to conduct inservice within the districts.

Virtually all districts are faced with declining enrollments. One implication of this decline is that staffs are, on the average, increasingly older. As a consequence of their relatively high level of formal education, staff members may not seek further post-graduate education. Furthermore, the introduction of new ideas is not likely to occur through the hiring of new staff. Therefore, many systems are providing enlarged opportunities to acquaint teachers and other staff with changing knowledge and to improve skills for instruction, management, and other functions. Successful implementation of new projects places a premium on the preparation of project directors and staff. Federal and state guidelines often either require or imply staff development. Implementing PL 94-142, for example,
would not be very successful if teachers and others did not receive training in writing IEPs and providing differentiated instruction for the handicapped. Several states have legislated a variety of accountability measures which impose new role requirements, especially upon administrators. Inservice provides an opportunity to learn new skills and acquire understandings explicitly or implicitly required by federal and state actions.

Demands from several stakeholding publics in society have also increased the needs for inservice education. As a result of desegregation suits and equal rights movements, there is increased recognition of the importance of improving communication and cooperation among racial and ethnic groups and other advocates of school reform. Court orders frequently include requirements for human relations training for both students and adults. With the increasing involvement of parents and other community representatives in school affairs, it has become common for school districts to provide specialized training to help volunteers learn new role expectations and the professional staff learn how to work with volunteers more effectively. It is not uncommon for community advisory groups to be offered inservice education on such topics as running effective meetings, analyzing a school or program budget, or developing interpersonal communication skills. The increasing awareness and attention to the pluralistic nature of our society and the children and youth in the schools has also implied staff development. Staff often need an opportunity to become aware of and sensitive to other value and belief systems.

Research on effective schooling and successful program implementation supports the importance of inservice education. Clark, Lotto, and McCarthy report that, "Successful schools and programs frequently use staff development or inservice training programs to realize their objectives." Earlier, Berman and McLaughlin noted that effective adaption strategies included several forms of staff development:

-- Concrete, teacher specific, and extended training
-- Classroom assistance from project or district staff
-- Teacher observation of similar projects in other classrooms, schools, or districts

-- Regular project meetings that focused on practical problems
-- Teacher participation in project decisions
-- Local materials development
-- Principal participation in training

Finally, there is a growing number of persons within the districts who are becoming increasingly skilled in several aspects of inservice programming. They have developed competencies in working effectively with adults so as to become trusted and perceived as helpful. They have become skilled in conducting needs assessments, designing workshops, developing simulation materials, and linking clients with other resources. These persons, typically transferred from classroom and administrative positions, have learned largely from on-the-job experiences. They have also drawn from work in organizational development (OD), and the literature on change and innovation diffusion, and information available from business and industry training programs.

Current Efforts

All of the school systems in the study conduct a variety of inservice programs. These range from highly diffuse efforts to new instrumentalities, practices, and strategies that are more systematic and coordinated. The following descriptions are organized according to six major aspects of inservice education rather than on a school system by system basis. Several city school systems will be referenced under the six headings.

Organizational Structures

In none of the cities visited was one single office responsible for initiating and/or coordinating all of the inservice education in the district. There is, however, a movement in some systems to create structures that will assume more responsibility for initiating and coordinating inservice programming.

Inservice programming is initiated at several points in the school systems. Teachers often initiate inservice ideas. These are often channeled through the principals or a teacher center operation. Principals are frequent initiators of inservice. Sometimes the initiation arises out of the

2Paul Berman and Milbrey W. McLaughlin, Federal Programs Supporting Change Vol. VIII. Implementing and Sustaining Innovations (Rand 1978) p. 34.
principal's perceptions, but quite often it emerges out of interactions with staffs in building planning meetings. In one school in Denver, the principal and staff arranged for inservice relative to diagnostic teaching. In Dade County, Florida, the teachers in a building sought help from the teacher center to increase their skills in teaching mathematics. Also, in Dade County, teachers through the teacher center initiated the implementation of a student motivation program from the National Diffusion Network.

The primary point of initiation for inservice is persons responsible for some major system-wide program or project, such as middle schooling, mastery learning, school-based management, and so on. Frequently, these programs or projects are located in some centralized location such as the central office or an area office. For example, the School Improvement Project and the Instructional Management Project in New York City represents thrusts initiated by the Chancellor's office. They are not inservice projects per se, but they require inservice to be implemented. In Dade County, Florida, the district is implementing a "balanced" curriculum and a related instructional management system. The curriculum division conducts meetings to acquaint teachers and others with the requirements of these efforts. The implementation of middle schooling in Milwaukee has been assigned to a system-wide steering committee which has developed some printed materials and a video-tape and conducts information sessions. In Denver, the implementation of the desegregation order required bussing of children between paired elementary schools. An ESAA funded project provides inservice to bus drivers so that they will understand better the behaviors of young children.

Recently, different organizational arrangements are emerging in a few of the school systems. In Dade County, New York, and Oakland, for example, teacher centers have been established. Detroit, Chicago, and Dade County have organized management academies. In Dallas, the Personnel Development Department is responsible for operating teacher centers and a management academy. Denver, in early 1980, secured approval from the Board of Education to establish a staff academy. It is not uncommon for these kinds of instrumentalities to have an advisory board comprised of persons representing the roles to be served. When such boards are organized, they
tend to have a majority of persons representing the direct clientele and a few representatives from complementary roles. These newer arrangements typically provide three kinds of programming. One is related to general professional development. In this case, they focus on such generic skills as leadership, time and stress management, individualized instruction, and so on. They also provide services such as technical assistance to other divisions which control the content but need expertise in conducting workshops, and sometimes they are responsible for implementing a particular thrust in the school system. Special purpose staff development centers are another kind of centralized instrumentality. For example, Atlanta and Pittsburgh have reading centers; Denver has a Diagnostic Teaching Center, which provides inservice for Title I teachers; and New York has established a Bilingual Staff Development Center.

Programming

Needs assessment to develop the programming is typically carried out in four modes. One mode is the questionnaire checklist, distributed to a wide range of role incumbents. A second mode is professional judgment. In this mode, supervisors or superordinates assume, from their observations and interactions, that there are staff needs for a particular content or treatment. Committees with representation from various roles provide input for the inservice programming. A third mode is determining the needs from the explicit and implicit role requirements for new program thrusts. A fourth technique is personal appraisal plans prepared annually and reviewed periodically. Dade County has such a plan for building principals and Denver has implemented one for both teachers and administrators. This technique provides another means for identifying inservice needs and generating specialized workshops. Observations would indicate that professional judgment and assumptions about new role requirements are the predominate modes. Although, with the advent of centers and academies, other forms of needs assessment are becoming more common.

With regard to the purposes of staff development, four major categories emerged from the data. Consistently, attention was given primarily to current and new role requirements and secondarily to remedial needs of teachers. Personal improvement and career promotion were given less attention. Denver's efforts to implement Mastery Learning and generic teaching
skills represents inservice tied to providing teachers with new knowledge and skills for current role requirements. Milwaukee's middle school implementation program, New York's School Improvement Project, and Dade County's implementation of school based management are examples of efforts related to new role requirements. Atlanta's Reading Center and Norfolk's Designated Gifted and Talented program, respectively, are examples of inservice to help staff improve current skills and gain new role-related skills and knowledge.

Contemporary personnel policies require that persons who are deficient in some aspect of their role performance be given notice and opportunities to acquire or upgrade their knowledge and skills. It is often not feasible to provide a workshop for a few individuals and such workshops are often perceived as demeaning. In this regard, the teacher centers and management academies provide setting in which persons can acquire or upgrade competencies without being labeled. Traditionally, there has been little programming based on personal preferences. In districts that have teacher centers and/or management academies, such opportunities are provided. Several districts offer inservice sessions on time management and handling stress; and there are also opportunities to pursue avocational and personal needs. As an example of the latter, an inservice session offered by Dade County's teacher center, to train auto body teachers in new techniques, was opened to other staff.

Career promotion opportunities are also becoming more frequent. In Denver, assistant principals can spend time in other buildings "shadowing" a principal for a few days. In Dade County, the management academy offers topics to help teachers and assistant principals learn administrative skills. The visitation program allows person to observe several role models. The workshop often utilize simulation, role playing techniques, and pre- and post-testing designs. The Dallas Independent School District has developed a Leadership Training Program (LTP) for persons desiring to advance into leadership positions. The LTP includes a course (with option for university credit), a summer assignment to assist an administrator or director, short workshops, and a year long internship. Application, screening, assignment, and monitoring procedures provide a means of quality control.
Generally, the workshops and other inservice activities are of the knowledge acquisition and skill development types. Most of the examples cited earlier are oriented towards providing opportunities for such growth. Attitude development appears to be handled in several different ways. Most commonly the approach is for a superordinate to counsel with an individual on a one-to-one basis in such a way as to help the person work through his/her concerns. In Milwaukee, the implementation of middle schooling requires several staff members to reorient themselves to the philosophy inherent in the plan. This concern has been handled two ways. One is providing opportunities for persons to contribute to the plan over a period of two to three years. The second is permitting a number of options rather than insisting on one particular mode.

A more direct inservice effort was mounted in Dade County to help administrators in the South Area become more sensitive to and appreciative of the cultural values and specific conditions of the migrant worker population. In this instance an intensive immersion experience was organized. Principals and adult migrant workers were brought together in one setting. During the interactions the school personnel ate the kind of food that migrant people prepare, learned their songs and dances, and introduced themselves in the language of the migrant worker. In Detroit, inservice activities were conducted, with teachers and administrators, relative to the consequences that expectations have on children's performance and behavior. This appears to have had positive impact on the attitudes teachers have towards children that ordinarily do not perform well in school settings.

Technology

Inservice education technology refers to the ways in which the experiences are designed and implemented. The major components of inservice technology include the locus of contact, activities, and materials.

The term "locus of contact" refers to the setting in which those who are conducting the inservice and the participants interact. Generally, these can occur in three major locations: the individual teacher's or principal's work station, the facility in which an intact work group performs its duties, or in a facility on which persons from different localities converge. When inservice education occurs in an individual's work
station, i.e., a classroom, it most frequently is in the form of an on-the-spot technical assistance provided over a period of time subsequent to a group inservice session. For example, in Detroit the implementation of the Detroit Objectives Reading Test (DORT) program was heavily dependent upon providing at-elbow technical assistance to teachers on a weekly basis. Reading specialists were assigned to four or five or more schools (depending upon the size of the school) to work for one day, more or less, with the teachers in those schools. Such assistance provided teachers with on-the-job problem solving assistance, as well as communication with other teachers relative to ideas, techniques, and materials. In addition, the reading specialists met on a regular basis to share and discuss their own work as providers of technical assistance. In the schools implementing Mastery Learning in Denver, principals, trained in clinical observation, provide technical assistance. In Atlanta, the resource teachers and research assistants serve a similar function.

A second locus of contact is the setting in which an intact work group meets for the purpose of inservice. An example of this is the elementary school in Dade County in which a group of teachers requested assistance on mathematics teaching. Teacher center personnel, working through the central office math consultants, identified a high school math teacher to provide the inservice after school hours. In some situations the whole building staff, including the principal, receive inservice. Another form of intact work group inservice is the regular meeting of a school, grade level, or subject-matter planning group. Several districts require building-wide planning groups to meet regularly to plan future activities and assess the progress. Specialists and consultants often participate in these sessions. While these are not inservice in the conventional meaning of the work, they do provide an important form of staff development.

The third setting is one in which individuals from several buildings or locations meet relative to a particular topic. A series of district-wide workshops on managing the contracts with the variety of unions is an example. Persons may attend such a workshop out of a personal desire to become more proficient, be assigned to such a workshop by a supervisor, or be selected to attend as a representative.
The second component of inservice technology has to do with the activities used in inservice programming. While the lecture format is still widely used, it frequently is augmented with audio-visual presentations, small group discussion sessions, and question and answer periods. Other activities include role-playing, clinical experience, immersion in a setting, and simulations. These latter techniques are likely to be used more frequently as the full-time staffs of management academies and teacher centers become more proficient in such techniques. "One-shot" efforts are less in vogue; and more often inservice education is offered through a series of workshops or a workshop with on-site follow-up and direct technical assistance. Provisions for review, practice, and at-elbow assistance are more and more being viewed as essential to help all school employees and volunteers to develop and apply new concepts and behavior.

A variety of materials are being used to augment such activities. In many instances, districts are using both locally developed and commercially available materials. When the topic is related to a specific program or thrust of the school system, the materials must be designed and constructed locally. In Dade County, for example, workshops on contract management and school-based management utilize materials that were developed locally. In Denver, the efforts to implement Madeline Hunter's teaching processes and Mastery Learning techniques, required the district to adapt materials. Other districts, Atlanta, for example, have used Individually Guided Education (IGE) materials extensively. Many general leadership development activities for principals and other administrators require the use of commercially available materials. Typically these are self-disclosure instruments related to such topics as leadership styles, conflict management, and communication skills.

Staffing

Essentially two kinds of competencies are needed in an inservice program -- competence in a particular content area or specialty and competence in delivering inservice. The problem for most schools in this regard is identifying persons who are competent in both areas. The problem is further compounded when one considers all the content and specialty competencies that are required to address all that goes on in a school setting.
Systems have responded to this concern in a variety of interesting and creative ways. The most extensive responses are in those systems that have begun to develop some level of centralized inservice instrumentality e.g., management academy, teacher center, or staff academy. In these systems, there is a core of persons who are competent, or rapidly becoming competent, in inservice technology. The content competency is being handled through semi-permanent or ad hoc utilization of internal and external experts. There is also, typically, an effort to provide continuing inservice to the staff development personnel and to enlarge the pool of talent within other divisions and units of the school system. A brief description of these staffing arrangements in two systems, Dade County and Denver, may help to illustrate.

In the Dade County system, the management academy has a central core of three full-time persons. The Director is a former junior high school principal, another of the staff members was an elementary school principal, while the third is a former language arts teacher. The designing of a particular workshop or series of workshops is done by an ad hoc group representing the target roles. These persons provide ideas on the what, how, when, and the external or internal leadership for the inservice. Selected members of the ad hoc committee then assume the responsibility for developing the various materials that may be used in the workshop(s). These are then "packaged" by the management academy staff. Other resources are then identified and coordinated by the staff with the assistance of the ad hoc group. By the time the workshop opens, it has been designed so that the content is realistic, appropriate to the target group, and presented in an interesting manner. The management academy staff assumes responsibility for coordinating the actual conduct of the workshop(s).

The teacher center in Dade County is staffed by a full time director and several teachers on special assignment. Because the teacher center serves a population much larger than does the management academy, its approach is somewhat different. The primary function is to find persons, externally or internally, who are regarded as experts and who can also conduct stimulating sessions and link these to the expressed desires/needs of the clientele. The workshops are monitored by observation or end of session forms to assess the competence of the presentors. Over time, they
have developed information about persons who can provide content expertise as well as utilize appropriate inservice technology.

The staff academy in Denver addresses some of the inservice needs of both principals and teachers. This is due in large part to the fact that Denver's academy efforts are focused on school-based staff development. The title, Staff Academy, was attached very recently to the Department of Staff Development and presages an enlarged effort. However, it is based upon about six or seven years of experience which has focused on instructional improvements on a school-by-school basis. Because of its particular emphasis, the staff of fifteen or so persons has developed some specific content skills, as well as effective change agent skills. Moreover, they have consciously attempted to develop a cadre of principals and teachers into skilled inservice leaders. Such training has made it possible for the core staff to move on to other buildings as principals and teachers were able to assume the inservice responsibility in their respective schools.

With perhaps one or two exceptions, the examples given up to this point in the discussion referred to inservice education for teachers and principals. This emphasis is related to the fact that these persons are at the work-core of the school system. Their continuing and increasing proficiency is clearly dependent upon developing abilities to deal more effectively with instructional concerns. However, a large number of other persons provide what might be called support activities for the essential work of the school system. These include: board members; top level executives, food service, transportation, custodial, security, and other service personnel; parents on advisory councils; other community representatives; paraprofessionals; volunteers; and others. They often need to develop knowledge and skills to perform their roles more effectively.

A listing of some of the inservice activities that were observed in the various districts serves to highlight some of the many efforts to increase proficiency among these various target groups:

--Board members and top level executives meet semi-annually on weekend retreats conducted by an outside consultant, who is expert in assisting policy-making groups in problem identification and resolution.

--Food service, transportation, and security managers attend workshops on managing the contracts with the respective unions.
Title I parent advisory council members are given inservice in the techniques of running a meeting, preparing an agenda, using parliamentary techniques and similar skills.

Volunteers are given frequent opportunities to become proficient in one-to-one and small group tutoring techniques as well as about their role relationships with students, teachers, administrators, and others in the school.

Older students learn how to be tutors for younger children.

Community advisory committee members are briefed on the legislation that the district plans to sponsor or support in the state legislature. They, too, learn meeting leadership techniques and processes.

Bus drivers not only learn about safe driving, but also about child development and how the home and the school can affect a child's behavior on the buses. Teachers often lead this inservice activity.

Title I parents receive instruction from teachers in helping their children at home.

Parents receive inservice on how to conduct conferences with teachers about their children. As they become experienced, the parents run these inservice sessions for other parents.

The superintendent and other executives participate in a workshop conducted by a national management group to help them develop their preferred style of leading and interacting with others.

This short list serves to indicate the wide range of target audiences and topics that school systems are addressing; it is only a partial listing.

Funding

As one might expect, funds for staff development are obtained from a number of sources, including foundations as well as local, state and federal authorities. External funds are generally attached to specific activities; and, with few exceptions, local funds support non-specific or general inservice programs. To the extent that a district has created a general inservice capability or instrumentality, local funds are usually allocated to establish what the district considers to be a minimum core staff -- usually three to four persons. One exception is Dade County's teacher center.
which, under state legislation, receives three dollars per pupil of state funds. Also, the New York City teacher center was established through federal funds; and foundation funds were used to establish the Chicago Center for Urban Education, which has a management training component. Funding to support an extensive array of inservice activities also is derived from numerous federal grants and contracts.

Inservice is a labor intensive effort and as such is relatively expensive. A minimum budget for a core staff to organize a general inservice capability will require somewhere between $125,000 to $250,000 annually. Relative to the large budgets that urban school districts have, such an amount is not a large percentage. Yet, without a strong commitment to inservice from the top leadership, this amount may be difficult to obtain. The actual expenditure for all the kinds of inservice that schools provide is doubtless several times the amount suggested above; but inservice is a hidden cost, because it utilizes persons and materials budgeted for other purposes. Proposals for external funding often include a budget for inservice, and such funds may be channeled to a particular location or diffused through the system. The building of a systematic and coordinated program can be enhanced when at least some of the external funds for inservice are allocated to a centralized instrumentality.

Evaluation

The evaluation of inservice programming raises some serious questions. Just exactly what is to be evaluated? Is it a direct product such as the participant's skill in using some new material or ideas? Is it the methodology utilized in the workshop? Is it the general sense of improved competence and confidence of participants? Should student performance be a measure of inservice effectiveness? What are some unintended and unanticipated outcomes that result from the inservice? Should the total programming or specific workshops be evaluated? A host of other questions could be raised and obviously some answer needs to be made for each one as school systems struggle to evaluate the value added by inservice education.

Observations indicate that most evaluation is focused on the products
of the workshops, with little attention to the overall inservice programming. It is not uncommon to find pre- and post-testing of cognitive gains during a workshop session, for example. Another kind of product is the satisfaction the participants have with the workshop's presentations, pacing, sequencing, materials, and other dimensions. These kinds of product oriented evaluation serve useful purposes for planners. So can assessment of the effectiveness of techniques, materials, and leadership. Better assessments can be made, however, by gathering data at one or two points in time subsequent to the specific workshop. Some attempts at formative evaluation are being made in rather informal ways. That is, assessment of the experiences in one or several sessions are being used to improve subsequent sessions, and planning for the following year. Generally the information obtained is used to raise satisfaction of participants through better pacing and sequencing, better selection of materials, leaders, and so on.

Another kind of evaluation that can contribute important information about the consequence of inservice programming is what is called "goal-free" evaluation. The intent in this kind of effort is to assess the unintended and unanticipated consequences of inservice. The data in Denver and Dade County, for example, seem to indicate that augmenting the leadership skills of parents and other members of advisory committees resulted in increased pressures on the school systems for (1) more complete information on such matters as Title I budgets, and (2) fuller implementation of various programs.

The methodology of evaluation typically consists of a combination of quantitative information and pooled professional judgment. Quantitative information was often presented in terms of percentages of persons who perceived their experiences in designated ways, or in terms of percentages of persons whose performance changed from the pre- to the post-test. In some cases statistical significances were presented. Informal professional judgment was used both to give meaning to the quantitative data to assess aspects that are not easily subject to quantitative treatment. More formal and systematic participant observer and other field methodology techniques might enhance the evaluation of inservice programming.
An example of one district's evaluation of an inservice effort illustrates some of the more extensive practices currently in use. A major thrust in the Denver schools has been the implementation of what is called the Instructional Improvement Project. It is aimed at both elementary and secondary schools, although a higher proportion of elementary schools have participated. Funded by ESAA funds, the project is the district's own development of an approach to instructional improvement by adapting ideas and strategies from a variety of sources. This project is a school-based effort, in which a school staff as an intact work-group voluntarily participates in the project. The primary purpose of the project is to train teachers and administrators in strategies for instructional improvement, dealing with affective concerns, and collaborative problem solving.

The general design of the project is an intensive inservice session of several days duration, followed by on-site technical assistance to groups and individuals. Another aspect of the design is the exposure of teachers and principals to academic and affective education strategies, and to training in clinical supervision techniques. The techniques used during the inservice sessions included games, films, video- and audio-tapes, overhead transparencies, lectures, and so on. In addition, there was time and opportunity for practice, feedback and revision.

The evaluation design called for gathering data in six major categories. These were:

1. Perceptions about the inservice session were gathered through structured and open-ended questionnaires. Direct questioning as well as semantic differential techniques were used.

2. Implementation of the inservice content was assessed with questionnaires and observations and conferences. After the observers were trained to an acceptable level, they conducted pre-training observations in the participating schools. At the conclusion of the inservice session participants were asked to identify skills they would focus on during the subsequent weeks. While questionnaires focused on all skill areas, the observations were limited to the skills to which teachers had indicated they would give special attention.

3. Service in schools was evaluated by questionnaires, conferences, and logs kept by the specialists.
4. School climate was assessed by a school climate index administered to teachers.

5. Academic performance of the children was assessed through analysis of achievement test data comparing project schools with control schools.

6. Teachers' perception of their personal growth was evaluated through self-report and interviews.

Evaluation conducted over a two-year period provided the project with information which was used to assess and improve processes and outcomes. Evaluation of the implementation of the inservice content demonstrated general success in terms of skills that teachers actually implemented in the classrooms. Formulative evaluation suggested a change in the techniques of having teachers identify the skills they would implement. Instead, attention was focused on skills directly related to effective instruction. Other evaluation data suggested further changes in the strategies and tactics used in the second year. The second year evaluation revealed that skill implementation was substantially higher than in the first year. Thus, evaluation, that included the use of multiple data sources, analyses, and functions, led to a progressive improvement in inservice programming.

The School As a Setting For Inservice

On the assumption that the individual school is the unit of change, there are several initiatives that school systems can undertake to help create more effective schools. The following items represent a composite of the different kinds of initiatives observed in several of the districts visited:

1. Staff development for the leadership of the school. Several systems such as Detroit, Denver, and Dade County have initiated efforts to provide opportunities for administrators to develop leadership skills — particularly in relation to instructional matters, but also in management, communication, and interaction with co-workers. Training is also provided for school-wide planning teams.

2. School-based planning and management. Districts such as Atlanta, New York, Dade County, Detroit, and Denver require that plans be formulated annually for each building. When these action plans are formulated by school-wide planning teams with representative teachers, parents, and students
3. Curriculum Development and Technical Assistance. Staff involvement in developing and improving the curriculum offers excellent means for releasing energy or reenergizing a staff. In New York, the Instructional Management Project (IMP) provides school staffs, as intact work groups, time during the summer to develop the curriculum in mathematics. In Denver, the Instructional Resource Team (IRT) comprised of two to three curriculum specialists, provide concentrated assistance during the school year to local building staffs working on curriculum matters. In Atlanta, resource teachers meet with building groups and individual teachers to help plan curriculum activities and to provide technical assistance. In Detroit, the Detroit Objective Reading Test (DORT) program provides specialists who work directly with teachers and administrators relative to the reading program. In Philadelphia and Dade County, mini-grants to school staffs provide opportunities for staffs to exercise their own initiative in improving instruction.

4. Evaluation to provide feedback to schools. One approach to more extensive evaluation assistance is Atlanta’s plan for assigning a Research Associate or Assistant to each school. This evaluator participates in planning meetings and helps gather a wide range of data to help in planning and assessing progress both formatively and summatively.

Concluding Comments

Several factors related to the educational enterprise in large urban systems suggest more extensive and more effective utilization of existing resources. Two such resources have been discussed in this chapter, the community and the personnel in the school systems.

Individuals and agencies in the community represent a vast reservoir of human talent and skills and materials. Volunteers, as aides and speakers, have been found to provide valuable assistance to the professional staff and contributions for enriching and expanding the curriculum. Service agencies and organizations represent additional resources that can contribute to and encourage improved services to children and youth in multicultural education and other academic matters, as well as for those experiencing personal and social difficulties. While businesses and industries have contributed to vocational education, they
are also contributing personnel, materials, and educational opportunities to other aspects of the schools' programs.

Parents and nonparents have become increasingly involved in the planning, development, monitoring and evaluation of programs and schools. District-wide and school-level advisory committees have become an integral part of school operations. School and community interactions are not without their challenges and problems, but data indicate that schools and communities are becoming more proficient in their interactions. Collaboration makes it possible for professionals and parents and other citizens to understand each others' needs and desires.

While there has always been some form of inservice education, recent developments have increased the importance of new instrumentalities. Inservice education is required in order to respond to declining enrollments, federal and state opportunities and mandates, societal demands, and research on program implementation. Organizationally, inservice education is becoming more centralized and coordinated. Teacher centers, management academies, and other instrumentalities are increasingly common.

Contemporary inservice programming incorporates strategies which address a diversity of needs. Participants include board members, top level administrators, principals, teachers, volunteers, aides, bus drivers, and advisory committee members. Needs are assessed and activities planned and evaluated by increasingly competent inservice leaders. In addition to lecture-type presentations, participants often engage in simulations, role-playing, and clinical experiences. The "one-shot" inservice session is on the wane, and there is an increase in follow-up at-elbow technical assistance.

Recognition that the individual school is the strategic unit in efforts to realize improvement, has led to staff development for the leadership of the school, school-based planning and management, staff involvement in curriculum development, on-site technical assistance and evaluation to provide feedback.

In mounting programs and thrusts to enhance education, additional resources are often required. Community collaboration and inservice education can increase the available resources substantially.
EVALUATION IN LARGE URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Daniel L. Stufflebeam

This chapter is a discussion of evaluation in large urban school systems. It reflects a study of current practices, and it attempts to identify pervasive strengths and weaknesses, to highlight promising approaches, and pertinent resources, and, in general, to identify key steps that an urban school system might pursue towards improving its conduct and use of evaluation.

The chapter is intended, primarily, but not exclusively, for the use of school administrators and school board members. These persons have many needs and responsibilities vis a vis evaluation. They must constantly draw on evaluative information in discharging their mutual and individual responsibilities, e.g., communicating with their constituents about the quality of education in their systems, stimulating and planning changes, developing policies, setting priorities, allocating funds, adopting programs, and responding to the evaluation requirements of funding agencies. Moreover, they have a vital leadership role in ensuring that decisions—about such foci as students, personnel, materials, programs, facilities, and finances—at all levels of their system are properly and efficiently guided and monitored by evaluation.

To ensure that their own evaluation needs are met and that evaluation is properly practiced throughout their system, board members and administrators need to become informed about the process of evaluation as it should and can be practiced in a school system. While they do not need to become experts in the techniques of evaluation, they do need an overall grasp of the field. Particularly, they need to understand the functions and principles of evaluation, to be knowledgeable about the state of the art, to be able to articulate realistic expectations for evaluation services, to be able to react critically to evaluation plans and reports,
to be adept in applying findings to practical problem solving efforts, to be able to discern what policies and resources are necessary to guide evaluation; and to be able to identify and assess alternative ways of organizing evaluation services.

The chapter is based mainly on information that was assembled by Urban Education Studies about sixteen large urban school systems. Included in this information are specific analyses of evaluation services in seven of the systems (Atlanta, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbus, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Portland) and more general analyses of evaluation in seven of the other nine systems (Dade County, Dallas, Denver, Milwaukee, New York, Oakland, and Toledo). The information was provided by personnel in the systems and by staff and consultants of Urban Education Studies who visited the systems. In addition to the information about the fourteen school systems, this chapter draws on the considerable knowledge of evaluation in urban education that is possessed by members of Urban Education Studies and on the author's involvement in the evaluation programs of several urban school systems, especially those of the Dallas Independent School District and the Columbus, Ohio, Public Schools.

The amount and kind of information about evaluation in the different school systems considered is highly variable and the information is quite general. Some systems in the Urban Studies sample were visited once, while others were visited two or three times; and some of the systems were studied with evaluation as a specific focus, while others were studied with other areas—such as curriculum and bilingual/multicultural education—in mind. Also, no in-depth case studies of evaluation services were made in any of the systems.

For these reasons, no attempt has been made in this chapter to describe the general case of evaluation in urban school districts, nor to describe any school system's evaluation unit in depth. Instead the information was used to identify and illustrate pervasive as well as unique concepts, problems, and practices.

It is to be noted that this chapter deals mainly with evaluation and not with research. Many of the school systems studied operate what they call offices of research and evaluation. However, these offices were found to deal mainly in evaluation. Also it is the view of the author
that evaluation is a much more vital and practicable function in the context of urban school systems than is research.

The chapter is organized to deal with five major themes: conceptualizing the evaluation function, organizing the evaluation function, promoting the use of evaluation, training the participants, and selecting appropriate methods. These themes were chosen, because they reflect areas of work that have to be carried out if a school system is to have a sound and useful program of evaluation; and because it seemed practical to explain the evaluation roles of school administrators and school board members within a task orientation. Also these themes provided a convenient structure for grouping the many issues, concerns, and promising practices that were identified through a review of the Urban Education Studies bank of information and the experiential base of the author.

CONCEPTUALIZING THE EVALUATION FUNCTION

A pervasive characteristic of evaluation is that it is a conceptual activity. Within the practice of evaluation, evaluators and their clients must conceptualize the evaluation questions, the information needed to address them, the values and criteria that are appropriate for examining and interpreting the information, the ways of obtaining and analyzing the information, the structure of reports for communicating the findings, and the appropriate ways to use the findings. They must also conceptualize how evaluation fits into the structure of the school system, e.g., how it is to be governed, organized, administered, financed, used, and controlled for bias. And they need to develop a shared conception of what evaluation means, what it is for, how it is properly pursued, and how it is properly appraised.

If leaders of a school system fail to attend continuously to the conceptual nature of evaluation, their investments in evaluation will likely yield poor returns. A lack of attention to this issue inevitably results in an unsystematic, confusing, aimless, and often chaotic approach to evaluation. Conversely, rigid adherence to a conceptual framework adopted at some time in the past can result in evaluation services that neither
adapt to the evolving needs of the school system nor keep pace with the state of the art of evaluation.

Hence, leaders of school systems should help their staff and constituents, collectively to develop and use a shared conception of evaluation. This section identifies some of the conceptual issues to be dealt with, gives examples of how some school systems have addressed these issues, and offers some recommendations. It cannot be overemphasized, however, that no conception of evaluation can be adequate for all time. Thinking about evaluation and its application must be an ongoing, collective process if school systems are to get the most from their evaluation systems.

The Meaning of Evaluation

This lesson is apparent, when one considers the issue of the definition of evaluation. For about thirty years, educators held on—often in an unthinking way—to the definition of evaluation that Ralph Tyler proposed in 1942, i.e., that evaluation means determining whether objectives have been achieved. This definition did provide a common view of evaluation that educators could use to promote and assess improvements. For example, it was particularly influential in the development of minimum competency testing programs, such as the one administered by Florida, and the functional level testing program being developed by the Portland, Oregon School System. But, in the main, this definition has been used uncritically and persistently. Undoubtedly, this has limited the usefulness of evaluation services by narrowing the perspective of evaluations to those concerns evident in specified objectives, by suggesting that evaluation is only applied at the end of a project, and by encouraging educators and others to define success in terms of objectives without also evaluating the objectives.

The objectives-based conception of evaluation is still prevalent in some school systems, but, in many others it has been replaced by a definition based on the view that evaluation should guide decision making. This type of definition has been very influential in the evaluation systems of Dallas, Columbus, and Cincinnati. It is an improvement over the
objectives-oriented definition, because its thrust is to ensure that evaluation guides a program throughout its development and implementation, and because it implies the assessment of a wider range of variables, i.e., needs, plans, operations, and results. This definition also has the virtue of emphasizing that evaluation is a communication as well as an information gathering process. However, it is apparent in the information obtained from the school systems being investigated that this definition has garnered some connotative meanings that could stifle evaluation services.

One such connotation is that evaluation only serves high level decision makers, which is taken to mean superintendents, their immediate staffs, and, sometimes, school board members. Obviously, all participants in the educative process (including teachers, students, parents, and principals) make choices that affect the quality of educational offerings and outcomes; and these persons also need evaluation. Another dubious connotation of the decision-oriented definition is that information requirements are determined solely by the clients for evaluation. A likely consequence of this interpretation is to reinforce the clients' objectives without evaluating them in a broader values framework. This interpretation can also lead to evaluation services that enhance the power and influence of a client such as a superintendent, without also helping other interest groups to see the worth and merit of school programs in relation to their expectations and questions. While the decisions-oriented definition has clear advantages, those systems that use it should examine their shared conceptions for problems such as those noted above.

A third way of defining evaluation is seen in the definition adopted by the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation. This definition is noteworthy because it was agreed to by a national committee that was appointed by twelve organizations (AASA, ACPE, AERA, AFT, APA, APGA, ASCD, ECS, NAESP, NEA, NCME, NSBA) to develop standards for educational evaluation, and because their definition was the fundamental basis for their Standards which are likely to be highly influential in the

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practice of educational evaluation. The Joint Committee's definition is: "Evaluation is the systematic assessment of the worth or merit of some object." This definition calls attention to the importance of getting clear about the thing being evaluated. And it reflects the truism that an evaluation is an assessment of value. Both points are important, but the latter is especially critical.

Evaluation services that avoid questions of worth and merit and deal in public relations—or in what Suchman 2 called whitewash—might, for a while, make a leadership group look good (or at least not bad). But, in the long run, and especially when they begin to believe, or to act as if they believe, their own press, their decisions may stifle and even erode the efforts of their school system to deal with its problems and to serve all its students. How a school system defines evaluation, then, is of great consequence and should be an ongoing concern. Moreover, those who provide the conceptual leadership in a school system vis a vis evaluation must attend to the connotative as well as the denotive meanings of evaluation. And the definitions that are given and communicated must retain the fundamental concept of valuing.

To help urban school systems come to grips with this issue, a suggested definition, based on prior work by the author, is offered below:

Evaluation is the process of delineating, obtaining, and applying descriptive and judgmental information about the worth or merit of some object's goals, plans, operations, and results for the purposes of decision-making and accountability.

It reflects the prevalent emphasis within school systems that evaluation should serve decision-making; it emphasizes that evaluative inquiries must seek to assess worth and merit; it denotes a wide range of variables to be assessed; and it emphasizes that evaluation is an interactive process that involves both communication and technical activities. Nevertheless the definition is offered as a heuristic and not as a final solution to the problem of definition. The temptation to list definitions

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of the key terms of this definition has been resisted. Because that is a task best left to the people who attempt to explicate and use this definition in the context of their school systems. However, many of the concerns that are evident in this definition are dealt with in later sections of this chapter.

The Why of Evaluation

One of those concerns is "the why of evaluation." As denoted in the above definition, the purposes of evaluation are to guide decision making and to provide records for use in accountability. Decision making and accountability are inherent in the offering of professional services, and evaluation is inherent in each concept.

By definition, decision making means identifying and choosing among options; and choice, in any rational sense, implies that alternatives were identified, criteria of preference were defined, and pertinent information about the relative merits of each option on the criteria of preference was obtained and considered. In other words, the option was chosen because evaluation revealed it to be better than alternatives. Clearly, then, the making sound decisions depends on sound evaluation; and according to the definition, guiding decision making is one of two main purposes of an evaluation.

The other purpose is accountability. This word means the ability to give an accounting of what was done, for what reasons, and with what effect. A school system's staff could hardly address such issues to the satisfaction of funding agencies, courts, or the public if they could not back their claims with a record of pertinent and credible information. Evaluation programs can and do make valuable responses to a host of accountability demands that are placed on their parent districts.

Serving decision making and accountability are broad and pervasive purposes that exclude no area or level of schooling. Evaluations for decision making and accountability are applicable in classrooms, schools, and systems; in instruction, administration, public relations, and plant planning; and in locally as well as externally funded programs. Also, these purposes have special relevance to the task of defining clients and audiences for evaluation. In particular cases, evaluation services
should be directed to those persons most involved in the particular decision making and accountability setting. Overall, though, the purposes omit no group from evaluation. For example, evaluations should serve parents, students, and teachers, as well as administrators and board members; because all of these groups, in various ways, are participants in making educational decisions and being accountable for the consequences.

There are, of course, other ways to define purposes for evaluation. The so-called "Illuminative School of Evaluation" proposes that evaluation be conducted to promote understanding of a program by all those persons who are interested in it, for whatever reasons. And some people still equate evaluation to research and argue that the purpose of evaluation should be to help formulate and validate theoretical propositions about teaching and learning. In general, the purposes of illumination and explanation are not among those reported by the urban systems being considered in this chapter.

The Process of Evaluation

The purposes one chooses to serve through evaluation have considerable implications for how one conducts evaluation. If evaluation is to serve decision making, then the evaluators need to identify the decision makers and to discern their needs for evaluative information; they also need to obtain and report their findings in a timely manner. If evaluation is to serve accountability, then the evaluators need to identify audiences for the accountability reports and to become sensitive to their expectations and to the school system's pertinent commitments. They also need to obtain the relevant information and to maintain it in an appropriate storage and retrieval system. In both cases the evaluators need to conceptualize the evaluation requirements, if possible, in direct communication with their audiences, or at least with the needs of these audiences in mind. They need to obtain the needed information through appropriate methodologies. And they need to help their audiences to interpret and use the obtained information.
As indicated in the proposed definition of evaluation, the process of evaluation involves delineating, obtaining, and applying. In the first and third stages, the evaluators interact and collaborate with their clients; in the second, they collect, organize, and analyze pertinent information. Thus the process of evaluation involves both communication and information-gathering activities.

One implication of this view is that administrators, board members, and other clients of evaluation and those persons who are expected to supply these groups with information must be in touch with each other on a regular basis in order to collaborate in clarifying information needs and in interpreting and applying findings. With a few exceptions to be noted in a later section of this chapter, linkages between evaluators and their client groups in the urban systems studied are weak. School administrators, board members, and evaluators are encouraged to study this matter (in connection with evaluation in their school systems), to consider what linkages are necessary to make evaluation relevant and responsive, and then to consider alternative strategies for organizing, effecting, and maintaining the collaborative relationships.

Another implication of viewing evaluation as an interactive process is that the methodology employed to gather information must both facilitate interaction between evaluators and clients and promote the gathering of information that is responsive to the needs of the clients and audiences. Two frequently used methodologies—standardized testing and field experiments—lack these characteristics. Instead they involve prespecification of variables, narrow focus, and almost no opportunity for changes in information requirements as the evaluation proceeds. On the other hand, alternative methodologies that facilitate interactive and responsive evaluation are in general lacking; and what exists is not widely understood. Clearly, there is a need for the development of new approaches and for training programs designed to promote the widespread use of appropriate methods.

Audiences

Another key issue in conceptualizing evaluation concerns the audiences for a school system's evaluation services. According to the proposed definition the potential audiences include all persons who must make, and be
accountable for decisions in a school system. As already noted these audiences are diverse: They include, among others, lay persons and professional educators, parents and students, school board members and superintendents, and teachers and principals. The audiences vary greatly in their sophistication, interests, value perspectives, and information needs.

This diversity gives rise to what has been called the levels problem. Since different audiences have different roles in education, they also have different needs for information; and evaluations, that have been designed to serve the needs of one audience, are unlikely to be of interest or use to other audiences. It is not surprising, for example, that evaluations designed to help a teacher diagnose a particular student's reading problems are of little use to a superintendent who is interested in the extent and nature of reading difficulties throughout the system. And, it is not surprising that an evaluation report that satisfies a funding agency's need to discuss the extent that a project has been implemented as promised is of little use to the on-site director who needs continual, specific guidance for carrying out the project. And system-wide test results that are of interest to the members of a community are not sufficient for principals and teachers who need to know how their particular schools, classes, and individual students are doing. Clearly school system evaluators need to differentiate their audiences; determine their unique and common information needs; and design, conduct, and report their findings accordingly.

In the 1960's and early 1970's, one saw little evidence of sensitivity and responsiveness to the differential needs of audiences. Most evaluations were of federal projects, and the findings were reported in a single document which was aimed at the government audience. It is little wonder that other audiences--such as teachers and school principals--saw little value in such reports.

More recently, improvements in this area have been apparent. For example, the Atlanta evaluators have differentiated between school level and system level audiences and have divided responsibilities among their staffs so that there is continuing communication and collaboration between evaluator and particular audience, and so that evaluation designs and
reports are tailored to the needs of the different audiences. The Dallas response to the levels problem seemed to be to direct their services mainly to central administrators and school board members, to their external funding agencies, and to the staffs of a few select schools—such as the Skyline Magnet School and the Dunbar School—and not to try to serve other audiences. These audiences typically report that they are well served, while others say they are not served at all. More recently the Dallas staff has begun to focus more of its resources and attention on school level questions, and a trend in this direction is also apparent in Cincinnati, Detroit, and Philadelphia.

These examples raise an important question about which audiences should be served. Obviously, all school systems are limited by their available resources in how much evaluation they can do. And the potential audiences for given evaluations are not of equal importance. Therefore school systems must seriously consider and make choices about what audiences will be served by their central evaluation services and the extent to which they will be served; and they have to decide how the other audiences will be served, e.g., through appropriate training and technical assistance.

Participants in the Evaluation

This brings us to the related question of who should do evaluations. When one reviews the evaluation operations in the large urban school systems, a variety of answers are apparent.

The Philadelphia system has a large centralized office of evaluators. Mainly, they serve the evaluative needs of central administrators, but they also issue a number of district-wide reports of general interest. They are supported in the schools by persons called School Test Coordinators, but there is some question of how active the people in these roles are in helping schools to utilize test results and to obtain additional evaluative information. In general, external evaluators are not used by the Philadelphia system.

By contrast to Philadelphia, evaluation in Dade County is highly decentralized: There is a small Office of Evaluation in the central budget office which responds to evaluative requests from central administrators and coordinates evaluation of Federal projects. However,
many evaluation functions have been spread to other offices in the district. The Department of Instruction and Research conducts school audits; the Central Data Processing Unit is developing data bases for the elementary school and plans to do so for the high schools. Computer terminals are being placed in each school, and school principals are being brought into the role of evaluating needs and status in their schools. Also the system is actively pursuing assistance from local universities to help with evaluation functions. One striking feature is that the Area Superintendents within the Dade County system apparently are little involved and receive no direct service regarding evaluation of operations within their areas. One also sees some teacher involvement in evaluation that is stimulated by curriculum-embedded evaluation, particularly in their diagnostic/prescriptive approach to reading. By contrast to the Philadelphia system, there appear to be many more actors in the evaluation enterprise within the Dade County system; but, in general, the evaluation done in Philadelphia appears to be more systematic and detailed.

The evaluation system in Atlanta lies somewhere between those in Dade County and Philadelphia with respect to involvement of a variety of people in the evaluation process. The Atlanta system does have a strong central unit of evaluators. However, the members of this unit have dual assignments including a central function, such as coordination of testing, and a decentralized function including liaison with a number of individual schools. In their liaison function these evaluators work with school leadership teams to promote and support the use of evaluation services within the school and to help them get information which is responsive to their particular needs. This appears to be a strong strategy for both ensuring a concerted, integral approach to evaluation and ensuring that people throughout the system are well served.

The Dallas Independent School District has a large centralized evaluation unit: perhaps the most firmly established and strongest of any similar unit in educational institutions. For years, this unit served the needs of central office administrators and the school board almost exclusively. Then, they began to place evaluators and evaluation teams in individual schools. More recently, they have been moving, like Atlanta, towards greater liaison with individual schools. A unique feature of the
Dallas system is their School Board Evaluation Committee. This committee actively participates in the Dallas evaluation program by meeting regularly to review evaluation plans and draft reports and to provide direction to evaluators concerning future needs for evaluation. This arrangement has brought the board increasingly into the role of participant in the system's evaluation process, and there is good evidence that evaluation in recent years has had a significant influence on the decisions and actions of the Dallas board. The Dallas system makes little use of external evaluators, but, notably, they do bring in outsiders to serve in the role of meta evaluator; i.e., persons who evaluate the adequacy of evaluation services, plans, and reports.

These examples reveal a variety of possibilities for including different groups in the evaluation process. The position of this chapter is that evaluation needs to be organized and operated so as to involve as many groups as possible: At the same time it is important to organize the function so that there is a systematic and auditable approach to evaluations. The ideas that seem most powerful from the review of evaluation in the large urban systems include: organization of a strong central unit of evaluators; assignment of liaison roles so that the central evaluation system is systematically in touch with schools, programs, and area offices; providing principals direct and easy on-line access to the school system's data base; assigning evaluation responsibilities to some district or system offices such as Curriculum and Instruction; provision for external evaluation of evaluation functions; and, perhaps most important, offering of an on-going program of inservice education in evaluation for people throughout the system. Moreover, as emphasized earlier in this chapter, there has to be conceptual leadership in the area of evaluation if all of the appropriate groups are to be brought into the process and if their efforts are to be coordinated. Administrators, including superintendents, principals, and evaluation directors, as well as board members, have vital roles to play in this regard and should coordinate their efforts to conceptualize evaluation properly for their systems and to project their conception through policies, administrative decisions, and inservice training.
Variables for Assessment

Another crucial concern in conceptualizing a school system's evaluation services relates to the questions and variables that should be addressed. As noted in the previous discussion of definition, the objectives-oriented definition directs one to consider those outcomes that relate to prespecified objectives. This is a narrow focus for evaluation services, but it is consistent with much of the evaluation being done in large urban school systems.

The broadened definition that was recommended for consideration by the audience for this book called for assessments of needs, plans, operations, and results. Evaluators using this definition would conduct needs assessments as a basis for charting school system objectives and priorities. They would evaluate proposals and other school system and school level plans for their responsiveness to student needs, their feasibility, and their promise to produce results. They would monitor projects and programs to discern the extent of implementation and to provide feedback to make the implementation better. And they would assess outcomes in order to find whether student needs were met, and to search for unanticipated outcomes, both positive and negative.

Another variable of interest concerns cost. Increasingly with rising costs of education, inflation, declining enrollment, etc., it is becoming crucial to perform ongoing cost analysis aimed towards helping the systems make better use of their resources and towards helping them terminate wasteful, unproductive programs.

The seven school systems that responded to the Urban Education Studies questionnaire on evaluation report that they attempt to address this full range of evaluative issues. However, the site visitors reports make clear that most emphasis is on assessment of outcomes related to objectives. While there are also frequent cases of needs assessment, more often than not these amount to surveys of what various groups want from educational systems instead of serious investigation of deficiencies to determine what is needed. Evaluation of program implementation is also frequently seen, but serious questions have been raised about the adequacy of the efforts in this regard. One problem related to evaluation of implementation involves relying on the self report of the persons who are
implementing programs as opposed to systematic and objective observation. Of course, a main problem here is one of the labor intensity of evaluations of implementation and the limited resources available for evaluation. Less frequently reported are attempts to evaluate program proposals and plans. This seems unfortunate, since bad plans set into motion can greatly sap resources and impede education. Also, even a good plan causes some waste of resources when a better one could have been identified through an evaluation of alternative plans. There is some advancement of the use of cost analysis in urban school systems. For example, Dade County is working with committees of principals to develop different decision packages based on different sets of assumptions about available funds. This approach leads in the direction of zero based budgeting, but attempts to be realistic with respect to encumbrances, such as the overall cost of teachers' salaries. Overall, evaluations in urban school systems do address a wide range of variables and concerns. It is desirable that administrators, board members, and evaluators get clear about the range of questions and variables that should be addressed by evaluation. Hopefully, this will stimulate better ways of doing these assessments and better practice.

A promising project in the development of this area is being conducted by the Toledo, Ohio Public Schools in collaboration with the Western Michigan University Evaluation Center. They have developed catalogs of evaluative criteria in the areas of student growth and development, and the functions of a school system. The student-oriented criteria span intellectual, emotional, social, physical, aesthetic, moral, and vocational development. The functional areas presented in the other catalog are staff personnel, curriculum, instruction, business and finance, facilities, pupil personnel, school-community relations, and policy. Both catalogs provide extensive breakdowns of variables and associated definitions; and they are indexed to facilitate the identification of variables in a wide range of interest areas.

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3Joint Task Group of the Toledo Public Schools and Evaluation Center, The Toledo Catalog: Assessment of Students and School Administration (Volumes 1 and 2), The Evaluation Center, Kalamazoo, 1980.
A Word About Evaluation Models

Another resource available to those who must conceptualize evaluation for their school systems is the range of evaluation models that have been developed over the last fifteen years. These include the Formative-Summative Evaluation Model by Michael Scriven, the Responsive Evaluation Model by Robert Stake, the CIPP Model by the author of this chapter, the Objectives-based Model by Ralph Tyler and disciples such as Malcolm Provus and James Popham, the Connoisseurship Model by Elliott Eisner, and the Experimental Research Model which has been advanced mainly by Julian Stanley and Donald Campbell. The main virtue of these models is that they stimulate people to think about different assumptions about evaluation and different approaches. Hence, the information about the models is a valuable resource for a school system's inservice training program.

Also, some of the models have been highly influential in the evaluation operations in school systems and are thus available for study in their operational form. The Objectives-based Model is seen in the Portland system where an extensive attempt is underway to articulate instructional objectives from kindergarten through the twelfth grade and to develop test items that relate directly to these objectives. The intent of this system is to provide teachers and others throughout the school system with a flexible test item and objectives bank that they can use to track achievement related to specified objectives. One crucial question regarding this program is how the objectives will, themselves, be evaluated. This is a crucial issue since educational endeavors which address objectives that are not reflective of needs are misguided and wasteful.

The CIPP Model was developed based on evaluative experiences in the Columbus Public Schools and has served as the basis for evaluation in Dallas, Cincinnati, and, to some degree, Philadelphia. The most operationalized version of the model is in Dallas. The evaluation system there is organized to conduct the four kinds of evaluation called for by

the CIPP Model. The first is context evaluation to assess needs, opportunities, and objectives at different levels of the school system. The second is input evaluation which searches for alternative plans and proposals and assesses whether their adoption likely would promote the meeting of needs at a reasonable cost. The third is process evaluation which monitors the implementation of a project or program in order both to help guide implementation and to provide a record for accountability purposes of the extent that the program or project got carried out as promised. The fourth part of the model calls for product evaluation which is an attempt to examine the outcomes of a program and the extent that they meet the needs of those being served. In Dallas, the CIPP Model is used both to help carry out change programs and to provide an accountability record (concerning why the programs were developed, how they were planned, the extent they were carried out, and the results they produced).

While no formal model appears to guide the operation of the Atlanta system, their approach is characterized by its emphasis on communication and linkage. Extensive efforts have been made there to link central evaluation through the evaluation liaison role to potential users of evaluation services in each of the schools. This approach seems highly worthy of study.

Criteria of Sound Evaluations

It is noteworthy that the urban systems studied make minimal use of external evaluators. This raises questions of the independence and freedom from bias of the evaluations being done in the school systems. In essence, the school systems are evaluating themselves; while self-evaluation is essential to guide operations and to identify weaknesses, it is not a sufficient means to assess the worth and merit of school system operations.

One way to address this problem is to get clear about what constitutes a good evaluation. Recently, the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation released a book of standards that explicates four:

attributes of what the Committee defined as a sound evaluation. The attributes are utility of the evaluation to the audiences to be served and in relation to the problems they face; feasibility of the evaluation in terms of its efficient use of practical procedures and its political viability; propriety, which calls for the fair treatment of the participants in the evaluation and the ethical use of evaluation procedures and findings; and accuracy, which calls for the obtaining of valid, reliable, and objective findings and the reporting of justified conclusions and recommendations. Thirty standards which pertain to these attributes have been explained and illustrated.

School system personnel can use this resource in a variety of ways. They can use it to develop school system policy about what requirements must be met by evaluations. They can use it as a basis for internal checks and balances in evaluation efforts. They also can use it to guide meta evaluations by external evaluators.

It has been argued in this section that evaluation is fundamentally a conceptual process and that conceptual leadership must be an ongoing concern within school systems if their evaluation programs are to be responsive to system needs and to maintain pace with the state of the evaluation art. A range of topics that are vital in developing one's conception of evaluation have been explored, and references have been made to the concepts of evaluation that are operating in some of the large urban school systems. The thrust of this section has been to urge that administrators, board members, and evaluators collaborate to clarify and integrate their conceptions of evaluation. It is also recommended that they synthesize their views in a written document and disseminate it throughout their school system. Of course, the synthesis will need to be reviewed and updated from time to time.

An excellent example of such a synthesis is a paper by William Webster7 explicating the Dallas approach to evaluation. This paper has been updated periodically over the years and has been used within

the Dallas system and by system personnel to communicate its evaluation program to interested parties outside the system. Another such paper was developed by Howard Merriman\(^8\) when he became the first director of evaluation in Columbus. That paper served as a valuable guide in the early days of the Columbus program, but Dr. Merriman was moved outside of evaluation into other administrative roles and the conceptualization of the system was not kept up to date. These factors may have contributed to the decline of evaluation services in the Columbus system.

ORGANIZING THE EVALUATION FUNCTION

Beyond the conceptual issues to be addressed in developing or improving a school system's evaluation program are a number of practical issues. One that is especially pertinent to the roles of school board members and administrators is how to organize the evaluation function. This issue involves questions of policy, planning, financing and allocation of resources, location of the evaluation unit, internal organization of the unit, and use of external evaluators. These topics are addressed in this section and references are made to how different districts have addressed the topics.

Policy and Governance

Given an adequate conceptualization of evaluation, as outlined in the preceding section, a school board can develop pertinent policies concerning their functions, governance, operations, and support of their evaluation system. Such policies are important to promoting sanctioned, financed, and systematic evaluation services. They can help evaluators deal in a preordained way with requests for evaluation services and with the allocation of evaluation resources. They can also provide guidance to external agencies, especially universities that want to use the school system for research and related activities.

Most of the systems studied reported formal provision—for example, through established committees—for reviewing requests for evaluation services and allocating resources to these requests. Most of them also

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\(^8\)Howard Merriman, "Profiles of a School District's Department of Evaluation--Present and Future," The Columbus Public Schools, Columbus, Ohio, 1969 (mimeo).
indicated a priority listing of which audiences would receive primary attention. Top priorities went to the superintendent and the school board and to externally funded projects carrying evaluation requirements. Atlanta, Dallas, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia allocated a portion of the evaluation resources to service to individual schools. In general, explicit board-adopted policies covering roles and operations of evaluation units are not in evidence among the materials submitted by the school systems and site visitors. One school system that has developed a detailed set of such policies is the public school system in Saginaw, Michigan.

The governance of evaluation operations in large urban school systems typically is through the regular line-staff relationships of the unit to the administration of the system. The Dallas system, as mentioned previously, also has a subcommittee of the Board of Education which participates in the governance of the evaluation unit. This mechanism is powerful, since it provides liaison between the evaluation unit and the total board; since the board evaluation committee is in an excellent position to help with the formulation of evaluation policy for the system; and since this committee can also monitor and promote the effective implementation of the policies. The Dallas experience with the board evaluation committee is now several years old and has proved successful; therefore, this experience seems highly worthy of study by other school systems.

Planning of Evaluation Services

In addition to the general direction provided by a sound conceptual and policy base, evaluation offices need specific direction that derives from an ongoing process of planning. Such planning is needed to identify and clarify the nature of services that might be provided; to assign priorities to requests for services; to clarify different groups' expectations for services, to allocate funds; to assign responsibility; and to schedule activities. To be effective, the planning of evaluation services should be ongoing and overall plans updated at least annually.

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In general, the school districts studied reported that they plan evaluation services on an annual basis. However, Detroit reported having both three and five-year plans for the development and operation of evaluation services.

The planning should involve clients and audiences for evaluation services, and should be guided by evaluations of previous evaluation services. The evaluation staffs in the different districts vary in their efforts to involve and attend to the interests of their clients and audiences. Planning of evaluation services in Chicago, Portland, and Columbus is highly oriented to the needs of central administration. In Atlanta, much of the planning of evaluation services has been decentralized, such that "leadership teams" including a principal, an evaluator, and teachers identify needs for studies and cooperatively develop data collection instruments. The trend toward more decentralized planning of evaluation services is also apparent in Cincinnati and Dallas. Using evaluations of past evaluation services to plan new ones was mentioned in the report on Philadelphia. In this district, evaluators survey their audiences to determine the perceived quality of reports and how they are used. The resulting information apparently proves quite useful in planning future evaluations.

The Financial Base for Evaluation

School systems report substantial expenditures for their evaluation services as shown in Table I. A review of these figures reveals great variability in the amounts and percentages of the budgets that school districts have invested in professional evaluation services. Among this group of systems, only Cincinnati reported expending as high as one percent of their school system budget on formal evaluation service (in the 1977-78 school year), while Columbus and Chicago reported expending about two-tenths of one percent of their budget. Six of these systems report that half or less of their evaluation budgets are provided by local funds with the other funds coming from Federal and state agencies. The exception is Portland which reports about eighty percent of their evaluation budget as coming from local monies. In general, these data reveal that the reporting school systems are making only a minimal
Table 1. Expenditures for Evaluation in Selected School Systems

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation Unit</td>
<td>-804,500</td>
<td>824,898</td>
<td>606,019</td>
<td>793,718</td>
<td>795,946</td>
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<td>Percentages*</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td></td>
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<td>School District</td>
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<td>1,085,044,663</td>
<td>1,107,134,715</td>
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<td>Evaluation Unit</td>
<td>1,968,217</td>
<td>1,955,348</td>
<td>2,816,593</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School District</td>
<td>175,000,000</td>
<td>191,000,000</td>
<td>197,000,000</td>
<td>201,000,000</td>
<td>200,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evaluation Unit</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>1,406,066</td>
<td>1,536,149</td>
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<td>Percentages</td>
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<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evaluation Unit</td>
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<td>254,683</td>
<td>269,783</td>
<td>246,983</td>
<td>205,022</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
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<tr>
<td>School District</td>
<td>357,291,911</td>
<td>402,495,201</td>
<td>421,884,045</td>
<td>547,038,151</td>
<td>522,451,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evaluation Unit</td>
<td>940,000</td>
<td>990,000</td>
<td>1,049,000</td>
<td>1,885,418</td>
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<td>Percentages</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School District</td>
<td>471,692,000</td>
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<td>606,621,492</td>
<td>684,062,092</td>
<td>679,995,774</td>
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<td>Evaluation Unit</td>
<td>2,412,172</td>
<td>2,574,390</td>
<td>2,847,081</td>
<td>2,869,006</td>
<td>3,097,475</td>
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<td>Percentages</td>
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<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School District</td>
<td>84,246,562</td>
<td>100,268,083</td>
<td>108,248,648</td>
<td>116,752,967</td>
<td>120,621,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation Unit</td>
<td>315,154</td>
<td>354,603</td>
<td>389,968</td>
<td>428,922</td>
<td>461,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of district expenditure accounted for by expenditure for evaluation.

Financial investment in evaluation services. Considering the potential contributions of evaluation to district, school, and classroom levels, it seems clear that districts must invest more heavily in evaluation. As a short range objective it is recommended that the invest between .5 and
1.0 percent of local funds in the evaluation function. Request for and allocation of such funds, of course, must be done in the context of the evaluation policies, both short-range and long-range plans for evaluation, and evaluations of the actual costs and benefits from their past evaluation activities. It is further recommended that the policy group governing the evaluation operation be asked systematically to review plans and budgets.

Location of the Evaluation Unit

The scope and influence of evaluation services can be vitally affected depending on where the unit is placed within the school system. A recommendation, common in evaluation literature, is that the evaluation unit be placed as close as possible to the superintendent of the system and that clear lines of communication and collaboration be established so that the unit can also work easily and productively at other levels. The tendency, however, in school systems is that evaluation units report through an Associate Superintendent or perhaps other levels as well.

In Columbus and Dallas, the unit reports through an assistant superintendent for planning, management, and evaluation. The unit in New York City reports through the Division of Evaluation, Testing, and Data Processing to the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction. In Detroit, the evaluation unit is part of the Office of Research, Planning, and Evaluation which is headed by an Assistant Superintendent who reports directly to the General Superintendent. The evaluation unit in Portland reports directly to the Superintendent. In general, evaluation in these units is part of central administration.

However, there appears to be a trend for the evaluation units to become somewhat separated and remote from the office of the Superintendent. This development seems to be associated with promotions of evaluators. For example, in Dallas and Columbus, Dr. William Webster and Dr. Howard Merriman, respectively, were the previous heads of their systems' evaluation units, but subsequently were promoted to positions including authority over areas in addition to Evaluation and Research. While the evaluation and research units continue to report to these men, their jobs have broadened to the point where the evaluation function has actually been
lowered in the system and does not have the direct access it once had to the Superintendent.

The promotion of evaluation directors to positions of more authority—such as occurred in the cases of Merriman and Webster and in the case of James Jacobs, the previous Director of Evaluation in Cincinnati who is now General Superintendent—has mixed implications. On the one hand, it is a good device for disseminating evaluation expertise in the system. On the other hand, it drains expertise from the Evaluation operation and as previously indicated can tend to remove the evaluation function from the Superintendency. Also, the transfer of people out of the evaluation unit sometimes is not accompanied by attempts to recruit and train other persons to replace the departing evaluation leaders. This is an issue that should command careful attention by those planning how best to institutionalize and ensure the long-range vitality of their evaluation units. Basically, it is recommended that evaluation be placed in a staff position to the Superintendent and that provision be made to replace those members of the evaluation operation who are transferred to other areas within the system.

**Internal Organization of the Unit**

If it is to fulfill its mission, the evaluation unit needs to be organized internally in accordance with its designated functions. Drawing from the definition of evaluation recommended in the early part of this chapter, the functions to be provided for include:

- directing and managing the unit
- providing liaison with schools, programs, and area offices
- conducting needs assessments
- helping the district to maintain a data base
- helping district personnel to develop and assess alternative program plans
- assessing the implementation of programs and projects
- assessing outcomes
- responding to requests for special evaluation studies
- providing evaluation-related services, such as test development, test administration, qualitative and quantitative analysis, data processing, technical writing, and inservice training in evaluation.
Of course, these functions might be grouped in varying ways to organize the line-staff relationships in the evaluation unit. This is borne out by the organizational charts obtained from a number of the evaluation units being considered in this chapter. For example, Table 2 summarizes the internal structures of the evaluation units in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. The structures appear to be different, but in actuality they cover about the same set of functions.

Table 2. Subunits of the Evaluation Offices in Three School Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detroit</th>
<th>Philadelphia</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Statistics</td>
<td>Administrative and Survey</td>
<td>Administrative Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specially funded Projects</td>
<td>Federal Evaluation Resource</td>
<td>Planning and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inservice Education and</td>
<td>Instructional Research</td>
<td>Program Evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test Development</td>
<td>and Development Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Testing</td>
<td>Testing Services</td>
<td>Testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Evaluation and</td>
<td>Priority Operations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs Assessment</td>
<td>Evaluation Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and Data Bank</td>
<td>Early Childhood Evaluation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special Task Forces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The crucial point in this discussion of internal organization concerns form and function. The functions to be served should be carefully defined and assessed against the guiding conception of evaluation and the relevant district policies. The office should then be staffed and organized to ensure that the full range of evaluation functions will be handled both effectively and efficiently.

Two unique organizational strategies deserve special mention. In Atlanta, all members of the evaluation staff have been given dual
assignments: one a centralized assignment that capitalizes on their special expertise; the other an assignment to provide general evaluation assistance to the staff of designated schools. This strategy combines the advantages of both centralized and decentralized evaluation (i.e., 1) coordinated services and a critical mass of resource personnel and 2) direct assistance to school-based personnel). The other unique strategy involves attaching special evaluation task forces to given programs over a sustained period of time. Dallas has made excellent use of this approach in its assignment of a team to its Skyline Career Development Center and Magnet Schools; Philadelphia has won national recognition through the work done by its Early Childhood Evaluation Unit; and Chicago has outlined a strategy of using cyclical evaluation teams wherein each team is assigned to provide evaluation services to a high priority program over a period of four years. These strategies merit attention by groups who may need to reorganize their evaluation services in order to increase sustained study and better use of results.

The Use of External Evaluators and Agencies

As previously noted, the evaluation systems studied tend not to make use of external evaluators. The reasons for this are not apparent but it may be that services from outsiders are considered too costly and too superficial. Because of the possibilities of bias and lack of credibility when a school system exclusively evaluates its own programs, it is suggested that consideration be given to using external evaluators to help with the audit or meta evaluation of internal evaluation plans and reports. Compared to the costs of the primary evaluations being done in the districts, meta evaluations by outsiders are low in cost and can add greatly to the credibility and, in some cases, the technical soundness of internal evaluation operations.

One source of external assistance is graduate students who are studying evaluation. They often need relevant internship experiences and have sufficient training to be of considerable use to school systems. Therefore, it is suggested that school systems systematically communicate with and collaborate with universities that have evaluation training.
programs to identify interested students and appropriate internship experiences.

**PROMOTING THE USE OF EVALUATION**

Stimulating and guiding people to use evaluation services is an ongoing concern and one that is vital if evaluations are to succeed. Among the issues that are pertinent to this concern are how best to disseminate evaluation expertise, open up communication channels, involve audiences for an evaluation in its planning, assign responsibility for promoting the use of evaluation, make reports both interesting and readable, and employ techniques that engage audiences for an evaluation in a serious study of its procedures and findings. The state of the art in this area is generally weak but the information base from Urban Education Studies does include interesting perspectives on these issues.

**Disseminating Evaluation Expertise**

As noted previously, there are a number of instances in which personnel previously assigned to an evaluation unit have been reassigned in the district. In those cases, the evaluation expertise in the district is in essence disseminated and there is an opportunity for expanding the district's potential to utilize evaluation findings. Columbus has used this device extensively with the assignment of a number of members of the evaluation unit to a variety of roles in the Columbus system. This undoubtedly spread the use of evaluation through the system; but as mentioned previously it also carried a serious problem. Columbus did little to replace the evaluators in the division of evaluation once they were reassigned. Consequently, the capabilities of the office of evaluation reportedly have become weakened and the unit is no longer a source of evaluation-oriented leaders for reassignment in other areas of the system. In general, using some of the positions in an evaluation unit as transient positions, through which evaluators can gain experience in the evaluation of system enterprises and then be transferred to other areas of the system where they can provide valuable leadership and promote increased use of evaluation services, is a sound strategy. At the
same time, systems should provide for adequate replacement of the evaluation unit's staff members who are transferred.

**Communication Channels**

Evaluation is a threatening activity and there is a tendency in many large urban school systems to explicitly limit the contacts that members of the evaluation unit can have with people throughout the system. For example, it has been common practice in the Dallas system to channel evaluation reports through the chain of command upward and to release them to those persons whose programs were evaluated only after approval of the reports at the highest level of the system. Such a practice stifles timely use of evaluation findings and limits the effectiveness of the evaluation unit. On the other side is the ever-present danger that prematurely released reports will be flawed and will both provide bad guidance and discredit the process of evaluation. Compromise is necessary to deal with this dilemma. For example, an evaluator's superiors and the primary audiences for the evaluation might simultaneously review a draft report and provide feedback for use in finalizing the report. Also, regular face-to-face communication between evaluator and audiences is an excellent way to promote good working relationships between the evaluators and program personnel and timely use of findings. Once again, the Atlanta model with liaison persons meeting regularly with the school leadership team seems a relevant idea.

**Involvement of Audiences in Planning the Evaluation**

Evaluation, when practiced successfully, is a change process because it denotes problems and provides direction for dealing with the problems. As with any effective change process, it is important that the group whose behavior is to be changed by the evaluation be involved in planning the evaluation. Active collaboration between evaluators and audiences—whether board members, superintendents, principals, or teachers—increases the likelihood that the evaluation will address pertinent questions and issues and that there will be a readiness to use the findings once they are obtained.

Such joint planning does occur in many of the urban systems studied. In most cases, the director of evaluation is regularly present in
administrative cabinet meetings and is given opportunities to involve the cabinet in reviewing evaluation plans. The Board Evaluation Committee in Dallas participates extensively in planning the system-wide evaluations. The school leadership teams in Atlanta likewise participate in planning school level evaluations, and evaluators in the New York office of evaluation meet regularly with district superintendents and their immediate staffs to review evaluation plans. In addition, the Philadelphia school system surveys its audiences to get their reactions to previous evaluation reports so that deficiencies in these reports can be avoided in future evaluations. Another fairly prevalent practice is for evaluators to meet with the advisory councils to the projects to be evaluated to obtain their input and to promote their understanding regarding the evaluation plans. In general, the school systems are making extensive efforts to involve their audiences in evaluation planning. It seems likely that this is an important investment of their energies and time.

Communicating the Findings

Evaluators have been notorious for writing and disseminating reports that are filled with jargon and statistical language and poorly written. The Philadelphia system has been trying to overcome this problem by releasing popularized reports. The Dallas system has used the device of multiple reports from an evaluation, including abstracts and executive summaries in addition to the complete technical report. Another district has reported successful experience in conducting special workshops to help the audiences understand findings and apply them to their problems. In addition, district evaluators have worked increasingly with members of public media to help them understand and discuss evaluation findings. Such efforts are to be encouraged, since they are directed to the important problems of how best to help audiences understand and use evaluation findings.

TRAINING THE PARTICIPANTS

A crucial element of a well-functioning evaluation program is training, both preservice and inservice. Initially evaluation systems need to recruit staff members who have appropriate grounding in the theory and methodology of evaluation and who have learned how to make applications in school
settings. In addition, a continuing program of inservice training is essential. This is necessary to equip new staff members to use the current routines in the school system's evaluation program, to help all the staff members renew their understandings and skills and maintain pace with the state of the evaluation art, to help users of evaluation services to understand what services are available and how they best can use them, and to help people throughout the system to conduct some of their own evaluations.

Preservice Training

Staff members in the evaluation units studied have received their graduate training in a variety of areas and in a variety of institutions. Staff members in the Columbus system largely were trained in evaluation and administration at the Ohio State University. A number of them participated in the late 1960's in an evaluation doctoral program, centered in the Ohio State University Evaluation Center, which had as a major component an on-the-job training program that involved trainees in designing, developing, and beginning to implement the office of evaluation in the Columbus Public Schools. The Columbus system's initial investment in training some of their teachers in a systematic approach to evaluation and then employing them as evaluators proved to be a cost-effective investment. These persons have remained with the system and have made substantial contributions in evaluation as well as other areas.

The staff members in the evaluation unit in Dallas have been recruited from a variety of institutions including Florida State University (which emphasizes research methodology and instructional technology); Michigan State University (which emphasizes statistics and measurement); the University of Colorado (which has had a dual emphasis in program evaluation and research design); the University of Wisconsin (which traditionally has emphasized experimental design); and the University of Texas (where some of the Dallas staff members received extensive training in data processing and research methodology). In addition, Dallas recently offered, in collaboration with the Western Michigan University Evaluation Center, a school system-based master's degree program in program evaluation. About twenty people received their Master's Degree through this...
program and were trained by a faculty composed both of senior staff members in the Dallas evaluation unit and professors from Western Michigan University. A full set of standard graduate courses in measurement, statistics, program evaluation, and data processing was offered these students, along with internship projects in which the students evaluated Dallas programs. In general, the Dallas staff is one of the strongest staff of school system-based evaluators anywhere in the world. A major reason for that strength is in the range of university programs that are represented in the credentials of the staff. This diversity of backgrounds has resulted in a staff that possesses a wide range of specialized and complementary qualifications.

In recruiting and selecting staff members, it seems wise for school systems to consider candidates from a wide range of universities. Among those that are producing persons with skills appropriate to school system evaluation are: the University of Chicago program led by Benjamin Bloom, the Michigan State University program led by Andrew Porter, the Western Michigan University program under the leadership of James Sanders; the University of Colorado program under Gene Glass and Lorrie Shepard; the University of Illinois program under Robert Stake; the Indiana University program being led by Egon Guba and Bob Wolfe; the Harvard program led by Dick Light; the Stanford program led by Lee Cronbach; the University of Minnesota program led by Jack Merwin and Wayne Welch; and the UCLA program led by James Popham and Eva Baker.

Inservice Training

Staff development and the training of users of evaluation should be an ongoing enterprise in school systems. A considerable amount of activity in this area is seen in regard to training teachers to use tests. Otherwise, there is little evidence of such staff development and training of users. In all likelihood this is due to heavy demands for primary evaluation services and a short supply of resources to provide those services, let alone, training. But training is so important that school systems are well advised to regularly allocate a portion of their budget to this function.
Clearly, there are in all school systems a large number of opportunities to provide evaluation training. For example, Dade County is considering the possibility of adding evaluation training to the curricula of their teacher centers. Other systems operate similar training programs and could consider incorporating evaluation into the training they do for administrators and teachers. Also, every evaluation study provides a ready-made instructional laboratory in evaluation. If properly planned, the participants and users of such evaluations could be given pertinent readings that would help them to understand the methodologies used. Also, times could be arranged when experts in various aspects of the evaluation—for example, the data analyst, the report writer, or the project director—could explain their plans and operations and help participants and users to understand the methodologies involved and to consider how they might be applied in other situations. Furthermore, the participants and user could be schooled in the Evaluation Standards referenced earlier and helped to apply them to plans and reports of the evaluations. The examples illustrate that there are training opportunities in every evaluation. What is needed is some planning and allocation of resources to take advantage of these opportunities.

Use of Interns

Still another opportunity is the training that the school system can offer to evaluation trainees in university programs. Provision of internships for these people has advantages both for the interns and for the school system. Interns are often skilled in technical areas in evaluation and often are willing to offer valuable services at a low cost in order to gain experience. Furthermore, they probably would be willing to provide some inservice training in their area of expertise to interested persons in the system. And they can benefit greatly by opportunities to apply their skills in real world settings. The school systems studied are using interns and this is to be encouraged. The use of internships also can work as an effective recruitment and selection strategy for those school systems that need to add persons to their staffs.

Overall, training, both preservice and inservice, is a vital area to ensure the effectiveness and the long-term viability of school system.
evaluation programs. The opportunities available, especially in the inservice training area, are underutilized.

SELECTING APPROPRIATE METHODS

Over the years a variety of methods have been used to evaluate school programs and projects and a rich array of methods are evident in the evaluation practices of urban school systems today. In general, though, there is also evidence that these methods are fraught with difficulties and that school systems do not have an adequate store of appropriate and powerful techniques.

Testing

Use of published tests continues to be one of the most prevalent and problematical aspects of evaluation programs. Norm-referenced tests continue to be much in vogue, probably because members of the community have come to value them as a means of comparing the quality of performance in their school system with that in a nationally selected sample of school systems. Repeatedly the release of comparisons of urban school systems results with national norms has led to embarrassment of the urban school systems, and to arguments about whether the national norms are appropriate and fair in relation to the kinds of populations being served by urban schools. Moreover, teachers and of late, researchers, have claimed that norm-referenced tests poorly approximate what is actually taught in schools and thus provide an invalid measure of teaching and learning.

The move to criterion-referenced testing has been positively received by many teachers, because they are able to compare the objectives assessed on a criterion-referenced test with those involved in their teaching. They have been able to use results, by objectives, for diagnostic purposes. On the other side is the charge that criterion-referenced tests—especially as administered by state education departments, dictate curricula and lead to teaching to the tests. An associated problem is with the move to require that high school students pass a state competency test before they can graduate. A major change in this area is that students are being penalized for the cumulative failure of their systems to provide them with a sound education. Other charges are that
the competency tests have not adequately reflected the high school curriculum, and that they have not been sufficiently validated to serve as a major determinant of whether or not a student should receive a high school diploma.

A novel approach to testing is seen in Portland's application of the Rasch model. The program there represents a concerted effort to develop objectives that do reflect the school system's K-12 curriculum, to develop test items that are valid for these objectives, and then to offer a flexible bank of test items for use in assessing students' performance at their functional levels. Reports from Portland about the effectiveness of this program are mixed. In fairness, it is probably too early to make a judgment. This program, however, bears careful observation and may produce a valuable model for how other school districts might adapt and improve their testing programs.

Data Bases, School Profiles, and Pupil Census

Increasingly evaluation offices have linked up with their school system's data processing operation to create data bases that may be used in administration and in assessment of the status of students and schools. New York City currently is developing a census for all of their students so that administrators will be able to study the characteristics of the student body and track individual students. The Columbus system pioneered in the development of what they termed the "school profile." It contains a chart of each school in the system that identifies characteristics of the staff and school in relation to performance by students on national tests. A number of other school systems, including Dallas and Chicago, have also developed school profiles. Dade County had begun to develop such a profile, to computerize its use, and to place terminals in each of the schools so that the school principals can have immediate access to the information about their schools. The computer terminals promise to make the data base in Dade County more useful than would be the case if it was only distributed annually as a printed report.
Experimentation

Ten years ago it was common to find school systems conducting experiments to evaluate their programs and projects. This situation has changed greatly. Few systems now use experimentation unless they are conducting applied research projects or responding to explicit requirements from the Federal government, such as in the Emergency School Assistance Act programs. In general there seems to be a trend away from the use of experimentation in schools. This perhaps reflects the claim that assumptions underlying experimental methods often cannot be met in public school programs. For example, requirements inherent in experimental design, that treatments be prespecified and held constant, that students be randomly assigned to the treatments, and that results be obtained at the end of the experiment, often are in direct conflict with a requirement to provide ongoing information to guide projects and to change them when problems are found.

Audits

One promising approach seen in the Dade County system is that of the school audit. This approach is just being developed and applied; it is too early to discern how well it will work, but the basic idea seems sound. Members of the Department of Instruction review information from the school system's data base about a given school. They then go on site to that school to conduct a site visit and to help the school principal and staff to take stock of strengths and weaknesses and consider directions for improvement. If such audits can be conducted in a constructive and not a threatening manner, it seems that they will provide a good means of using evaluation for improvement at the school level.

Curriculum-Imbedded Evaluation

Another promising means of disseminating evaluation throughout a school system is in curriculum-imbedded evaluation. For example, Mastery Learning as practiced in Chicago, the CIMS program in Cincinnati, the Diagnostic-Prescriptive Reading Program in Dade County, and the School Improvement and Instructional Management Projects in New York City illustrate how evaluation requirements and procedures.
can be built into curricular materials. This approach is highly consistent with a philosophy of evaluation that calls for the systematic collection of data to provide feedback and guidance for improvement at the student as well as the school level.

Overall, then—an interesting array of techniques are being used by evaluators in the public schools. Some of the efforts are promising but untested, and clearly there is a need for evaluation of these techniques. As mentioned above, testing continues to be a serious problem area for schools. Much experimentation and improvement is needed in this area and perhaps a whole new approach to the examination of performance should be developed.

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented a perspective on evaluation as a process to guide decision making and to provide a basis for accountability reports. Pursuant to that view of evaluation, administrators, board members, and evaluators in the school systems have been urged to attend seriously to the explication and communication of their view of evaluation. Subsequently, discussions dealt with how best (1) to organize the evaluation function, (2) to promote effective use of evaluation throughout the system, and (3) to provide inservice training for participants in evaluations and users of the results. The concluding section reviewed some of the techniques that are now in use.

Evaluation is a vital function in the offering of educational services. No system can achieve its potential and maintain a high level of service if it does not constantly assess its performance and modify practice accordingly. This is as true in the individual classroom as it is in the office of the Superintendency. Those in positions of leadership can help their systems adopt, implement, and use a sound and pervasive program of evaluation.
CHAPTER VI
PROSPECTS FOR SYSTEM-WIDE RENEWAL

Francis S. Chase

The Urban Education Studies were initiated in the belief that there were stirrings within our cities that might be forerunners of a new era of excellence in education. Admittedly, that was, and is, an optimistic view, and the title of this chapter compounds that optimism by three implied assumptions, which will be examined briefly.

One of the implicit assumptions is that city school systems do, or can, operate as integrated and interactive social systems. If so, one would expect that events in one part of the system would trigger responses in other parts of the system. Yet as one recalls the unevenness of provisions for education in our large cities, it seems clear that even the grossest instances of inappropriate provisions for education -- or even conditions that are patently miseducative -- may persist for years without producing any reasonable approximation of a constructive response in other parts of the organization. Moreover, these instances of educational malaise often exist simultaneously with superb programs and schools, which develop to a high degree the capabilities of those served. In recognition of this fact, Professor Guba, in the first chapter of this report, argues that schools operate, not in systems, but in loosely coupled organizations which tend to promote a kind of "laissez-faireism".

The position taken in this chapter is simply that we have organizations known as school systems or school districts which do manifest some of the characteristics of social systems operating within, and dependent upon, other loosely structured social systems known as community, state, nation, and society of nations. Moreover, the local public school system is linked tenuously, but inescapably, to state and national education systems which include all levels of education, both public and private. It must be remembered, therefore, that city public schools do not, cannot, and should not operate as completely autonomous systems, but must respond to many kinds of impulses from the surrounding society.
Thus, it is clear that system-wide renewal is not likely unless there are sustained attempts to improve the linkages and the flow of information within the school system, and between the school system and external systems and forces to which it must respond. It is essential that there be a ceaseless flow and counter flow of information and impulse between the Board of Education and the Central Administration and every school and classroom. It is important also to have similar flows of information and stimulation among the units performing different functions, the schools, and the various communities to which the schools relate. Only in this way can schools become increasingly responsive -- and more effective in responding -- to the educational needs of those they serve.

Another assumption or implication of the title is that the term "renewal" may be legitimately applied to the functioning of schools and/or school systems. Unless one can assume that educational institutions can be "restored to vigor", or made more effective and efficient, there is no incentive for educational improvement efforts. There is a temptation, therefore, to treat the possibility of educational renewal or revitalization as axiomatic. A third assumption which may be read into the title is that it is possible for renewal to be general, comprehensive or "system-wide". Instead of debating that point, the focus of this chapter will be on delineating the factors or conditions which might tend to bring about a general reinvigoration of schools, educational support services, and educational performance. The word "prospects" in the title will be treated as a question: What, if any, (or how bright) are the prospects for educational reform or renewal -- system-wide or otherwise?

PROBLEMS ABOUND

On an almost daily basis the newspapers and the television channels present such bleak pictures of city public school systems as to raise the question of whether public education is still viable. Every year thousands of families vote in the negative by enrolling their children in private schools or moving to the suburbs. The strain of keeping pace with the incessant stream of apparently insoluble problems and often
irreconcilable demands continues to take its toll of those charged with responsibility for the schools. Five of the sixteen cities in the Urban Education Studies have lost their superintendents, through resignation or dismissal, during the three-year period. Teacher strikes in many cities greet the opening of schools each year.

The problems and perplexities, so vividly described by Guba in Chapter I, give no sign of abating. Each year brings a new quota of problems. Tax revolts are spreading, budgets are being stretched — sometimes to the breaking point. The refugees from oppression and poverty continue to pour into the cities. Federal courts command the admission of the children of illegal aliens, and the President disclaims Federal responsibility for the costs.

The doleful recital could continue with new stanzas added daily, and recurring emphasis on illiteracy and low academic performance at all levels. The schools, however, are not the only institutions charged with both failure and low aims. The police, health, and welfare departments struggle with poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing, and increasing crime rates. Like the schools, they too are entangled in a web of poorly articulated federal and state requirements arising from legislative mandates, court decrees, and, often conflicting, bureaucratic interventions. City planning and zoning laws and even the most elaborate urban redevelopment and rehabilitation designs produce effects other than those intended. Even at the national level, we hear that there is no one in control. We are an urban society; and the plight of the cities, and of the schools in the cities is the plight of the society.

The remedy, we are told, lies in (a) less government and more private enterprise, (b) returning education and other services to the control of state and local governments, (c) restoring the work ethic and other Puritan values, or (d) in a grand national design which will reallocate resources and responsibilities in a rational manner. The fact is there are no easy solutions; and all of our political and social institutions are in for a prolonged period of painful readaptation to a world where science and technology have showered us with material blessings, but also opened a Pandora's box of happenings which elude control. Pope
as in the myth -- remains, however, and should spur the efforts of public and private agencies, people of all classes and cultures, and leaders, wherever they be, to press forward together toward solutions which will sustain the values essential to progress toward the ideals set forth in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

OBSTACLES TO OVERCOME

After months of careful research on the history of public education in New York City, Diane Ravitch began to realize that:

...each major reorganization of the school system was the result of intense political struggle, and that each of these battles coincided with a huge wave of new immigration.1

Ravitch identifies a "constant theme in the unfolding of New York City's history" -- in the reciprocal relationship between the established residents and the poor newcomers "living in crowded slums" and producing a disproportionate share of crime and other problems. She casts doubt on the legend that the public schools quickly inducted these unwelcome newcomers into the mainstream of American life and opportunities. All American cities and the public schools in the cities are now attempting to cope with conditions comparable to those which led Ravitch to say:

...With each major wave of immigration -- Irish, Italians, Jews, blacks, Puerto Ricans -- the scenario has been replayed. And in each instance, the cultural clash of the old and the new has occurred in and around the schools.2

The New York City scenario described by Ravitch is now playing, with local adaptations, in every city in the land. The clashes between the old and the new, the classes and the masses, the cultures and the races, everywhere center on the schools. Yet there are new elements, possibly even new attitudes and a greater acceptance of cultural pluralism. Certainly there is a firmer rejection today of assignment of any group to inferior status; and, hopefully, (1) an increased perception of the strengths inherent in the experiences of all cultures and races, and (2) a spreading belief that all can and should be educated. The disadvantage

2Ibid., p.6.
suffered by the victims of poverty and prejudice still present the schools with challenges which can be met only through firm commitment to humane values, coupled with great ingenuity and persistence in adapting curriculum and instruction to differences in values, past experiences, and personal characteristics. Examples of such adaptations were described in earlier chapters; and will be summarized later in this chapter.

STEPS TOWARD RENEWAL

At several points in earlier chapters reference was made to several studies and publications which reflect relatively optimistic views of the future of our city public schools and make suggestions for further improvements. Another in this category is The Future of Big City Schools, which offers a thoughtful examination of desegregation and other problems in urban education. The editors have supplemented their own rich backgrounds in urban studies with testimony from both scholars and city school administrators who are in the forefront of the battle to rescue our city schools from their detractors and help them to come to grips with contemporary challenges.

A more recent book, Educating All Our Children, carries a subtitle "an imperative for democracy". It offers convincing evidence from J. McVicker Hunt, Ralph Tyler and others that early childhood education can make a difference. It deals constructively with a number of issues crucial to effective education for all, as indicated by chapters on "New Perspectives on Old Issues" by Edmund Cordon; "Transforming the Structure of Failure" by Vera A. John and Eleanor Leacock; "Systems-Development Planning in Education", by Moshe Smilansky; and "Educating the Linguistically and Culturally Different" by Henry J. Casso. It provides both encouragement and practical suggestions for those laboring to rescue urban education from the problems which threaten to engulf it.

The most fundamental responsibility of a public school system is to make sure that experiences appropriate to the full development of constructive capabilities are put within reach of every child; and a correlative responsibility is to provide environments and inducements to stimulate

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efforts to seize the opportunities offered. Among the essential require-
ments for the discharge of these responsibilities are the following:

1. Unremitting efforts are made to ensure that the
basic skills for learning are acquired by every child in
the primary school and strengthened in subsequent years.

The primary function of schools, and one that is prerequisite to the performance of other functions, is to develop mastery of the basic skills for learning. Yet, no contemporary criticism of city public schools is heard more often that that they have failed to develop the essential skills in reading, mathematics, and language arts. All of the systems studied are now laboring to perform this function more effectively. Promising programs which were discussed earlier in this report include Philadelphia’s Early Childhood Education, the Chicago Mastery Learning Program in Reading, and Dade County’s Title I Extended School Program. There are many other excellent programs directed toward mastery of the basic skills, but the three mentioned are notable for the high proportions of students affected and for evidences of success.

2. Curriculum and instruction are adapted appropria-
tely to the cultures, native languages, special talents, handicaps, preferred learning styles, and aspirations of individuals.

Among the diverse needs with which urban school systems are now wrestling are those arising from differences in cultures, languages and previous experiences; those arising from difference in physical, emotional, and mental characteristics; and those which represent creative talents or special gifts. Among the adaptations discussed in this report are the language programs in Dade County, the multi-ethnic social studies program in Milwaukee, the programs for the handicapped in Columbus, the Chicago Early Assessment and Remedial Project, and the programs for the gifted in Denver and Norfolk.

3. Everyone for whom the school system is responsible is treated as a valued member of a school, or other institution which is characterized by a continuing search for developable capabilities and talents, high performance expectations, and recognition and reinforcement of worthy achievement.

During the Urban Education Studies, many schools of unquestioned excellence were observed. Some of the excellent schools at the elementary level are
neighborhood K-3 schools; and some are alternative schools of a variety of types. At the middle or junior high level, comparable differences are found. The variety of organizations and offerings is even greater at the senior high level; and many outstanding comprehensive high schools, career centers, magnet schools, and other alternatives were observed. Characteristics common to all the schools judged to be unusually effective are: dynamic leadership by the principal; a deep sense of commitment on the part of all staff members to the worth and educability of all persons; and a continuing quest for greater effectiveness in realizing educational possibilities.

4. Carefully designed optional settings for learning are provided so that students and their parents may select the institutions best fitted to their needs and aspirations.

Some of the measures which have been identified as important contributors to the success of alternative schools are listed in Chapter III and illustrated by brief descriptions of career centers and magnet schools in Columbus, Dallas, and New York City. The alternative schools and programs which are enjoying the highest degree of success are characterized by careful identification of the needs to be met, the population to be served, and the opportunities for appropriate placement of graduates. They also enjoy the active participation and support of community leaders and organizations; and they have carefully selected staffs of high competence.

5. Careful provision is made for coordination of in-school and out-of-school experiences by treating parents as partners in education and the school and community as complementary settings for learning.

6. Persistent efforts are made to enlist the support of a wide variety of community enterprises and agencies so that the education of children and youth may be enhanced by the resources and opportunities offered by business and industry, cultural and social institutions, and persons of varied talents from wide variety of occupations.

Many forms of school-community collaboration, with examples from several cities, are discussed in chapters III and IV, and a summary of trends is offered on pages 71-72. New types of school-community interaction have emerged in recent years as school systems have faced the challenge of the post-industrial period. Consequently, complex networks of school-community interactions are found in all cities. Sometimes these networks are well
coordinated and orchestrated so that they involve a wide variety of organizations and representatives of all socioeconomic levels and ethnic groups. In other cities, the coordination of activities leaves much to be desired and important elements in the community are deprived of participation.

7. Effective provision is made for continuing education of school-system personnel and others engaged in curriculum and instruction, administration and support services, or performance of other educational functions.

The newer approaches to personnel development and inservice education incorporate features that distinguish them from earlier attempts to upgrade the performance of teachers through supervision, released time programs, and required attendance through sessions planned for objectives determined by top administrators. Among the types of inservice organizations which are discussed are the Teacher Centers in New York City and Oakland, the Management Academy in Dade County, and the Instructional Resource Teams in Denver. Salient characteristics of the newer approaches to inservice education are treated in chapters III and IV.

8. Systems of planning, management, and evaluation operate in ways which permit establishment and maintenance of the previous seven conditions, with optimum effectiveness, and efficiency in the use of resources.

Chapter III offers discussions and examples of planning, management, and evaluation systems and procedures in a number of city school systems; and chapter V provides a careful examination of the current status and future possibilities of evaluation. It is obvious that all of these systems are only partial answers to the problems of establishing and maintaining momentum toward the goal of appropriate and effective education for all; but educators understand the potential and the limitations of these instrumentalities much better than they did earlier.

ALLURING PROSPECTS AND FALSE TRAILS

The schools, as well as the society, have erected barriers to effective education. In their efforts to align themselves with current ideas and attractive technologies, school administrators have embraced one panacea after another in successive waves of euphoria and disillusionment. As a result, the charges of extremism, faddism, and empty ritualism can be
lodged against American education. In The Great School Wars, Ravitch notes that "Each era recoils from the excesses of its predecessor". She documents this for New York City by the swings from control by the elite Public School Society to the Ward System, with its strong infusion of patronage politics; by the recurrent shifts from centralized to decentralized authority; and by the movement from progressive reform under the influence of the educational experts to new forms of popular control and emphasis on the basics.

The nation-wide "back-to-basics" movement, with its accompaniment of minimum competency testing, represents a delayed reaction to a long era of permissiveness and low expectations, which were institutionalized in the form of "social promotions." While the reaction is overdue, it is to be hoped that the response will be constructive attention to improving conditions for learning rather than a return to non-productive grade repetition. Among the current constructive responses are the Continuous Progress Program in Chicago, with its linkage to Mastery Learning; the Early Childhood Education Project in Philadelphia; the Extended School Program in Dade County; and the Transitional Program in New York City.

Success will depend on truly effective instruction in basic learning skills during the early school years, with appropriate pre-school programs as required to set the stage for school success. Many factors have to be coordinated if there is to be genuine progress toward ensuring that children acquire the basic tools for learning before the end of the primary school. One essential factor is a system which will tell each teacher, as precisely as possible, how far each pupil has advanced toward mastery of the fundamental concepts and skills in reading, mathematics, and language usage. Instructional management systems are essential in order to communicate to each receiving teacher, in intelligible ways, the previous performance of each pupil. Cincinnati and Portland are among the city systems which provide this kind of information on a systematic and timely basis.

Another ingredient for success is in-service education of school personnel. Atlanta and Denver are among the cities which seem to be making a good use of instructional resource teams as a means of helping teachers improve their skills.

In the mid-60's when serious attempts were first made to adapt research and development concepts to education, there were high hopes that the practice of education might be moved from excessive dependence on untested theories and trial-and-error approaches. Many envisioned the opening of a new era in education when successive approximations to realization of well-considered objectives would replace the rush to adopt one alluring but elusive panacea after another. After fifteen years, it must be conceded that our present research, development, and information systems are not yet able to provide any extensive sets of solutions that are "possible, economical, and valid". Moreover, the partial solutions which are developed are not communicated as rapidly as would be desirable to those who might make use of them for the improvement of educational opportunity.

The research and development function will become institutionalized in education only when schools, colleges, and educational agencies generally incorporate in their own operations what is called the "effects orientation" and use appropriate problem-solving processes to specify and achieve the desired outcomes. The first requirement is that all education agencies engage constantly in a searching assessment of the needs for education of those whom they seek to serve. The assessment must be conducted in such a way as to move from symptoms such as dropouts; poor school attendance, and low academic achievement to the underlying causes in the inappropriateness or inadequacy of educational treatments. A second requirement is that the assessment of needs leads to the identification of specific objectives or effects which are perceived as important by those to be educated as well as by educational personnel. A third requirement is a vigorous search for strategies and instrumentalities which seem well adapted to production of the desired effects.

These aspects of probing and problem solving need to go on in every district, in every school, in every community educational agency, and in every institution of higher learning. Assistance in the various phases of
this "systems improving" operation, hopefully will be forthcoming from state education agencies, from regional service centers, from experimental projects, and from the organizations specialized to research and development. The latter organizations have a central responsibility not only for providing tested products and systems, but also for assisting educational personnel to incorporate in their own agencies the kinds of processes and mechanisms essential to continuing revitalization.

Some school systems in a hurry to "get-with-it", and under pressure from federal authorities, installed elaborate systems of planning, management, and budgeting without adequate staff training or sufficient adaptation to educational institutions and functions. The result too often was a tremendous consumption of staff time with little return in the form of more effective management and small -- or even negative -- effects on student achievement, or even on the matching of curriculum and instruction to demonstrated needs. Too often the innovations of the past two decades, like those of earlier periods, were prompted more by a desire to get on the bandwagon or to erect a protective screen against criticism than by a deliberate choice based on careful analysis.

Among the more serious weaknesses which have characterized educational planning up to the present moment are: (1) failure to identify deficiencies in existing institutions and practices which are the source of low performance and/or virtual neglect of the needs of many groups and types of individuals; (2) lack of clarity in the specification of desired outcomes and the allocation of responsibilities for attainment of objectives; (3) failure to consider viable alternatives which represent a break with traditional practices; (4) inadequate specification of the major costs and benefits to be anticipated from giving effect to the alternatives posed; and (5) neglect of essential provisions for evaluating the effects produced and introducing modifications as required to obtain closer approximation of the desired outcome.

Under the best imaginable conditions, the path to system-wide educational renewal is filled with potholes and interrupted by unanticipated detours. Another factor buttressing resistance to change is educational "faddism" or the headlong innovation sometimes promoted by ambitious admin-
administrators. The desirable features of the more successful innovations are unlikely to persist or to generate systems renewal unless ways can be found to recognize and reward creativity and zeal in meeting educational needs and creating environments conducive to high achievement. Fortunately school administrators and boards of education in a number of our cities are giving serious thought to how to increase the dynamism and problem-solving power of school bureaucracies.

Constant efforts have to be made to keep the operations of school systems focused on the effects desired, and particularly on the effects on learning and the development of student capabilities. Safeguards should be erected against allowing technological feasibility to outweigh consideration of educational utilization. Among the errors to be avoided are the following:

-- excessive attention to gathering and processing data without adequate prior consideration of the educational purposes to be served or the practical applications of the analyzed information;

-- production of impressive school profiles and evaluation reports without sufficient effort to interpret and transmit the findings in forms which would stimulate application to school management, classroom management, or instructional materials and practices;

-- insufficient attention to training of technical personnel in the understanding of educational processes and skills for communication with school personnel, and corresponding inadequacies in provisions for helping school personnel understand and apply evaluation findings;

-- failure to explore sufficiently the possible relationships between low test scores and such factors as poor classroom management, inadequate time on task, school leadership, and low expectations; and

-- emphasis on innovation without corresponding emphasis on establishing the conditions for continuous improvement of both old and new programs and procedures.

Inertia, which makes difficult any pronounced change in direction or pace of activities and the institutional characteristics described in Chapter I are among the factors which make it difficult to speed up educational reform. There is a tendency for all large social systems to continue operating in ways that produce a minimum of discomfort. This leads to following well-worn paths, using accustomed channels, and refraining from "making waves" or "rocking the boat". School bureaucracies, like other organiza-
tions, strive to maintain equilibrium by rejecting or ejecting whatever, or who ever, disturbs the accustomed rhythms of operation. The introduction of new ideas, which demand a change in habitual behaviors, is regarded with suspicion by those who are reluctant to modify habitual behaviors. Experimentation is often frowned upon in school systems and other bureaucracies where rewards tend to attach to seniority rather than to high performance.

On the other hand, excessive innovation may serve only to distract attention from the primary functions of education. The proliferation of electives for high school students often resulted in avoidance of courses essential to disciplined thinking. Chapter II elaborated on advantages attributable to well planned and managed Career Centers and Magnet schools; but these also hold possibilities for poor choices unless adequate safeguards are maintained. Moreover, the history of reform and experimental ventures shows that even the most promising innovations wither quickly unless carefully nurtured and adapted to changing needs. The most soundly conceived, developed, and implemented innovations may deteriorate unless continuously evaluated and reinvigorated. The price of success for the alternative schools and programs, therefore, is eternal vigilance in establishing and maintaining the conditions essential to effective operations. Often not enough thought is given to defining the essential conditions so that adequate steps may be taken to remove obstacles to effective functioning.

**EPILOGUE**

The essential ingredients to progress towards system-wide renewal include persistent cultivation among all administrators and school personnel of the conviction that all children can learn, and a consequent refusal to characterize the members of any group as of limited ability. This requires the communication of high expectations for achievement, accompanied by steadfast refusal to set limits on what any individual can accomplish. It calls also for a constant search for the strengths based on individual, racial, and cultural experiences. It likewise demands continuous efforts on the part of all teachers and other school personnel to (a) provide every student with opportunities for worthy achievement and (b) to treat each achievement as a stepping stone to other kinds and higher levels of achievement. The family, school, and community must share the responsibility for creating environments conducive to learning and high endeavor.
The ultimate aim of education is development of the full range of constructive human capabilities; and effective education results in individuals who have the capacity to acquire and use many kinds of knowledge for the enhancement of self and others; who are able to learn through symbols of many kinds (linguistic, mathematical, musical, pictorial), and able also to learn from direct observation of life and its varied phenomena, and to relate the one kind of learning to the other; who can express ideas clearly through speech and writing in their basic languages, and with some facility in at least one other language or a universal medium such as mathematical symbols, music, or painting; who know how to estimate probabilities by selecting and analyzing relevant evidence, but recognize the limits of what can be known objectively and the vast extent of the unknown to be dealt with through the insights provided by religion, philosophy, and great literature of many kinds, when illuminated by one's own imagination and reflection; who have a just perception of themselves and a just appreciation of the rights, needs, and potentialities of others; who understand how the health of society is dependent upon freedom of judgement and expression for the individual, and are willing to exert themselves to safeguard the institutions that undergird freedom of thought and other human freedoms; who are guided more often by reason than by unconsidered emotions and prejudices; who prize those things that contribute to the well being and elevation of mankind above those that provide only temporary pleasure; who continue to learn by re-examining their values and assumptions, broadening their knowledge, deepening their appreciation of life in its various manifestations, and putting their faculties increasingly at the service of their noblest aspirations.
**APPENDIX A**

**PERSONS PARTICIPATING IN SITE VISITS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Visits, by Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tomas Arciniega</td>
<td>San Diego State University</td>
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<td>Damon Asbury</td>
<td>Columbus Public Schools</td>
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<td>Samuel Bacote</td>
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<td>Beryle Banfield</td>
<td>Creative Approaches in Instructional Resources</td>
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<td>Jarvis Barnes</td>
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<td>William Bell</td>
<td>Urban Education Studies</td>
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<td>Bettie Benjamin</td>
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<td>David Bennett</td>
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<td>Francis Chase</td>
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<td>Dale Mann, Chairperson, Department of Educational Administration, Columbia University</td>
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Walter Marks, Superintendent of Schools, Montclair Public Schools | 1979 1980
Dorothy Marlatt, G-T-C Teacher, Denver Public Schools | x
Aretha Marshall, Director, Detroit Public Schools | x
Thomas Minter, Deputy Commissioner, U. S. Office of Education | x
Dennis McCarthy, Deputy Director, New York Public Schools | x
Calvin McIntyre, Supervisor, Milwaukee Public Schools | x
Lee R. McMurrin, Superintendent, Milwaukee Public Schools | x
Patricia Morgan, Coordinator, Chicago United, Chicago, Illinois | x
Nancy Naron, Curriculum Development Specialist, Chicago Public Schools | x x
Doris Older, Division of Community Resources Data Bank, Chicago Public Schools | x
Muriel Olivierre, Assistant to Chancellor, New York City Public Schools | x
William Perry, Administrative Assistant, Dade County Public Schools | x
Gary Peterson, Coordinator, Milwaukee Public Schools | x
Joseph Pitts, Associate Superintendent, Dallas Independent School District | x
Man Richards, Secretary, Urban Education Studies | x
Arthur Rumpf, Curriculum Specialist, Milwaukee Public Schools | x x
Margaret Saunders, Director, Department of Instruction, Norfolk Public Schools | x
Richard Saxe, Chairperson, College of Education, University of Toledo | x
Kathleen Schoonmaker, Supervisor, Norfolk Public Schools | x
Maxine Smith, Director ESAA Projects, Columbus Public Schools | x
Bertram Snead, Director, School District of Philadelphia | x
Rosie Sorrells, Director, Early Childhood Education, Dallas Independent School District | x
Tim Starck, Planning Division, Denver Public Schools | x
Daniel Stufflebeam, Director, Western Michigan University | x x
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APPENDIX C

URBAN EDUCATION STUDIES

Workshop for City School Administrators

Chicago, August 5-9, 1979

Sunday, August 5, 1979

6:30 OPENING REMARKS

Introductions, Developments, and Current Emphasis in School Districts Represented

Monday, August 6, 1979

8:30 HIGHLIGHTS FROM SELECTED CITIES

Dade County - Dr. J. L. Jones
              Mr. Richard White
              Dr. William Perry

Chicago - Dr. Angeline Caruso
          Mr. Philip Viso

Detroit - Dr. Allen Zondlak

New York - Dr. Richard Guttenberg
           Dr. Paul Loughrin

Comments: Dr. Daniel Griffiths

1:30 to 4:30 CAREER EDUCATION/ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

Columbus - Dr. William Bigelow
           Dr. Evelyn Jones

Chicago - Dr. Angeline Caruso
          Mr. Philip Viso

Philadelphia - Mr. Albert Glassman

Dallas - Mr. Waldo Hoffman

Detroit - Dr. Aretha Marshall

Indianapolis - Dr. Waldo Hoffman

Milwaukee - Dr. Calvin McIntyre

Comments - Dr. Thomas Minter, Dr. Daniel Griffiths, and Dr. Francis S. Chase
7:00  MASTERY LEARNING
Dr. Benjamin Bloom, Professor, University of Chicago

Tuesday, August 7, 1979

8:30  DEVELOPMENTS IN RESEARCH AND EVALUATION DEPARTMENTS
Toledo  - Dr. Gerald Biernacki
Detroit  - Dr. Mike Syropoulos
Milwaukee - Dr. Gary Peterson
Atlanta - Mrs. Myrtice Taylor
New York - Dr. Richard Guttenberg, Dr. Dennis McCarthy
Comments: Dr. Daniel Griffiths, Dr. Daniel Stufflebeam, and Dr. Gary Gappert

1:30  CHICAGO MASTERY LEARNING PROGRAM
Mr. Michael Katims, Chicago Public Schools

DETROIT OBJECTIVES REFERENCED TESTING PROGRAM
Dr. Cecil Good, Detroit Public Schools

3:30  STANDARDS FOR RESEARCH AND EVALUATION
Dr. Daniel Stufflebeam, Professor, Western Michigan State University

Wednesday, August 8, 1979

8:30  EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION
Philadelphia - Mr. Bertram Snead, Dr. Ed Forte
Dallas  - Ms. Rosie Sorrells

TALENTED AND GIFTED PROGRAM
Norfolk - Dr. Margaret Saunders
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
Milwaukee - Dr. Arthur Rumpf
12:00 CLOSING LUNCHEON
Presiding: Dr. Francis S. Chase, Director, Urban Education Studies
APPENDIX D

CONFERENCE FOR CITY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, May 20-22, 1980

Tuesday, May 20

12:30 OPENING LUNCHEON...................................... LAKE MICHIGAN ROOM

Presiding: Samuel B. Husk, Executive Vice President, Council of the Great City Schools

Introduction of Participants

Overview of Urban Education Studies and Conference Agenda

2:00 GENERAL SESSION........................................ LAKE SUPERIOR ROOM A

to

Coping with Obstacles to Educational Revitalization.

5:00 Presiding: Francis S. Chafe, Director, Urban Education Studies

"Concepts Emerging from Recent Developments"
Egon Guba, Professor of Education, Indiana University

"Maintaining Momentum for Progress in Chicago"
Angeline Caruso, Interim Superintendent, Chicago Public Schools

"Moving Toward Desegregation and Quality Education"
Lee R. McMurrin, Superintendent, Milwaukee Public Schools

General Discussion

7:00 DINNER......................................................... PRIVATE DINING ROOM 2

Applying R & E to Educational Decisions

Presiding: James Jacobs, Superintendent, Cincinnati Public Schools

"Toward More Effective Evaluation"
William Webster, Associate Superintendent, Accountability and Development, Dallas Independent School District

"Promoting Use of Evaluative Data in School Planning"
Jarvis Barnes, Assistant Superintendent of Research, Evaluation, and Data Processing, Atlanta Public Schools
"Improving the Database for Instruction and Management"
Walter Hathaway, Evaluation Administrator, Portland Public Schools

"Optimizing the Role of R & E in Educational Planning and Management"
Daniel Stufflebeam, Director, Evaluation Center, Western Michigan University

Wednesday, May 21

8:30 GENERAL SESSION..........................LAKE SUPERIOR ROOM A

Significant Alternatives to Traditional Schools

Presiding: Gerard Heing, Assistant Superintendent, Department of Curriculum, Chicago Public Schools

"An Expanding Program for the Gifted"
Kathleen Schoonmaker, Supervisor, Gifted and Talented Programs, Norfolk Public Schools

"Report on B-C-T Program in Denver Public Schools"
Dorothy Marlatt, B-C-T Teacher, Denver Public Schools

"Other Elementary Options"
Damon Asbury, Executive Director, Management Services, Columbus Public Schools

"Career and Vocational Education"
Philip Viso, Assistant Superintendent, Vocational and Career Development, Chicago Public Schools

Albert Glassman, Executive Director, Career and Vocational Education, School District of Philadelphia

10:30 GENERAL SESSION...............................LAKE SUPERIOR A

Mobilizing Resources for Effective Education

Presiding: James Walter, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Missouri-St. Louis

"Superintendents Achievement Plan -- Detroit"
Alan Zondlak, Director, Planning, Detroit Public Schools

"Long-Range Planning"
Tim Starck, Planning Division, Denver Public Schools
"School-Community Collaboration"
Joseph Pitts, Associate Superintendent for Learning,
Dallas Independent School District

12:30 LUNCHEON........................................BEL AIR ROOM

Presiding: Irving Brauer, Director, Research and Evaluation,
Chicago Public Schools

"The Redesigning of Governance and Management in Urban School Systems"
Luveric Cunningham, authority on urban education and former
Dean of Education, Ohio State University

General Discussion

2:00 GENERAL SESSION......................................LAKE SUPERIOR ROOM A

Accelerating Achievement in Basic Skills

Presiding: Myrtice Taylor, Research Associate, Atlanta Public Schools

"Mastery Learning in Reading"
Beau Jones, Mastery Learning Project, Chicago Public Schools

"Extended School Program"
Ter Greer, Assistant Superintendent, Federal and State Relations,
Dade County Public Schools

"Adaptations to Cultural Diversity"
Arthur Rump, Curriculum Specialist, Milwaukee Public Schools

3:30 GENERAL SESSION......................................LAKE SUPERIOR ROOM A

to

University Council for Educational Administration Partnerships

5:00 Presiding: Jack Culbertson, Executive Director, University Council
for Educational Administration

"The 1981 International Conference on Urban Education"
Lee R. McMurrin, Superintendent, Milwaukee Public Schools

"Preparing Leaders for the Twenty-First Century"
Walter Marks, Superintendent, Montclair Public Schools

"Information Use in Organizations in the Future"
Nancy Knapp, Professor of Educational Administration,
Northern Illinois University
7:00 DINNER .............................................PRIVATE DINING ROOM 2

Characteristics of Effective Schools
Presiding: Richard Saxe, Chairperson, College of Education, University of Toledo
David Clark, Professor of School Administration and Higher Education Administration, Indiana University
Dale Maugh, Chairperson, Department of Educational Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University

Thursday, May 22
8:30 GENERAL SESSION ................................LAKE SUPERIOR ROOM A

Increasing School Effectiveness
Presiding: Joyce Tibbs, Acting Director, ESAA Pilot Project/Jr Practical Life Skills, Detroit P.S.
"The School Improvement Project"
Charlotte Frank, Director, Division of Curriculum and Instruction, New York City Public Schools
"A Self-Correcting -- Self-Renewing Educational System"
Yvonne Ewell, Associate Superintendent, East Oak Cliff Sub-District, Dallas Independent School District
"School Planning and Management"
Maxine Smith, Director of ESAA Projects, Columbus Public Schools
General Discussion

10:30 GENERAL SESSION ................................LAKE SUPERIOR ROOM A

Cycles in the History of American Education
Presiding: Francis S. Chase, Director, Urban Education Studies
General Discussion

12:00 LUNCHEON ........................................LAKE MICHIGAN ROOM

Devising a Platform for Future Action
Presiding: Jack Culbertson, Executive Director, University Council for Educational Administration
Francis S. Chase, Director, Urban Education Studies
General Discussion