This monograph, one of the nine-booklet Teacher Quality Series, explores the state/local control boundary and suggests how state policy can encourage local strategies to improve teaching. The following topics are covered: (1) understanding the developmental process in teachers; (2) clarifying goals in policy formation; (3) policies indirectly related to classroom events; (4) policies directly related to classroom events; (5) implementing educational innovations; and (6) fitting policies to problems. Information about the other booklets in this series concludes the document. (JD)
State Strategies To Improve Teaching
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The Education Commission of the States is a nonprofit, nationwide interstate compact formed in 1965. The primary purpose of the commission is to assist governors, state legislators, state education officials and others to develop policies to improve the quality of education at all levels. Forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, American Samoa, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are members. The ECS central offices are at 1860 Lincoln Street, Suite 300, Denver, Colorado 80205. The Washington office is in the Hall of the States, 444 North Capitol Street, N.W., Suite 248, Washington, D.C. 20001.

It is the policy of the Education Commission of the States to take affirmative action to prohibit discrimination in its policies, programs and employment practices.
These days education is politics. Politicians, especially state politicians, are concerned with wavering public confidence in education, which they attribute to perceptions that student achievement has fallen and educators have not done anything about it.

In many ways, centering attention on teachers is very appropriate. Teachers are the point of contact between the education system and the student. If good things are going to happen in the classroom, teachers are going to make them happen. Teachers facilitate student learning. Teachers provide positive role models for students. School districts devote most of their budgets to teachers' salaries and benefits. For these and other reasons, the challenges of recruiting, retaining, rewarding and renewing good teachers are now widely discussed.

Unfortunately, raising minimum standards alone may not improve classroom teaching. The challenge for state policy makers is to devise other kinds of effective strategies as well as to promote good teaching.

Devising these strategies requires, first, expanding the definition of teacher development. The assumption that prospective teachers can learn 90% of what they will need to know throughout their careers during two to three years of college training is unrealistic. We know too much about the complexity of teaching to accept this assumption. Second, since certain policies address certain problems of teacher development better than others, a good fit of policy to problem is essential. Third, only some decisions are best made by the state. The rest should be made by districts and schools.

This paper explores the state leadership/local control boundary and suggests how state policy can encourage local strategies to improve teaching.
1. TOWARD A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

At present, the maturation of the practicing teacher is a haphazard and sometimes dysfunctional process. Too little attention has been paid to who enters teaching. The dramatic decline in demand for teachers over the past decade and the fact that women and minorities, who have historically given some of their best talent to the teaching profession, are entering other professions, have seriously constrained the supply of well-qualified new teachers.

The formal preparation of teachers has overemphasized preservice training. As currently conceived, preservice training is supposed to equip teachers with almost all the knowledge and skill they need to succeed in the classroom. As a result, the curriculum in schools of education tends to include many more credits than typical undergraduate curricula. The emphasis on preservice training also encourages a certain amount of stagnation, since continuing development depends heavily on individual teachers rather than on formal demands for professional growth.

State certification practices perpetuate a static view of teacher development. Certification typically means only that new teachers meet at least minimum qualifications in the areas of college courses, undergraduate grade point averages, subject competencies and understanding of teaching methods. Until recently, many states granted life certificates, which reinforces the notion that preservice training is the last step in the development of a teacher. Inservice programs, if they occur at all, tend to relate only tangentially to classroom work, which is one reason teachers give them mediocre ratings. Teachers are rewarded for earning graduate credits. But the courses they take generally need not relate to the substance of teaching.

Now gaining support is a new approach to teacher development. It is based on the premise that improving teaching is a dynamic, continuous process that is integrated into the lifetime career of a teacher. It recognizes that beginning teachers need on-the-job training and support and that experienced teachers need periodic exposure to new teaching methods and materials that will enhance their success in the classroom.

This new model of teacher development consists of three phases: formal preservice, induction into the classroom and inservice. Transitions from phase to phase do not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of existing institutions. Teachers can be screened out or given incentives to develop at four major points when they are recruited, when they are certified, when they are considered for tenure and when they are otherwise evaluated.

One policy implication of recognizing the maturation of a teacher as a continuous process is that cooperation among a variety of institutions and individuals will be necessary. Since different stages of the process involve different individuals and organizations, incentives and screening devices should be tailored to particular individuals and organizations. Since a new policy is likely to require major changes in the way professionals within a school interact, encouraging those new interactions should be a central feature of reform strategies.
2. GOALS AND OTHER POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

New policies to improve teaching have four major goals:

- Changing teachers' traits
- Raising public esteem for teachers and schools
- Improving teaching and learning
- Changing the way teachers, administrators and other personnel interact in a school

Each of these goals is valid, and each can affect student achievement. The first two goals are peripheral to what goes on in the classroom, whereas the second two directly affect within-school interactions. Some popular ways of meeting the goal of changing teachers' traits, like setting minimum requirements, reinforce the static concept of teacher development. Improving teaching and learning and changing the ways educators interact, on the other hand, support the concept of continuous development.

Too often, a single policy is expected to meet multiple goals, even though it most likely will not serve all goals equally well. Knowing which goals a particular policy is likely to address is very important in the design of a reform package. A mix of policies is essential to a balanced package.

Designing one that requires individuals, schools, districts or institutions of higher education to cooperate is much more difficult. The degree of change a policy requires is also important, especially since it relates directly to ease of implementation. Radical change in relationships and working habits is more difficult to achieve than moderate change. The more a policy changes "business as usual" in a particular setting, the more difficult implementation becomes. Yet, the more people and practices change, the greater the likelihood that a reform will produce measurable results and be institutionalized. As more people invest in new ways of doing things in a changing organization and culture, stopping renewal becomes as difficult as starting it.
3. TYPICAL POLICIES

Reviewed in this section are six policies that have been proposed to raise the quality of prospective and practicing teachers. Addressed first are policies to change teachers' traits and raise teachers in public esteem, the first two goals described in the previous section and ones that do not relate directly to events in the classroom. Addressed thereafter are policies to improve teaching and learning or to change the interaction of teachers and administrators, goals that do relate directly to classrooms. The policy instruments used to achieve goals of both sorts can be divided into two groups. The first consists of requirements or screening mechanisms such as tests or certification standards. The second consists of incentives for teachers, such as scholarships, loans, higher pay, mentor programs and career ladders.
Policies Indirectly Related to Classroom Events

Policies to change the characteristics of teachers and, in so doing, to meet public demands for accountability, are directed at individuals. The amount of change these policies require is minimal, as is the extent of cooperation among people and institutions. Although they could affect the traits of teachers and public perception of teachers, there is only a limited chance that they will significantly improve classroom interaction. That is, the link between these policies and improved teaching is not very strong.

Scholarships and loans are incentives that make it financially possible or more attractive for students to major in education. Requirements that recipients teach for a period of time or in certain fields or locations usually accompany these incentives. Scholarships and loans can be offered to anyone who wants to teach or who meets financial guidelines. Or they can be restricted to students who have high grade-point averages or meet other qualifications. The first approach assumes that some people who would make good teachers are held back by inability to pay for college or that any inducement will attract more and better prospective teachers. The second approach assumes that people who meet the qualifications specified will make better teachers.

An attractive feature of this sort of policy is ease of implementation. Colleges are experienced in operating scholarship and loan programs. All the states have to do is supply the money. Financial aid programs are nearly as easy to eliminate as they are to initiate, which could be advantageous in times of teacher surpluses such as the early 1970s. One serious criticism is that the cost of a college education is not the reason well-qualified students are not becoming teachers. Another is that financial aid programs perpetuate the static view of teacher development.

Increasing certification requirements for new teachers and, where possible, recertification requirements for practicing teachers is another way of changing teachers' traits. In this case, the mechanism is a screen rather than an incentive. The purpose is to eliminate candidates who, for example, do not have minimum grade-point averages or cannot pass tests in basic skills, subject areas, or professional knowledge.

Certification requirements are directed at individuals and do not require cooperation by groups. Since all the states already certify teachers, strengthening requirements does not represent a significant departure from current practice. If new tests and methods of test administration are needed, developing them is well within the power of state certification agencies.

Although changing certification requirements will change some traits of new teachers, questions remain about the impact of higher standards on minority groups. There is also the possibility that standards may be lowered if grave teacher shortages arise. Further, the link of certification policies to improving teaching is weak. Demonstrating knowledge on tests seems a necessary prerequisite for teaching, but it does not guarantee ability to teach.

Instituting more stringent certification policies may, however, meet public demands for accountability. If people believe that the policies produce better-prepared teachers, the policies may be worthwhile, especially if the public then becomes willing to finance more sophisticated changes in teacher development.
Raising teachers' starting salaries, an incentive directed at individuals, is expected to make teaching more competitive with other career options available to talented college students. There is some indication that such a policy would attract a larger pool of candidates to teaching, many with better credentials than the teachers now in schools. But this policy alone does not guarantee better classroom teaching.

While raising salaries requires no institutional change, it is likely to create morale problems among teachers who have taken several years to reach salary levels just at the new beginning levels. The result is apt to be upward pressure on the salaries of all teachers.

The goal of raising teachers' salaries across the board, another incentive directed at individuals, is to keep practicing teachers from switching to more lucrative careers and to make teaching more attractive to students who are selecting careers. This policy seeks to change the choices of potential and practicing teachers. If pay increases are large enough, they may attract and hold better people in the profession over the long run. But simply raising pay without linking this to performance or development will have little effect on classroom practice.

Policies Directly Related to Classroom Events

Many states have begun to implement policies that directly address the goals of improving teaching practice and promoting school organizations. These policies, the two most common policies of this sort, are considerably more complex than the policies discussed in the previous section. But they offer an important opportunity.

Mentor programs address the induction of beginning teachers. These programs involve not only new teachers but also mentor teachers, school principals, and sometimes outside evaluators. They require changes in the operation of schools, districts, and sometimes colleges of education. The goals of mentor programs are to improve the teaching of beginning teachers, to ease the transition from preservice training to classroom teaching, and to encourage schools and other institutions to improve teaching practice.

Establishing a mentor program requires designing a complex system of cooperation within a district or school. Identifying a pool of mentor teachers requires designing a defensible teacher evaluation system. A fair process of selecting mentors from the pool must be established. The structure of the induction program must be determined, which means defining the role of mentors and the characteristics of good teaching that beginning teachers must develop. It also means establishing timetables, setting up diagnostic and remediation programs for beginning teachers and training mentors and administrators. The school must decide how to accommodate demands of the mentor program, setting aside time for teacher interaction and establishing new lines of communication.

Evidence indicates that structuring the induction experience through a mentor program is likely to improve beginners' teaching. It is also likely to hold new people in teaching, since it helps beginning teachers become more effective in the classroom. Mentor teachers earn recognition and have an opportunity to work on the interesting challenge of transferring the skills that are important for success in teaching. Administrators learn to serve as instructional leaders.

Mentor programs seem likely to bring about many of the structural changes in schools that encourage teachers to work with one another. They may also generate some interinstitutional cooperation among state education agencies, intermediate service units, districts, schools, and college faculty. Successful mentor programs are likely to lead to a great deal of change in the way individuals, teams of individuals, and organizations interact. Such changes could help teachers view teaching as shared work and give all teachers involved a better understanding of what is expected of them.

If, however, a school or district implements a mentor program in a very passive fashion, many of these beneficial consequences may not occur. Transferring a vision of what a program can accomplish should be an important component of initial training. Thereafter, the success of a program will vary from site to site, depending on the utility of the program to the district and the skills of local implementors.

Career ladder programs, like mentor programs, influence a broad range of actors. These programs seek to change the behavior of individual teachers and also the patterns of cooperation among teachers and administrators. It's still too soon to know whether they will change teachers' traits or public perception of education. But continually evaluating beginning and experienced
teachers for advancement should focus attention on what happens in classrooms. Career ladder programs can also change the way teachers and administrators work together.

A typical career ladder has at least three steps: apprentice or probationary teacher, professional teacher and advanced professional teacher. Teachers on the first step have generally been certified only provisionally. During one to five years of apprenticeship, beginning teachers work closely with mentor teachers and are judged by trained observers on a predetermined set of competencies. Remediation is provided in areas of weakness. Candidates who fail to progress are asked to leave the profession, successful candidates become professional teachers.

A professional teacher is one whom a district has thoroughly assessed and deemed well qualified. In many plans, becoming a professional teacher is optional for practicing teachers but mandatory for new teachers. Besides teaching in classrooms, professional teachers might serve on school task forces or participate in staff development. All professional teachers would be assessed periodically.

Promotion to advanced professional teacher is based sometimes on evidence of superior teaching and sometimes on a teacher's desire to take on other responsibilities. Some plans allow teachers to rotate in and out of the advanced professional designation.

That there is some confusion about who should become an advanced professional and what advanced professionals should do is not unexpected, since the teaching profession has so long lacked this type of staff infrastructure. For the moment, a great deal of flexibility should be built into policies concerning advanced professionals. The major advantage of career ladder programs is that they provide an opportunity for schools to try different education strategies. The main disadvantage is similar to that of mentor programs – implementation will differ from site to site and will vary with the match of district and program goals and with the skill of local implementors.

Mentor programs and career ladders are clearly more complex than the policies reviewed in the previous section. Their object remains individual teachers, but they require changing the way groups of teachers interact and the way schools organize to provide educational and staff development services. The first set of policies is easier to implement. However, since career ladders and mentor programs can change schools more fundamentally and involve many people in new relationships, successful programs are much more likely to improve teaching.

It seems, then, that teacher reform policies can be categorized by ease of implementation. Easiest to implement are policies that seek to change the traits of new teachers, use screening instruments, focus on individuals exclusively and are patterned on pre-existing programs. Most difficult to implement are policies that focus on classroom behavior, combine screens and incentives, attempt to change organizational behavior as well as individual behavior and have never been tried before. Unfortunately, the policies that are most difficult to implement seem likely to contribute the most to the improvement of teaching and learning. Fortunately, state policymakers can enlist the help of local educators to implement these more complex policies.
One issue facing state policy makers who want to improve teaching is how much program implementation should vary. If a state mandates a new test for certifying teachers, for example, the mandate will probably affect all new candidates. But if, at the opposite extreme, a state requires districts to devise their own career ladder plans, those plans are likely to vary widely. How tolerant a state is of programmatic differences across sites is a key consideration and one with direct implications for program evaluation. A second issue is how far a state should go to ensure that districts and schools carry out new policies. The real question is whether the state can carry out policies or whether it must turn to local decision makers and educators. The third issue concerns the substance of reform policies: Is a given policy rigidly uniform or flexible enough to solve the problems districts and schools actually face?
These choices for policy makers range along a continuum. One end of the continuum is defined by top-down policy approaches. These emphasize uniform implementation and are based on the assumption that a given policy solves problems in every school district. At the other end of the continuum are empowering approaches. These are characterized by a lack of uniform implementation and a willingness to allow local educators to tailor solutions to local needs. Fortunately, we can draw on the experience of state and federal government with both sorts of policy approaches.

Arguably one of the most successful federal education policies was derived from the compensatory education portion of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Chapter 1, formerly Title I, was a top-down approach based on the idea that school districts, faced with an ever-broadening range of abilities in student populations, would or could not supply adequate resources to low-achieving and disadvantaged students. As Title I has evolved, it has become a tightly regulated program that most observers agree actually does provide services for disadvantaged students. In this case, the federal government wished to fill a perceived void in district policy and was persistent and generous enough to allow that policy to make a difference to its target students. The lesson of Chapter 1 is this: a top-down approach must be reasonably well-funded, and commitment to it must be seen as long-term.

Until recently, most state approaches to education (certifying staff, accrediting school districts, keeping financial and other records, distributing state aid) also tended to be top-down and regulatory. As a consequence, schools and districts have not looked to the state legislature, the state board of education or the state education agency for much leadership in planning, curriculum design or personnel training.

During the past 10 years, however, several states have begun to develop empowering approaches. They have required or encouraged districts and schools to undertake long-range planning, and they have trained administrators, teachers, board members or parents in leadership and the management of day-to-day activities in classrooms and schools.

From research on local educational change come several conclusions that may prove helpful to state policy makers who decide to use empowering approaches:

1. Local change is positively affected by sound planning, program design and appropriate support, but it is limited by organizational environment, school culture, parents and students.

2. The readiness of a district or school to change depends upon whether it has a vision of what it can do and on the ability of local leaders. All schools and districts have the capacity to change, but not all of them may not change.

3. Strong leadership is essential to local change. Unless administrators and teacher leaders understand how a program conforms to their vision, the program is unlikely to be successful.

4. A clear understanding of local needs must precede local change. This is why many top-down programs are not successful.

5. The power to adjust a program must be given to those who implement it, namely to teachers, even though they may play only a limited role in program design.

California and Colorado, for example, have used the empowering approach in local planning programs initiated in the 1970s. In California, legislation passed in 1977 provided funds for "school site councils" to allocate. Initial experience confirmed that students, administrators, teachers and parents needed training before they were effective decision makers. But once the councils were prepared to make decisions, they changed resource allocations. In Colorado, 1971 legislation established accountability committees in every district in the state. Each committee was to institute a planning process, then work on district priorities. In 1983, this planning process was required of schools as well. The success of the accountability program has proved to depend entirely on local acceptance of the value of planning and on the quality of the local leaders.

An example of an empowering approach to statewide training is the program for effective teaching (PET) in Arkansas. PET, which began in 1979, trains principals and teachers to use techniques of effective teaching based on the theories of Benjamin Bloom and Madeline Hunter. Within four years, more than three-quarters of the state's principals and approximately half the state's teachers had completed PET training. The program has introduced administrators and teachers to a common language of teaching and a common approach to classroom management.
It seems that the top-down approach succeeds when

- A nationwide or statewide need is generally felt.
- Districts and schools are aware of a long-term nationwide or statewide commitment to a program.
- The amount of change required of schools and districts and the number of actors involved are limited.

Empowering approaches tend to be successful when

- There seems to be no one right way to address a particular need.
- Policies are flexible enough to accommodate local needs.
- The empowering agency can tolerate varying degrees of program success.

Now coming to light are strategies that may help states make better use of both top-down and empowering approaches. These strategies, revealed during a recent ECS two-year study of successful school improvement programs in 10 states, will be documented and discussed thoroughly in forthcoming publications. Here, though, are brief summaries of strategies for state education agencies that seem relevant to improving teaching as well as to school improvement.

- **Setting up programs.** There is no need to reinvent the wheel, instituting a clear, focused and flexible program is much more important than inventing a new program.
- **Getting schools and districts started.** Capitalizing on local energy is vital to the success of both top-down approaches and empowering approaches. Cross-hierarchical teams that combine teachers and administrators are a potent force for change.
- **Keeping programs going.** This will require states to provide continuing assistance. Peer review can be a useful mechanism for accountability.

Resources. More important than who supplies resources (the state can supply resources, or broker them, or help schools and districts develop their own resources) is that resources be adequate to program demands. Some local discretion over spending is vital, even where money does not come from local sources.
As we have seen, state policy makers now face many choices about how to improve teaching during each phase of a teacher's development — formal preservice training, induction into the profession and inservice training. Those choices are recapitulated here, by phase, in a discussion that also emphasizes the importance of fitting policies to goals. One inescapable, and very positive, conclusion is that in some instances new policy will need to be created where little now exists.

### Traditional Gatekeeping: The Preservice Phase

The policies that affect a state's decision about whether to certify a teacher candidate and individuals' decisions about whether to enter teaching must appeal to individuals. For this reason, traditional state roles tend to be effective. States can raise certification requirements to screen out more unqualified candidates. They can make teaching more attractive to young people by providing preservice incentives like scholarships and loan forgiveness programs and by raising the starting salaries of beginning teachers. These policies tend to change the traits of beginning teachers and, to a somewhat lesser extent, to restore public confidence in teachers. But it will take a long time for these policies to have a significant impact on the teacher workforce, and they may not bring better teaching and learning to classrooms.

States have traditionally delegated the policing of preservice training to the institutions of higher education that provide it. When state policy makers have increased demands on preservice education, as they have done in several states recently, they have often been disappointed in the results. Now suggested by some policy makers and institutions of higher education is the addition of a fifth or sixth year to preservice training. But this is based on the questionable premise that students can and should learn everything they need to know about teaching before they begin. A more productive approach would be for state policy makers and their higher education counterparts to establish realistic expectations of what preservice training can accomplish and to establish links with local school districts that focus on continuing staff development.
The Induction Phase

Induction policies affect beginning teachers, their mentors, school administrators and the school organization. In the past, state policy makers have largely ignored induction policies, assuming local districts were responsible. Because good induction policies require complex social interaction, a monolithic state model is unlikely to be effective in every school and district. Attention and resources should instead focus on a process that fosters the design of mentor programs by schools and districts. It is important to remember that local programs and state policy will need adjustments and that sharing reports of successful practices will help good programs spread. Cooperative programs involving local education agencies, intermediate service units and institutions of higher education should prove productive.

The Inservice Phase

Successful policy in this area is especially complex since developing the skills of practicing teachers affects most of the teachers in the work force and all of the organizations in which they work. Like mentoring, inservice training has also been virtually ignored by state policy makers. And teachers consider the little activity that has occurred largely irrelevant. Successful development, like successful mentoring of beginning teachers, depends on planning, training and organizational change. Career ladders are an appealing opportunity. But they seem likely to work best when they reinforce local efforts at change and renewal.
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Jung develops a conceptual framework for evaluating teacher incentive systems A performance-based system, he says, bases rewards on behavior rather than on added responsibilities. Stated goals must mesh with goals in practice if evaluations are to be valid Jung also examines assumptions about teaching excellence and the process components of incentive systems

8. School Organization and the Rewards of Teaching by Thomas Bird, Boulder, Colorado, TQ84-8

Bird focuses on how to organize schools and school settings to encourage better teaching He describes organizational schemes that encourage staff to share understandings and techniques, help each other to improve and use research findings to test new methods. He suggests that teachers and administrators be trained as role models, and recommends that experimental research applications be supported at the state level
9. The Costs of Performance Pay Systems
by Kent McGuire, Education Commission of the States, and John A. Thompson, University of Hawaii, TQ84-9

Using two different evaluation systems, the authors simulate the costs of merit pay, career ladders and extended contracts to show how costs — none of them prohibitive — vary with plan design. The authors precede the simulations with a thorough discussion of each cost factor involved.