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A PORTRAIT OF A SCHOOL POISED FOR CHANGE: BRINGING
GOVERNANCE, TIME AND CULTURE INTO FOCUS
AT CHESTNUT MIDDLE SCHOOL

A Dissertation Presented

by

MARIO F. CIRILLO, JR.

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1995

School of Education

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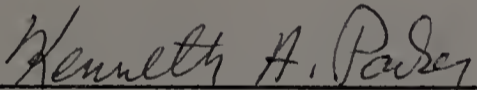
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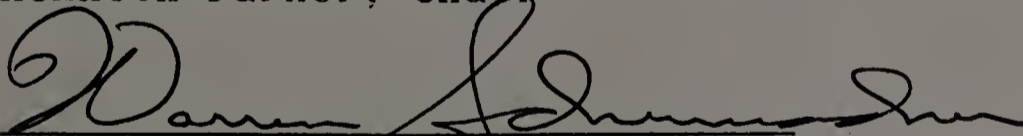
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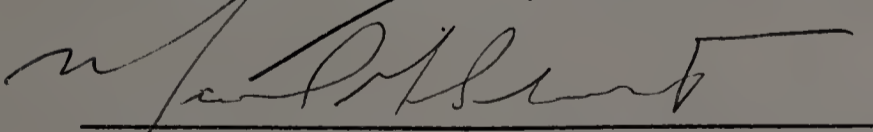
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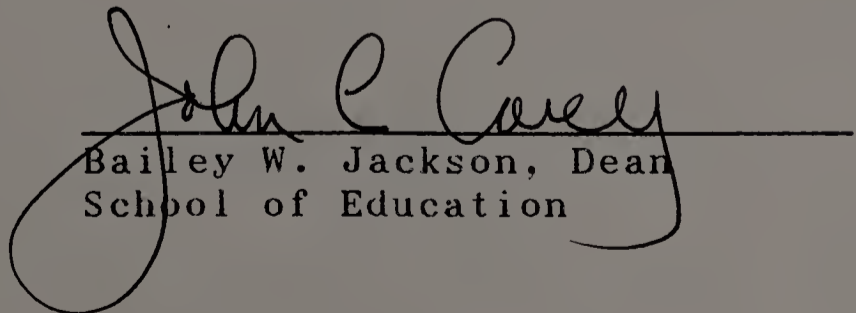
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I dedicate this work to Kathleen D. Gagne with appreciation, admiration and the knowledge that without her presence in my life this work would not have been completed.

ABSTRACT

A PORTRAIT OF A SCHOOL POISED FOR CHANGE: BRINGING
GOVERNANCE, TIME AND CULTURE INTO FOCUS AT CHESTNUT
MIDDLE SCHOOL

MAY 1995

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This study presented a portrait of a school poised for change in terms of its governance, time and culture. The purpose of this study was to investigate the major bodies of literature on restructuring, choice and the philosophy supporting Accelerated Schools in order to identify the important, positive elements that are foundational to creating a developmental framework for significant change in education and, in particular, the ongoing restructuring efforts at Chestnut Middle School.

This researcher, in the role of participant-observer, described his observations of the school over a six year period. In doing so he analyzed emergent patterns and themes from the study which were

reflected in the literature and described their application to the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School. Four teachers were interviewed throughout a two year period concerning their descriptions and evaluations of their experiences and reactions to the restructuring process at the school in relation to these same themes. Additionally, the study presented a chronological overview of the Accelerated Schools Project during the first two years at Chestnut Middle School through the analysis of three major areas of focus: governance, time and culture.

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CHAPTER I

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND BACKGROUND

Focus of the Study

Like any other community of people, a school often has the innate ability of holding its collective breath during an event. The message sent by such a response is clear: "this too shall pass". This study investigated a school actively committed to what it clearly has come to understand as, not the event, but the process of restructuring. Uniquely, this process was not born from mandate but simply as a response to the clarification of the basic mission of educating its young people. This study presented a portrait of a school poised for change in terms of its governance, time and culture.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the major bodies of literature on restructuring, choice and the philosophy supporting Accelerated Schools in order to identify the important, positive elements that are foundational to creating a developmental framework for significant change in education and, in particular, the ongoing restructuring efforts at Chestnut Middle School.

Specifically, this study focused on three main areas:

1. A review of the literature concerning restructuring, school choice, and Accelerated Schools philosophy from a historical and societal perspective.

2. A case study of one school, Chestnut Middle School, which is currently in the process of undergoing substantial change using the philosophical framework of Accelerated Schools.

3. In-depth interviews with four current faculty members at Chestnut Middle School. These teachers offered their individual perspectives on the ongoing restructuring of their school. Also included is an analysis of these interviews in terms of the impact of the change process on the teachers personally and professionally.

This study evaluated the way in which the change process affected the school community with regard to restructuring and governance, time and culture. The interviews spanned two school years, with each teacher being interviewed three times: once during the early part of the restructuring process, once after the initial phase of Accelerated Schools was completed and once at the beginning of the second year of restructuring. The data provided the researcher with information about the general implications of

restructuring as well as the specific impact of the Accelerated Schools philosophical framework on four teachers at an urban middle school with particular emphasis on the issues of governance, time and culture.

Assumptions

The fundamental assumptions underlying this study are:

1. The current educational system must be rethought and re-designed in order to meet the demands of our changing society and to achieve goals commonly held by school practitioners.

2. One form of restructuring, schools of choice, brings definition to a school and offers positive outcomes in terms of governance, time and culture.

3. Accelerated Schools philosophy is consistent with many of the positive indicators inherent in the literature concerning schools of choice.

4. The restructuring of a school should be formal and comprehensive.

5. Any school has within itself the ability and power to effect significant, positive change.

6. In order for lasting change to occur in any school, careful attention should be paid to the issues of governance, time and culture.

Rationale for the Study

The body of literature reviewed for this study makes it abundantly clear that restructuring is needed in American public education (Harvey and Crandall, 1988; Mirman, 1988) and that choice offers an avenue to identify common, positive factors leading to the formulation of a set of criteria on which to base restructuring efforts (Rosenberg, 1989). Furthermore, it is imperative that the type of restructuring needed is not the typical "top down, add on" mandated variety but rather substantive, "bottom-up", building-level core restructuring (Barth, 1990). Three particular areas of emphasis in core restructuring involve issues of school governance, time and culture (Saphier, 1993).

Understanding substantive, building-level core restructuring and the implications of choice can help identify important problems of adaptation, integration and evaluation and help lead to a plan that offers a simultaneous solution to many of the articulated problems of a particular school system. Because this study details the steps of an ongoing building-level restructuring plan in an existing urban middle school, it will be of particular value to the urban school system charged with the task of restructuring, to other urban school systems, to school district administrators,

to practitioners as well as for the generation and expansion of restructuring theory. Furthermore, the study provides a realistic framework which aids in the understanding of the restructuring process. The portrait of Chestnut Middle School presents an opportunity to view significant change from the unique perspectives of actual practitioners who are currently engaged in the core restructuring of their school.

This study provides school district personnel with information by which they can design a restructuring plan to aid in the transition to a system that meets the needs of its students in a changing society. Additionally, it presents an analysis of the components necessary for change, and offers a model that can help school districts attain proposed reforms that go beyond tactical or procedural reforms and help achieve substantive, strategic restructuring.

Lastly, this study makes a contribution to the current existing literature concerning public school restructuring and choice and, by describing this phenomenon, expands existing theory.

Background for the Topic

American society is undergoing a transition. It is critical that we find better ways to empower our youth

as responsible lifelong learners suited for America in the 21st century. Since the introduction of A Nation At Risk in 1983, numerous studies looking at our future, at effective schools and at issues facing education, have concluded that a restructuring of education is needed.

Research on young people today indicate that as many as 50 percent may be served poorly in our present structure of schooling. These at-risk youth may drop out, or simply go through the motions of learning and become disconnected from learning and from society.

Whether or not past adjustments in our educational system have been adequate to respond to changes in our society is open to debate, but there is broad sentiment that the magnitude of the changes we will encounter in our immediate future will not be well served by merely tinkering with schools. As Harvey and Crandall (1988) stress, "the current structure of American schools is not sufficiently powerful to meet the needs of students who will live and work in the 21st century."

Today we face the convergence of several economic and societal trends to which we can only respond in dramatic ways. The population of students in most schools is changing; the population and availability of teachers is changing; and the national and world economy is changing.

We have a legal and societal commitment to provide equal opportunity to all children, a goal about which this country is very proud. But that "all" is going to be defined by a drastically different population of students than we have ever known. More and more, this population will be characterized by children who are poor, who do not speak English, and who have physical, emotional and developmental handicaps (Hodgkinson, 1988).

These demographic changes are happening in a context of global economic changes that are redefining what we should teach in schools. Our educational goals are shifting from the transmittal of factual knowledge to the development of higher order thinking abilities. The evolution of the Information Age means that in order to prepare children to be responsible citizens, we must teach them to be life-long learners, communicators and problem solvers.

Mirman (1988) suggests a "formula" to help summarize the confluence of these trends that illustrates why we must set about reforming the very structure of our schools:

Demographic Changes (whom we teach and who teaches)
+ Economic and Social Changes (defining what we teach)
= Structural Changes (how we teach).

It is time to reconstruct the national vision of public education. The new vision must join the old

search for an institution that will provide the foundations for the nation's democratic and egalitarian aspirations and at the same time address the divisive national differences in race, class and outlook.

Without such a national vision, one cannot hope to maintain public support for education. And without a clear recognition of differences, one cannot hope for success.

Reform movements are born out of crisis. The so-called second wave of reform in education is no exception. A window of opportunity is now open to do more than tinker with a few courses or follow another short term fad. The potential exists to change the structure of the school and schooling itself and, in so doing, the very nature of American education.

It is in that spirit that this study is put forth. The purpose of this study was to investigate the major bodies of literature on restructuring, choice and the philosophy supporting Accelerated Schools, in order to identify the important, positive elements that are foundational to creating a developmental framework for significant change in education and, in particular, the ongoing restructuring efforts at Chestnut Middle School. This study provided an analysis of the components necessary for change and a model that will help school districts attain proposed reforms that go beyond

tactical or procedural reforms and help achieve substantive, strategic restructuring.

The identification and assessment of the problems encountered by a school system engaged in restructuring efforts present a unique challenge for all school personnel involved. In order to maximize their effectiveness, a conceptual framework that allows for the understanding of restructuring and the implications of choice should be developed to effectively assist them in the successful completion of their charge. However, current literature offers little insight concerning the unique needs of a specific school system in this regard. Research is needed to provide an analysis of the necessary institutional framework and mechanisms required to achieve proposed reforms that go beyond tactical or procedural reforms to substantive, strategic restructuring of the way public schools operate and relate to the larger community.

Restructuring: The Motivation Behind the Movement

The problems plaguing American education have been well-documented over the past decade in scholarly studies and the reports of numerous blue ribbon commissions. Consequently, they are only briefly summarized here to show the motivation behind the

current restructuring movement. In a nutshell, these problems are twofold: the poor performance of the educational system and the changing nature of work and workers.

Poor Educational Performance

Those concerned about the educational performance of American students typically point to scores on standardized tests that show modest achievement in areas requiring problem solving skills and the ability to apply knowledge in different contexts; to the low performance of American students as compared with those in other countries; and to a troubling gap between white and minority students and between boys and girls.

A few examples illustrate the basis of these concerns. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which periodically tests a nationally representative sample of students in several different subjects, found in its most recent assessment that student gains in mathematics achievement since 1978 have been confined primarily to lower-order skills and that only about half of all 17-year-olds have mastered mathematical procedures such as solving simple linear equations or making decisions on information drawn from graphs (Dossey, 1988). Similarly, the NAEP science

assessment found that "more than half of the nation's 17 year-olds appear to be inadequately prepared either to perform competently jobs that require technical skills or to benefit substantially from specialized on-the-job training" (Mullis and Jenkins, 1988, p. 6).

In a 1982 test of the mathematics achievement of eighth and twelfth graders conducted in 18 countries, McKnight, Crosswhite, Dossey, Swafford, Travers and Cooney (1987) found that:

U.S. [eighth-grade] students were slightly above the international average in computational arithmetic (calculation) and well below the international average in non-computational arithmetic (e.g., problem-solving). (p.vi)

The results for twelfth graders were no more encouraging, even for the college-bound. For example, the achievement of U.S. students in advanced algebra was below that of all other countries except Thailand. In calculus, the U.S. scored in the lowest quartile, even though in most countries all advanced mathematics students take calculus, while in the United States, only about 20 percent do (McKnight, et. al., 1987).

Significant achievement gaps persist across different groups of students. The performance of African-American 17 year-olds in mathematics is about equal to that of white 13-year-olds (Dossey, 1988). In the 1986 NAEP assessment, about half the 17-year-old males demonstrated the ability to analyze scientific

procedures and data, as compared with only one-third of the females (Mullis and Jenkins, 1988). Such gaps in student outcomes have remained basically unchanged, despite efforts to close them.

The image of a poorly performing system extends to more than just students. Much attention has been focused over the past several years on looming teacher shortages and on the quality of those teachers. By some estimates, only about 65 percent of the nationwide demand for new teachers will be met over the next few years. To fulfill that demand completely would require that about 23 percent of each college graduating class go into teaching; in 1985, only 8.7 percent did.

Concern has grown not just about the supply of teachers, but also about their quality. New entrants to teaching score significantly lower on basic measures of academic ability than those in other occupations requiring a comparable educational level. For example, most teaching recruits are now drawn from the bottom group of those taking the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the few top scorers who are recruited into teaching are more likely to leave the profession after only a few years (Darling-Hammond, 1984).

Although statistical indicators paint a compelling picture of a system operating considerably below standard on a variety of dimensions, poor performance as

an impetus for a major restructuring of American education is based on more than just quantitative data. At its core, this problem has been defined viscerally by parents, politicians, business leaders, educators and members of the general public who believe that past reforms have either not gone far enough, not lived up to their original promise or, in fixing one problem, have exacerbated others. This dissatisfaction can be seen when a prominent business publication writes: "As a major contributor of tax dollars to public education, corporate America is getting a lousy return on its investment. Not only are schools today not preparing kids for jobs, they aren't even teaching them to read and write" (Perry, 1988).

It can be seen in national public opinion polls that show almost half (48 percent) the respondents grading the public schools in their community with a "C" or lower and about as many believing that the public schools have gotten worse over the past five years (22 percent) as believing that they have improved (25 percent) (Gallup and Clark, 1987; Gallup and Elam, 1988).

Such discontent can also be seen in a national poll of teachers. On the one hand, two-thirds of them report that student achievement in basic skills has improved since the reforms of the early 1980's and over half

report improvements in programs for special needs students such as the disadvantaged and the gifted. Yet at the same time, almost half the teachers report that their own morale is worse and that political interference and paperwork has increased (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1986). For those inside the system, then, the diagnosis is somewhat different: marginal improvement for students, but at the expense of teacher morale and the autonomy for teachers to exercise their professional judgment. Nevertheless, the basic conclusion is the same: whether it is based on statistical data or personal perception, whether it comes from outside schools or inside, there is a pervasive belief that the educational system is not performing as it ought to be.

Changing Nature of Work and Workers

Most would agree that the purposes of education are many, including greater personal fulfillment; informed, active citizenship; economic self-sufficiency; upward social mobility; a deeper humanity and caring for others. However, over the past decade, concern about the United States' ability to compete economically in world markets has directed much attention to the link between education and employment. As a result, most assessments

of the problems currently facing American education include a focus on the changing nature of work and on the size and composition of the future workforce.

Like the problems of educational performance, much has been written about who will be entering the labor force in the near future and the kinds of jobs they will need to perform. A few points from that literature are summarized here as a way of illustrating another critical performance standard against which public schools are being found wanting: whether they can effectively teach the skills their students will need in the workplace.

It seems safe to conclude that the skills required for all jobs, even the ones at the bottom of the occupational ladder, will both increase and be of a different type than those required for similar jobs in the past. This assumption is based on two related factors: the need for the United States to maintain high levels of productivity if it is to remain competitive in the world economy and also continue paying relatively high wages; and the demands and opportunities presented by a more technologically sophisticated workplace (Reich, 1983; Murnane, 1988; Dertouzos, Lester & Solow, 1989).

Berryman (1988) suggests that three types of skills, not traditionally required of those in

lower-level jobs are increasingly critical. The first is a higher level of cognitive skills than those engaged in lower-level production and service work needed in the past. Murmane (1988) suggests that, to some extent, this requires that all students be provided with threshold levels of literacy and problem-solving skills which many currently lack. Such an ability also includes knowing how to learn-how to ask relevant questions, to diagnose problems, and to identify information sources (Berryman, 1988). A related second skill is the ability to be flexible and to perform a variety of tasks (Berryman, 1988). Rosenfeld (1988) adds that to achieve needed flexibility, businesses may often reduce the number of tasks. Finally, innovations in the way that many businesses are now organized, particularly the move to various team concepts and away from employees working alone despite physical proximity on a production line, require teamwork abilities, the capacity to resolve conflicts and leadership skills among a much broader segment of the workforce (Berryman, 1988).

The evidence on how effectively schools are teaching these skills is limited. Murmane (1988) states that the kind of pencil-and-paper tests of literacy and problem-solving skills that are typically used to assess students cannot provide the rich context for problem-solving as it exists in most jobs. However, a

1986 NAEP study of the literacy of young adults (ages 21 to 25 years old) assessed individuals' abilities to handle verbal, graphic and numerical materials and problems encountered in non-school settings. The study found that while most young adults could perform tasks requiring basic literacy skills such as entering personal background information on a job application (96 percent), only about half (57 percent) could follow directions for traveling from one location to another using a street map and fewer than ten percent could estimate cost using grocery unit-price labels (Kirsch and Jungeblut, 1986). Furthermore, it is known that the most common form of teaching and learning in schools, the passive presentation of information and an emphasis on individual work and achievement, is at odds with the active learning and teamwork now being stressed in industry.

At the same time as the nature of work is changing, the composition of the workforce is also undergoing major shifts. Although experts and policymakers disagree about whether a labor shortage is imminent, the size of that shortage, and whether it is short-or long-term (Victor, 1989), they agree that the demographic composition of the future labor force will be radically different from its present make-up. For example, minority populations will continue to grow, relative to

the overall population, with Hispanics increasing faster than any other group. Hispanics will become our largest ethnic group, soon outnumbering African-Americans (Naisbitt, 1982; Long, 1981; Shane, 1979). In its widely read report on Workforce 2000, the Hudson Institute projects that between now and the end of the century, only 15 percent of the new entrants to the labor force will be native white males as compared with 47 percent in that category today (Johnson and Packer, 1987). In other words, the employment pipeline is currently comprised of those individuals--minorities, women and immigrants--for whom the nation's schools have traditionally done the poorest job of educating.

American business recognizes that the changing nature of work and workers necessitates that it invest more in training and education. Available evidence suggests that it is currently doing that, even to the point of teaching English language and literacy skills in addition to job-specific ones (Victor, 1989).

Despite such investment, however, business leaders, policymakers and the public are also demanding that schools adapt to the new economic and demographic realities. These demands from powerful constituencies, coupled with a sense inside and outside of schools that they are not working as well as they should, has led to calls for a major restructuring of American education.

Definition of Terms

The following terms were used according to the following definitions:

Restructuring: to preserve and build upon what has been successful in educating our children and to rethink and redesign those aspects of the enterprise that have failed.

Choice: the deliberate differentiation of public schools, permitting students and their families to select the type of school each youngster will attend.

Schools of Choice: any type of school, or separate administrative unit within a school, that has its own personnel (students and teachers) who are affiliated with the program by choice, has its own separate program and is selected by the student and family (Raywid, 1989).

Statewide Choice: permits students to attend school in any public school in the state so long as the non-resident school district is willing and has space and the transfer does not upset racial balance.

Interdistrict Choice: permits students to cross district lines and attend schools located in districts other than the one in which they live. Such choices are regulated on the basis of their racial impact.

Intradistrict Choice: refers to any option available to students within a given public school district. This may range from something as common as offering students a choice of curriculum and electives within a high school to a districtwide open enrollment policy that, theoretically at least, allows students to attend any school in the district.

Controlled Choice: this system of choice in effect "compels" every student/ parent to choose a school either anywhere in the district or within some zones within a district while maintaining racial balance in almost all the schools. In this model of choice, the school district remains the contracting and regulating authority. Thus, a controlled choice program comprises part of the larger framework of intradistrict choice.

Magnet School: a school or unit within a school organized around a specialty such as the arts or a traditional approach to the basics. Magnet status means a school is given the flexibility to experiment with teaching techniques and specialized courses of instruction. It is called a "magnet" because it can attract students from outside their normal attendance area from anywhere in the school district.

Accelerated Schools: a long-term restructuring philosophy developed at Stanford University by Henry M. Levin which aims to incorporate a school's staff into a

governance and decision-making process around the unified purpose of creating powerful learning experiences for all children.

School Culture: an interwoven network of explicit values, beliefs, heroes, rituals, rules and ceremonies which the members of a school community share.

Core Value: a central belief deeply understood and shared by every member of an organization. Core values guide the actions of everyone in the organization; they focus its energy and are the anchor point for all its plans (Saphier and D'Auria, 1993).

Limitations

This study was developed to gain further information about the restructuring process. The sample consisted of a portrait of one specific urban middle school currently engaged in restructuring.

While special consideration was taken to control the quality of the research, there were factors affecting the validity of the study. The following limitations were noted:

1. The study was limited to a particular type of school. Chestnut Middle School is a large urban school with a population of over 900 students in grades six through eight, serving a culturally diverse student

body. The results should be applied judiciously to other types of schools.

2. The study was limited to interviews with teachers. The interviews were limited to four teachers who represented a cross-sampling of the staff at Chestnut Middle School in terms of gender, ethnic background, grade representation and experience in the building.

3. The study was limited to a specific time period. The data collected in this study covered a period of approximately two years, essentially from the initial phase of Chestnut Middle School's acceptance as an Accelerated School to midway through the second year in the Accelerated School Project.

4. The study was limited by the specific nature of the philosophical core of the restructuring effort. The Accelerated Schools movement provided this central and overriding umbrella philosophy at Chestnut Middle School.

5. The study limited the way in which the Accelerated Schools surveys were analyzed. While there are not specific references to these surveys in this study, the data which was generated helped form the baseline of the conversations around governance, time and culture during the teacher interviews.

Guiding Questions

This study was begun with an umbrella framework, obtained through an analysis of the existing literature. This umbrella framework guided the initial data collection by identifying questions and avenues of inquiry (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). For example, some initial questions might be:

1. What significant common elements concerning governance, time and culture emerge in the literature about restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools?

2. How do these significant, common elements manifest themselves in the restructuring process currently underway at Chestnut Middle School?

3. How has the issue of empowerment been perceived by the staff during the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School? How is governance impacted by this perception?

4. How has the issue of time been perceived and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

5. How has the school culture been perceived by the staff and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

In this chapter a case has been made for a study determining the effects of one restructuring effort,

centered around the Accelerated Schools philosophy, on one particular urban middle school. The next chapter reviews the literature on restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools that forms the basis for this study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate the major bodies of literature on restructuring, choice and the philosophy supporting Accelerated Schools, in order to identify the important, positive elements that are foundational to creating a developmental framework for significant change in education and, in particular, the ongoing restructuring efforts at Chestnut Middle School.

This study identified, described and analyzed the implications of choice and the Accelerated Schools philosophy on the process of restructuring currently underway in one particular public school. Further, it developed a conceptual framework that allowed for the understanding of this phenomenon and its possible future implementation into this particular school and, perhaps, other similar urban schools. The study treated the specific problems of this school in relation to restructuring, choice and eventual change, as well as provided an analysis of the necessary institutional framework and mechanisms required to achieve proposed

reform. The study focused on the following research questions:

What factors exist in the literature on restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools philosophy that can be used to formulate a general set of criteria for proposed reform and for the development of a specific model of restructuring in a large urban middle school?

How can those factors be applied to a restructuring plan that will offer increased stability and continuity of instruction for students, increase student and parent "ownership" in the schools, complement the efforts towards teacher empowerment and thus positively impact on student attendance and achievement and parental/teacher/community involvement?

Based on the above, how can such a model be used as a guide to similar schools currently involved in or contemplating restructuring?

To provide a foundation for this study, research in three main areas was reviewed. These areas are restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools.

The review of the literature on restructuring is divided into three sections. The first section offers a definition of restructuring supported by the work of such educational reformers such as Harvey, Crandall, Goodlad, Kirst, Lynn and Olsen. The second section

presents two broad categories of restructuring options: decentralizing authority over schooling through school-based management, more professional teaching conditions and greater teacher choice; and strengthening the links between schools and the larger community, particularly with business and various social service networks. For each of these categories, the research base from which they are derived is examined and their feasibility as workable policy and practice is assessed. The third section summarizes the political and logistical issues that will need to be resolved before restructuring can fulfill its promise as an educational reform strategy.

Restructuring in Public Education

The Search for a Definition

What does it mean to restructure schools? What would it look like to restructure the entire educational enterprise? These are not easy questions to which to respond, and there are no simple answers. Restructuring represents a new, emerging concept. There is no one, concise, agreed upon definition of restructuring nor is there a definitive model that can be applied. Harvey and Crandall (1988) suggest that there are, in fact, many conceptions of a restructured school; the concept itself

is one that suggests and supports the notion of multiple alternatives.

Olsen (1986) points up the elusiveness of the concept in an article on restructuring by quoting Michael Kirst: "Restructuring is a word that means everything and nothing simultaneously...It is in the eye of the beholder." In the same article, John Goodlad observes that "we are rapidly moving toward the use of the word 'restructuring' whenever we talk about school reform at all...This is becoming another catchword when the truth of the matter is that hardly any schools are restructured" (p.22).

There is some agreement, however, both on what counts as restructuring and what does not count. Lynn (1987) notes that schools must truly be re-formed, "not simply greased to do the same old thing with less friction" (p. 1).

Restructuring is not adding more of the same, tinkering around the edges, even making significant improvements to the current structure. Typical school improvement initiatives, however important, and efforts to apply the school effectiveness research to schools in search of excellence do not, by themselves, constitute restructuring.

Lynn (1987) goes on to state what he considers restructuring to be:

First and foremost it means that schools should be organized according to the needs of the children and the ways in which they actually learn, not on rigid models half-military and half-industrial. Educators and policymakers must begin to concentrate less on so-called "inputs"--the size of classes, teachers salaries, and graduation requirements, valid as each may be on its own--and look to "outcomes"--what children, all children, can be expected to know and be able to do at various stages of their education. (p. 2)

This is but one definition; obviously there are alternative ways of defining the concept. The important point is that underlying any definition of and/or approach to restructuring schools is the shared belief that the current system must be rethought and redesigned in order to be more effective in meeting the demands of our changing society and in achieving commonly held goals.

To achieve real excellence in education for all students will require significant alterations in what we currently recognize as our educational system--at the local, district and state levels. According to Cohen (1987), the necessary changes "will effect virtually every aspect of the structure and operations of the educational system, from the schoolhouse to the statehouse" (p. 3). Efforts to restructure begin with the premise that the current boundaries and visions of education and schooling are malleable; rather than

limiting images of what could be, they provide a jumping off point for considering alternative means of achieving a shared end of educational excellence (Harvey and Crandall, 1988).

To restructure means to preserve and build upon what has been successful in educating our children and to rethink and redesign those aspects of the enterprise that have failed. The sheer magnitude of such an effort gives a general sense of the meaning of restructuring, as well as some understanding of the level of effort and length of time required to take on a restructuring endeavor.

Options for Restructuring

There is no one right way to restructure a school or a school system. Each school must be designed to fit the context of which it is such an integral part. Each restructured school or system will grow out of a vision created to reflect the realities of the community it serves (Harvey and Crandall, 1988). As Fullan (1982) aptly reminds, change is bound by its context. "The history, personality, and socio-political climate within each setting constitutes major determinants of change outcomes" (p. 4). As a result, restructured schools may look quite different from one another, reflecting

different community realities, needs, beliefs and values. Although restructuring is a relatively new phenomenon, a considerable body of knowledge exists about the ways in which schools can successfully manage change to achieve desired goals and visions. From that knowledge base, and from current restructuring efforts, common options emerge on restructuring. In this section, three broad categories of restructuring options are presented.

Decentralizing Authority Over Schools

One of the most common critiques of public schools is that they are overly-bureaucratic and centralized. Critics argue that decisions about resource allocation, curriculum and student assignment are made too far from the classroom, and those in closest contact with students are unduly constrained by standardized rules and procedures. Sizer (1986) underscored the need to move away from top-down regulation as a means for school improvement when he stated that the decentralization of substantial authority to the persons closest to the students is essential. If significant changes in the educational system are to occur, restructuring efforts must be focused on and driven by the local level. Obviously changes of the magnitude of those discussed

earlier in this paper cannot be achieved without involvement at the district, state and federal levels-- but the message is clear and consistent: if restructuring is to be successful, it must be building-based. In the view of the Committee for Economic Development (1985), for example, "reform is most needed where learning takes place--in the individual schools, in the classroom, and in the interaction between teacher and student" (p. 17). On a similar note, Timar and Kirp (1987) point out the limitations of a top-down approach:

A school must set a tone that will be apparent to the students. That tone, an organizational ethos, determines the character of the school. It sets the expectation for excellence or failure. But it is created by individuals working in schools, not by bureaucratic mandates that emanate from distant places. (p. 328)

Timar (1989) adds that bureaucratic decentralization, whether in the form of school-site management, a choice plan or some variation, lies at the heart of restructuring.

School-based management (SBM), more professional teaching conditions and schools of choice have been proposed as ways of bringing decision-making authority to the school-site and to individual parents and students.

School-based Management. Districts are implementing school-based management to bring about significant

changes in educational practice, e.g., to empower school staff to create conditions in schools that facilitate improvement, innovation and continuous professional growth (Goodlad, 1984; Carnegie Forum, 1986). Current interest is a response to evidence that our educational system is not working, and, in particular, that strong central control actually diminishes teachers' morale and, correspondingly, their level of effort (Meier, 1987; Corcoran, Walker and White, 1988).

The rationale for school-based management rests on two well-established propositions:

1. The school is the primary decision-making unit; and, decisions should be made at the lowest possible level (Purkey and Smith, 1985).

2. Change requires ownership that comes from the opportunity to participate in defining change and the flexibility to adapt it to individual circumstances; the corollary is that change does not result from externally imposed procedures (Fullan, 1982).

In practice, these propositions translate into policies that define the essence of school-based management: increasing school autonomy through some combination of site budgetary control and relief from constraining rules and regulations; and sharing the authority to make decisions with teachers, and sometimes parents, students and other community members (Garms,

Guthrie and Pierce, 1978). Similarly, David (1989) notes that the essence of school-based management is school-level autonomy plus participatory decision-making. SBM may take many forms, but the backbone of school-based management is delegation of authority from district to schools; without autonomy, shared decision-making within schools has little meaning. Analysts of school-based management describe autonomy as decision-making in three critical areas: budget, staffing and curriculum (Garms et al., 1978; Clune and White, 1988). However, the extent of that control can vary widely. Some schools with SBM may only have decision-making prerogatives in one of the three areas; others may have limited authority (e.g., control over the school materials budget, but not the larger personnel budget) in all three areas; while still others may have considerable authority in every area. In some cases, SBM also means a greater decision-making role for classroom teachers and parents, while in others, the authority is vested almost entirely in the principal (David, 1989). In the context of school-based management, "shared decision-making" generally refers to the involvement of teachers in determining how the budget is spent, who is hired and whatever other authority has been delegated to the school. The phrase can also refer to students, their parents and other community members; in fact, in many

proposals for school-based management, parents are the primary focus--but in an advisory capacity only (Garms et al., 1978).

Typically, a school forms a school site council with representatives of each constituency. How participants are selected and what their responsibilities are varies within districts (Clune and White, 1988). Some councils are composed of teachers elected schoolwide or by grade level or department; others are composed of representatives from pre-existing committees. In some schools, the entire faculty is the council. In others, the budget is simply divided among teachers (David, 1989).

SBM is predicated on the assumption that the closer a decision is made to the students affected by it, the better the decision will be (Clune and White, 1988). This assumption has its roots in several bodies of educational research. However, its prominence in recent policy debates is probably best explained by the current reformist rhetoric within U.S. corporations. The argument is that just as American industry has had to reorganize and find alternatives to complex, centralized management structures, so must education. David Kearns, the CEO of Xerox, suggests that schools are still locked into hierarchical models that industry long ago

abandoned, and proposes an alternative vision of school management:

Schools today ought to look like the smartest high-tech companies look, with lean structures and flat organizations. Today's smart companies push decision making down into the organization. Professionals and managers are trusted with the authority to get their jobs done, and they're held accountable for their performance. I think the schools have to be structured that way, too. (1988, p. 567)

Just as the impetus for major school reforms of the early twentieth century was premised on a belief that schools should closely mirror the corporate culture of that era (Tyack, 1974; Katz, 1987), the assumption today is that as American industry changes, so should the schools which train its future workforce.

Two bodies of literature support the SBM concept. The first is based on studies of educational change. This literature, beginning with Sarason's (1971) essay on the culture of the school, argues that any attempt to introduce change into a school must confront existing "programmatically and behavioral regularities" that shape the way a school conducts its activities. Consequently, any change introduced from the outside must bring with it an alternative set of regularities that can replace or complement the existing ones. Unless innovations take into consideration the culture of individual schools, organizational arrangements and textbooks may change, but basic assumptions and educational practice will

remain fundamentally the same. Subsequent research on the implementation of innovative programs found that successful implementation requires a process of "mutual adaption, whereby the local site adapts innovations, promoted by higher levels of government, in order to meet its own needs, norms, and practices (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975, 1978; Fullan, 1982). This process of mutual adaption, coupled with the unique culture of individual schools, suggests that federal, state and district-level policymakers should not only tolerate significant variability in how new practices are implemented in local schools, but also use it as a way to influence practice. Elmore and McLaughlin (1988) agree that when variability represents adaption of a reform initiatives to the particulars of a classroom or school, it captures "the invention, the environmental sensitivity, and the judgment that characterizes best practice. As such, it represents a net gain in the policy system's expertise and flexibility." Goodlad (1984), another proponent of greater autonomy for individual schools makes a related argument:

I believe that to invoke...the principle of "every tub on its own bottom," or nearly on its own bottom, would go a long way toward developing schools that took care of their own business, rectified chronic problems, and communicated effectively with parents...The guiding principle being put forth here is that the school must become largely self-directing. The people connected with it must develop a capacity for effecting renewal and establish mechanisms for doing this. Then if

drug use emerges as a problem. these mechanisms of self-renewal can be used to attack it. If children's reading attainment appears to be declining, improved reading will become a top priority item on the school renewal agenda. This approach to change differs markedly from starting out by bringing in innovations from outside the school. (p. 276)

School-based management, then, accepts the premise that schools have different cultures, needs and definitions of good practice. Rather than attempting to make schools more uniform, SBM proponents argue that state and local officials should capitalize on these differences by allowing each school to decide how to organize itself and to adapt outside policies to its own particular problems.

The second set of studies, known as the Effective Schools research, is the only intellectual precursor of school-based management that suggests a direct link between school organization and student achievement (Brookover and Lezotte, 1977).

Purkey and Smith (1983). in their comprehensive review of school effectiveness research, present a "portrait" of an effective school. which includes organizational/structural variables and process variables. Among the organizational/structural variables are: school-site management, staff stability, schoolwide staff development, parental involvement and support and district support. The process variables include:

collaborative planning and collegial relationships, sense of community and clear goals and high expectations commonly shared.

With reference to the process variables. Purkey and Smith (1983) note "the new school climate must develop over time as people begin to think and behave in new ways. The process is certainly not mystical or terribly complex, but it would seem to demand an organic conception of schools and some faith in people's ability to work together toward common ends" (p. 445).

Stedman (1987) is critical of the merits of the effective schools research and the interpretations of that research. He takes issue with many of the findings, for example, that the principal should be a strong instructional leader responsible for instructional improvement. He proposes that effective schools should share governance with teachers and parents. Stedman also has reinterpreted the school effectiveness literature to arrive at a new set of correlates, which he claims are "highly interrelated practices useful as a prescription for effectiveness" (p. 18). In part his practices include: parent participation, shared governance with teachers and parents and skilled use and training of teachers.

It would seem that at times school effectiveness resembles a revival movement directed at restructuring

how schools operate. But, while much of the rhetoric of restructuring is directed at school governance issues, school effectiveness is directed at improving the learning of children. Perhaps the inference that can be drawn from the literature is that school-based management is an effective way to create those conditions most often associated with effective schools. The assumption is not that SBM will directly lead to higher student test scores, but that where it works effectively, schools will be more likely to create the facilitating conditions: shared values, strong instructional leadership and an environment conducive to learning.

Even assuming that under the right conditions SBM can produce the expected educational effects, two issues of feasibility need to be addressed. The first is that, by definition, SBM promotes variation among schools. To the extent that such variation is a response to differing school needs, it is a definite advantage. However, to the extent that it reflects differing levels of capacity or commitment, it represents a potential problem. In the past, increased top-down educational management has been at least partially a response to concerns about inequities across schools in such areas as resource allocation, staff expertise, course offerings or educational practices. Because some of

those centralizing policies were not successfully implemented in all schools or resulted in unproductive rigidities, SBM is now suggested as the antidote. Yet the potential for inequity remains, unless SBM arrangements include mechanisms for building capacity and commitment where they do not currently exist. Some schools simply lack the ability as Goodlad (1984) suggests to "sit on their own bottoms."

A real shift in management responsibilities from the district to the school requires everyone to change roles, routines and relationships (David, 1989). Research on school improvement and organizational change is strong on this point: such change does not happen without leadership and support (Fullan, 1982; Purkey and Smith, 1985).

Studies of successful school-based management practices reach the same conclusion. Successful practices have less to do with management details--size of budget, type of decision-making body, amount of control over staffing or curriculum--and more to do with the leadership and culture of the district and the moral and material support it offers school staff (Sickler, 1988; David, 1989).

This need for prior capacity raises a second issue that relates to cost. In theory, SBM and school-based budgeting should cost no more than whatever school

districts pay under a more centralized system. In fact, if SBM operates as envisioned, it should be more cost-efficient because funds will be used to purchase the personnel and materials schools really need, as opposed to what the central office chooses to send them. In addition, SBM could result in limited reductions in administrative overhead if functions traditionally performed by more expensive central office personnel are devolved down to the school-site to be performed either more efficiently or by lower-cost personnel.

The additional costs, then, are not operational ones, but rather start-up costs. If SBM is to work as intended, districts have to ensure that all schools have the expertise to make budgetary, personnel and curriculum decisions. More information is needed about the costs of implementing an SBM program in different types of schools. For some, it would seem that a limited amount of initial training and planning is all that will be needed. For others, however, the lack of school-level expertise, commitment or time will mean that districts will have to be prepared to provide assistance over a much longer period if SBM is not to exacerbate existing inequities or create new ones.

More Professional Teaching Conditions. A variety of scholars and policymakers (Darling-Hammond, 1984; Sizer, 1984; Carnegie Forum, 1986; Kearns and Doyle, 1988) have argued that the solution to problems of teacher supply and quality is to make teaching more professional and to change the conditions under which teachers work. Timar (1989) adds that attracting, holding and enlivening the best teachers means "professionalizing" the occupation by granting more authority to teachers. Prideful teachers, the argument goes, are good teachers, and a system of prideful teachers will create a profession that talented people will want to join. The contention is that if teachers are granted more control over their work lives, teaching will be more likely to attract and retain capable people, thus improving the quality of public schooling. This argument stresses the benefits of higher entry standards combined with better compensation and working conditions as a means of improving the attractiveness of teaching.

Proposals put forth to strengthen teacher professionalism usually include three common components: rigorous entry standards established and implemented by the profession itself; greater teacher collegiality and autonomy within individual schools; and a differentiated staffing structure giving some teachers expanded leadership responsibilities (Carnegie Forum on Education

and the Economy, 1986). The first element involves the way teachers are trained and licensed and is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the last two elements are directly related to the notion of SBM and a restructured school. Boreham (1983) makes the point that since judgment must be used in applying professional knowledge to individual clients' needs, knowledge cannot be reduced to rules or prescriptions for practice; thus professionals as a group require autonomy from administrative control in determining tasks and functions. For teachers, such autonomy would have to mean not only the ability to exercise their best judgment about how to instruct students with varied learning styles and at different stages of cognitive and psychological development, but also that teachers have the right to participate in decisions about how schools and the services they deliver are organized.

At the school-site, professional teaching is basically a form of SBM with a strong faculty governance component. Decisions over budget, personnel and curriculum are devolved down to the school level, but instead of only administrators making those decisions, teachers are equal partners in the process. Some schools have traditionally had this type of governance--at least informally because principals have solicited teacher input and then taken it seriously in making decisions.

McDonnell and Pascal (1988) report that nationally, about a third of the districts with collective bargaining contracts require that each school establish an instructional policy committee with teacher membership, but the scope and authority of those committees vary tremendously. In a few well-publicized examples, however, several large districts experimented with models of teacher decision-making that significantly increased their authority. The experiment in Dade County, Florida was one of the first in its implementation. Ninety-six of the district's 263 schools participated in an innovative concept called "School-Based Management/Shared Decision-Making" (SBM/SDM). Participating schools were allowed to choose their own management structure, with some deciding to continue to vest final authority with the principal and others opting for teachers sharing in almost all decisions, including the hiring and firing of staff (Olsen, 1987).

Like several other restructuring proposals, greater autonomy and shared decision-making for teachers are primarily designed to improve the inputs and process of schooling. Proponents assume that more professional teaching conditions will attract more competent people and will improve the morale and efficacy of those already teaching. However, the assumed link to improved student outcomes has to be considered an indirect one.

The literature provided no hard evidence that shared governance of teacher autonomy will lead to higher student achievement. However, the research is suggestive of how the link between teaching conditions and student outcomes may operate. Darling-Hammond (1989), in a review of research on teachers and teaching, found that opportunities for collaboration and teacher participation in decision-making is associated with reduced teacher absenteeism and turnover and with increased teacher commitment. The review went on to say that involvement in decision-making also augments commitment by increasing teachers' sense of ownership of the educational enterprise. The implication here is that with greater autonomy and collaboration, teachers will not only feel better about their jobs, but also teach more effectively, thus leading to greater student learning.

The issues that teacher autonomy and shared governance raise are similar to those raised by SBM--namely, the need to make certain that organizational variations across schools do not lead to inequities for students and that sufficient investment is made in building decision-making capacity at the school level.

Strengthening Links Between Schools and the Larger Community

This form of restructuring begins with assumption that there are real limits on what schools can accomplish on their own. Research has shown that, even in particularly effective schools, family background is the most significant predictor of student achievement (Children's Defense Fund, 1987). Recent demographic, social and economic changes in the American family have only reinforced the impact of these and other factors on students' likelihood of success in school. Those advocating stronger school links with parents, social service and health agencies, business and the larger community point to the high proportion of children living in poverty (20 percent of all children, 25 percent of those under six years) or in single parent homes (one-sixth of all children, one-half of African-American children) (Lipsitz, 1984; Mann, 1986; Massachusetts Advocacy Center, 1986). The argument continues that even the best run schools with the most engaging curriculum cannot overcome the effects those conditions and the related problems of child abuse, drug addiction and juvenile delinquency on their own.

Proposals to link schools with other institutions take a variety of forms and tend to focus on strategies

to assist students most at risk of not completing high school (Committee for Economic Development, 1987; W.T. Grant Foundation, 1988; MDC, 1988). Current research indicates three models which link schools with the larger community. The first model advocates a form of school-based management coupled with other components such as a strong parents' program and a mental health team. This is the approach that James Comer piloted in two elementary schools in New Haven serving low-income students and that is now being implemented in over 50 other schools in the country.

Comer (1988) maintains that a child's home and school experience affects his or her psychosocial development and, in turn, shapes academic achievement. He argues that in de-emphasizing interpersonal factors and focusing on instruction and curriculum, most current educational reforms are incorrectly assuming that all children arrive at school equally prepared to perform as the school expects. Comer presents an alternative model of educational reform, maintaining "...that the key to academic achievement is to promote psychological development in students, which encourages bonding to the school. Doing so requires fostering positive interaction between parents and school staff..." (p. 46).

Cohen (1989) mentions a second model for linking schools with other agencies. He envisions the school as

a "settlement house" or focal point for the delivery of a variety of services including child care and parenting education, job counseling and training, preventive health care and substance abuse treatment. The assumption here is that because no other agency comes in contact with children and their families as regularly as schools or tracks their progress as systematically, they are in the best position to broker and coordinate these services.

A third model advocates greater collaboration with the business community and with other institutions such as colleges, universities and various cultural organizations. Mann (Natriello, 1987) refers to such collaboration as the "braided solution" and "coalition building". These alliances are not new, and in fact, a 1987 survey identified 140,000 school partnerships across the country, of which 57 percent were with businesses or business organizations (Cavazos, 1988). Partnerships range from modest adopt a school programs to considerably more elaborate ones such as the Boston Compact which is a centrally negotiated contract between the city's public schools and businesses, unions and institutions of higher education. The agreement calls for the schools to improve attendance, achievement and high school graduation by five percent annually in

return for more post-secondary and employment opportunities for their students (1988).

McLaughlin (1988) cites the rationale for such collaborations between schools and business. On the side of public education there exists the opportunity to garner more resources, future employment for its graduates and a broadened political support base for public education. From the business perspective, reasons for participating derive from a combination of enlightened self-interest and a view that human resource development is a collective responsibility.

One of the major feasibility issues that school collaboratives face stems from the very fact that linking schools with social service agencies involve multiple programs and institutions. The traditional fragmentation among educational, social service and health services remains despite a growing emphasis on the need for coordination. This policy fragmentation is further reinforced at the local delivery level by the different goals and professional socialization of educators and social service professionals. In their study of social services in American high schools, Farrar and Hampel (1987) found a fragmentation of social service staff with some guidance counselors dealing only with academic matters and career planning, others focused on students' personal problems and the school

nurse and social workers dealing more specifically with issues such as substance abuse and teen parenting.

Further confounding this fragmentation is the manner in which students are referred to various services. Farrar and Hampel (1987) found that the delivery of social services is exceedingly informal and usually dependent on individual relations among staff and their personal knowledge and judgment about what services are available and appropriate.

Others who have studied school-business partnerships caution about their limits. Mann (1987) argues that although school-business partnerships can be an important source of assistance to local schools, they should not be viewed as a lever for more comprehensive educational reform:

The structure of school governance purposely isolates schools from any single group, and the business community lacks the unity, expertise, resources, and authority necessary for school reform. (p. 231)

In addition, most businesses lack the incentives for sustaining the long haul necessary to changing the schools in any given community. Mann states:

Relocating plants, de-skilling jobs, and purchasing training are far more frequent responses by businesses to the need for school reform than is working on that reform. (p. 232)

In acknowledging the limits on what schools can accomplish for students on their own, efforts to

strengthen the links between schools and the larger community may eventually become an important part of the dialogue on restructuring. Currently, however, this strategy is the least well developed in terms of approach and in ways to address the feasibility issues it raises. Still, all participants should recognize that achieving their particular esteem or economic self-sufficiency is more likely under a collaborative arrangement than with continuing fragmentation.

The Politics and Logistics of Restructuring Through Choice

Until several years ago, most discussions of educational choice centered around the pros and cons of mechanisms such as vouchers and tuition tax credits that would allow public funding of students enrolled in private educational institutions. This approach is highly controversial, and the ensuing debate focused on sensitive issues such as the separation of church and state, equal educational opportunity and continued support for public schools. The ability of voucher and tuition-tax credit proponents to advance their agenda politically, coupled with a broader-based interest in making schools more responsive, has led over the past few years to proposals that provide options for greater

student and parental choice within the public school system.

The current emphasis on greater choice within public education was given a tremendous boost by recommendations contained in a report of the National Governors' Association (1986):

If we implement broader choice plans, true choice among public schools, then we unlock the values of competition in the educational marketplace. Schools that compete for students, teachers, and dollars will, by virtue of their environments, make those changes that allow them to succeed. (p. 12)

The report then went on to recommend:

Expanding opportunities for students by adopting legislation that permits families to select from among kindergarten to twelfth grade public school in their state, and permitting juniors and seniors to attend accredited postsecondary institutions, with tax funds following the students. (p. 13)

Former President George Bush gave the notion of greater choice within the public school system added prominence through sponsorship of a White House conference on the topic, espousal of the idea in his first State-of-the-Union speech and continual highlighting of it as part of his interest in being known as the "Education President."

Beginning with the publication of A Nation at Risk (National Commission on Excellence, 1983), a diverse set of political and educational forces began calling for "schools of choice" as a primary vehicle for

restructuring America's educational system, with over 25 states considering legislation to increase choice in K-12 education (Pipho, 1989).

The phrase "schools of choice" encompasses a broad category of organizational structures. Its critical feature is that the school is selected by the student and family. As used here, the phrase applies to any type of school--or separate administrative unit within a school--that has its own personnel (students and teachers) who are affiliated with the program by choice and has its own separate program.

The two major types are alternative schools and magnet schools. Alternative schools usually are established as a single program, or one of a very few in a district, for the purpose of responding to the unmet needs or interests of particular groups of students, parents or teachers. A magnet school is more likely to be one of several such schools within a district, established to achieve desegregation and/or to offer quality educational programs around a common theme, e.g. science and math, health services, performing arts or international studies. Magnet schools tend to be found in large urban districts. Alternative schools can be found in districts of any size.

Several key assumptions underlie the concept of public school choice. The first set focuses on the

response of schools to conditions of choice and competition. It assumes that by creating a regulated market system within public education, schools will become more responsive to parental preferences and student needs. Choice proponents also assume that these market forces will produce greater accountability within public education because parents and students will have the option of leaving schools that do not perform at acceptable levels. Elmore (1986) refers to this as the demand side of choice.

A reciprocal assumption argues that choice plans should also be designed to affect the supply side of schooling. Such provisions would allow educators to configure personnel, curriculum and the use of instructional time in different ways so as to create clear choices for consumers. This assumption argues, in effect, that choice arrangements must also be linked to school-based management. This section of the paper deals specifically with the supply side. SBM-related issues of organizational features and greater school-site autonomy that schools of choice offer to teachers and administrators.

Typically, in alternative schools, teachers exercise more autonomy and responsibility than is the case in conventional schools (Raywid, 1982). These schools are not organized hierarchically and do not

operate according to usual bureaucratic controls and procedures (Swindler, 1979). The role definitions of staff are usually flexible compared to the narrowly delineated roles of conventional schools (Ducharme, 1981). Teachers also participate in much more collaborative activity than is usually the case (Warren, 1976).

Erickson (1986) cites these organizational characteristics to explain high levels of teacher satisfaction, low absenteeism and positive student responses in schools of choice. Grant (1982) adds that these same characteristics create the school climate and ethos that promotes achievement and a sense of accomplishment for all involved.

There is considerable evidence that many schools of choice, primarily magnet schools, launched during the 1980's have been much less innovative with regard to organizational structure (McNeil, 1987; Raywid, 1987). Metz (1988) adds that the focus in these schools has tended to be on program innovation, not organizational restructuring. This seems unfortunate in light of the mounting evidence of the positive impact that organizational changes make on the attitudes, behavior, and accomplishments of workers in all types of organizations (Gitlin, 1981; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Sizer, 1984; Stevens, 1985). This narrowing of the

emphasis on programmatic change has occurred at the very time that documentation has shown that organizational structure is precisely what most needs to be changed in public schools (Chubb, 1987). Among the organizational features now being found particularly important to school success are focused and coherent goals, control emanating from shared values and goal agreement rather than in response to external directives and constraints (Talbert, 1988) and teacher autonomy in their own classrooms (Darling-Hammond, 1984). All these features were characteristic of the early schools of choice. As Metz (1988) has suggested, schools of choice have an "innovative charter." Perhaps this should continue to include organizational innovation.

Schools of choice have pronounced positive effects on their teachers and administrators. That statement is consistent with research reporting high satisfaction levels among teachers in alternative schools (Lytle, 1980; Raywid, 1982). Schools of choice offer teachers more opportunities for self-actualization than do traditional schools. Lytle (1980) suggests that the factor of choice makes for a "teachers' school". Olson (1986) and Cohen (1987) agree that schools of choice are able to minimize if not eliminate major sources of teacher dissatisfaction, such as feelings of powerlessness, professional isolation, fragmentation of

the curriculum, the depersonalized climate of large schools, low esteem for teachers, severe discipline problems and external mandates interfering with effective teaching and productive interaction with students.

It seems that schools of choice combine the opportunity for professional development for teachers with the need for it. For teachers in a school of choice, there is both an expectation and a challenge to create and sustain a distinctive program--one that differs significantly from the routine often found in a traditional school setting. In schools of choice teachers engage in collective reflection on school purposes and collaborate to design and implement a program. Thus they must confront questions about curriculum and instruction and come up with programs designed to answer those questions--expectations not commonly found in most traditional schools (Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1978-79). Raywid (1982) would agree in the sense that such responsibilities give teachers in schools of choice much more autonomy than in common in traditional schools. And these schools are more autonomous within the system. In schools of choice, the typical controls of traditional schools tend to shift from regulation by rules and rigid role definitions to regulations at consensus arrived at by conscious

attention to shared purposes (Swindler, 1979; Talbert, 1988). Teachers who elect to work in a school of choice perceive their work as substantially more professional than do teachers in more traditional schools (Gladstone and Levin, 1982).

Other characteristics of schools of choice that make them attractive to teachers are: they tend to be smaller, with less hierarchy and fewer status differences (Duke, 1976; Swindler, 1979; Raywid, 1982) and they offer more opportunity for teachers to define their own roles (Swindler, 1979; Hamilton, 1981). Where roles and responsibilities are less rigidly defined, there is room for more personalization, more responsiveness to the strengths and interests of individual teachers.

It would seem that the conditions in schools of choice, as described above, no doubt contribute to a heightened sense of teacher efficacy. It would also validate the idea expressed earlier that a school of choice is a "teachers' school", because such schools provide the conditions for both personal and professional growth. As Metz (1988) puts it, they combine "official license and obligation to innovate" (p.57).

Gregory (1985) has characterized alternative schools as the "Cinderella" of the current reform

movement in education. There are a remarkable number of proposals now being widely recommended as reforms, which have been implemented in alternative schools for some time. Within the parameters of this section of this paper, Gregory (1985) would include: giving greater autonomy at the building level; recognizing the individual school building, or some unit within it, as the focus of change; giving teachers a stronger role in school decision-making; and encouraging more collaboration and collective responsibility among teachers. All of these proposals and more have long been implemented in alternative schools. The "Cinderella" metaphor seems appropriate, indeed, in relation to schools of choice.

The research summarized in this section lends support to the choice concept from the viewpoint of the umbrella issue of decentralized authority; and it shows that schools of choice can offer positive outcomes in terms of school-based management techniques and teacher satisfaction. Given this generally positive outlook, one might ask why schools of choice have not been more widely adopted.

Four possible explanations can be put forth. First, to adopt the choice concept on any but the most limited scale calls for significant structural change within a school district, not just incremental change. If

individual schools are to have more control over their programs and teachers' roles are to expand, then district policy and administrative practice must change accordingly. But large organizations are resistant to structural change, particularly when the changes are perceived as a threat to the vested interests of stakeholders in the organization.

A second reason why the choice idea has not been more widely adopted is that it challenges one of education's most deep-seated and broadly pursued assumptions: namely, the monolithic nature of education, that there must be one right answer to questions of educational practice, thus making all other answers inferior or wrong. As the reform mandates of the eighties have demonstrated, this assumption drives politicians as strongly as it does education researchers and administrators. The flexibility and diversity that characterize schools of choice deny this widespread epistemological assumption.

A third reason why schools of choice are not more widespread is the issue of equity. Groups representing the interests of minority students argue that choice programs would discriminate against children of poor parents who are less well-informed about school systems, and that minority students might not be welcome in some schools. An African-American member of the Los Angeles

Board of Education has called choice a "cruel hoax" (Bradley and Snider, 1989). Several studies of existing magnet programs and other types of choice arrangements suggest some basis for these concerns. For example, Snider (1988) suggests that if choice programs involve competitive admissions, impose ethnic quotas, or even in the most common case, set enrollment limits because of personnel or facility constraints, students may have unequal access to different types of schooling activities. Snider (1988) adds that insufficient outreach to inform parents and students about the choices available to them and inadequate transportation can further exacerbate potential inequities.

The final issue is cost. Like most restructuring options, cost and financing arrangements present challenges in the design of choice plans. As with SBM, a system of public school choice may impose start-up costs and its operational costs will be more. Available evidence indicates that magnets cost from 10 to 12 percent more to operate than traditional schools (Snider, 1987).

Another aspect of the cost issue in the design of choice plans is financing arrangements. In the case of the programs either recently enacted or being considered by state governments, state funding follows the student from one school and district to another. Such an

arrangement is not a problem in states where the majority of education funding comes from the state. However, where the state is not the major funding source, there are typically wide spending disparities among local districts. In the choice bill passed in Massachusetts, where the state pays only about 45 percent of the total cost, money is transferred with each student to the receiving district, regardless of the actual cost of educating that student.

None of the above issues are insurmountable, but they do suggest that designers of choice plans need to consider the likely consequence of whatever student selection and funding mechanisms they select. Snider (1989) suggests several design factors likely to increase the chances that greater public school choice will result in positive effects. They are:

1. extensive outreach so that all students have an equal opportunity to learn about available choices and then to enroll in the school of their choice;

2. program participation and selection mechanisms that maximize the number of participating schools and ensure as much open enrollment as space permits;

3. allowing schools to differentiate themselves in terms of size, curriculum and instructional strategies;

4. resources that insure equal access (e.g., transportation and staff development);

5. continued sensitivity to any resource inequities that may develop as the plan is implemented.

Of all of the restructuring options available, "schools of choice" could be considered the most significant because it offers within its parameters the ability to set a direction or focus in the effort to truly define a school. This restructuring effort has generated much controversy due to the sensitive nature of the issues surrounding it. There has been an ongoing energetic debate that continues to produce strong opinions on both ends of the continuum.

The next section of this chapter presents an historical perspective on choice in our society; defines the arguments surrounding the issue of choice; analyzes the impact of school choice concerning diversity, student achievement and empowerment; and describes some existing models of school choice.

Choice in Public Education

"He is free who lives as he chooses," the Greek philosopher Epictetus wrote in Discourses. Almost 2,000 years later, Americans still hold firmly to this ancient but timeless ideal. To be an American means to have choices. Personal choice to the degree common in America is relatively new in human history. Tribal and

traditional societies make choice the exception rather than the rule. When mores, marriage customs, work and beliefs are prescribed, individual choice plays a much smaller part in human existence.

Americans, however, take choice for granted, assuming without question the right to choose among a wide variety of consumer goods, careers, life styles and religions, mates and neighborhoods. Choice is fundamental to both individualism and community in modern American society.

Choice also provides the basis of most partnerships, whether in business, marriage, golf or an evening of bridge. Choice, therefore, must be a key concept in any policy framework based on partnership.

If choice is so deep and pervasive in American culture, why has it only recently surfaced as an important concept in education?

The answer is that choice is indeed not all that new in American education. It was traditional until centralized, bureaucratic and governmental schooling became dominant. As Tyack (1974) has pointed out:

Prior to 1840, when the crusade for public education gained momentum, the typical attitude toward education resembled a common attitude today toward religion; attend the school of your choice. There was a enormous variety of schools to choose from, as there are churches today. (p.76)

Nor did the advent of a public school system and compulsory attendance laws eliminate choice; it remains

a major factor in education today, although its influence has been greatly diminished. Ever since the effort by Oregon to require all children to attend public schools was blocked by the Supreme Court in 1925, in Pierce v. Society of Sisters, no serious attempt has been made to challenge the legal right of parents to choose the schools their children will attend. Millions of parents exercise this right of choice by sending their children to private or parochial schools, and millions more have made a choice about schooling when they selected their place of residence. It may well be assumed that violent objection could be expected if this right were taken away.

Interestingly, however, although it has been an integral part of American education from the very beginning, choice played little part in discussion of public educational policy until recently. Choice may have been de-emphasized because public policy was preoccupied with construction and expanding the public school system or because it was not in the interest of public school leaders to talk about it. Whatever the reasons for its relative obscurity, choice is now being examined as a key factor in educational policy.

Perhaps the current preoccupation in American education with choice in public schools illustrates yet again that, while there may be nothing new under the sun

in education, there is always something newly hot. Many public school districts and individual schools have offered some form of choice for many years now. Yet, it seems that with the exception of an occasional researcher, no one outside these districts--and frequently even inside these districts--has paid much attention. The only exception to this general indifference has been desegregation-related public school choice plans. But suddenly within the last couple of years, and quite apart from desegregation goals, about half of the states in the nation have either considered or implemented some form of public school choice, and many local districts are doing the same.

Why the Interest in Schools of Choice?

One of the biggest incentives is public opinion. According to the 1987 Gallup Poll on Education, 71 percent of public school parents believed that they "should have the right to choose which local schools their children attend"; 81 percent of nonpublic school parents concurred. Both public and nonpublic school parents thought that parents should have more say in the curriculum offered in public schools (51 and 65 percent respectively), in the choice of instructional materials

(42 and 50 percent, respectively) and in the selection of library materials (40 and 47 percent, respectively).

In the 1989 Gallup Poll on Education, the public favored, by a 2-1 margin, allowing students and their parents to choose which public schools in their communities the students will attend. Majority support for parental choice appeared in all demographic groups and in all geographic areas, although that support was somewhat stronger among nonwhites (67%) and younger adults (67%) than among whites (59%) and persons aged 50 and over (51%). People in eastern states regarded parental choice less favorably than those in the West (53% to 64%). Half of the respondents believed that parental choice would improve some schools while hurting others; 21% thought that parental choice would improve all schools. Only 14% thought choice would hurt all schools.

Parental choice is also the centerpiece of the federal education policy first articulated by President Reagan in 1989. Speaking in Washington at the White House Workshop on Choice in Education, the President explained:

Choice works, and it works with a vengeance. Choice recognizes the principle that there is no one best way for all of us. It allows schools to excel at something special, rather than trying-and failing-to be all things to all people. (p. 2)

At the same conference, then President-elect George Bush said:

It's time for a second great wave of education reform-not helter-skelter, not here or there, but everywhere: in every state, every district, for every school and every student in America. Those good and tested reform ideas of recent years must become universal-universally understood and applied and thus universally enjoyed by our children. Certainly among the most promising of these ideas--perhaps the single most promising--is choice. (p. 5)

Former U.S. Secretary of Education Lauro F.

Cavazos, speaking at the same conference, agreed that choice is the key to better schools:

Some of the most encouraging signs in the educational community have come from the States and from the localities that permitted parents and children to choose the schools that they believe will best serve their needs...President Bush and I view school choice as the cornerstone for restructuring America's system of elementary and secondary education. (p. 7)

The newly found fervor for public school choice seems to derive its inspiration from a set of claims so powerful and compelling that no champion of children and public education can fail to be moved. For example, the White House Workshop on Choice in Education concluded that choice:

1. brings basic structural change to our schools,
2. recognizes individuality,
3. fosters competition and accountability,
4. improves educational outcomes.
5. keeps potential dropouts in school and draws back those who have already left,
6. increases parent's freedom,
7. increases parent satisfaction and involvement in the schools,

8. enhances educational opportunities, particularly for disadvantaged parents. (Paulu, 1989)

Nathan (1989) identifies results that states have found from providing choice among schools:

1. reduced dropouts,
2. increased student achievement and appreciation for learning,
3. improved parental involvement and satisfaction, encouragement of racial and economic integration,
4. provided extra challenge for students dissatisfied with the conventional program,
5. raised the morale of educators who were allowed to create distinctive programs from which families can choose.

The interest in public schools of choice is also a state level issue. Support has been growing in state capitals for a variety of initiatives fostering alternatives to the traditional system of assigned schools. States have removed barriers to parental choice and have provided monetary incentives to encourage experimentation (Allen, 1988).

State policy makers are also examining reforms to increase choice in schools, such as reducing barriers to open enrollment and enacting programs to encourage more parental involvement in school management (National Governors' Association, 1986).

Another incentive is the claim that public school choice may indeed have powerful implications for the acceleration and achieving of educational reform. Public school choice, its advocates say, promotes educational diversity and quality, student motivation and achievement and parental involvement and satisfaction (Rosenberg, 1989). In this view, public school choice may be the reform that transcends and negates the need for most other education reforms.

The Arguments Concerning Public School Choice:

Pro and Con

When considering the pros and cons of a program of choice, few questions are addressed that are as passionately embraced by the advocates of both sides of the issue as the question of segregation. On the one hand, opponents of choice argue emphatically that "...school choice schemes have become a new form of segregation, in which students are segregated based on a combination of race, income level, and previous school performance" (Moore and Davenport, 1989, p. 107). According to Pearson (1989), "...open enrollment is elitist...Choice will not be available to low-income or single-parent families" (p. 45).

In a study of high school enrollment plans in four large U.S. cities, Moore and Davenport (1989) found significant stratification of students by race, income and academic achievement. Moore and Davenport conducted a two-year study of choice at the high school level in four large cities: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. They reported that:

School choice has, by and large, become a new, improved method of student sorting, in which schools pick and choose among students. In this sorting process, black and Hispanic students, low-income students, students with low achievement, students with absence and behavior problems, handicapped students, and limited-English-proficiency students have very limited opportunities to participate in popular-option high schools and programs. Rather, students at risk are proportionately concentrated in schools which... characteristically exhibit low levels of expectations for their students, deplorable levels of course failure and retention, and extremely low levels of graduation and basic skill achievement. (p.113)

On the other hand, proponents assert that a well-designed system of school choice extends to minority and low-income parents the same opportunity to send their children to better schools that affluent parents have always had (Glenn 1989b, Nathan 1989, Raywid 1989). Glenn (1989a) states that "choice of schools by parents and teachers-and the diversity that choice permits and demands-can create the conditions under which effective integrated schools can be created" (p. 89).

The literature suggests that the case for public school choice essentially falls into two categories.

The first is based on principle and arguments in this area are on solid grounds but infrequently invoked. According to Rosenberg (1989), the second and more instrumental category contains the arguments about the effects of choice, which are more weakly grounded but repeatedly and loudly made. The instrumental argument includes: educational diversity and quality; student achievement; and parent, student, faculty and community involvement/empowerment.

The principled argument for public schools of choice asserts that a free and democratic society has a transcendent public interest in maintaining a public school system, while at the same time saying that there is no similar public interest in requiring children to go to one public school rather than another. The argument holds, therefore, that parents should be allowed to choose which public school their children attend, irrespective of the district or neighborhood they happen to live in.

Opponents of public schools of choice might attack this argument on bureaucratic and administrative grounds, but they would be hard pressed to deny the principle claim the advocates of choice. Proponents of choice would further argue that the egalitarian component of this argument is even harder to assail. Public school choice, its advocates claim, would reduce

or eliminate the distinctions of wealth and residence in access to quality schooling and thereby equalize educational opportunity. Poor and minority children, especially, would be able to leave poorly funded, failing schools in the impoverished neighborhoods they live in through no fault of their own and attend well-funded, more successful schools in the wealthier neighborhoods that they and their parents cannot afford to live in. Public school choice, then, would mean that no child would be trapped in a bad or poor school simply because of the economic or social circumstances of his parents.

Another major argument which has a basis in principle is the idea of simply having the right and ability to choose. This argument says that when an individual is able to choose a product or service, the result is a greater commitment to that product or service. In the same sense, when an individual chooses to be part of an institution or group and that entity in turn chooses to accept the individual, there is greater mutual commitment and satisfaction. In short, choice is better than coercion, not only for moral reasons but because of its more positive results.

The second set of arguments for public schools choice, and unquestionably the main one, is directly concerned with outcomes. At the heart of the outcomes-

driven argument is the concept of competition. The assumption here is that choice creates a regulated market system within public education that, in turn, makes schools more responsive to parental preferences and student needs. Choice proponents also assume that these market forces will produce greater accountability within public education because parents and students will have the option of leaving schools that do not perform at acceptable levels.

Advocates claim that choice creates a healthy climate of competition among schools. For example, Randall (1985) says that if schools do not want to lose students, they will provide the kinds of programs that will keep the students in the district.

Unlike the principled case for choice, in which the simple idea of choice is seen as an end, a good in and of itself, the instrumental/outcomes case sees choice as the means to attain educational diversity and quality, student achievement, and parent, student, faculty and community involvement/ empowerment (Rosenberg, 1989).

Educational Diversity

Those who argue that expanding the opportunities for parents to exercise choice would improve schools make several key assumptions about how schools would

respond to increased opportunities for choice. First, parent choice would induce schools to compete for parents, on the assumption that more enrollment is better than less. Second, this competition would induce schools to differentiate their offerings, thereby providing parents with more options and providing students with a variety of learning settings.

In terms of broad policy issues, these claims can be reduced to the questions of: Does choice lead to diversity? Does more choice lead to competition which would induce schools to provide for more diversity?

The answer to the first question, based on the evidence arising from studies of magnet schools (Blank, 1984; New York State, 1985; Metz, 1986), of the Alum Rock voucher experiments (Bridge and Blackman, 1978), and alternative schools (Raywid, 1982) has to be an unequivocal "yes". Based on the literature reviewed, the answer to the second question is unclear.

For example, magnet schools and alternative schools are historically set up to meet an immediate problem-- what to do with students who do not fit into the regular program, parents who are too vocal to be ignored but whose preferences do not fit into the mainstream or the issue of desegregation.

The overall trend within most magnet schools and alternative school programs and in the Alum Rock voucher

experiments has been to increase the number of alternatives. But the evidence indicates that this is supply rather than demand-driven: new options are opened up in response to staff interest rather than any measures or monitoring of consumer demand. In fact, Cappell (1981), found evidence in the Alum Rock voucher experiment of tacit staff strategies to restrict competition: optional programs that were at full or near full enrollment were not marketed as aggressively as less popular programs.

Metz's (1986) study of magnet school programs found that where school district authorities were sensitive to competition and did monitor consumer demand in the form of enrollment data and waiting list information, their response led to less diversity. The least popular of the schools in the study had the most distinctive program and was loyally supported by a core of parents. But that core was not enough to keep the school viable as a magnet that could help the district as a whole improve its racial balance. The result was that this particular school was pressured to homogenize its program in the direction of the most popular magnet school in the study district, a school which had the least distinctive program.

Metz's (1986) finding that competition may, under certain circumstances, reduce rather than increase

diversity raises some serious issues about whether competition either among public schools, or between public and private schools, will have the salutary effect of inducing public schools to become more responsive, creative or entrepreneurial.

Some clues as to what conditions can promote diversity is found in Blank's (1984) and New York State's (1985) studies of magnet schools. Both studies found that the most instructionally effective magnet schools also had the most distinct and clear cut program emphases and school missions. Furthermore, in each case this was associated with special dispensations from district-wide procedures and norms providing these schools with greater building level autonomy and a more "peaceful" environment, characteristic of private schools.

Student Achievement

Evidence on the effects of public school choice on student achievement used in this section comes from two main sources: the Alum Rock voucher experiment, and studies of public alternative schools and magnet schools.

The Alum Rock experiment, Alum Rock Union School District, San Jose, California, one of the few examples

of comprehensive public school choice in a single system, proved less than successful for several practical reasons. According to Cohen and Farrar (1977), the initial design of the voucher system was compromised in a number of important respects by local political opposition; the ground rules of parent choice were changed several times; and teachers were unsure of how to manage the development of alternative programs. For these reasons, most choice advocates are of the opinion that the Alum Rock experiment does not accurately portray what choice can do under more favorable circumstances.

But the Alum Rock experiment does provide an insight into how mixed and perplexing the effects of choice programs on student achievement can be. The introduction of choice in Alum Rock, even on a relatively comprehensive and sustained basis, seemed to have made little difference in instructional practice among schools or on reading scores. Empirical studies of the content of instructional programs in Alum Rock schools showed no significant differences among alternative programs on such dimensions as pacing of content, use of English or Spanish in instruction or the degree of teacher or student initiation of instruction (Barker et al, 1981). Nor did empirical studies show any

significant differences among alternative programs on measures of student reading achievement (Cappell, 1981).

A potential counter-case to the Alum Rock evidence is the alternative school program in Community District 4, East Harlem, New York City. District 4 is one of the city's poorest districts and once had the lowest achieving schools in the city. Several years ago, the district adopted a choice plan and implemented schools-within-schools, mostly, but not exclusively, in its junior high schools. Over the years, choice has also spread to elementary schools; and over the years, District 4's schools have gone from the lowest end of the achievement scale to about midpoint.

Raywid's (1984) comprehensive review of research on alternative schools reveals that these schools seem to be distinguished by a clear sense of purpose, a shared sense of values, high morale among teachers and students, parental satisfaction, and a perception among teachers of higher student achievement.

Some research indicates that students learn more in magnet schools. Raywid (1989) reports on extensive findings of four research studies dealing with student achievement in 139 schools of choice (magnet schools) located in 11 cities and suburban areas across the country. The studies found that students' reading and math scores were above district and/or national averages

and that allowing parents to select their children's learning environment appears to enhance students' cognitive and affective outcomes. Furthermore, the evidence from these studies shows that the longer the student has been in the school of choice, the greater their relative advantage. Raywid (1989) concludes that when families have the opportunity to select among various public schools, students achieve more and like school and themselves better, parents have better attitudes toward school and educators feel more like professionals. Raywid strongly supports more choice among public schools and vigorously opposes providing additional tax funds to private and parochial schools.

Blank's (1989) comprehensive review of research on magnet schools shows that urban districts enroll relatively large proportions of students in magnet programs (about 20 percent at the high school level in the average urban district), that fewer than one-fourth of the schools surveyed used academic achievement as a selection criterion and that the typical magnet school has higher academic achievement than non-magnet schools. Blank (1989) adds that the higher-performing magnet programs are characterized by strong leadership, a coherent program theme and high district support.

Schools of choice are more likely to produce greater academic gains among minority and low-income

students (Snider, 1987). For example, Buffalo, New York, with the highest proportion of students needing remedial education in New York's five largest, launched its magnet school program in 1976. By 1986, although the city had the second highest proportion of low-income students, it had the lowest proportion of students needing remedial services (Snider, 1987).

Perhaps the premier argument used by proponents of public school choice is that it will improve student achievement and lower dropout rates. In fact, no other argument has so captured the public imagination and been so oft repeated. The evidence used for this claim comes largely from the experience of magnet schools. The research seems to suggest that, by and large, magnet schools do tend to achieve average student test scores that are higher than the district average and dropout rates that are lower than the district average. This, however, is not surprising because the students in magnets and other schools of choice tend to represent a selected student population. Students at the lowest end of the achievement scale are rarely in magnets, while students at the upper end of the motivation scale are disproportionately present.

Nor is this the case only with selective magnet schools. Even where magnets have no academic admissions criteria, they tend to tap a selected student population

whose motivation is high even if their prior achievement scores do not reflect it. Even when magnets admit a cross section of the achievement range, the resulting student body is still unrepresentative because few neighborhood urban schools today have such an academically mixed student body.

The research leaves it unclear whether magnet programs increase student achievement or whether they simply concentrate academically motivated students in a few schools, leaving less motivated students in regular schools.

Involvement/Empowerment

Blank's (1984) report is an excerpt of a larger study of 45 magnet schools in 15 urban school districts and focuses on the questions: Do magnet schools increase community participation in public education? What factors lead to increased participation? The findings are as follows:

1. Almost half of the magnets studied had higher levels of community participation than other schools in their district.

2. Magnet schools were especially effective in increasing business and non-profit organization involvement with the schools.

3. High levels of involvement on the part of all three sectors of the community--parents, businesses and non profit organizations--were related to the extent of prior participation in the planning and creation of the magnets but were unrelated to type and theme of the magnet and to its location (minority versus non-minority neighborhood).

4. Magnets which had the highest levels of involvement also enjoyed the highest ratings of educational quality as perceived by community respondents to satisfaction surveys.

The major policy implications of these findings seem to be obvious: first, there is a relationship between community involvement and community support for and satisfaction with public schools; second, high levels of involvement are not the automatic by-product of a magnet program, but the result of school system outreach to and involvement with parents in the design and planning of the magnet school program.

The Choices Among Choice: School Choice Models

The general impression created by public school choice is that it is a singular policy or program. In actuality it is a rubric for a variety of policies and programs. Staking out a position on choice is more than

a matter of sorting out principles and arguments. It also involves sorting out the various models of school choice and their respective costs, benefits and trade-offs.

Statewide Choice Models

There are some statewide choice plans currently in operation with Minnesota being the first to adopt such a plan. But statewide choice is the hottest choice model in the nation, and a number of states have followed Minnesota's lead, with more likely to follow.

Statewide choice plans permit students to attend school in any public school in the state so long as the nonresident school district is willing and has space and the transfer does not upset racial balance. State aid follows the student, which means that the higher the state's share of per pupil costs, the more equitable a state choice plan is likely to be and the fewer the financial excuses for districts not to accept nonresident students.

Transportation is handled in one of many ways: The state will only pay the costs of transporting poor students out of their resident districts; a district will pay for transporting to the border of the nonresident district and the host district will take

over from there; or families will be responsible for any transportation out of their resident districts.

In many respects, statewide choice is more rhetorical than real, an example of symbolic politics. Very few, if any, parents are going to send their children clear across a state to attend a public school. The claims of statewide choice opponents that the policy will result in massive chaos and defections would seem to be greatly exaggerated. For example, in the first year of the full implementation of Minnesota's statewide choice plan, only 440 students availed themselves of the opportunity. (About 5,400 eleventh and twelfth graders used a postsecondary option, which is less than 5 percent of those eligible.) The following year, about 1,000 students took advantage of open enrollment, which is still under one percent of those eligible (Minnesota Department of Education, 1989).

Under Minnesota's open enrollment plan, students entering kindergarten through grade 12 (including those currently in private schools) may choose to enroll in a public school or program located in a district other than the one in which the pupil lives. While the family may apply for a specific program or school, acceptance into the new district does not guarantee acceptance into a specific school or program. All districts must participate unless their school boards have declared

their district closed. In the latter case, resident students may leave to attend another district, but no nonresident students may enroll in the district. A pupil may be denied approval to enroll only if the district:

1. has declared itself "closed" to all enrollment option students;
2. lacks space in a grade level, program or school;
3. would fall out of compliance with desegregation guidelines (Minnesota Department of Education, 1989).

Interdistrict Choice Model

The most common form of this type of choice plan permits urban students to cross district lines and attend suburban schools and vice versa. Most of these plans were motivated by court-ordered desegregation or the imminence of such an order, and most of them regulate choices on the basis of their racial impact. In practice, this tends to mean that only minority students may leave city schools, and only white students are eligible to leave suburban schools. The participation of suburbs is generally voluntary; the participation of cities is generally not.

Under Massachusetts' interdistrict plan, developed by the Massachusetts Board of Education for then-

Governor Dukakis to file with the legislature, families are allowed to choose schools in other districts. Each district decides if it is willing to accept such transfers but it cannot prevent a student from leaving. Districts willing to accept transfer students inform the state's Commissioner of Education about how many students the district will accept, in which programs, schools and grade levels. Information from all participating districts is coordinated by the Department of Education and provided to parents throughout the state. The Department of Education then supports efforts by public or private agencies to provide outreach and information on educational choices to parents in their primary language.

Intradistrict Choice Models

Loosely defined, intradistrict choice refers to any option available to students within a given public school district. This may range from something as common as offering students a choice of curriculum and electives within a high school--the most common form of choice in America--to a district wide open enrollment policy that, theoretically at least, allows students to attend any school in the district.

For the purposes of this study, the discussion of intradistrict choice generally refers to the more proactive and reform-conscious versions of choice than the ones mentioned above. Chief among these options are magnet schools and controlled choice plans.

Magnet Schools. Magnets represent the most firmly entrenched example of choice and the one for which the most empirical evidence exists. The term "magnet" is used because of the school's ability to attract students from outside their normal attendance area from anywhere in the school district. For many school districts, magnet schools are a voluntary and effective alternative to mandatory busing as a means to desegregate schools in areas with a high concentration of minority students. Magnet status means a school is given the flexibility to experiment with teaching techniques and specialized courses of instruction because the money allocated has few spending requirements attached (Allen, 1988).

Controlled Choice. Invented in 1981 to solve desegregation problems in Cambridge, Massachusetts, this system of choice (also known as districtwide choice) in effect "compels" every student/parent to choose a school either anywhere in the district or within some zones within a district. Thus, a controlled choice program comprises part of the larger framework of intradistrict choice. In some school systems, typically small or

modestly sized ones, such choice may extend from elementary to secondary schooling. In other, larger school systems, the policy may be confined to middle or secondary schools. All the schools at that level then become schools with a distinctive focus or philosophy.

In Cambridge, Massachusetts, during the first five years under the choice system, average student achievement has increased every year, and the gap in achievement between black and white students has decreased (Nathan, 1989). A state official concluded, "The biggest impact is on school climate...The policy appears to be stimulating positive educational environments, and it clearly reinforces the theory that socio-economic mixing enhances school achievement" (Snider, 1988, p.15).

This type of choice plan has one constraint: each school must maintain the desired racial balance goals of the system. Controlled choice fosters two interrelated purposes: voluntary desegregation and strengthening each school by giving its staff responsibility for improving quality.

In the beginning of this literature review on the issue of choice as a restructuring option, the statement was made that choice offered a significant restructuring option due to its potential to affect substantive change on the building level. This review has substantiated the

fact that the literature has pointed to choice as a significant direction or focus for core restructuring at the building level. In so doing, the following summative points have been gleaned from the literature:

1. Implicit in the basic provision of choice is the acknowledgment that schools can, do and perhaps even should differ.

2. Choice recommends diversity or even deliberate differentiation. It tends to decentralize control and encourages governance at the individual level.

3. Accountability is today's non-negotiable educational issue. There are limited ways that a school can be held accountable. Choice makes the schools accountable to the families who do the choosing.

4. Schools of choice represent the implementation or application of a number of different theories of reform.

5. Schools of choice follow a number of guidelines suggested by the major full-scale studies of our time by such educators as John Goodlad, Earnest Boyer and Ted Sizer in their recommendations concerning organizational emphases, qualities and components. Some of these guidelines include size, cohesiveness, autonomy and collegiality.

The literature review on choice clearly indicated that its myriad components and structures offer at best

only an overall direction or a beginning focus for a school to begin the process of redefinition on the building level. The next logical step is the identification and application of a more specific philosophy and process that combines the essential components and overall direction of choice with key elements of its own. This would allow a school to engage in and effect significant change geared to its specific needs and dreams. One such philosophy can be found in the work of Henry Levin and the Accelerated Schools Project.

Accelerated Schools

The Accelerated Schools Project was begun by Dr. Henry M. Levin at Stanford University in 1986 as an elementary school initiative at the height of national concern over the high dropout rate among high school students. Concerned about why the majority of resources for assisting students was focused on dropout prevention programs at the high school level, Levin (1993) directed his attention on the elementary level where he observed among many students the phenomenon of "disengagement and giving up on the possibility of educational success" (p.2). He believed that the delivery of students to the middle school and high school levels who were

academically successful with the capability to do high quality work would in the long run do more to lower the number of dropouts than the existing high school programs.

The success of the elementary students schooled in Levin's philosophy gave rise to a unique problem when they began to reach the middle school level. These academically able students from accelerated elementary schools were not met with appropriate high expectations. The result in most cases was to put these students into remedial tracts regardless of their capabilities or performance. This response was not done out of a malicious nature, but often was due simply to the lack of adequate academic opportunities that existed in inner city schools for academically advanced students.

In fact, Hopfenberg and Levin (1993) cite three specific factors that served as the motivation to expand into the middle school level:

1. Accelerated elementary school teachers and parents expressed concern that the gains made in accelerated elementary schools might evaporate in conventional middle schools.

2. Many middle schools asked whether the central features of accelerated schools might work at their level, too.

3. While elementary schools provide an opportunity for early intervention, the middle school years are a pivotal time for intervention as well.

Given the above scenario, Levin realized that the Accelerated Schools model had to be expanded to include the middle school level. In 1989 he began an extensive research effort geared specifically at application of his model to the middle school level. This effort not only involved research, but also the writing of a concept paper which was circulated to educators, school districts and universities all across the country. In the same year he received support from the Edna McConnell Clark foundation for both design and implementation of a middle school model.

Levin's next step in this process was to begin to look for a pilot middle school that would be willing to embrace the Accelerated Schools philosophy. The search was successful in August, 1990, with the naming of Burnett Academy in San Jose, California as the initial pilot middle school in the nation. Soon after the establishing of that first school, two more pilot middle schools were added, Rancho Milpitas Middle School in Milpitas, California, and Madison Middle School in Seattle, Washington. By the fall of 1990, about fifty-four schools were involved in the Accelerated Schools movement. Included in that number were two self-

initiated state networks of accelerated schools in Illinois and Missouri. By 1993-94 the Accelerated Schools movement had grown to over 500 elementary and middle schools in 35 states.

One of the catalysts behind this rapid growth was the decision in 1988 by one of America's most prestigious corporations, Chevron USA, to choose the Accelerated Schools program as the focus of their educational initiative. This was in response to Chevron USA President Will Price's charge that his staff come up with a plan that would enable Chevron USA to play a more meaningful role in helping American education. After several months of deliberation and developing of criteria that would have to be met by the project to be funded, Accelerated Schools was chosen from a field of over 250 possible programs. Franklin (1991) states the reasons given for the selection: "We felt the program incorporated all elements of our criteria for success, and its early experiences in the pilot schools gave promise that it had the potential to be replicated nationwide." In 1989 Chevron management approved a three year funding commitment of \$1.45 million to the Accelerated Schools Project.

The influx of Chevron funding monies was a key ingredient at this point in the history of the Accelerated Schools movement. Levin realized the

tremendous task that lie ahead in working with so many schools on a nationwide basis. The answer to the problem of nationwide linkage was the development of the concept of satellite centers that would serve to help build regional capacity to both launch and support the evergrowing numbers of accelerated schools. With the funding from Chevron, the Accelerated Schools Satellite Project was initiated. The project was designed by Chevron and Stanford so that Stanford's Center for Educational Research became a training and facilitation center for the University Satellite Centers around the country. The universities chosen as initial satellite centers were the University of New Orleans, San Francisco State University, California State University at Los Angeles and Texas A&M University. Three years after the concept of the satellite centers was begun, two statewide networks were instituted in Louisiana and Texas along with an elementary satellite center in Las Vegas. In addition to the above satellite system, the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation provided funding for the creation of middle school satellite centers in Massachusetts, Colorado and Wisconsin.

After the initiation of the regional satellite centers, Levin saw the next major step as the building of the capacity of individual school districts and states to support Accelerated Schools (Levin, 1991).

This effort was begun in the summer of 1992 with the training of a group of district and state education officials who in turn worked with pilot schools in their respective regions to launch and support additional schools. Levin has articulated that the future direction of the Accelerated Schools Project lies in the institutionalization of the accelerated schools philosophy and process by the creation of one seamless system where each organization works to support others which depend on it and on which it depends (Levin, 1993). As Levin stated:

"The Accelerated Schools Project has been successful at creating accelerated elementary and middle schools; now the challenge is to create successful accelerated districts, accelerated state agencies and accelerated university teaching training programs that can function as one integrated accelerated system". (p.22)

The Accelerated Schools movement has at its core a stated goal, central principles and values that underlie its basic philosophy. Also inherent in the basic philosophy is the concept of "powerful learning", along with a systematic process which integrates curricular, instructional and organizational practices in line with a school's unique vision. It is the commitment and the adherence to this process that transforms conventional schools into accelerated schools.

The stated goal of Accelerated Schools is to bring all students into the educational mainstream by the

completion of their elementary education in order to allow them to perform at age appropriate educational levels. The term "accelerated" is used because Levin believed that at-risk students needed to learn at a faster rate than more privileged students, not at a slower rate that puts them farther behind. He concluded that only an enrichment strategy and not a remedial one could offer hope for reversing the existing educational crisis of the at-risk student (Levin, 1991). This conclusion was based on research that Levin (1993) engaged in throughout the 1980's and that led him to a definition of "at-riskness" that lie at the heart of his philosophy:

We define at-risk students as those who are unlikely to succeed in schools as schools are currently constituted because they bring a different set of skills, resources, and experiences than those on which school success is traditionally based. An at-risk student, then, is one caught in a mismatch between the experiences that he or she has in the home, family, and community, on the one hand, and what the schools expect for success, on the other. Because there is nothing at risk about the child, it's more accurate to refer to the at-risk situation in which a child is caught. Perceiving at-riskness as a human trait suggests that children are defective or in need of repair or remediation. But children are not the problem: at-riskness has to do with the situation in which we place children. (p.9)

The philosophy of Accelerated Schools is based on three interrelated principles that Levin found were absent from most traditional schools. He believed that these principles represent the foundation of the

Accelerated Schools philosophy and eventually become the basis for choosing curriculum, setting instructional strategies and implementing change. The three underlying principles are:

1. Unity of Purpose. This refers to the striving of all the school's constituency toward a common set of goals for the school that will be the focal point of everyone's efforts. This principle includes everyone connected with the school involved in the planning and design, implementation and the evaluation of all educational programs. It emerges and comes to life over time through the collaborative efforts of everyone working toward a shared vision. Finally, the unity of purpose, in the form of a vision statement, serves as an organizing framework for all aspects of school curriculum, instruction and organization.

2. Empowerment coupled with Responsibility. This refers to the ability of all the constituencies of the school community to be able not only to make the important educational decisions but also to take responsibility for the implementation and the outcomes of those decisions. The underlying purpose of this principle is to build an expanded capacity for all groups to participate in and take responsibility for both the educational process and the educational results.

3. Building on Strengths. This refers to the utilization of all the learning resources that the constituency of the total school community brings to the educational endeavor (Levin, 1993).

Levin (1993) also articulated a set of values which serve as the core to the creation of the cultural transformation needed for the traditional school to move to acceleration. These values create a culture for growth, creativity and accelerated learning and are clearly interrelated. These values include:

1. Equity
2. Participation
3. Communication and collaboration
4. Community spirit
5. Reflection
6. Experimentation and discovery
7. Trust
8. Risk taking
9. School as center of expertise (pp.31-33)

The above values, rooted in the work of American educator John Dewey, are at the core of the Accelerated School philosophy.

Another of the key concepts in the Accelerated Schools philosophy is that of "powerful learning". By design Levin does not give a distinct definition of powerful learning but he does offer a scaffolding upon which to build a definition. The framework Levin offers is triangular and integrated in nature:

We see every powerful learning experience as having three dimensions: *what* is taught (the content or curriculum), *how* the content is taught (instructional strategies), and the *context* in

which one galvanizes all available resources to achieve the *what* and *how*. (Context refers to time, personnel, funding, materials, physical space, and other resources that shape the social and organizational environment of the school. (p.35)

One reason for Levin's reluctance to offer a formal definition for powerful learning might be his belief in the uniqueness of each Accelerated School. Rather, he invites the individual school community to create its own definition. One South Carolina teacher, Connie Posner, defines powerful learning in this way:

Powerful learning is complete and total *emotional, physical* and *intellectual* involvement in what you're doing, the problem you're solving, etc. It's launching yourself fearlessly into risk-taking because it's okay to try and perhaps fail. And it's lasting, because it affects every fiber of your being and changes your perceptions forever. (p. 34)

Finally, Levin (1991) is adamant in his contention that no one single component makes an accelerated school. Rather his bottom line consists of "a comprehensive integration of curricular, instructional, and organizational practices that are consistent with a school's vision makes the Accelerated School" (p. 14). The following is an outline of Levin's common core of these curricular, instructional and organizational practices:

The entire *curriculum* of an Accelerated School is enriched and emphasizes language development in all subjects--math and science included...

Instruction within the Accelerated School promotes active learning experiences through independent projects, problem solving, and work with

manipulatives. This active learning introduces a problem solving orientation...

The *organization* of the Accelerated School builds upon broad participation in decision-making by administrators, teachers, and parents. (pp. 14-15)

After reviewing the literature on the Accelerated Schools philosophy and process, it is clear that it offers the type of significant building-level, core restructuring framework that would allow a school to embark on the path of substantive change. This philosophy focuses on bringing the at-risk student into the educational mainstream, building on students' strengths rather than their weaknesses and the collaborative effort of an entire school community building greater capacity for understanding and overcoming its challenges as well as working together to create the kind of school they want. This collaborative management philosophy and process represents a comprehensive approach in which the areas of curriculum, instruction and organization can mesh to form a vital school environment that has the potential for significant transformation.

The next chapter offers further insight into the role that the Accelerated Schools philosophy played in the restructuring effort at Chestnut Middle School, and, in particular, its effect upon the areas of school governance, time and culture.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the operational plan under which the research study was conducted. It includes descriptions of the following: research design and method, primary objectives of the research, guiding questions and avenues of inquiry, data collection techniques, data analysis procedures and profiles of the school and the candidates for interviews.

Research Design and Methods

This study employed qualitative research methods to describe and evaluate the effect of restructuring on one school in terms of governance, time and culture. Qualitative research techniques were used because they allowed for the procurement of data not available through quantitative means. The intent of this study was to discover and describe rather than to test a hypothesis, allowing for an inductive approach that, as

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) point out, allows "the researcher to develop concepts, insights and understandings from patterns in the data, rather than simply collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses, or theories" (p.5). Therefore the primary objectives of this research were:

1. to provide a thorough review of the literature on the related subjects of restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools philosophy;
2. to identify common, positive factors from public school restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools philosophy from the existing literature and from these factors interpret and evaluate how they apply to the particular school under study;
3. to identify the philosophical framework of the Accelerated Schools initiative and its application to Chestnut Middle School's restructuring effort;
4. to describe four teachers' perceptions of the ongoing restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School and interpret and evaluate this against the criteria that emerged from the review of the literature;
5. based on the above information, to present a portrait of one school that can be used as a guide for school systems currently involved in or contemplating restructuring. This description

constituted a new way for understanding choice and Accelerated Schools as integral components of restructuring and provided a means for school officials to contemplate the use and effect of such strategies in their particular educational setting.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected through the documentation of small task-specific committees and large group observations as well as interviews with representative teachers. Engel (1975) recognizes the importance of this type of methodology:

Documentation...offers a better possibility for obtaining useful evaluation data since it can be correlated with the goals and contents of the program...it can serve to improve the program in the process through feedback to the participants.
(p. 1)

In addition, because of this researcher's position as principal of the school, a dual role was assumed as both participant and observer. This duality allowed the researcher to better describe the effects of the total school community interaction on the restructuring process.

Engel (1977) offers the following description of the participant-observer:

The participant-observer is an external agent but shares, to a limited degree, the experience of those on the inside: he spends considerable time

making direct observations, collecting various kinds of documentation, interviewing, etc.; he becomes 'immersed' in the setting. (p. 8)

As Engel points out, one of the key elements of being a participant-observer is that it creates the opportunity to cut through layers of understanding. For example, because this researcher already had a thorough knowledge of the structure and inner workings of Chestnut Middle School, as well as a standing relationship with people in the school community, a common language was shared and it was possible to develop substantive data very quickly. The role of participant-observer allowed for the gathering of information in such settings as faculty meetings; small cadres involved with such topics as school culture, discipline, facility, resources and vision; parent groups; various community agencies; and central office and Department of Education advisory staff.

Data collected from these various sources included: field notes; recorded minutes from meetings; conclusionary notes; parent/staff/student/community questionnaires; and large group response sheets. The focus in such a analysis was to facilitate the search for patterns and themes across settings. Such an analysis allowed the researcher to engage in interpretation for research and evaluation.

In describing such an approach, Noblit and Hare (1988) use the term "meta-ethnography". Meta-ethnography is the synthesis of interpretive research. Such an approach enables a rigorous procedure for deriving substantive interpretations about any set of ethnographic or interpretive accounts. It compares and analyzes texts, creating new interpretations in the process. Although this research does not compare studies, it is very centered in the interpretive paradigm because it does compare, as Noblit and Hare suggest, "the detailed reporting of social or cultural events that focuses on 'the webs of significance'" (Geertz, 1973) evident in the lives of the people being studied (1988). It is important to remember that "any critical examination of an event or situation" could be considered a form of meta-ethnographic research (Noblit and Hare, 1988).

Both informal and formal in-depth interviews were held with four teachers over the course of two school years. The four teachers were selected based on several criteria in order to provide a representative cross-section of the faculty. These criteria included age, years of experience at Chestnut, gender, ethnic group, and current teaching assignment. Periodically during the first and second years of the restructuring initiative, several of these interviews with the selected teachers

were individually audiotaped so that the teachers could express their impressions, concerns and analysis of the ongoing process. After writing the teacher profiles, this researcher gave copies to the teachers, who were asked to make corrections to ensure their accuracy.

Method of Analysis

This researcher listened extensively to the audiotaped responses and made selected transcripts from each of the four teacher interviews. Based on the information gathered, general conclusions were reached concerning the effect of the restructuring initiative, particularly in the areas of governance, time and culture, as well as specific conclusions relating to each individual teacher. By triangulating this data, four sets of responses were compared to look for commonalities, patterns or themes among the teachers' responses.

Guiding Questions

As stated in Chapter I, the research questions which guided this study are:

1. What significant common elements concerning governance, time and culture emerge in the literature

about restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools?

2. How do these significant, common elements manifest themselves in the restructuring process currently underway at Chestnut Middle School?

3. How has the issue of empowerment been perceived by the staff during the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School? How is governance impacted by this perception?

4. How has the issue of time been perceived and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

5. How has the school culture been perceived by the staff and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

The next portion of this chapter describes Chestnut Middle School in terms of history, demographics, philosophical framework, staff, constituencies, organization, governance and current initiatives. The four teachers who participated in the study are also profiled. This profile includes their educational backgrounds, professional experience, current teaching assignments and preferred methods and any concerns which they chose to describe during their background interviews.

School Profile

Chestnut Middle School, built in 1903 at a cost of \$135,961, is located in the North End of Springfield, Massachusetts, in a community that is predominantly Hispanic. The school was built near the beginning of the century and at one time was the largest junior high school in Massachusetts. Several decades ago, the complete third floor was closed off due to lack of enrollment. It remains closed to this day because of subsequent damage and failure to meet present building code. Although historically significant, the school is desperately in need of repair and sits on a site constituting less than three acres that can best be described as land poor. The site problem manifests itself in several negative ways which include lack of playing fields and recreation areas for students and inadequate parking for staff.

There are 996 students in the school in grades six through eight. This number includes .07% Asian, 30% African American, 44% Hispanic and 24% white students. One hundred eighty students, or 19%, receive special education services. Bilingual students constitute 11% of the school population. Their first languages include Spanish, Russian, Vietnamese, Urdu, Italian and Polish.

Chapter 1 serves 316 students in reading and mathematics, approximately 32% of the school population. In 1993, 64 students were retained, 42 males and 22 females. In-school suspensions were used with 349 students; 161 students were suspended out of school for 10 days or less; 18 students were excluded from school for more than 10 days. One student was identified as a drop-out.

The administration at Chestnut consists of one principal and two assistant principals. The professional staff is made up of 85 classroom teachers, ranging from core academic teachers to Chapter 1, special education and bilingual teachers and includes a counseling staff of three academic counselors, one bilingual and one regular adjustment counselor. Other professionals include the speech and language therapists, school librarian and the educational team leader.

Paraprofessionals, including clerical and teacher aides, augment the school community along with the janitorial and lunchroom staff, school nurse, mediation counselor, truant officer, home liaison aide and head secretary. Students' needs are also met with the assistance of social service organizations and psychological associates. Chestnut's affiliation with the larger community is reflected in its relationship with the Springfield Institution for Savings, its business

partner, and several community organizations such as the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, the North End Community Center and the New North Citizens Council. Parents are represented by the active Parent Teacher Association.

Many of the students come from backgrounds where there is high unemployment, frequent mobility, gang activity and constant exposure to violence and crime, both of which are continuing to escalate in the surrounding neighborhood and in the city in general. In order to meet guidelines for racial integration, Chestnut has been designated a city-wide magnet school and houses the only program for talented and gifted students in the city. This program attracts a wide variety of students from the city's more affluent neighborhoods.

In 1990 all junior high schools in Springfield were mandated by the Superintendent of Schools to reconfigure from grades seven through nine to grades six through eight and to embrace the middle school philosophy. In anticipation of this mandated directive, the administration and staff at Chestnut had already begun to investigate the philosophical and pedagogical ramifications involved in becoming a middle school. The significant aspect of this investigation was that, at the inception, it positioned Chestnut to take full advantage of the vital components of a middle school

philosophy. For example, Chestnut began to operate on a flexible block schedule which split the day into academic (Core) and unified arts (Encore). These blocks not only allowed for common planning time each day for teachers, but, more significantly, created a framework for creating core teaching teams, inter- and cross-disciplinary thematic units and an increased level of collegiality. At present, teams ranging from two to five teachers function in each of the three grades.

In terms of grouping, students are assigned to teams of teachers and are heterogeneously grouped within the designations of that team. These parameters include such qualifiers as special education, talented and gifted, Chapter 1, bilingual and general education. Chestnut's philosophical direction is to move toward full inclusion of all students, including special education and bilingual students.

Prior to becoming an Accelerated School, Chestnut Middle School operated solely under the governance structure of a site-based management model. The site-based team included the principal, elected teacher and parent representatives and community members. Under the existing provisions of the local contract, this committee operates as a governing body, rather than in an advisory capacity.

Within the governance structure is the provision for communication between administration and professional staff using weekly roundtable meetings where the principal and designated team leaders report on concerns expressed in individual team meetings.

Chestnut Middle School is currently involved in several school-wide initiatives. For the past three years the State Department of Education has awarded Chestnut with a Carnegie Grant in cooperation with the University of Massachusetts and, more recently, Elms College. This grant designates Chestnut as a clinical site for the preparation of middle school educators. This designation is viewed by Chestnut as reciprocal in nature with the University of Massachusetts and Elms College. First, it has allowed for the professional development of current Chestnut staff by offering on-site graduate level courses in middle school philosophy and pedagogy, brought college personnel into the teaching teams as resources and has allowed Chestnut staff to plan and implement course content at the university level. Second, it has allowed Chestnut, in concert with its college partners, to reach the point of developing, implementing and institutionalizing a clear and articulated pre-practicum and practicum experience for college students at Chestnut.

Another school-wide initiative at Chestnut is the Community Service Learning component. The Massachusetts Department of Education has awarded Chestnut a Community Service Learning Network grant with Carnegie funds. This grant has allowed Chestnut to implement an advisor-advisee program, a multimedia approach to Community Service Learning in-service workshops for staff and several school-wide projects in collaboration with community and neighborhood service agencies. Chestnut has also been designated a district-wide demonstration school in Community Service Learning and has been awarded two separate CSL grants for classroom initiatives.

Chestnut has also developed a proactive conflict mediation program in conjunction with its business partner, Springfield Institution for Savings. Students all three grade levels have been trained in conflict resolution and are currently functioning as peer mediators.

In an effort to give voice to stories from the students' lives, "Project Phoenix", an artist-in-residency program, was initiated with StageWest, a local professional theater company. Working with an inclusive core group of students, actors from StageWest developed a play using student writing, artwork, musical talent and performers. The theme of the mythological phoenix

was metaphorically linked to the school community and was tied into the curriculum in a variety of ways. Additionally, the Massachusetts Cultural Council funded an alliance between Chestnut and Kids & Books, a local television series, to feature Chestnut students in all programs which are designed to promote recreational reading.

Teacher Profiles

Teacher A

Teacher A teaches Writing/Communications to grades six, seven and eight. She holds a Bachelor of Science in elementary education from Westfield State College and a master's and a doctoral degree in education with a special concentration in children's literature, reading and media, both from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. She began teaching in the Springfield Public Schools at the first and second grade levels. After three years she took an extended period away from the public schools in order to raise a family. During that time, she taught preschool, adult education and college courses; presented workshops on the local, state, regional and national level; spent time in a British primary school; and then returned as a sixth grade

teacher in a parochial school for nine years before procuring a position in the public school system at Chestnut Middle School. Teacher A is the producer of a local children's television series which advocates recreational reading to 9-13 year olds and is a published author.

Now in her third year at Chestnut Middle School, Teacher A teaches in the fine arts department on the Encore schedule, meeting three classes daily for 65 minute periods. Other duties include working with groups of children on areas of special interest, e.g. social studies enrichment projects, playwriting; grantwriting; and directing the artist-in-residency project.

Teacher A considers herself to be "a very oral teacher", using the "power of story in everything that I teach". She believes that middle school students deserve to "be heard" and encourages them to discuss their feelings about significant issues. "I also really feel strongly that people don't listen to kids' opinions enough. I like to give them opportunities to talk..." She is convinced that teachers need to "make all kids feel that their opinions are valuable" and that "every classroom could invite some sort of a forum for that kind of discussion".

Teacher A usually holds classes in the auditorium where her students sit in "circles or semi-circles".

Because her students "need to move around when they come to her" for the Encore block, she prefers to have students work in groups, which "naturally become textbook cooperative learning groups because the make-up of my classes ranges from [students with] very high IQ's to students who can barely read or write and some who can't speak English very well". Teacher A believes that, although there is no single method that is "perfect", every program "should have a component...like group work".

Teacher B

Teacher B teaches sixth grade language arts. He holds a bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature from Boston University. He began his educational career as an aide in a fourth/fifth grade classroom before securing a teaching position in Lincoln, Massachusetts. After a few years he left teaching to become a therapist and was trained in humanistic therapies. He soon realized that he "wanted to get back into the classroom" and "missed working with kids". That led him back to Boston University where he began work on a doctorate in the areas of educational change and leadership through the Department of Humanistic and Behavioral Studies. During this time he

worked with Lesley College doing evaluation work on such State Department of Education programs as Chapter 636.

At the same time he got a position as an assistant principal administrative intern at an elementary school in Franklin, Massachusetts. When he finished much of his doctoral coursework he realized that he had "pursued this course [in administration] much too soon" and "did not have enough teaching under my belt" and "didn't want to be an administrator at that point in time".

Encouraged by friends, he opened a restaurant and operated it for seven years before again returning to teaching. After moving to Northampton, Massachusetts, he began substitute teaching and, having decided he "wanted to be part of a large system", he got a job at a junior high school in Springfield. There he worked as a Chapter 636 Writing Process teacher and traveled from class to class. After four years, Teacher B "made it known to his supervisor he was not happy there" and was placed at Chestnut Junior High School. He was attracted to the fact that Chestnut was "moving forward toward the middle school" philosophy which fit into his elementary school background.

Teacher B is now in his eighth year in Springfield, fifth at Chestnut. He began his tenure at Chestnut in a seventh grade self-contained classroom; his responsibility was to teach all major subjects. For the

past four years he has been part of a sixth grade team teaching language arts and mathematics. This team has remained relatively stable both in membership and in student population. This population includes a large percentage of talented and gifted (TAG) students as well as some special education students who have been diagnosed as language learning disabled. Additionally, Teacher B retains a leadership position as an elected member of the Site-Based Management Team. He is a liaison to the Southwestern Middle School Alliance and co-directs the artist-in-residency project.

Teacher B believes that the students need and "deserve much more than they're getting...not just from the school but from the community, from the society at large, and the question remains, relative to his available energy and time: Who's going to give it to them?...The most difficult part for me is to figure out how to balance my devotion to them and my interest in them with my recognition that the institution needs to change dramatically".

Teacher C

Teacher C is a sixth and seventh grade foreign language teacher. She is proud of the fact that she is "a product of the Springfield school system" and a

graduate of Classical High School. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in French from American International College and started in a master's program but at this date has not completed the course work.

Before getting her first full time teaching position which was at Chestnut, Teacher C substitute taught for one year in Springfield with a short period of time spent in the Westfield schools. She has been at Chestnut for "over twenty years" and currently teaches an exploratory foreign language curriculum for sixth grade students along with first and second year French to grade level and gifted and talented seventh grade students.

Teacher C believes that vocabulary proficiency is at the core of her teaching and uses several methods in order to accomplish this. For example, she uses projects to help the students learn vocabulary. Students have created magazines and designed menus for cafes; these activities have helped them acquire, expand and retain vocabulary. Teacher C also constructs real life scenarios where students are expected to use their acquired vocabulary proficiency to respond to the situation.

Teacher C's overriding concern is student behavior and its effect on learning. She believes that the urban middle school student's behavior is different from that

of a suburban student. She sees a "difference in... behavior because they [urban students] have their own set of problems that is more related to the urban school setting, rather than the upper middle class". It is her opinion that this difference has lessened due to the proliferation of "television and...violence" with the effect being a commonality of problems that transcends the urban or suburban nature of the school setting.

Teacher D

Teacher D is a sixth grade science teacher. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree and certification in general science and is currently working toward bilingual certification. Teacher D was a fourth year engineering student at the Polytechnic University in Hato Ray, Puerto Rico, when he began teaching Sunday school. He found the experience of working with young children to be so gratifying that he switched his major to education, having realized that he would "make a better teacher than an engineer". Accordingly, he began his formal training as an educator in his native land and finished up the requirements for a teaching degree and certification in the United States at Westfield State College. During this time he served in the Coast Guard Reserve as a radar man. He currently holds the

rank of sergeant in the National Guard and works in the personnel area.

Teacher D's first job in education was at Springfield Technical Community College in the REACH summer enrichment program. Following that experience, he was a substitute teacher in the Springfield Public Schools for two and one half years in a variety of grade levels beginning in kindergarten and including one year teaching social studies and Spanish at the high school level.

Teacher D is currently in his third year of teaching at Chestnut Middle School. All of his teaching experiences have been on the sixth grade level. The first two years were spent on an integrated two person bilingual team teaching math, science and Spanish. Currently Teacher D teaches science on a five person integrated bilingual team. This team has elected to pilot a program in learning styles which will enable Teacher D to participate in related professional development activities.

Teacher D identifies his teaching philosophy as "student-centered", "topical" and "related to life". For example, because he prefers to "gear myself to student interest", he often chooses to "throw out topics" to his classes. The students identify pertinent areas of interest which become the "student-centered

route" he takes in his instruction. He uses the course content to teach his students "what life is about".

Because his classroom setting is "not too structured", he believes he is able to encourage his students' creativity so that they will not be afraid to "try something new". One of the overriding strategies with which he is experimenting this year is cooperative learning. Due to the inherent nature of this grouping process, he is concerned that he appears disorganized, but he is "only trying to find better ways".

Summary

This chapter has presented a description of the study conducted to evaluate the way in which the change process affected the school community at Chestnut Middle School with regard to restructuring and governance, time and culture. The procedure for the study is described, as is the method of data collection and analysis.

Included also are profiles of the school under study as well as of the teachers who agreed to be interviewed.

The next chapter reports on and analyzes the results of the study in two ways: first, it discusses the teachers' descriptions and evaluations of their experiences and reactions to the restructuring process at Chestnut Middle School; second, it analyzes emergent

patterns and themes from the study which were reflected in the literature and describes their application to the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School.

CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter presents and analyzes the results of the study discussed in Chapter III. The chapter reports on these results in two ways: first, through the observations of this researcher who served as a participant-observer, it analyzes the emergent patterns and themes from the study which were reflected in the literature and describes their application to the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School; second, it discusses the teachers' descriptions and evaluations of their experiences and reactions to the restructuring process at the school in relation to these same themes. In doing so, it presents a chronological overview of the Accelerated Schools Project during the first two years at Chestnut Middle School through the analysis of the three areas of focus: governance, time and culture.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first section establishes the frame of reference for the viewpoint of this researcher in the role of participant-observer. The second section provides a brief

description of the four teachers interviewed for the study. This is followed by the third section which establishes these teachers' general impressions of the Accelerated Schools Project and offers their assessments of the first year of this restructuring effort at Chestnut Middle School. The last three sections each consider one of the emergent themes of governance, time and culture during the second year of the Accelerated Schools Project. Inherent in each of the last three sections is the meshing of the participant-observer analysis along with the teachers' perceptions. These sections address and analyze the data collected by this researcher and are supported not only by the personal observations of this researcher but also by survey questionnaires and meeting notes which were gathered throughout the study. These sections also report on the taped interviews with four Chestnut Middle School teachers which involved their perceptions about and reactions to specific questions relating to the current ongoing restructuring efforts at the school, particularly in the areas of governance, time and culture. Accompanying these sections is a Chestnut Middle School/Accelerated Schools Project Timeline designed to provide a framework for this analysis (see Appendix D).

Of particular interest to this researcher in these sections was how the interviewed teachers perceived the issue of empowerment and how this relates to governance; their attitudes, perceptions and responses to time as it impacts the restructuring effort; and the teachers' perceptions about the importance of developing a clear and articulated school culture. These were keys in answering the questions that guided this study.

The study questions were:

1. What significant common elements concerning governance, time and culture emerge in the literature about restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools?

2. How do these significant, common elements manifest themselves in the restructuring process currently underway at Chestnut Middle School?

3. How has the issue of empowerment been perceived by the staff during the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School? How is governance impacted by this perception?

4. How has the issue of time been perceived and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

5. How has the school culture been perceived by the staff and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

Participant-Observer Analysis

As stated in Chapter III, because of this researcher's position as principal of the school, a dual role was assumed as both participant and observer. This duality allowed the researcher to better describe the effects of the total school community interaction on the restructuring process. For the purpose of this study it is important to establish a frame of reference for the viewpoint of this researcher in the role of participant-observer. The frame of reference focuses on a six year perspective beginning with this researcher's tenure as a teacher at Chestnut Middle School, including an 18 month assignment as assistant principal, and continues to the present where this researcher is in his third year as principal. The observations in the next section have as their base the on-going restructuring efforts at Chestnut Middle School as reflected in the three emergent themes of governance, time and culture from this chronological perspective and culminate in the form of recommendations regarding these same themes for future research in Chapter V.

Brief Review of Teacher Descriptions

As stated in Chapter III, Teacher A teaches Writing/Communications to grades six, seven and eight. She holds a Bachelor of Science in elementary education from Westfield State College and a master's and a doctoral degree in education with a special concentration in children's literature, reading and media, both from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Now in her third year at Chestnut Middle School, Teacher A teaches in the fine arts department on the Encore schedule, meeting three classes daily for 65 minute periods. Other duties include working with groups of children on areas of special interest, e.g. social studies enrichment projects, playwriting; grantwriting; and directing the artist-in-residency project.

Teacher B teaches sixth grade language arts. He holds a bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature from Boston University. Teacher B is now in his eighth year in Springfield, his sixth at Chestnut. He began his tenure at Chestnut in a seventh grade self-contained classroom; his responsibility was to teach all major subjects. For the past four years he has been part of a sixth grade team teaching language arts and mathematics. This team has remained relatively stable both in membership and in student population. Teacher B

retains a leadership position as an elected member of the Site-Based Management Team.

Teacher C is a sixth and seventh grade foreign language teacher. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in French from American International College. She has been at Chestnut for "over twenty years" and currently teaches an exploratory foreign language curriculum for sixth grade students along with first and second year French to grade level and gifted and talented seventh grade students.

Teacher D is a sixth grade science teacher. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree and certification in general science and is currently working toward bilingual certification. Teacher D is currently in his third year of teaching at Chestnut Middle School. All of his teaching experiences have been on the sixth grade level. The first two years were spent on an integrated two person bilingual team teaching math, science and Spanish. Currently Teacher D teaches science on a five person integrated bilingual team. This team has elected to pilot a program in learning styles which will enable Teacher D to participate in related professional development activities.

Teachers' General Impressions and Assessments of the
First Year of the Accelerated Schools Project

It was important to establish in the first interview how each teacher viewed Accelerated Schools. Accordingly, each teacher was asked to offer a definition or general impression of Accelerated Schools and to assess the first year's progress.

Teacher A used an extended metaphor when describing the Accelerated Schools process: "Accelerated Schools is sort of like laying the tracks down. There needs to be a design by which you can figure out the way trains run and I think that it's helping create that design, laying down the tracks so that as people get on the train, they'll be able to efficiently encompass the whole school experience and go through it and around it and be all coordinated together, but they'll all be on the same track...and not go off to Wichita or something...I see it [Accelerated Schools] as this unifying thing."

Teacher A did not like the description of Accelerated Schools as an "umbrella" philosophy: "I understand it's like an umbrella. All an umbrella does is protect and you can't go on your own steam and a train can go on its own steam." She believes that Accelerated Schools is "going to provide people with an opportunity to do what

they want to do" and "...it can be whatever we want it to be."

Teacher A continued this metaphor in reflecting upon the first year of Accelerated Schools: "If you're laying down a train [tracks], first you have to clear the land. This year was like clearing the land...and this takes a lot of grumbling because some people don't want to clear the land and, for other people, all they could see was a vision of the way it's going to be and so the clearing of the land didn't really bother them...and with any endeavor, it's this whole huge beginning thing and it's...like the rumbling under the surface that's really going to grow bigger."

Teacher A seems to perceive the first year of Accelerated Schools as somewhat problematic. For example, she thinks that one problem involves the way the Accelerated Schools facilitators (Massachusetts Department of Education staff assigned to the Accelerated Schools Project) view Chestnut: "The people from Accelerated Schools have to look at the program and consider how they're dealing with a huge school like ours because the program is really structured more for...a smaller school with a less diverse group of people." She believes that all of the roadblocks encountered have been "very natural", but believes the biggest one during the first year has been "the people

who refuse to buy in" and the resulting impact that reluctance has on the rest of the staff. She noted that as the year went on it was "interesting to see people begin to come over and buy in...particularly if they had the opportunity to get involved on a larger level."

Teacher B speaks about Accelerated Schools in terms of potential, both in problems and in opportunities: "It's just a process that hasn't taken root yet...it takes nurturing...who's going to do that or how it's going to take place I'm not sure...the potential is enormous. If you can truly get a faculty to work together, to work as a community, to define itself, establish its purpose and then pool its resources, then the sky is the limit."

Teacher B sees another potential problem: "Unfortunately, when you have a movement like that, there are costs and whether or not people are able to face those, I'm not sure..." but he also sees the potential opportunities, saying that "there are unlimited possibilities if people get to a point where they feel connected deeply enough", and that Chestnut "could be a very exciting school." He adds "we see pockets of very exciting things and you see people who have ideas, they get excited about an idea...and that's a very powerful thing...and if you can get people excited about ideas at our school and if you can get an

agreement about what those ideas are, then beautiful things can happen."

When asked to define Accelerated Schools, Teacher C, who has taught at Chestnut for over twenty years, spoke about her "first impression", saying that it's "the first program that I've heard of that involves everyone...considering all the problems that the schools are having, we've had...approaches from one area, from another area, and [they're] wonderful but I don't think that a few people can solve that many problems, so having everyone involved is very valuable."

She found the first year to be a combination of positives and negatives: "Probably one of the negatives...maybe it's considered a negative but I think it's a positive" is that "people have vocalized the fact that they've been in these other programs [past isolated initiatives], and they did a lot of work and nothing seems to have come from them...having it come to the surface now, rather than just being an undercurrent is a positive." Something else that Teacher C views as positive is that people have the feeling that they are "not alone in what's happening" and she believes that "having people talk to one another and vocalize their feelings" has been "a good one for me". She expresses the need for more "parents supporting us" and states that in "any of these efforts that the lack of parent

support is a major hindrance". She concludes that "being there so long", she has seen a "long-standing resistance to change" and admits to being part of it.

Teacher D felt at first that Accelerated Schools was "something more of what we're doing...I thought of it as another [program], 'here we go again', we got another one coming...But then as I read about it and... when she [Karen Weller, Massachusetts Department of Education facilitator] came and spoke to us about it... I started thinking that maybe this is...a good program ...an organizational structure that everybody can follow, and everybody can feel like you're doing your job..." so he was "in favor of giving it a try". Like Teacher A, Teacher D described the Accelerated Schools Project in a metaphoric sense: "...you're part of a body, you're either the hand or the feet, everybody's working toward one goal." After the initial training, Teacher D "could understand even more that I was right...this is the...organizational structure for us to get things done...for a group of individuals to get their task done in a school with a similar goal...with everybody doing their part."

In looking at the first year of Accelerated Schools, Teacher D concluded that "...in order for it to work here everybody has got to be of the same mind... can't be thinking that it's not going to work..."

everyone should be in a positive thought of mind...let's give it a try." Teacher D again referred to the metaphor of the body: "Everybody has to be willing to give the time, the effort to make it work...if that's not the case, it will just break apart like the body...if the hand decides not to work or the finger decides not to work, it will affect the rest of the body."

Teacher D identified the negative attitude on the part of some staff members as being a problematic issue during the first year of Accelerated Schools. He states "that's what I see as the big problem...the negativism...people not wanting it to work...that's contagious...it's defeating the idea before it's been realized." He added that..."I saw these things happen last year...the beginning was great, but then after the negativism came in."

These interviews provided this researcher with ongoing information as to the four teachers' perceptions of the first year of the Accelerated Schools Project at Chestnut Middle School in terms of either definition or general impressions. Each teacher also identified at least one significant problem or challenge area. The interviews served as a foundation for the next sections which consider the emergent themes of governance, time and culture. Inherent in each of these last three sections is the meshing of the participant-observer

analysis with the teachers' perceptions of the second year of the Accelerated Schools Project.

The Issue of Governance

Participant-Observer Analysis

For most of this researcher's 25 years of experience in education, a traditional top-down form of governance was predominant in public schools. This type of mandated, autocratic governance was a very closed system that did not invite or encourage teachers to be involved in the decision-making process.

This same type of governance was very much in evidence at Chestnut Middle School six years ago when this researcher joined the staff. Although the governance structure was basically very traditional, there was a perceptible whisper of structural change beginning to be heard. This was due in part to the former principal's recognition of an imminent district level change that would fully embrace the middle school concept. Because of this, Chestnut was a school in the beginning stages of a transitory period. It was still very much a traditional junior high school in its academic organization and programs (e.g. departmentalization, content-driven curricula); yet

there was an active, research-driven investigation into middle school philosophy which began to manifest itself through the limited formation of interdisciplinary teaming, a house system and a move toward child-centered curricula. An example of the movement from departments to interdisciplinary teams involved this researcher who, as a reading teacher, was asked to leave the "comfort zone" of physically being in close proximity with colleagues who also taught reading. The difficulty of leaving the supportive atmosphere of the reading department and moving to a team where there needed to be a readjustment of both the teacher's philosophy and the application of the particular content contributed to a sense of loss on several levels (e.g., territory, compatibility of colleagues, purity of content) and, frequently, resistance. For this researcher, this event was personally disruptive; however, it was understandable and accepted because of the direction in which the school was moving. It is important to understand that this was not an isolated incident during the time of this transition. Similar scenarios were being recreated throughout the building. People responded with different levels of resistance, including transferring to different schools.

While some people were resistant to this philosophical reorganization, others saw an opportunity

to take advantage of what they perceived to be a visible crack in the governance structure. While the overpowering issue was the move from a junior high school to a middle school, one of the ancillary results of this move was a realization on the part of the teachers that they were being offered a chance to become empowered. Teachers were now being asked to get actively involved in a limited way in some of the decision-making processes in the building. For example, some people understood very clearly at the outset that the integral issue was one of empowerment. This led to informal groups beginning to meet to discuss significant issues inherent in such a major shift in authority. Out of these discussions came an understanding that the Massachusetts Department of Education was involved in a major restructuring initiative. This collaboration resulted in Chestnut becoming part of the statewide School/College Partnership, which linked the school with the University of Massachusetts, offered financial support and, more importantly, positioned the teachers to take full advantage of this opportunity to look to the Department of Education as a resource in order to capitalize on their interest in restructuring issues. The awarding of this "Turning Points" grant allowed for a formal avenue of expression for teachers to actively engage in the design and implementation of professional

development activities. One result of this initiative was the establishment by the University of Massachusetts of graduate level courses offered on site. These courses allowed Chestnut teachers to earn credits toward certification as middle school generalists. However, the most significant effect of the Carnegie initiative was that it enabled teachers to focus in on important issues surrounding middle school restructuring.

This led to groups of teachers looking into several different aspects of restructuring with varying levels of success. For example, one group investigated the impact of Community Service Learning on the middle school level along with ways to thematically weave it into the existing curriculum. Another group of people began to actively investigate the advantages of incorporating an Advisor-Advisee component into the schedule. In both situations, as was the case with several other teacher-directed initiatives, these efforts never became institutionalized on a school-wide basis, but rather entrenched themselves with individual teams or isolated groups of teachers as "pockets of sophistication". This led to a high level of frustration because these initiatives never impacted a critical mass of people. The teachers' enthusiasm for their particular focus made them eager to share information and strategies with their peers who were often uninterested

because they were involved in their own initiatives, or were satisfied with the status quo and comfortably entrenched in the existing governance structure. This situation was a classic example of a traditional school attempting to effect change in governance and seeing little success for its efforts.

During this time, along with the district-wide mandated decision to reconfigure the existing junior high schools to a middle school configuration, the idea of site-based management was embraced by the Springfield school system. This fundamental change from top-down, district-level management to school-site empowerment signaled another opportunity for teachers to become actively involved in school governance.

This was substantiated by this researcher who, in the course of making the transition from teacher to assistant principal and then to principal, developed a more global viewpoint of the various levels of both frustration and success in the building. It was obvious to him that Chestnut was a "full menu school". While there were various and varied initiatives happening in the school, they were scattered and isolated. This disjointedness increased levels of frustration. Teachers were invested in their own particular arenas of interest but had little knowledge about other efforts. They complained about a lack of communication and believed

that there were "too many things going on". They resisted any mention of new initiatives in the school, viewing such ideas as "another thing to do".

It was clear to this researcher that what was needed was an umbrella philosophy which would not be viewed as an add-on but would unite all of the ongoing restructuring initiatives and would give people a sense of a grassroots decision-making opportunity that would fundamentally change the governance structure by incorporating a pervasive sense of empowerment with the reciprocal of responsibility. This set the stage for the Accelerated Schools philosophy to come to Chestnut Middle School.

When this researcher became principal of Chestnut Middle School, it was clear that there was a need for an encompassing umbrella philosophy that would collectively allow the whole school to move in the same direction toward creating a governance structure that would have as its basis collective empowerment and decision-making. The reason for this was twofold: first, the ongoing efforts at restructuring, although well-intentioned by many people on staff, were haphazard, scattered and were not moving people collectively in one direction; second, it was obvious that the impending Massachusetts School Reform Act had as one of its basic components the requirement that each school in the Commonwealth show

evidence of a clear and articulated restructuring effort in each building. In the spring of 1993, two teachers from Chestnut were sent to Holy Cross College in response to a Request for Proposal from the Massachusetts Department of Education to listen to two presentations representing examples of existing philosophical frameworks for restructuring, the Coalition of Essential Schools and the Accelerated Schools Project. After analyzing both frameworks it became evident that, given the existing situation at Chestnut Middle School, the Accelerated Schools philosophy was a perfect match.

The existing governance structure at Chestnut called for the approval of the site-based management team in order to initiate the process of formal application to the state Department of Education so that Chestnut could become an Accelerated School. Upon receiving initial approval of the site-based management team, the proposal was presented to the entire faculty. The reaction to the presentation was mixed and predictable: those who had been actively engaged in a measure of restructuring fully embraced the idea of the necessity of collectively moving in one direction; others who were content with the existing conditions in the building viewed it with a jaundiced eye, believing this was "just another add-on" that "won't really make a

difference". Still others looked at it as the "principal's initiative" and felt some pressure to conform whether the teachers wanted it or not. Despite this undercurrent of feeling, the necessary number of signatures ensured that the grant proposal would be viewed favorably by the Department of Education. The petition, along with the grant narrative and application, was submitted to the state in March of 1993.

At the same time, this researcher, who admittedly was convinced that the Accelerated Schools process would be vital to the restructuring efforts at the school, wrote several letters asking for Central Office administrative support for the proposal, including a request to the Superintendent of Schools for release time for the staff to be trained in the Accelerated Schools philosophy. As part of the application process, the Massachusetts Department of Education arranged a site visit, which included conversations with a variety of staff members concerning their interest and knowledge of the Accelerated Schools philosophy and process. Shortly thereafter, Chestnut Middle School was asked to become the second Accelerated middle school in Massachusetts.

The stage was then set for the collective constituencies of Chestnut Middle School to undertake a

"sequence of interrelated activities" (Levin, 1993) over the course of the next school year that would drastically change the perception of governance and empowerment that had existed in the school up to this point. The hope was that this would eventually lead to the establishment of an organization and capacity that would allow the staff to pursue their collective vision.

This hope began to become a reality with the two initial two day training sessions (one in August, 1993, for most of the faculty and staff; the other in October, 1993, for those who had been unable to go in the summer). The training laid the groundwork in two major areas: first, the philosophical underpinnings of the Accelerated Schools initiative (Unity of Purpose, Empowerment coupled with Responsibility, Building on Strengths) were clearly imprinted; second, the systematic processes of the Accelerated Schools initiative (Taking Stock, Developing Vision, Setting Priorities, Creating Governance Structure) were outlined.

During both of these sessions, the issues of empowerment and governance were brought to the forefront through several significant occurrences. First, the nature of the constituencies represented at the training (faculty, administration, janitors, secretarial staff, kitchen help, parents, Central Office personnel, elected

officials) was unique and truly expanded the base of invested decision-makers. Second, the participants were charged with beginning an in-depth and year-long self-analysis and investigation into their strengths and challenges which presented them with the task of clearly deciding where they were at present as a school community. Third, they were challenged to project and begin to formulate a clear and articulated vision as to where they wanted their school to be. Upon completion of the initial two day training, the general feeling of the participants was an overriding sense that, collectively, they had been given the opportunity to be directly responsible for the destiny of their school. Predictably, along with this newfound empowerment came a pervasive sense of uncertainty as to their ability to grasp this opportunity.

With the understanding of the philosophy of Accelerated Schools fresh in mind, the fall of 1993 was devoted to the systematic processes of Taking Stock and Developing a Vision. The Taking Stock process allowed teachers and other staff members to begin to assert their power by coming together as a school community to work together on a common task, that of developing baseline data which would clarify a sense of the "here". This was achieved as everyone involved chose areas of focus which reflected their personal sense of the

strengths and challenges confronting the school. Focus areas included: School Culture; Physical Plant; Discipline; Parental Involvement; Resources; and Curriculum. The groups reached out to various components of the school community, including students, parents, community organizations, Central Office personnel, School Committee members and each other as they developed survey questionnaires designed to clarify the existing conditions at the school (see Appendix B).

At the same time, an all-inclusive effort was put forth to develop a vision, a statement of the "there", to which they wanted to attain. Everyone involved was invited to submit ideas about his or her dream school, answering the question: "What kind of school would you want for your own child?" (see Appendix C).

The parallel work of these two groups provided valuable information as a contextual focus for the next level of training which occurred in March, 1993. The intent of this training was centered around getting the school from "here" to "there" through the discussion of the identified challenge areas; then using these challenges as a basis for the setting of priorities which would then dictate the formation of specific cadres. The training also presented the initial opportunity for serious discussion about the creation of a school-wide governance structure which then

precipitated the first significant problem inherent in the area of governance.

The problem centered around how to mesh the existing governance structure of the Site-Centered Decision Making Team with the prescribed Accelerated Schools governance-dictated Steering Committee. This Steering Committee was designed to consist of the cadre facilitators, other staff, parents and administration. The traditionalists who represented the union's perspective felt that the teachers' contract was clear and concise concerning the issue of governance; in other words, the site-based configuration was mandated and could not be changed to incorporate the Accelerated Schools' model. While there has been minimal support for this hard line view, some teachers have expressed concern about other substantiative issues which surround the controversy. For example, a few viewed the melding of the governing bodies as a movement whose ultimate aim would be to dissolve site-based management as a viable governance structure which would be replaced by the Accelerated Schools Steering Committee.

Others on staff believed the issue to be one of confidence and trust in the faculty representatives. The faculty members of the Site Centered Decision Making Team were elected by the full faculty, whereas the

Accelerated Schools cadre facilitators volunteered for their positions, or, in some cases, were either chosen by the members of their particular cadre or accepted the position by default. Most faculty and staff felt that the melding together of the Site Centered Decision Making Team and the Accelerated Schools Steering Committee was a natural blend due to the reconstructive nature of the Accelerated Schools' initiative so that the focus could be on their shared vision for Chestnut.

The importance of this particular governance issue concerning the Steering Committee formation cannot be understated. For example, even though at Chestnut there has been significant movement in the area of cadre development, organization and decision-making, the cadres have nowhere to go with their decisions. There exists a void in the hierarchy of the school at the second level of decision-making. On the one hand, there is a functioning Site-Centered Decision Making Team operating at the highest level of governance; however, due to the lack of a formal, working Steering Committee, the voices of the cadres are not being heard.

As of the writing of this paper, this issue remains outstanding. Although the majority of the teachers at the school are involved in the cadre process, and have begun to use it as an expression of their empowerment, the Springfield Education

Association, the union representing the teachers, remains steadfast in its opposition to the possibility of the Steering Committee and the Site-Centered Decision Making Team ever becoming a single governing body.

The union's insistence is due to the contract language that stipulates that the teacher and parent representatives of the Site-Centered Decision Making Team are duly elected by their constituencies and financially compensated for their time. (It should be noted that this contract pre-dates the existing Massachusetts Education Reform Act; therefore, it is a "grandfathered" contract and, as such, takes precedence over state law.) On the other hand, cadre membership is open to all constituencies of the school and is not financially compensated. Due to this situation the union feels that it is impossible under the current contractual stipulations to even view or give credence to the equal standing and inherent responsibilities of a combined governing body.

This specific issue has caused a roadblock in the development and function, not only of the Steering Committee, but of the School-as-a-Whole (SAW) components of the Accelerated Schools' Project governance structure. Levin (1993) states the importance of this component:

The school as a whole refers to all administrators, all teachers, all support staff, and parent,

student, central office, and community representatives. The SAW is required to approve all decisions that have implications for the entire school. It must approve decisions before cadres begin implementation of pilot programs, for example. (p.90)

Despite the ongoing governance-related debate centered around the formation and functioning of the Steering Committee and its effect on the SAW, the cadres have begun to function and are currently utilizing the Inquiry Process as a medium for discussion. At this writing the cadres are at different points in their decision making process; none have reached the level of consensus needed to take a particular recommendation to the Steering Committee.

However, some cadres have taken small steps to embrace empowerment on the building level. For example, the Professional Development cadre has outlined a building-level professional development program that is well on the way to completion; another cadre, Communications, is collecting data concerning the issue of teacher collegiality and interaction. Such steps have had a positive effect on the teaching staff surrounding this issue of empowerment, making it something concrete in the minds of the teachers.

Other steps taken by the teachers have been of a more significant nature. For example, the Physical Plant cadre has demanded an active role in the ongoing process relative to the design and educational specifications of

the new school that will soon be built to replace the existing Chestnut Middle School. Members of this cadre have been appointed as members of the New Chestnut Planning Committee and have made arrangements for several key players (Superintendent of Schools, city Facilities Manager, content supervisors, program directors, architectural and building consultants) to come to the school in order to hear ideas, concerns and questions from teachers and staff in relation to this new building.

Clearly, at this juncture, although some major governance issues remain unresolved, it can be stated by this researcher that the issue of empowerment is something that Chestnut Middle School teachers seem to be approaching with a confident uncertainty; in other words, they know where they want to go but are, as yet, somewhat unsure of how to get there.

Analysis of Teachers' Perceptions on Governance

During this part of the second interviews, the four teachers were asked for their overall impressions, perceptions and analysis surrounding the issue of governance. Without exception all four teachers were very definitive concerning their opinions about collective and individual empowerment. In fact, it

seemed to be the priority governance issue with the teachers. Their shared opinions suggest a strong sense of achieving increasing levels of empowerment, but, at the same time, exhibit an almost foreboding sense that it may be short-lived or taken away completely at some future time. On the other hand, the issue of governance, in a structural sense, did not emerge as clearly and did not seem to have the same sense of urgency or personal connection for them. For the interviewed teachers, the pivotal issue surrounding structural governance centered around what they viewed as the inevitable "folding into one another" of the existing Site-Centered Decision Making Team with the Steering Committee of Accelerated Schools.

Teacher A expressed the personal nature that the empowerment issue seemed to engender among the interviewed teachers. "For the whole time at Chestnut I've felt fairly empowered...it seems like it's not been difficult to put ideas that you've had into motion, but I'm not really sure that everybody feels the same way for a variety of reasons." Teacher A also believes that this sense of empowerment has transcended the individual and has taken root in a collective way: "I feel like now there's a sense of everybody putting his or her 'two cents' in and thinking that maybe it's going to be heard." Although expressing a strong sense of growing

empowerment, Teacher A highlighted the feeling of uncertainty about the future. "It's very fragile... people are afraid that it's [empowerment] going to be taken away from them...and so...there's a certain amount of fear of commitment...people are making tentative steps...toward...feeling completely empowered..."

In Teacher A's comments is reflected the idea that the Accelerated Schools governance structure actually represents the concept of empowerment to her: "I think before Accelerated Schools there was the idea of site-based [SCDM] and that was elected..." She comments on the elective nature of the teacher representatives: "Half the time you didn't know anybody...it's just a name to you, a person...you might know a person, you might not..." To Teacher A, the SCDM is still indicative of top-down, non-representative government, whereas her comments around Accelerated Schools tend to reveal a structure more broad-based, representative and grassroots. "But with Accelerated Schools the cadres are so much more personal and you really get a sense of who people are and any number of people could be the ones who facilitate it. One of the neat things about Accelerated Schools is that it equalizes everyone...and everybody's responsibility is equal to their power...there's not like a hierarchy, particularly..."

Teacher A's positiveness seems to project into the future as to the effectiveness of the Accelerated Schools governance structure. "When the Steering Committee actually begins functioning full force, we'll really have much more of a voice because it's not just one person who's elected that you might not know...you're always going to know what's going on, you'll always be able to have a voice in what's going on because it's so close."

Although Teacher A is positive about the future governance potential, she spoke about the current problematic situation that the inflexibility of the teachers union stance presents. "Unfortunately, as you're aware, the union is just...doing everything it can to make this not possible, really getting in the way of everything and...that's causing a great deal of frustration on the part of people who want to get moving on this and stop talking about all this other stupid stuff...so I think that it remains to be seen how we're...going to overcome the union's narrow view of things, so that we can really can be empowered and not just have it look like the way the union wrote it down on paper."

Teacher B reflects the same optimism about the personal potential of the growing feeling of empowerment in the school: "I believe it...[empowerment]...There are

all kinds of obstacles, all kinds of roadblocks...but it seems clear to me that if ever I wanted to take the opportunity to use my authority, it's been there...It doesn't mean that I can get what I want but I certainly have the opportunity to express my views and move things in the direction I want to try to move them."

Teacher B recognizes that the current atmosphere at the school is conducive to the growing sense of empowerment. He sees a structure taking shape that lends itself to collective empowerment but is not sure that this favorable situation will be taken advantage of by the school community. "I'm ready for it [empowerment]... I look at it as a opportunity...I think what Accelerated Schools does is it tends to provide a structure and a focus and the more that happens...the more fearful people actually become, those people who respond to change in fear."

Teacher B reflects on a common concern; he wonders if empowerment has its limits: "If I were to base my prediction on my experience with public education, my guess is that there will be minimal change...one way or another. the rug will be pulled out from under us." Despite this undercurrent of concern, Teacher B remains hopeful that Chestnut will become an empowered community: "...assuming that there are enough factors in place...to make it impossible to fall back,

the potential is that, as long as there is some enrichment for those people who see themselves as wanting to be powerful, and willing to take the responsibility for that, I think that the potential is enormous."

Even though Teacher B is an elected member of the Site Centered Decision Making team, he sees the need to move toward a more inclusive, broad-based governance structure, one which would involve the meshing of the SCDM with the Accelerated Schools Steering Committee. "People are becoming more informed about the layers of complexity...they don't have all the information, but if we can set up the structure to do that...and we're grooming toward that, I don't see any reason to imagine that we can't have a more participatory governance structure."

Although Teacher B is optimistic about the direction in which the school is moving toward its governance structure, he echoes Teacher A's strong concern that the union's inflexible stance appears to be the premier stumbling block to a full-fledged functioning governing body at Chestnut. "I wish the union would get off that issue [SCDM/Steering Committee controversy] because it's not serving the teachers and it's certainly not serving the kids."

Although she shares the enthusiasm concerning the collective general direction in which the teachers are moving toward more empowerment, Teacher C, who has been at Chestnut for the longest amount of time among the interviewed teachers, seems to take the more cautious viewpoint that the changes are just starting to manifest themselves: "Teachers are beginning to understand what empowerment means...beginning to understand that they can change things...that they felt couldn't be changed. Teachers are beginning to feel that they have some say in things, that this is a process that will allow them to change some of the things that are...preventing them from doing the things they want most." Despite her caution, Teacher C seems optimistic about the future possibilities: "I'm not sure that everyone feels that, but going through the procedures, at least...there are some avenues that could be followed that might lead to change in those areas..."

Teacher C seems to agree with Teachers A and B in recognizing that in the area of structural governance, progress is basically stalled due to the yet unresolved issue of the melding together of the existing SCDM and the Accelerated Schools Steering Committee. "I don't think there's any governance yet...I think that depends on whether we have...what we have now or whether we go into the procedure involving the cadres and

representatives [SCDM teacher representative] and that they are the governing body."

Teacher D shares a common ground with the other three interviewed teachers concerning the positive sense of growing collective empowerment at Chestnut, but expresses a view that the teachers at the school need to become actively engaged in defining empowerment on a personal level. He states, "First of all, I see empowerment as something good...with empowerment also comes more responsibility and other things that are tied to that...the way I see it coming into play now... they're asking more of us in the decision-making process of whatever's going on in the school...what I feel sometimes though is that it isn't clearly defined yet and I feel that the definition of empowerment is going to be given by us ourselves...how much empowerment are we willing to take, we're going to define that, all the teachers in this school are the ones that are going to define that..."

Teacher D's comments strongly suggest that coming to a definition of empowerment and framing its parameters is very problematic and even troubling for many people. He states: "Before anything happens I think first there's got to be a...definition of how much empowerment that the teachers want to have. I think that some people feel like, first of all, it isn't defined

yet and I don't think they're ready for this, I don't think when the idea of empowerment was brought up to them, the teachers were not expecting this. Teachers are used to doing things the old way where somebody else would make the decisions for them...but having this empowerment now and using it as part of a restructuring process of the whole school, teachers are not ready for that..."

Teacher D seems to feel that the dynamic of time will play an important role in the equation of coming to a clear definition of empowerment. "I think it's going to take some time for the teachers to grasp the idea...for teachers to believe that, yes, you have the power in your hands to make the changes in the school and what you say is going to count. Right now I don't think they're convinced...just like any new idea...they need time so that they can be convinced..." In addition to time, he speaks of the teachers' need to accept the responsibility that inevitably accompanies acquired power: "...they can feel 'yes, we have the power'...and when that is done, then they decide themselves how much...do we want to be involved in this decision-making? How much power do we want? Because I think everyone understands that with power comes more responsibility...that's the way I see it."

Teacher D is in accord with the other interviewed teachers that, while there has been progress made in staff empowerment, the problem issue remains the dichotomy between the two governing groups.

"I see a slight change...for me, in a positive way. There's more hope...What I see here happening in our school with the cadres...I haven't seen it merge yet with site-based [SCDM]. I think it is very important for these two to somehow converge...somehow merge...so that they can work together..."

For Teacher D, the issue is larger than the merging of the governance structures at Chestnut. He seems to feel that people are reluctant to come forward until the whole issue of governmental merging has been crystalized: "Another problem that I see is the problem of responsibility...who's going to make the decisions... Nobody is willing to make that a commitment and say, 'O.K., I'm going to be making the decisions'." He seems to believe that, until the issue has been resolved, teachers are in a holding pattern, waiting for someone else to take "the initiative or the leadership role in our school. I think everybody's just staying...back and waiting for someone to react and then they will follow."

Teacher D further underscores his belief in the importance of everyone in the school community being involved in the governance of the school, repeating his

metaphor of the body. "Looking at the governance structure in this school, I see every teacher as being part of that...not only site-based, not only the principal...It's a team thing...we're a body and everybody's a finger or a hand...a fingernail or whatever...the nose...and if one part is not performing the way it should then it affects the other part of the body...so in looking at the governance structure, I see everybody as part of that."

The Issue of Time

Participant-Observer Analysis

Time has always been an important commodity for teachers, although it remains one of the most serious areas of contention in the eyes of the public. Teachers unitedly share the viewpoint that not enough time exists in the instructional day to accomplish all they are asked to do. On the other hand, the majority of public opinion leans toward the impression that teaching is a "part-time" profession.

Time has always been a contentious issue at Chestnut for a variety of reasons. When this researcher came to Chestnut six years ago, it was from a very traditional junior high school where time was not an

issue due to the highly structured nature of the school day. There, time was dictated around an instructional framework; teachers were locked into a schedule and were rarely encouraged to attempt to use time in any sort of creative endeavors outside of their isolated classroom situations.

On the other hand, at Chestnut, a deep and lasting transition was beginning to take shape. Because of the undercurrent of change toward a middle school philosophy, the concept of time was likewise being viewed in a different perspective. Previously, the isolated, departmentalized nature of teaching had been the norm; subsequently, it became important to give people a chance to meet in teams and issue-related groups. Instead of time being an enemy, time became a tool to be used by teachers who wanted to explore initiatives generic to middle school philosophy, pedagogy and process.

From the perspective of this researcher, the importance of time cannot be underestimated. Six years ago at Chestnut, the time dynamic was already beginning to be altered in a positive way. For example, this researcher went from a totally structured academic day, which included five periods of teaching with one period off; the "free" period was spent largely in isolation

with no chance to engage in any collegial conversation or collective interaction with fellow practitioners.

At Chestnut the shackles of time had begun to be removed; the schedule was going in the direction of flexible blocking which eliminated professional isolation and encouraged collective participation among colleagues. From this researcher's perspective the change was dramatic; however, the other teachers at Chestnut seemed to be unaware of the significance of the loosening of the bonds of time which were confining their colleagues at other schools.

The disparity in viewpoint is understandable. At this initial stage of restructuring the dynamic of time seems to be very cloudy and vague. It has not yet become a defined concept. At this stage, people do not speak in terms of time. Frequently, other issues, such as empowerment and governance, take precedence. When suddenly empowered, people revel in their newfound freedom. That freedom, with its reciprocal factor of empowerment, becomes the overriding issue. A spirit of investment and experimentation takes over, but not in a collective sense. For example, at Chestnut a team of teachers were involved in deciding how to divide a block of academic time to the benefit of their students; another group of teachers were engaged in developing a transitory reading incentive program. This creates a

limited, small piece view which can be positive in its investment value, but can also become a negative leading to the development of a "full menu" situation. This is exactly what happened at Chestnut.

A "full menu" situation occurs when there are small groups of people who are heavily invested in time and energy in small piecemeal initiatives. These initiatives, such as the above examples, may be legitimate and well-intentioned; however, they do not constitute a critical, collective mass of people moving in one direction. If a school stagnates at this stage of restructuring the eventuality will be the perpetuation of people investing in initiatives that will not bear fruit for the entire school community and will eventually amount to small scale exercises in futility. The lasting effects of such futility will be a reluctance on the part of people to invest in any other future initiatives no matter how valuable to the collective school community. A classic example of this scenario was played out at Chestnut soon after this researcher became a member of the faculty. The previous principal along with several members of the faculty became heavily engaged in an urban drug initiative program, a proactive attempt to revise the existing discipline policies and practices using the techniques of a well-known consulting firm. The time commitment on

the part of the involved staff was considerable as the involvement included a three-day overnight retreat.

The end result of this initiative was typical of such efforts. Although well intentioned, a critical mass of staff were not involved in any way. When the enthusiastic, invested staff attempted to institutionalize the changes in policy they became victims of the "Joan of Arc syndrome". They were "burned at the stake" by their non-invested colleagues who did not share their enthusiasm for changing policy. In short, the "invested" were quickly re-socialized into the status quo.

It has become obvious to this researcher that, in general, at this stage of restructuring, and specifically at Chestnut, time had to be identified as a critical issue and the acknowledgment of the importance of moving together as a community of people had to be fundamental. At Chestnut, the isolated initiatives were like campfires scattered throughout the school; those close to the fire were comforted and warm, while others not near the fire saw the glow but remained in the cold. Simply, what was needed was central heating. the effect of which would be to collectively warm everyone to the same degree. At Chestnut, the "central heat" came in the form of an umbrella initiative called Accelerated Schools.

This researcher, as principal of the school, believed that the school had to embark on a collective initiative that would bring Chestnut to a new level of restructuring. It was clear now that the time issue would be of critical importance. Initial presentations and training concerning the Accelerated Schools philosophy and process made it clear that a significant time commitment from the staff would be crucial to its success. Reaction to this was immediate and typical, but understandable based on the full menu scenario that existed. First, people voiced the feeling that this was "another thing they had to do", and were convinced that it wouldn't work because it was "just another thing coming down the pike", something else to "add on". Despite this somewhat pervasive negative attitude, people attempted to give the time necessary to keep the process going. Some did so grudgingly, others were more hopeful that the process would work. Gradually, people began to realize that Accelerated Schools was not just an "add on" or "something else to do" but was the solution to the "full menu" syndrome. The school recognized the need to move together as a unified body if they were ever going to accomplish the fundamental changes necessary to move the school in the proper direction.

This decision on the part of the faculty evolved over a period of time, but had a profound effect. First, it made people begin to see how the various initiatives that isolated groups of people had been working on could fit in and dovetail into an umbrella process. The effect of this was a loss of the feeling of futility of applied effort that had plagued them over other initiatives that had failed in the past. Second, it made time a compelling and priority issue. For the first time in the restructuring process an entire faculty was mobilized around the issue of "buying time" and the "creative use of time".

As of the writing of this paper, things are fitting in at Chestnut. The staff is collectively moving in one direction under the umbrella philosophy and process of the Accelerated Schools program. Teachers are empowered and feel a strong sense of responsibility. The cadres are formed and beginning to utilize and invest in the Inquiry Process to solve problems. The governance issues described in detail in the previous section of this chapter, although not fully resolved, are being actively addressed.

In this researcher's viewpoint the issue of time remains problematic. Although the staff at Chestnut has made time an issue, it is only a first step in the process. Chestnut now finds itself at the stage of using

time in an adaptive sense. In their approach to "buying" and "creating" time, the staff has set time as a priority in their planning; however, the effort expended in their collective movement toward change is still, for the most part, being accomplished outside of the normal instructional day. The majority of cadre activity is still being conducted either before or after school hours. The obvious result is stress to the organization as a whole and to the invested individuals in particular.

At this time in the restructuring process, the Chestnut staff is dealing with the stress of being in the adaptive time mode in the best way possible. People are doing what they can, positive movement is obvious, but so is the toll on their energy and continued commitment. It would seem that before Chestnut moves to its full potential in its quest to restructure that the staff has to come to grips with the question of time and actively develop strategies to overcome the issue.

Analysis of Teachers' Perceptions on Time

During this section of the second interviews, the four teachers were asked to share their views surrounding the issue of time. The data gathered from all four teachers strongly suggest that, while the

teachers are invested in the added responsibility that a comprehensive restructuring initiative such as the Accelerated Schools Project demands of them. they recognize that the time issue remains problematic for several reasons. Collectively, the focus of the interviewed teachers centers on time as a management issue both for them and for their colleagues. This outlook is manifested in a pragmatic attitude which reflects their concerns about how time is used, how much time can be fit into a single day or week and, most importantly, that something concrete must eventually result from their increased investment of time. Further, the teachers clearly understand that there are limits to time and, that in the overall dynamic, something has to displace something else. The interviewed teachers indicate that they are willing to accept the added burdens of time, despite their acknowledgment of this time-related stress and an accompanying resistance on the part of some of their colleagues. This resistance varies from those who feel that the contractual restraints do not obligate them to put in extra time to those who are willing to put in extra time but cannot because of family and other responsibilities. From this researcher's viewpoint, it is interesting to note that the teachers seem to be resigned to the fact that their

only option is to strategize within the existing adaptive time mode.

Teacher A's comments reflect the strong connection that has emerged between commitment and the necessity to give additional time. "I think that there's a definite relationship between time and investment." Her comments reflect the need to see results for time invested: "Before, people really invested in things and they didn't mind putting time in, and then, if the ideas didn't go anywhere, then they were kind of disappointed...and so, there's that resistance to adding on..." She acknowledges that teachers feel burdened by mundane duties which consume valuable time, citing that teachers have "...more things to do, especially on the part of homeroom teachers because they have so many clerical kinds of things that they need to do."

Teacher A sees Accelerated Schools as the vehicle that is beginning to finally produce the concrete results that teachers seek in relationship to the time commitment: "We were fully warned that this [Accelerated Schools] was going to be a lot of time, and now that the cadres are moving along, it is a lot of time, but valuable stuff is happening."

Teacher A feels strongly that, for most of the teachers at Chestnut, the attitude toward time has moved from one of reluctant acceptance of the demands of added

time to an atmosphere of willingness to participate as results are becoming more clear and concrete. She states: "I see people going from being resigned to having to give extra time to now being willing to just accept giving extra time because...what they're doing is important...so I've seen that change, from a real resistance, or fear, of so much extra time and what that would mean to...an acceptance of the fact that...it's part of it. Things are happening so...it's worth it."

Teacher B's initial comments center around the general feeling that time is a precious commodity: "The primary thing is that people don't think there's enough time...People will use the excuse that we don't have enough time to do it and that's a factor..." Even though Teacher B recognizes that the issue of time is problematic, he acknowledges the need for teachers, when involved in an initiative that can make significant change in the way an institution functions, to begin to realize that time cannot be viewed with set parameters: "It's like an entrepreneur...you can come up with an idea but you can only work until 2:30...that's insane... And then you can leave...And as long as that paradigm, that model exists in people's minds, that that's what teaching's all about, then it will be impossible for people to put in the time that's necessary to make schools better."

Teacher B recognizes that commitment to and responsibility for something that people believe in can dramatically affect how time is viewed: "When you're doing something you really want to be doing, time becomes less of an obstacle...it's something you have to live with, you have to adapt to...it's a reality." On the other hand, he believes: "If you fight it, if you resist it, it just passes and then you truly have no time."

Since the advent of the Accelerated Schools Project, Teacher B has seen an escalation of teachers showing evidence of greater time commitment, perhaps due to a basic belief that what they are doing at Chestnut Middle School has importance. He comments, "...there are more vehicles around school later in the day than there were when I first got here. That says something to me about people putting in time."

Teacher C focuses on the amount of time which is taken up by non-teaching duties: she feels that this causes stress and inhibits teachers from viewing time in any creative sense: "Certainly there's stress on us because I think we're in a situation where we don't have the materials we need, so we're using the time to prepare materials. We're using our time in ways that I guess we feel we shouldn't really have to..." Like many

of her colleagues, Teacher C is frustrated by "everything that infringes upon that time."

She indicates that the Accelerated Schools Project, despite its increased time demands, has begun to evoke other ways of looking at time. She also points out that teachers have responded according to their personal capacity to give of their individual time: "We're trying to cope with the situation, I think, in that we're acknowledging--according to our conscience--so I think we're coping with it."

Teacher C's comments echo the response of many of her colleagues concerning the stress associated with strategizing ways to capture or buy time in an adaptive mode. For example, she speaks about her cadre's attempts to fit in the time they need to accomplish their tasks, including early morning and after school meetings. "Our cadre is trying to meet more often...a few have mentioned an evening meeting." Like the other interviewed teachers, she feels it's important to "do something, rather than say we're stalled."

Although Teacher C seems to be realize that restructuring creates changes in time demands, she remains skeptical because "We can't manufacture it...I did read about the ways in which we can try to manipulate our schedules so we can obtain some time, but

it's very difficult...it's going to be a problem, a big problem with the schedules that we have."

Teacher C remains ambivalent about the idea of time, but she acknowledges that there may be ways to creatively overcome the issue: "I think that's probably the only way [capturing time] that we can get the time...I don't think that people have any extra time in the mornings or at lunchtime...Some people might try other times but I think it's very difficult...it's been successful in a limited number of efforts..."

Despite these misgivings, Teacher C concludes with an optimistic viewpoint about the future: "If we're changing everything, maybe we can. in our empowerment. arrange some sort of schedule...I'm not sure what...It sounds very complicated to me..."

Teacher D was less concerned about the logistics of time and was willing to put in whatever time is necessary "for the kids", stating, "If I know I'm getting some direct benefit for the kids...I'm willing to give it my best to put this extra time".

However, he personally believes it is imperative that he get "immediate feedback" or he becomes "very cautious as to the time I'm going to put into something". For example, he is adamant about his own involvement in the Accelerated Schools cadre work: "In the case of a cadre...if I don't see that it's going to

take us anywhere, with me giving this extra effort, I wouldn't do it, I'd stop right there..." On the other hand, he would strongly support an active cadre: "If it's productive, and it's going to benefit the kids... I'd be willing to do my time."

The Issue of Culture

Participant-Observer Analysis

Every organization, including a school, has a culture. Often it is a very nebulous concept, cloudy, fragmented and extremely difficult for people either on the inside or outside to read. On the other hand, the concept of culture may be very strong and clear. When that strength and clarity is evident, the organizational goals are defined and it follows that everyone within the organization is working for and toward the same thing.

Whatever the cultural situation, strong or weak, it cannot be overlooked that its culture has a powerful influence throughout any organization. Culture is organic. As the culture changes, so does the organization. Without a doubt, the culture of any school is the foundation on which to build its future

improvement. Its influence is so powerful that eventually it will have a tremendous effect upon the continuing and ultimate success of the organization. The importance of this viewpoint is summarized by Purkey and Smith (1982):

We have argued that an academically effective school is distinguished by its culture: a structure, process, and climate of values and norms that channel staff and students in the direction of successful teaching and learning...The logic of the cultural model is such that it points to increasing the organizational effectiveness of a school building and is neither grade-level nor curriculum specific. (p.68)

As mentioned earlier in this paper, culture has been identified as an interwoven network of explicit values, beliefs, heroes, rituals, rules and ceremonies which the members of a [school] community share. Central to any organization's culture are three important aspects. The first is norms of behavior, or descriptors of the environment that people experience that add to the quality of life in the workplace. The second is shared beliefs, or the way in which an organization operates. Third, core values, are central beliefs deeply understood and shared by every member of an organization. Core values guide the actions of everyone in the organization; they focus its energy and are the anchor point for all its plans (Saphier and D'Auria, 1993).

When this researcher joined the staff at Chestnut six years ago, two things were evident surrounding the issue of culture. First, culture was not a topic of conversation. People were unaware of its importance and were still very fragmented in their priorities and their interests; they were not yet collective in their thinking. Second, people were too concerned about other emerging conversational topics such as governance and its inherent issue of empowerment. The overriding concern of the faculty seemed to be one of "positional authority". From the perspective of developing a culture, when people are concerned about establishing their own authority, their position of empowerment, the idea of culture, which is a collective initiative, is not a priority.

From the perspective of this researcher, the irony of the situation is significant and understandable. Although the fundamental changes that were going on at Chestnut six years ago were affecting the core, the essence of the school, this was not recognized or articulated by people as a change in culture. For example, the change from a junior high to a middle school philosophy, although somewhat mandated, constituted a major shift in a cultural perspective. Curriculum went from a teacher-centered, contextual framework to a more child-centered, nurturing, thematic.

interdisciplinary approach. For most of the teachers at Chestnut, this change was viewed simply as a chance to experiment with curriculum. Another example was the shift from content-based departments to interdisciplinary teams; again, this was viewed by the majority primarily as a chance to escape from the isolated nature of teaching. This researcher concurred with that viewpoint, but also recognized the potential for expansive opportunities for collegiality among peers offered by the significant changes. No one at this point anticipated the impact that such changes would eventually have on the culture of Chestnut Middle School.

Even though the varied initiatives at Chestnut were strands which would later become obvious as part of the school's culture, the collective will was not in evidence during this time. Although these were efforts in a cultural direction and the culture was being shaped and developed, these beginning movements toward cultural norms had to be further nourished and built upon collectively before substantial change could take place. The "full menu" situation at Chestnut, referred to earlier in the chapter, had a cultural significance: even though they were engaged in meaningful, significant work, people were still fragmented. When there is not a critical, collective mass of people moving in one

direction, the development of culture is stalled. This was the case at Chestnut Middle School up to the point where the staff made their first empowered collective decision: to embrace the Accelerated Schools philosophy and process.

The cultural significance of the Accelerated Schools Project into the life of Chestnut Middle School cannot be underestimated. The decision to embrace the philosophy and process of Accelerated Schools was the first collective decision that the Chestnut school community (administrators, teachers, parents, clerical/support staff, students) made as a united group. Although the vast majority of the staff supported the decision, some remained steadfast in their opposition due to previous disappointments in unfulfilled initiatives or a strong union stance concerning the unfeasibility of time and governance issues. These groups constituted minority subcultures with their own strong values. In spite of the existence of these subcultures, the cultural importance of choosing to become an Accelerated School was immense since it signaled the beginning of the end for Chestnut as a "full menu" school. Now the school community could begin to deal with issues not strictly from a positional authority stance but from a shared influence one. In other words, small groups of empowered people were not

simply positioning themselves for the right to be heard as an add-on to the existing governance structure, but were collectively positioned to all have a legitimate part in all decision making. It must be remembered that the Accelerated Schools philosophy and process is inherently a grassroots, collective initiative that involves and empowers everyone in the school community.

From the perspective of this researcher, perhaps the most important influence of the Accelerated Schools philosophy and process on Chestnut at the writing of this paper is that it has begun the process of both defining the culture and developing a cultural common language. For example, the philosophical core beliefs of Accelerated Schools surrounding unity of purpose, building on strengths, empowerment with responsibility, taking stock, developing an inclusive vision, setting priorities, creating a governance structure, using the inquiry process to solve problems and its underlying tenet that at-riskness has more to do with the situation in which we place children and not the innate ability of children themselves has allowed the staff at Chestnut to begin the process of culture definition.

First level cultural effects became recognizable as early as the end of the first Accelerated School year. After a year long needs assessment, which included in-depth questionnaires to all constituents an inclusive

vision was formulated, a School Improvement Plan was written and a culture cadre was formed. It is important to note that in all these documents and activities that the incorporation, discussion and common language of emergent cultural norms of behavior and core values is readily evident. For example, in the Chestnut School Improvement Plan, considerable effort was given to articulate culturally important norms of behavior, shared beliefs and core values that were emerging due to collective effort and reflection. The culture cadre has identified the importance of teachers making "connections" with one another no matter how tenuous. To this end, they created a Friday morning "coffee hour" so staff could simply "stand around and talk". Although only a beginning step, the cultural significance of this effort could have a major impact on the future level of collegiality at Chestnut.

This researcher has noted that the overall effect of this cultural investment and direction at the end of the first year of Accelerated Schools was an overall improved tone, feeling and morale among those staff who were invested in the collective initiative.

As of the writing of this paper, Chestnut is approaching the mid-point of its second year as an Accelerated School. From a cultural perspective, two effects are obvious to this researcher. First, deep

level cultural changes, although on a limited scale, have taken place. Specific norms of behavior such as a heightened level of collegiality, a spirit of experimentation and risk-taking and involvement in decision-making are well on the way to institutionalization. The second effect is that these norms of behavior are being manifested as not the sole possessions of isolated pockets of people but are in the form of shared beliefs by a collective, critical mass of staff at Chestnut.

The most striking example is the issue of the new building. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the present Chestnut facility was built at the turn of the century and at present is in a condition of acute disrepair. The Massachusetts Department of Education has determined that the school is not capable of being repaired and has conditioned 90% reimbursement to the school system on the need to build a new facility. In the present cultural setting at Chestnut, it has become a shared belief as well as a core value that teachers are empowered and invested in a collective sense to be involved in decision-making. It will be remembered that Saphier and D'Auria state that core values are central beliefs deeply understood and shared by every member of an organization. That core values guide the actions of

everyone in the organization; they focus its energy and are the anchor point for all its plans.

Collectively, the teachers at Chestnut have demanded a major role in all discussions and decisions surrounding the new school. This has occurred with the inclusion of teacher representation on the district-level planning committee, full faculty and small group discussions with building consultants, department meetings with district-level content supervisors, input into the educational specifications, site visits to view potential building configurations and on-going dialogue with the superintendent, school committee and city council. Such a high level of inclusion did not just happen. It is not the way schools are built in Springfield. It is the result of a determined, collective faculty that has as cultural norms and core beliefs that teacher empowerment and collective decision making are cultural values. Accordingly, as recognized core values, empowerment and shared decision-making permeate the organization, help drive the decisions, will elicit a strong reaction if they are violated and will not be easily given up by the staff. The result is that the staff at Chestnut is determined that the new school will be a reflection of their collective culture and not simply a facility designed by other people into which they will have to fit.

From this researcher's point of view, it is important to note that this high level of teacher inclusion concerning the new school is not solely based on the two issues of empowerment and shared decision-making. Other culturally determined issues such as a child-centered curriculum, interdisciplinary team teaching and the Accelerated Schools philosophy and process are key ingredients in the alchemy. For example, in on-going meetings with district-level content supervisors, teachers are planning educational spaces and instructional areas that will serve their varied needs and the needs of their students. e.g., because science teachers wanted labs in the classrooms so that students could have frequent opportunities for hands-on activities, they decided to configure the classrooms around moveable science labs as well as generic storage space ancillary to classroom square footage.

At this time, Chestnut Middle School is in a transitory cultural mode. The "full menu" scenario is dissipating; the isolated initiatives have not disappeared, but are slowly dovetailing under the umbrella philosophy and process of Accelerated Schools. However, the entire staff is not fully invested in supporting what is becoming a more clearly articulated cultural setting. It is this researcher's opinion that Chestnut is entering into a critical phase of its

cultural development. Subcultures still exist and a minority of people tout their subculture beliefs as superior to the overall school's developing culture. The danger exists that if this vocal minority continues in this vein, it will be all too easy, as Deal and Kennedy (1982) state, "for the tail to wag the cultural dog" (p.139).

It would seem that the next area of collective concern would be for the staff at Chestnut to continue to acknowledge and build on its developing culture, while making a concerted attempt to balance the legitimate differences of the existing subcultures together with the legitimate and desirable elements of its culture as a whole (Deal, T. and Kennedy, A., 1982).

Analysis of Teachers' Perceptions on Culture

During this third section of the second interviews, the teachers were asked for their views surrounding the emergent issue of culture. The data gathered from the four interviewed teachers clearly indicate that a more clearly defined and articulated culture seems to be beginning to emerge over the last two years as a result of the restructuring initiative of Accelerated Schools. One of the most significant cultural indicators to which all the teachers point in their comments is a staff-

directed collective movement toward a dynamic of shared influence.

Their comments seem to indicate that the majority of teachers are working toward developing a consensus building process that will eventually lead them to at least have the opportunity to influence the outcome of significant decisions that affect the organization.

The essence of their comments point not toward the concept of positional authority, a governance issue, but rather reflects a changing culture. The seed of shared influence or consensus building has germinated at Chestnut Middle School from the genuine desire to be more collegial. This emergence of the issue of collegiality had its beginnings in the initial training of the Accelerated Schools Project, took root when people began to dialog with others concerning the strengths and challenges that exist at the school and fully began to blossom with the development of the cadres.

Also inherent in the teachers' comments is what might be culturally identified as a "reverse re-socialization process". The teachers strongly suggest that, although a negative subculture exists at Chestnut, its once powerful influence is being eroded due to the supportive climate that the emerging culture is cultivating at the school. In particular, some of the

teachers mention the energy of new staff members who are enthusiastically assuming a responsive role and want to be heard.

Finally, the interviewed teachers point out the cultural importance of the school's relationship with the parents and families of Chestnut students as well as with the larger community. Additionally, this acknowledgment of the need to create community with a wider constituency also emerged as the staff progresses in defining the culture at Chestnut.

Teacher A begins her comments by attempting to define culture: "I think it's hard to determine a definition of culture. I look at it as the 'soul' of the school, what really powers everything, what's really behind everything, and that's manifested in a lot of ways, by activities involving kids, activities involving teachers, things that you say, things that you see when you walk in, personal relationships, it's like the whole mix of everything all together."

Her cultural perceptions have changed since she began working at the school: "When I first came to Chestnut...I would have looked at it [culture] as meaning the diverse groups that make up the population of the school, and what each group would bring to the experience...I'd have to say that's my favorite thing about the school...it's so exciting, it's a very

exciting place to be..." However, she finds the cultural sword to be two-edged: "...there's a lot going on...but then that can also become mind-boggling..."

Teacher A sees the issue of culture as a valid topic of discussion among many of her peers: "I'm a little more in tune with culture because I'm in the... focus group for culture...out of that...grew the Communications cadre which I'm on...people don't sit around and say, 'Let's talk about the school's culture', they're talking about those things that make up the school culture. They're acknowledging and celebrating those things that make up the school culture."

She finds that now "it's okay to talk about how you feel about certain things and to be open about that and to be openly admiring of what other people are doing. It was very much a closed society before." Teacher A identifies a major advantage of the Accelerated Schools Project: that it allows for a more broad-based sphere of influence: "...one disadvantage of teaming is that it makes these little camps or groups and you don't ever touch base with anybody else...and now what's happening is there's this opening up and people can kind of see across disciplines and across grades." Teacher A seems to feel that this attention to making connections with a variety of staff members underlines her own beliefs about the school: "I would say that there's a definite

acknowledgement of what makes the school special...even though sometimes that's laced with a lot of complaining and a lot of frustration."

Teacher A feels that these connections and the ensuing discussions with staff members are leading to certain cultural issues beginning to become clearly defined: "One thing that really stands out is the importance of having high standards for the kids and challenging them and not accepting that because they're from a certain class or a certain group that they can't learn. She sees that cultural norm melding in with the philosophy of Accelerated Schools: "That goes along with Accelerated Schools powerful learning...that powerful learning is necessary and powerful for all kids is more than just a statement that 'all children can learn' but that all children deserve to be given enriched learning opportunities..."

From Teacher A's perspective, the result of this effort is significant: "I notice that faculty and staff [have] a new respect for each other and a genuine interest in what other people are doing, in what they have to say and who they are. I notice the isolation breaking down a lot."

Teacher A also notices a cultural atmosphere conducive to people reaching out. She recalls her early experiences at Chestnut, when she felt isolated and

overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of staff. She finds that the newer people on staff are not willing to accept this isolation and are demanding to be included:

"They're coming in and they're saying, 'Wait a minute! I don't know everybody!...We've got to find a way that we can get to know who everyone is.'"

She concludes by highlighting what she feels are the two most significant aspects of the cultural change at Chestnut: "Accelerated learning and...teachers and staff reaching out to each other are both big things happening and that's a definite change."

Teacher B finds it difficult to personally define culture, but acknowledges the "...tremendous possibilities if members of the school are prepared to define themselves." He further questions whether the staff is ready to take the risk of attempting to define its culture: "I think that's the critical issue: are we really willing to say what we're about and what's at our core? That's a difficult thing to do, I think...it's like asking a culture to say why it's a particular culture."

Teacher B feels that the first step in defining culture is for people to begin to prioritize. He states: "What I think is necessary is that people...need to have clear in their mind what's most important, what's second most important, what's third most important and they

need to insist that that be respected." In order to accomplish this task there needs to be a sense of unity of purpose. He adds that: "If we are scattered and we don't have any clear priority or everything's not coordinated, I think it will be very difficult to move on anything because people will be able to just do a tiny bit...so I think setting clear priorities that people really agree on is key and if that's done, I think there can be progress and there probably is already...to some degree that has happened."

Teacher B feels strongly that the development of shared influence among the staff has allowed for the freeflow of ideas centering around culture. "It may be a result of me being more obligated to be in touch with other people...I think more people are talking more seriously about more serious issues openly. They may have had these conversations with an individual or in groups." He sees the result of such shared influence as "potentially very powerful."

Teacher B talks about an interesting dynamic that is understandable when a school is in the throes of a restructuring effort that is helping to define its culture. This dynamic tends to reveal an existing negative subculture, but, due to the collective mass of people moving in a positive direction, makes it uncomfortable for the subculture to sustain its

negative influence: "The other part of Accelerated Schools is that there is a certain amount of negativeness that is much more visible, it's identified...People who have frequently expressed a very negative view of change are finding it less comfortable to do that. It's not that easy."

Teacher B highlights the importance of collective tenacity in refusing to be swayed by negative attitudes: "I think it's really important and difficult to make sure that the personnel who can help us reach that critical mass, that point when it's beyond anybody's control, is reached." However, he acknowledges the value of always being open to hearing all sides in hopes that everyone will be able to contribute in a positive way: "We need to be open-minded enough to realize that people who may even resist, as long as they're willing to participate, may have a really important role...I don't think that everyone has to be of one view."

Teacher B identifies Accelerated Schools as a force in helping Chestnut to define its culture, stating, "I have a feeling that it's [Accelerated Schools] creating community...sense a commitment to each other. It's definitely developing...[it] brings with it a certain amount of positiveness."

Teacher B concludes by acknowledging that the need to create community with a wider constituency has

emerged. He seems to feel that Chestnut's influence expands beyond its four walls: "It does seem true that some people, there are a significant number of people, who do identify with some set of beliefs or ideas about what we should be doing here and I think it's spread even outside of the building." Teacher B sees the increased involvement of parents as an indicator that ties are being strengthened between school and the outside community as Chestnut's culture becomes more inclusive: "Every time we reach out, every time you reach out, every time a teacher reaches out, there are more parents around. I think that's a really interesting sign."

Teacher C articulated a beginning definition of culture that included her own parameters. "When we talk about culture, it's what we develop in a school, whether we develop the strong idea of Chestnut as being a wonderful place to learn...To the children, most teachers are trying to convey the value that they are worthwhile...as human beings...that they have a place in this world."

The overriding theme of Teacher C's comments surrounding culture reflect her uncertainty about the progress of cultural definition taking place at Chestnut Middle School. Unlike Teachers A and B who were very definitive in their comments concerning this issue,

Teacher C remains ambivalent: "I think we're still in a great transition. I think that we know what we are, I don't think we're too sure where we're heading, I think we're trying..." Using the example of the cadre to which she belongs, Teacher C reinforces what she believes to be the transitory nature of the cultural definition process: "I think in our cadre [Communications], it's...old-timers and a lot of people who haven't been there for very long and we're still defining all of that."

Teacher C does not seem to believe that age or length of service at Chestnut has a particular influence on the attitude of those who are struggling to define culture: "I think these people who work the most just to begin with are speaking up now. I don't think it has to do with whether you're old or new, but I think we're still in the process of comparing notes as to where we are, or who we are, or what we are...so I think we're just in a muddling stage."

Yet she emphasizes her perception of a definite change since the Accelerated Schools Project was initiated at the school. She recognizes the uniqueness of this effort in the fact that it is involving a greater amount of people than in previous initiatives during her long tenure at the school. She states: "I can tell you I've heard of other programs going on and, yes,

they made reports but you never really saw any great effort to have input from other teachers...people weren't approached by them...so the input of other teachers wasn't there. I think that makes a difference." She seems to feel that this type of inclusiveness may make a difference: "I think that maybe what I see is anything that was tried before was with a small group of people, whereas this is with a lot of people and that's a very big difference."

Teacher C closed the interview on a positive note. Her comments seemed to bode well for her future participation in the ongoing process of defining the school: "I think teachers at Chestnut are always sticking up for Chestnut...I think they feel...it's a valuable place."

Although in a cultural sense, Teacher D hasn't seen "any major changes in the past year". he personally centers his definition about culture around the concept of community. He offers this definition of culture as it relates to Chestnut: "In terms of the school culture...I think you could start seeing something. I don't think before it was really defined. but I think something is developing...One of the things I see developing now is more a community kind...I think that's what's being developed now...more community involvement." He anticipates that "...this community

idea, that this school being part of a community, this might help change." He attributes at least some of the potential for change to the restructuring initiative underway at Chestnut: "The Accelerated Schools is helping....people change their minds and their ways and accepting this idea...so Accelerated Schools, in that sense, is going to help with that."

Teacher D highlights the cultural importance of the school's relationship with the larger community and the need to create community with a wider constituency. He states: "I see more the community seeing the school... we're more visible to the community than before...this is like the foundation, we're building right now the foundation of that whole idea."

An added dimension that Teacher D brings to the discussion of culture is his view of the need to acknowledge and appreciate diversity. "The diversity that is in our school, I don't think we have emphasized much on that...we haven't celebrated that...the way we should." However, he has found that even in this area, progress has been made: "Awareness is being created now."

Within the school community itself, Teacher D has identified another significant problem associated with a paradox of leadership: "We have leaders in our school...some very good leaders, but it's usually the

same ones that are leading the way." He feels strongly that certain leaders will not come forward until they feel more comfortable with the emerging culture. He refers to "...other people that could be very good leaders, but they're just holding back and I guess maybe...they're not convinced that they can make a difference. Maybe they're waiting for that change, maybe they're waiting to be convinced..."

Teacher D's final comments indicate his optimistic view of the future of Chestnut Middle School once it has fully defined and realized its cultural responsibility: "...the way I see it happening in the future is that I see our school being as part of the community...as a community center...where people can come to learn and not only students, kids...people of all ages can come to learn...[I see it] as a center of learning, as a center of making society better...I think there is a sense of hope..."

Summary

This chapter has established the frame of reference and presented the description and analysis of this researcher, who, as principal of Chestnut Middle School, served as both participant and observer throughout the study. In addition, the four interviewed teachers' perceptions were presented and analyzed. These analyses

focused on the three emergent themes of governance, time and culture during the restructuring process at the school. The next chapter draws conclusions and makes recommendations based on the findings which have been described and analyzed.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study presented a portrait of a school poised for change in terms of its governance, time and culture. The purpose of this study was to investigate the major bodies of literature on restructuring, choice and the philosophy supporting Accelerated Schools in order to identify the important, positive elements that are foundational to creating a developmental framework for significant change in education and, in particular, the ongoing restructuring efforts at Chestnut Middle School.

This researcher, in the role of participant-observer, described his observations of the school over a six year period. In doing so he analyzed emergent patterns and themes from the study which were reflected in the literature and described their application to the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School. Four teachers were interviewed throughout a two year period concerning their descriptions and evaluations of their experiences and reactions to the restructuring process at the school in relation to these same themes.

Additionally, Chapter IV presented a chronological

overview of the Accelerated Schools Project during the first two years at Chestnut Middle School through the analysis of three major areas of focus: governance, time and culture. This chapter presents conclusions based on these descriptions and analyses.

To demonstrate more specific conclusions, the five questions which provided a framework for this study are addressed in this chapter. The purpose is to provide practical evidence as to the effectiveness of using these questions as a conceptual framework for future restructuring initiatives. The first two questions to be addressed are:

1. What significant common elements concerning governance, time and culture emerge in the literature about restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools?

2. How do these significant, common elements manifest themselves in the restructuring process currently underway at Chestnut Middle School?

In addition, the data gathered from the participant-observer analysis and the four teacher interviews are applied to the last three questions. These are:

3. How has the issue of empowerment been perceived by the staff during the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School? How is governance impacted by this perception?

4. How has the issue of time been perceived and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

5. How has the school culture been perceived by the staff and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

These conclusions are followed by specific recommendations for the ongoing restructuring efforts at Chestnut Middle School, particularly in the areas of governance, time and culture. In addition, general recommendations are made for further research in the area of school restructuring.

Conclusions

1. What significant common elements concerning governance, time and culture emerge in the literature about restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools?

Throughout the literature reviewed for this paper, it became clear that, in order for substantial, significant change to occur in any school, a critical comprehensive re-examination of the current traditional structure of schools must take place. If anything less than this examination occurs, what follows is nothing more than an adaptive response to the traditional

existing paradigm. While many school systems are well versed in certain facets of a particular restructuring effort, it must be realized that it is not enough to simply "add on" elements of restructuring, like layers of clothing. These "add-ons", however innovative and well-intentioned, when applied to the traditional paradigm tend to simply foster existing policy and procedure. Their only function will be to superficially reshape the traditional model, rather than to break the mold. Any such change is probably doomed to be short-lived; the existing system is not constructed nor even inclined to permanently support the change and more than likely will tend to re-socialize the change into the traditional and inevitably take it over.

It is clear then, that any type of restructuring has to engage in re-thinking the old paradigm. For example, this would involve creating an organization in which central administration is no longer limited to a role which is top-down, mandated and bureaucratic in nature, but serves more as a resource or consulting agency. It would further necessitate that restructuring become building-centered with the school achieving more of an autonomous nature. Such schools would have a governance that is not hierarchical in structure, but is collective as well as totally inclusive, and which involves all of the constituencies of the school.

Further, any restructuring effort must involve some type of decision making process which leads to an atmosphere of shared influence and empowerment with responsibility.

The above notwithstanding, it is important to note that the literature states explicitly that the organizational design itself is not a key element at this point, especially regarding any attempt to fit into the traditional paradigm. What needs to be done at this time is for schools to clarify their purpose, give proper regard to their culture and to reach consensus on the educational goals which they determine are important for their organization. Only after this has been allowed to develop and become clarified are they ready to design a structure which fits their needs and those of their schools.

Because this type of bottom-up, collective restructuring fosters a creative spirit for self-determination, the staff naturally becomes self-directed in many areas, but particularly where their own professional development is concerned. The resulting collective empowerment allows people to design an educational infrastructure that serves to create powerful learning experiences for all children which ultimately leads to increased student achievement.

The literature also points to the fact that today's public school does not exist in a vacuum, but is very

much part of a larger community. The educational infrastructure has to acknowledge this larger community. Any discussion around the issues of governance, time and culture cannot be specific to staff or students, but must also include families, community service organizations and community members. No serious investigation into restructuring should exclude these crucial relationships.

It has become clear from a detailed examination of the literature that what is obviously missing from previous attempts at school restructuring is an adequate consideration of the vital relationship between governance, time and culture. In other words, how does a school take on these features and, in so doing, differ from a traditional school in the way it functions, the way it's organized, how it structures time and the roles and interrelationships of its staff?

2. How do these significant common elements manifest themselves in the restructuring process currently underway at Chestnut Middle School?

At Chestnut Middle School, the Accelerated Schools Project provided the framework for the restructuring effort which began in 1993 and continues to the present. This initiative matched the common elements identified

in the literature review in many areas. It is very clear that this particular restructuring effort does not have its base in old paradigm thinking. Similar to many other middle schools, Chestnut has made attempts to restructure within the old paradigm. Although these efforts have had some success on a small scale, they have not impacted the basic organization in any significant way, but instead have created pockets of sophistication in an otherwise traditional setting. These short-lived, intense investments in time, energy and commitment have only led to a heightened level of frustration with the end result being little or no effect as driving forces which change the status quo of the school community.

The Accelerated Schools Project, on the other hand, has afforded Chestnut the opportunity to fully engage itself in a sustained, collective effort that has the potential to create a totally different school, one which reflects upon and achieves self-selected goals and outcomes. The process of developing into an Accelerated School has enabled the staff at Chestnut to undergo a critical self analysis, identify its strengths and challenge areas, set priorities and clarify its purpose and vision.

It is important to note that the restructuring effort currently going on at Chestnut is neither Central

Office-dictated, top-down mandated, nor could it even be considered a systemic initiative. It must be remembered that Chestnut is only the second middle school in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts that has been chosen as an Accelerated School. From its very inception, the restructuring effort at Chestnut Middle School has been a building-based initiative, fueled by the desire of a school community to attempt to collectively increase student achievement by embracing a philosophy and process that would culminate in powerful learning experiences.

Inherent in this initiative has been strong consideration and attention to what the literature clearly defines as indicators of successful organizational restructuring. First, it is important to view the governance structure of the school not in terms of positional authority, but rather with an eye to cultivating an atmosphere of shared influence and collective decision making with the end result of reaching consensus as a learning community. Additionally, the restructuring effort has identified the value of collective time needed to make such a restructuring effort a success. Further, importance is placed upon the definition and development of norms, beliefs and values of school culture.

Although Chestnut, as part of a traditionally functioning school system, is not currently capable of breaking the old paradigm, it is attempting to stretch its limits as far as possible within these parameters. Within the existing paradigm, the only thing that Chestnut can really hope for is to become an anomaly in an otherwise traditional school system, a catalyst that could pave the way for other schools to follow suit or even for the system itself to readjust its old paradigm thinking.

3. How has the issue of empowerment been perceived by the staff during the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School? How is governance impacted by this perception?

The results of this study indicated that the staff at Chestnut has responded positively to the opportunity for empowerment and has achieved some level of success. Without question, this was the most personal issue that emerged during the interviews. All four teachers reacted strongly to the uniqueness of genuine empowerment as it became more of a reality throughout the study. For these teachers, not only was empowerment a personal issue, but they felt it taking hold in a collective sense. Each one expressed a strong awareness of the impact of this issue

on their colleagues. Also emerging from the interviews was a corresponding feeling of fear that somehow their escalating empowerment would be taken away, along with an understandable hesitancy to fully embrace its potential.

It was interesting to note that throughout the interviews the teachers never broached the topic from a positional authority stance; in other words, they did not seek personal self-edification, nor did they indicate any interest in gaining authority for themselves. Rather, they emphasized, some in a metaphoric sense, a collective sense of authority and the importance of moving forward as a group.

The issue of governance in a structural sense did not reach the same level of personal response. It lacked the sense of urgency and did not emerge as clearly defined as did the empowerment issue. What did emerge was a frustration which centered around the inability of the school community to take the steps necessary to implement the Accelerated Schools Project governance structure. This frustration was tempered with a feeling of resignation that, with the passing of time, the eventuality would be that this structural governance problem would be resolved. Although collectively convinced that the issue was important and needed closure, none of the four teachers indicated that they

were interested in participating in its resolution. However, the feeling was strong that whatever governance structure emerged, it needed to be totally inclusive and participatory. Further, the teachers made it clear that the decision making process must begin and end with the staff of Chestnut Middle School.

4. How has the issue of time been perceived and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

All four teachers were emphatic in their assessment that time was perhaps the single most stressful and problematic issue associated with the Accelerated Schools Project. This attention to stress manifested itself through a pragmatic attitude. For example, they wondered how much time they could give to a restructuring effort given their schedules and their limited ability to stretch, capture or buy time in the existing paradigm under which they operate at Chestnut. They were vocal about the effect of this time-related stress upon their peers which manifests itself in the form of varying degrees of resistance on the part of teachers, ranging from minimal to quite strong.

Another issue, one that emerged as an undercurrent in the teacher interviews, was the inherent danger that this added time commitment would have an insidious

effect upon the teaching community. The teachers felt that if they or their colleagues begin to divide their foci, e.g., between their classrooms and whole school issues, such as governance or cadre issues, it could happen that their efforts may be sub-optimized and they would be unable to perform at their best in either arena.

Despite these concerns, all four teachers indicated that they are willing to accept the added burdens of the time needed to effect significant change. They seem to suggest that it is imperative, both for themselves and their colleagues, that an end product be forthcoming that would justify their commitment of time in the restructuring effort at Chestnut. Still, they remain confident that it will happen and realize that this investment of time is sound because of the potential of the end results, the positive effects of the Accelerated Schools Project on their students and their school.

5. How has the school culture been perceived by the staff and affected by the restructuring initiative at Chestnut Middle School?

In a traditional school setting, teachers do not necessarily think of themselves as part of an organization. They tend to view themselves only as the

front line of a large bureaucracy, isolated individuals responsible for a group of students. Contrary to that viewpoint, the interviewed teachers indicated that for themselves and their colleagues the pervading attitude at Chestnut is one of an ongoing engagement in a staff-directed collective movement toward a dynamic of shared influence. From a cultural perspective, that collective attitude is significant for it represents a vast departure from the cultural setting one would expect to find in a traditional school.

The interviewed teachers were emphatic in their view that they and their colleagues have a strong pervasive feeling of empowerment that is real and already being manifest in such areas as consensus building and impact on important issues that currently face the school. The cultural significance that the teachers attributed to this moving together as a group was not a jockeying for positional authority or influence, but rather was motivated by a sincere desire to achieve an atmosphere of collegiality. Levels of individual authority have become less desirable than shared influence.

As a result of this shared influence, new staff members have emerged strongly in terms of their response to the cultural disposition of the school, according to the interviewed teachers. They have reacted

enthusiastically to the restructuring initiative and are eager to have their opinions heard. Such positive attitudes, supported by the existing culture, have resulted in negative subcultures having their power base eroded. Culturally, this could be identified as a "reverse re-socialization process". The interviewed teachers indicated that they were encouraged to see this positive reversal of peer influence. This dynamic has built on the desire for collegiality and helped to develop an atmosphere where people are less afraid to reach out to others.

The need to create community with a wider constituency also emerged as a cultural indicator in the four interviews. The teachers believe that Chestnut is becoming more inclusive toward parents, families and the wider community, but feel that more effort needs to be made in this area. The interviewed teachers felt strongly that the issue of the new school was one area where it would be culturally significant to expand the idea of including the larger community.

Finally, although Chestnut has made great strides concerning the importance of the cultural issue, the process of defining its culture is still in a transitory stage. It is obvious that culture has now become an issue with the staff at Chestnut. This change is indicative of the staff's attempts to fully define and

realize its cultural responsibility which bodes well for Chestnut's cultural future.

Recommendations for Chestnut Middle School

In order for Chestnut Middle School to make more effective progress in its restructuring efforts, this researcher would make the following recommendations:

1. The ongoing restructuring effort at Chestnut has to continue to be formal, comprehensive and continually revisited and reinforced.

2. Chestnut is in the midst of a classic paradigm struggle. Under the existing traditional paradigm, the configuration of most school organizations tends to minimize and maximize certain conditions. For example, an atmosphere of collegiality and an acceptance of collective time are minimized, while top-down management, the ability to self-direct and staff isolation are maximized. Chestnut must continue to examine ways of changing its organizational structure in order to reverse this existing dynamic.

3. Chestnut needs to make a commitment to significantly change its governance structure. First, the Site Centered Decision Making Team and the Accelerated Schools Steering Committee need to merge into one body. While this merging serves a somewhat

temporary purpose, such restructuring of governance cannot stop there. This type of representative council is mired in the old paradigm and does not allow for collective, shared influence. As a next step, the governance structure at Chestnut needs to go beyond this simple representative body and develop one, perhaps like the Accelerated Schools Project design of cadres and School-as-a-Whole, that begins with the school community and ends with the school community.

4. The role of Chestnut principal has to dramatically change from being limited to that of a building manager and/or instructional leader to a redefinition as a coach and facilitator of the newly-empowered staff. Additionally, the principal must become a developer of relationships with people (e.g., individual, school-community, collegial) that establish his or her belief in their capabilities; and as a molder of a school climate that supports the development of all staff.

5. The staff at Chestnut cannot be content to stay in the adaptive time mode, continually searching for ways to create time or "buy" it outside the normal instructional day. This adaptive time dynamic has led to a situation of increasing stress for the staff. Staying embedded in this time mode will only exacerbate this stressful situation and could eventually lead to the

failure of the restructuring initiative. Instead, the staff must seek ways to institutionalize collective time to meet, not only within its own organizational structure, but also by putting pressure on higher authorities, including Central Office. Suggestions to consider are a different configuration which may include a longer school day or academic year.

6. Chestnut has embraced the philosophy and process of Accelerated Schools. What is needed is to provide the staff with significant tools to engage in a substantive effort to define the cultural norms that will truly impact on school restructuring. It is recommended that the staff at Chestnut comprehensively examine the repertoires involved in such programs as John Saphier's Research for Better Teaching, which incorporates both a knowledge base upon which to build a school culture and set of norms which provide the foundation for school improvement.

7. Further, in order for the Chestnut school community to create a culture which builds confidence and shapes effort, it is recommended that the staff consider another initiative, the Efficacy Institute, Inc. This initiative, created by Ron Edmonds, helps develop a belief system that builds capacity in both students and teachers; generates strategies which

support that belief system; and accelerates students to a higher standard.

8. Because staff at the schools has voiced strong interest in professional development which is dictated by the needs of the school community, more efforts should be made to enable this type of grassroots endeavor to be supported. More attention should be given to small and large group professional development opportunities which are need-based, staff-designed and adequately funded. Additionally, such initiatives which benefit the school community as a whole (e.g., Research for Better Teaching, Efficacy, etc.) should be incorporated into the professional development schedule, with substantial time and effort built into their structural design.

9. It is highly recommended that the Chestnut school community continue to recognize that the bottom line in any restructuring effort is the improvement of classroom instruction, leading to increased student achievement. Every effort at restructuring includes significant attempts to give teachers and staff tools to meet this all-important goal. These strategies, such as the powerful learning component of the Accelerated Schools Project, must be supported by the formal arrangement of the use of time in the school to allow for the creation and sustenance of the kind of

interactive culture and supporting infrastructure needed to improve student learning.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study was undertaken to provide a description of one school, Chestnut Middle School, in the midst of a building-level restructuring effort, specifically using the philosophy and process of the Accelerated Schools Project. During the course of the study it became apparent that other areas of research would add to the body of literature concerning restructuring, choice and Accelerated Schools. The following section of this chapter outlines some of these areas:

1. On a district level, there has to be a comprehensive examination into the general role that central office has in any restructuring effort, either on the district or building level. Does the role have to be redefined? What is the role of the superintendent? Does the role of the superintendent change as restructuring progresses? How should the roles of curriculum and other supervisors be defined or redefined? How can any central office support restructuring initiatives? What are the support roles of the superintendent, supervisors, etc.?

2. Serious consideration has to be given to the capacity of individual schools to affect substantial or foundational change despite a traditional central office structure that drives much of the decision making in a school system. Is the individual school restructuring effort doomed to failure? How can a school rise above this situation? Is the future for that school to merely become an anomaly to the system? Can an individual school produce an end product that can influence the district to change?

3. With the above in mind, what should be the focus of restructuring movements, such as the Accelerated Schools Project? Can an isolated Accelerated School, in the midst of a traditional school system, survive? Or is the future of such a movement in restructuring entire school districts?

4. What comparisons and contrasts can be made among restructuring efforts in schools in different settings? For example, what does restructuring look like in a small rural school? A suburban school? A high school? What roles do the demographics of the school play in determining the success or failure of any restructuring effort? Further, what portrait can be painted of another school undergoing restructuring using the philosophy and process of the Accelerated Schools Project?

5. More research on the changing role of the principal in a school undergoing restructuring is needed to add to the body of knowledge concerning school change. How does that person move from being solely an instructional leader and/or building manager to include becoming a developer of school culture, a facilitator and coach? How is each element of the principal's role redefined? For example, what are the parameters of a new definition as instructional leader? Further, how does the level of stress which naturally accompanies such a position affect the principal's performance and attitudes?

6. The issue of culture has enormous implications for making schools attractive workplaces and highly functioning learning centers. It is recommended that serious consideration be given to detailed study of the critical elements, such as norms of behavior, beliefs and core values, that constitute school culture. For example, what cultural elements correlate with successful schools? How can these elements be developed in a systematic way? What specific role does the principal play as developer of culture? How is this cultural leadership defined and cultivated; how does this impact the staff?

7. The literature is very clear that schools cannot operate, nor can they hope to restructure, in a vacuum.

How does the level of parental/family or community involvement affect a school restructuring effort? What implications does the level of involvement have on the process? How can a school contemplating or engaged in restructuring involve the larger community?

Summary

This chapter has offered conclusions and recommendations for this study which presented a portrait of a school poised for change in terms of its governance, time and culture. The ongoing restructuring effort at Chestnut Middle School, based on the philosophy and process of the Accelerated Schools Project, has reflected the school's attempts to achieve significant definition. This has been a result of a collective initiative by the staff to generate and sustain the characteristics of educational effectiveness through an in-depth consideration of the crucial relationship and interaction between governance, time and culture.

Unless the interrelationships of these elements of governance, time and culture are incorporated into a districtwide paradigm, the efforts of any one school, such as Chestnut, to significantly effect change, will be seriously limited. There is no doubt that any attempt

at restructuring, no matter how slight or major, will change a school. Furthermore, schools that continue their restructuring efforts solely around such measures as outside grant money, external help or initiatives that only serve as add-ons to the existing paradigm are not going far enough. Such efforts are still in the range of the existing paradigm and are responses that will only cause the paradigm to bend, not break.

Chestnut is currently bending the paradigm and if allowed to continue on its present course could eventually break it. As an illustration of this, it could be said that Chestnut is engaged in trying to change a tire on a moving car. The danger is that, without a district commitment, Chestnut Middle School may be destined to simply become an anomaly in a traditional school system and never reach its full potential.

It is my hope that this portrait of Chestnut Middle School, a school poised for change, will serve to provide a focus for other schools contemplating restructuring as well as put forth a case for districts to consider creative innovations that go beyond existing practices and procedures.

APPENDIX A
HUMAN SERVICES REVIEW LETTER

TO: Chestnut Middle School Teachers Who Have Agreed to Be Interviewed

FROM: Mario F. Cirillo, Jr., Doctoral Student, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA

RE: Participation in Research Study on Restructuring Chestnut Middle School with Focus on Governance, Time and Culture

I am currently engaged in a chronological description of Chestnut Middle School as it has been impacted by the restructuring philosophy and process of the Accelerated Schools Project. In particular, I am focusing on three components of this restructuring initiative: governance, time and culture. My description of Chestnut, as a school poised for change, centers around both my own perspective as a participant-observer and the perspectives of four teachers who have also been part of this process.

I would very much like your input on the changes in restructuring which have occurred at Chestnut over the past two years particularly in terms of governance, time and culture. This letter is to ascertain your permission to interview you during the first and second years of the Accelerated Schools Project. These interviews will be both formal and informal. I will audiotape the formal interviews with you. In addition, I will allow you to read transcripts of what you have said, both in the body of the dissertation or from my notes, if you wish.

I will use the information gathered in the study for presentation in my doctoral dissertation. I may also use it for workshops and presentations for educators and possibly for articles. I will not use your name in this study but will refer to you as Teacher A, B, C or D.

If you agree to participate in this study, but later change your mind, you may withdraw at any time without prejudice.

Your signature on the form below indicates your agreement to take part in this study under the conditions set forth above. You are also assuring me

that you will make no financial claim on me now or in the future for your participation. Thank you very much for your interest and consideration for participating in my research.

Mario F. Cirillo, Jr.

I, _____, have read the statement above and agree to participate in the study under the conditions stated therein.

Signature of participant

Date

APPENDIX B

ACCELERATED SCHOOLS PROJECT "TAKING STOCK" SURVEYS

47. Does the intercom system need a major overhaul, or is it sufficient in its current condition? (v)(p)
-
48. What are your major concerns regarding the physical plant? (v)(p)
-
49. In your opinion, what is the condition of the rest room facilities? (v)(p)
- good fair poor
50. Should Chestnut have the rest rooms placed on each floor of the building? (v)(p)
- yes no
51. Is the physical education facility poor? (v)(p)
- yes no
52. What is your opinion of the water quality? (v)(h)
-
53. Is Chestnut safe? (v)*
- yes no
54. Is there a good balance of participation by all ethnic groups in school related activities? (v)*
- yes no
55. Do you feel the level of parent involvement should be increased? (v)*
- yes no
56. Do Teachers have reasonable input in scheduling? (v)*
- yes no
57. Does the guidance department adequately service the needs of students? (v)*
- yes no
58. What do you feel are the strengths of your students? (v)*
- _____ Cultural diversity
- _____ energy
- _____ enthusiasm
- _____ caring
- _____ cooperation
- _____ eagerness to learn
- _____ Other _____
-
59. What are our staff's weaknesses? (v)*
- _____ Unwillingness to change
- _____ Too clique-ish
- _____ Petty bickering
- _____ Too independent
- _____ Other _____
-

77. Do you feel the students are safe at Chestnut? (v)
yes no
yes no

78. Do you feel that the administration at Chestnut is supportive,
cooperative and effective? (v)
yes no

79. Do you feel that the teachers are sensitive to the students
needs? (v)
yes no

80. Are you satisfied with the students academic progress? (v)
yes no

PARENT SURVEY

1. How many children do you have at Chestnut? (v)* _____
2. In which grades are they? (v)* _____
3. How long have you had children at Chestnut?* _____
4. How many years have you lived in Springfield?* _____
5. Where do you get your information about Chestnut?(v)*

6. What are the ethical standards being displayed at Chestnut?
(v)(sc)

7. What makes you feel good about your child's school
experience?(v)(sc)

8. What would you like to share about yourself with others at
Chestnut?(sc)

9. What makes you want to come to Chestnut? (v)(sc)

10. When you come to Chestnut, who is most helpful to you? (v)(sc)

11. What are the most important factors that affects your attitude
toward Chestnut? (v)(sc)

12. How does the physical condition of the building affect your
attitude about the school? (v)(sc)

13. Do you feel Chestnut has high educational standards? (v)(sc)

14. Are you satisfied with your child's social interaction at
Chestnut? (v)(sc)

26. Who wakes your child up every morning? (h)

27. Do you ever send you child to school ill, due to lack of adequate daycare?
yes no
28. How many years have you completed in school?(h)_____
29. Would you be interested in having the air quality checked in the building? (v)(h)
yes no
30. On the average how many hours of sleep does your child get per evening?(h)_____hours
31. How much time do you spend doing homework with your child? (v)(h)
_____hours
32. What is your opinion of the rest room facilities? (v)(h)
good fair poor
33. Should rest rooms be placed on each floor of the building? (v)(P)
34. What kinds of reading materials do you have in your home? (v)*
Books, Magazines, Other _____
35. What does your child do after school? (v)*
Play, Day care, TV, homework, sports, other_____
36. Do you receive school notices on time? (v)*
yes no
37. Are you aware that you can set up parent conferences through the office? (v)*
yes no
38. Do you feel that teachers are receptive to your concerns as a parent? (v)*
yes no
39. Do you feel that the many cultures of our community are reflected in the curriculum? (v)*
yes no
40. Do you feel that class size affects your child's learning? (v)*
yes no
41. Do you spend time discussing your child's day with him/her? (v)*
yes no
42. Would you consider volunteering in a classroom/grade level that is not your child's? (v)*
yes no
43. At Chestnut my child is...? (v)*
Very Happy Happy Unhappy

50. When does your child do homework? (v)*
____ Before school
____ After school
____ Evening
____ During school

51. Where does your child do homework? (v)*
____ At home
____ At school
____ At library
____ Other _____

52. How much time does your child usually spend on homework each day?
(v)*
____ 1 hour or less
____ 2 hours
____ 3 hours

53. How would you rate the following at Chestnut? (v)*

Textbooks
____ Excellent
____ Very good
____ Adequate
____ Fair
____ Poor

Physical education programs
____ Excellent
____ Very good
____ Adequate
____ Fair
____ Poor

Academics
____ Excellent
____ Very good
____ Adequate
____ Fair
____ Poor

Sports
____ Excellent
____ Very good
____ Adequate
____ Fair
____ Poor

Physical Building Conditions
____ Excellent
____ Very good
____ Adequate
____ Fair
____ Poor

54. Does your child participate in any after school activities? (v)*
yes no
If yes, what? _____

55. Do you know how to become involved in the PTO? (v)*

56. How do you feel about Chestnut's bus pass policy? (v)
yes no

57. How do you feel about Chestnut's attendance policy? (v)

58. How important is sustained silent reading to the curriculum? (v)

59. How do you feel about the escorting policy? (v)
support do not support

60. Does your child feel safe at Chestnut? (v)
yes no sometimes

61. Do you feel that the administration at Chestnut is supportive,
cooperative and effective? (v)
yes no

62. Are the teachers at Chestnut sensitive to your child's needs? (v)
yes no

63. Are you satisfied with your child's academic progress? (v)
yes no

Student Survey

Please circle one

I am in grade 6 7 8

1. I understand the discipline code at Chestnut
yes no
2. The discipline code at Chestnut is enforced
yes no
3. We need more after school activities
yes no
4. My home environment is a safe one
yes no
5. It is hard to get good marks at Chestnut
yes no
6. Do you get a chance to show people at Chestnut
your talents?
yes no
7. I feel most teachers at Chestnut are fair
yes no
8. Do you feel the present penalty (30 days suspension)
for bringing a weapon to school is adequate?
yes no
9. Do you feel there are too many fights in school?
yes no
10. Should there be more principals?
yes no
11. Are you afraid of some people at school?
yes no

12. Do your parents help you with your homework?
 yes no
13. Are you ever unable to do your homework because of family commitments? (baby sitting, meal preparation, working, etc.)
 yes no
14. Do you eat breakfast?
 yes no sometimes school home
15. Are you aware of the breakfast program at Chestnut?
 yes no
16. Do you bring your own lunch to school?
 yes no
17. Do you get school lunch?
 yes no
18. The locker rooms are clean enough that I feel comfortable changing in them.
 yes no
19. The bathrooms are adequately cleaned and maintained.
 yes no
20. Do you have enough winter clothes and boots?
 yes no
21. I think most teachers respect students
 yes no sometimes
22. I respect most of my teachers.
 yes no sometimes
23. I enjoy sustained silent reading
 yes no sometimes
24. The teachers at Chestnut sensitive to your needs
 yes no sometimes

25. I think the bus pass policy is fair
 yes no sometimes
26. I live with
 mother and father mother father other
27. Most times, the behavior of students at Chestnut is
 excellent good bad very bad
28. How many people at Chestnut do you know by name?
 almost everyone half the people less than half
29. How much time do you spend on homework every day?
 none less than 30 minutes
 30 to 60 minutes 1 - 2 hours
30. Why is homework not completed?
 I have no place at home to work
 I forget or lose materials or assignments
 I refuse to do any homework
 I do not understand the assignments
 It is difficult for me to do homework because
 of family commitments
31. Most school nights I go to bed about
 8:00 - 9:00 9:00 - 11:00 after 11:00
32. How many visits do you make to the candy store daily?
 1 2 more than 2
33. About how much do you spend on junk food daily?
 \$1.00 more than a \$1.00 less than \$1.00
34. What makes you want to come to school?
-

35. In school, to whom do you turn to for support?

classroom problems _____

personal problems _____

36. What are the most important things that effect your attitude about Chestnut?

37. Excluding lunch, what is the best part of the day at school?

38. How does the condition of the building affect your grades and behavior as a student?

39. What talents do you have?

40. What do you tell your parents about school?

41. What makes you feel good about being part of the Chestnut community?

35. In school, to whom do you turn to for support?

43. What have you done that has made you feel successful?

44. The best thing about Chestnut is

45. How often do you buy food from the snack bar?

46. Who gets you up in the morning?

47. Who is usually at home for dinner?

48. Does your family usually sit at the table together to eat?

49. Who usually prepares meals at home?

50. How many meals a day do you eat?

APPENDIX C











CHESTNUT MIDDLE SCHOOL VISION STATEMENT

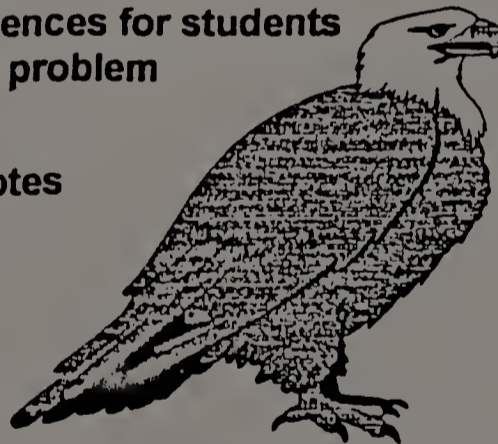


**THE FUTURE OF
CHESTNUT MIDDLE SCHOOL IS NOW.**

Like the lamplight of education, our vision will lead us on the path toward fulfilling our dreams. As an accelerated school, all members of the Chestnut family - students, staff, teachers, parents, community businesses and administration will work together to attain these common goals. This body will ensure excellence in the education of our students.

The realization of our vision will be:

-  to provide a safe, clean and inviting physical plant
-  to provide a drug and violence free environment within the Chestnut community
-  to provide services and support in order to gain more parental involvement
-  to provide an *all encompassing*, multicultural awareness that fosters high self-esteem and respect for others
-  to provide varied teaching strategies adapted to individual learning styles focusing on each student's strengths
-  to provide advanced technology and current resources in order to implement the curriculum effectively
-  to provide innovative learning experiences for students to develop higher order thinking and problem solving skills
-  to provide an atmosphere that promotes positive growth in social/emotional behaviors and attitudes in students
-  to provide consistent and effective disciplinary procedures throughout the school
-  to provide equal opportunities for professional growth and development with a variety of stimulating subject matter



APPENDIX D
ACCELERATED SCHOOLS PROJECT TIMELINE FOR
CHESTNUT MIDDLE SCHOOL

**Chestnut Middle School
Accelerated Schools Timeline
1993-1995**

<u>February 1993</u>	Recelpt of RFP memo about Accelerated Schools Project
<u>March 2, 1993</u>	K. Gagne and C. Llivingstone at Holy Cross College for presentation on Accelerated Schools Project
<u>March 3, 1993</u>	Introduction to Site-Centered Decision Making Team
<u>March 8, 1993</u>	Overview of Accelerated Schools Project to faculty and staff
<u>April 7, 1993</u>	Staff petilton signed
<u>April 16, 1993</u>	Applicatlon submitted to Department of Education Weller presentation
<u>June 7, 1993</u>	Offlcial notflcation of acceptance to the Accelerated Schools Project received by Chestnut Middle School
<u>August 18-19, 1993</u>	Initial training for majority of Chestnut Middle School staff, parents, community members
<u>September, 1993</u>	Taking Stock Committees selection; committees begin functlonng; Vision committeee formed and functioning
<u>October 15, 1993</u>	Taking Stock follow-up meeting, Holy Cross College
<u>October 21,26, 1993</u>	Initial training for remainder of Chestnut Middle staff, parents, community members
<u>November 9, 1993</u>	Network meeting, Holy Cross College Sharlng Progress and Challenges
<u>December, 1993</u>	Accelerated Schools featured on local televislon program; Chestnut students, staff appear as guests

<u>March, 1994</u>	Cadres formed
<u>January, 1994</u>	Surveys distributed to entire Chestnut Middle School community
<u>January 12, 1994</u>	Network meeting, Auburn, MA Assessing the Impact
<u>February, 1994</u>	Surveys returned, collated?
<u>March, 1994</u>	Vision statement accepted; cadres formed
<u>March 30, 31, 1994</u>	Inquiry Process training for staff, parents, community members, Elms College (one-half staff each day)
<u>April 4, 1994</u>	Network meeting, Holy Cross College Meeting Management/Group Dynamics
<u>May 15, 1994</u>	Principals' meeting, Auburn, MA
<u>May 25, 1994</u>	Wendy Hopfenburg, director of Accelerated Schools Project, Stanford, CA visits Chestnut
<u>May 26, 1994</u>	Accelerated Schools Year #2 grant application submitted to Massachusetts Department of Education
<u>June, 1994</u>	Vision Celebration with Washington School, Court Square, Springfield, MA
<u>August 22, 1994</u>	Facilitators' training
<u>September, 1994</u>	Cadres functioning using Inquiry Process
<u>October 3, 1994</u>	Training session for teachers as trainers for new staff, Auburn, MA
<u>October 18, 1994</u>	Powerful Learning session at Chestnut
<u>November 2, 1994</u>	New staff, parent training session facilitated by Chestnut teachers (combined with Washington School, Springfield, and Donahue School, Holyoke), Springfield, MA

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