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ABSTRACT

This publication presents evidence that low-income and minority children are more likely to be in schools with unqualified and ineffective teachers than their white and more affluent peers. A growing body of research claims that this lack of qualified teachers in high-poverty schools is more critical in explaining the underachievement of low-income and African American and Latino students than the poverty and family characteristics that have historically been blamed. The main article, "No More Settling for Less" (Kati Haycock), presents findings that compare low-poverty and high-poverty schools on teacher certification, teachers holding majors and minors in their fields, teachers' scores on certification tests, teachers' literacy, teacher effectiveness in producing learning, and teachers' years of experience. On all measures, schools with high concentrations of poor and minority students had lower-scoring, less experienced teachers in the classrooms, as well as a much higher number of uncertified teachers than schools that were predominantly white and affluent. This issue concludes with statements from leaders of national organizations as they share their ideas and recommendations for recruiting and retaining the most qualified teachers for the nation's most challenging schools. (SM)

HONOR IN THE BOXCAR: EQUALIZING TEACHER QUALITY
THINKING K-16
Vol. 4, Issue 1, Spring 2000

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Thinking K-16

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HONOR IN THE BOXCAR

Equalizing Teacher Quality

REBECA HURST IS A SPECTACULARLY GOOD teacher. Though her Algebra II classroom is in one of Los Angeles' poorest neighborhoods, if you dropped by for an afternoon you wouldn't see either the disengagement or unruly behavior that we're often led to believe is inescapable in such settings. Instead, sparked by their teacher's commitment to instilling in her students the same passion for mathematics that she has, students vie to participate in solving complex math problems—problems many teachers would consider beyond the reach of these students. As she writes logarithm after logarithm on the board, eyes light up and pencils move fast and furiously on paper as students begin to understand what it is that is happening in each of the examples.

Every day, poor children in every city in America benefit hugely from terrific teachers like Rebecca. Underpaid, overworked, and stretched sometimes beyond human endurance to respond both to the intellectual and personal needs of their students, these dedicated adults devote themselves selflessly to sharing the riches of their own

education with young people growing up without riches of any other kind.

But as the pages of this issue of *Thinking K-16* show, poor children and children of color are far less likely than other children to be taught by outstanding teachers like Rebecca. Indeed, no matter how you measure teacher qualifications—licensed vs. unlicensed, in- vs. out-of-field, performance on teacher licensure exams, or even actual effectiveness in producing learning gains—low-income and minority youngsters come up on the short end.

This fact is hardly lost on Mark Roberts, an African American father who observed that his daughter's low-income friend Tiffany wasn't having the same kind of school experiences that he saw in his daughter's so-called "gifted and talented" classroom.

In the GT classrooms, wrote Mr. Roberts, "children with the proper pedigrees... enjoyed the best teachers, smaller classes, an enriched curriculum, exciting field trips, challenging assignments, and the protective watch of the principal. They would never be assigned a teacher like Mrs. Simmons, who screamed at her students, kept a brick on her desk, and made frequent calls on her cell phone. Tiffany was in her class."

When Roberts questioned the principal about these differences, the response was chilling: "Remember who we are talking about," the principal explained. "There's only so much we can do for those kids."

For years, of course, we've known about inequities

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in the distribution of good teachers. But most people have assumed—as did this principal—that it doesn't much matter.

A growing body of research says otherwise. It says that much—not all, mind you, but much—of the underachievement that we have historically blamed on poverty or family characteristics is instead attributable to what *we* have done: systematically assigned these children disproportionately large numbers of our weakest teachers. “We expected some differences,” said Robert Mendro, one of these researchers. “But we were stunned at the magnitude.”

The increasing use of high-stakes testing has upped the ante on solving this problem and solving it quickly. For youngsters, especially those who enter school behind their peers, will have a difficult time passing the new tests without capable teachers.

But the truth is that the results on these exams are just telling the students what adults have known for some time. Strong backs and willing hands no longer compensate in the workplace for the absence of well-developed reading, writing, mathematics and problemsolving skills.

We must, in other words, turn this pattern of inequity around. Sure, this is pretty hard stuff. But what could be more important than what research tells us is most critical to the academic success of poor children? And what could be more important than to restore honor to those who are doing that most crucial work?

When I think about honor, my mind inevitably goes back to Sabra Besley, at the time a principal in a high-poverty high school in southern California. One day, we got to talking about how Sabra had landed in her particular school. She told me that her decision was made, forever, during her student teaching experience.

Sabra spent her first week in what was then a terribly wealthy school in Palm Springs. By Friday, the only response she had prompted from her distracted students was a single question: “Mrs. Besley,” asked one girl, “where'd ya get those shoes?”

The following week, a rather dispirited Sabra was assigned to a school on the far side of town. Her first task was to accompany the teacher on a series of evening home visits. The first visit was to a Hispanic family that lived in an abandoned boxcar. This family, Sabra said, had very little. But when the two teachers arrived, the family stopped everything, split their meager dinner into two extra portions, honoring their guests with what little they had. “My decision was made that night,” Sabra said.

What she realized, of course, is what we too often forget. There is honor in the boxcar.

I know, as you do, that the boxcars are now often dangerous tenements, where Moms have to shield their kids from ricocheting bullets.

And I know, as you do, that simply saying there is honor in such work, *without backing it up with concrete supports*, is wrong.

Together, we must provide those supports. Indeed, that's what most of the recommendations in the back of this issue are all about.

But we must also change the dialogue. There *is* honor in the boxcar, in the barrio, in the poorest classroom and in the blackest classroom. And we must never allow anyone to forget that simple fact.

For this issue of *Thinking K-16*, the Education Trust invited the leaders of the major education organizations to share their ideas about what can be done to equalize teacher quality. We are pleased and grateful that each and every one responded with thoughtful—and more important, do-able—actions that we can take. These essays appear on pages 13-25.

This is our collective work—until we can look our children in the eyes and honestly say that our poorest children are taught by the very best among us.

—Kati Haycock

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Editor: Patte Barth,
Contributing Editor:
Jeanne Brennan

The Education Trust was created to promote high academic achievement for all students at all levels, kindergarten through college. While we know that all institutions could better serve their students, our work focuses on the schools and colleges most often left behind in efforts to improve education: those serving Latino, African American, Native American or low-income students.

NO MORE SETTLING FOR LESS

BY KATI HAYCOCK

MOST AMERICANS THINK OF PUBLIC education as the great equalizer—as a place where young people from all backgrounds have a chance to learn their way to a piece of the American Dream. And to be fair, these views are bolstered each year by well-publicized examples of talented young people who manage to surmount the most awful home or neighborhood circumstances to vault into seats at Harvard or Berkeley or Stanford.

This thin veneer of fairness keeps most folks from closer examination. That's too bad, because just underneath the surface is a system that, despite its stated goal of high achievement for all children, is rigged to *produce* high achievement in some kinds of children and to *undermine* it in others.

Many before us have documented key dimensions of these inequities.¹ Indeed, their poignant accounts of crumbling buildings, outdated textbooks and dilapidated science labs have pulled at American heartstrings and, occasionally, even convinced reluctant state policymakers to increase the budgets of high-poverty schools.

Far less attention, however, has been paid to an even more devastating difference between schools serving poor and minority children and those serving other young Americans: *a pervasive, almost chilling difference in the quality of their teachers.*

Too little attention is paid to a devastating difference between schools serving poor and minority children and those serving other young Americans — a pervasive, almost chilling difference in the quality of their teachers.

TAKING OFF THE WRAPS

This is a hard subject to talk about. For one thing, one risks seeming to denigrate the many incredibly

talented and dedicated teachers who are teaching our most vulnerable children, often under deplorable conditions. To many folks, too, talk about teacher quality—and inequality—feels like teacher bashing. They don't want any part of that. Neither do we.

Teacher quality is also, at least in some parts of the country, an issue that is very much complicated by race. And not just student race, but teacher race, too.

We are convinced, however, that if these were the only sensitivities standing in the way, we would find a means—as communities, as states and as a nation—to get the subject on the table anyway.

What's really standing in the way, at least in our experience, is the long-held belief that teacher

quality doesn't really matter very much. So sure, poor and minority children may be taught by more than their share of our least qualified teachers. But does it really matter? Aren't these children too damaged by the other conditions of their lives to learn very much, anyway?

GOOD TEACHING MATTERS

In Summer, 1998, the Education Trust published a summary of the growing body of research that says

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With this issue of *Thinking K-16*, the Education Trust makes this commitment: to shine a spotlight on the problem of inequitable teacher distribution; to highlight the communities and states that are trying to solve it; and to otherwise push, pull, shove and help lead an effort to assure that poor and minority children have teachers of at least the same quality as other children.

As is always the case, we are going to invite you along and ask you to make the same commitment—as individuals or, better yet, together in your community—to do what you need to do to assure that no child is doomed by his race, his poverty or the neighborhood he lives in to be taught by teachers of lesser quality than other students.

We have also invited the heads of other organizations to become partners in this effort. In these pages you will find their initial response to our request that they share their ideas about what can be done to equalize teacher quality. We will post these thoughts on a special section of our web site beginning this summer. We will also post descriptions of what you are doing in your communities.

Please watch for more information on our web site: www.edtrust.org

that the differences between teachers do matter—and matter a lot. Students who have several effective teachers in a row make dramatic gains in achievement, while those who have even two ineffective teachers in a row lose significant ground which they may never recover. Indeed, students who achieve at similar levels in the third grade may be separated by as many as 50 percentile points three years later depending on the quality of the teachers to whom they were assigned!²

The response to “Good Teaching Matters,” and to the many presentations we have made on its central findings, has taught us a lot. We’ve learned, for example, that while some teachers are overjoyed to have clear, uncontroversial evidence that what they do matters to their students, other teachers are angered. The same is true of teacher educators: some seem thrilled to be reminded that what they do makes a difference, others seem to want only to find a flaw in the evidence.

Even school principals, who have long asserted that their teachers are a rather uneven lot, seem stunned by proof that they’ve been more right than perhaps they had ever believed. Indeed, in Tennessee—where all principals now have robust teacher-by-teacher data—and in some of the other districts that produce similar analyses, principals seem reluctant to use these new tools as a basis for their improvement efforts.

It turns out that old notions about the causes of underachievement have a very long half-life. It makes us wonder, in fact, how much higher the pile of evidence will have to grow before we concede in our *professional* lives what we certainly know in our roles as *parents*...and knew as *students*, as well. *Teachers matter a lot.*

The truth is that, no matter how you measure teacher quality or qualifications, poor children and children of color come out on the short end.

STRONG CONTENT BACKGROUND

In a knowledge and information-based economy, it goes without saying that students are served best by teachers who have a strong grounding in the subjects they are teaching. And indeed, there is considerable evidence that students whose teachers have that strong grounding achieve at higher levels than students whose teachers have only a thin grasp of their content.³

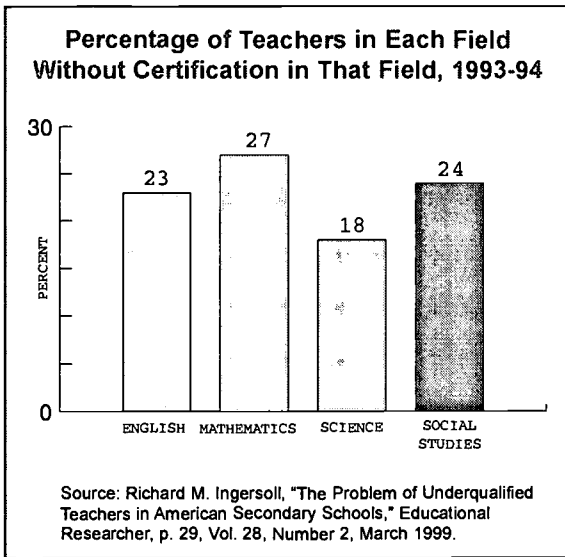
While subject-specific teaching certificates and college majors and minors don’t tell you everything about content knowledge, they are at least a reasonable proxy for looking at patterns in content-area preparation. Unfortunately, on all these measures, there is reason for concern.

- *Subject Area Certification*

Large numbers of secondary school teachers lack state certification to teach the subjects they are teaching. The percentage is highest in

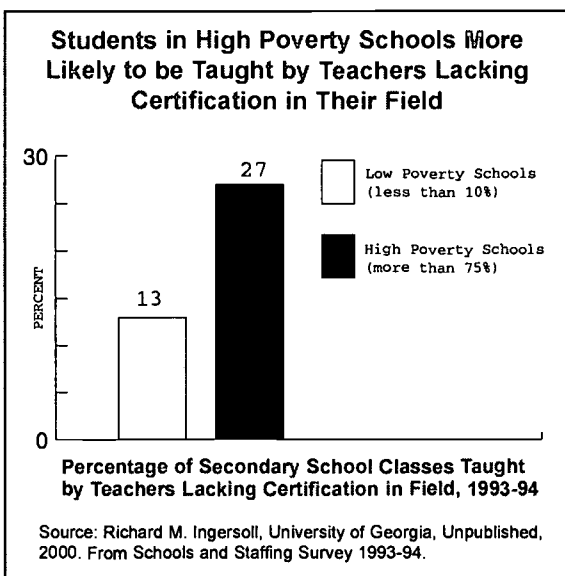
mathematics, where there appears to be a significant national shortage of qualified teachers. Interestingly, however, the other core disciplines are not far behind.

Table 1.



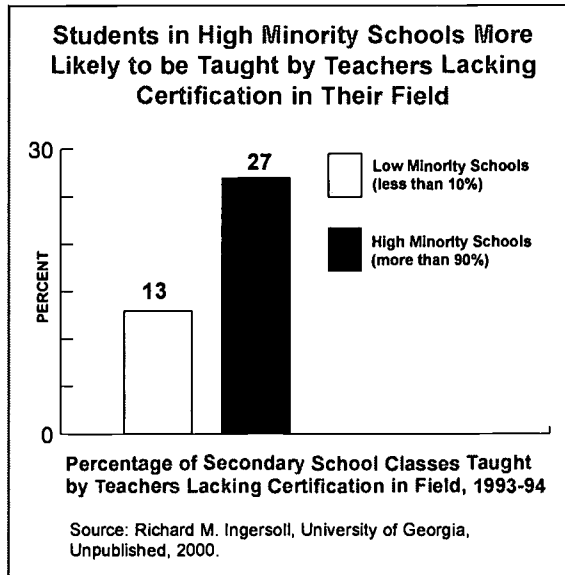
When certification data are disaggregated by the economic composition of the school, clear patterns emerge. Students attending high-poverty secondary schools ($\geq 75\%$ poverty) are more than twice as likely as students in low-poverty schools ($< 10\%$ poverty) to be taught by teachers not certified in their fields.

Table 2.



Youngsters attending predominantly minority schools are also more likely to be taught by teachers uncertified in their subjects. In fact, students attending secondary schools in which African Americans and Latinos comprise 90% or more of the student population are more than *twice* as likely as students attending schools in which Whites comprise 90% or more of the student population to be taught by teachers without certification to teach their subjects.

Table 3.



◦ *College Majors and Minors*

Significant numbers of high school teachers in the four core academic subjects did not complete either a major or a minor in the fields they are teaching (see Table 4).⁴ The problem is particularly acute in grades 7 and 8. But it is a major problem in high schools as well. According to University of Georgia professor Richard Ingersoll, more than four million secondary students are taught the core academic subjects by teachers with neither a major nor a minor in the field.⁵

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Teacher Voices

I was one of the students who went through college because of the National Defense Student Loan Program in the sixties. I began teaching in an urban setting in order to have a portion of my loan payment waived. I think that having these types of programs would draw today's students into urban education.

Judy Berg
Teacher
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

An emphasis on the rewards might be attractive to recruits. The challenges of teaching in an urban district are great, but the rewards are very great as well. I talked to a teacher who had taught in the suburbs and she said it was much more boring than in urban schools. But teaching in urban areas is in the same breath very rewarding and very exhausting. Candidates would be attracted to teaching in these schools if it can be communicated that they will have a high level of support when they get there.

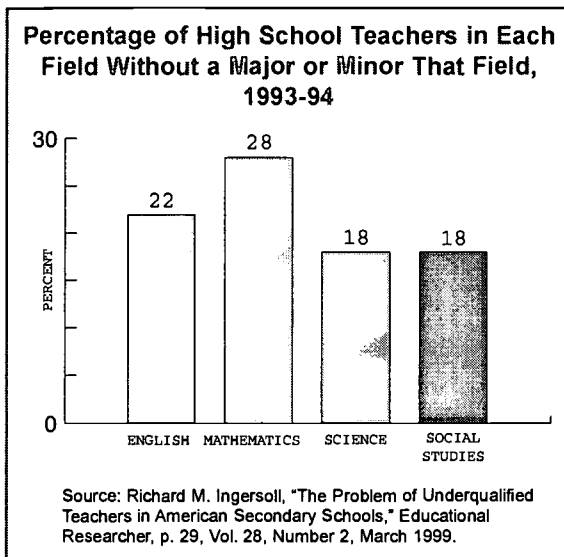
Jon Bender
Teacher
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

All the money in the world won't keep talented, energetic and innovative teachers where they are most needed, in the inner cities. Working conditions that are safe, clean and pleasant are needed. I was disgusted by the remarks of one of our board members who said that teachers must be as accountable as the workers at IBM. I wonder if IBM employees ever had ceiling tiles fall on their heads while working? I have. Have they ever worked in an office without a phone? Air conditioning? Heat? I have had classrooms lacking these basics. How many of her clients come to a meeting hungry? In mildewing clothes? Worried about gang violence? My students have. Schools need to be beautiful oases that meet more than a child's academic needs.

Claudia Pilon
High School English Teacher
Los Angeles, California

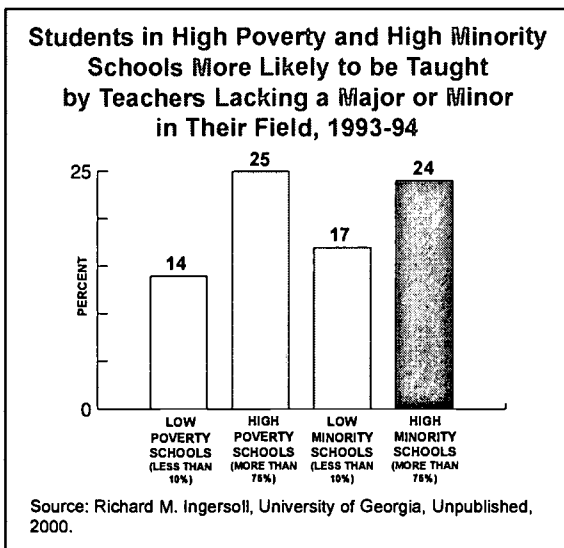
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Table 4.



The situation is worse when you disaggregate available data by the economic or racial composition of the school. As is clear in Table 5, students attending secondary schools with large concentrations (75%) of poor children are 1.8 times as likely to be taught by teachers without a major in their fields as students attending low-poverty (10%) schools. Similarly, students attending high minority (75% Black and/or Latino) schools are 1.4 times as likely as students in low minority (10% Black and/or Latino) to be taught by a teacher without a major in the subject.

Table 5.



◦ *Verbal and Mathematics Skills*

Large-scale studies on teacher characteristics and student achievement consistently confirm the importance of strong academic skills, especially verbal. Not surprisingly, students who are taught by teachers with high levels of verbal and mathematics skill learn more than those taught by teachers with low academic skills.

Available data on the academic skills of American teachers as a whole present a rather mixed picture. On measures like the SAT, for example, teachers perform somewhat below other college graduates—though not nearly as much lower as some believe.⁶ By contrast, a 1992 large-scale study of adult literacy found teachers to have higher verbal skills than other college graduates and mathematics skills about the same as other college graduates. Unfortunately, the *relative* strength of teacher performance against that of other college graduates is small consolation, for the literacy data also suggest that nearly half of all teachers lack the literacy and numeracy skills found in NAEP frameworks for high-school seniors.⁷

Table 6.

TEACHERS' LITERACY

Teachers score slightly higher than other college graduates on tests of prose literacy. However, nearly half of all teachers score at level 3 or below.

This means that nearly half of all teachers:

CAN write a brief letter explaining an error on a credit card bill

CAN read a news article and identify a sentence that provides interpretation of the situation

BUT

CANNOT state in writing the argument in a lengthy newspaper article

CANNOT contrast views in two editorials on technologies available to make fuel-efficient cars

CANNOT compare two metaphors used in a poem

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Perhaps more to the point, there is considerable evidence that the weaker teachers on these measures are more likely to be teaching in high-poverty or high-minority schools. In Texas, for example, African American and Latino children are far more likely than other students to be taught by teachers who scored poorly on a basic literacy examination administered to all teachers. Indeed, as the percentage of non-white children in the school increases, the average teacher score declines.⁸ Harvard's Ronald Ferguson found similar patterns in his analyses of teacher test performance in both Texas and Arkansas.⁹

Interestingly, even within school districts, higher performing teachers often cluster in schools that are disproportionately white or affluent. A recent analysis of test data for New York City Schools by SUNY Albany economist Hamilton Lankford found that teachers in schools with large numbers of white students generally scored much higher on the certification tests than those in schools whose student bodies were overwhelmingly African American and Latino.¹⁰

Most teachers in high-poverty and high-minority schools do pass state licensure exams, of course, because almost all states prohibit teachers from teaching very long without certification. However, if the patterns in Lankford's analysis of New York City hold true in other cities, many of these teachers pass only after failing the examination on multiple occasions.

Approximately one in three teachers employed in the last decade in New York City failed the main licensure examination—the liberal arts and sciences test—at least once. By contrast, fewer than one in 20 of the state's teachers outside of the city did so. On average, in fact, “most of those (New York City teachers) who eventually passed the test did so only after taking it more than three times.”¹¹ See Table 7 for more New York data.

Findings like these are especially worrisome given the low level of most state licensure exams. As we reported in “Not Good Enough,”¹² the examinations for elementary teachers are often set at about the level of grade 9 to 10. While the subject area examinations for high school teachers are more

Table 7.

New York City Teachers Fail Certification Test at Higher Rates than Teachers Teaching Outside of the City

	Failed Test at Least Once:	
	NYC	STATE
Liberal Arts/Science	31 %	5 %
Mathematics	47	21
Elementary Teaching Skills	27	3

Source: Data derived from the New York Times, “City's Teachers Perform Poorly on State Exams,” Abby Goodnough, November 16, 1999.

rigorous, none tests knowledge at the baccalaureate level. Some states, in fact, would probably be better off using their own high school graduation tests.¹³

APPROPRIATE CERTIFICATION

In many, although not yet all parts of the country, the combination of a booming youth population and a booming economy have forced many school districts to hire unlicensed or “temporarily licensed” teachers. While many of these new hires are enormously talented—and may, in fact, have considerable experience teaching in higher education or in the armed services—many others are far less impressive, and will have no experience to draw on as they strive to enable their students to reach high standards.

These inexperienced, untrained teachers are likely to start their careers in schools with high concentrations of poor and minority students. In New York State, for example, only one in thirty-three teachers is uncertified, while in New York City one in seven teachers is uncertified.¹⁴

Recent analyses of California teacher data suggest a similar pattern. In fact, students in low-SES schools are about ten times as likely to be taught by uncertified teachers as students in high-SES schools. Similar patterns hold up when urban schools are compared with suburban and rural schools: students in the former are about four times as likely to be taught by uncertified teachers.¹⁵

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Teacher Voices

The first and obvious thing you need is a competitive salary. We need bright people for this job and these people are going to have other options if the salary and benefits are not right.

Jon Bender
Teacher
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Eliminating the practice of selecting teachers for specific schools and areas will enable good teachers to teach in high-poverty areas. In Los Angeles, experienced or highly skilled teachers are reserved for the more affluent schools in the valley. New teachers are usually sent on interviews to high-poverty schools. There is a perk, however. Incentives are given to teachers in high-poverty schools—an extra \$2,000 per year.

Rebecca Hurst
High School Mathematics
Teacher
Los Angeles, California

Good teachers want to teach, but many urban schools don't encourage teaching. The mindset is that these kids can't learn. I have had students say to me, "I don't do your homework because you are the only one who assigns it." Others have said, "I don't do it in other classes because I'll still get an 'A' or 'B'". It's because of this attitude that we attract mediocre teachers who want a babysitting job.

Loretta Lui
High School English Teacher
Los Angeles, California

College students know the destiny that awaits teachers: unmanageable class loads, long hours, and little compensation. Can we blame college students for choosing a more lucrative and appreciated profession? If the teaching profession wants to attract and retain teachers, it will have to provide more support. Teachers need support in the form of staff development, time, manageability and economic compensation.

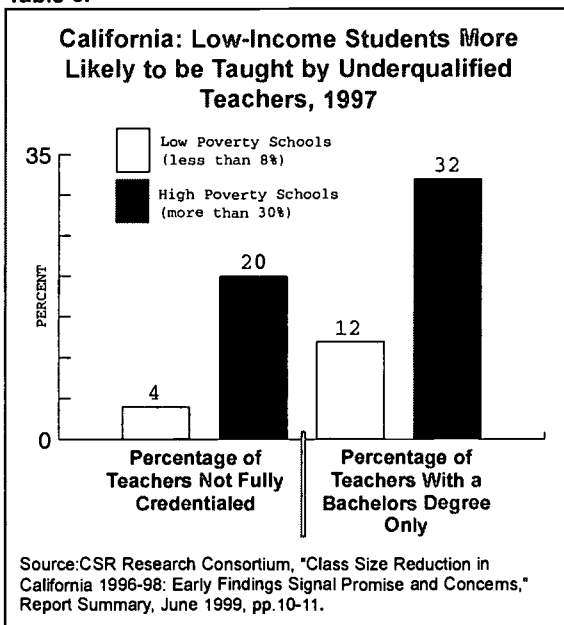
Tracy Triplett-Murray
Teacher
Los Angeles, California

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A study of California's experiment in reducing class size in grades K-3, raises cautionary notes about the potential impact on teacher quality—especially in high-poverty schools. In the two years between 1995 and 1997, the proportion of K-3 teachers without a full credential jumped from 1 to 12%. There were also increases in the proportion of K-3 teachers with only a bachelor's degree, or less (from 17% in 1995 to 23% in 1997). Moreover, on both of these measures, low-income students were the most likely to be taught by teachers with less education and training.¹⁶

A recent analysis of educational resources allotted to California students of different races found teacher resources strongly skewed toward white and Asian students. Across three grade spans, African American and Latino students were more than twice as likely as

Table 8.



white and Asian students to be taught by uncertified teachers. There were similar, but somewhat smaller imbalances, in the proportions of teachers with only a bachelor's degree or less.

CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE

Most, although not all, research on the impact of teacher experience supports what teachers themselves

Table 9.

California: African American and Latino Students More Likely to be Taught by Less Qualified Teachers, 1997

Percentage of Teachers With At Most A Bachelor's	White	Asian	Black	Latino
	K-6	10.3	12.2	21.4
6-8	8.7	10.2	18.9	17.4
9-12	9.0	9.5	15.4	13.7

Percentage of Teachers Not Fully Certified	White	Asian	Black	Latino
	K-6	3.2	5.1	12.0
6-8	3.2	4.3	11.9	11.1
9-12	4.3	5.7	10.1	9.8

Source: Julian R. Betts, Kim S. Rueben and Anne Danenberg, "Equal Resources, Equal Outcomes? The Distribution of School Resources and Student Achievement in California," Public Policy Institute of California, p. 87, February 2000.

report: experience helps. Yet, rather than staffing our most challenging schools with experienced and well-trained teachers, we are far more likely to assign them brand new teachers.

In the U.S. as a whole, children in high-poverty schools are more likely than students in low-poverty schools to be taught by inexperienced teachers (those with 0-3 years of experience). The same patterns hold true when the data are examined by race.¹⁷

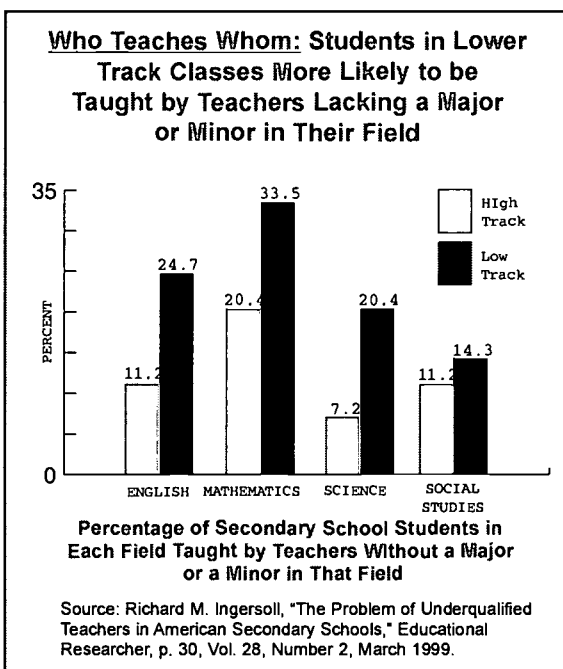
These patterns are mirrored in the research on teachers in California. According to the Public Policy Institute of California, "the median percentage of low-experience teachers (0-2 years experience) ranges from 24% in the most-disadvantaged school populations to 17% in the least-disadvantaged school populations. In grade spans 6-8 and 9-12, the low-experience medians range from 14% in the most-disadvantaged school populations to 10% in the least-disadvantaged school populations." Because of variation within the SES bands, however, even these numbers understate the problem. According to the PPIC researchers, "The percentage of less-experienced teachers is twice as high at the 75th percentile school [as measured by free and reduced price lunch participation] than it is at the 25th percentile school."¹⁸

CUMULATIVE EFFECTS

Though stark, these statistics actually *understate* the teacher quality problem facing many low-income and minority students. For one thing, these effects are additive. The fact that only 25% percent of the teachers in a school are uncertified, doesn't mean that the other 75% are fine. More often, they are either brand new, assigned to teach out of field, or low-performers on the licensure exam. For another, the researchers in both New York and California found differences in teacher quality *between* even otherwise similar schools. There are, in other words, significant numbers of schools that are essentially dumping grounds for unqualified teachers—just as they are dumping grounds for the children they serve.

Even within schools, there are differences in who teaches whom. Teachers who teach Advanced Placement and Honors courses, for example, are rarely either brand new or uncertified.¹⁹ Looking across subjects it is easy to see that teachers in high track classes—which serve disproportionately large numbers of white, Asian and upper-income students—are considerably more likely to have a major or a minor in their field than teachers in low-track classes.

Table 10.



HOW DID THIS HAPPEN?

No matter how you cut the data, then, the pattern is the same. We take the children who are *most* dependent upon their teachers for academic learning and assign them our weakest teachers.

How did this happen?

Unfortunately, there's no single place to point, no single policy to correct. Indeed, a complex web of forces converged to create these patterns, including:

- Differences among districts in the resources they have to pay teachers;
- Differences within districts as a result of seniority transfer provisions in district/union contracts;
- Differences within schools, when we fight over who has to teach whom;
- Inadequate supplies of highly qualified teachers who want to teach in high-poverty schools;
- Scandalous working conditions in many high-poverty schools; and,
- A culture within teaching—at both the K-12 and higher education levels—that says that one's status in the profession is primarily a function of how elite one's students are.

But acknowledging the complexity of these forces doesn't mean we have to continue to live with them, or what they have wrought. Yes, this is a complicated problem. And yes, it is terribly hard to talk about it without hurting adult feelings. But if we don't get this problem out on the table and solve it, many kids won't have a chance, for the research is abundantly clear that a couple of ineffective teachers in a row can literally doom them to lives on the margin.

CAN WE HAVE QUALITY AND QUANTITY, TOO?

We are very much aware that current concerns about how to fill the 2.2 million teacher vacancies projected over the next decade will lead many to conclude that this is not the time to deal with quality problems. Many believe: "We'll address quality when we've got an adult in every classroom."

That kind of head-in-the-sand view of the world is exactly what has gotten us in this dreadful position to

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begin with. For every time we drop our standards, hold our noses, and hire any adult who can fog a mirror, we run the risk of placing a mistake in a classroom for thirty years. A mistake that insults the many teachers who work hard at their profession. A mistake that can harm literally thousands of children, and do especially grave damage to the children of the poor.

We must, instead, think differently about this challenge, as is suggested by several of the contributors to this volume:

- By raising standards for the profession, we can do on a broader scale what Connecticut has done: attract *more* prospective teachers—or at least more of the kind we want; and,
- By working harder to support and retain the teachers we have, we can both improve the quality of teaching and reduce the need to replenish constantly revolving positions.

Frankly, these prescriptions go doubly for high-poverty and high-minority schools. Students in these schools need teachers with stronger, rather than weaker grounding in their fields. And we need to stop the hemorrhaging of good teachers to other schools. Each year, teachers in high-minority schools are *twice* as likely as teachers in predominantly white schools not to leave the profession, *but to leave their school for another school.*²⁰ We've got to turn these numbers around.

Where should we start? The suggestions on the pages that follow will, we hope, give you some ideas. We commend them to your attention.

But you should also begin by asking teachers. Find some of the best teachers you can find—including some in high-poverty schools and some in other schools—and ask them what concrete steps could be taken to attract and retain the best teachers to teach the kids who need them most. What, in other words, would make a difference to *them*?

And remember not to neglect the basics. As one teacher in an inner-city San Diego school recently suggested, "You might start by fixing the bathrooms."

Point well taken.

NOTES

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⁴ The definition of in-field teaching includes a major in the subject or major in subject-specific education, for example, math teaching in-field includes both math majors and math education majors.

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⁸ John F. Kain and Kraig Singleton, "Equality of Educational Opportunity Revisited," *New England Economic Review*, May/June 1996, p. 109

⁹ Ronald F. Ferguson, "Evidence That Schools Can Narrow the Black-White Test Score Gap," *The Black-White Test Score Gap*, Christopher Jencks and Meredith Phillips, eds. The Brookings Institute: Washington DC. 1998. see also, Kain and Singleton, "Equality of Educational Opportunity Revisited," p. 99

¹⁰ Goodnough, Abby, "City's Teachers Perform Poorly on State Exams," *New York Times*, Nov 16, 1999.

¹¹ "Highlights from the week of November 16", Campaign for Fiscal Equity, Inc.

¹² Ruth Mitchell and Patte Barth, "Not Good Enough," *Thinking K-16*, Spring 1999, Education Trust: Washington DC

¹³ Particularly New York and Massachusetts, "Not Good Enough."

¹⁴ *New York Times*, op cit.

¹⁵ Betts, Julian et al "Equal Resources, Equal Outcomes? The Distribution of School Resources and Student Achievement in California." Public Policy Institute of California

¹⁶ CSR Research Consortium, *Class Size Reduction in California: Early Findings Signal Promise and Concerns*. June, 1999.

¹⁷ National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, "What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future," Teacher's College Columbia University, New York NY, 1996. p. 16

¹⁸ Public Policy Institute of California, op cit, p. 75

¹⁹ See, for example, Public Policy Institute of California, p. 86; Ingersoll

²⁰ National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics 1998*, US Department of Education, Washington DC, p. 82

IT'S NOT THE KIDS, IT'S THE CONDITIONS

BY SANDRA FELDMAN

WHEN I TALK WITH TEACHERS IN HIGH-POVERTY schools, it's clear that their students are not the "problem." Nor is dealing with the challenging problems so many of the kids bring to school. Rather, the issue of attracting and retaining talented teachers in poor districts and schools is rooted in the conditions we find there — from revolving leadership to traditional factory-style management that is hostile to professionalism and doesn't even deliver supplies on time, from crumbling buildings to indifference to discipline, from "reforms *du jour*" to lack of or useless professional development. Couple these with noncompetitive salaries, and the wonder is that we have as many talented teachers in these schools as we do.

We are now at a point where this longstanding inequity can become even worse or recede into shameful memory. Ensuring a larger pool of qualified teachers is a large part of the solution but won't by itself overcome the problem of their inequitable distribution. Here's a partial list of how to do both, with an emphasis on the distribution side.

- Put an end to hiring uncredentialed teachers and to assigning teachers out of field. The AFT exposed and damned this practice as early as 1984.
- Offer pay and other incentives in poor districts and schools to attract *and* retain qualified teachers, including National Board Certified Teachers. In 1986, in a bold move for a union, AFT also recommended that districts pay new teachers who are qualified in a shortage field more than hires in other areas. Where management in our districts has been willing—Miami, Boston, Detroit, others—it has happened.
- Require districts that persist in hiring individuals who have not completed their regular or alternative teaching credential to employ only individuals who pass at least the subject-matter portion of the state's licensing exam (or an equivalent if the state does not test this area). We have recommended this for Title I.
- Involve excellent teachers in the hiring process. They want competent colleagues.
- Assign every new teacher, starting with high-need

schools, an experienced mentor and make time for real coaching. AFT locals in New York City and elsewhere have such programs, but we can't possibly meet the need alone.

- Full speed ahead on peer review and assistance for experienced teachers, which the Toledo Federation of Teachers pioneered in 1981. Many AFT locals followed suit (Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Rochester, others), and many more would but can't for lack of management cooperation. No one is smarter and tougher about teachers than expert teachers; involve them in evaluation, including tenure decisions. No one is more able to help struggling colleagues. And when it doesn't work, dismissal can be fair and fast.
 - Significantly increase funding for *effective* professional development in poor school districts. The AFT is devoting significant resources to professional development, with reading a priority, as well as to a broader labor-management partnership in thirteen urban districts to redesign low-performing schools.
 - Stop blaming seniority rules for the teacher distribution problem. They were established, and work, to protect teachers (and their students) from arbitrary and capricious management decisions characteristic of a factory-model system that still prevails. Where schools have a particular mission and professional model, our locals have eased the way to staff them with teachers suited to that school, regardless of seniority. Help us to make those models of professionalization and labor-management cooperation standard operating procedure. In the meantime, I suggest some analyses of school transfer patterns. Our own indicate the problem is neither seniority rules nor concentration of poverty; a far better bet is the quality of the principal and school working conditions.
- The AFT has been and will continue to be relentless and risk-taking in pursuing these and other measures—from reform of teacher education to war on childhood poverty—to ensure an adequate supply and equitable distribution of qualified teachers. But we cannot do it alone. We remain willing to help and to receive help from those who also understand that the interests of children and teachers are inextricably linked.

Sandra Feldman is president of the American Federation of Teachers.

TEACHERS

FOR EVERY CHILD, A QUALIFIED TEACHER

BY BOB CHASE

AS THE CURTAIN RISES ON A NEW CENTURY, THE MAJOR challenge in education is to ensure that every child has a qualified teacher. How to achieve that goal—so that the poorest and neediest of our students are as well served as the more advantaged—is society’s most urgent task.

In recent years, we have seen a rise in the number of uncertified teachers. More than one of four teachers is either unlicensed, teaching with emergency credentials, or hails from an unaccredited teacher institution. That is compounded by those teaching outside their field. Where is the usual clamor for standards? Are expectations for teachers so low that any warm body will do? No other profession accepts emergency licensing, whether hairstylists, manicurists, doctors, lawyers, or accountants.

At NEA, we believe licensing and certification standards are the vital first step toward quality. This fall, I joined the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) to call on school districts across the country to make teacher quality a top priority by dedicating time and resources to put only fully prepared and licensed teachers from accredited institutions in front of today’s students.

NEA’s strong support for certification by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards is another indicator of our belief that codifying standards for highly accomplished teaching can enhance teacher quality to benefit all students. Of the nearly 5,000 National Board Certified Teachers since the process was launched in 1993, two-thirds of those who have achieved certification are NEA members.

In addition, NEA affiliates across the country are supporting and creating programs to help educators rise to the current classroom challenges. The NEA New Teacher Support Initiative, in the making, supports local and state affiliate activities that help new teachers through effective induction systems and mentoring by seasoned classroom teachers.

The Recruitment and Retention of Educators program is helping local school districts recruit to achieve diversity, as well as to provide support systems for new minority educators.

Created in 1994, the Association’s Teacher Education Initiative (TEI) is helping to redefine teacher education

through systemic change. This collaborative program has involved more than 170 professional development schools, 42 colleges, 7 community colleges, 45 school districts, a state department of education, and our local and state affiliates. Using a professional development school model that creates a semblance of a teaching hospital for teachers-to-be, TEI is devoted to improving teaching and learning for all students. At the TEI partner sites, teacher education has changed. Phase II of this work, now underway, will measure improvement of student achievement.

For NEA, teacher quality is a union issue. It is, after all, our profession and our students who are at risk. The bottom line for us is to improve the achievement of each and every student—and we know that teacher quality is the most important variable in that effort. It is our intent, as it has been in the past, to work in partnership with policymakers, business, educators, school board members, parents, and others to improve the quality of teaching. Our ability to teach all students will weigh mightily on how we succeed as an information-based society.

But if we want the best and the brightest for all students, we must face the fact that teachers are underpaid across the country. Teachers often work in harsh conditions in schools where a good number of our poorest and neediest go for their education. Often, these same schools get the least experienced of our professionals. A recent and startling analysis shows a huge salary gap between teachers and other college-educated professionals. It is a gap that grows with years of experience. A teacher in his or her twenties can count on making about \$8,000 less per year than other college-educated professionals. The gap widens to \$24,000 for those 44-55. It is worse for those with a master’s degree—climbing to \$32,000.

Decent salaries are an issue of respect. They are an issue of quality. If any warm body in the classroom will do, low salaries will prevail. If it’s world class teachers America’s young deserve, then it’s time to pay competitive and professional salaries for the highly important roles of America’s educators.

Bob Chase is president of the National Education Association.

FINDING THE BEST

BY PAUL D. HOUSTON

AS I HAVE TRAVELED AROUND THE WORLD TWO THINGS have struck me. First, in general our schools are much better than they have been given credit for being. American schools rival and exceed nearly any other system in the world. The exception to this is how we educate our poorest children. We simply tolerate inequities that other developed countries cannot even comprehend.

Setting aside racism and classism, much of the inequity grows from our system of local control. We fund and govern our schools locally. While this often creates a certain dynamism from ownership, it fails the test of fairness. We have significant differences in funding education between states and within most states. That means that we have a "free agent" system of hiring teachers with the best going where the pay is better and the challenge is less. I have served as head of a rich school system and a poor school system. Rich is better. There is no substitute for resources. Any concern for improvement of the quality of teachers for poor children must start by dealing with funding equity.

But there are also human decisions that add to the dilemma. They often grow out of the confluence of teacher contracts and management decisions. Most contracts continue to have powerful seniority clauses in them that ensure that as teachers become experienced they are able to choose where they teach. Many choose not to teach in the most difficult schools.

Managers add to this by assigning teachers who are inexperienced or who are not trained in the subject area to teach in these same schools. This is quite simply because parents of middle-class children are vocal and can manipulate the system to protect the needs of their own children. Poor parents are less able to do so. That means that children, who have the greatest needs, receive the least experienced and least prepared instruction.

Simply creating level funding would not solve the dilemma, however. Because the schools with good funding tend to serve children who come from the most comfortable and educationally supportive homes, they have a double

advantage. True equity will only come when poor children get more than their "fair share." That would then enable districts serving those children to pay more to teachers to work in these more difficult settings and reverse the current talent drain.

Further, unions and management must break the code of silence that sets the teaching assignments so those good teachers can be placed in these difficult settings. Seniority provisions must be set aside and managers must have the courage to place the best in the worst settings.

Preparation programs must start by recruiting the teaching workforce from the communities being served and doing so at very early ages. I would suggest schools and colleges work together to develop "cadet" teaching corps in poor middle schools, where some of the best students can be identified and encouraged to look to teaching as a career. They could then be nurtured and tutored and provided scholarships to get their education so they can return to their communities to serve the next generation.

Teacher training institutions must also fundamentally rethink their preparation programs. Few of these programs focus on preparation for teaching poor children. There are some exceptions such as the program the Council of Great City Schools and Urban Deans have created and the Richard Green Institute for Teaching and Learning in Minnesota, but not nearly enough. The reality is that teaching poor children requires great teaching skills and specialized understanding of the issues of child development and diversity. Preparation programs must build these into their curriculum.

Dealing with the problem of an inadequate teaching force for poor children has no simple solutions. It will only arise when the nation begins to see its future is dependent on the work of these children so that resources are made available. This will provide value to those who serve these kids. But we must also understand that the hearts of those who make the decisions that affect them must be softened to their plight. Opening hearts and wallets is the answer to the dilemma and would give children an education we all could trust.

Paul D. Houston is executive director of the American Association of School Administrators.

ADMINISTRATORS

IMPROVING STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT BY IMPROVING TEACHING

BY GORDON M. AMBACH

STATE EDUCATIONAL LEADERS, ELECTED OFFICIALS, AND researchers now agree that improving student performance, especially in high-poverty, low-performing schools, is tied directly to raising the quality of the teaching force. However, this is a task with many well-documented challenges: teacher shortages, especially in select fields; pending teacher retirements; use of long-term substitutes; overuse of paraprofessionals for instruction; low-level preparation programs for urban teacher candidates; low pay, high teacher absenteeism; and unpleasant work environments.

An effective strategy for improvement will require major changes in how teachers are recruited, trained, compensated, rewarded and assigned. It will mean changing work conditions so that good teachers are supported and retained. It will imply new contractual relations between teachers and school employers with respect to hiring and evaluation. Additionally, it will provide teachers with opportunities for professional development focused on their own subject matter, student learning and development, and teaching methods.

States have been addressing these key factors successfully through a number of initiatives:

- Ohio has begun to redesign professional development by creating teacher academies that are managed by district leaders in collaboration with the local university system.
- Texas is currently developing a mentoring network program where schools that have successfully implemented research-based practices to improve student achievement serve as mentors for failing, or near-failing schools.
- Kentucky and North Carolina have changed low performing schools and student achievement results with Distinguished Educators, or school assistance teams of experienced educators, who are assigned to schools identified as “in need of improvement”;
- Beginning with the 1999-2000 school year, Maryland will implement a two-year effort, under its School Accountability for Excellence (SAFE) program, to provide new K-12 funding to support at-risk students over a five-year period.
- New Jersey has adopted “Whole School Reform” as its state program to appropriate additional funds to establish more equitable funding levels across districts.
- California recently passed legislation for state-level initiatives that provide funding for schools committed to

comprehensive school reform. Funding supports the implementation of research-based school improvement models at the school level.

The Council of Chief State Schools Officers (CCSSO) continues to grant high priority to helping states improve teacher quality. In 1998 under its major theme of *Strengthening Professional Practice*, Council members renewed their commitment to help teachers and school leaders perform at high levels by supporting these actions:

- Actively recruiting candidates for teaching and school leadership;
- Assuring candidates are well prepared for teaching and school leadership;
- Supporting teachers and principals in the initial years of practice;
- Promoting the continued academic and pedagogical professional growth for teachers and school leaders; and,
- Creating career patterns with lasting satisfaction.

CCSSO is also initiating a major program over the next three years to assist its members and state education agency staff improve the quality of teachers in low-performing, high poverty urban schools. This effort promotes the effective use of anticipated new Title 1 dollars to improve high-poverty, low achieving schools. The Council believes that upgrading the quality of teaching is the most significant intervention that can be made in these schools.

The challenge of teaching all American students to meet high world-class standards is greater than the current capacity of the American education system can handle—particularly for children in high-poverty, low-performing schools. More talented recruits are needed; better preparation is essential; stronger retraining of current staff is critical; and better induction, mentoring, and offerings of career patterns with higher economic rewards are necessary. The Council of Chief State School Officers believes that these components are working in some places, but they are not widespread. Putting them together is a task for the entire system to tackle. To this end, the Council is prepared to move forward as never before to promote the best research and practice in an effort to ensure high teacher quality and student achievement in all our nation’s classrooms.

Gordon M. Ambach is the executive director of the Council of Chief State School Officers.

A TIME FOR ACTION

BY ANNE BRYANT

PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS STRUGGLE EVERY YEAR TO PUT qualified teachers in their classrooms. The best teachers are often lured to districts that have established fine reputations and attractive starting salaries. We are now seeing evidence of “bidding” wars with signing bonuses and other financial incentives. Districts with high minority and poor populations are often forced to hire teachers who have inadequate training and who are not prepared for their working environment.

What can be done? We need to put better-trained teachers in all classrooms regardless of where their districts are. We can start by creating more comprehensive curricula in college and university training programs.

Some districts have addressed this challenge through partnerships with local universities to help novice teachers become proficient educators.

- Pekin Grade School District 108 in Pekin, IL has entered into a partnership with Illinois State University for a “Professional Development School.” They believe this partnership will significantly influence teacher training and enhance the quality of new teachers.
- Dayton City and Trotwood-Madison City Schools in Ohio are in partnership with Wright State University for teacher preparation. Wright State interns work closely with school districts and determine what experiences are needed to best prepare teachers. They feel that through this partnership the fears and misgivings teachers with rural and suburban backgrounds have about urban children and schools will be eased.
- The Tukwila School District, near Seattle, Washington, has entered into partnerships with two universities to improve teacher training. At designated schools, a cohort group of student teachers intern for an entire school year with very favorable results. They feel teachers are well prepared to teach in urban and diverse settings after this experience.

Mentoring programs help new teachers make a smooth transition into the profession. There are many outstanding mentoring and induction programs across the country.

- Lake Zurich District 95 in Illinois has for the past two years supported a Mentor Program for all new staff. After an

initial two-day introduction to the district, new teachers are paired with veterans who act as mentors throughout the first two years of the new teachers’ employment.

- Newark Public Schools in Newark, New Jersey provides a variety of support services to enhance teacher development and constantly improve teacher quality. One such service places an on-site “staff developer” in each of the district’s sixty-five K-8 schools to coach, model and develop effective teaching styles.

These programs need to be increased, enhanced and held to high standards. The overwhelming cry from school districts is for more and better professional development. School districts must support teachers in becoming life long learners. Districts must be sensitive to the cultural difference among their students. Districts must be held accountable for the types of students they are sending to colleges or out in the work force. These are all easy statements to make. Much of it takes money and much work needs to be done. And it can be done.

The National School Boards Association works in partnership with several organizations to improve public education. One such partnership is the Learning First Alliance, a coalition of national education organizations that is working to improve teacher quality. Through its member organizations, the Alliance works to ensure that high academic expectations are held for all students, to provide a positive and supportive place of learning for all students, and to engage parents and community members to help students achieve at high academic levels. We are making progress.

Over the next year the NSBA will strive, as it always has, to improve the state of public education in this country. We will continue to lobby Congress for increased funding for programming in public schools—programs that will enhance the quality of teachers. We will continue to work with our state associations to provide solid training and professional development programs for school boards and we will continue to implement the Key Work of School Boards—an initiative created to engage the community to help increase the achievement of all students.

Our children’s future is at stake. We must change with the changing tide. The time is now and we are eager to meet the challenge.

Anne Bryant is executive director of the National School Boards Association.

HIGHER EDUCATION

PARTNERSHIPS TO ADDRESS THIS NATIONAL TRAGEDY

BY DAVID G. IMIG

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER Education (AACTE) views the problem of weak teachers in our most challenging schools as a national tragedy. We also view the problem as more than simply a need for increased accountability for teacher education programs. The goal we embrace is to see that every classroom in America has a highly trained teacher (teachers who possess requisite academic ability and who have met all the “entrance” criteria that good research deems essential).

Preparing sufficient numbers of high-performing teachers of mathematics, science, special education and bilingual education is where we must start because it is the shortage of such teachers in our poorest schools that makes this problem most acute. We need courageous political and business leaders, governors and mayors who will make this their number one priority. Partnerships and coalitions that bridge many constituencies and involve both the public and private sectors have to join this effort. But educators have to take the lead and show they have both the courage and the resolve to make this the nation’s priority.

The questions we would begin with are: What will it take to recruit extraordinarily bright and capable people to careers in teaching, particularly in such hard-to-teach subjects as reading and mathematics? What kind of preparation do they need to enable them to teach all students to their greatest potential? Are traditional models best suited to do this or do we need new models to realize the goal? How do we instill in prospective teachers sufficient zeal to make them want to pick up the challenge? How do we acclimate prospective teachers to the rigors and challenges of teaching in our poorest schools? What is the best balance between campus experience and classroom observation and practice for prospective teachers? How do we get prospective teachers through the “paperwork shuffle” and into those classrooms? How do we provide beginning teachers with mentoring and teams of support personnel, with salaries comparable to those of our best public schools, with working conditions designed to

facilitate teacher learning and to promote teacher interaction? How do we create safe and nurturing school environments in which to learn? Probing each of those questions will produce lots of road maps to follow.

Many AACTE member schools and colleges and departments of education have been addressing this situation for a long time. Hundreds of ed schools, both urban-based and in other communities, are working on every facet of the problem, from attracting more candidates of color to teaching—with early intervention programs at the middle school level and feeder high schools—to developing powerful mentoring and induction programs for teachers in high-needs schools.

Five distinct strategies are evident in the efforts of ed schools across the country that are addressing the challenge:

- Creating sophisticated recruitment efforts to attract low-income students and students of color to careers in teaching;
- Creating urban-based teacher education programs;
- Creating formal partnerships for professional development school relationships;
- Linking student teaching and/or internship experiences in urban settings with powerful mentorships and beginning teacher programs; and
- Creating special programs that bring the entire university to work on the problems of urban schools and school districts.

Over the coming year, AACTE will be nurturing a new partnership between D.C. metropolitan area ed schools and the District of Columbia Public School System. Such efforts are intended to bridge the gap that often exists between urban school systems and their urban ed schools. In addition we will work with others in the Learning First Alliance—the unique collaborative of twelve education groups—to both consider how to build more safe and nurturing school environments and to create policies for their realization. We will join with many partners to address the problem in an organized, systemic and political way.

Finally, we will speak out on the teacher deficit, calling for policies and resources to address this American tragedy.

David G. Imig is president and CEO of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

RIISING TO THE CHALLENGE

BY DONALD N. LANGENBERG

THE RECOGNITION THAT INADEQUATE TEACHER performance is a major cause of low student performance has focused school reform initiatives across the nation on teacher preparation and certification, and has drawn into those initiatives the colleges and universities that educate and train teachers, often under the aegis of “K-16” partnerships. During the past several years, the National Association of System Heads (NASH) has worked with the Education Trust to propagate the K-16 gospel, with the result that some twenty of the fifty states now have active efforts involving their elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education institutions, as well as their business communities. In Maryland, the University System of Maryland is engaged in reforming its eight teacher education schools and programs, and has strongly supported a recent major enhancement of teacher certification requirements by the State Board of Education, as well as other Board initiatives to strengthen teacher preparation.

Laudable though such efforts may be, however, it is becoming increasingly clear that they are grossly insufficient. There is a Sword of Damocles hanging over the teacher improvement movement. It is the demand in this decade for about twice as many new teachers as our schools of education seem likely to graduate, conducting business as usual. We must have better teachers, and we must also have many more teachers. Just how we are going to accomplish both, and soon, seems to be a mystery to just about everybody, including the current presidential candidates. Where is Superman when we need him?

It seems to me that, while we’re awaiting a visitor from Krypton, we ought to consider—and take—actions appropriate to the nature and the scale of the problem before us. Its nature and scale are such that many of the necessary actions will have to be of the unthinkable and impossible variety. So be it, for we have a very real national crisis on our hands, and we must do what Americans always do in such circumstances, i.e., rise to the challenge!

Here’s what I think we need to do:

- *Focus evaluation and compensation of teachers primarily on their impacts on the performance of their students.* A teacher’s academic background or longevity is far less important than his or her effect on the *progress* of students for

whom the teacher is responsible. And “progress” is key; a teacher who can help underprivileged inner-city sixth graders make up lost ground by bringing their reading skills from third- to fifth-grade levels in one year is more valuable than a teacher who simply moves privileged suburban students’ performance levels from one year to the next.

- *Pay good teachers what they are worth.* It’s time we recognized that those responsible for developing our children’s brains are worth at least as much as those who develop our electronic brains. I’d guesstimate that, on average, teacher’s salaries ought to be about 50% higher than they are now. Some teachers, including the very best, those who teach in shortage fields (e.g., math and science) and those who teach in the most challenging environments (e.g., inner cities) ought to have salaries about twice the current norm. (There are those, including a good friend of mine, a civic leader deeply committed to education, who think we couldn’t possibly afford such teacher salaries. I say, “Nonsense!” Simple arithmetic applied to publicly available data shows that the increased cost would be only 0.6% of the GDP, about one twentieth of what we pay for health care. I’d assert that if we can’t bring ourselves to pony up that amount, we will pay far more dearly in the long run.)

- *Cease employing inadequate teachers.* Teachers who are unqualified, underqualified, or simply incompetent have no place in our classrooms and we ought to stop employing them. We wouldn’t let people unqualified to practice medicine work on our kids’ bodies, so why do we let people unqualified to teach work on their minds? Those who think this would inevitably lead to a teacher shortage should consider the preceding bullet.

- *Treat teachers – and expect them to behave – like members of a learned profession.* This means profound changes in the behavior of our schools, who employ teachers, of our universities, who prepare teachers, and of teachers themselves.

Like most readers, I suspect, I find it far easier to think of reasons why these actions are impractical and impossible than to figure out how to accomplish them. Nevertheless, I am convinced that if we fail to accomplish them, our nation is—and will remain—at risk!

Donald N. Langenberg is chancellor of the University System of Maryland and the current president of the National Association of System Heads.

HIGHER EDUCATION

HOW TEACHING KNOWLEDGE MATTERS

BY LINDA DARLING-HAMMOND

A GROWING BODY OF RESEARCH INDICATES THAT TEACHER expertise is one of the most important factors in determining student achievement. An equally large body of research shows that to be effective, teachers need to know both their subject matter and how to teach it to diverse learners.

Despite this evidence, at least thirty states allow individuals to enter teaching who have not had any formal preparation for the job and who have not met their states' own certification standards. The vast majority of these teachers are assigned to teach in low-income and minority schools. This practice has created even greater inequities and increasingly damaging outcomes for students who are denied access to skillful teachers while the students are held accountable to tests that determine their promotion and graduation.

Knowledge about teaching matters especially to students with special learning needs, because untrained teachers are typically unable to diagnose learning problems or to address them when they occur. Studies of underprepared teachers consistently find that they have difficulty with curriculum development, classroom management, student motivation, and teaching strategies. With little knowledge about how children grow, learn, and develop, or about what to do to support their learning, these teachers are less likely to understand student learning differences, to anticipate students' knowledge and potential difficulties, or to plan and redirect instruction to meet students' needs. They are also less likely to see it as their job to do so, often blaming the students if their teaching is not successful. Thus, policies that resolve shortages by supporting the hiring of unprepared teachers serve only to exacerbate the inequalities low-income and minority children experience.

What can be done? A number of states and districts have tackled the issue of teaching quality in a comprehensive way with extraordinary results. The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future has documented successful strategies in states like Connecticut, North Carolina, and Kentucky and in urban districts like Cincinnati, Ohio, Rochester New York, and New Haven, California – all places that have made systematic investments in getting and keeping well-prepared teachers in districts and schools where they are needed the most.

Connecticut's story is instructive. In a state with a student population that is more than 25% minority and with increasing poverty and language diversity, student achievement has

increased steadily and steeply throughout the 1990s, reaching number one in the nation in elementary reading and mathematics and achieving top rankings in science and writing as well. The state has pursued a consistent strategy since the 1980s, when it

- significantly raised and equalized teacher salaries,
- raised licensing standards and eliminated emergency licensing,
- required more teacher education for teaching reading, for teaching special needs students, and for using research-based practices,
- provided scholarships for attracting top candidates into teacher education in high-need fields and for high-need locations,
- created a beginning teacher mentoring and assessment program for all new teachers,
- invested in widespread professional development based on effective strategies like Reading Recovery,
- aligned student standards and teaching standards,
- stimulated improvements in teacher evaluation linked to teaching standards,
- created a low-stakes performance-based assessment system for students which provides rich information to districts and schools, and
- provided categorical aid to low-achieving districts to help them improve the quality of education for their students.

This combination of policies successfully moved Connecticut away from widespread teacher shortages which caused the large-scale hiring of unqualified teachers, especially in its cities. Within three years, the state had teacher surpluses that have continued for over a decade. Connecticut now has one of the best-prepared teaching forces in the country that shares common knowledge for effective practice.

While the state continues to work on reducing the achievement gap between rich and poor and white and minority students, the gap is closing. Currently, African American and Hispanic students in Connecticut outscore their counterparts nationally by more than 50% in reading. The emerging success stories in Connecticut and other states and districts show that, by doing what matters most—investing in teaching, with the quest for excellence built on a foundation of equity—all students can learn, and all students do learn. In large part they learn because their teachers also have opportunities to learn.

Linda Darling-Hammond is Charles E. Ducommun Professor of Education at Stanford University and executive director of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future.

LESSONS FROM BUSINESS

BY SUSAN TRAIMAN

BUSINESS LEADERS, LIKE MANY EDUCATORS AND policymakers, believe that virtually every aspect of how teachers are recruited, prepared, licensed, compensated and provided ongoing training needs improvement. Most important, efforts to improve teacher quality must be made in the context of standards-based reform, with policy and practice driven by high expectations for what students need to know and be able to do.

When The Business Roundtable and other business groups embraced standards-based reform a decade ago, international assessments and NAEP revealed that the vast majority of students in the U.S. were underperforming. It was clear to business leaders that the education system could not dramatically improve student achievement without a complete transformation. Trying to fix just one component of the system was doomed to failure.

In fits and starts, standards-based reform is moving forward. Some states and schools have made promising gains, providing convincing evidence that all students can achieve more than previously expected. There also is powerful data that good teachers significantly boost the achievement of poor and minority students.

Following closely on the heels of standards, assessment and accountability, the issue of teacher quality is a top priority for state business coalitions around the country. Attracting and retaining good teachers, particularly to teach in low-performing schools that serve poor and minority children, requires a deliberate strategy. Lessons from the private sector can be instructive.

The January 10, 2000 issue of *Fortune* magazine featured the results of its national survey on the "100 Best Companies to Work For." These companies value their employees and do their utmost to attract and retain talent. They recognize that in our increasingly competitive global economy highly skilled workers provide a competitive edge.

Yes, as one would expect, these top-rated companies offer stock options and other financial perks to their employees. But they also listen to employee input, offer flexible schedules that help balance work and family life, provide training, and address their employees' intellectual needs.

The *Fortune* survey reinforces advice from corporate

compensation experts. A group of these individuals participated in a recent conference for educators and policymakers from ten states interested in developing teacher salary structures that pay for both skills and performance. The Business Roundtable and the National Alliance of Business invited these experts to share what the private sector has learned about new forms of compensation. They emphasized the importance of viewing compensation in the total context of the work environment. Today's employees not only want fair pay, they also want exciting and challenging work.

The survey and the experience of the business community offer some important insights on the issue of teacher quality. In contrast to the practice in many schools where weak teachers are assigned to the most vulnerable students, successful companies put their best people in "turnaround" situations. There are strong expectations and incentives for outstanding individuals to take on tough assignments. To attract top teaching talent to low-performing schools, policymakers will need to incorporate a mix of incentives that address both salary and working conditions—for example, differentiated roles and pay, rewards for progress in improving student achievement, opportunities to develop skills in using the latest technology, relevant professional development, and flexible hours for qualified teachers who prefer part-time work.

Research documenting that student achievement is higher when students have good teachers affirms what parents have always known. In fact, savvy parents, armed with knowledge from the neighborhood grapevine, frequently lobby for their children to be placed with the "best" teachers in a school.

But not all children have advocates who can pressure the bureaucracy on their behalf. At a time when states are raising academic standards, replacing minimum competency tests with more challenging assessments, and identifying low-performing schools, it is incumbent on all of us to assure that poor and minority children do not continue to be shortchanged. At the same, the allocation of good teachers cannot be a zero sum game. Business leaders, working in collaboration with educators and policymakers, will continue to promote the changes needed to improve teaching and learning for all children.

Susan Traiman is director of The Business Roundtable's Education Initiative.

BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY

IMPROVING TEACHING IN COMMUNITY-BASED SCHOOLS

BY RAUL YZAGUIRRE

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT LATINO AND OTHER MINORITY students are more likely than their white and more affluent peers to be in schools with unqualified, often ineffective teachers, and that this has a substantially negative effect on the achievement of these students. With the advent of standards-based reform and widespread use of high-stakes tests, a well-qualified teacher for every classroom is not merely a desirable goal; it is among the “opportunity-to-learn” standards absolutely necessary to help students meet more rigorous academic standards. Unfortunately, teachers in schools attended by Latinos are often not equipped to help their students achieve high standards.

Teachers in high-poverty areas often do not represent the ethnic backgrounds of their students. They are more likely to teach with temporary, provisional or emergency certification, and to teach out of their subject area. Many of these teachers have limited access to essential professional development. Teachers who follow a traditional course in their preparation, and who may be fully certified or credentialed, are not necessarily more likely to remain in their field, or more apt to manage the real-world issues of today’s urban classroom, or more able to meet their students’ needs. Teacher education programs often lack the real-world content that can contribute to the survival of urban teachers, and help ensure new ones remain in the profession beyond the three- or five-year period during which they are most likely to quit.

Some of these problems are compounded in charter and alternative schools. Typically, charter and alternative schools are one-school local education agencies (LEAs) and are not connected with the school district. Many are also very small schools, which are beneficial in many ways, but also lead to certain “diseconomies of scale.” That is, the cost per teacher for providing professional development in these schools is much greater than in larger schools. They are, therefore, less likely than even low-income public schools to have well-defined, or fully developed in-service/professional development training programs of their own.

Whereas public schools have specific requirements and

mandates for professional development for their districts, charter school teachers are not often required to be certified or licensed, continuing education credits are not required, and there is no mandate for teachers to participate in professional development activities. When compounded with the lack of resources many such schools face, the probable result is an overrepresentation of poorly qualified teachers and a weak or nonexistent professional development program.

As of the 1997-98 school year, 21 of the 227 affiliates of National Council of La Raza (NCLR) were operating charter or alternative schools, some in more than one site; at least one dozen others are seeking charter status. With the trend to diminish or eliminate bilingual education programs, particularly in but not limited to California, Latino community-based organizations are being called upon to start alternative and charter schools, and to operate programs that meet the needs of limited-English proficient student populations.

While NCLR supports community-based charter and alternative schools, we are concerned that teachers in these schools are fully prepared to help their students meet requisite standards. That is why NCLR is designing, and plans to implement, intensive professional development institutes for teachers in our charter and alternative schools. Through these institutes, NCLR will help ensure that students attending these schools are taught by teachers prepared to help them meet challenging standards.

However, this effort will reach a small number of students. To ensure that standards-based reform leads to better academic outcomes for the majority of Latino and other minority students, the Congress and states must give serious consideration to proposals designed to remedy the inequitable distribution of qualified teachers in the public schools, including targeting professional development funding to schools in low-income communities, providing additional incentives for certified, experienced teachers to teach in these areas, and tailoring teacher pre-service preparation to include training in addressing the needs of low-income and language-minority students.

Raul Yzaguirre is president of the National Council of La Raza. Raul Gonzalez assisted in the preparation of this article.

DO WHAT WORKS (AND STOP DOING WHAT DOESN'T)

BY KELLY ALLIN BUTLER

THE ISSUE OF QUALIFIED TEACHERS FOR POOR AND minority children advances a welcome revolution. Parents for Public Schools is committed to this revolution.

Clearly, we must get to the issues of environment and the home, working conditions and teacher shortages and fair compensation. But the rubber is already on the road everyday in classrooms all across the country, where too many children of poverty and of color are victims of the grossest forms of educational malpractice. The medical community would not tolerate these casualties in their realm; neither should educators.

Until communities reclaim responsibility for their public schools and school boards provide bolder leadership, the revolution, in part, belongs to classroom teachers, not the ones who are complaining about *working* conditions, but the many enlightened, committed ones who are focused on *learning* conditions. The ones the research classifies as “high performance” teachers, meaning the kids in their care consistently perform well because they get the kind of instruction they need. They must break rank and help lead this movement from within.

On another front, external pressures and support to change old and entrenched patterns must be supplied as in the case of Parents to Public Schools chapters. In Jackson, Mississippi, the founding chapter of PPS is spearheading a multi-organization project which focuses on improving the capacity of principals to serve as instructional leaders. Initiated by public school parents with funding from The Ford Foundation, the Ask4More Collaborative targets the most impoverished and lowest performing feeder system in this urban district. This community partnership—including the Millsaps College Principals’ Institute, the Algebra Project, Jackson State University’s Institute for Education Renewal, and the Public Education forum—is shaping measurable and systemic change in practice that is data driven. Aligning the curriculum fosters logical, but unprecedented communications across grade levels and exposes and corrects weak links in the instructional chain.

On other fronts, civic-minded philanthropists, like Mississippi’s own Jim and Sally Barksdale, are also looking

for results. Their \$100 million investment in intensive training and retraining of teachers through the Barksdale Reading Institute begins with the forty lowest performing public schools in year one and will build a system of professional competency and accountability across this impoverished state. Mississippi is a place to watch.

For others who feel removed from the problem or simply wring their hands in frustration, you can run, but you cannot hide. This problem is not going away and it will not be solved by vouchers. It will take serious new resources, but mostly it will take guts and honesty, so ...

- *Wake up and smell the smoke.* A community’s responsibility for meeting the educational needs of the poor is no different from its more accepted responsibilities of providing medical care, safe water, fire protection.
- *Adopt an attitude of urgency.* This is a crisis that needs emergency, intermediate and long-term solutions. Emergency measures are not quick fixes, neither should real change take a decade. Teacher quality, beginning with the lowest performing schools, should be every school board’s priority.
- *Make children’s learning the number one goal.* Every single strategy should be couched in equity and focused on the educational needs of children, not the convenience of adults in the system or the privileged who have a voice. Do what works, stop doing what doesn’t. Be clear about both, or go do something else.
- *Think outside the box.* Those who have given up on institutional reform of our public schools have begun to take the box apart. Public education advocates must bring honesty and innovation to training, certifying, assigning, evaluating, compensating and retaining teachers.

Of course, we need more and better parent involvement, but schools cannot wait around for the “right” kids with the “right” support to show up. We must teach, and teach well, those who come to us. It may not be easy and it may not be cheap, but it is no longer a matter of know-how. It is a matter of public and professional will. The will to put children first and to get on with the business of teaching and learning, in spite of the challenges.

Kelly Allin Butler is executive director of Parents for Public Schools, Inc.

BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY

MOBILIZING THE COMMUNITY TO SUPPORT GOOD TEACHING

BY WENDY D. PURIEFOY

OF ALL THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING URBAN SCHOOLS—poverty, violence, high drop-out rates, students who don't speak English, unqualified teachers, dilapidated buildings, and a lack of resources and textbooks—the shortage of qualified teachers may be the most damaging to students. Recent studies have shown that it takes students a few years to offset the effects of even one bad teacher, while even one good teacher significantly improves student performance.

Equally important, local communities can and must play a significant role if all children are to have access to competent and caring teachers. Experience in working with educators in some of our most disadvantaged communities reveals that even the best teachers cannot be successful without the support of their districts, adequate resources and opportunities for continuous learning.

Through its network of local education funds (LEFs), the Public Education Network is working with communities across the country to develop strategic reforms to improve teaching. The efforts of LEFs—which serve more than 5 million poor and disadvantaged young people in 84 communities across 27 states—are designed to meet the needs of local schools and school districts. Common intervention strategies across sites include support for National Professional Standards Board Certification, direct grants to teachers and schools, and the establishment of teacher learning centers and networks.

In Denver, the Public Education and Business Coalition (PEBC) operates a Teaching & Learning Center that offers ongoing professional development and leadership programs for teachers and principals. The center helps develop teachers' knowledge of specific content areas and their use of technology, standards, and assessments in the classroom. Like many other LEFs, the PEBC offers grants to teachers, supports teachers' training in technology, and provides stipends for teachers' research.

The Los Angeles Educational Partnership (LAEP) operates a teacher network serving more than 3,000 teachers and a direct grant program that has given out more than \$7

million to encourage innovative teaching and school improvement. LAEP also runs a comprehensive Science/Math Advancement and Resources for Teachers (SMART) program that benefits thousands of mathematics and science teachers.

In partnership with the Boston Public Schools, the Boston Plan for Excellence in Public Schools has established the 21st Century Schools program, a broad-based whole-school improvement effort that has improving teaching and learning at its core. As part of the program, schools choose an instructional focus and examine student skills, financial and human resources, and their teaching to redesign their schools. Direct grants of \$20,000-\$50,000 per year for four years support school teacher/leader coaches and professional development, broadened use of technology, and staff visits to other schools.

In New York, New Visions for Public Schools is already working with more than 30 "New Visions Schools" to focus on student achievement and promote effective teaching. The LEF sponsors programs such as Project FIRST, which recruits and trains AmeriCorps National Service Members to serve as school-based technology coordinators. The Real World Mathematics project seeks to improve teaching and learning in mathematics by training teachers in new instructional approaches and working with local businesses to show teachers and students how math is used in the real world.

These programs are examples of efforts being implemented in urban communities by organizations that exist for public schools but are not operated by public schools. Over the next year, the Public Education Network will continue to direct national resources to bolster these local activities and to ensure that more community organizations introduce strategies that work. In addition, building public engagement in support of more qualified teachers is a major national priority for PEN.

We cannot expect disadvantaged students to achieve high standards unless they have access to highly motivated, qualified, and accomplished teachers, and it will be difficult to acquire these teachers without massive public and community involvement.

Wendy Puriefoy is president of the Public Education Network.

PROFESSIONALIZE THE TEACHING PROFESSION

BY HUGH B. PRICE

GIVEN THE PROJECTED SHORTAGE OF PRINCIPALS AND teachers, plus the need to increase teacher quality in urban and rural schools serving low-income children, the compensation offered education must be improved dramatically in order to create a strong demand for these jobs.

This can be done by increasing salaries to levels comparable with other professions and by offering attractive inducements like generous student loan write-offs for graduates who enter the profession.

Why not offer young people with masters' degrees the same initial salaries as young MBAs, attorneys and engineers? Since most urban and rural districts are strapped financially, the federal and state governments should take the lead in financing the economic incentives needed to attract stronger educators to these school districts.

These special incentives should only be available to educators with masters' degrees who are certified by the state and who sign up to teach for at least five-to-ten years in low-income communities. If they leave the profession early, the loan relief would cease.

The critically important *quid pro quo* for paying educators like real professionals is that they in turn must relinquish those contract-based protections that other professionals do not enjoy. I speak of tenure, seniority, overtime, guaranteed class size, length of class periods and other provisions that severely impede the ability of principals to run their schools in the best interest of children.

Recently, just across the Hudson River from where the National Education Summit was taking place, the city of Yonkers was roiled by a rancorous school strike. At issue was an instructionally sound proposal by the new superintendent to devote more classroom time per day to fewer core subjects. The local Federation of Teachers cried foul; the school board called their bluff, and the union walkout was on.

The grown-ups in charge of the school district made a sorry mess of a solid idea that principals and teachers probably could have sorted out rather easily in their respective schools.

If governors and state legislators truly believe their assertion that states are the engines of school improvement these days, they should muster the political courage to grant individual school boards and principals the discretion they need to run their schools.

Unions should be able to bargain districtwide, indeed statewide, over salaries and fringe benefits. But subject to appropriate oversight by their boards, principals should make all personnel decisions, such as who to hire and for how long, as well as the standards for measuring staff performance and the consequences if they fall short.

It isn't realistic politically to expect school districts to redefine the scope of union agreements this radically. So it's up to governors and state legislators who profess to care about children to override existing agreements and impose these conditions.

Hugh B. Price is president of the National Urban League.

"YOU MIGHT START BY FIXING THE BATHROOMS" ACTIONS FOR COMMUNITIES AND STATES

As is clear from the wide assortment of ideas from our guest columnists, we're not yet near a national consensus on what strategies would enable us to remedy the imbalances in teacher quality documented in this report. This is due, at least in part, to the fact that the uneven and unfair distribution of good teachers is the result of policies and practices at many levels—from the highest elected offices to the teachers' lounge. Thus, there is no one silver bullet to ensure equity in the distribution of good teachers. Virtually everyone has a role to play. And up until now that's meant that everyone had someone else to blame. It is long past time to stop passing the buck on this. It's time to take responsibility and to get to work.

Yes, some states and communities have made half-hearted attempts to blunt the edges of this tragedy, but none have committed themselves to an all-out effort to assure that poor children are taught by teachers of at least the same quality as other children.

We need—as a nation, as states, as communities, as institutions and as individuals—to do just that. We need to design and test a wide range of strategies at multiple levels and we need to stick with them until we get a combination that works.

In the meantime, though, some ideas cry out for immediate action. We'll list those first, then follow with a menu of ideas drawn from our guests and others.

Recommendation 1. Fix the bathrooms ... and the teachers' room (and, while you're at it, the restrooms for students as well).

The conditions of the schools that serve low-income and minority students send powerful messages about how we value the teachers and students who work in the schools. While you are getting your other strategies figured out and in place, at the very least do this.

Recommendation 2. Get your data together and get it out.

Share with both educators and your various publics honest, clear data about teacher quality and the impact it has on student achievement.

- Show what proportions of your teachers are fully certified, what proportions of secondary classes are taught by teachers without a major in their fields, what proportions of teachers have less than two years

experience, and how these proportions vary among different kinds of schools (e.g., low- and high-poverty).

- Analyze the relationships between these variables and student achievement, using, if you can, a value-added analysis by classroom.
- Collect and report student and parent views as well.¹

Recommendation 3. Convene a broad-based group to brainstorm and comb the country for possible solutions. Ask teachers, especially the very best, for their ideas and to help lead the process.

Recommendation 4. Get going. And keep us informed of what you're doing and how it's going.

¹ See, for example, a particularly compelling report of parent views conducted by the Oakland, CA chapter of ACORN.

A MENU OF ACTION POSSIBILITIES

Rearrange Time by:

- Reducing teachers' course or instructional load, and freeing up time for professional development and work with individual students;
- Reducing the student load of secondary teachers;
- Permitting—even encouraging—job sharing or other part-time arrangements.

Create Rich Environments for Professional Development by:

- Providing twice as many professional development dollars and twice as much time;
- Recruiting accomplished teachers and giving them time and support for structured relationships with other teachers in the school;
- Recruiting local businesses and foundations to sponsor teachers to go through the process for gaining National Board Certification;

Improve and Stabilize School Leadership by:

- Appointing the best principals—principals who are collaborative leaders and knowledgeable about instructional improvement—and *leaving them in place for at least five to seven years.*

Increase Economic Rewards by:

- Paying all teachers a competitive wage, but paying more to those who take on the biggest challenges;
- Replacing current salary schedules with systems wherein teachers maximize pay not through seniority, but through a combination of increasing knowledge, increasing effectiveness, and taking on the biggest challenges;
- Providing Summer Fellowships that allow teachers in high-poverty schools to recharge their intellectual batteries through further exploration of their fields, summer placements in related industries, or travel.
- Providing generous student loan forgiveness to the best and the brightest teachers to teach in high-poverty, high-minority schools.
- Providing substantial financial incentives (e.g., at least \$10,000 per year) for Board Certified or other exemplary teachers to teach in high-poverty schools. Such incentives should not be limited to signing bonuses intended to attract effective teachers to these schools. They should also include incentives to encourage effective teachers to *stay* in these schools.

Increase Non-Monetary Rewards by:

- Organizing “Thank You Events” whereby parents and leaders from business, higher education and the community can acknowledge publicly the contributions of those who teach in high-poverty schools and simply say thanks;
- Providing regular sabbaticals;
- Awarding adjunct status or other university privileges.

Get Higher Education Involved by:

- Rewarding universities that design and implement exemplary programs aimed at increasing the supply of top-notch teachers in high-poverty and high-minority schools.

Changing Policy by:

- Prohibiting the placement of unqualified and inexperienced teachers in low-performing schools;
- Requiring that low- and high-poverty schools be staffed with teachers of comparable quality;
- Prohibiting children from being assigned to two un- or underqualified teachers in a row;
- Putting into place “Parent Right to Know Policies,” requiring schools to notify parents when their children are being taught by un- or underqualified teachers.
- Eliminating contract provisions that guarantee senior teachers a right to teach wherever they want to, and replacing them with policies guaranteeing a fair distribution of teachers.
- Establishing a mechanism that quickly and fairly removes ineffective teachers—those who with substantial support cannot or will not improve—from the classroom.

Aggressively Recruit Effective Teachers by:

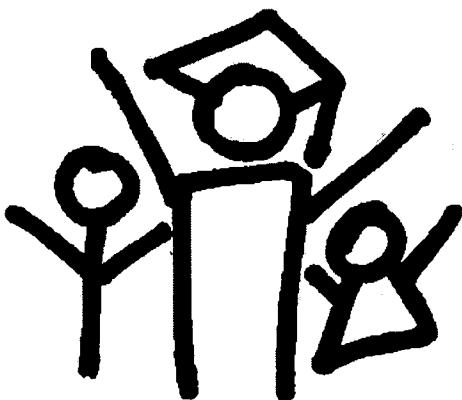
- Identifying the sources of best new and best veteran teachers; and
- Developing “honor in the box car” campaigns aimed at them.

Improve Working Conditions by:

- Fixing dilapidated teachers rooms and restrooms; and,
- Providing phones, voice-mail, and networked computers.

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