Examining Leadership and Resource Allocation Practices: How Schools Create Expanded Opportunities for Instructional Improvement

FINAL REPORT
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Lynn Beck
Ana Elfers
Margaret Plecki
Bradley Portin
Acknowledgments

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We could not have completed this work without the tremendous cooperation of the schools who participated in the study. We deeply appreciate their contribution and realize what it meant to accommodate our visits. The fourteen schools presented in this study are truly amazing places. We were encouraged and amazed by the enthusiasm and commitment of the staff and by the depth of conversations around instructional issues. Principals and teachers in these schools spoke openly and at length about their work and their hopes for school improvement. On numerous occasions, we would walked away saying, “Wow, I would really love to teach in that school.” We know that in the midst of busy days these schools rearranged their schedules and gave us access to their classrooms, their documents and themselves. We are enormously grateful to them; only our promise of confidentiality prevents us from thanking them by name.

Lastly, we acknowledge the superb help of Angie Windus in the design and formatting of the final document.
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Introduction

Against a backdrop of intense public scrutiny of leadership and fiscal practices in many sectors of American life, this research provides a window into the organizational leadership and resource management aspects of schools. The endeavor of schooling is often considerably more complex than other enterprises, particularly given the varied nature of student populations, the availability of a qualified staff, and the uncertainty of particular sources of funding. Nevertheless, some schools seem able to engage in practices that both support student learning and also provide a rich collegial environment for teachers. Schools that do this well tend to be endowed with solid leadership (both principal and teacher) and the ability to creatively leverage resources in support of learning opportunities for both students and staff.

This research study focuses on fourteen schools in Washington state that have varied capacities in this regard. Some are schools that have been on a forward trajectory for some time and effectively illustrate how building this kind of capacity occurs over time by strategically targeting human and fiscal resources to support focused learning objectives. Others are in the midst of trying to figure out new ways to conceptualize their work and encourage staff toward more effective teaching practices which enhance student achievement. All have been selected for this study because they have shown progress in this regard, though all have different starting points. Of the fourteen schools, twelve were selected for this study because they were recipients of funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, either directly through a school grant for which the school applied, or as a result of funding to the school district. Two of the schools in the study are not recipients of any funding from the Gates Foundation and provide contrasting cases.

This report is intended to stimulate dialogue around issues of school leadership, resource allocation and decision making by examining the impact of leadership (both principal and teacher) on reform initiatives, how school leaders chose to leverage resources in support of school improvement goals, and how schools manage the demands and supports of the external environment. The central question is how do schools use money, time and talent to support instructional redesign and improve student learning? This report will consist of a brief overview of the work, followed by research questions and key ideas that have emerged from the three major themes of study: school based decision making and principal leadership, school based decision making and teacher leadership, and the role of resources in school improvement. The report will conclude with a discussion and summary of the findings.
Background

The Nature of the Problem

The study of school improvement is problematic. Huge challenges exist in defining measurable outcomes given multiple, diffuse goals and diverse student populations. Additionally, schools exist in a myriad of complex contexts that contain numerous potential leverage points, all of which impact improvement efforts (Louis, Toole & Hargreaves, 1999). Schools vary in their willingness and capacity to adopt new practices. Structural features of an organization, institutional climate, staff stability and experience, in-house leadership and curricular focus may all encourage or detract from efforts to reframe teaching and learning. For example, Goldring & Rallis (1993) found that teachers’ relationships with their principals form an important piece of the school social context that supports professional development and change. Leadership issues are crucial for implementation activities which require both power to get something done and skill to manage the political issues provoked by change (Evans, 1996). In addition, the role of professional development in reform cannot be understated (Beck & Murphy, 1996). Also, focusing resources at the school level may allow for targeted development of professional opportunities, increased engagement of teachers in their own professional growth and greater participation in leadership responsibilities (Picus, 2001).

Individual schools nonetheless are nearly always part of a larger educational system. In some cases, the district leadership has secured resources for reform initiatives and consequently exerts pressure on building staff for adoption. Whether the impetus for reform comes from the top down or the bottom up, individual schools are confronted with issues of alignment of school, district and state strategic goals and objectives with the provisions of the reform agenda. The decisions reached when distributing resources offer a glimpse into the complex and value-laden issues faced by educational institutions in the accomplishment of their goals.

Context in Washington State

Schools in Washington State have been prompted to rethink issues of teaching and learning in part as a result of various reform initiatives at federal, state and local levels. The Education Reform Act of 1993, HB 1209, specified Washington's long-term commitment to improve the quality of learning in the state’s schools. The state’s journey since that time parallels that of many other states over the past decade, which have sought to strengthen the learning experiences for all the state’s young people and produce results that meet ambitious learning standards. While the reform in Washington state has proceeded with broad professional and public support and there have been modest achievement gains that can be attributed to the reform effort, the evidence to date suggests that the state is still far from reaching the ambitious goals it set for itself. The trend is up in all currently tested areas of the curriculum (reading, mathematics, writing, and listening) and at all grade levels,
yet the overall gains are generally small and the absolute level of performance still hovers between one and two thirds of all students meeting proficiency on state standards.

Though there have been several amendments to the original plan, the state has largely “stayed the course” so far, and maintained a fairly consistent focus on the original plan. The legislative timeline has been punctuated by several citizen’s initiatives, which have affected the course of reform, first, through voter-imposed limitations on the growth of state spending in the early to mid-1990s and, second through initiatives in 2000 allocating cost-of-living raises to teachers and additional resources to districts for class size reduction, professional development or other instructional priorities.

In parallel with legislative action, however, the state has made only modest financial investments in the reform plan since the initial Act in 1993 and in various ways has not address the full fiscal implications of the reform. Some additional dollars have been directed to particular professional development purposes, an additional early reading assessment, and teacher mentor assistance; in other instances resources have been reallocated from one purpose to another.

In recent years private foundations have joined in efforts to improve education by investing targeted resources in schools. Some schools and districts may find themselves in a favorable position to consider reforms and embrace change, while others need additional support and resources in order to achieve desired results. In either case, hard choices are required when schools are given a mandate for reform and an infusion of resources. Funding generally does not come without obligations and schools must wrestle with how to align themselves with the requirements of the reform agenda and the needs and constraints of their own local situation. This study explores the precursors that enable some schools to adopt a particular reform agenda aimed at improving instructional practice and examines how the breadth and depth of school leadership (principal and teacher) and the allocation of resources influences the ability of a school to make substantive change. Does an infusion of resources provide an impetus or a stabilizer for reform at the school level?

The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

In May 2000 the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation began to invest more than $30 million over three years to support model schools in Washington state by offering school level grants statewide. In addition, the Gates Foundation has provided approximately $80 million over a five year period in support for 10 public school districts and one diocesan district in Washington state. The Foundation’s goal was to demonstrate that, “it is possible to help all students achieve by improving teaching and learning and enhancing access to technology for students.” While the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation supports a variety of educational endeavors through grant programs, this study

**Washington State School Grants** have provided an opportunity for individual public and private schools in Washington state to submit a school-based instructional improvement plan which supports teaching and learning and enhanced access to technology. While many of the schools initially believed the grant was to be used for technology, they soon realized that it was meant to support activities far beyond hardware and software. Rather, the Gates Foundation outlined a broad focus in which they identified seven attributes of high achieving schools. The attributes include common focus, high expectations, personalized, respect and responsibility, time to collaborate, performance based, and technology as a tool. (See Foundation website: http://www.gatesfoundation.org/connectedpostings/default3.htm).

Grant criteria required that the school be small (not more than 600 students), committed to using research for instructional improvement, have more than one teacher who had participated in the Teacher Leadership Project or an equivalent technology-based professional development activity, provide access for students and professional development for staff to computer technology for teaching and learning, and demonstrate a high level of staff support for the grant activities. Elementary and middle school grant recipients received $400 per student, while junior and senior high schools received $450. In high poverty schools, where 50% or more of the students qualified for free and reduced lunch, the school received an additional $50 per student. Funding was provided over a three year period with the first year’s funding (15%) to be used specifically for planning. Year two of the grant (70% of funding) supported the implementation of the school’s plan, including a technology component which provided a minimum four to one ratio of students to computers within the school. The third and final year (15% of funding) was set aside for follow-up activities. In addition each school agreed to commit to a five-year evaluation program.

**Washington State School District Grants** held similar objectives to the School Grants in terms of helping all students achieve and a focus on professional development for teachers, but grant funding was provided at the district-level over a five-year period. Districts were required to submit a plan for district-wide implementation and involvement of all schools. The Foundation also identified attributes which they believe contribute to high achieving school districts. These attributes include: distributed leadership, performance accountability, effective governance, shared values, learning partnerships, staff development, and technology infrastructure. (See the Foundation’s website: http://www.gatesfoundation.org/education/washingtonstateprograms/washingtonstatedistrictgrants/grants/programguidelines.htm).
With the support of the Gates Foundation, the University of Washington’s research team embarked on a two-year program of study designed to address issues of school leadership and resource allocation in elementary and middle schools from across Washington state that have demonstrated steady improvement in learning outcomes. Eight of the schools in the study were recipients of Washington State School Grants and four of the schools were located in districts that had received Washington State District Grants. Two schools received no funding from the Gates Foundation.

**Research Questions and Sample**

**Research Questions**

Perhaps what intrigued researchers about this study was the opportunity to observe what school leaders would do with a windfall opportunity such as a Gates grant. Given an infusion of resources, what issues would schools choose to address and how would it impact school leadership? Would it change how schools allocate resources (fiscal, teaching and instructional time)? While the Gates Foundation receives some information about its school and district grantees from in-house evaluations, the researchers’ role was to be independent and non-evaluative. The research questions which frame and focus the study are the following:

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>What is the leadership structure at the school?</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>What are the core challenges the school faces? How does the school organize itself to meet the core challenges?</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>How has the grant affected the school’s capacity to lead toward improvement?</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>How do schools organize their resources toward improvement goals?</td>
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<td>In what ways are resource allocation patterns similar and different across schools?</td>
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<td>What rationale do school leaders provide to explain their resource allocation practices?</td>
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**Research Methods**

The research focuses on the school as the primary unit of analysis and uses a case study research design. Multiple method case study research (in this case incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods) at individual school sites allows for a deep analysis of barriers and opportunities to school change, professional growth and school leadership. Both public and private elementary and middle schools in urban, suburban and rural settings were selected and provide
considerable variation in socioeconomic and ethnic diversity and changing student populations. Half of the school sites were located in Western Washington and half in the eastern side of the state.

Site visits were conducted during the 2000-01 and 2001-02 school years. Data for the study consists of classroom observations, semi-structured interviews with principals, teachers, and other members of the school community, and a collection of documents (i.e., written documentation surrounding the grant, school planning and budget documents, student performance data and other pertinent materials which detail the school’s improvement strategies and resource allocation practices). In addition, the researchers accessed the Washington state personnel database (S-275) to track fiscal information and characteristics of the educational workforce at each school during the two years of the study.

**Site Selection**

Schools were chosen based on a variety of characteristics including size, location, student demographics and school performance on the Washington State Assessment of Student Learning (WASL). Most of the urban and rural schools selected serve significant numbers of students in poverty and seven of the schools participate in the Federal Title I Schoolwide Program. The urban and rural schools also tend serve large populations of migrant and bilingual students, as well as poor white students. The suburban schools in recent years have experienced increasing diversity due to district boundary changes and changes in student population. Several of the schools also house some of the districts’ most severely disabled children. Appendix A provides a summary of student demographic information by school. (Note: For purposes of confidentiality, each school will be identified by letter from A to N).

School performance on the WASL over time was also a factor in the selection of sites. Not all of the schools would be considered “high performing” based on WASL statistics. Nevertheless, most of the schools have shown steady improvement at the 4th grade level in reading and math over the last six years despite some being below the state average (See Appendix B1-B6). Remarkably, the schools that have shown most dramatic improvement in WASL scores are the schools that serve highly disadvantaged populations and are part of the Title I Schoolwide Program (See Appendix B7-B9). Schools involved in the Schoolwide Program will be discussed in greater detail later in this report.

In the next section we introduce the eight schools which were Gates Foundation recipients of Washington State School Grants. Five of the schools received funding in the first year of the program, 2000-2001, and three of the schools were selected in the second round of awards given in 2001-2002. In these brief vignettes, one can begin to note patterns that arise among the schools. These eight schools will be the focus of analysis for discussions in the principal and teacher leadership portions of the report.
School Grantees (Sites A- H)

- **School A** is a small urban elementary known for its academic focus and rigor. The school has a strong sense of mission and a high degree of commitment and involvement from parents. **School A** has a student population of 380 that is predominantly white and middle to upper-class.

  The principal, a seasoned professional, is a visible presence in halls and classrooms and is the managerial decision maker. While the principal sets expectations and provides support and resources to staff, the teachers display strong instructional leadership and involvement in curricular decisions. It is part of the school ethnic is to collaborate and to work hard around the instructional program. Most collaboration is informal, happening in hallways and before and after school. The principal pays a great deal of attention to teacher recruitment and professional development, and consequently he felt that the grant was a good match for their school, enabling them to focus more time on instructional issues and improve access to technology. This small school has a strong sense of community and symbolic acts hold a place in shaping daily events.

- **School B** is a suburban middle school serving over 600 students. Ninety-five percent of students are white; 22 percent receive free and reduced lunch. The school has a stable and experienced teaching staff. Forty-three percent of the certificated staff have more than 21 years of teaching experience and seventy percent of certificated staff hold a master’s degree or higher. Having recently transitioned from a junior high to a middle school, many of the staff indicated that they chose to stay at this school because they like the school and enjoy working with middle-schoolers.

  School B has a dense decision making structure and is divided into multiple teams, subcommittees and taskforces. Much of the reflection about instructional issues happens within these smaller groups. The principal seems to keep close tabs on the various meetings and is skilled in using language to frame discussions and provide research and information to the staff.

  “Technology as a Tool” is the buzzword at School B and the focus of the grant is in piloting a laptop learning program. The principal is extremely savvy at leveraging resources. In the year of the initial site visit, the school had received over $150,000 in external funding from a variety of sources, not including a 21st Century Learning Center grant which the principal had spearheaded, and which involved several other schools in the district.

- If Washington state law allowed for charter schools, **School C** would be a charter. This suburban middle school serves a mixed population of students. **School C** is generally viewed as a magnet with highly innovative and successful programs, and has drawn students from other districts and private schools. As a result, the school has a high degree of support from the district and freedom to operate independently.

  From the beginning **School C’s** visionary principal established a community culture with high expectations and flexible structures to accommodate the vision and goals of the school. Despite the principal’s strong presence, this is a school with a flat administrative structure in which everyone participates and decisions are made jointly. By virtue of the instructional
programs offered, students also hold leadership roles. School C has 7 TLP teachers, but because of the nature of the school and shared responsibility, the grant did not alter the leadership structure. The grant acted as a “booster rocket” for this school by providing them with needed resources and professional development.

- School D is an elementary school situated in an isolated rural community. The school serves 472 students of mixed ethnic background, including 61% Anglo students and 38% Hispanics, with 25% coming from “Spanish only” homes. Nearly one in five of the students (17%) are migrant children. Many of the families served by this school live below the poverty level with 57% of students on free or reduced lunch. The staff at this school represents an experienced and stable cadre, with 97% continuing in the district from the previous year. Thirty-one percent of certificated staff have over 21 years of experience; fourteen percent have five or fewer years of experience.

The challenge of this school is to move beyond a negative recent history of five principals over a seven year period. The initial decision to pursue the grant was a risk for the present administrator, particularly given the amount of administrative turnover the school had experienced. But School D’s principal perceived the grant opportunity as a way of infusing positive energy and focusing direction. Together, the principal, a fifth grade teacher who also serves as a technology specialist for the district, and the district’s curriculum director, wrote the school’s grant application. The grant has provided opportunities for the principal to broaden, broker and develop teacher leadership within a building whose confidence had been shattered by transition.

Despite the school’s disadvantaged student population, an underlying mantra of “no excuses” was heard for lack of student success. Student achievement is a primary concern and the principal is key in providing focus with a strategic plan and establishment of goals. In addition, the principal’s strong administrative background has allowed her to effectively access information and resources. This school has attempted to meld the grant’s reform efforts with the Washington state EALRs and has used data in significant ways to support instructional improvement.

- School E is an elementary school surrounded by orchards and fields near a tiny rural community. The 273 students who attend are ethnically diverse. The student population includes 68% Hispanic students and 31% Anglo students. This is a small close-knit school staff that exudes a strong orientation toward the needs of their students. As an agricultural community, many of the students are members of migrant farming families so transitions are a part of school life for many children. Poverty, mobility and linguistic diversity are characteristics of this student body. The school conveys a warm welcome and the quilts on the wall when you walk in announce to visitors that the diverse “tapestry” of their students is a characteristic that is a value for this school.

The principal at School E makes decisions largely by “walking around” and engaging in purposeful conversations with staff (readily accomplished in a smaller school community). The principal chose to consult widely with all teachers before pursing their grant and sought expertise from a nearby school, who had been successful with the grant-making process. Their grant was written by the principal and TLP teachers and once the grant was received, the school’s previously established “leadership core team” became the school’s grant
planning team. Decision happen “organically” and there is wide participation from both certificated and support staff.

The hallmark of this school is data. *School E* prizes data and has established means for tracking their students during transitions. They have also used their grant to enhance their ability to serve the literacy needs of their students. Literacy, and matching the curriculum to state learning standards was foreground, the added technology was background. In essence, the grant resources provided an impetus to move further and faster along their direction of intelligent use of data and enhancing literacy opportunities. The focus of the school was internal. The grant also gave them an added sense of being on more equal ground with the better-resourced schools that were nearby.

- In the fall of 2000, *School F* moved into a newly constructed building designed to reflect the natural setting of the Pacific Northwest. This was a particularly turbulent year, not only because of challenges associated with a new building but also the death of a beloved teacher and the initiation of the Gates grant. This suburban Title I school serves 450 students and has an increasingly diverse student body with about 24% students of color and a free and reduced lunch population of 29%. In recent years, the diversity of the school has increased due to boundary changes and shifts in the real estate market.

Decision making in *School F* reflects broad egalitarian participation by classified and certificated staff. The principal is key in raising core values in the educational process with literacy being the focus. Questions of equity also are brought into discussions, particularly in dealing with how the school treats the “haves” and the “have nots.” In recent years, the principal at *School F* has been successful in finding external sources of funding to support on-going programs within the school.

- *School G* is an elementary school located in a traditionally rural area that has become increasingly suburban in recent years. In addition, the student population has changed, reflecting increasing numbers of migrant and bilingual students (75% Anglo and 20% Hispanic). Free and reduced lunch is provided for 35% of the children. On the other hand, the staff population has remained very stable and reflects balanced levels of teaching experience.

*School G* has an energetic, new and relatively novice young principal who has used the Gates grant to initiate change within an established staff. By creating teacher committees based on the seven attributes of high achieving schools, the principal has sought to develop strategies for significant staff conversations around issues of instruction. *School G*’s principal spends a great deal of time working with data and pays attention to the ways in which it can be used to inform instructional practice. While bus schedules impact opportunities for some professional development, this principal has resourcefully negotiated with substitutes to prepare specially designed literacy lessons, in order to create release time for teachers.

- *School H* is a larger suburban school with nearly 568 students. In *School H*, 18% of the students qualify for free and reduced lunch and 91% are white. In many respects, this is a school that is the “pride” of its community. The school is modern, attractive and has both a stable staff and community. This is a school that, as a Washington “Blue Ribbon” school, has been on the forefront of many innovations and has been successful in a number of grants. It
also has a very active parent community that was able to raise nearly $100,000 through fund-raising over the course of seven years – all of which served the school well during the period when the school district experienced several property tax levy failures.

The principal has been at the school since its founding and utilizes a school site-based decision making group, but it is clear that this principal wields a great deal of influence through her historic role and hiring virtually the entire staff. On walking in the school, one is impressed by its efficiency, cleanliness and profusion of student work. This is a “good” school with supportive, involved parent community, and a history of placing technology at the center of their goals.

This school perceived the grant opportunity as a means of enhancing their technology, not for changing school practice. The opportunities provided by the grant have melded into where the school was already going and, indeed if they hadn’t received the grant, the principal would likely have located similar resources elsewhere.

**School Based Decision-Making and Principal Leadership**

In Washington State, grants from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation have provided selected schools with a significant new resource from which to redesign and, potentially, re-array their school to meet new goals. As such, this presents a crucial “leadership moment” for a school as they figure out how to align this extra resource with the school’s direction. These added resources, both financial and expertise, clearly have the potential to be significant contributors to the organizational and educational life of a school.

Leading the school in the direction of renewal is no longer the sole purview of the principal and involves a broad partnership of administrators, teachers, and parents. The complexities of school change, educational renewal, and curricular redesign initiated by grantee schools pave the way for a new set of professional competencies from principals and teachers. Teachers' and administrators' ability to "reinvent" rather than "redesign"—to move in substantively different directions—necessitates a combination of collaborative resources, as well as the energy of ideas for how to improve learning, and the room for the school to innovate. Both recent reviews of principal roles (e.g. Dowd, 1998; Portin, 2000) and the broader school leadership literature equate the exercise of leadership as an organizational capacity (Reitzug, 1994; Starratt, 1995), less consolidated in a single individual. The result is the need for schools to develop broad-based decision-making practices and leadership opportunities for others.

The aim of this portion of the project was to pay particular attention to the decision making environment of the school—to find out what the schools were paying attention to, what were their mutually determined priorities, and who was involved in their strategic decisions. In essence, this is a leadership question. Determining school direction, establishing priorities, and distributing
resources is inherently a leadership act—and an act infused with the everyday tensions, the push/pull, of negotiating the life of schools. In addition, we set out to determine how the decision-making structure of the school has been affected by the grant; and whether the grant altered the leadership density (the concentration of and expertise of a variety of individuals who play leadership roles) of the school.

As noted, these eight schools, each as grant recipients, can be regarding as “successful schools” in a number of ways. Their selection as a grant recipient affirms a number of characteristics that facilitate their ability, as a school, to achieve their desired ends. These characteristics include their ability to outline a direction for the school, the existence of a cadre of TLP teachers in the school (which speaks to the leadership opportunities afforded teachers), and a seasoned and forward-thinking principal. Finally, putting themselves forward as a school for grant review, and the attendant coaching that comes with being a grantee school, speaks to a degree of institutional self-confidence to take a risk and to imagine ways to improve their instructional practice and opportunities for students.

Therefore, in many respects, examining for characteristics of leadership for school improvement was not an investigation of leadership presence or absence, but rather a study in greater opportunity for school change, capacity, and improvement.

**Initiating and Contributing Issues for School Improvement**

When we examined the extensive data set generated during fieldwork through a strategy of cross-case analysis (informed by Miles and Huberman, 1994), one super-ordinate construct, and a number of secondary themes emerged. The larger leadership story, from the data of these eight schools appears to us as one of “enlarged opportunity for school improvement,” an idea that we develop further in this section. Through cross-case analysis, we noted several other secondary patterns in the decision making and the designated leadership structures of the school. First, the infusion of grant resources can cause some schools to rethink their core challenges. Second, the presence of teachers who have been through specific leadership training (Teacher Leadership Program) seems to increase the “density” of leadership in the school. Third, a substantive grant does seem to provide greater latitude for school based decisions. Each of these three patterns is now explained in turn.

First, the infusion of grant resources can cause some schools to rethink their core challenges.

The amount of resource brought to the school has certain orienting effects around a more complex decision set than many principals and schools previously faced. In each of the schools, even the event of being notified of their successful grant application initiated a new process of decision
making in the school. The reaction (once the celebrating subsided) was often described along the line of, “Well, we’ve got it… now we’ve got to do something!”

As grant recipients, the schools described how they were able to use the grant proposal process and the awarding of the grant, as a means to focus their attention around the specific needs of their student community and the resources that they needed to make improvement changes. Even if the school followed directions previously decided the awarding of the grant initiated a sequence of actions. These actions ranged from the purely logistical (e.g., retrofitting electrical and data transfer lines in the school) to the more strategic (e.g. questions of how this added resource would support efforts for collaborative time, new programmatic experiments, to the reorienting of technology to support learning in the school).

Each of the eight schools had, what could be described as, a core set of challenges. As we visited the schools, we sought to understand what they perceived as the major challenge in front of them and how they were organizing themselves as a school to meet that specific challenge. The core challenges are presented in summary form in Table 1.

As is apparent in these data, the nature of the challenges each schools faced varied from structural concerns for program implementation, to cultural concerns for school and community stability. In some cases, as in School B and School E, the grant provided a focus for curricular and program planning centered on the infusion of technology (School B), or in using the technology as an adjunct to addressing student population needs (School E).

In some cases, as in School E, this has initiated a wider set of responsibilities for aligning these resources to the aims of the school. At School E, the additional monies, as well as the expertise of the teachers who had participated in the Teacher Leadership Program, served to orient the school more carefully and systematically around the literacy needs of their students. The added resource, particularly the technology resource, enabled the principal and other teacher leaders to careful track their mobile student population. It seems that in the absence of this resource, this would have been both less likely and more challenging.

In other schools (e.g. School A, School D, School F, School G), the grant served an orienting function around some larger cultural needs for the school. Doubtless, being a grant recipient school was boost for their institutional self-esteem. Not one of the schools in this study hid their grantee status—it is an accomplishment for which they are duly proud. In addition, their grant status provided the school with additional political capital with their district and broader community. There was evidence in the documents we collected from schools (especially newsletters, newspaper clippings, and prospectuses) that they were ready to share their accomplishments for the purpose of bolstering the community view of the school.
Table 1: Core Challenges Facing the Schools

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<th>School</th>
<th>Core Challenge(s) Articulated by the School Leaders</th>
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<tr>
<td>School A</td>
<td>Maintaining the school’s reputation which includes achievement issues, preventing conflict and discord in the community, and its moral mission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>School B</td>
<td>Getting a laptop learning program up and going.</td>
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<tr>
<td>School C</td>
<td>Succession of the principal, balancing the rate of growth, broadening the base of students the school serves, and the role of parents in the school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>School D</td>
<td>Stabilizing and building trust after a series of principals, a turbulent construction process, personnel issues, and a district strike. Keeping the work moving without pressing too hard and endangering morale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>School E</td>
<td>Keeping their project moving in a purposeful way. Poverty and mobility of students and literacy given a high ESL population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School F</td>
<td>Recovering from a tragic staff loss and the challenges of construction. Determining the changing role of the parent community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School G</td>
<td>Developing collegiality among the teaching staff, developing a common focus for the school. Planning for the construction of a new facility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School H</td>
<td>District history of levy failures, union difficulties. An economically bifurcated community in some regards.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One focus that we undertook as a research team was to determine the nature of the grant as a change-agent for the school. In other words, we were curious to find out if, and how, the receipt of the grant might initiate a new direction in the school or a redesign of existing programs. For example, School H had determined that technology was a top priority for the school (contributed to by the parent community) and the school was looking for a grant that would support the direction that they had already determined. The Gates grant opportunity fit with their plans for the future of technology in the school. They were pleased to be successful in their application. If, however, they
had been unsuccessful, it seemed apparent in talking with the principal that they would likely have found other funding sources and would have continued down the same direction.

What we did conclude is that if re-design was not the school’s intent in the grant process, then it’s difficult to determine what may have changed in the school. Where the grant was central in the conversations taking place in staff meetings, planning groups, and with parents (as it was especially noted at School D, School E, and School F), then the full aspects of the grantor’s intent seemed more prominent in school life. In these schools, the TLP teachers were also more actively involved and took direct roles in helping to link the advantages of the grant to the direction for improvement and change the school had determined.

It should be noted that a “reorienting” of the school’s attention around their core challenge was not always pervasive. For example, we found an uneven response to addressing issues of equity of opportunity afforded by the added resource. In other words, if technology was targeted to serve a specific population of students before the grant, the receipt of the grant did not always initiate a process of considering a wider distribution to other students in the school.

The full sample of eight schools incorporated some forms of shared or distributed leadership in their internal governance and decision making. We concluded that the Gates Foundations “Teacher Leadership Program” clearly added more capacity to the schools’ distributed leadership structure. What we noted was that in all of the schools, there were either TLP teachers, or teachers substantively involved in Gates project oversight, who participated in the schools’ leadership structure. This was the case when the leadership team was lean (School A, School G), or when the leadership structure was broad-based (such as a complex set of two leadership teams at School F). In no case, was the school a primarily principal-run school. In addition, the expertise that the TLP teachers brought was an important addition to the shared decision making structure in the school.

When we compared the sets of decisions that schools made during their grant application process and the leadership practices set up after grant receipt, it seems that opportunities for teacher leadership increased. This seemed to be especially apparent when schools view the grant as a means of paving the way for new school goals rather than an adjunct to prior plans.

This greater participation of teacher leadership seemed to especially cluster around instructional responsibility. For example, at School C, the seven TLP teachers in the school each participated broadly in curriculum teams throughout the school. There was an ethic of the school, that “everyone
participates,” but the expertise of the TLP teachers appeared to be a particularly important resource. Equally so at School A, where a TLP teacher was crucial in spearheading improvements in math instruction.

At School E, the TLP teachers worked closely with the principal, and the broader school leadership team, to ensure alignment of their school’s academic program with the state standards and increased attention to literacy. The TLP teachers’ access to “expert knowledge” (in technology) often served as a focus for expressing direct leadership in broader curriculum issues.

In essence, the opportunity provided is more than financial, but results in more specially trained teacher leaders and a greater freedom to use the resources for a deeper set of site-driven decisions. The implications from this study suggest that a broad-based orientation to leadership in the school is both a likely outcome and a planned-for precursor for schools in this project.

Third, a substantive grant does seem to provide greater latitude for school based decisions.

Six of the eight case schools can be considered “traditional public schools,” in that they are part of a larger public school district. One was a private school, the other a magnet school with accorded latitude to experiment. The private school was a part of a “district-like” network (especially for curriculum), and the magnet school, School C, was part of a school district, but was a school of choice. Throughout the study, we sought to pay attention to the influence of context, as well as the grant, in the decisions the schools made and how they may have been interpreting their “redesign” challenge. We know, of course, that context plays an important part in shaping the school and decisions that are made at the site level.

The nature of the links between the school and its district context varied. In several instances (School A, School C, School F) the links placed particular emphasis on site-based decision. These principals had higher degrees of decision-making freedom to establish aims and objectives for their school. In others, particularly so for School D, School E, and School G, the links to the district are more “tight.” For example, the school board for School G’s district basically countermanded the plans the school had made for early student dismissal for teacher collaborative development time. In other cases, such as School B, an assistant superintendent was on the school’s Gates Leadership Team so links between what happened in the school and district were more seamless. Some of school-to-district linkage was due to size, board politics, or the personality of the superintendent. What we did find in each of the schools, however, was a principal engaged in a process of both determining and consolidating additional degrees of decision-making freedom. This could be seen as freedom to experiment with organization, or to reshape aspects of the instructional program, based on site determined and site-responsible processes.
For the six traditional district schools, the *caché* of being a Gates grant recipient can bring a certain amount of public attention that can engender additional community or philanthropic support. In the case of *School E*, it seemed to provide greater freedom of action in determining school-based needs and plans to meet those. The same could be found at *School H*, but to a lesser degree as the principal’s historic role afforded latitude not always evident in novice principals.

With the exception of the novice principal at *School G*, these were experienced principals. These are principals who know how to leverage resources, how to anticipate the likely or potential points of conflict, and how to portray their school and its priorities in a compelling way. The grant gave them “reputational” space in order to argue for their school’s projects. With the imprimatur of the Gates Foundation, they often found additional voice to advocate for their school’s needs and the right to make a number of decisions at the school level.

It should also be noted that in most of the schools, the resource of the grant, also acted as “seed money”, for acquiring additional resources. These are principals who know how to capitalize on success and to either consolidate funds in a creative way, or look for other untapped sources of funds (e.g. Medicaid match dollars).

**Expanding the Improvement Environment for Schools**

What do these cross cutting themes suggest? The data from these eight schools seems to indicate that being a grant recipient presented an enlarged opportunity to be involved in school-based planning for redesign and school improvement. The central idea of this enlarged, or expanded opportunity is presented in Figure 1.

Each of the eight schools in this study was on a “journey”—a school improvement journey. These were as varied as improving their expertise in the use of data (*School E*), the establishment of a laptop program for one grade level (*School B*), to creating additional time for teacher collaboration around planning for instruction (*School D*). What we could identify in each school was, what might be termed, a “long range goal” or cluster of goals—a target they had set their sights on. They had a destination that they were heading toward and their school improvement and development efforts were oriented around reaching that longer-term goal. This target, or cluster of goals (usually associated with their core challenge, see Table 1) was something that was also in-motion. There was a sense that owing to changes in their schools, WASL scores, funding patterns, etc., these goals were moving and each year would shift.

**Zone of action for school improvement**

The inner circle in Figure 1 represent the frame within which they can exercise their improvement efforts. We may think of that as the “zone of action for school improvement.” This represents the
Figure 1: Creating a Zone of Opportunity for School Improvement

Zone of action for school improvement
Zone of opportunity for school improvement

- State educational reform agenda
- Urgency of change
- School culture
- Financial resources
- Availability and expertise with data
- Significant events in the life of the school (+/-)
- Changes in school leadership (principal or teacher)
- Changes in the community or the students served
- District & superintendent policies

Long Range Goals
intersection of the school’s resources, their initiative and freedom to make decisions that will connect what they have as school resources to the plans they make to reach their goals. This is the range within which they can act given the internal capacities of the school.

Simultaneously, each school operates in an environment, a context of constraints, expectations, and history. We noted in the data at least nine distinct constraints to their improvement efforts, but this is hardly exhaustive. We found that these nine operate in different ways to influence the “zone of action for school improvement.” In this section, a brief example of each will make the point.

It should be clearly noted that each of these external constraints has a flip side. Each can be as much an enabler of action as well as a constraint on action. In fact, these two dimensions of each influence act in concert simultaneously enabling and constraining.

School culture

Each school has its own culture and way of working together. At School G, the culture was fairly autonomous, at School F, highly interactive. We found the culture defines the way that new opportunities are approached, who will participate in decision making processes, how many new projects are undertaken, and what level of risk the school is willing to bear.

Urgency of change

A number of community and district characteristics and events can serve to underscore an urgency to change as aspect of the school program. The annual release of test score data was cited by the public school principals as an event that consistently caused a pause and re-examination of progress toward student achievement goals. In addition, as grant recipients, several principals talked about community expectations for change they could quickly see (e.g. more computers in the school) as a result of being a grantee school. Urgent change can both propel a school forward, but it also may not propel it in a direction that is consistent with other needs in the school. As such, it may act as a limiting factor.

State educational reform agenda

Seven of the eight schools had external assessment of their instructional effectiveness through WASL testing. The private school, while not subject to the same testing requirements, had equivalent pressures to assure student achievement (at School A, evident in the necessary success of placing graduates in prep school). Clearly, the changes wrought in Washington’s education system have been wide-ranging. Many would argue, this has formed a quite positive impetus for change in school practice. However, there is anxiety in schools about how test score data can be interpreted. As a result, it can initiate knee-jerk responses for quick fixes to complicated problems.
An example of where the data has served as an impetus is in School E, where data (including WASL data) were seen as a powerful support to the school’s goal to improve their “data literacy” and develop long-term tracking of student achievement data.

**District and superintendent policies and practices**

There is a continual tension for schools as part of a larger school system. The tension is most often interpreted as the push and pull between what part of the school’s program and planning should be locally determined and what part should be district determined. What happens when a school decides on an improvement direction they wish to pursue and the plan is countermanded by the superintendent, or board? This was apparent in the smaller district settings and large as well. Of course, if the school and district goals coincided, this could act as a stimulus, but if they are contrary, then this can act as a constraining factor.

**Significant events in the life of the school (either positive or negative)**

Change influences what happens at a school, even when the change is perceived as positive. For example, School G was preparing for the construction of a new building—an improved facility. However, the anticipated disruption and the uncertainty of a construction phase posed a constraint on school attention. When the event is traumatic, however, the effect can limit the risks the school is willing to accept. In the case of School F, a staff tragedy had drawn-off staff energy and instilled a sense of fragility toward tackling some major issues that were on their horizon.

**Availability of good data and the expertise to work with it**

In several cases (School C, School D, School E), the ability to access and analyze good data was a boost to their efforts at improving instructional program. At School D and School E, it also rested with several members of staff (not always the principal) who were also facile with determining what the data were saying about the school. We found the absence of good data, or the expertise to work with the data, to be a constraining factor.

**Financial resources afforded to the school**

The financial resources available to a school are an obvious factor that can limit or constrain schools’ ability to achieve their ends. Whether it is to provide for more collaborative time, retrofit an aging facility for high-speed data exchange, or support teacher professional development, a lack of resources can limit how far a school may go. By the same token, given additional resources, the school’s progress could be accelerated.

**Change in the school leadership (either principal or teacher)**

Change in the leadership of the school is another example of an “event” in a school that can drain off momentum. We did not have the opportunity to visit a school where the principal was leaving, but
we tried to imagine in each school what role the principal was playing in the school’s improvement efforts and what would happen if she or he left. School D was a case of a school where a series of principals over a short time had hobbled the forward progress of the school. Of course, this is not limited to just principals, but the same could be said for teacher leadership. In several schools, key teacher leaders (sometimes TLP teachers, sometimes not) played an important role in facilitating progress toward school aims.

Changes within the community or the students the school serves

Finally, the change in a school community through growth, a boundary change, and the addition of a new program in a school can affect the progress a school is making toward its goals.

Zone of opportunity for school improvement

It should be noted that each of these eight factors has been presented as a constraining factor—each could as easily be described as a facilitator of progress toward goals as well. In our visits to these schools, however, as we explored the core challenges the schools we were more often presented with the limiting side of each of these factors. Essentially, what we found is that what the grant did in many of these schools is provided an added impetus, an added ability to expand the zone of opportunity for school progress. There was a greater opportunity for the school to achieve progress toward its longer-range goals. The added resource provided the additional time and talent for the schools projects, it mitigated external demands because of the “accomplishment factor,” and it provided additional leadership expertise (often in the form of the TLP teachers). Other factors may have acted in concert to continue to constrain at points, but the overall effect was to provide additional space for the school to work in as illustrated in Figure 1 as the “Zone of opportunity for school improvement.”

Implications for Leadership

What does this imply, particularly for principal and teacher leadership? By association, what does it imply for what a foundation effort (like the School Level Grants program) might pay attention to in working with school leaders involved in renewal?

Connection with the instructional mission is vital

First, it seems important to us that the connection to the instructional mission of the school is critically important. We noted that each of the schools we looked at could be regarded as good schools, even remarkable. These are schools that are paying attention to what students need to achieve in the current environment. However, we tried to pay attention to the subtle distinctions that existed in these schools in how leaders (principals and teachers) connected the resources to real problems of practice. In several, this connection was more transparent than others. Where there was
a clear link between the grant award and what the school hoped to accomplish for students, it seemed to us that the zone of opportunity was increased.

**Seizing opportunities to extend teacher leadership increases the likelihood of progress**

Second, it was clear in all these schools that their success rested on broad-based leadership. The influence of the TLP teachers was clearly apparent and it was also clear that if the grant effort was going to have any hope of helping the school re-imagine where they might go to improve student learning, then broad participation from teachers was critical.

**Hard questions have to be addressed.**

It was not clear to us in our analysis of the data we collected whether the grant sufficiently presses schools to ask hard questions. We were particularly struck that in several instances, the schools didn’t articulate to us any equity concerns about, for example, uneven distribution of technological resources in the school. This wasn’t always the case, but when new innovations in technology in the school were perceived and planned as limited, it wasn’t clear how the school decided who would be served, who wouldn’t, and what the implications of that might be.

In addition, we also wondered how school leadership teams were addressing the sustainability of their efforts and allocation of resources. The grants have limited life spans and while most articulated what they perceived might happen when the term of the grant elapsed, but detailed plans were not always evident. This would seem an important opportunity for external partners to incorporate this element into the process from application to ongoing coaching.

**Leadership Connects the Grant to Goals**

In essence, what we found is that the leadership story in the grant schools is one of broad-based leadership that is able to utilize both the grant resources, and the other opportunities it can bring, to propel the school further toward their goals of school improvement. The grant resources were an adjunct, an important resource to assist schools. However, without the skills of leaders to connect the resource to desired aims for student achievement, and the support of broad-based leadership in the school, their progress and links to the grant were opaque.

**School Based Decision-Making and Teacher Leadership**

Each of the eight schools we investigated had an impressive cadre of teachers who appeared to be taking an active role in leading both in grant-related activities and in overall improvement efforts. Most—but not all—of these teacher leaders had participated in the Teacher Leadership Program, also sponsored by the Gates Foundation. As we sorted through our observation and interview notes, we attempted first to get inside the phenomenon of teacher leadership in each school. We then
looked for themes in the different manifestations of teacher leadership across the sites. Finally, we attempted to tease out the relationships among various features of the grant, the noticeable presence of teacher leaders, and the activities, behaviors and qualities of these leaders. Three patterns emerged from our analytical efforts:

• All of the schools we studied possessed qualities/capacities that predisposed them to success in improvement efforts. These qualities/capacities set the stage for the acquisition of the grant and for the exercise of teacher leadership in the implementation of the proposal.

• The Teacher Leadership Program (TLP) appeared to have unleashed the leadership “potential” in many of the teachers who emerged as leaders in the schools we studied.

• Principals played important roles in encouraging teacher leadership and in shaping the forms it took.

We discuss each of these patterns and data that led us to them below.

**Setting the Stage for the Grant**

All of the schools we studied appeared to possess many qualities/capacities that predisposed them to success in improvement efforts. These qualities/capacities set the stage for the acquisition of the grant and for the exercise of teacher leadership in its implementation.

In her research on working conditions that support and promote teacher leadership, Susan Rosenholtz (1991) notes that schools where teachers’ leadership extended into both the governance and instructional spheres tended to have several qualities:

• A number of confident, competent teachers on the staff;

• Agreement around common instructional goals;

• Teacher participation in decision making;

• Structures that support frequent, collegial interactions among teachers.

Each of the schools we studied possessed these qualities to some degree, and most demonstrated a startling number of them.

**A stable staff with a critical mass of capable, confident teachers.**

As we visited the sites, we were struck by the relatively low turnover among the teaching staff, by the balanced (in terms of years of experience) profile of the faculties, and by the presence of a critical mass of very experienced and seemingly very competent teachers in each school. Principals consistently noted that the fact that they worked with generally stable, competent, and committed
faculty played an important role in their abilities to promote improvement agendas. The principal of School A, for instance, whose faculty profile included 78% with five or more years of experience, and 83% who had been at the school for 3 or more years, described his faculty in this way:

They’ve been an outstanding group in terms of a group of people who are willing to look at things and make changes when they make sense. … this is the absolutely best staff that I’ve ever worked with in all my years in education.

School B’s principal, who worked in a school where 33 members of a 40 person faculty had at least six years of experience and 17 teachers had over 20 years of experience, described her staff as:

A group of adults who can work together and achieve consensus and actually put restructuring in place.

Still another principal (School D), consistently used the word “strong” in her discussions of her faculty, noting that one of her challenges as a principal was to help this accomplished group realize that they really did possess the knowledge and skills to plan and implement improvement efforts. And the principal for School E (where 20 of 24 teachers had 6 or more years of experience), praised her entire staff, describing her teachers as “the best” and her secretarial staff as “excellent.” Our own interviews with and observations of teachers certainly corroborated the principals’ views. In every site, we met enthusiastic and committed teachers who were deeply reflective about student learning and about the ways they could promote deeper learning and greater achievement. These teachers were collegial and supportive of one another and were willing to work together to try new instructional approaches if they believed that these would help their students.

The relatively low turnover, professional maturity, and collegiality of the teaching staffs appeared to be factors that enabled teachers to step into leadership roles in grant acquisition and implementation processes and in related school improvement efforts. The low rates of teacher turnover helped to foster climates of stability where educators could move beyond focusing on familiarizing themselves and new colleagues with school cultures, routines, and curricula and turn attention and energy to ways toward substantive improvement efforts. The presence of a large number of experienced teachers in many ways enlarged the pool of actual and potential leaders. And the collegiality within the various faculties we met appeared to mute—if not eliminate—jealousy or tension that sometimes arises when one or a few teachers begin to exercise leadership within a group of his/her/their peers. Each of these factors helped to create conditions that teachers take active roles in writing the grant proposal and in helping to guide its implementation.

Agreement around goals.

Another characteristic of the schools we studied was the presence of clear, shared goals. In some, these goals were linked directly to specific objectives and tied to strategic plans. In School E, for
instance, that served a high population of second-language learners, faculty had agreed upon and worked toward meeting a well-articulated set of reading goals. In others, the goals appeared more as shared values, norms, or beliefs. For example, *School A* emphasized basic or traditional academics and the infusion of values into the curriculum. In *School F*, “90% of the teachers” embraced the “clear value and norm” of “creating the constructivist type of experiences for their students.” In still another, the past five years had been devoted to thoughtful examination of instruction—to studying “curriculum issues and good teaching practices” and to finding a way to move beyond individual excellence into a school wide approach to improvement.

As teachers and administrators wrote proposals, their shared goals provided a focus. As they implemented the grants, these goals helped them to make decisions about the distribution of resources and the use of the technology. In one school, for instance, the commitment to teaming led to a decision to place all of the computers provided by the grant in classroom spaces taught by a single technology focused team. In another, the computers became important instructional tools as teachers sought to develop students’ critical thinking and problem solving skills in mathematics, and professional development resources were focused on helping all teachers learn strategies that could help them assist their students. In the school where reading was a focus, both the technology and training supported by the grant were focused on enhancing the ability of teachers and para educators to meet students’ learning needs.

**Structures that support frequent, collegial interactions among teachers.**

In four schools (*School B, School C, School D, and School H*), principals very consciously worked with teachers to create structures that supported collaboration among teachers. Three of these four were those mentioned above where the principals designed structures to include teachers in school governance. *School B and School C* also featured instructional teams. In *School B*, five teachers worked with the same group of students for all of the core academic subjects. In *School C*, teacher teams were built around mathematics, reading, history, and science. These teachers were responsible for designing integrated, coherent learning experiences for all students. In this school, an innovative structure fostered this teaming by providing teachers with an extended time to meet together each day. In *School A and School D*, regular early morning meetings provided teachers with a consistent opportunity to be together as a community. And the principal of *School G* would regularly work with all of the youngsters in several grades on Friday afternoon to provide teachers in those grades with extended meeting times.

In all of the schools the Gates grant provided resources that supported additional time for teachers to work together. In one school we visited, grant funds were used to rent a nice meeting room in a local conference center for a workshop with a well-known curriculum specialist. In another, the principal hired substitutes for several days during the year to allow TLP teachers to work together to plan for
professional development they were delivering to the entire staff. In all schools, the opportunities for the principal and a teacher team to attend meetings throughout the implementation period offered yet another valuable opportunity for collegial, collaborative work.

Unleashing Leadership Responsibility

The Teacher Leadership Program appeared to have unleashed the leadership “potential” in many of the teachers who emerged as leaders in the schools we studied.

Michael Fullan, in *The New Meaning of Educational Change* (1991) summarizes a number of studies on teacher professional development efforts with these words:

> Nothing has promised so much and has been so frustratingly wasteful as the thousands of workshops and conferences that led to no significant change in practice when teachers return to their classrooms. Neither teacher participants nor workshop leaders are satisfied with the results of their efforts… [M]ost professional development efforts fail. (p. 315)

His words, a growing body of research, and our own experiences as deliverers and recipients of professional development predisposed us to be skeptical about the long-term, school-wide impact of short-term training programs offered to only a small group of teachers from a particular school. We were, thus, both surprised and impressed by the apparent impact of the Teacher Leadership Program.

As we noted above, each of the schools we studied possessed qualities that set the stage for teacher leadership. However, prior to the advent of the TLP, only a few teachers apparently had emerged as serious leaders in the instructional arena. Participation in the TLP program, in the view of the teachers we met, played a central role in energizing and encouraging participants, not only to embrace new behaviors in their classrooms, but also to embrace new roles—leadership roles—within their schools. Our conversations with TLP and other teachers and with principals suggested that several features of the Teacher Leadership Program were especially important in unleashing the leadership potential of participants. These included:

- The perception of TLP that they were treated like professionals throughout the training sessions.
- The novelty of technology and the reality that the discomfort of other teachers with this new tool made it easier for TLP teachers to provide guidance, support, mentoring, and instruction.
- The features of the training that reinforced the fact that technology must be a tool to promote learning and teaching.

The perception of TLP participants that they were treated like professionals throughout the training sessions.
At every site, we had the opportunity to interview some or all TLP participants. Frequently, even before we asked about the training, one of these individuals would speak about the value of the program for him/her. All ultimately spoke very positively about the training, and most attributed their emergence as a leader within their faculty—at least in part—to this training. Interestingly, the vast majority of comments about the training did not, however, focus on its content. Rather, participants spoke about how they were treated. The word most frequently used in these statements was “professional.” Teacher after teacher noted that Program leaders really respected them, that training materials were “first class,” and that the sessions were held in impressive facilities. And a number talked at length about the nice hotel facilities where “we all had single rooms” and about the fine meals they were given.

The impact of this professional treatment on teachers’ sense of themselves and their importance in promoting change was striking. Teachers’ words reinforced for us an observation offered by the authors of *Leadership for Student Learning* (2001) that teachers are subjected to “daily, even hourly indignities, such as ceaseless interruptions by public address announcement, being ordered to ‘teach to the test,’ and a legion of others” (p.7) and that these tend to undermine efforts to lead of all but a few extraordinarily confident educators. The Teacher Leadership Program made no effort to address the workplace conditions of teachers. It did, however, offer participants a set of experiences, which caused them to feel like respected professionals who could and should be leaders. And this feeling apparently lasted after they returned to their schools, for we consistently found these teachers embracing leadership roles.

The novelty of technology and the reality that the discomfort of other teachers with this new tool made it easier for TLP teachers to provide guidance, support, mentoring, and instruction.

In an earlier section, we noted that the culture of schools often mitigates against the expression of teacher leadership. This culture was characterized by John Goodlad (1984) as one of “autonomous isolation” in which teachers work alone—neither asking for nor giving help (see also Lortie, 1975; Jackson, 1968, 1980; Huberman, 1978, 1983; Rosenholtz, 1991). This culture certainly inhibits teachers’ asking for or offering guidance, support, mentoring, and instruction. The fact that both the TLP program and the Gates grants introduced technology into schools and, with it, the expectation that teachers would really use computers to support student learning appeared to us to interrupt the norms of privacy, autonomy, and isolation in the schools we studied. All of the sites we visited had teachers who heretofore had virtually no experience with technology. These teachers were excited but also nervous and unsure about the grant. They looked to the TLP teachers for help and support. Even those who were somewhat familiar with computers were rarely used to using it in the classroom. They also sought out the TLPs. And the TLPs responded—offering workshops, private and small group coaching, technical assistance to individual teachers, the school as a whole, and the
district, and a host of other kinds of help. Their confidence and willingness to take the initiative in moving the school forward developed as a result.

The features of the training that reinforced the fact that technology must be a tool to promote learning and teaching.

A few of the teacher leaders we met admitted that they had applied for and received a TLP grant even though they had had little experience with computers. They and, indeed, many others noted that they felt overwhelmed as they went through the training. All seemed to emerge from it, though, with more “boldness” in exploring ways to use computers in classrooms. Even more importantly, the TLP teachers consistently reported that they emerged from the training experience with a deep and lasting awareness that the TLP program was “not about the technology.” They understood that the teaching and learning enterprises were what mattered and that they faced the challenges of learning how to teach so that students learned, of using technology to support this effort, and of assisting others in their school to do the same.

Another theme of the training noted again and again by teachers was the importance of having students engaged in doing real work. Quite a few referenced the book *The Teaching Gap* (1999) noting that students learned little when teachers lectured and a great deal when students worked. They then pointed out that they training had helped them see ways that computers could engage students in real, meaningful work that could and would support learning. One particularly impressive example of a response to this understanding occurred in the math classrooms of one middle school. Two of the math instructors and TLP participants completely transformed their instruction after the training and focused on having students engage with a small number of interesting, relevant, complex problems. These students used computers to assist them in all sorts of ways. We saw these young people engage in statistical analyses of survey data; draft charts and graphs detailing the results of these analyses, and use these results to solve problems.

Another theme mentioned by quite a few was the importance of building instruction on data about students’ knowledge, learning styles, strengths, and needs. TLP teachers in several sites told impressive stories of allowing assessment to guide their individual practices and of the ways they were seeking to move this model into the school as a whole. Teachers in schools D and G, for instance, talked about the ways the results of recent WASL scores had prompted them to rethink their approach to teaching writing and noted that they were finding ways to use computers to assist in this effort. In School E, in turn, teachers were quite articulate about specific language/literacy needs of their students and were able to clearly outline how and why they picked particular instructional approaches to address these needs. School F’s TLP teachers noted that their students needed help with formulating questions. They, working with the principal, initiated a school-wide press to
engage students in formulating questions and in using these questions to guide independent and cooperative investigations.

**The Role of the Principal**

Principals played important roles in encouraging teacher leadership and in shaping the forms it took.

Embedded in many of our previous comments are references to the principals’ roles in encouraging teacher leadership. In this section, we explore these roles in greater detail. Specifically, we examine:

- Principals’ support for teacher involvement in decision making;
- Principals’ identification and cultivation of teacher expertise;
- Principals’ efforts to create caring and supportive communities.

**Principal support for teacher involvement in decision-making.**

The active involvement of teachers in decision-making was strongly supported by principals in each of the schools we studied. When we visited each school, we sought to understand several processes: those leading to the decision to pursue a Gates school improvement grant, the actual writing of the proposal, and the implementation of activities related to the grant. Descriptions of these processes offered by principals and teachers indicated that the latter had played important roles in these activities at all sites. Further, the way in which both parties discussed the activities leading to the development of the grant proposal suggested that principal/teacher collaboration was not especially unusual. The words of School A’s principal were typical. With pride he described the “norm” that pervaded his school that “everyone affected by a decision should, in some way, be able to participate in that decision.” The leader of School H explained how this norm manifested itself in her site, that her school had both a central governing body, representing staff, and a set of smaller working groups known as task forces. This structure meant that every educator at this site participated on one of the task forces, and all teachers had the opportunity over time to rotate onto the central governing body. She indicated that teachers really felt like they had control over decisions that affected them and noted that the central governing group had changed its name from “the Principal’s Round Table” to the “Round Table” to reinforce the fact that this group did not “belong” to her. This principal was one of three (School B, School C, and School H) we met who reported that he/she had made very deliberate efforts to create decision-making systems that would increase teachers’ sense of “ownership” over plans, decisions, and activities.

**Principals’ cultivation of teacher expertise.**

Teacher leadership in the schools we visited was quite often linked to their expertise in some arena. We have already noted that the Teacher Leadership Project helped to develop a cadre of “experts”
around the use of technology as an instructional tool. Principals played a critical role both in supporting the ongoing development of the expertise of TLP teachers and in facilitating their entry into both formal and informal leadership roles. The leaders of School B, School E, and School G reported making strategic decisions about the placement of the TLP teachers at a particular grade level that would allow those teachers to exercise school-wide leadership. The principal of School D described very deliberate mentoring of her team of “teacher leaders.” She noted that she carefully worked with these leaders – as a team and individually—to help them think about the implications of their actions on the entire school community. Two principals (School A and School F) found money for substitutes to free TLP teachers to plan school-wide professional development activities. As noted above, the principal of School G assumed responsibility for entire grade levels of youngsters every Friday afternoon to give teachers extended time to work together in teacher-led activities. And the leader of School C, working with his staff, invented a structure that essentially provided teachers with ninety minutes every day for focused, teacher-led work on instructional improvement.

Principals’ efforts to create caring and supportive communities.

All of the principals we met acknowledged the importance of creating caring and supportive school communities—communities that could and would encourage risk taking and collaboration. Two of the principals were especially articulate in discussing their actions and the reasons behind them. School A’s principal, noting that the success of the Gates grant and of other improvement required, among other things, “a clear commitment to a particular way of working collaboratively” and describing this commitment as “attitudinal,” worked to underscore the importance of care and interpersonal support among faculty, staff, students, and their families. The leader of School F echoed this perspective. He described real and genuine stresses (including several illnesses and one death in the faculty) that had affected the energy of teachers and described a series of efforts to personally support his faculty as they moved through “tensions” evoked by several “devastating events.” This principal deliberately sought to build teacher morale and to provide them with opportunities to “heal” and, at the same time, to assist teachers in staying focused on important instructional challenges. This principal’s approach to meeting both of these challenges was to quietly and calmly listen to, talk with, and respond to teachers and to encourage them to do the same with one another. Still another principal (School E) worked with her staff to decorate the halls with symbols of the school as a community. Each year the entire school came together to make a quilt. These adorned the walls along with pictures of children and various symbols celebrating individual and shared cultures.
The Role of Resources in School Improvement

Decision-Making and Resources

One of the key areas of inquiry in this study has focused on how schools use resources to support the improvement of student learning. In each of the school cases we examined, numerous decisions were made at the school site level regarding how to best allocate dollars to provide for the specific learning needs of students and staff. Each of our school cases utilized some form of site-based decision-making.

Site-based decision-making has been a feature of educational trends for the past twenty years. Its basic premise is that the school is the fundamental unit of change and the staff at a school constitute a natural decision-making and leadership team. It also assumes that the shift of authority and responsibility from a centralized unit to the individual school will result in schools which are more responsive to the unique needs presented at each site. While there is little evidence that school-based decision-making leads directly to improved pupil performance (Malen, Ogawa & Kranz, 1990; Smylie, 1994) there is evidence to suggest that it can help foster better-informed decisions and an improved school culture (Wohlstetter & Mohrman, 1994).

The placement of authority over more substantial portions of the school's budget is an outcome of this focus on school-based decision-making, and its search for ways to provide more power, authority, and responsibility to individual schools as a means to increase school productivity. However, despite increased focus on allowing schools more decision-making discretion, for the most part, fiscal allocation patterns show a remarkable uniformity across the nation. (Rettig & Candy, 1993; Monk, Pijanowski & Hussain, 1997). Restructuring of resources must be accompanied by a re-thinking of organizational structures and patterns of practice. There are cases of significant reconfigurations of existing resources and they appear to be associated with higher levels of student achievement (Miles, 1995; Darling-Hammond & Miles, 1998; Odden & Busch, 1998). An infusion of resources may further opportunities for schools to rethink their existing organizational structures and practices in order to accelerate the improvement plan that is underway. The nature of the decisions reached when distributing additional resources offers a glimpse into the complex and value-laden issues faced by schools in the accomplishment of their goals. For example, schools might choose to reconfigure staff and students in innovative ways, purchase expertise or equipment, or invest in professional learning opportunities.

In this study, we assume that schools can and do take charge of decisions regarding resource allocation, and that schools vary greatly in their capacity to exert influence over resources. We also hypothesize that the extent to which resources are acquired, allocated, and leveraged toward instructional improvement goals is related to the leadership capacity and the leadership density.
present at the individual school. How leaders come to understand the issues facing the school influence how time, money, staff, and other valuable assets are used to accomplish their vision of improvement. These underlying beliefs can lead to considerable variation in how resources are distributed.

This work examines the types of resource allocation decisions that have been made in a sample of 14 urban, suburban, and rural elementary and middle schools in Washington state. The majority of schools in the sample have received substantial additional resources from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, while a smaller group of schools received a more modest increase in available resources due to increased state spending levels. Two key questions form the primary analysis: 1) How do patterns of resource allocation (human and fiscal) compare across school sites? 2) What rationale do school leaders provide to explain their resource allocation practices?

Throughout the course of our inquiry, we viewed resources broadly, including not only the dollar amounts available to schools through a variety of sources but also the valuable resources of stability, experience, and expertise that is made available at the school site. The fiscal resources that were examined in the study included grant funds, general operating funds, and categorical funds; in essence, the majority of monetary resources available for use at the school level. Human resources included the professional expertise of staff, the allocation of student/staff ratios, and the assignment of staff to particular programs (special education, bilingual programs, etc.) and to particular roles (classroom teacher, one-on-one tutor, subject matter specialist, staff developer, etc.). We specifically investigated the similarities and differences among schools on the following three dimensions:

1) Sources and purposes of fiscal resources
2) Stability and experience of school staff
3) Allocation of resources

Earlier in the report we described eight of the study’s fourteen school sites. These first eight schools were recipients of the Gates Foundation’s Washington State School Grant program. We now turn to a description of the remaining six schools, four of which are located in districts which received Gates District grants and two of which did not receive any funding from the Gates Foundation.

**District Grantees and Non-Gates Schools (Sites I-N)**

- *School I* is located in an urban center, serving more than 600 students, most of whom (83%) qualify for the free/reduced price lunch program. More than four-fifths of the students (83%) are white, and the largest minority group in the school is Native American (6%). The school is located in a large, institutional-looking building located in the midst of a working-class neighborhood. The atmosphere inside the building is warm, welcoming and upbeat. Student achievement trends indicate significant and steady growth over a six year period.
The principal of School I is a lively personality whose enthusiasm is contagious for both staff and students. This leader is someone who enjoys collecting and analyzing data about student learning and about how resources are being used. The principal has a regular habit of reporting data in staff meetings and asking staff to analyze the data in order to come to decisions about instructional priorities and programs. The overall delivery strategy for instructional leadership focuses primarily on the work of certificated teachers who work full-time at the school site as instructional specialists in literacy and math. These teachers provide a variety of services, from team teaching to curriculum development. Teachers speak very positively of the work they do together with the instructional specialists.

- Located in the same urban district as School I, School J serves a somewhat more diverse population of students than School I, as approximately 32% of students are from racial/ethnic minority groups. The school is located in a high poverty area of the district, and 79% of students qualify for the free/reduced price lunch program. Despite the very difficult circumstances that many students face in their lives, none of the school staff members dwell on what students lack. The overall mood in the school exudes a belief in the learning capabilities of all students.

The principal is a seasoned professional who has served as the school’s principal for eight years. At School J, there are several full-time, certificated “facilitators” who offer a variety of instructional support services and collaborate with all staff, primarily on issues of literacy and math.

The strong staff at this school is very involved in decision-making, and any proposed changes are questioned and discussed thoroughly before proceeding. Due to an ever-increasing number of meetings regarding site decision-making, the principal has streamlined the process in recent years so that decision-making focuses on the major issues facing the school community. There is a specific focus on providing the school’s instructional assistants with training, particularly in the area of assessment. The school has a sophisticated database that tracks a variety of information about student performance.

- School K is a small urban elementary school. The enrollment of 246 represents a diverse population of students (66% Anglo, 16% Hispanic, 11% Asian/Pacific Islander) with 60% of children receiving free/reduced lunch. Of their certificated staff, 18% are beginning teachers and 43% have five or fewer years of experience.

School K is located in a district that has chosen to focus on district-wide professional development. Teachers participate in job-embedded professional development activities throughout the year. Working with a lead teacher, classroom teachers have an opportunity to reflect on teaching practices and write plans for improvement. This type of professional learning is a frequent occurrence and teachers are used to a common set of guidelines about how to give and receive feedback regarding instructional practice. The principal of School K is new to the district and to the school site. The new principal works closely with lead teachers within the building on instructional decisions and the school’s literacy focus.

- Located in a small urban city, School L is a middle school serving 650 students. Since its inception nearly ten years ago, the school has attracted innovative teachers from throughout
the district. The staff are stable (63% have been at the school at least 6 years) and experienced (44% have 16 or more years of experience).

The student population at School L is predominantly white (86%) and has a free/reduced lunch count of 16%. School K is a “teaming” school with six interdisciplinary teams and an “enrichment team.” The school prides itself on integrated, hands-on projects which have won recognition throughout the district. Decision making and school improvement are a shared responsibility and the school has a dense teacher leadership capacity.

- School M is an elementary school of approximately 400 students, situated in a portion of a large suburban district which is experiencing rapid demographic changes. The school serves a diverse population of students, many of whom are new to the community. There are 30 different languages represented at this school, and consequently there is a significant focus on literacy and community outreach. The poverty rate of 40.2% is significantly higher than most of the other schools in the district, and there is a high mobility rate within the student population. Only 19% of the current 4th graders had attended the school in kindergarten.

This is the principal’s second year at School M. One of the principal’s primary goals is to establish an individual student database containing all types of performance data so that teachers can more effectively track student progress. The principal’s efforts are also focused on providing the type of outreach, counseling, and support to students and their families that is focused on helping students become ready to learn.

The school has experienced some staff turnover in the last few years, bringing in a number of novice teachers. The school receives support from the district’s curriculum specialists, but it does not seem sufficient to meet all the needs of the novice teachers. Consequently, veteran teachers at the school take on informal mentoring roles, bringing in novice teachers “under their wing” by spending time with them discussing individual students and instructional approaches.

- School N is an urban elementary with a diverse student population. Of its 633 students, 29% are White, 22% Hispanic, 26% Black and 22% Asian or Pacific Islander. Students speak fourteen different languages and 155 students qualify for ESL services. The school also experiences a high transiency rate. In 2001, 44% of those enrolled at the school withdrew within in the first six months.

Staff experience is balanced across a wide range in this school. This enthusiastic and warm staff chose a Success for All model in working with their students. The results of their student assessment bear out the success they’ve had in closing the achievement gap and in the commitment of staff to ensure that all students learn. Seventy-seven percent of students who have been at School N for four years have mastered the reading standard of the WASL. School N relies heavily on data to target support to struggling students.

We now turn to an examination of our findings on these specific dimensions of resource allocation.
Sources and Purposes of Fiscal Resources

In order to understand how schools use their fiscal resources, it is important to describe how schools are situated in terms of their sources of funding and the purposes that are associated with the different funding sources. Schools vary considerably in the array of funding sources that provide for instruction and other school support services. In our sample of 14 schools, we find notable variation in their sources of funding. The differences that exist are mostly due to the varying characteristics of the student populations served at each school. As previously described, the sample schools vary significantly with respect to family poverty rates and the proportion of students in special programs (see Appendix A). Eight of the fourteen sample schools have poverty rates above the state average (31.2%), and six of the schools have poverty rates that exceed 50%. Variation in poverty rates is one of the most important factors in determining the level of school funding from a variety of state and federal categorical programs. Additional factors include the percentage of students with special education needs and the proportion of students who are English language learners. Taken together, these factors influence how federal Title 1 funds, state and federal special education funding, the state's Learning Assistance Program (LAP), and funding for Transitional Bilingual and Migrant Education programs flow to individual schools. Generally speaking, these funds are added to the base level of student funding coming from the state's general per pupil amount, called the basic education allocation.

Analyzing school budgets is a complicated task, as many services that are necessary to support schools (e.g., transportation, textbook, curriculum and assessment services, insurance, grounds keeping, payroll, etc.) are provided at the school district level and there is no uniform way to track all school spending to individual school sites. Districts vary in how they allocate specific types of expenditures to individual schools, and schools vary in their support needs (e.g., some schools are more costly to heat or maintain than others). Knowing the complexities involved, we still needed to construct some reasonable way to compare school spending across sites. Consequently, we concentrated our efforts on the one component of the budget that contains more than 80% of all school spending: the salaries and benefits of school staff. We used a statewide database (Washington state personnel database S-275) to track all full and part-time employees working at the sample schools and we were able to acquire the total amount of all salaries and benefits paid to these school employees. This database also allowed us to track the funding source for each employee and the proportion of each employee's salary and benefits that were attributed to a specific funding source. This allowed us to form a basis by which to make comparisons across school sites.

In the 13 public schools in our sample, the percent of revenue for salaries and benefits coming from the state’s basic education allocation ranged from 54.6% to 87%. Major factors contributing to this variation include the proportion of funds from special education and from the federal Title 1
program. The percent of staff salaries and benefits funded through state and federal special education programs ranged from 2.1% to 17%. The percent of staff salaries and benefits coming from federal Title 1 sources ranged from zero to 15 percent (see Appendix C). This variation in funding sources is also associated with differences in how particular sample schools were able to organize their fiscal resources. Seven of the thirteen public schools are designated as “schoolwide” Title 1 recipients. This means that these schools (due to the high concentrations of students living in poverty) have the flexibility to allocate categorical funds to include all students in the school. This is in contrast to schools with much lower percentages of children living in poverty that are required to allocate Title 1 funds only to those specific students who meet the family poverty threshold. In our sample schools, there appears to be some relationship between those schools who are “schoolwide” Title 1 recipients and their patterns of student achievement. The seven "schoolwide" cases show a dramatic improvement in 4th grade reading and math achievement and an moderate improvement in 4th grade writing over a six year period (see Appendices B7 through B9 for a look at student achievement trends for these schools). In a number of cases, these schools show achievement trends that exceed statewide average trends, even when student poverty rates are well above state averages.

Since one of the 14 schools was a private school, the funding sources are quite different from the rest of the sample. In the private school case, approximately 65% of the school’s operating revenue comes from tuition and approximately 12% from a variety of fundraising activities. Of the school’s total budget, approximately 74% is spent on staff salaries and benefits. Teacher salaries are set at approximately 81% of the salary schedule of the local public school district and the school has an endowment.

**Stability and Experience of Personnel**

Schools not only vary in the sources and uses of funds, they are also situated differently in terms of the human resources that money buys. Two factors that can contribute to the quality of human capital at a school are staff stability and experience. Again using state databases, we gathered information about the years of experience in education for staff members. We also used a measure of turnover that was available to us from state databases–whether or not the staff member was employed at the school in the prior year–which is referred to as "continuing" staff.

Our analysis of staff stability and experience reveals some variation across the sample schools. The percent of continuing staff ranged from 71.4% to 97.1% for certificated staff and from 63.4% to 95.5% for classified employees. (see Appendix E). When focusing on just certificated staff who were working as classroom teachers (known as certificated instructional staff), the percent continuing ranged from 64.7% to 100%. This compares to an overall state average of 88.7% of certificated instructional staff that continued in the same district in the 2000-01 school year. In our case study work, we found that even when staffing changes took place, principals used strategies to
increase overall stability. One principal noted: “Even with the many changes we’ve made this year, we kept one person in each grade level for the stability factor so we don’t have any totally new combinations.”

We also examined the percent of certificated instructional staff that were in their first year of teaching. This statistic varied, from three schools having no first year teachers to a high of 18.2% of the teaching staff that were first year teachers. The statewide average percent of certificated instructional staff in their first year of teaching was 4.2% in 2000-01 (see Appendix E). The percent of certificated instructional staff who were returning to a classroom teaching assignment after some break from prior certificated staff positions also varied, with six schools having no returning staff to a high of 17.6% returning as certificated instructional staff. The statewide average in 2000-01 was 2.9% (see Appendix E). Variation in staff stability from one year to the next can present a condition that will differentially impact school leadership density at each site, as principals located in schools with 80% or more continuing certificated staff (as is the case in 11 of our 14 schools) may have increased opportunities to promote and sustain leadership density than in those school with significantly lower stability rates.

We also examined the total number of years experience staff had in a certificated position in Washington state. When examining this data for the most experienced staff, the percent of certificated staff having more than 20 years of experience ranged from 12% to 43%, and the percent of certificated staff with more than 10 years of experience ranged from 36% to 72%. On the other end of the experience spectrum, the percent of certificated staff with 5 years experience or less ranged from 14% to 44%. When examining just certificated instructional staff, the percent of classroom teachers with more than 20 years of experience ranged from 8.4% to 41.2%. The statewide average percent of certificated instructional staff with more than 20 years of experience was 26.2% in 2000-01. The percent of certificated instructional staff with 5 years of experience or less ranged from 6.9% to 54.6%, with a state average of 27.1 in 2000-01.

An examination of the data on staff experience indicates that all sample schools had a fairly balanced range of experience levels for certificated staff. In 12 of our 14 cases, schools had at least one staff member in each of the seven experience categories we examined (see Appendix F). Additionally, in our interviews with principals, some indicated that they purposefully seek to balance the range of experience, expertise, and approach among the teaching staff. There were some notable differences in the levels of experience among the 14 schools. Generally speaking, the two schools that were not Gates grant recipients (School M and School N) and School C (the "charter-type" school) had less experienced staff than the other 11 schools.
Hiring quality staff was seen by all principals as a critical feature of school improvement. As one principal said: “We just can’t afford one year in these kids’ lives to have a bad teacher. And so we work really hard…It’s just that we need to hire the best because we can’t lose time with our kids.” During our site visits, we inquired about the quality of the available supply of teachers able to fill vacancies. Only two of the eight recipients of Gates school grants reported difficulties in hiring qualified staff, and none of the four Gates district grant recipients reported any difficulties in locating quality staff.

**Allocation of Resources**

In addition to our examination of resources devoted to personnel, we conducted an analysis of how personnel resources are allocated to instruction. School personnel serve a variety of roles, including necessary infrastructure-related support services (e.g., clerical, maintenance and food services), administrative functions, instructional support (e.g., librarians, curriculum specialists), and direct instruction with students. We found that our sample schools varied in the extent to which resources were allocated to two specific categories of instructional staff: classroom teachers (certificated instructional staff) and classified instructional assistants.

We compared student/staff ratios in each of our sample schools for classroom teachers and instructional assistants and found a wide range of staffing ratios. Student/teacher ratios for classroom teachers ranged from 17.2 students in *School C* to 27 students per full time equivalent teacher in *School I* for Basic Education. When examining ratios of students to classified instructional staff, we uncovered a similar extent of variation (see Appendix G).

Our analysis also found that two funding sources were consistently associated with differences in allocation of both certificated staff and classified instructional staff: special education and Title 1 programs. As previously discussed, these differences are due in part to the characteristics of the student population served in these programs. For example, some of our sample schools served special education students with more severe needs than special education students at other schools, thereby creating the need for additional staffing (mostly in the form of additional instructional assistants) according to the intensity of the special education need. Additionally, significant differences in the allocation of certificated staff and classified instructional staff existed among schools receiving Title 1 funds, with differences being the sharpest among the “schoolwide” cases. For example, *School D* and *School E* are both “schoolwide” sites located in the same district. However, the total ratio of students per classified instructional staff in *School D* is twice that found in *School E* (see Appendix G). In *School D*, 46% of Title 1 staff were instructional aides while 65% of Title 1 staff were instructional aides in *School E*. In a similar case, *School I* and *School J* are also “schoolwide” and located in the same district. *School I* allocated 34% of its Title 1 staff as
instructional aides while School J devoted 49% to instructional aides. School N allocates the greatest percentage of Title 1 staff in instructional aides, at 84%. (see Appendix H).

In each of these cases, specific circumstances influenced the allocation decisions. In School D, there were difficulties in locating qualified staff to fill certificated staff positions, so the principal hired classified instructional assistants and implemented a very deliberate strategy to have the classified instruction staff participate with certificated staff in virtually all professional development activities. In School J, there were a number of well-qualified personnel to fill instructional aide positions, and many of the instructional aides lived in the local community, some of whom attended the school when they were children. The principal in School J viewed the instructional aides as key resources for the school as they often provided vital connections between the school and the local community. In the case of School N, instructional aides were needed to implement the school’s adoption of the Success for All model.

The allocation of personnel to serve in instructional roles was a complex task in each of the public school sites. Principals had elaborate strategies for funding both certificated and classified staff from multiple sources. It was common to find staff members funded from at least four different sources. Principals worked deliberately at leveraging allocations from multiple sources in order to create full-time positions for staff members. Several principals described how they learned about these strategies from other experienced principals whom they had worked with in the past. The specific staffing patterns were different at each site, and principals adjusted staffing allocations several times during the school year, depending on availability of funds.

While resource allocation strategies looked different in each school, the chosen strategies appeared to reflect the specific needs and belief systems of the school. Both within and cross-case analysis of the sample schools indicate substantial variation in how schools leveraged resources toward specific reform strategies. Schools varied significantly in the extent to which their resources were dedicated to investments in additional staff positions, including new classroom teachers, instructional assistants, and support staff. An investigation of the rationale used by school leaders to guide their resource-related decisions revealed that, in most schools, instructional improvement decisions preceded decisions about resource allocation. Resources were conceptually understood to be a facilitator of improvement strategies, thereby allowing for additional flexibility in determining resource use. Additionally, principals used data in strategic ways to facilitate decision-making about instructional improvement and resource allocation.

Use of data.

Principals and teacher leaders used data about student performance to guide the allocation of fiscal and human resources to specific students and their unique learning needs. For example, in one
school, data was used to guide the reallocation of instructional assistants to specific classrooms, as described in the following quotation from the school’s principal:

“We just got through reallocating instructional assistants based on assessments. The staff look at the assessments… they see classrooms that really need help and they don’t have a problem making a decision that they need extra help in there. But that’s what I see is the benefit, is that they’re making decisions based on quality information. Not making them on what’s best for the staff but what’s best for our kids.”

In a different school, data was used to examine whether or not dollars should be allocated to a tutoring program that had generated a good deal of enthusiasm from staff when it was initiated. The following quote from the school’s principal describes the situation.

“We had these tutors for the struggling kids. And the teachers thought, man they were great. Well, after five months, we did running records on these kids and I pulled a whole herd of that data. And we found that kids moved maybe one level. Just one level. So I took my little graph back to the staff and just said, this is how much money we’ve spent and this is the result we’ve got for kids. Now tell me about tutors again? Why we’re doing it? And are you sure we want to put this back into the budget...?”

After examining the data, the school staff decided to eliminate the tutoring program. They reallocated the funds (and combined these funds with other portions of funds from other sources) to hire a certificated teacher to work in the school’s literacy program.

**Use of time for professional development.**

Principals also seemed to respond to the different abilities and needs of staff by allocating time for professional learning in areas that aligned with the school’s improvement strategies. While schools preferred to invest in developing internal expertise, most schools experienced great difficulty in finding time for professional learning that could be built into the regular school schedule. In all but one of our school cases, it was decided that the most feasibly way to incorporate time during the day for teachers to work together on planning curriculum and instruction, discuss student data, or engage in other types of professional learning was to institute “early release” days. On an “early release” day, the instructional schedule is modified so that it typically ends sometime just after the lunch break. Students would either be sent home or (in some limited cases) attend some type of after-school care program so that staff would have time for professional learning and planning activities. School leaders reported some angst and dissatisfaction with this option, as it does decrease instructional time with students. However, it is much less costly to implement than paying for additional days or after school time for such activities. In one of our school cases, (the “charter-type” school) an alternative schedule was in place, thereby providing teachers with daily
opportunities to engage together in forms of curriculum planning, examination of data, and other professional learning.

What they didn’t buy.

One striking similarity across most schools existed in the types of resources that schools decided not to purchase. Only 1 of the 14 schools used a “whole school reform model” such as Success for All. Additionally, the 14 schools limited their purchase of outside experts for the provision of professional development activities, preferring instead to further develop and rely on the internal expertise of staff and develop a program fitted specifically to the individual school. One principal’s description of this preference is provided below:

“We built our program and I firmly believe that you have to meet kids where they’re at…we don’t have a canned program. I mean we’ve never gone that way. And I would have a real problem going that way to tell 25 classroom teachers that OK, you are going to use accelerated reading and that’s how you’re going to teach reading. Because we don’t feel that it works.”

In many of the cases, resources were used to purchase specific reading materials for all staff and some professional development time was focused on discussion around this common set of professional readings. This furthered the extent to which professional development dollars were focused on internal investments.

“I’m just seeing some things I’ve never seen in this building before. I’m seeing book studies of six to eight people in each book study group, looking at high achievement, looking at books that are talking about better programs and what do you do with this particular child, all these different book titles. And I’m seeing people getting together during the week, creating ideas from books they’ve read. Discussing them.”

Another similarity that was evident across the grantee schools was a lack of professional jealousies or divisiveness among staff, even though some staff members at the site received more resources, time and technology than others. The lack of contentious micropolitics served to assist the school’s capacity to boost their improvement efforts.

Absence of Structural Change

Even in schools where additional new resources were provided, the types of structural and instructional changes made by schools were fairly traditional in nature. Schools did not substantively re-invent their approaches to instruction, the grouping of students, or their school schedule in new ways. As previously discussed, organizing time within the school day in a substantially different way is quite problematic, and it is questionable whether or not schools had adequate resources to accomplish substantive changes. There was also a question regarding the sustainability of the necessary supports for dramatic structural changes, both in terms of the
adequacy and stability of resources and district and parental support for significant alterations in schedules and delivery systems.

In the schools which received Gates grant dollars, there were also “costs” associated with the grant. Matching funds were required, and, in some cases, schools needed to locate additional resources to support electrical work, wiring, and provision of furnishings that were necessary to accommodate the additional technology. In most schools, a common challenge was encountered regarding physical space. Most classrooms were not large enough to accommodate the number of computers that were needed to reduce student-computer ratios to 4:1. Teachers resorted to makeshift arrangements that were tolerable, but not desirable. Finally, while some additional time for staff was funded through the grant, in most cases staff contributed significant amounts of additional, uncompensated time to the efforts of the school’s improvement process.

One exception to this general condition was the case of School C, the “charter-type” school. In this case, both staff and parents self-selected into a school program that offered an alternative to the traditional schooling arrangements, and served (in part) a population of students who had not been successful in a traditional program.

Variations in Budgetary Data.

In interviewing school leaders, examining budget documents, and talking with a variety of school staff about the school’s budget, we found wide variations in the type of fiscal data that is accessible at the school level. In part, the variation is attributable to the wide variety of district-level policies and practices regarding the type of fiscal information that is provided to principals, and the amount of decision-making discretion that is either allowed or encouraged by the district. In most of the schools we studied, principals developed their own record keeping systems for tracking staffing allocations and other types of expenditures. There was considerable variation in the extent to which these systems were created out of personal preference or were necessitated by the lack of current data provided by districts. This significant variation makes budgetary comparisons across schools quite problematic.

Conclusions and Discussion

The findings from this study suggest that these schools were engaged in effective school practices prior to the funding as a result of a stable and capable staff, a focus on problems of practice, especially regarding instruction, and adept leadership. An examination of student achievement trends in all our sample schools indicate an overall pattern of significant improvement, particularly in the areas of reading and math, with stronger trends for the 4th grade as compared to the 7th grade.
In the cases of grant recipients, the infusion of resources boosted the grantee’s ability to move more quickly in directions established prior to the grant. Investment in ongoing professional development of existing staff was a fundamental feature for all schools. In addition, the decision making process served to stir up school-wide conversations around instruction and encourage reflection on curricular issues and classroom practice, pushing some staff to pursue new instructional approaches. This focus on instruction also served to unleash previously untapped leadership capacity in teachers. At the same time, the schools in our sample experienced barriers to creating professional communities that were engaged in continuous renewal. One striking example of a common barrier was found in the difficulty schools encountered in attempting to locate time for professional learning and engagement within the regular course of a day.

While all the schools invested their resources in substantive ways, it can be argued that none have engaged in atypical approaches to school-wide improvement. These schools have successfully met the grant requirements but not to the degree of structural and instructional changes perhaps anticipated by the funder. This is not to say that these schools are not realizing results from their efforts. Instead, it might suggest that the fundamental challenges that schools face might not be addressed through wholesale reconfiguration of structures, but rather by harnessing resources toward enlarging existing opportunities for improvement, given the unique set of conditions and capabilities present at each school, and the particular set of external forces that bear on each school in different ways.

Finally, our study suggests that no one single set of strategies or circumstances is uniformly associated with substantive school improvement. Each of our 14 schools varied in their specific approaches to their core challenges and each configured decision-making, leadership roles, and resources in different ways. Perhaps the most compelling finding is that the work of school improvement is fundamentally contextual, and that the challenge for leadership and resource allocation is to continually engage in a renewal process that approaches teaching and learning in a manner that is appropriate to the context of the school.
References


Murphy & K. S. Louis (Eds.), *Handbook of research on educational administration* (pp. 251-276). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.


### Appendix A: Student Demographic Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WA state statistics*</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>% White</th>
<th>% Hispanic</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Asian/ Pacific Islander</th>
<th>% Native American</th>
<th>% Free &amp; Reduced Lunch</th>
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<th>% Hispanic</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Asian/ Pacific Islander</th>
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<th>% Free &amp; Reduced Lunch</th>
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<th>% Free &amp; Reduced Lunch</th>
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**Note:**
*Washington state statistics provided for the 2000-2001 school year. Each school’s statistics are provided for the first year of the grant (either 2000-2001 or 2001-2002).*
Appendix B-1: 4TH GRADE READING ON WASL

PERCENT MEETING STANDARD

YEARS

STATE AVERAGE

D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
STATE AVERAGE
Appendix B-2: 4TH GRADE MATH ON WASL

YEAR

PERCENT MEETING STANDARD

D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
State Average
Appendix B-3: 4TH GRADE WRITING ON WASL  

![Graph showing percent meeting standard over years for different schools and years.](image)
Appendix B-7: 4TH GRADE READING ON WASL AT SCHOOLWIDE PROGRAM SCHOOLS
1996-1997 THROUGH 2001-2002 (Free & Reduced Lunch % listed by School)
Appendix B-8: 4TH GRADE MATH ON WASL AT SCHOOLWIDE PROGRAM SCHOOLS
1996-1997 THROUGH 2001-2002 (Free & Reduced Lunch % listed by School)

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<td>64.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State Average</td>
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Appendix B-9: 4TH GRADE WRITING ON WASL AT SCHOOLWIDE PROGRAM SCHOOLS
1996-1997 THROUGH 2001-2002 (Free & Reduced Lunch % listed by School)
## Appendix C

### SALARIES AND BENEFITS BY MAJOR STATE AND FEDERAL PROGRAMS

(All Staff - Certificated and Classified)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>% Basic Education</th>
<th>% Special Ed (21,24)</th>
<th>% Federal Remediation (51)</th>
<th>% Federal Migrant (53)</th>
<th>% LAP (55)</th>
<th>% Bilingual State (65)</th>
<th>% Other Local, State &amp; Federal</th>
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<td>% of Total</td>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>% of Total</td>
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**Notes:**

*Information was compiled and summarized from WA state database S-275 for the first year of the site visit (2000-2001 or 2001-2002).*
### Appendix D: ALLOCATION OF STAFF (PERCENTAGE FTE) BY MAJOR INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Grantees</th>
<th>Percentage FTE of All Certificated Staff by Program</th>
<th>Percentage FTE of Classified Instructional Staff by Program</th>
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<td>% Basic Ed (01)</td>
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<td>NA</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>79.2</td>
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<td>5.6</td>
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**Notes:**

Classified instructional staff are identified as an aide who assists classroom teachers or staff members performing professional educational teaching assignments on a regularly scheduled basis. Includes teacher aides, classroom attendants and others (duty root assignment of 91).
### Appendix E: STAFF STABILITY*

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<td>%Beginning</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>2.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>7.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
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</table>

*The term stability is used as a measure of the number of individuals continuing to work in the same district as the previous year. The information is compiled from WA state database S-275 (for the first year of the site visit).

** WA state statistics include figures for the 2000-2001 school year.

** Continuing = An individual who was reported by the district in the previous year, unless the person is a certificated employee with less than 0.5 certificated years of experience as of Aug 31.

Beginning = An individual with a certificated assignment who is reported with fewer than 0.5 certificated years of experience.

Re-entering = An individual with a certificated assignment who was not reported in the certificated capacity anywhere during the previous school year and has at least 0.5 yrs of experience.

Transferring = An individual with a certificated assignment who was employed in a certificated capacity in WA (public or private school), another state or a foreign country with at least 0.5 years experience.

New = An employee with only classified assignments who was not reported by the reporting district in the previous school year.

Certificated Instructional Staff = Staff reported to OSPI with a duty root of 31, 32, or 33 (elementary teacher, secondary teacher or other classroom teacher).

NA = Not Available
# Appendix F: CERTIFICATED STAFF EXPERIENCE*

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

**Notes:**
*The term experience is used as a measure of the full-time years of experience in a position requiring certification. The information is compiled from WA state database S-275 (for the first year of the site visit).
** WA state statistics include figures for the 2000-2001 school year.
Certificated Staff = Staff who hold a professional educational certificate issued by OSPI and are employed in a position for which such a certificate is required. Such staff are reported with assignment duty roots numbers 11 through 64.
Certificated Instructional Staff = Staff reported to OSPI with a duty root of 31, 32, or 33 (elementary teacher, secondary teacher or other classroom teacher).
NA = Not Available
### APPENDIX G: FTE STAFFING PER PUPIL BY MAJOR INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Grantees</th>
<th>Total Student per Staff FTE</th>
<th>Basic Ed (01)</th>
<th>Special Ed (21,24)</th>
<th>Federal Remediation (51)</th>
<th>Total Student per Staff FTE</th>
<th>Basic Ed (01)</th>
<th>Special Ed (21,24)</th>
<th>Federal Remediation (51)</th>
<th>Total Student per Staff FTE</th>
<th>Basic Ed (01)</th>
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Notes:
- Information was compiled and summarized from WA state database S-275 for the first year of the site visit (2000-2001 or 2001-2002).
- Certificated Staff = Staff who hold a professional educational certificate issued by OSPI and are employed in a position for which such a certificate is required. Such staff are reported with assignment duty roots numbers 11 through 64.
- Certificated Instructional Staff = Staff reported to OSPI with a duty root of 31, 32, or 33 (elementary teacher, secondary teacher or other classroom teacher).
- Classified Instructional Staff are identified as an aide who assists classroom teachers or staff members performing professional educational teaching assignments on a regularly scheduled basis. Includes teacher aides, classroom attendants and others (duty root assignment of 91).
### Appendix H: PERCENT FTE BY SPECIFIC PROGRAM: BASIC EDUCATION, SPECIAL EDUCATION AND FEDERAL REMEDIATION (Certificated Staff and Classified Instructional Aides)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Grantees</th>
<th>FTE Cert Staff</th>
<th>FTE Classified Instructional Aides</th>
<th>Total FTE Cert and Classified</th>
<th>% Cert Staff</th>
<th>% Classified Instructional Aides</th>
<th>% Total FTE Cert and Classified</th>
<th>FTE Cert Staff</th>
<th>FTE Classified Instructional Aides</th>
<th>Total FTE Cert and Classified</th>
<th>% Cert Staff</th>
<th>% Classified Instructional Aides</th>
<th>% Total FTE Cert and Classified</th>
<th>FTE Cert Staff</th>
<th>FTE Classified Instructional Aides</th>
<th>Total FTE Cert and Classified</th>
<th>% Cert Staff</th>
<th>% Classified Instructional Aides</th>
<th>% Total FTE Cert and Classified</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td>58.7%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<td>12.9%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<td>85.6%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
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<td>7.0</td>
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<td>27.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>28.7</td>
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<td>3.9%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>0.7</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| District Grantees | FTE Cert Staff | FTE Classified Instructional Aides | Total FTE Cert and Classified | % Cert Staff | % Classified Instructional Aides | % Total FTE Cert and Classified | FTE Cert Staff | FTE Classified Instructional Aides | Total FTE Cert and Classified | % Cert Staff | % Classified Instructional Aides | % Total FTE Cert and Classified |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I                 | 32.0           | 1.4                              | 33.5                        | 95.7%       | 4.3%                             | 3.5                         | 8.8                         | 39.6%                       | 60.4%                      | 5.5          | 2.9                             | 8.4                         | 65.8%          | 34.2%                       | 0                           | 0           | 0                               | 0                           |
| J                 | 29.6           | 0.8                              | 30.4                        | 97.4%       | 2.6%                             | 2.2                         | 3.2                         | 69.2%                       | 30.8%                      | 4.5          | 4.3                             | 8.8                         | 50.9%          | 49.1%                       | 0                           | 0           | 0                               | 0                           |
| K                 | 13.7           | 1.0                              | 14.7                        | 93.0%       | 7.0%                             | 3.0                         | 5.0                         | 60.6%                       | 39.4%                      | 2.7          | 0.7                             | 3.4                         | 80.3%          | 19.7%                       | 0                           | 0           | 0                               | 0                           |
| L                 | 32.5           | 1.1                              | 33.6                        | 96.7%       | 3.3%                             | 2.2                         | 7.9                         | 28.2%                       | 71.8%                      | 0            | 0                               | 0                           | 100%           | 0                           | 0                           | 0           | 0                               | 0                           |

| Non-Gates Funded | FTE Cert Staff | FTE Classified Instructional Aides | Total FTE Cert and Classified | % Cert Staff | % Classified Instructional Aides | % Total FTE Cert and Classified | FTE Cert Staff | FTE Classified Instructional Aides | Total FTE Cert and Classified | % Cert Staff | % Classified Instructional Aides | % Total FTE Cert and Classified |
|------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| M                 | 21.8           | 0.2                              | 21.9                        | 99.3%       | 0.7%                             | 3.3                         | 8.0                         | 41.6%                       | 58.4%                      | 1.1          | 1.6                             | 2.7                         | 40.9%          | 59.1%                       | 0                           | 0           | 0                               | 0                           |
| N                 | 32.6           | 2.7                              | 35.2                        | 92.4%       | 7.6%                             | 1.4                         | 5.6                         | 25.3%                       | 74.7%                      | 0.6          | 3.3                             | 4.0                         | 15.7%          | 84.3%                       | 0                           | 0           | 0                               | 0                           |

Notes:
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- Certificated staff include persons who hold a professional educational certificate issued by OSPI and are employed in a position for which such a certificate is required. Certificated staff are reported to OSPI with assignment duty roots of numbers 11 through 64.
- Classified instructional staff are identified as an aide who assists classroom teachers or staff members performing professional educational teaching assignments on a regularly scheduled basis. Includes teacher aides, classroom attendants and others with a duty root assignment of 91.
- Certificated and classified staff may hold multiple assignments and duty roots. This chart represents the portion of their assignment funded out of these particular programs.