This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

TEACHER UNIONISM AND PROFESSIONALISM:

AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF PEER REVIEW PROGRAMS AND THE COMPETING CRITERIA FOR LEGITIMACY

presented by

Philip P. Kelly

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Education

Barry Sykes
Major professor

Date 5/28/98

O-12771

TEACHER UNIONISM AND PROFESSIONALISM:

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by

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Teacher Education

1998

ABSTRACT

TEACHER UNIONISM AND PROFESSIONALISM: AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF PEER REVIEW PROGRAMS AND THE COMPETING CRITERIA FOR LEGITIMACY

By

Philip P. Kelly

This study explores the phenomenon of teacher peer review as a response to the increasing pressure for educational accountability as well as a method of reconciling the competing criteria of legitimacy to which teachers and their unions are held. By engaging in teacher peer review, and thus accepting responsiblity for quality of practice among their members, teachers' unions are able to reconcile the institutions of unionism and professionalism. They do so by expanding the traditional conception of unionism from protecting individual rights to protecting the occupation. Instead of protecting *teachers*, leaders of the unions studied referred to protecting *teaching*.

This study is a comparative analysis of four teacher peer review programs constructed through analysis of documentary artifacts and interviews conducted in each of the four districts visited. Interviews were conducted with union presidents, district superintendents, school board members, consultant teachers, program participants, and groups of classroom teachers. The transcripts were examined to identify patterns of responses along several dimensions.

It was found that some teachers' unions are effectively reconciling the competing criteria for legitimacy through engagement in peer review programs resulting in increasing

frequency of dismissals of substandard teachers. Repeatedly, it was reported that consulting teachers (peer evaluators) were more demanding evaluators than principals. Furthemore, the findings call into question Meyer and Rowan's (1977) interpretation of schools as institutional organizations in which ceremony and ritual are central to the legitimation of public schools. Over the past decade these factors have not provided the sense of legitimacy which are traditionally attributed to them. Instead, the public and the economy are demanding of schools to be more technically productive. Increasingly emphasis is being placed not on inputs, but on the end product of the educational enterprise, student learning and competitive student success in wider arenas. Some educational leaders are responding to the increasing pressures and decreasing legitimacy by becoming more technically focused through emphasizing a technology, teacher pedagogy. By taking responsibility for quality through actively monitoring the technical production of their members, teachers' unions are expanding the narrow confines of industrial unionism to include more professional/technical concerns under the emergent professional unionism.

To Jackie,
for all the dreams you've made come true.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to many people who have assisted me in countless ways over my career thus far. Without their help, support, and occassional prodding, this study would not have been possible. I first want to recognize and thank the four reseachers who comprise my dissertation committee. Gary Sykes, the chair of my committee, helped tremendously while I struggled to understand the various issues involved in studying professionalism. Maybe not most importantly, but certainly most memorably, I wish to thank Gary for not laughing at my ignorance four years ago, when I informed him that I wanted to write about professionalism because "nobody has written about it." I quickly found out how wrong I was!!!

David Labaree, my advisor for the past five years, has been the most influential person in my academic career. Although I was assigned as an advisee at the last minute, David was simply a God-send. I will never be able to express the depth of gratitude I feel for the many hours in your office and classroom during which you pushed me to defend my ideas, argue persuasively, and repeatedly humbled me when you expertly destroyed my "great ideas." Besides being a demanding mentor, you have become a good friend whose wit and charm will be sorely missed.

David Plank has been a tremendous addition to the College of Education and a valuable member of my committee. It was David who, during a class, introduced me to the concept of an institution and has pushed my thinking along this line. Your assistance

to my theoretical understanding of organizational analysis and politics of education have been invaluable.

I must express my deep gratitude to Perry Lanier who three years ago made the kind offer to take me to Toledo, Ohio to meet Dal Lawrence, president of the Toledo Federation of Teachers. It was your offer that started me on the research path that ultimately led to this dissertation. Although we have never had the chance to work closely together, your constant support and interest in my work have been a great comfort.

I must also thank those professors who, although not on my committee, have been great sources of knowledge and assistance. First among these is Bill McDiarmid, with whom I have worked over the past two years. You have been a great mentor and teacher and, more than anybody else, made me into an educational researcher and policy analyst. Brian Delaney contributed tremendously to my development as a policy analyst through his courses and our many talks together. More than that however, I will always remember our commiseration over being new fathers. Maenette Benham's generosity has been unparalleled. Allowing me to participant in your research writing/discussion groups have been a tremendous benefit to me. Lastly, I would like to thank Michael Sedlak and Steve Weiland, who during my first year demanded much of me and had faith in me to not let me settle for merely adequate writing.

Several graduate students and staff members have also greatly enriched my experience at MSU. During my dissertation I am deeply indebted to Jennifer Borman, Cathy Reischl, Steve Sheldon and Brenda Neuman for providing intelligent and critical feedback during data analysis as well as for carefully reading numerous drafts of chapters

and papers during the process. Your assistance during this process was integral to completion of this dissertation and the strengthening of the evidence and arguements presented therein. Karla Bellingar's quick and accurate transcription saved me countless hours of frustration. I also wish to acknowledge the support guidance given to me by Don Hones, Nancy Schwartz, Jim Bowker, Jennifer Collard, and Margaret Selasky.

In my personal life, I truly cannot express the depth of gratitude I feel to the following people. First, I would like to thank my parents, Pat and Judy Kelly, for instilling in me a work ethic and pride in my work that will never leave me. Ma and Dad, I was paying attention during those rough years. Second, I need to thank my in-laws, Jack and GeorgAnn Turner, for being more supportive than I could have ever asked for. Your countless hours of babysitting made attending graduate school and completing this dissertation possible. Third, I wish to thank Mary Jo Pilat for showing me the way and being a sympathetic friend when times got tough. I also wish to thank the many people who believed in me, wished me well and have prayed for me including many friends, relatives, and the congregation of the First United Methodist Church of Howell.

Lastly, I am left in a quandry. How can I thank my wife, Jackie, and my three daughters, Maureen, Mary and Sarah? To put into words the feelings of love and thankfulness I feel for you is to do them a disservice. Jack, you know that you are my strength. Thank you for believing in me when my own faith lacked, as well as for the well-needed kick-in-the-pants which you gladly dispensed from time to time. Finally, I have to thank my girls. Although you are too young to read this now, know that you have taught me more than anyone. Maureen, Mary, and Sarah, you taught me what is really important in life. I will never forget --- I promise.

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Chapter One

TEACHERS' UNIONS IN CRISIS

Introduction

Public education is engulfed in a maelstrom of criticism, as usual. The current storm of criticism, however, differs from its predecessors by attacking the very legitimacy of public education and public schools as institutions designed to serve the public's interest (Mathews 1997). All too often one can read or hear about the government's monopoly of schools failing to meet the needs and/or desires of the public, parents and children (Brimelow & Spencer, 1995; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Sowell, 1993). Once dismissed as the rantings of conservative ideologues, criticism of public education can be heard throughout the political spectrum. As Kerchner, Koppich and Weeres (1997) note, "reforms on both the political left and right originate from a critique that holds that existing institutions are incapable of performing as they should" (p. 15).

Chief among the complaints levied against public schools are charges of unresponsiveness from school systems to the needs of parents, children, and the economy. Many blame this failure to change and adapt on cumbersome administrative structures and the presence of strong teachers' unions which, together, developed an organization and culture too inflexible to engage in the types of changes advocated by reformers (Blumenfeld, 1984; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Lieberman, 1997, 1993; Sowell, 1993; Williams, 1981). Because of their historically defensive posture to many educational reforms and

often public, acrimonious practice of striking against school districts, teachers' unions have often been the focus of much of the criticism. A recent book on this topic, The Teacher Unions, (Lieberman, 1997) embodies this focus, displaying proudly on the front of its cover jacket a subtitle, "*How the NEA and AFT Sabotage Reform and Hold Students, Parents, Teachers, and Taxpayers Hostage to Bureaucracy.*" For the most part, throughout my teaching career, I held similar beliefs about the efficacy of unions in a school environment under increasing pressure to hold high standards for all students. This study is an effort to examine and explain one phenomenon in which some teachers' unions have been proactive in seeking solutions to concerns about educational quality generally, and teacher quality specifically. As you will read in the following pages, some teacher unionists are advocating change, not just in practice, but in the actual conception of unionism, by developing and engaging in teacher peer review.

Teachers' Unions and the Crisis of Legitimacy

Teacher unionism in the late twentieth century is at a crossroads. For the past two decades, criticism of teachers' unions has increased in both strength and scope (Bennett, 1992; Blumenfeld, 1984; Cramer, 1980; Lieberman, 1997, 1993). As the legitimacy of public education as a viable and responsible institution has been questioned, so too has the fundamental legitimacy of teachers' unions. Teachers' unions contributed to the development of the crisis by purposely rejecting responsibility in issues involving teacher quality. Throughout the past two decades, reports of local unions defending incompetent and harmful teachers have become the stuff of lore (Toch, 1996; Williams, 1981) In the

February 26, 1996 issue of U.S. News & World Report, Toch reports one such incident, writing

> Students began complaining about Juliet Ellery's English classes in 1981. The veteran teacher at El Cajon Valley High School outside San Diego refused to answer questions, they said. Her assignments mad no sense. Her speech was unintelligible. Ellery was dismissed in 1986 but fought her termination. After years of hearings and court proceedings --she tried unsuccessfully to get the Supreme Court to hear her case-- her teacher's license was suspended for one year in 1994. The school district's cost in legal fees: $300,000. (p. 65)

Because of reports like this, teachers' unions over the past decade have come under increasingly scathing attacks and currently find themselves in their own *crisis of legitimacy*. They are being challenged and criticized both externally and internally with increasing intensity. No longer is the unions' reactionary stance to protect the jobs of all members *without regard to merit* actively supported by teachers. For years, this aspect of unionism has brought much scorn to unions from the public.

The most prominent indicator of the state of crisis to which teachers' unions have fallen was the nomination acceptance speech of Robert Dole, 1996 Republican presidential candidate (8/14/96). In his speech, Dole directly challenged, (some say "attacked", American Teacher, 10/96, p. 6) teachers' unions as impediments to public education.

> *I say this not to the teachers, but to their unions: If education were a war, you would be losing it. If it were a business, you would be driving it into bankruptcy. If it were a patient, it would be dying.*
>
> *To the teachers unions I say, when I am president, I will disregard your political power, for the sake of your children, the schools and the nation. I plan to enrich your vocabulary with those words you fear - school choice, competition, and opportunity scholarships - so that you will join the rest of us in accountability, while others compete with you for the privilege of giving our children a real education.*
> (http://www.usatoday.com/elect/ec/ecr/ecr126.htm, 11/97)

Because of their traditionally impressive political strength, it is indeed a rare occasion when a political candidate risks alienating a tremendous number of voters, teachers, by attacking their unions (Berube, 1988).[1] By directly challenging teachers' unions, Dole's speech highlighted their weakened state, and the current crisis of legitimacy in which they find themselves. While blaming teachers' unions for the ills of public education is neither a new phenomenon nor necessarily accurate, the strength of the attack appears to have accelerated recently and may be the impetus behind some changes in union positions on some issues such as teacher quality.

This legitimacy crisis is indicative of an institutions facing eminent paradigmatic collapse. The same institutional pressures and environmental conditions that were present during the collapse of the industrial paradigm within industry are now contributing to the paradigmatic evolution of American public education. So fitting is this analogy, that delegates from both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have turned to leaders of the Saturn plant in Springhill, Tennessee for insight in organizational and institutional change within a unionized workforce. As American corporations faced increasing foreign competition, public schools today face increasing competition from charter schools, vouchers, and schools of choice. As industries down-sized, in education, the push for smaller schools continues, often emulating schools-within-schools. Finally, as American businesses lost the confidence of consumers, public confidence in public schools has sunken to the point that many consider public schools to be "illegitimate," neither responsive to public demands, nor accountable for educational

[1] According to Cramer (1980), 85% to 90% of teachers vote regularly. In terms of votes, this equals at least 2.5 million votes.

achievement (Mathews, 1997). These conditions have created a *crisis of legitimacy* for all of public education.

In response to increasing delegitimation, unionists are now addressing issues of quality through programs like peer review, mentoring, and new member induction programs. Leaders of the NEA are presently trying to make the case to their members, policy makers, and the public that the antagonistic characteristics of professionalism and unionism can be reconciled effectively. In his final presidential address to the NEA Representative Assembly (NEA-RA), Geiger (1996) carried the message to his skeptical members saying

> Let me say this bluntly: We as an Association cannot continue to sidestep accountability for the quality of our members' work. We cannot tolerate -- and we certainly shouldn't protect -- that small minority of school employees who fail to measure up professionally.
>
> Peer review is not a game of "gotcha." It is about helping. It is about professional development at its best. ... the bottom line ... is accountability. As NEA members, *we must take charge of our professionalism.* (original emphasis, http://www.nea.org/ra/geiger/html)

Robert Chase (1997a, 1997b), current NEA president, further elevated the idea of peer review in speeches before the National Press Club (1997a) and in his presidential address to the NEA-RA (1997b). Furthermore, Chase is making it a cornerstone of his vision to reinvent the largest national teachers' union as one more responsive to clients and more responsible for educational quality in the nation's public schools. While he acknowledges that ideas such as peer review may have been "*heretical in the past*" (1997b), Chase counters that

> ...there are indeed some bad teachers in America's schools, and it is our job - it is our job as a union to improve those teachers, or that failing, to get them out of the classroom.

> And today, with all due respect, I say to the traditionalists within our ranks, to those who argue that we should stick to our knitting, leaving education reform to others, *you are mistaken.* (1997a, p. 5, emphasis added)

Within the much smaller American Federation of Teachers (AFT), long-time president Albert Shanker advocated peer review as first implemented by the Toledo Federation of Teachers in 1981 for more than a decade without much success (Shanker, 1985). Through such statements, union leaders are attempting to widely legitimize a broadened view of unionism to facilitate a paradigmatic evolution to "professional unionism" (Kerchner & Koppich 1993; Koppich, 1993) or "new unionism" (Chase 1997a, 1997b).

Background

Teachers' unions' participation in the design, implementation, and operation of peer review programs is significant when considering the history of reform impedance attributed to teachers' unions (Berube, 1988; Lieberman, 1993, 1997; Urban, 1982). Over the past three decades, the dominant mode of teacher unionism has evolved to embrace the basic tenets of industrial unionism, including a clear delineation between managerial and workers' duties. In fact, as recently as June 21, 1996, I was informed by a representative of the Michigan Education Association that peer review was a "*terrible idea*" because teacher evaluation was an "*administrative function.*"

Understandably, unionism among public school teachers arose out of concerns of simple survival. Teaching historically is a poorly paying profession. At the turn of the century, teachers earned barely enough on which to survive. As centralization and bureaucratization spread throughout the country, the criteria for the hiring and retention of

teachers changed rapidly. Teachers once hired because of their personal demeanor, and retained because of their strong ties to the community, faced impersonal working conditions and were often treated as interchangeable parts in the cogs of the educational bureaucracy.

Albert Bushnell Hart, a Harvard historian and member of the Committee of Ten, was also a member of the Cambridge (Massachusetts) School Committee during the period in which centralization was considered. The committee on which he served decided in favor of centralization in spite of Hart's showing that

> neither teachers nor ordinary citizens were of great concern to administrative reformers. The corporate model served the interests of those who proposed it: business and professional men and the school executives who would emulate corporate executives if reform were approved. The interests of teachers and ordinary people would be taken care of indirectly, if at all. (in Urban, 1982, pp. 36-37)

Because of their nearly unanimous opposition to these bureaucratic reforms, organized teachers were often characterized as being unprofessional, and as impeding progress, by both school district officials, education school faculty, and the press.

Further damaging to the professional status of public school teachers was their collective effort to establish salary scales for all teachers within a district. "Once a scale was achieved, city teacher's associations could seek to expand the number of steps on it, a goal which institutionalized experience as the most important criterion of competence for a teacher" (Urban, 1982, p. 21). The natural result of these actions in a meritocratic social organization, was the destruction almost any semblance of professionalism in teaching. As Labaree (1989) notes "membership in an undifferentiated status group is tantamount to an admission of mediocrity, since merit is seen as rising to the top. Thus a profession with no

top or bottom cannot be a profession at all..." (p. 185). The unspoken assumption behind salary scales (and of industrial unionism) must be that all employees are of the same quality. This idea, as well as the basic operating principles of teachers' unionism were "developed on an industrial union model, which views the work to be performed as largely unskilled" (Firestone & Bader, 1992, p. 160). Thus, the pursuit of salary scales worked against the professionalization of public school teachers.

The Competing Criteria of Legitimacy

Teachers' unions' current crisis of legitimacy is caused by their unique position within the organizational environments of public education and unionism. Because of their position, teachers' unions must try to fulfill two *competing criteria for legitimacy.* As labor unions, they must fulfill the traditional obligations required by the statutes of federal and state labor laws, as well as the precedents of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Typically, the traditional concerns of labor unions are characterized as "bread and butter" issues including bargaining over wages and working conditions, and protecting members' jobs (Atleson, 1983; Brody, 1993; McDonnell & Pascal, 1988).

As professionals charged with educating our children, some attribute to teachers, and thus their unions, the moral obligation to educate our children as well as possible (Chase, 1997a; Geiger, 1996; Goodlad, Soder & Sirotnik, 1990; Gutmann, 1987; Kerchner, Koppich, & Weeres, 1997). Proponents of a more professionally responsible conception of teacher unionism, argue that teachers' unionism and professionalism do not need to be antagonistic to one another.

However, resistance to professionalization efforts can be found even among those who stand to benefit, individual teachers. When one considers the demands placed on teachers, one must question whether teachers possess two resources necessary for reform implementation, "capacity and will" (McLaughlin, 1987, pp. 171-178). Devaney and Sykes (1988) analyze the situation well, writing

> Certainly all teachers would endorse professional-level salaries, benefits, and perquisites; but professional level responsibility for decisions about the classroom's and school's instructional program? for setting and maintaining standards of practice among fellow practitioners? for continuous updating and upgrading of knowledge and skill? It is no slander to say that many, many capable, long-experienced teachers, upon pondering such obligations in return for professional salary and status, might decline the offer -- or would at least think twice before accepting. (p. 3)

Given the long history of additional burdens being placed upon them without regard to their professional needs, it is only logical for teachers to balk at accepting even more work. Cooper (1988) astutely observes of teachers now faced with "professionalization" reforms, that "secretly they are skeptical, wondering at this sudden interest in their professionalism, ... when for years their behavior has been standardized and prescribed" (p. 46). Teachers as a group have become "accustomed to being run over by hurtling bandwagons" (Cooper, p. 46). As a result, the teaching workforce cannot help but to become cynical of educational reform in general.

Slowly, however, in a few local unions across the country, innovative leaders have begun to challenge the traditional *modus operandi* of their unions. Kerchner and Koppich (1993), in A Union of Professionals, document several innovations in local labor-management relations such as peer review, policy trust agreements, and active cooperation in decentralized settings. To this emerging form of unionism, the authors give the term

"professional unionism." Koppich (1993) summarizes the challenges of professional unionism well writing, "professional unions ... must be willing to assume roles that fly in the face of conventional unionism" (p. 202). She continues,

> Teachers must assume an obligation to be active partners in the development of educational policy. They must be willing to tackle thorny issues of colleague competence and resource allocation. They must struggle to come to terms with the definition of good teaching and with important issues of quality -- how to measure it, how to achieve it and how to retain it. (p. 202)

Historically, however, teachers' unions have operated within an industrial unionism paradigm, of which two fundamental premises are the importance of solidarity and the inherent separateness of managerial and worker functions. Consequently, actions such as peer review met with strong opposition from unionists.

Purpose of the Study

Although still rare, teacher peer review is not a new phenomenon. Since 1981 the Toledo (Ohio) Federation of Teachers through their Intern-Intervention Program have evaluated all teachers new to Toledo Public Schools, as well as those veteran teachers deemed to be seriously deficient. Initially (and to a large part, still) very unpopular among unionists, the idea of peer review -- taking responsibility for the quality of practice among teachers -- has recently been elevated to national prominence (Chase, 1997; Kerchner, Koppich & Weeres, 1997; National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996).

This purpose of this study is to examine this conception of professional unionism by studying teacher peer review programs implemented by local unions. Teacher peer

review has experienced a meteoric rise to prominence over the past two years which can be attributed to two major policy initiatives. The report of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) and the recent policy reversal of the National Education Association (1997) both advocate the implementation of teacher peer review as a means of improving teaching by acting as a gate-keeping mechanism for new teachers as well as assisting experienced teachers whose performance is deemed unsatisfactory.

From this study, I hope to determine how teachers and their unions reconcile the *competing criteria of legitimacy* to which they are held accountable -- unionism and professionalism, both theoretically and practically. Therefore the research question guiding this study is:

> How do teachers' unions reconcile the competing criteria for legitimacy of the institutions of professionalism and unionism to which they are held?

This area was chosen specifically because, where successful, peer review captures the quintessential conflict between unionism and professionalism. As peer review of teachers increases in prominence, local school districts and teachers' unions will increasingly need accurate information and analyses upon which to base their implementation decisions. By gaining insight into those practices and/or conditions which affect the implementation and maintenance of teacher peer review, future efforts of local teachers' unions efforts to reconcile the competing criteria of legitimacy may be better informed.

Overview of the Dissertation Structure

This dissertation is written in six chapters with an appendices describing the methodology used during data collection and analysis.[2] Chapter one is a general introduction to the context of the study, situating it within the current dynamics of teacher unionism. Chapter two presents for the reader the theoretical framework employed for this study, neoinstitutionalism. It attempts to describe the fundamental underpinnings of neoinstitutional theory as they relate to organizational analysis and the paradigmatic metamorphosis taking place within teachers' unions. Chapter three examines in depth the competing criteria for legitimacy, professionalism and unionism, and the constraints imposed on teachers' actions by each. Chapters four and five present the bulk of the data. Chapter four describes peer review programs as implemented and operated in the four school districts visited. Chapter five examines the motives and reactions of those involved in the implementation and design process. It also reveals the cognitive and normative constraints which guide the actions of the local actors. Chapter six is a synthesis of the data with the theoretical framework and directly answers the research questions posed above. Finally, the dissertation concludes with Appendix F which offers readers a set of policy considerations and recommendations for the national, state and district level.

[2] All cities and persons portrayed in this study have been given pseudonyms to protect the identity of classroom teachers interviewed.

Chapter Two

INSTITUTIONALISM AS A TOOL OF ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

To examine the phenomenon of fundamental organizational change within teachers' unions, of which engagement in peer review is indicative, I have chosen to employ the analytical lens of "new institutionalism." This chapter will portray the fundamental underpinnings of institutionalism as well as differentiate between "old" institutionalism and its more recent instantiation. It will then examine organizational analysis of public education and public schools within neoinstitutionalism by focusing upon the seminal works of Meyer, Rowan, and Scott (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1995; Scott and Meyer, 1983, 1991). Although Meyer and Rowan's work was a watershed for organizational analysis and institutionalism, I will argue that their characterization of the environment of public schools as strongly institutional and weakly technical is no longer accurately descriptive. Under ever-increasing demands for technical productivity, the institutional norms of public education are presently evolving. No longer will the maintenance of the symbolic structures as described by Meyer and Rowan (1977) retain the institutional legitimacy of public schools within a society emphasizing accountability for high levels of technical production from organizations. The chapter will conclude with an examination of the role of legitimacy as an organizational resource as well as a source of organizational pressure to change or conform to the wider social environment.

Some may question the use of an institutional theoretical framework to examine organizational change, given its historical bias toward constancy or inertia in institutions. The appropriateness of the application of neoinstitutionalism to the study of change will be made clear through a more dynamic characterization of neoinstitutionalism than has been offered to date. It is this author's opinion that the significance of organizational legitimacy within the larger social environment has been long underestimated or neglected by other institutional theorists. Indeed, it appears that many critics who have characterized institutionalism as deterministic fail to recognize Rowan's (1982) important reminder that "institutionalized beliefs and regulations ... need not remain stable" (p. 261). This study will provide evidence to support this more dynamic version of neoinstitutionalism by examining one small segment of change occurring within some local school districts, teacher peer review.

Institutionalism

Institutionalism, when reduced to its most fundamental basis, simply incorporates the belief that when examining human actions, history and the social environment matter. Within the social sciences, institutionalism arose in response to the ultra-rational "economic man" whose decisions, according to classical economic theory are based solely upon economic maximization criteria, independent of time and environment (Hollis, 1975). Early institutionalists (see for example, Durkheim, 1901; Veblen, 1919; or Weber, 1924) argued that "individuals do not mechanically respond to stimuli (as the economic man does); they first interpret them and then shape their response" (Scott, 1995, p. 11).

Furthermore, researchers and analysts cannot expect to "understand social behavior without taking into account the meanings that mediate social action" (Scott, 1995, p. 11).

From dissatisfaction with ahistorical economic analyses, the analytical lens of institutionalism was developed within economics, political science, and sociology. Keohane (1988) notes that some social science researchers came to recognize that

> institutions do not merely reflect the preferences and power of the units constituting them; the institutions themselves shape those preferences and that power. (p. 382)

For these researchers, it became imperative that social and organizational analyses hold central the effect of the environment on the decisions of both the individual and the collective group.

Within sociology, the emergent theoretical perspective of institutionalism in the early twentieth century developed several distinguishing characteristics. According to Bill and Hardgrave (1981), the early form of institutionalism was 1) too narrowly focused on formal, dominant structures and legal systems, 2) emphasized detailed descriptive accounts of political systems, 3) "was conservative in the sense that it emphasized the 'permanent and unchanging," and 4) "was largely nontheoretical, with more attention being given to historical reconstruction of specific institutional forms" (quoted in Scott, 1995, p. 6). Because of these characteristics, institutionalism failed to become dominant within sociology, or any other discipline for that matter. Instead, institutionalism has waxed and waned within the social sciences. Of the cyclic fortunes of institutionalism, Dorothy Ross (1995), professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, notes

> To an historian of social science, what is most striking about institutionalism is its recurrence. In the United States institutionalism has been repeatedly invented, first in economics, then in political science and

> sociology. Each time it develops as an opposition movement, a dissenter from mainstream social science paradigms. (p. 117)

Continuing this trend, approximately half a century after the initial rise of institutionalism, the most recent incarnation of institutional theory, aptly referred to as "new institutionalism" or "neoinstitutionalism," came to prominence through the work of social scientists such as DiMaggio and Powell (1983), March and Olson (1984), and Meyer and Rowan (1977).

Of the emergent neoinstitutionalism, Powell and DiMaggio (1991) note in The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis that

> There are, in fact, many new institutionalisms .... united by little but a common skepticism toward atomistic accounts of social processes and a common conviction that institutional arrangements and social processes matter. (p. 3)

Within the confines of this study, primary focus will be upon the sociological conception of institutionalism generally, and more specifically upon neoinstitutionalism within organizational analysis. Before continuing however, it is useful at this point to differentiate between "old" and "new" institutionalism. Neoinstitutionalism differs from its predecessor in that it broadens the scope of environmental factors affecting actors and organizations to include non-local factors, such as societal norms or the *zeitgeist*. In this way, "environments ... are more subtle in their influence" by "creating the lenses through which actors view the world and the very categories of structure, action and thought" (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, p. 13). Cibulka (1996) notes that a strength of neoinstitutional theory is that

> it can focus on the interpenetration of organizations and their environments, and how strategies for controlling those environments must shift to accommodate the environmental changes. As will be seen, it is this

> problem which is, in my view, at the heart of the *current crisis of legitimacy* for public schools. (emphasis added, p. 10)

Furthermore, neoinstitutional sociologists (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1988; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1991; and Zucker, 1987) refined earlier constructions of institutionalism to more adeptly analyze social phenomena through concentration on the processes by which institutions are established and evolve.

Multiple Definitions of "Institution"

Before going further into neoinstitutional analysis of organizations, it is helpful to explore what is meant by the term "*institution*" within the literature pertaining specifically to organizational analysis. From an economic perspective, North (1990) emphasizes the rewards and sanctions embodied in institutions as "the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, ... the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction, ... the rules and informal codes are sometimes violated and punishment is enacted. Therefore, an essential part of the functioning of institutions is the costliness of ascertaining violations and the severity of punishment" (p 3,4)" North attaches no normative value to these "rules of the game," but instead presents them as regulative, environmental factors external to the organization which must be considered in economic analysis.

Sociologist Ronald Jepperson (1991) describes institutions as "organized, established, procedure(s). These special procedures are often represented as the constituent rules of society. ...(Institutions) are variously 'production systems' or 'enabling structures' or social 'programs' or performance scripts. Each of these metaphors connotes stable designs for chronically repeated activity sequences"

(Jepperson, p. 143-145). While highlighting the rule-like nature of institutions, Jepperson's definition differs from that of economist North by focusing on the cognitive limitations imposed by institutions. Inherent in the repeated procedural nature of this definition, institutions become accepted as "*the way we do things*" within organizations. As such, Jepperson argues that institutions become very strong mechanisms for reproduction within an organization or society. Olson (1965) summarizes this point well, writing, "Action is a much weaker form of reproduction than institutionalization, because it faces all the 'logic of collective action' problems" (in Jepperson, 1991, p. 148). Once practices and procedures become institutionalized, "they are considered natural and legitimate (and) a search for alternative approaches is uncommon" (Ginsberg, 1996, p. 159).

Berger, Berger, and Kellner (1973) carry this argument one step further, attributing to institutional procedures perceived normative qualities. Writing about bureaucracies, the authors argue

> In (a) bureaucracy the means are typically as important, or nearly so, as the ends. .... The *proper means and procedures are given a positive moral value*, and in many cases it is assumed that even if the legitimate end is obtained by illegitimate means, the damage done by this to the bureaucratic agency far outweighs any positive benefit from the action. (emphasis added, p. 53)

According to this conception, institutions not only represent cognitive or regulative limitations upon the actions of individuals and organizations, but can actually acquire normative force as *the way things should be done.* As such, some social scientists attribute to institutions incredible power, going as far as suggesting that institutions

"control human conduct ... prior to or apart from an mechanisms or sanctions set up to support them" (Berger and Luckman, 1967,p. 55).

In Institutions and Organizations (1995), Scott attempts to synthesize the above approaches into one, all encompassing, definition:

> *institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are transported by various carriers - cultures, structures, and routines - and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction.* (original emphasis, p. 33)

In this definition, Scott attempts to highlight the often interwoven nature of the various factors which affect the establishment and maintenance of institutions over time. All of the above definitions, however, rely upon the notions of rules or constraints. This is important. Institutions, as presented in the broader sociological and organizational literatures, are usually portrayed as setting limits upon actors' actions and thoughts.

A common measure of the strength of institutions often referred to is their "taken-for-grantedness" (Powell, 1991). Because institutions often exist in the form of informal rules, or more's, they both confine, and enable, actions and thoughts within the general notion of "the way things ought to be." When actors or organizations violate the "way things should be" criterion, as North observes, sanctions are imposed upon the violators. The strength of sanctions for violating institutional constraints can cause organizations to continue to adhere to their norms even though they may be "suboptimal" and "serve no one's interests" (Akerlof, 1976; Zucker, 1986). Institutional scholars (Ginsberg, 1996; North, 1990; Powell, 1991) refer to this phenomenon as "path dependence" in which

"initial choices preclude future options, including those that would have been more effective in the long run" (Powell, 1991, p. 192). North (1990) explains,

> Once a development path is set on a particular course, the network externalities, the learning process of organizations, and the historically derived subjective modeling of the issues reinforce the course. (p. 99)

This observation is supported by empirical work such as Stinchcombe's (1965) analysis of organizational founding processes, in which he argued that the basic structural features of organizations "vary systematically by time of founding and remain fairly constant over time" (in Powell, 1991, p. 192).

The Three Pillars of Institutions

Scott (1991, 1995) provides a useful synthesis of the various institutional factors by highlighting the differing emphases used by institutional scholars of organizational analysis which he terms "the three pillars of institutions" (see Table 1). Scott groups these emphases into three general categories: regulative, normative and cognitive. All three pillars are useful when examining organizational change within teachers' unions. Through

Table 1
Varying Emphases: Three Pillars of Institutions

	Regulative	*Normative*	*Cognitive*
Basis of compliance	Expedience	Social obligation	Taken for granted
Mechanisms	Coercive	Normative	Mimetic
Logic	Instrumentality	Appropriateness	Orthodoxy
Indicators	Rules, laws, sanctions	Certification, accreditation	Prevalence, isomorphism
Basis of legitimacy	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed	Culturally supported, conceptually correct

(Scott, 1995, p. 35)

their differing foci, each pillar highlights relevant factors either facilitating or inhibiting the change process occurring within the four focal districts of this study. The table above displays some of the facets along which the pillars differ.

Broadly speaking, institutionalists view institutions as confining organizational or individual action. Theorists emphasizing the regulative pillar, however, "are distinguished by the prominence they give to explicit regulative processes -- rule-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities" (Scott, 1995, p. 35). Within the regulative pillar, Scott explains that

> it is in the actor's self-interest to conform.... Actors behave expediently; they calculate rewards and penalties, whether these come from other individuals, from organizations, or from the state. (p. 37)

For labor unions within the United States, including teachers' unions, the regulative pillar of the institution of unionism lies within the voluminous federal and state labor laws as well as the bylaws, contracts, and procedures by which unions operate. As explained more fully in the following chapter, the regulative laws and policies under which teachers' unions operate greatly constrain their range of actions on a variety of issues, including teacher evaluation and cooperative ventures with district administrators. Although constraining in nature, mechanisms belonging to the regulative pillar, because of the reliance on formal rules and laws, are the most easily altered. Mechanisms supporting the normative and cognitive pillars of institutions are much more amorphous and thus less amenable to direct action and change.

Rather than formal rules, the normative pillar relies more on societal or organizational values, norms, and ideals. Scott explains that these mechanisms

> are not simply anticipations or predictions but *prescriptions* - normative expectations- *of what the actors are supposed to do*. The expectations are held by other salient actors in the situation and so are experienced as external pressures by the focal actor. Also, and to varying degrees, they become internalized by the actor. (emphasis added, 1995, p. 37)

As such, these mechanisms attach normative, sometimes moral, value upon certain courses of actions or beliefs over others deemed less appropriate or ideal. Within the context of this study, normative mechanisms play a very significant roll through both institutions in question -- professionalism and unionism. Details regarding these institutions are reserved for the following chapter, but the professional ideals of service to clients and of quality assurances greatly facilitate teachers' unions' abilities to pursue programs such as peer review. On the other hand, normative ideals of unionism, such as solidarity and the inherent separateness of supervisors and workers, act to inhibit the adaptation of peer review.[3] From these competing normative criteria arises the problematic position in which unions considering organizational change find themselves.

The last, or cognitive, pillar of institutions has contributed greatly to the development of neoinstitutional analysis by expanding the definition of environmental factors affecting individual and organizational behavior to include the internal representation actors hold of their environment. Within the cognitive pillar, "to understand or explain any action, the analyst must take into account not only the objective conditions, but the actor's subjective interpretation of them" (Scott, 1995, p. 40). These interpretations,

> although a product of human interaction, are experienced by individuals as objective. Although subjectively formed, they become "crystallized." They are, in Durkheim's (1901/1950) terms, "social facts": phenomena perceived

[3] Evidence supporting this claim will be presented in chapter four.

> by the individual as being both "external" (to that person) and "coercive" (backed by sanctions). (in Scott, 1995, p. 10)

Unlike the regulative view, within the cognitive pillar, institutions encompass more than simply rules and sanctions, but actually involve the social construction of actors/or organizations (Berger and Luckman, 1967). The resultant construction then defines for the actors/organizations what their interests are.

For organizations, such as unions, the constructed identity includes certain definitions or interpretations of their environment and the organizations/actors with which they have interactions. These interpretations become routinized over time and become institutionalized as part of the identity of the organizations. In other words, they develop an inherent and self-perpetuating nature, as they become characterized as "the way things are" or "the way we do things here" (Johnson, 1984, pp. 85, 110) Within the context of this study, the cognitive pillar is very important for it aptly describes the way in which traditional unionists think of teacher evaluation as "something we just don't do." Cibulka (1996) commenting on the effects of the cognitive limitations resulting from institutional constraints, writes

> institutionalization of schools has proven to be a destabilizing force at the present moment of environmental turbulence, robbing school officials of their capacity to *perceive* their options clearly. (original emphasis, p. 20)

As a result, the cognitive institutional constraints within the American conception of unionism act as an impediment to even the consideration of peer review-based teacher evaluation programs.

Organizational Analysis within Neoinstitutionalism

Meyer and Rowan (1977) in their seminal piece, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," provided a watershed for organizational analysts by highlighting the decoupled nature of technical production and organizational structure. In their article, the authors wrote that "many elements of formal structure are highly institutionalized and function as myths," meaning that the long-held notion of bureaucratic efficiency as a driving force for organizational structure is mediated by institutional norms or "myths" (1977, p. 342). Furthermore, Meyer and Rowan highlighted the importance of institutional environments on organizations writing,

> Isomorphism with environmental institutions has some crucial consequences for organizations: (a) they incorporate elements which are legitimated externally, rather than in terms of efficiency; (b) they employ external or ceremonial assessment criteria to define the value of structural elements; and (c) dependence on externally fixed institutions reduces turbulence and maintains stability. (1977, p. 348)

When addressing public education and public schools, Meyer and Rowan (1977) observed that schools as organizations "use variable, ambiguous technologies (pedagogies) to produce outputs (student learning) that are difficult to appraise" (p. 354). Baldridge and Burnham (1975) concluded much the same when they observed that

> Educational innovations tend to have high levels of technical uncertainty and, as a result, can seldom be justified on the basis of solid technical evidence. Instead, educational innovations tend to gain legitimacy and acceptance of the basis of social evaluations, such as the endorsement of legislatures or professional agencies. School systems are highly sensitive to these social evaluations and tend to become isomorphic with them. (in Rowan, 1982, p. 260)

Consequently, Meyer and Rowan (1977) observe that public schools "evolved from producing rather specific training that was evaluated according to strict criteria of

efficiency to producing ambiguously defined services that are evaluated according to criteria of certification" (p. 354). Although accurate at the time, now more than two decades past, Meyer and Rowan's characterizations are no longer accurate. Instead of being evaluated by the "criteria of certification," public education and public schools are increasingly being evaluated according to strictly technical criteria, achievement in student learning. Given the rise in prominence of standardized testing, "high-stakes" testing, and general calls for accountability, schools cannot retain their organizational legitimacy without directly addressing their more technical facets of organizational behavior. This shift in the organizational environment is bringing tremendous pressure to bear on public schools to shift their focus from primarily an institutional one to a more technical focus.

Scott and Meyer (1983, 1991) offer assistance in understanding environmental effects on organizations by further refining the work of Meyer and Rowan through more sophisticated analysis of the institutional environments which they call "societal sector." A "societal sector," according to Scott and Meyer (1983, 1991) is "defined as (1) a collection of organizations operating in the same domain... (2) together with those organizations that critically influence the performance of focal organizations" (1991, p. 117). When engaging in organizational analysis, societal sectors can be classified according to characteristics of the environment. Scott and Meyer identify two such classifications;

> *Technical* environments are, by definition, those in which a product or service is produced and exchanged in a market such that organizations are rewarded for effective and efficient control of their production system.
>
> *Institutional* environments are, by definition, those characterized by the elaboration of rules and requirements to which individual organizations

> must conform if they are to receive support and legitimacy. (original emphasis, 1991, p. 123)

The two classifications are not dichotomous but describe characteristics within organizations' environments. As illustrated in the figure below, it is possible for an organization to operate within an environment which is simultaneously strongly institutional and technical, or weakly characterized on both measures.

Figure 1

		Institutional Environments: Stronger	Institutional Environments: Weaker
Technical Environments	Stronger	Utilities Banks General hospitals	General manufacturing pharmaceuticals
	Weaker	Mental health clinics Schools, legal agencies Churches	Restaurants Health clubs

(Scott, 1987, p. 126)

While it is possible for strong and stable organizations to exist within either strongly institutional or technical environments, a lack of such commonly-held norms inherent in these environments is deleterious to the survival of organizations (Scott and Meyer, 1991). In environments that are neither strongly institutional nor technical, organizations (typified above as restaurants or health clubs) tend to be small and rather unstable as organizations.

Schools (and teachers' unions) operate within a strongly institutional environment which relies heavily on conforming to the institutional norms of the sector (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). This emphasis on conforming to traditional norms poses a considerable barrier to significant organizational change through two different mechanisms. First, because of the heavy reliance on norms developed over time path dependence develops

through repeated patterns of interaction. Once an organization develops an operational structure and organizational procedures, it is very difficult to diverge from that initial path.

Further facilitating the perpetuation of path dependence are the interorganizational connections formed through routine interactions. Of this Powell (1991) comments,

> Common procedures that facilitate interorganizational communication may be maintained, even in the face of considerable evidence that they are suboptimal, because the benefits associated with familiarity may easily outweigh the gains associated with flexibility. Altering institutional rules always involves high switching costs, thus a host of political, financial, and cognitive considerations mitigate against making such changes. (p. 192)

Within the context of teachers' unions, interorganizational connections through routine exchanges are very significant. As Kerchner and Mitchell (1988) highlight in The Changing Idea of a Teachers' Union, district administrators and union leaders, because of their frequent interactions tend to "accommodate" one another through the establishment of routines through various problem solving activities. So even though a given institutional relationship may be suboptimal, as Powell notes above, the costs of changing "the way things are done" between unions and administrations are very high and embody a significant impediment to reform.

The second impediment to significant organizational change within an institutional environment with heavy reliance on norms is strong pressure for organizations to be isomorphic.[4] In their seminal piece, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," DiMaggio and Powell (1983), identify three mechanisms facilitating institutional isomorphism. They are

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[4] "Isomorphism" is defined by Hawley (1968) as "a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" (in Powell and DiMaggio 1991, p. 66).

> (1) *coercive* isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy;
> (2) *mimetic* isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty;
> (3) *normative* isomorphism, associated with professionalization. (p. 150-154)

Historically, for teachers' unions, the mechanisms exerting the greatest influence on organizational development have been coercive and mimetic. Mimetic forces arising from the inherently uncertain act of establishing new organizations during the 1960s and 1970s, led early local teachers' unions, as collective bargaining agents for large numbers of teachers, to look to the highly successful manufacturing industrial labor unions as a viable organizational model. Furthermore, the isomorphic pressures due to uncertainty were facilitated by coercive elements such as federal and state labor statutes restricting both the activities and membership of unions.

As fledgling organizations within the societal sector of labor relations and union activism, teachers' unions also experienced, and presently experience, pressure to conform to norms of the traditional union sector. While interviewing the executive director of the Marine City Education Association (MCEA), he reported that the MCEA's venture into peer review-based teacher evaluation as a means for accepting some responsibility for the quality of education within Marine City schools has engendered animosity from other industrial unions in the area.

> We've got the business community saying, "Wow," because at (Acme Aerospace) the machinists' union doesn't take any responsibility for the quality of the work. This is our biggest employer saying, "My God, there's a union that's willing to do this!" And so, I've had nasty calls from machinists!

Recently, however, as stated in chapter one, the pressures being exerted on teachers' unions as organizations are evolving and changing in a manner which, at present time, is increasing the strength of the technical demands and expectations of the public school system and teachers. Within the strongly institutional environment of public education, the growing technical pressures are often generating turmoil as they conflict with deeply held institutional beliefs and procedures.

Organizational Legitimacy

As stated earlier, at its core, neoinstitutionalism is based upon the idea that when examining the actions of individuals or organizations, history and the social environment matter. Any organizational analysis, therefore, must be informed by examination of the frameworks within which an organization and its actors operate. For organizations operating in strongly institutional societal sectors, such as teachers' unions, legitimacy is an integral factor adding to the strength of the cognitive and normative institutional pillars. By definition (Scott 1995), societal sectors which are strongly institutional rely heavily on shared cognitive norms, organizational structures, and operating procedures. Organizations failing to adhere to the sector norms are perceived by others within the sector as illegitimate, which is detrimental to organizational survival (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Mathews, 1997; Meyer and Scott, 1983; Rowan, 1982).

Reviewing the organizational analysis literature, the centrality of legitimacy as an organizational resource is undeniable. Scott (1995) explains that legitimacy is "a condition reflecting cultural alignment, normative support, or consonance with relevant

rules or laws" (p. 45). Rowan (1982) refers to the condition of cultural alignment as "balance" within the institutional environment. Organizations, including teachers' unions, seek to "establish congruence between the social values associated with or implied by their activities and the norms of acceptable behavior in the larger social system of which they are a part" (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975, p. 122). As Parsons (1960) observed, the establishment of environmental congruence or institutional balance is important "since organizations exist in a superordinate social system and utilize resources which might otherwise be allocated, the utilization of these resources must be accepted as legitimate by the larger social system" (in Dowling & Pfeffer, p. 123). For teachers' unions, representing large numbers of workers employed with public monies, the importance of their organizational legitimacy when advocating for increased salaries becomes clear. As with everything, however, societal norms and values are not immutable and therefore, the criteria upon which organizations are legitimated are also not immutable.

What appears to be occurring presently within teacher unionism, as well as public education, is a redefinition of the criteria for organizational legitimacy within the societal sector of public education. Herein lies the dilemma in which teachers' unions are currently immersed. Because *public* education is *public*, no clear organizational boundaries exist between society and public schooling. Teachers' unions, being actors within the system of public education, are also subject to fuzzy delineations between organization and environment. As several reports and authors have observed the environment in which public education operates is changing drastically (see for example, Fullan, 1991; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; National Commission on Teaching and

America's Future, 1996). As a result of changing social norms and values, the level of "environmental balance" upon which organizations can draw support is greatly diminished (Rowan, 1982).[5] The consequences for a highly institutional organization of an "imbalance" in the environment of a societal sector are significant.

In a pattern reminiscent of the painful changes in the auto industry in the 1980s, schools and teachers are presently required to be much more focused on technical production (or student learning) than in the past. Therefore, as the broader culture places more emphasis on the technical production of schools and teachers, school districts and teachers' unions are forced to evolve to remain legitimate. Dowling and Pfeffer (1975) describe three options for organizations attempting to improve their legitimacy within the larger social environment.

> First, the organization can adapt its output, goals, and methods of operation to conform to prevailing definitions of legitimacy. Second, the organization can attempt, through communication, to alter the definition of social legitimacy so that it conforms to the organization's present practices, output, and values. Finally, the organization can attempt, again through communication, to become identified with symbols, values, or institutions which have a strong base of social legitimacy. (p. 126-127)

The implementation of teacher peer review as an organizational practice within teachers' unions is an example of the first of Dowling and Pfeffer's strategies. Chapter Four will describe in detail the actual changes in teacher evaluation practices inherent in teacher peer review.

So important is legitimacy for schools and teachers' unions that Kerchner, Koppich and Weeres (1997) write

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[5] Balance is defined as the establishment of ideological consensus and harmonious working relations among legislatures, publics, regulatory agencies, and professional associations. (Rowan, 1982, pp. 259-260)

> The most fundamental institutional rule is the grant of legitimacy that society gives to those who work in education. When society has confidence in an institution, it grants freedom and self-governance to those who work in it. ...When, as Dunlop writes ([1958] 1993), the basic grants of legitimacy are withdrawn, none of the rest of the rules have much power. (p. 33)

Society, over the last two decades, has seriously questioned the legitimacy of the public school systems within the United States as well as the role of teachers' unions within them. Over this period, the technical demands on public schools and the teachers therein have steadily increased. Repeatedly, schools have been subject to demands for improving student achievement, strengthening graduation requirements, and increasing standardized test scores. The increasing technical requirements generated inconsistencies within the institutions of public education and teachers' unions, which had formerly relied on symbolism and rituals for legitimacy.

Neoinstitutionalism and Organizational Change

Some may question the applicability of neoinstitutionalism to a study of organizational change, claiming as does DiMaggio (1988) that institutional approaches to organizational analysis tend to be deterministic and often neglect, or do not allow for, purposive action and agency. As such, writes DiMaggio

> the utility of institutional theory is limited to the analysis of phenomena that are driven by taken-for-granted constitutive understandings or that are so complex that interest-maximizing actors cannot exert effective influence. (p. 11)

DiMaggio continues claiming that institutional theory tells us little about "deinstitutionalization and how institutionalized forms and practices fall into disuse" (p.

12). Because of these characteristics, DiMaggio argues that there exist certain kinds of changes which institutional theory addresses poorly. Among these are two types of change directly relevant to the development and implementation of teacher peer review programs.

> 1. Change in organizational fields that is orthogonal to the wider institutional order: for example, changes in work organization that have neither been embraced by dominant organizations in the field nor by organizations to which dominant actors are tied.
> 2. Change in organizations and organizational fields that tends to delegitimate the institutional order of the field. (DiMaggio, 1988, p. 12)

The practice of peer review, teachers as union members making summative evaluations of fellow teachers, is both orthogonal to the institutional order of unionism and delegitimates fundamental tenets of unionism.

Institutional critics (DiMaggio, 1988; Perrow, 1985; Powell, 1985) often portray organizations as "relatively passive actors that simply adapt to their institutional environments" (Rowan and Miskel, 1997, p. 22). What DiMaggio and others fail to understand is the power of legitimacy (or the lack thereof) in institutional sectors to pressure organizations to change, or even abandon, previously institutionalized structures and procedures (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Rowan, 1982, Rowan & Miskel, 1997). As organizations in evolving institutional environments begin to feel the pressure of legitimacy maintenance, they must make a choice. Institutional scholars are beginning to characterize organizations as more proactive in interactions with the broader social environment.

Oliver (1991) provides a typology of actions an organization, such as a teachers' union, may take when facing institutional pressure (See Table 2). According to this more

Table 2

Strategies	Tactics	Examples
	Habit	Following invisible, taken-for-granted norms
Acquiesce	Imitate	Mimicking institutional models
	Comply	Obeying rules and accepting norms
	Balance	Balancing the expectations of multiple constituents
Compromise	Pacify	Placating and accommodating institutional elements
	Bargain	Negotiating with institutional stakeholders
	Conceal	Disguising nonconformity
Avoid	Buffer	Loosening institutional attachments
	Escape	Changing goals, activities, or domains
	Dismiss	Ignoring explicit norms and values
Defy	Challenge	Contesting rules and requirements
	Attack	Assaulting the sources of institutional pressure
	Co-opt	Importing influential constituents
Manipulate	Influence	Shaping values and criteria
	Control	Dominating institutional constituents and processes

(Oliver, 1991, p. 152)

dynamic view of organizations in institutional environments, organizations act not as simple bobbers tossed passively about in the ebbs and flows of societal norms and values. Instead, organizations make strategic choices when responding to environmental pressures.

For teacher's unions, an embrace of teacher peer review is only one of a number of responses to the environment that one might offer. Other unions may respond by avoiding pressure for accountability via lip-service to the ideals of high standards and commitment to children's learning while continuing with standard operating procedures. Others may attempt to redefine pressure for accountability based upon academic standards into accountability for educating the "whole child," which also conveniently evades measurability. Still others may respond with retrenchment, adhering more strongly to

traditional unionism norms and attacking critics as unreasonable, uninformed, or engaging in "union-busting." Clearly then, teachers' unions as organizations are not simply passive recipients of institutional pressures to conform. Neoinstitutionalism, thus can account for organizational change, and incorporating the factor of environmental influence, even predicts organizational change in times of environmental imbalance (Rowan, 1982).

Summary

Under increasing pressure to attain high levels of educational achievement with greater numbers of children and decreasing belief of their legitimacy through ceremonial events, schools have been (are still) undergoing evolutionary metamorphoses. The technical production demanded of schools and teachers is being raised within an institutional sector in which organizations historically have relied on ceremonies and rituals to maintain their legitimacy. However, increasing emphasis is being placed not on inputs or processes, but on the end product of the educational enterprise, student learning (typically measured through standardized test scores). As part of this evolutionary development of public education, the criteria for institutional and organizational legitimacy are changing as well. Thus, the legitimacy of public schools no longer rests upon Carnegie units, graduation ceremonies and empty credentials.

Likewise, but in a delayed manner, teachers' unions are now responding to pressures of greater accountability and lack of legitimacy. Throughout their history, unions also have been characterized as institutional, stressing ceremony and procedures, actively resisting quality control measures -- or shaping them in such a way that union

members and solidarity are not significantly challenged. Recently however, some progressive local unions are responding to the increasing pressures and decreasing legitimacy by attempting to interweave technical and institutional demands. They are becoming more technical through emphasizing the technology of teacher pedagogy and producing demonstrable results by retaining or dismissing teachers on the basis of quality. By taking responsibility for quality control through actively monitoring the technical production of their members, they are expanding the narrow confines of industrial unionism to include more technical, or "professional," concerns under the guise of what is becoming known as "professional unionism."

Although many may deem the development of professional unionism as beneficial to both teachers' unions and public education, the process of change is bound to be a very painful one. As unions embrace some of the fundamental tenets of professionalism in their attempt to increase technical production, they also embrace criteria for legitimacy (as professionals) which may be antithetical to the legitimacy criteria inherent in traditional unionism. Of such situations, Meyer and Scott (1983) warn

> The legitimacy of a given organization is negatively affected by the number of different authorities sovereign over it and by the diversity or inconsistency of their accounts as how it is to function. (p. 202)

For the teacher's unions studied here, the technical/institutional tension first mentioned by Meyer and Rowan (1977) manifests itself in the struggle between the *competing criteria for legitimacy* embodied within the institutions of *professionalism* and *unionism*. It is upon these criteria that the follow chapter focuses through detailed analyses of each institution individually, then as combined in the still emergent *professional unionism.*

Chapter Three

THE COMPETING CRITERIA OF LEGITIMACY

Within this chapter, I will examine the institutions of professionalism and unionism within the United States which, in the context of this study, comprise the *competing criteria for legitimacy* between which some teachers' unions are currently trying to forge a common ground. It is useful to think of these criteria as the "different authorities" negatively affecting organizational legitimacy to which Meyer and Scott (1983) refer. The chapter will focus first on the institution of professionalism. It will also illuminate and clarify both the connotations and denotations of *profession, professional, professionalism* and *professionalization* within the confines of teaching and this study. The focus will then shift to the institution of unionism, by tracing the historic development of unionism within the United States. By highlighting the path dependence of the institution of unionism, insight may be gained into the current conception of unionism which often confines the actions of present-day teachers' unions with regards to peer review and teacher evaluation. Finally, the chapter will conclude with an examination of the scant empirical literature focusing on the phenomenon of peer review-based teacher evaluation among unionized teachers.

Professionalism

While a great number of participants in the ongoing debate and reform efforts of American public education employ terms such as profession, professional, professionalism, and professionalization, *no common understanding* of terminology informs this debate. Instead, every participant has his own rather clear, but *unique*, definitions of these terms, Teachers and their unions tend to color these phrases with references to power, prestige,

and income. Administrators tend to think of these words through a more bureaucratic lens, focusing on issues of compliance. Parents, however, tend to view these issues in terms of competence and how well their own children are treated. These are but three parties to the debate, also included are federal, state, and local elected officials and their bureaucratic counterparts, business leaders, and the general public -- each having a unique view of the educational enterprise. As Goodlad (1990) observes of the resultant cacophonous discussion,

> It is not surprising, then, that widely varying reform initiatives cloak themselves in the language of advancing a true profession while pursuing often contradictory ends. (p. 12)

It is no wonder then, that both the history of teacher professionalization and the current debate are wreaked with confusion resulting from conflicting arguments couched in support of seemingly similar concepts. This review will explore these issues in an attempt to journey through the fog of ambiguous connotations and denotations to achieve some measure of clarity which may help to inform this study as well as the ongoing debate and possibly further the realization of teaching as a profession.

What is a "Profession?"

Eliot Freidson, author of Professional Powers (1986), aptly warns that "a word with so many connotations and denotations cannot be employed in precise discourse without definition" (p. 35). To facilitate the discourse necessarily needed in the educational debate about teacher professionalism, and for this study, we must first look at the fundamental concept of "profession." Originating from the Latin, *professio*, profession originally meant a declaration or avowal usually in relation to religious beliefs. However, by the sixteenth century, this rather narrow meaning expanded to include a connotation of insincerity in the profession of secular matters, as in "their *professed*

neutrality" (Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary, 1983, p. 1437). Thus, the ambiguous nature of "profession" is at least four centuries old.

The noun profession, referring to an occupation, also dates back to at least the sixteenth century, and is equally ambiguous. Originally denoting the occupations of university-educated men, specifically men of high social standing, its use was limited to "the learned professions" of medicine, law and divinity. Inherent within this context is the elite and prestigious connotation many hold of "the professions" to this day. As Freidson notes, the original professionals

> addressed each other and members of the ruling elite who shared some of their knowledge and belief in its virtues. They did not address the common people or the common, specialized trades. So it is in our time. (p. 3)

Although originally limited in its scope, profession quickly came into use when referring to a wide range of occupations by which people made their living, regardless of their social status or prestige. The referent occupation could indeed be common or of ill-repute, including everyone from priests to prostitutes, members of "the oldest profession." Thus, almost from the beginning, the term profession could be used to mean either a small, exclusive set of occupations or its opposite, any occupation at all.

Unfortunately, the denotational ambiguity of profession was transferred to its derivation as an adjective, *professional*, which, in turn, soon encompassed a variety of connotations as well, both positive and negative in nature. Originally connoting association with gentlemanly occupations and activities, professional also reversed its connotation, referring to things considered ungentlemanly or untoward. A common example can be gathered from athletics, when the term is used in contrast with amateur. An amateur athlete supposedly engages in activities for the sheer love of athleticism alone, with no ulterior motives. A professional, on the other hand, engages in the same activities for monetary compensation, and as such, is considered tainted in comparison to the amateur. One need only think of recent debates regarding the participation of

"professionals" in the Olympic Games to see this tension. The disparaging use of professional goes beyond association with money, however. In the nineteenth century, it also came to connote "bad form" or poor taste, as in "a professional partygoer, a professional beauty" (Freidson, p. 23).

As the nineteenth century progressed into the twentieth, industrialization swept across Western Europe and North America. With it came ever increasing occupational differentiation. As people's occupations became more specialized and interdependent, professional added once again to its connotations. However, the normative value of the new additions was reversed, this time from negative to positive. Within this context,

> The amateur is a dabbler at a mere pastime, ... the professional is dedicated to practice and refinement of his or her skill during the working days of the week and so seeks support for it. In this sense, the professional is an accomplished expert, a full-time specialist cultivating a particular kind of skill or activity. (Freidson, p. 24)

Hence, to refer to one's workmanship as amateurish is to characterize it as being of poor or shoddy quality. In contrast to amateurish stands professional, which connotes workmanship of excellent quality and reliability. Consequently, we are left to inherit a term which can connote either high quality craftsmanship, bad form, or less than ideal motives, about a set of activities that can vary from the occupations of highly learned upper class elites to any occupation for which one is paid. It is no wonder that any debates or reform which center around the concept of "profession" become riddled with contradictions and confusion. "On the whole, as Bell (1979) put it, it is a 'muddled concept" (quoted in Freidson, 1986, p. 43).

As a result of this ambiguity, in today's occupational market, all participants can rightfully lay claim on the label of "profession." Many occupations have actively lobbied to be officially recognized as professions, for with this designation comes not only affiliation (however weak) with the social elite, but also the connotation of professional ethics which in turn can provide "political legitimation for the effort to gain protection

from competition in the labor market" (Freidson, p. 33). So wide-spread have the claims to professional status become that the 1994 Statistical Abstract of the United States includes occupations under the heading of "managerial and professional" ranging from craft-artists, recreation workers and athletes to lawyers, doctors, and clergy (the original "learned professions") (p. 407).[6] Given the amorphous nature of professional classification, Freidson declares of the multitude of these occupational claims, that

> no one (claim) ... may be thought to be better grounded, phenomenologically, than any other. If this be granted, then it follows that there is no way of resolving the problem of defining *profession* that is not arbitrary. (original italics, p. 36)

Terminology harboring connotations and denotations of such an arbitrary nature are practically worthless when trying to engage and sustain informed debates and discussions. Therefore, it is useful to narrow the focus of this literature review on profession and all of its derivations to specifically, those discussions centering on teacher professionalism and professionalization in the late twentieth century.

Teaching as a Profession?

Tomas Englund (1993) informs us that the phrase *teaching as a profession* "has no unequivocal meaning, and that the conceptual meaning of profession is a void, being no more than a "buzzword" (p. 1). Fortunately, however, the efforts and reforms surrounding the concept of teaching break down into the two somewhat distinct concepts of professionalization and professionalism, both of which are more susceptible to analysis. Professionalization can be viewed as a sociological process by which an occupation gains professional status and privilege. It is both culturally and temporally bound. As Johnson, author of Professions and Power (1972), writes

> Professionalization is a historically specific process, which some occupations have undergone at a particular time, rather than a process

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[6] See Appendix E for the complete list of "managerial and professional" occupations.

> which certain occupations may always be expected to undergo because of their "essential" qualities. (quoted in Soder, 1990, p. 63)

Therefore, the processes of professionalization undergone by other occupations do not necessarily serve as guideposts for teaching's long struggle toward professional status. Because of its sociological aspect, professionalization is *necessarily dependent* upon society as a whole, which may either grant or withhold professional designation. Englund summarizes this concept nicely, defining professionalization as "a measure of the *societal strength* and authority of an occupational group" (italics added, p. 2).

Arguments for the professionalization of teaching usually focus on the privilege and prestige of previously established professions, referring most notably to the institution of medical practice as "the ultimate in status, the elite position in the world of work" (Soder, p. 35). The fundamental basis of educators' argument is that they possess a formal, esoteric knowledge base which can guide practitioners' actions, similar to that of doctor's medical knowledge. Indeed the 1986 Holmes Group report, Tomorrow's Teachers typifies the centrality of knowledge to claiming similarity with other professions.

> The established professions have, over time, developed a body of specialized knowledge, codified and transmitted through professional education and clinical practice. Their claim to professional status rests on this. ... The Holmes Group commits itself to phase out the undergraduate education major in member institutions and to develop in its place a graduate professional program in teacher education. (p. 63)

This plan would make education a strictly graduate level endeavor, much like medicine (the use of "clinical" above is hardly coincidental). Teacher education programs, such as that at Michigan State University, have even adopted medical terminology. Pre-service initiates to teaching are no longer "student teachers" but are referred to as "interns." Professional development schools, among the latest innovations in education, are being purposefully modeled after teaching hospitals. Unfortunately, the claims of similarity with medicine have not served teaching well. The reactions of established professionals to

these claims "is rather like the indulgent response of airline passengers to the youngster who announces he is a 'pilot' because he is wearing a pilot pin" (Soder, p. 49).

The very structure of the rhetorical argument from similitude regarding professionalization is self-defeating. "We're like doctors,' teachers say. 'Prove it,' replies the audience" (Soder, p. 71). Given the long history of criticism of the intellectual content of teacher education and the inferior intelligence of teachers, any claim to similarity with medicine immediately becomes laughable (Clifford & Guthrie, 1988; Williams, 1981) To counter this line of argument, some turn to the role of testing in teacher certification as being analogous to the medical board examinations. However, such a comparison serves "merely to underscore the real and considerable differences between medicine and education -- and hardly in favor of education" (Soder, p. 69). It should be evident that the fundamental premise of similarity is flawed, to say the least. Teaching cannot achieve professional status by following the medical model of professionalization. As Soder concludes, "Once teachers (and their leaders) cease attempts to define themselves as 'professionals' in terms of the medical model, they will begin to free themselves from the tyranny of their own dreams" (Soder, p. 72).

In contrast to focusing on professionalization, many feel that concentration on the institution of *professionalism*, which rather than relying on societal approval refers to aspects more internal to teaching children, is a more appropriate and plausibly more effective avenue to establishing teaching as a profession. Professionalism is characterized by Englund as focusing "on the question of what qualifications and acquired capacities, what competence, is required for the successful exercise of an occupation" (p. 2). Professionalism is then the quality of being professional, of allowing one's actions to be regulated by an "internal code of ethics" (McDonnell & Pascal, 1988, p. 5). This is analogous to the normative pillar supporting some institutions as described by Scott (1995). Therefore, professionalism deals with one's motivations and the mental context with which one approaches one's work. Thus, the only people responsible for, or capable

of, developing professionalism among the nation's teaching workforce are the teachers themselves.

There exists two major arguments supporting the centrality of professionalism to the educational debate, professionalism as a state of mind and professionalism as a moral imperative. Popular across a wide range of occupations is framing professionalism as simply a state of mind. In contrast to the more dominant conceptual frameworks in the educational debate, Peter Clamp (1990) writes

> Professionalism is a state of mind. It actually has little to do with occupation, position, rank, years of service, clientele or hours worked. It also has little to do with seniority, personal ambition, remuneration, holidays, office size or mode of dress. Neither has it anything to do with years spent in a university, degrees attained, social standing, or even real or imagined codes of conduct and etiquette. It is quite simply, an ideal. (p. 53)

Clamp characterizes professionalism instead as being composed of four attributes -- competency, integrity, reliability, and empathic humanism which he defines as evidence of "genuine caring for fellow humans" (pp. 54-55). While no one can really take exception to these attributes, they allow *absolutely anybody* to claim professional status on the basis of exhibited professionalism. Both a Supreme Court justice and a ditch-digging chain gang member can rightfully claim such status as long as they are in possession of Clamp's four characteristics. For obvious reasons, such an egalitarian conception of professionalism may enjoy vast support from the general populace, including teachers. Unfortunately, Clamp's framework leads further into already ambiguous bog of conceptual confusion.

Further hindering debate based upon such a conception of professionalism is the internal nature of these characteristics. They are possessed in a strictly individual manner and for the most part are not directly observable. An occupation cannot exhibit personal values. In order to be considered a profession an occupation must produce demonstrable results (Sykes, personal communication, 3/2/95). Thus reliance on competency, integrity,

reliability and empathic humanism, while noble, will not substantively contribute to either the current educational debate, or the future realization of teaching as a profession. Therefore, I will now focus attention on the place of normative regulation and moral imperative in professionalism.

The concept of teacher professionalism as a moral imperative is based upon the centrality of children in the educational setting. Thus far, children have been noticeably absent from discussions surrounding these issues. Of this situation, Myrna Cooper (1988), Director of the New York City Teacher Center Consortium, laments

> The milieu of schools is written in the lives of children as well as professionals. Yet the lore on school professional culture ignores the client. The notion of service, the personal nature of the relationship to youngster and families, the caring and bonding context of the event are embarrassingly absent. (p. 48)

Fortunately, focus has recently been placed squarely upon children and the responsibilities of teachers individually, and teaching collectively, to them. In fact, the central focus on children can be seen among such participants in the educational debate as Linda Darling-Hammond, John Goodlad and the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards (hereafter referred to as the NBPTS). Goodlad, in the preface of, The Moral Dimensions of Teaching (1990) clearly states, "The teacher's first responsibilities are to those being taught" (p. xii). So important does the NBPTS consider the place of children that it takes children as the central focus of their first policy position statement writing, "(Board-certified) Teachers are committed to students and their learning" (1994, p. 6). Darling-Hammond (1989) most effectively communicates the position of those people arguing from a moral imperative basis, writing

> Misinterpreting professionalization as mainly a quest for money, status, and autonomy, opponents worry that "empowered" teachers will be unaccountable. They fail to understand that the major reason for seeking to create a profession of teaching is that it will increase the probability that all students will be well educated because they are well taught -- that

> professionalism seeks to heighten accountability by investing in knowledge and its responsible use. (p. 15)

Darling-Hammond's articulation of this position thus answers Sykes' criticism of Clamp's argument. By tying teacher professionalism with classroom pedagogy and student learning, teachers have a demonstrable event upon which to base their claims of professionalism. If teaching as an occupation does not consider the effects of its individual and collective actions upon students' educational experiences, then it does not deserve the honorific of "professional."

In an ironic twist, the argument for professionalism, a concept internally bound within members of an occupation, on the basis of moral imperative actually results in developing support for the professionalization of teaching, a process external to the control of an occupation. The basis of professional claims upon service to children benefits the process of professionalization in three significant ways. First and most basically, it reconnects today's teachers with the ideal of service connoted by the original "learned professions" of medicine, law, and divinity. Hence, it also strengthens the normative pillar supporting the evolving conception of teacher unionism. Darling-Hammond, once again, summarizes this position well by reminding teachers that "professionals are *obligated* to do whatever is best for the client, not what is easiest, most expedient, or even what the client might want" (1989, italics added, pp. 15-16). Unfortunately, this position in not prevalent in a large majority of literature generated by teachers and their unions when writing about teacher professionalization.

The second way in which a focus on children benefits the process of professionalization arises from the compulsory nature of public education in the United States. Parents are required by law to send their children to school. For the vast majority of these parents, public schooling represent the only feasible way to educate their children and comply with the law. Because children are defenseless, the act of sending one's children to school becomes an act of "surrender" (Soder, pp. 73-74). The "equality of

surrender" exhibited by parents in sending their children to the local school, Soder argues, "should imply equality of treatment" (p. 73). Therefore, children should not be subjected to qualitatively differential educational experiences simply because of differences in social class, ethnicity, gender, or other factors over which children have no control. *Equality of surrender must necessitate equality of treatment.* If this condition does not hold true, then it is immoral to demand surrender of parent's most precious possessions, their children. Consequently, "those responsible for treatment of children in schools have a *moral obligation* to ensure equality of treatment" (Soder, p. 73).

The equality of treatment argument offered above has recently had significant impact upon the regulative pillar supporting the institution and organization of public schooling. Because of funding inequities and chronically disparate achievement results, some state systems of public education have been declared unconstitutional. The most prominent of these cases was the Kentucky Supreme Court's decision to declare that state's public school system unconstitutional and to order the Kentucky Department of Education to completely redesign the system. The result of this declaration was the Kentucky Education Reform Act (KERA) of 1990, which is a omnibus piece of legislation addressing all aspects of schooling, curriculum, school improvement, teacher professional development, and accountability procedures. The result of KERA was major institutional and organizational change throughout the schools of Kentucky which generated a great deal of discomfort among school personnel (Holland, 1997; McDiarmid, 1997; Rothman 1997).

Amy Gutmann, a political philosopher, offers a third argument that, although similar to Soder's, does not rely on a moral imperative but on a democratic imperative. In Democratic Education (1987), Gutmann acknowledges that the legitimate interests of citizens in controlling public education must be limited. If citizen interest/control is not limited, schools may "serve simply to perpetuate the beliefs held by dominant majorities" and thus become "agents of political repression" (p. 75). Over a century earlier, John

Stuart Mill (1859), expressed the same concerns of unrestrained democratic control of schools establishing "a despotism over the mind" (p. 129). Gutmann answers this fear by arguing for the professionalization of public school teachers by establishing professional autonomy. She writes

> The division between democratic and nondemocratic control over primary (K-12) schooling depends most crucially on the educational role we attribute to teachers and teachers' unions. ...The professional responsibility of teachers is to uphold the principle of nonrepression by cultivating the capacity for democratic deliberation. ...The principle of nonrepression therefore not only constrains democratic authority, it also supplies democratic content to the concept of professionalism among teachers. ...Understood as the degree of autonomy ... necessary to fulfill the democratic functions of office, professionalism completes rather than competes with democracy. (pp. 76-77)

The arguments for teacher professionalism on the basis of the moral and democratic imperatives inherent within American public education offer the most promising potential avenue to the realization of teaching as a profession. As Becker (1962) suggests "public willingness to accord honors to an occupation derives from a collective sense of the moral praiseworthiness of that occupation" (quoted in Soder, p. 72). The above arguments supply the "moral praiseworthiness" needed for strengthening the normative and regulative pillars supporting the advancement of teacher professionalization. They also provide demonstrable criteria for competence as required by Sykes, through concentration on student learning at the core. In addition, the moral imperative argument also associates teaching with established professions, not through emphasis on a knowledge base and prestige, but instead in its focus on service as a central guiding factor. Unfortunately, however, these arguments are only two of many, currently lost in the cacophony referred to as the educational debate regarding teacher professionalization.

Common Chords

Although often cacophonous, common chords can be distinguished from the disparate arguments and positions offered in the current debate. In order to reduce the confusion clouding issues of teaching as a profession, I bring these chords to the foreground of the ongoing discussions. By carefully blending the chords together, it is possible to forge a single conception of "professional teaching" which can, in turn, provide a basis for the commonly shared terminology necessary for any informed debate.

When reviewing the literature regarding professions in general, and teaching as a profession in particular, one can glean three fundamental bases for professional designation. These are knowledge, competence, and commitment to clients/students. The third of these, commitment to students, is discussed at length in the previous section. Therefore, it will not be reviewed again. Knowledge as a prerequisite for professional designation can be traced throughout the history of professional literature. Talcott Parsons (1951) in his ranking of the "normative world from the popular to the professional" employs a continuum from "the emotional to the *cognitive*" (emphasis added, quoted in Bledstein, 1985, p. 6). Nathan Glazer does an excellent job of reviewing the position of knowledge in professional designation, in his work, "*The Schools the Minor Professions*" (1974). In it, Glazer quotes several researchers' perspectives such as that of Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) who "recognize a profession as a vocation founded upon prolonged and specialized *intellectual training* ..." (emphasis added, p. 347). More contemporary researchers continue to echo the importance of a firm knowledge base. Labaree (1992) identifies knowledge as one of "two key elements that are demonstrably part of any successful claim of professional status" (p. 125). Talbert and McLaughlin (1994) in their work, "*Teacher Professionalism in Local School Contexts*" also point to "*a specialized knowledge*" as "primary among the conditions that distinguish a 'profession' from other occupations" (emphasis added, p. 126).

Unfortunately, knowledge as a criterion for professional status has proven troublesome to teachers in the past. Within teaching, two types of knowledge must be mastered, pedagogy and subject matter. Most critics ignore this fact. Instead, they demand that high school chemistry teachers to be as well trained in chemistry as professional chemists. Such a demand is unreasonable. This is not to dismiss the criticism which befalls educators, but this fact must be kept in mind when considering the intellectual training of teachers. Unfortunately the intellectual accomplishments and training of our nation's teachers is deserving of much of the criticism. Teachers and teacher education have historically been criticized as intellectually weak and lacking in any respectable knowledge base.[7] As Soder observes,

> The general sentiment has long appeared to be that not only are the worst and the dumbest stumbling into teaching but, with few exceptions, the lesser lights are staying on. As one observer put it, "We can expect only the dumb and the dull to linger in teaching careers ... our teaching corps is unacceptably incompetent." (p. 48)

Of teacher preparation programs, Goodlad remarks that they are "disturbingly alike and almost uniformly inadequate" (1984, p. 315). Clifford and Guthrie, in Ed School (1988), confirm the dismal intellectual resources going into education by observing that teaching "draws heavily form the bottom quintiles of quality" (p. 32). Consequently, any attempt at the professionalization of teachers must aggressively increase the caliber of new teaching recruits. If the intellectual quality of teachers is not elevated, George Bernard Shaw's (1903) adage -- "He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches."-- will only become more firmly entrenched in the folk wisdom of the nation (p. 260).

Some may question the utility of separating competence from knowledge as a prerequisite of professional designation. I think the distinction is not only useful, but

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[7] An extensive body of literature has been written on this subject. See for example Bestor, A. (1988) Educational Wastelands. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press; Clapp, H. (1949) "The Stranglehold on Education." Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors.; Clifford, G. and Guthrie, J. (1988) Ed School. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; and Koerner, J. (1963) The Miseducation of American Teachers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

necessary as well. Thorough understanding of the knowledge base of one's occupational field is absolutely necessary to inform one's actions. Understanding alone, however, does not ensure practical competence. A teacher fully cognizant of both subject matter and pedagogical knowledge may not be able to teach a classroom full of adolescents. Therefore, one may be knowledgeable, but incompetent.

It is within competence that teachers may produce the demonstrable effects necessary for professional claims through such actions as peer review-based teacher evaluation. Because of the unique daily occurrences in teaching, teachers must rely on their own professional judgment to successfully resolve the innumerable problems which they must face. Although not explicitly addressed throughout a good portion of the literature, competence as a prerequisite for professional designation can be found implicitly throughout the discussions of professions and professionals. Bledstein observes that "routine matters do not get professionalized, and that would include a most important dimension of the professional role" (p. 6-7). The NBPTS (1994) policy statement bases two of the five "fundamental requirements for proficient teaching" on "skills" to bring about "effective student learning" (p. 4). The Board continues claiming that teaching "ultimately requires" among other things, "judgment" and "improvisation" (p. 4). More explicitly, Nathan Essex (1992) in "*Educational Malpractice*" views a professional teacher as one who "exhibits competency and creativity, and conveys subject matter effectively" (p. 230). Darling-Hammond (1988) also contributes, writing, "Effective teaching ... requires flexibility, a wide repertoire of strategies and use of judgment" (p. 61). Thus the case can be made to include competence (the focus of teacher peer review) among the three prerequisites for professional designation.

To this point, I have been careful to use the phrase *prerequisite* for professional designation. The three prerequisites of knowledge, competence and commitment to students, are only the beginning, a first step on the way to the realization of teaching as a profession. To be a profession, an occupation must act collectively. Indeed, Darling-

Hammond declares, "It is the degree to which teachers assume *collective responsibility* for instructional quality that determines professionalism" (italics added, 1989, p. 18). Individual teachers cannot become a profession. In order to professionalize, the entire occupation must speak with one voice, on behalf of all teachers. Of course, complete uniformity of voice is impossible to achieve, but a dominant voice focused on the issues raised here is within the realm of possibility. Considering the increasing number and intensity of attacks aimed at teachers' unions from both within and without, as well as leaders of the NEA and AFT both advocating teacher accountability, the time is now ripe for teacher unionism to fully engage in the transformation into the "third generation of unionism," or "professional unionism" (Kerchner & Caufman, 1995; Kerchner & Koppich, 1993; Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988).

It is only through *collective*, focused action that teaching may attain professional autonomy. Because professionalization is dependent upon societal recognition, the characteristics discussed previously must be in place *before* teaching as a occupation attempts to actively gain professional status and autonomy. As Cooper puts it, "Status and control are not the characteristics of professionalism, they are the byproducts" (p. 47). In this sense, knowledge, competence and commitment to students are truly *prerequisites*. Only after the prerequisites are developed with the occupation of teaching, can it hope to make "the bargain that all professions make with society:"

> for occupations that require discretion and judgment in meeting the unique needs of clients, the profession guarantees the competence of members in exchange for the privilege of professional control over work structure and standards of practice. (Darling-Hammond, 1988, p. 59)

Within schools however, the institutional constraints in which teachers and their administrators typically work pose very significant impediments to reform efforts aimed at

altering traditional working patterns. Chief among these impediments is the institution of teacher unionism and the organizational accommodations resulting from union activity.

Teacher Unionism

It has been shown repeatedly that teachers' unions maintain a unique position within the societal sector of labor/professional organizations (Bascia, 1994; Cresswell & Murphy, 1980; Jessup, 1985; Urban, 1982). Unlike typical labor organizations, such as the United Auto Workers, the determination of legitimate goals for a teachers' union is influenced by two sets of traditions; labor union traditions and professional traditions. Parsons (1951) highlights the inherent tension in this condition noting that the goals developing out of the two traditions are at times incompatible because "the pursuit of ends associated with self-interest is contradictory to norms emphasizing service to others" (in Jessup, p. 10). As this review will demonstrate, because of a variety of factors -- some of which were beyond the control of teachers or their unions -- the norms of industrial unionism have been dominant in structuring both the goals and the activities of teachers' unions. Thus, a dilemma exists between professional peer review of teachers and the fundamental operating principles of most local teachers' unions.

Regulative Constraints

To understand the basic tenets upon which modern unions operate, one must look to the Wagner Act of 1935, a landmark piece of legislation designed to help facilitate the growth of labor unions among the American workforce. While it attempted to secure for

American workers the right to collectively organize unions, the Wagner Act also established a set of rules and regulations developed within a particular conception of unionism and collective bargaining. By doing so, the Wagner Act also forged very strong regulative, and eventually cognitive, constraints which greatly affected the path dependence of teachers' unions. Atleson (1983), in Values and Assumptions in American Labor Law, identifies the following as underlying assumptions resulting from the original conception of unionism which informed the Wagner Act.

- employees, unless controlled, will act irresponsibly.
- employees ... owe a measure of respect and deference to their employer.
- employees cannot be full partners in the enterprise because such an arrangement would interfere with inherent and exclusive managerial rights of employers.
- the most crucial decisions about the enterprise ... are excluded from the scope of mandatory bargaining.
- employees have no stake, interest, or investment in the "common enterprise" other than the right to receive wages for the sale of their labor. (pp. 7-15)

The results of these underlying assumptions can be identified in the present day policies and practices of labor relations, both among teachers' unions and their industrial counterparts.

Of primary importance to the relationship between teachers and peer review is the distinction made in labor laws between supervisors (peer evaluators) and workers (teachers). While the Wagner Act implicitly laid the foundations of the conceptual framework of modern industrial relations, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 explicitly made clear the important distinction between supervisory personnel and regular workers. Specifically, Taft-Hartley amended Section 2 of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA)

of 1935 to omit from collective bargaining "any individual employed as a supervisor" which it further defines as

> any individual having authority in the interest of the employer, to hire, transfer, suspend, lay off, recall, promote, discharge, assign, reward, or discipline other employees, or responsibly to direct them, or to adjust their grievances, or effectively to recommend such actions, if in connection with the foregoing the exercise of such authority is not of a merely routine or clerical nature, but requires the use of independent judgment. (Labor Management Relations Act, 1947)

If peer review programs for teachers are held against this standard, it becomes very doubtful that many would support peer review (Shanker, 1986). For if teachers evaluating their peers are deemed to be "supervisory" according to the definition above, some observers claim that teachers would be found to be in violation of the NLRA or state-level versions of it, and as such, forfeit the right to collective bargaining and union representation (Iorio, 1988). It was under this definition that the Supreme Court decided the precedent-setting *National Labor Relations Board v. Yeshiva University* (1980) case in which the high court ruled that the faculty of Yeshiva University were managerial employees because of their participation in faculty committees which recommended policies in areas such as grading and curricula, and as such had no representation rights guaranteed them under the NLRA (444 U.S. 672 (1980); Jascourt, 1988). Whether the *Yeshiva* criteria are to be transferred from the private sector to the public sector and applied in K-12 education is yet to be seen.[8]

While some claim that *Yeshiva* creates at worst, a precedent forbidding unionized teachers from engaging in "supervisory" or "managerial" activities, and at best, a dampening effect on teacher professionalization efforts, others, such as the president of

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[8] Yeshiva University is a private enterprise.

the Toledo Federation of Teachers (TFT), Dal Lawrence, claims *Yeshiva* to be completely irrelevant to the realm of teacher unionism among our public schools (Iorio, 1988; Lawrence, 1988; Margolies, 1988). In 1981, the TFT, under Lawrence's leadership, established a peer review system for all first year teachers and for veteran teachers deemed to be unsatisfactory. Over the program's fifteen years of existence, the TFT has yet to lose a legal challenge in Ohio courts (Kelly, 1997a; Lawrence, 1988). Thus, the nature of the actual effect of *Yeshiva* on the actions and policies of teachers' unions cannot be determined at this time.

More serious challenges to implementation of peer review within a unionized workforce come from laws regarding representation duties which constitute a significant portion of the regulative pillar of unionism. Lawrence (1988) describes the confused state of regulative constraints embodied in legal statutes regarding unions' duties, writing

> The numerous federal court decisions in cases where a union's duty to fairly represent its members was litigated are conflicting, confused and present a fare greater challenge to reform efforts. (p. 113)

However, most labor laws prohibit supervisors and workers to be part of the same bargaining unit. Consequently, the fact that peer evaluators and evaluatees are both classroom teachers and thus come from the same pool of employees or "bargaining unit," is very problematic for unions. Efforts to claim joint responsibility with management have met with mixed results. Significant precedents have been set which establish that if the workers (teachers) have demonstrable authority, then the distinction between supervisory personnel and workers must be recognized (Atleson, 1983; Iorio, 1988). Therefore, peer

evaluators would lose union representation, while teachers being evaluated would retain union membership and thus be the focus of the union's obligation for representation.

Cognitive Constraints

Coupled with the legal challenges within the regulative structures which face peer review systems, the norms and traditions of American unionism also pose obstacles to implementation in the form of cognitive constraints. Developing peer review programs within organizations founded upon the premise of equality among members and collective action necessarily challenges these fundamental premises. Upon reviewing the literatures of general U.S. industrial unionism and teachers' unionism, I have identified four basic tenets underlying most union policies and actions. They are

1. An adversarial approach to relationships with administration/ management.
2. A reactionary stance to educational policy and reform efforts.
3. A focus on maintaining union strength thorough solidarity of membership.
4. Maintaining a negotiating focus primarily on traditional "bread and butter" issues.

The order of the above list is inconsequential. These four facets of modern unionism are thoroughly interwoven and at times indistinguishable. Furthermore, one cannot place upon them a temporal order, for their interrelatedness generates a symbiotic relationship among them with no single factor necessarily taking precedence over the others.

The first of the above factors, maintaining an adversarial approach in interactions involving administration, significantly impacts all facets of industrial relations between a union and management, whether in education or not. An adversarial stance taken by a

union, by definition, generates an "us vs. them" mentality and thus effectively forecloses cooperative efforts between administrators and teachers (Kerchner, unpublished). Furthermore, an adversarial stance cannot be taken alone. Teachers' unions approaching administrators in an adversarial nature are bound to receive an adversarial response. Thus, even if a local teachers' union approached the administration about some issue, the administrators will likely view the proposal with an undue amount of skepticism, due to the tenor of past adversarial relationships. Consequently, adversarial relationships greatly inhibit the ability of both teachers and administrators to engage in activities which require a significant level of trust, such as peer review.

Evidence of this phenomenon can be seen in the actions taken by Toledo Public Schools' administrators when the TFT approached them regarding peer review. For nine years, from 1972 to 1981, during annual negotiations between the TFT and the district, the administrators dismissed Lawrence's peer review proposal out of hand as a union attempt to gain power, and thus, as a net loss of power for their principals (Gallagher, Lanier, & Kerchner, 1993; Kelly, 1997b). In an adversarial atmosphere, negotiations, as evidenced in the Toledo example, take on a "zero-sum" nature in which any gain by one party must be a loss by the opposing party. The concept of mutual benefit is foreign in such a setting. So dominant is the adversarial/competitive nature of labor relations in K-12 education that Kerchner (1986) refers the contracts resulting from negotiations as "the boxscore that determines how well or poorly each party did" (p. 320). Consequently, adversarial dispositions of the participants in a district's labor relations create very

daunting cognitive impediments for the mere acceptance of the concept of peer review within a school district.

The second factor, a reactionary stance to educational policy and reform efforts, arises from the historical traditions which have developed within American unionism. Fundamentally, any union is "an employer regulating device" (Bakke, 1948, p. 140). Because of this, it has become axiomatic within labor relations that "Management acts, the union grieves. And grieves and grieves" (Geoghegan, 1991, pp. 31, 161). American labor has always had a pragmatic focus aimed at taking care of immediate concerns (Brody, 1993; Kerchner, 1986). Indeed, labor historian David Brody characterizes Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, as holding firm to the belief that within the American labor movement, "visionary thinking was to be avoided" (p. 87). Gompers' own words highlight the passive stance which has characterized much of unions' policies and practices saying,

> I am perfectly *satisfied to fight the battles of today*, of those here, and those that come tomorrow, so their conditions may be improved, and they may be better prepared to fight the contests or solve the problems *presented to them*. (emphasis added, in Brody, pp. 87-88)

So dominant are the cognitive constraints embodied in the reactionary and adversarial nature of union/management interactions, that Heckscher, author of The New Unionism (1988), observes

> The labor relations scene ... is frozen; in recent years there has been almost no movement and very little imagination. Efforts at direct worker participation ... have been perceived as an attack on the system rather than as an opportunity for something really new. Most unions have resisted these efforts or have remained ambivalent, seeing them as a way of getting around union representation, ... (p. 6)

Simply put, modern unions, including teachers' unions, are not accustomed to being proactive in advocating for policy changes in areas other than working conditions. Heckscher characterizes the typical union stance as "more comfortable in challenging management than in proposing positive solutions" (p. 7). Looking more directly at teachers and public education, Fraser (1989) notes, "when teachers have been the center of attention, the story often has been more of what was done to them by others" (p. 118). This historically fundamental facet of unionism thus helps to explain Berube's (1988) observation that "teacher unions have yet to become the *initiators* of sweeping educational change in America" (original emphasis, p. 151). Overall, Kerchner and Caufman (1995) observe, "unions have been more powerful at preventing things from happening than in getting things done" (p. 112).

The third fundamental tenet of modern unionism, unions' focus on solidarity of membership, is so fundamental that the effects of labor relations or negotiated policies upon a union's solidarity must inform all actions taken by a union. By the very nature of their work, unions must maintain organizational cohesion and thus go to great measures to avoid matters which challenge their members' solidarity. So central to unionism is the concept of worker solidarity, that Engels, writing in 1844, observes

> The competition between workers ... is the sharpest weapon of the employing class against labor. This explains the rise of trade unions, which represent an attempt to eliminate such fratricidal conflict between the workers themselves. (in Green, 1976, p. 63)

Over a century later, Bakke (1967) continues this fundamental theme describing a union as

> a device to reduce or eliminate competition among workers by establishing uniform rules and standards, and by compelling individual workers to conform to them. (p. 140)

Bakke continues, highlighting that without solidarity, "the bargaining power of the group as a whole is destroyed" (p. 140). Consequently, unions, to survive, must hold organizational solidarity as a primary concern.

The importance of solidarity to unions has significant ramifications on the range of activities in which a union can engage, including peer review. Jessup, in Teachers, Unions, and Change (1985) observes that

> teacher organizations and the collective bargaining process are subject to internal and external constraints that restrict or alter the direction of union activity. Such constraints include, for example, the political necessity for the organization to build and sustain a large, supportive membership and to develop membership solidarity. The need to establish solidarity may tend to relegate complex educational issues ... to lower levels of organizational priority... (p. 4)

Within the traditional operational paradigm of most local teachers' unions, the prioritization mentioned by Jessup seriously calls into question the prospect of future adoption and implementation of peer review, which necessarily challenges solidarity of the membership.

Even discounting the legal challenges to peer review among unionized teachers under Taft-Hartley, the challenges peer review may raise within a local union, through members summatively evaluating each other, will be significant. Gould's (1993) evaluation of reform efforts in labor relations involving workers' adoption of "management responsibility" showed that union leaders were "critical of such ideas ... in an outspoken and derisive manner" (p. 112). McDonnell and Pascal (1988) summarize well the dilemma in which progressive union leaders find themselves, writing

> if a teacher union decides to play an active leadership role in efforts to enhance teacher professionalism, it may please some policymakers but lose the support of its own members. Conversely, if a union opposes moves to

> ... differentiate tasks within teaching, it may satisfy its own members but run the risk of further diminishing support for public education. (p. vii)

Consequently, the ethos of union solidarity is a formidable obstacle to the further implementation of peer review.

The final underlying factor of modern unionism, a narrow focus on "bread and butter" issues arises due to two factors. First, gains in wages, salary structures, and concrete working conditions are most demonstrable to union members, and therefore develop confidence in union leadership and union strength most quickly (Urban 1982). Second, as Lortie (1973, 1975) suggests, economic issues may be the relatively narrow "common denominator" on which all teachers can agree, and which "neutralize differences of interest within the occupation" (1975, p. 204). One must be mindful that as typically organized, bargaining units within teachers' unions include all the teachers in a single district; from kindergarten teachers to college-preparatory teachers, from home economics teachers to welding teachers, from art teachers to computer programming teachers. Considering the often conflicting "differences in interest" which members present teachers' unions, it is little wonder that the only common ground to be found is economic.

Because of the great disparity of interests held among members of teachers' unions, the prioritization to which Jessup refers necessarily is severely constrained. Policies and/or programs involving "complex educational issues" only highlight the real lack of unity in the day-to-day lives of K-12 teachers as collective members of a single union. Teacher evaluation through peer review is just such an issue. Because the dominant form of unionism shaping teachers' unions originated in the industrial sector, most union policies try to treat all teachers not equitably, but as if they were the same. As

a result, evaluation clauses in teachers' contracts are necessarily vague enough to include all teachers. If differentiation among teachers (a necessary component of peer review) were allowed to happen, the complexity of evaluation procedures for different types/levels of teachers and subsequent grievance criteria could indeed be cumbersome. Consequently, because of the great variety among their members, teachers' unions have avoided issues which could highlight the "differences of interest" and possibly weaken member cohesiveness (McDonnell & Pascal 1988). Thus, teachers' unions maintain a relatively narrow focus when negotiating, primarily focusing on economic factors.

Generational View of Teacher Unionism

That teachers' unions may not address issues such as peer review in negotiations does not mean that teachers lose interest in them. Indeed, in her work, Jessup observes that "teacher organizations may ... be subject to continuing demands from within their own membership to respond to such concerns" (p. 5). These demands, if unmet for a significant period of time by a large number of teachers will create discontent, which in turn creates pressure on union leaders to address the unanswered demands. If significant enough, the internal pressure could call into question the legitimacy of union leadership or of the union itself.

The resultant crisis of legitimacy is directly addressed by Kerchner and Mitchell, in The Changing Idea of a Teachers' Union (1988), in which they account for the rise and fall of discontent within labor relations by taking a generational view of teachers' unions. According to the authors, the history of teachers' unions can be divided into three

generations. The time span for each generation is unique to each locale for transition between generations is not determined chronologically, but ideologically. As fundamental premises of current labor relations are seriously questioned, the birth of a new generation of teacher unionism may occur. Kerchner and Mitchell describe the generational dynamics of teachers' unionism as a cyclic process, comprised of four steps.

> (a) Discontent -- when flaws in the existing system of labor relations become obvious, new ideas are advocated and gain support. They are strongly opposed, setting the stage for conflict and political crisis.
> (b) Crisis -- when intense, and sometimes sustained, conflict is experienced between those who support the old order and those committed to the new idea. The crisis is resolved when advocates for one belief system win a symbolic political victory -- often accompanied by leadership changes on one or both sides.
> (c) Institutionalization[9] -- when the representatives of the new unionism idea establish their right to shape the labor relations agenda. They redefine roles and responsibilities and develop new decision-making and resource allocation procedures.
> (d) Accommodation -- when the leaders of both labor and management routinize with the new arrangement and engage in practical problem solving. As accommodation proceeds, new sources of discontent also develop initiating the possibility of a new change cycle. (p. 31)

The first generation of teacher unionism, characterized by the *meet and confer* process, represents the period in which teachers initially gain a legitimate collective voice before local school boards and central administration (Kerchner & Mitchell, pp. 4-7, 61-67). With the dawn of the first generation of teacher unionism comes the realization and acceptance that teachers do indeed have a unique perspective on educational policy and that this perspective is of value. That teachers' interests and those of the administrators or

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[9] Kerchner and Mitchell misuse the term "institutionalization" in their generational model. The third step should instead be termed "transformation" because it represents the period during which roles and responsibilities are redefined. The final step, above termed "accommodation" should be labeled "institutionalization" because it represents the period during which the process of routinization occurs and new institutions are formed.

school board might diverge significantly is not considered during this period. Kerchner and Mitchell describe the underlying premise of the meet and confer era, writing

> Meet and confer sessions are predicated on the assumption that both sides are committed to defining and solving mutual problems using educational effectiveness as the criterion for a decision. (p. 5)

Although it becomes common practice to include teachers' voices and concerns in educational decision making, teachers, during the first generation of teacher unionism, lack authentic power to significantly effect local policy.

As discontent rises among teachers, their unions, and administrators, a transition into the second generation of teacher unionism, the era of "good faith bargaining" begins (Kerchner & Mitchell, pp. 122-150). With the realization that teachers and administrators are not unitary in focus or interest, disillusionment of the meet and confer process develops rapidly. With the ideological shift required to acknowledge the difference in interests between teachers and administrators comes the transition into the second generational phase. Generally speaking, the second generation of teacher unionism began for most districts between roughly the mid-1960s to early 1970s. Kerchner and Mitchell characterize the era of good faith bargaining writing,

> The Second Generation is epitomized by the phrase 'good faith bargaining' because it becomes legitimate for teachers to represent their own welfare interests, and to explicitly bargain with management over economic and procedural due process questions....*Second Generation norms include a very strong belief that conflict is endemic to the workplace* and that effective conflict management is a vitally important aspect of labor relations. ... The participants in Second Generation labor relations generally *adopt the beliefs of private sector industrial unionism* that labor relations can and should be separated from organizational policy. *'Boards govern, superintendents administer, teachers teach.'* (emphasis added, p. 7)

The above description aptly describes a great number of the relationships found in our nation's school districts. However, as with the first generation, discontent among participants in the second generation paradigm has formed and is rising, possibly signaling a transition into a third generation.

Although much of the current discontent with teachers, teachers' unions, and school district officials is unfocused, significant changes in the nature of labor relations can be noticed among a relative few school districts and teachers' unions. In some of these districts, educational leaders are engaging in behaviors antithetical to the belief structure of the second generation by making "an explicit attempt to shape school district policy through the contract and the union rather than attempting to manage 'around the contract' or through informal accommodation with the union" (Kerchner and Mitchell, p. 8). No longer are some teachers or administrators willing to adhere to the underlying assumptions which inform most of American labor policies. Kerchner and Mitchell write that

> During this generation, all parties, including the public, acknowledge that teacher negotiations are substantially and directly concerned with the ways in which schools will be run; the patterns of authority and social interaction in the buildings; the definition of what will be taught, for how long, and to whom; and the determinations of who has the right to decide how planning, evaluation and supervision of instruction will be carried out. Typically, the era of negotiated policy begins with the recognition by management and the school board that they have a genuine interest in negotiating *an effective and workable evaluation clause* in the contract. (emphasis added, p. 9)

A third generation of teacher unionism, as described above, is now beginning to develop. It appears that a major shift in the operating principles of teachers' unions may indeed be afoot. Unlike Kerchner and Mitchell, who place the impetus for generational transformation with "management and the school board," because of the pressures being

placed upon teachers unions, I will describe in the following chapters how the impetus for change developed internally, within the unions studied. Investigating school districts in which teachers' unions advocate peer review is my way of exploring this phenomenon.

Professional Unionism

Some local teacher unions are beginning to evolve into organizations that simultaneously advocate both teacher and student interests in a proactive manner. Kerchner and Koppich, in A Union of Professionals (1993), introduce the concept of *professional unionism* which contrasts drastically with its predecessor, industrial unionism. In order to evolve toward professional unionism, progressive local unions are distancing themselves from "three of industrial unionism's most cherished assumptions;"

- the inherent separateness of labor and management, or teaching and administration.
- the necessity of adversarial relationships (between the bargaining units and district administration)
- ideas about teacher protection are being rethought to include protecting the quality and integrity of teaching as well as individual teachers. (Kerchner & Koppich, p. 9)

Such a fundamental organizational and ideological change is difficult to engender, however. Koppich (1993) notes that the pain and discomfort of transformation is endured because of the sense of urgency felt by many public school teachers. Under increasing condemnation and public scorn, unionized teachers are recognizing that drastic changes are going to occur within their schools, either with or without them. Change, therefore, is not an option.

Koppich further notes that a prerequisite for the establishment of professional unionism, developing a belief in expanded teacher roles, may be difficult to establish. Simply put, old habits die hard. A significant level of discomfort may be generated as the

general modes of operating and thinking, the cognitive constraints, of various parties involved in the operation of schools undergoes transformation. Because of the interdependency which develops within a societal sector, teachers' unions, principals, and central office personnel all must change the way in which they conceptualize teachers and teaching. As mentioned previously, as teaching becomes professionalized, teachers' unions will have to abandon the rigid contractual distinctions between managerial duties and employee duties.

However, inherent in the act of teaching are many managerial functions, from simply "managing" the classroom environment, to the scheduling and acquisition of materials needed to teach, to exercising professional judgment in the isolation of the classroom. In some districts, the realization that manager/employee distinctions do not fit well within the world of teaching is being made[10] (Chase, 1997a-c; Urbanski, 1988). For example, in the Toledo (Ohio) Public Schools, through the actions of the superintendent and the president of the union, the school community was able to develop new conceptions of the proper roles of teachers within the district. The Toledo Federation of Teachers (TFT) facilitated this transition by developing a peer review system which became a national model for other innovative school districts (See Gallagher, Lanier, & Kerchner, 1993; Kelly, 1997). Often, however, many teachers are very reluctant to increase their scope of responsibilities, even for the benefits of professionalization.

After reviewing the role of teacher unionism upon the debate for professionalization, it can justifiably be said that over the past three decades, teacher unionism has had contradictory effects. In the early years of collective bargaining, teachers' average salaries rose significantly thus placing them socioeconomically closer to occupations considered professional. However, inherent in the form of unionism that

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[10] Among the local unions one may investigate are those in the following cities; Rochester, New York; Glenview, Illinois; Colorado Springs, Colorado.

developed, based upon the industrial unions of the auto factories, steel mills, and coal mines, teachers effectively eliminated teaching from consideration as a profession. By basing their model of negotiations upon unions which represented unskilled, or semi-skilled workers, teachers' unions allowed administrators to control managerial processes in exchange for improved working conditions and salaries. These decisions, in turn, resulted in a set of institutional constraints, and a path-dependent course of development which foreclosed alternative considerations over the past three decades. Therefore, teachers have possessed neither the authority nor the formal autonomy representative of professionals in other occupations. Some teachers' unions, however, are abandoning the underlying values and assumptions of the dominant form of American unionism which inhibited the professionalization of teaching.

It is important for the professionalization of teachers that unions begin the transformation toward professional unionism. Currently, several reform proposals envision the professionalization of teachers being brought about by professional standards boards and certification committees such as the NBPTS. Others look to subject matter associations such as the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics, or the National Science Teachers Association, for subject-specific guidance and quality control of classroom teachers. Unfortunately, neither of these options are organizationally or developmentally mature enough to operationalize such a difficult endeavor (Cohen, 5/26/95). The NEA and the AFT, however, are organizationally very strong and represent almost every public school teacher in the country. Of this situation, Kerchner and Caufman note

> Other teacher organizations, such as the councils of English or mathematics teachers, can set standards and provide high-quality service to their members, but they lack the ability to link standards of good practice to the allocation of time and other resources in classrooms. *Only the unions have this* (organizational) *capacity.* (italics added, p. 109)

Until very recently, however, the unions have not *actively advocated* the measures necessary to support professional unionism. Therefore, its progress has been anecdotal. The recent shifts in rhetoric, coupled with numerous individual districts' experiments, may signify a steady coalescence toward a more powerful and coherent movement based upon increased teacher professionalism within both unions and across all schools.

Peer Review and Unionism

Although the teacher evaluation and teacher unionism literatures are both expansive, very little empirical work has been published exploring the controversial relationship between peer review and teacher unions. Most works that address this relationship do so only casually, usually conjecturing that teachers are unprepared to accept teachers in roles traditionally carried out only by administrators (Smylie & Denny, 1990). Others, such as Bodenhausen (1990) report state-level unions' "unabated opposition to peer evaluation" (p. 3). No one to date has done a comparative analysis of successful programs to identify those factors which may facilitate, or at least be conducive to, peer review implementation among unionized public school teachers.

The empirical work that has been done regarding peer review systems usually focuses on teachers' attitudes (Benzley, Kauchak, & Peterson, 1985; Bodenhausen, 1990; Hanson, 1990). In each of these studies, researchers concluded that the staunch opposition to peer review reported in the larger literature failed to materialize in their respective studies. All researchers identified initial resistance to the concept of teachers evaluating each other, but the strength of this resistance varied greatly. In fact, a majority

of teachers interviewed in these studies reacted positively to peer evaluation after either experiencing the process or learning more about it. In the words of Bodenhausen, "opposition to peer evaluation is no longer the monolith of years past" (p. 14).

Prior to this study, the most detailed account of union-sponsored peer review programs was a chapter written by Gallagher, Lanier and Kerchner in A Union of Professionals (1993) by Kerchner and Koppich. In their chapter, the authors describe in detail the genesis of peer reviews programs in Toledo, Ohio and Poway, California. The programs are very similar with Poway's program being a direct descendent from its predecessor in Toledo. Each program assigns consulting teachers/mentors to novice teachers and to those experienced teachers "identified as performing in a way so unsatisfactory that improvement or termination is imperative" (Toledo Public Schools, 1991, p. 35).

This is the fundamental similarity of all peer review programs examined during this study. The following chapters present the evidence gathered during this study in an attempt to explain how these local unions reconcile the competing criteria of legitimacy embodied in the institutions of professionalism and unionism. They also describe for the reader how these programs operate and what factors most affected the implementation process either beneficially or detrimentally.

Chapter Four

PROGRAMMATIC ANALYSIS OF TEACHER PEER REVIEW

The intent of this chapter is to lay out for the reader a basic overview of the typical teacher peer review program in operation. To place the programs within their proper context and to provide for the reader a sense of familiarity, this chapter will start with a brief introduction to the four districts studied.[11] Following the introduction to the sites, programmatic analysis will begin with a summary of program characteristics followed by more in-depth examination of several important facets of the programs. The characteristics highlighted for examination represent those facets which have important implications for the reconciliation of the competing criteria of legitimacy and in which important similarities and differences exist. First, the process by which consulting teachers are identified, trained, and monitored will be presented. Second, an overview of the typical intervention process will be examined and explained. The focus will then turn to the interaction between consulting teachers and interns and/or intervention participants. Finally, the culminating act of peer review, the final recommendation of the consulting teacher to the governing panel will be examined as well as the resultant legal challenges to these programs.

[11] Pseudonyms are used for all cities, districts, unions and interview participants.

District Descriptions

The four districts examined are located in urban areas with a great deal of ethnic and economic diversity. Hayesville is a mid-sized city in the Midwest which enjoys a rather robust economy and is closely affiliated with the major university in the immediate vicinity. It is the largest city in the study with a 1990 census population of approximately 633,000. Since the implementation of their peer review program, the Hayesville Education Association has had only one president, who brought the concept of peer review to Hayesville. Five superintendents have served during this same period. The labor relations within the Hayesville school district have been relatively peaceful in recent years according to leaders from both the HEA and the district.

Fowlerton is also in the Midwest, but has suffered serious economic downturns over the past decade due to its dependence on the manufacturing industry. Fowlerton is part of what can be referred to as the "Rust Belt," and experienced a net loss of population through the 1980s. Over sixteen years, the Fowlerton Federation of Teachers (FFT) was led by the man who introduced peer review. After retiring in 1997, his wife was elected to the union presidency. During this time, five superintendents have served the district. Due to the great fiscal pressure within the district, the FFT has been unable to negotiate salaries comparable to their neighboring suburban counterparts. Instead, they have successfully negotiated teacher representation at almost all levels of decision making within the district.

Redland is a mid-sized urban center in the Northeast with a diverse, relatively stable economy and population. During the period of peer review, the district has had one

union president and four superintendents. The Redland Federation of Teachers (RFT) has been recognized for its innovative ideas and is often at the forefront of labor relations. When asked about the climate of labor relations within the district, it was often characterized as evolving from a "very centralized approach, very dictatorial" to one of cautious cooperation between the superintendent, the school board and the RFT (Aurelio Rodriguez, Redland human resources director.

Marine City is a large port city on the west coast and is both economically and ethnically very diverse. Three superintendents and three union presidents have served in Marine City since the implementation of peer review. Two factors are notable about Marine City. First, due to legislative action at the state level, the Marine City school district will lose $35 million dollars over a three year period. Data was collected in Marine City during the first year of this period during which they lost ten million dollars of funding. Second, labor relations within Marine City were often characterized as distrustful and antagonistic. Table 2 below displays relevant demographic data across the four districts

Table 2 District Demographic Data

Sites	Fowlerton	Hayesville	Marine City	Redland
City Population (1990)	332,943	632,910	516,259	231,636
% Change (1980-90)	-6.1 %	+12.0 %	+4.5 %	-4.2 %
% Minority (1990)	23.0 %	25.6 %	24.7 %	38.9 %
Median Income (1990)	$ 24,819	$ 26,651	$ 29,353	$ 22, 785
% Families in Poverty (1990)	15.4 %	12.6 %	7.4 %	21.1 %
Student Enrollment (96-97)	43,000 (approx.)	62,800	47,075	37,153

Programmatic Features

All four peer review programs were designed to serve the same two populations of teachers, people new to the district (interns) and those veteran teachers (interventions) who were deemed performing in a way so unsatisfactory that dismissal was likely if unchecked. Due to abnormally high numbers of new teachers during the 1996-97 school year in Marine City, Hayesville and Redland, program directors needed to triage teachers new to the district according to greatest need as determined by lack of teaching experience and difficulty of assignment as determined by an intern or their supervisor. In each of these districts, however, steps were being taken to address the needs of as many interns as possible -- including the early release of those interns deemed to be exceptionally strong novices to allow services to be redirected to those new teachers not yet included in the program.

Table 3 Programmatic Overview

Districts	Fowlerton	Hayesville	Marine City	Redland
Union Affiliation	AFT	NEA	NEA	AFT
# of Consulting Teachers (CT)	16	13	12	80
# of Participants (1997)	180	210	212	246
Total # of Teachers	2500	4800	2900	2500
% of Total Staff through Program	50%	60 %	25 %	33%
Governing Panel	5 union/4 admin.	4 union/3 admin.	4 union/3 admin.	3 union/3 admin.
Cost	$ 500,000	$ 1,000,000	$ 700,000	$ 860,000
Leadership Stability	2 union presidents 5 superintendents	1 union president 5 superintendents	3 union presidents 3 superintendents	1 union president 4 superintendents

All programs are coordinated by a joint governing panel composed of both union and district representatives. In Fowlerton, Hayesville and Marine City, the union representatives outnumber district representatives by one person. In Redland, each party has three representatives. To avoid union domination of any decision made by the panels,

parties have either agreed to decide by consensus, or by a majority larger than that held by the teachers' union. Table 3 above displays a brief overview of several major programmatic features.

Some of the similarity among the characteristics listed above can be explained by the genealogy of program implementation across the four districts.[12] Fowlerton has the oldest of the programs studied, being in operation for over fifteen years. Teachers and administrators from Hayesville visited Fowlerton when considering adopting a peer review program. Hayesville's program in now over ten years old. Personnel from Marine City then looked to Hayesville when contemplating implementation of their program. Redland also examined Fowlerton as well as Hayesville, but substantially altered the fundamental structure employed in the other three cities. The structure of Redland's peer review program will be discussed later in this chapter.

Consulting Teachers

Implicit in the phenomenon of peer review, whether it be in teaching or any other endeavor, are the fundamental premises of expertise and trust. As represented in this study, teacher peer review is based upon an understanding that active teachers, knowledgeable in all that constitutes effective instruction, are better judges of professional competence than are principals -- who may not have taught regularly in a classroom for over a decade or more. Trust is also fundamental to the process of peer review. The public, as represented by the school board, and the district administrative staff must trust

[12] A more detailed analysis of the circumstances of implementation will be presented in chapter five.

that the peers chosen as evaluators will effectively and consistently uphold a professional code of ethics and protect the interests of the schoolchildren. Therefore, attention will first be focused on the process by which consulting teachers, or peer evaluators, are selected.

Selection Process

Each of the programs is staffed by "consultant teachers" who are selected through a competitive application process from among active classroom teachers with a minimum level of experience (5-7 years). The application process includes the submission of four to five letters of recommendation from an applicant's building administrator, department chair, and fellow teachers. After reviewing the letters, a governing panel of teachers and administrators interview applicants during which the panel gathers information about the applicants' personal demeanor, communication skills, judgment skills. Often applicants are asked to role play or respond to hypothetical situations or written descriptions of a case of a teacher in trouble. In Fowlerton and Redland, actual classroom observations of the applicant's teaching are performed. A combined list of the desired characteristics upon which applicants are evaluated include;

- Cooperative
- Discrete
- Leadership
- Outstanding teaching ability
- Extensive knowledge of management and instructional techniques
- Ability to work with adults and diverse groups
- Subject matter knowledge
- Ability to make difficult decisions
- Good communication skills

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Typical Activation

In Fowlerton, Hayesville, and Marine City, the successful applicants become consulting teachers and may be released full-time from their classrooms for up to three years to serve as a consultant/mentor for interns and interventions. However, due to changes in demographics and shifting enrollment patterns, the need for consulting teachers within any given city fluctuates from year to year. In some cases, successful applicants may be accepted and receive the distinction of being recognized as worthy of being a consultant teacher, but may not actively consult immediately. In all four cities, some consultants are "inactive," acting as a body of reserve consultants to be activated when the need arises. When a consulting teacher is activated, the governing panel assigns a caseload ranging from 12 to 22 teachers with Hayesville having the largest caseloads, Fowlerton the smallest and Marine City falling between. Upon activation, consultant teachers receive additional remuneration of $ 5,000 in Fowlerton, $ 5,500 in Marine City, and a stipend of 20 % of salary in Hayesville. The length of activation for consulting teachers within these districts is limited to no more than three consecutive years after which they must return to the classroom. See Table 4 for summary data regarding consulting teachers in each district.

Table 4 Consulting Teacher Data

Districts	Fowlerton	Hayesville	Marine City	Redland
Union Affiliation	AFT	NEA	NEA	AFT
# of Consulting Teachers (CT)	16	13	12	80
CT Release Time	Full Time/ limit 3 years	Full Time/ limit 3 years	Full time/ limit 3 years	1/2 or no time/ no limit
CT Compensation	$ 5,000	20 % of salary	$ 5,500	10 % or 5 %
Caseload Ratio	12 to 1	22 to 1	18 to 1	4 to 1 or 1 to 1
Interventions Weighted more heavily than Interns	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Subject Matter Match	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Redland's Program Structure

Redland's program differs from that of the other three districts because of their insistence that their consulting teachers be actively teaching while consulting. Because of this, no consulting teacher in Redland is released from classroom instructional duties full time. Several informants in the Redland reported that this facet of the program greatly increased the "credibility," or legitimacy of their consultants in the eyes of both the program participants and fellow teachers. Because of the focus on maintaining close connections to the classroom and active teaching, Redland uses two different types of consulting teachers. The first is referred to as a "traditional mentor" who is released approximately half-time to consult, maintains a half-time teaching load and receives a ten percent stipend. Traditional mentors usually carry a total of four interns and/or intervention cases. The second type of consultant teacher is called a "site-based mentor," or "building mentor," who are not released from teaching duties but are given five per diem days of release time and a 5 % stipend in exchange for working with one intern in their building.

The Redland program also differs in that there is no programmatic limit on the time one can remain a consulting teacher. Because their consulting teachers are actively teaching while consulting, the program leaders report no need to limit teachers' involvement in order to maintain identification with "normal" classroom teachers, or active classroom teaching. One Redland consultant teacher has been serving since peer review was established in her district -- nine years ago.

Autonomy and Oversight

Whether released full or half-time, consultant teachers in all four districts perform their duties relatively free from bureaucratic oversight. They are responsible for the allocation of their time and interactions with interns and intervention cases. This allows the consultants to adjust the focus of their time and energy as needed across the teachers on their caseload and throughout the year. Of this autonomous nature of the organization, Cathy Doane, a Marine City consulting teacher, commented that within the district, it was "the first time I was treated as an adult." Deanna Sirtis, a Redland consultant, further explains the significance to teachers' newly found autonomy, saying

> It's very fluid. I think that the exciting thing is that as professionals we get a chance to make some of those decisions (about) where your attention goes and how it goes. That's very exciting.

As the bottom dwellers of the educational bureaucracy, or "street-level bureaucrats," (Lipsky, 1980) teachers chosen to be consultants greatly cherish the professional freedom and license common to other professions.

To say that consulting teachers are autonomous is not to say that they are completely free from supervision or any bureaucratic responsibility however. Each district designed into its program mechanisms to provide a measure of oversight of the consulting teachers. All four districts require consulting teachers to make reports to the governing panels about the progress, or lack thereof, of the people on their caseload, what support they have given to their participants and finally a detailed justification of their final recommendation about the candidate. Fowlerton and Redland require program participants to evaluate their consulting teacher as well as their experience in the peer

review programs. Redland provides the most oversight of consulting teachers through formal evaluation of each consultant by a pair of members of the governing panel. Furthermore, each Redland consulting teacher is formally observed in the process of interacting with interns and/or intervention participants by panel members as well.

Support and Professional Development

In those districts with full-time consulting teachers, a site is designated as the program headquarters in which all consulting teachers have office space and from which they operate. In all three districts, respondents commented on the importance of a common location for consultants as an important source of mutual assistance and support. About Fowlerton's program headquarters, Harry Miller, FFT president comments

> That's where it all happens. We didn't realize, obviously, the significance of putting them all together. But as it turns out that was a stroke of genius because so much of the quality of the work is tied up with having them all in one location. Some people --some school districts-- fool around with mentoring programs with mentors in this building and mentors in that building and they never talk back and forth. It's pretty much a waste of time and money, I think. It just seemed logical to put them all together.

Miller's emphasis on the importance of communication among the consulting teachers, and the lack of communication generated by scattering mentors across buildings was also expressed by Marina Troi, a Redland mentor. When asked what she would do to improve Redland's peer review program, Troi strongly recommended more contact among the consulting teachers. According to Troi, the regularly scheduled monthly meetings did not sufficiently meet the needs of the new mentors and hindered acclimation to the position of consulting teacher.

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Each district does however provide some form of support and professional development for their consulting teachers. Because of the wide variety between the four districts, the professional development activities of each district will be presented individually. Marine City provides the most professional development for its consultant teachers and attempts to coordinate program activities through a central focus on Costa's (1994) "Cognitive Coaching" methods. Usually five days of training in cognitive coaching is given to all new consulting teachers before the school year. Consultant teacher Mary Brunnick describes what is learned through this process, saying

> You learn all kinds of things like what are people really saying when they're talking; how to read their body language; what are people saying; how you can set up rapport with people. We learn a lot about what constitutes real change in people. What is it that brings about change? They actually take us through different stages of the coaching process. You get to watch it, you get to participate in it, you get to be part of the different parts which you evaluate. You're given problems to deal with, people may bring up on the job problems that they're dealing with.

Furthermore, the MCEA and the district provide professional development opportunities throughout the year as well on issues identified by consulting teachers as areas of need. Marine City also programmatically allows for individual needs/interests of its consulting teachers by giving each a professional development stipend.[13] Pattra Tuckey, MCEA president, explains

> The consulting teachers, up until this year, each had $750 for their own personal training fund. That was above and beyond the Wednesday afternoons and cognitive coaching. ... If there was a conference or a workshop they wanted to take, they could use that to pay the tuition for it.

[13] Due to the loss of $10 million in operating revenues, the district canceled the $750 professional development stipend during the 96-97 school year.

Hayesville is unique in that the district and union both work closely with the major university in town. Consultant teachers take an active role in teaching a university course for interns and also make use of university resources as a source of professional development. While innovative, the courses at the university are not the predominant way in which most consultant teachers receive support. According to HEA president, Jeffrey Boss,

> Normally in the spring of the year, the people who are in the pool as (inactive) consultants are brought in for at least a day to go out and visit schools and be with a consultant during the course of a case. That's kind of an initial training. It's an opportunity to talk about a number of things and so forth. Beyond that, when you first come in, *we really do rely on our fellow colleagues for the nuts and bolts*. How do I write up this observation? Where do I keep this? You know, show me what paperwork needs to be done. How do I make this contact?
>
> We usually assigned a particular consultant as a mentor. But of course we bounce things off everybody else. Then there is some ongoing training through (the university) on a regular basis. ..We have someone who comes over and a lot of issues do get discussed that relate to the program that are of assistance to new people as well as people that have already had some experience.
>
> In terms of formal training, *probably the best formal training we get is a combination of working with our colleagues, asking those questions, going out into the field and coming back with probably 30 more questions than we went out with.*

The lack of structure for the formal training of consulting teachers has recently caused concern among the new director of human resources for Hayesville, Gerri Jackson, who came to Hayesville from another district which operated a teacher peer review program. According to Jackson, a significant amount of inconsistency currently exists across evaluations conducted by consulting teachers which could be rectified through a more formal and coordinated approach to their professional development. As evidence of the inconsistent application of evaluation standards, Jackson highlights the fact that the

Hayesville program is actually seeing "repeat customers." Some interns who were successfully exited out of the program are now performing so poorly that they are being recommended back into the program as intervention candidates. The significance of recidivism within peer review programs and their effectiveness as mechanisms for quality control within teaching will be addressed in chapter six.

Fowlerton is similar to Hayesville in that the primary source of support and professional development arise out of collegial interaction among the consulting teachers. As in Hayesville, this informal system of support is facilitated by the placement of all consulting teachers within one facility. Fowlerton also provides a one-day intensive workshop before the beginning of the school year to acclimate new consulting teachers into their role. Beyond this, consulting teachers in Fowlerton receive very little in the way of formal professional development.

Redland consulting teachers receive at least two full days of intensive training prior to the school year as well as training throughout the year at monthly meetings. Originally, the professional development opportunities were provided by an outside consulting agency. Over the years, Redland generated their own in-house experts in a number of professional development programs, such as Effective Teaching, Peer Coaching, reflective teaching, etc. Program coordinators emphasize the professional development aspect of being consulting teachers by helping their consultants to experience new things and expand their repertoire.

> We've tried to view mentoring as a professional development activity. The whole process of becoming a mentor, applying for it, interviewing for it, going to the meetings, having to dialogue with a whole lot of different people in a lot of different situations, we've tried to keep in mind that's a professional development activity. ... So I think that's something we really

> try to focus more on. I don't know that the general teacher views it that way. They see a lead teacher as someone who is hired to do a job and that's very true but we see it with another dimension added to it which is, it's also going to benefit them in a very deliberate way --not an accidental way, but a deliberate way. (Beverly McFadden, Redland teacher and assistant program coordinator)

While many consulting teachers reported their own professional development resulting from their consulting experience, Redland's program leaders were the only respondents who placed emphasis on a purposive development of the consultants beyond simply performing their jobs well.

Recruitment of Consulting Teachers

Across the districts, program leaders reported difficulties in securing top quality applicants for consulting teacher positions. Members of the joint panels mentioned the reluctance of many teachers who are eligible to serve as consulting teachers to serve in this capacity because it would force them to leave their classrooms and their students. As Lortie (1975) reported over two decades ago, many classroom teachers gain their fulfillment out of the dynamic interactions of the teaching/learning process. From this study, it appears that teachers apparently refuse to forego the familiar intrinsic rewards for unfamiliar work that is seemingly detached from children. Teachers are thus either unwilling or unable to violate the cognitive institutional constraints of what it means to be a teacher. Aurelio Rodriguez, Human Resources Director for Redland observes

> There are a lot of wonderful potential mentors out there who just don't want come out of the classroom, or who don't want to put in the time that's required to be a mentor. .... The question is are there more about there that would also make wonderful lead teachers? Yes, I believe there are. But you can't force them to apply if they don't have the desire to want to do that.

In Fowlerton and Marine City, this problem is addressed by "targeted recruitment" of master teachers as applicants for the consulting teacher openings. The leaders of Hayesville's program responded to this phenomenon differently,

> Initially we attracted a whole bunch of people. We had a great group of consultants. Matter of fact, the first two rounds had great consultants. I felt our third round we fell into a little bit of a lull. We were not attracting the best and I was a little concerned about that. Actually we upped the pay of 5%. (Jeffrey Boss, Hayesville Education Association)

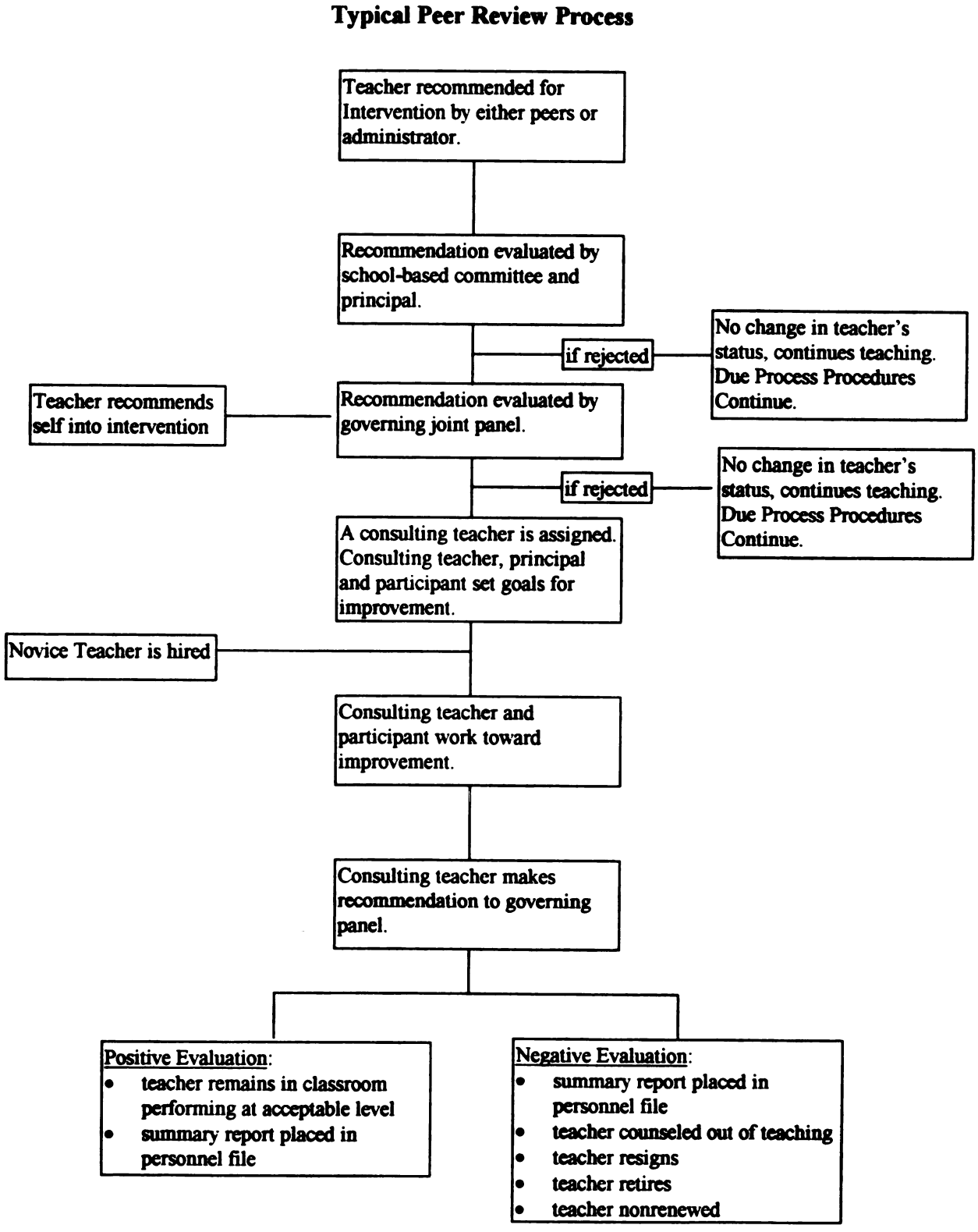
Given that Lortie and others have documented the importance of intrinsic rewards for teachers, it is doubtful whether Boss' strategy of increasing the consulting teacher stipend by five percent will have the intended consequences.

Intervention Process

This section describes for the reader the typical process by which a classroom teacher can be recommended for intervention participation. There are many steps to this process. Please refer to the flowchart (Figure 1) on the following page while reading this section.

When a teacher is identified by either an administrator or a peer as needing assistance in the form of intervention services, the referring party usually informs the principal, the building committee and the program's governing panel. The principal and building committee then meet to consider the merits of the recommendation confidentially. If the principal and the building committee support the recommendation, the recommendation for intervention then is submitted to the governing panel who reviews the recommendation. If either the principal or the teacher constituent of the building

Figure 2


Typical Peer Review Process
Teacher recommended for Intervention by either peers or administrator.
Recommendation evaluated by school-based committee and principal.
if rejected
No change in teacher's status, continues teaching. Due Process Procedures Continue.
Teacher recommends self into intervention
Recommendation evaluated by governing joint panel.
if rejected
No change in teacher's status, continues teaching. Due Process Procedures Continue.
A consulting teacher is assigned. Consulting teacher, principal and participant set goals for improvement.
Novice Teacher is hired
Consulting teacher and participant work toward improvement.
Consulting teacher makes recommendation to governing panel.
Positive Evaluation:
• teacher remains in classroom performing at acceptable level
• summary report placed in personnel file
Negative Evaluation:
• summary report placed in personnel file
• teacher counseled out of teaching
• teacher resigns
• teacher retires
• teacher nonrenewed

committee disagree with the recommendation, the teacher is so informed and continues teaching. At this point in the process, the candidate may appear before the panel to explain their situation in an effort to avoid intervention.

Upon reviewing the case, if the panel votes to accept the recommendation for intervention, they inform the candidate in writing and allow a five-day period during which the teacher may appeal the decision of the panel to an independent arbiter. Once a candidate is accepted into intervention, the panel assigns a consulting teacher to work with the case. In Fowlerton and Hayesville, however, participation in intervention is not voluntary. If approved, the participant must participate or face dismissal proceedings.

Reasons for rejecting intervention recommendations usually relate to two circumstances. The first is procedural impropriety during the recommendation process at the building level, such as a person not working in a position for a required minimum length of time. Second, recommendations are usually rejected if the reasons for the recommendation are not related to classroom performance. In most instances, the reason must be directly related to classroom instructional practices of the candidate. Recommendations for teachers with difficulties following school/district policies, absenteeism, insubordination, etc., are often rejected. In some cases in which the teacher self-recommends intervention in an effort solely to avoid being placed on probation. Many of these cases are rejected because it violates the purpose of the program and undermines its professional legitimacy.

Upon receiving the intervention assignment, the consulting teacher arranges for a meeting between the participant, the principal and him/herself in which specific

performance goals are determined for the teacher and an informal timeline for improving is also established. In all the districts, but Redland, however, no terminal time constraints are established. The reasoning of program leaders in the three districts is that artificially imposed programmatic timelines are ill-advised because of the unique nature of each intervention experience. Harry Miller, president of the Fowlerton Federation of Teachers, summarizes their thinking well, saying

> We don't tell them how long they have to do it. ....It is strictly left to the judgment of the consulting teacher. We thought that through very carefully and decided that one of the problems with other kinds of intervention or assistance programs is that there are cut-offs. The cut-offs are usually one year, sometimes less. ...Besides, if we have a good person that we have some faith in, why do we want to tell them what to do.
>
> The consulting teacher should tell us what the status of that individual is and what kinds of problems there are and what kinds of help are being given. ....They are told that if there is a serious management problem that endangers the students, then you must do something quickly. We cannot allow a situation to drift if there is a physical danger to the students and everybody understands that. Other than that there is no timelines.

The Redland program however limits participation to a maximum of three complete semesters. By maintaining time limits, Redland's program places the student's need for quality teachers above that of job protection for a chronically substandard classroom teacher. The other programs appear to favor job retention. The manner in which district officials and union leaders approach the phenomenon of quality control among teachers will be addressed further in chapter six.

All programs provide safeguards against possible misuse of the process by requiring agreement from both teacher representatives and administrators to place a classroom teacher into intervention. Hayesville and Marine City also allow for self-referral

into the intervention process for those teachers that feel they could benefit from the interactions with a consulting teacher. For those teachers who refer themselves, their referrals go directly to the program panel for review. Once accepted, the process is the same for all intervention participants.

The Peer Review Experience

The Intern Experience

The experience of interns across the four districts appears to be very similar, according to descriptions from consulting teachers, current interns, and former interns. As would be expected in any mentoring program, novices looked to their consulting teachers for a variety of forms of support. Chief among the forms of support utilized by interns were assistance with identifying and acquiring curricular resources, advice about classroom management, lesson construction and delivery, and finally help with acclimating to a new city/district/school and urban environment.

When examining the intern experience, it is useful to differentiate between novices coming into the classroom directly from their certification or degree programs and experienced teachers who, for whatever reason, are new to the district. Understandably less experienced interns tend to make more extensive use of their consultant teachers around the issues of lesson construction and delivery, and curricular resources. New teachers are often intimidated by their more senior faculty members, as Michelle Sielski, a former Hayesville intern comments

> As a first year teacher, you have so much going with lesson plans and getting a curriculum ready, it's so overwhelming. To have a person, to go to and say, "How do I handle this? What do I do?" on a friendly basis

> instead of feeling like you have to go to one of these teachers who have been teaching for 20 years. You feel kind of intimidated, to go and ask a lot of these little questions. You might feel like you're bothering them. Or they may look at you like you're asking something stupid or something remedial that you should already know. I think it is a really good thing especially for new teachers. Whether they're first year as a teacher or first year in the system because there are a lot of little ins and outs and things you need to know that you've have to ask somebody.

Ray Brice, a 27-year veteran teacher and current consulting teacher in Hayesville, confirms Sielski's feelings of intimidation, revealing his own demeanor, and that of his colleagues, toward novices as a senior classroom teachers.

> There's an attitude on the part of a lot of teachers ... when a new teacher comes in the building. They're willing to assist to a point. They're willing to tell them where to go to get the flag, go get those erasers and that kind of stuff, but then, the most common thing that happens is that there are management difficulties with a new teacher. That's very common.
>
> I think what a lot of teachers do, they'll help to a point but then they'll step back and say, "*Okay, I've helped you do this. Now, prove yourself to me.*" And I think that's very common and I was very guilty of that myself, as a teacher in a building. Now, I'm ashamed of myself -- now that I'm working in this capacity.

In this context, the consultant can serve as a confidential mentor to whom novices can turn without feeling a great deal of intimidation or embarrassment.

The intern experience for those interns with prior teaching experience differ from those of inexperienced novices in two ways. First, experienced interns tend to be *initially* more resistant to being assigned a consulting teacher than were inexperienced interns. Once they experienced the help consultants could provide such as advice about where to find resources or about the local district politics and policies, they greatly appreciated the opportunity to interact with their consultant. Second, experienced interns tended to

acclimate to their new classrooms more quickly than novices, and consequently often were reported to be successfully released from the various peer review programs more quickly.

Consulting teachers in all four districts work at trying to maintain a positive, supporting relationship with all of their interns. Once again, Brice offers useful insight, this time into the consulting teacher--intern relationship, saying

> I think the strongest point of the program is that it is assistance and that our approach is positive. We don't ignore the difficult areas but it is a positive approach and an attempt to go ahead and bring out the positives in a person's teacher.
>
> We're providing some emotional support, too, because of all of the frustration of beginning teaching. ...One of the biggest things that we can do to help people is simply to listen to them and commiserate because they're experiencing this for the first time. We can let them know that they're not alone. I tell them, "It is very common for this to happen, especially this time of year..."

The emphasis on a positive approach and emotionally supporting the intern is also viewed as important by the interns as well. Earlier, in her study of Rochester's (NY) Peer Assistance and Review program, Halkett (1988) documents that 89.9 % of the interns participating in Rochester's program reported needing assistance with "moral support and encouragement" (p. 28).

While the vast majority of current and former interns reported about their intern experience and their relationship with their consultant teacher positively, four of the 37 interns interviews (10.8 %) reported significant difficulties with the intern experience. Three of the four respondents were elementary teachers who were very defensive to comments about their teaching styles. When discussing her intern experience, Hayesville fourth grade teacher, Barbara Hagstrom comments typify those made by other elementary teachers critical of their internship.

> I think they didn't think they took into consideration that people have different teaching styles. If you didn't teach like your (consulting teacher) thought you should be teaching, then she'll write you a note "Well, I think you should have done..."
>
> But that's my way of teaching! I don't think it was fair to me to get notes like that.

No secondary teachers reported anything similar to these comments. An interesting subject for further analysis would be a differentiated examination by of teachers' interpretations of their intern experience by school level.

The Intervention Experience[14]

The typical intervention experience tends to be much more focused than that of an internship. Because the program participant in most cases has been identified as performing in a manner so unsatisfactory that dismissal is likely, consulting teachers work much more intensively with their intervention cases than with interns. Maria Rivera, a Redland consultant, describes the difference saying,

> When you start with a new intern, I more typically will sit back and not intervene quite as quickly. I watch and get a sense for where this new teacher is in her or his development. With an intervention, you really have to really get to work right away so to speak. That was the difference that I really felt. You had to really sit down, ... find out where the trouble is, and develop a plan quickly.

The dynamics of the intervention experience also differ dramatically from that of an intern experience. Unlike their novice counterparts, teachers recommended into intervention have a history in their building which alters the approach consultants must take when working on intervention cases. Rivera observes in a typical intervention,

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[14] Because of the understandable reticence of teachers identified as needing intervention, the material for this section is gathered from consulting teachers, building representatives, and former intervention participants. No current intervention participant consented to be part of this study.

> Typically when you go into an intervention, you've got somebody who's pretty battered by the time you get to them. They're feeling they've failed. They know that their job is on the line, if they're not successful. ...It's a real shaky situation.

Hayesville consultant, Ray Brice describes further the context in which many consulting teachers must attempt to assist teachers placed in intervention.

> We go in understanding that there are a number of things going on. Number one, there are some emotional things that usually are part of being placed in (intervention) because of performance difficulties, so we do have to be attuned to that. There's a lot of embarrassment sometimes on the part of some of these people. There can be anger on many occasions. Sometimes people are hostile. We need to be aware of that in going in.

So demanding is the work required of a consulting teacher overseeing an intervention case that Fowlerton, Hayesville, and Marine City weight interventions more heavily than interns when calculating consultants caseload. In these districts, when balancing caseloads across consulting teachers, intervention cases are considered the equivalent of 1.5 or 2 interns. Because of the small caseload ratio in Redland (no more than 4 to 1), program officials decided not to differentially weigh interventions, but do address the added difficulty by only assigning interventions to experienced consulting teachers.

Further complicating matters, often faculty and staff members within a building often hold strong feelings regarding the intervention participant. Several mentors in across the four districts reported incidents in which they were approached by intervention participants' fellow faculty members giving testimonials either defending the teachers in question or condemning them. Typical comments include

> "This person should have been out of here five years ago. Why is this person still here? Get her out of here." Ray Brice, Redland consulting teacher

> People come up and say, "That person is such a good person. They're really doing a great job." I have a hard time because I can't go out and say, "Look, you know, he does this, this, and this wrong in his classroom. He berates students." I can't do that in a professional sense, so I have to 'bite my tongue' and say, "Well, thanks for your information." and leave it at that. Jim Carroll, Fowlerton consulting teacher

Carroll's comment illustrates a common predicament in which consultants often find themselves. Because they are bound by the professional ethics of confidentiality, consultant teachers are prohibited from informing those teachers and administrators who attempt to sway their decisions about what actually occurs in participants' classrooms.

More importantly however, the defensive reaction of fellow faculty members when one of their cohort is placed on intervention has important implications for this study. In this reaction we see an indication of the fundamental conflict between the solidarity required by the tenets of unionism and the emphasis on quality of practice required by professionalism. An examination of this conflict as well as a strategy for reconciling the competing criteria for legitimacy will be presented in the final chapter.

Consulting Teacher Recommendations

Consulting teachers in all four programs are required to submit a final report regarding the status of the program participant, whether an intern or an intervention case. A typical final report includes the participants' entrance and exit date from the program, a list of any goals established, a decision whether the internship/intervention was successful, and a documentation log of all interactions between the participant and the consulting teacher. In Hayesville, Redland and Fowlerton, the final recommendation of the

consulting teacher to the governing panel, is usually the dominant factor in decisions regarding the future employment status of the program participant. A summative negative evaluation from a consulting teacher almost universally results in the teacher leaving the classroom, either through dismissal, retirement, or resignation. Even in cases of disagreement, consultants' recommendations tend to carry more weight than building administrators' decisions. Redland human resources director, Rodriguez puts the following question to people skeptical of giving consulting teachers' decisions this level of importance, saying

> Somewhere between 40 and 60% of new teachers were not getting their full complement of three observations and one evaluation. They weren't even getting that full contractual observation or evaluation. ...and that's probably the most you're going to get. In (our) program, a (consultant) has somewhere between 55 and 75 contacts and formal observations with their interns. Question to you is whose recommendation would you support? The one who has been in the classroom three or four times or the one that's been in contact with this mentor 50, 60 or 70 times?

On the rare occasions that negative recommendations are not heeded, the reasons reported by various panel members were procedural improprieties regarding recommendation into the intervention process, such as failing to meet a minimum time requirement in the participant's position, or an improper vote by the building committee during the original decision to place the teacher in intervention.

Marine City's program is unique in that although teachers engage in peer review and actively counsel negatively evaluated peers out of the profession, the Marine City Education Association (MCEA) designed their peer review process so that no direct connection between the program and final employment decisions exists at all. The executive director of the MCEA explains the necessity of separating peer review from

official teacher evaluation by highlighting the history of distrust and suspicion in the district between administrators and teachers around issues of evaluation.

> ...the culture was lots of suspicion around evaluation -- anything that even smacked of evaluation. ..(the teachers) view evaluation in a negative sense. They don't view evaluation as something that's going to be helpful. That's a part of the culture that we're trying to turn around. Evaluation should be a helping tool as opposed to a "gotcha" but it's still, in an awful lot of schools, it's still a "gotcha" and our members view it as a "gotcha."

In so doing, she highlights the dynamics of institutional constraints shaping actors' beliefs and actions within an organization. This point is further illustrated by the MCEA president who quickly corrected me when I referred to the consulting teachers as "peer evaluators," saying

> They're called consulting teachers. We're real particular about that because this has nothing to do with the statutory evaluation at all. This operates separate from that. We are very careful to keep the two very, very separate because we wanted a program that was going to give assistance to people, to help them to fine tune their skills and then to help bring the new people along. If we tied it to the evaluation process which also gets into probation and possible non-renewal, then what it does it sets up a negative climate at this particular point with our members. So we've tried to keep it separate from the evaluation process. So we try not to use any words like "evaluation."

MCEA's stance regarding peer evaluation is very significant with regard to issues of legitimacy and institutional change. Through this programmatic separation, the MCEA is emphasizing member protection demanded for union legitimacy, over that of quality demanded by professional legitimacy. As a result of this separation between the peer review program and formal summative evaluation, the effectiveness of the program, as well as its very existence, is being questioned by district officials. The significance of this

arrangement will be addressed further in chapter six when addressing issues of professional legitimacy and quality control among practitioners.

Legal Challenges

The separation of consulting teachers from the overall population of teachers for supervisory roles is very significant. By doing this, teachers' unions are violating one of the fundamental criteria for union legitimacy, equality among members. Although the Supreme Court in the *Yeshiva* decision, concluded that employees engaging in supervisory or managerial functions were omitted from collective bargaining protection, this standard has never been applied to K-12 education (444 U.S. 672, 1980). Because of the legally tenuous positions teachers' unions find themselves in when engaging in peer review, it is important to examine legal challenges which have their genesis in these programs. All four districts and/or unions have been challenged legally as a direct result of decisions made in the various peer review programs. In Hayesville, a teacher recommended and approved for intervention refused to cooperate with the consulting teacher and physically barred the consultant from his classroom. This teacher was fired by the district for insubordination. The teacher then sued the district because he considered the insubordination charge to be an invalid reason for termination. The district and the peer review program were upheld in both the local court and an appellate court as well.

The teachers' unions of Fowlerton, Redland and Marine City, each have been challenged by dismissed teachers for allegedly failing to meet their "duty for fair

representation."[15] In all of the cases, dismissed teachers charged that their unions, the MCEA and the RFT, did not adequately represent their interests or protect their "rights." In every instance, decisions were rendered that the union had indeed protected their rights through involvement in the peer review process. It was decided that the teachers were given ample assistance to improve from their consulting teachers but failed to do so. Therefore, dismissals were upheld and the unions' actions defended.

Interestingly, in the Redland and Marine City cases, the local union refused to legally represent the plaintiff, a union member. In both instances, the unusual circumstance arose in which the state level union represented the local union's member in a legal action against the local affiliate. John Denzer, RFT vice-president and chair of Redland's program, describes the situation, saying

> The district's attorney was questioning me. The union attorney was representing her and was also questioning me. It was a very unusual situation. *Of course, our state affiliate does not like this at all. They think that teachers shouldn't have any role at all in doing management's work.* ...We don't think of it as management's work. We think of it as ... protecting the profession.

The strange configuration of roles in the above description only further highlights the state of institutional flux, or paradigmatic shift, in which teachers' unions currently find themselves.

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[15] "Duty of Fair Representation" is defined as "The obligation primarily of the union imposed by federal labor laws to fairly represent all bargaining unit members in collective bargaining and in the enforcement of the agreement" in Roberts, H.S. (1996) Robert's Dictionary of Industrial Relations. The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc; Washington, D.C. The duty of unions to represent employees is based upon the Supreme Court ruling, *Steele v. Louisville & Nashville R.R.*, 323 U.S. 192, (1944) which requires that unions must "act for and not against those whom it represents."

Beyond challenges from terminated teachers, both the Redland and the Fowlerton unions were challenged by their administrative counterparts, principals' unions. Upon implementation in Redland, Denzer reports that the principals' union

> filed suit against the district and the union claiming that teachers were being assigned responsibilities, particularly evaluation responsibilities that they were not qualified for and further they were not legally permitted to do in (the) state. That went through a couple different court cases which they lost. Eventually the judge in the Court of Appeals, which in (our) state is the highest court, said, "*Not only is there nothing illegal about this but it may very well present a much better model for evaluating new teachers than the existing model.*"

The conflict in Fowlerton happened not during implementation, but much later in a most unusual turn of events. After successfully maintaining a peer review program for over a decade, the FFT canceled the program in a dispute with the district on what appeared to be an unrelated matter.[16] The FFT filed a unfair labor practice charge against the district for bargaining over what it interpreted were teachers' working conditions with the Fowlerton Association of Administrative Personnel (FAAP). The FAAP filed its first unfair labor practice charge (ULP) against the FFT when they threatened to cancel the program. When the program was canceled, the evaluation of teachers fell back to building principals. Because of this the FAAP, filed a ULP against the district because they did not bargain evaluation as part of their contract, and therefore was not a required job function. Eventually, the peer review program was reinstated with the support of the FFT. At this time, the FAAP filed a third ULP against the district and the union for taking away their administrative function which also failed on appeal.

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[16] See Kelly, P. (1997a) "The Inherent Difficulties of Teacher Peer Review Within a Unionized Workforce: Analysis of a Case." for a full analysis of the conditions leading up to the programs' cancellation.

While the two conflicts described above may be the most dramatic, in every district initially significant resistance was reported by building administrators. Given that the teachers' unions studied are engaged in institutional change, it stands to reason that the institutions with which teachers' unions interact must also change (Goldring, 1996; Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988). Whether this change process is due to isomorphic pressures, or simply an adjustment to changes in the institutional environment remains to be seen. A careful longitudinal study of institutional evolution represented by the changes in these or similar teachers' unions and their corresponding districts will most probably yield valuable insights into organizational analysis and the theoretical framework of new institutionalism.

Summary

Although it is possible to identify a fundamental design for peer review programs as typified in Figure 2, more interesting are the differences between the programs. The local institutional framework of the school district appears to shape both program design and implementation processes. Each district altered -sometimes significantly- programmatic features to be more congruent with the local context. To explore this more fully, the process of implementation is addressed in the following chapter. As an example, at a district level within Redland, professional development of teachers is very important. This being the case, it is easy to see how their concern flavored the manner in which interview respondents spoke about the consultant teacher experience as one of professional development. In Marine City, however, institutional norms affected program design by prohibiting a direct connection between the peer review program and formal,

summative evaluation procedures. It is in these differences of design and implementation that one can best observe the manner in which institutional constraints manifest themselves in the actions of individuals within organizations.

Thus in chapter five, I shift focus slightly using a more analytical lens with which to explore the process of implementation in each district as well as the actions and reactions of the primary actors involved, teachers and principals. It is through their actions that one can gain further insight into the institutional dynamics during a process of paradigmatic transformation. In chapter six, I will interweave description and analysis in an effort to answer the research question guiding this study.

Chapter Five

IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS OF TEACHER PEER REVIEW

This chapter looks more closely at the phenomenon of institutional and organizational change within and across the four districts and unions. It begins with an examination of what exactly caused these four teachers' unions to consider peer review, and the district to support it. Then an analysis of the interrelationships of the goals addressed by peer review is presented as a way of understanding the symbiotic relationship between the unions and district personnel. The chapter will next examine the act of implementation across the four districts in an attempt to gain insight into the processes involved in institutional evolution. Finally, the reactions of both teachers and principals to the implementation of the programs will be examined to explore the difficulties of expanding or abandoning institutionally defined roles.

Multiple Goals of Peer Review

The first question which must be addressed in a study of institutional change within organizations must by "Why?" Why would organizations as steeped in tradition and organizational myth as teachers' unions incur the formidable transaction costs required when engaging in fundamental institutional change? Why would these unions even consider a concept like peer evaluation, which is antithetical to the traditional beliefs and

policies? To answer this question, both union and district leaders were specifically asked, "What caused the union and/or district to consider peer review?"

An interesting pattern emerged from the responses to this question. Across three of the four districts, the responses revolved around one major impetus, *public demand for accountability*. Repeatedly, respondents, regardless of position, mentioned the public's outcry for teacher and school accountability. As Redland school board member, Maureen George observes, often when, "The community is ... talking about accountability, ... that means getting rid of bad teachers." Thus the implementation of peer review-based teacher evaluation programs in Hayesville, Marine City, and Redland is meant to directly address the demand for accountability to the broader school community and general public.

In the fourth district, Fowlerton, the impetus for consideration of peer review came solely from the FFT president, Harry Miller, who was disappointed with the quality of novice teachers coming into Fowlerton. Ten years before the peer review program finally became a reality, Miller recalls that

> The real trigger was the (State) Department of Education Committee on which I served. We were revising the standards for teacher education. I thought we ought to have a five-year training program. It was the frustration from not having any support down there.... After that experience, it suddenly occurred to me that we might not get five years of teacher training, but we had everything necessary to have an internship.

The impetus for Fowlerton's program is thus unique by not emanating from public demands of accountability or union criticism which characterized the other three districts.

For this study, purposes of the programs are differentiated from the stimuli causing consideration of peer review in each district. While the press for accountability from both districts and unions may have caused leaders to consider peer review, in order to be

acceptable to the various parties, the program had to serve purposes which the various parties view as beneficial. A certain amount of overlap may exist between these categories, but the use of "purpose" connotes a deliberative aspect to leaders' actions and programmatic decisions that "impetus" does not. Unlike similar reports across roles within the districts about what caused the leaders to consider peer review, the purposes reported to be addressed by the programs varied according to the role of the informant.

Union leaders and teachers tend to emphasize the symbolic purpose of peer review as a means for teacher professionalization. A mentor teacher in Fowlerton describes the main goal of his program saying that FFT members want

> to see teaching as being a credible profession as opposed to somebody just in there serving their time and working like blue-collar workers... (Fowlerton) is a blue-collar town. ...Harry's (FFT president) been a real pusher to say that teachers are professionals and we should be treated like professionals in pay and respect. And we should act like professionals in getting rid of people who don't belong with us.

Repeatedly throughout the interviews, the phrase "policing our own ranks" was used to convey union members' opinions that by engaging in peer review, they were taking "responsibility for the quality of teaching" in their respective districts (Executive Director, MCEA). By maintaining the symbolic goal of professionalization through peer review, teachers' unions may achieve three things simultaneously. First, they counter criticisms of protecting incompetent classroom teachers by accepting responsibility for evaluative duties and recommendations for dismissal. Second, unions improve their professional status in the eyes of the general public and their own members by appearing to meet the professional criteria for legitimacy -- focus on quality and professional autonomy. Lastly, although not expressed openly by union leaders, by taking responsibility for quality among

the teaching workforce, teachers' unions may gain improved bargaining positions during contract negotiations.

District officials, on the other hand, emphasize the symbolic goal of providing quality education for all children as a way of empowering them within their urban environments. District leaders argue that by implementing peer review as a mechanism for establishing quality control and accountability among teachers, the overall quality of education will improve within their districts and the public's demand for accountability will be met. Maureen George, Redland school board member, observes that

> There is a great human cry for accountability. How do we make teachers accountable? ... Board members are really looking for the mentor program to do that. How do we make teachers accountable?

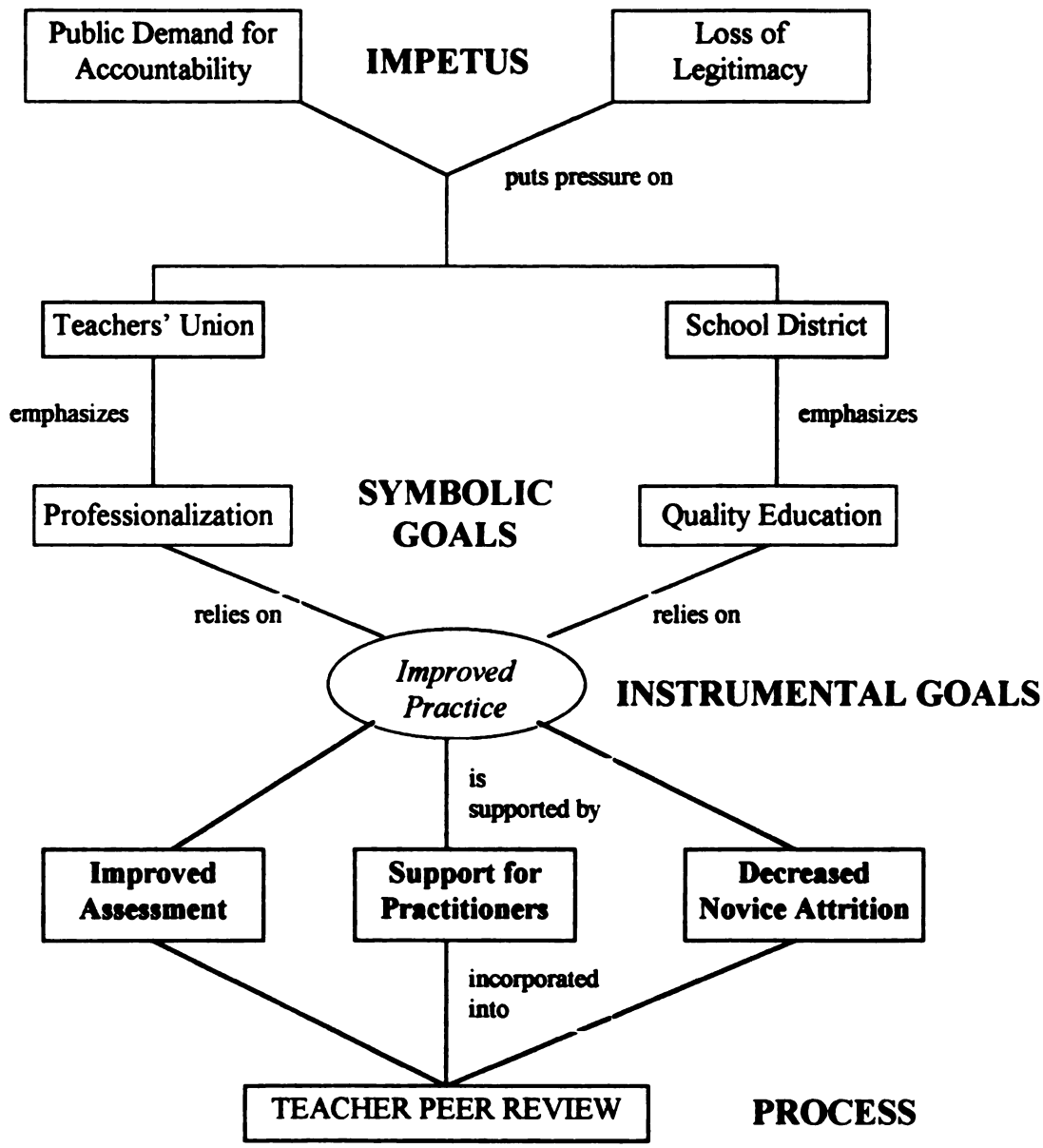
By emphasizing quality education as their primary goal, district leaders are able to maintain their legitimacy as an institution of democratic public education.

An interesting coalescence of the symbolic goals of the union and district becomes apparent when one tries to identify the supporting instrumental goals for both teacher professionalization and quality education. Specifically, they both fundamentally rely on a central unifying goal, *improved practice*, which is critical to meeting the criteria for legitimacy within professionalism and the evolving conception of unionism. *Improved practice*, in turn, is supported by three subordinate instrumental goals, improved assessment, support for practitioners, and reduced attrition among novice teachers. Below is a graphic representation (Figure 3) of the various symbolic and instrumental goals mentioned during interviews and their relationships to the central goal of improved practice. Each of the goals identified is supported by the subgoals beneath it, with all of

the fundamental instrumental goals (in bold) supporting the unifying goal of improved practice which then meets the needs of both local unions and school districts. At the bottom of the figure is the process of peer review which is used in these districts to achieve the instrumental goals.

Figure 3

Relational Map of Multiple Goals



From the literature regarding teacher evaluation as well as from interview data, two primary factors contribute to the perceived and actual failure of school districts to "get rid of bad teachers," -- *poor quality of traditional administrative evaluations of teachers* and *teachers' unions' protection of incompetent practitioners* (Bridges, 1992; Johnson, 1984). While some may prefer to lay blame more heavily on one aspect over the other, both have contributed significantly to the overall poor record of dismissing poorly performing teachers. A third, often overlooked, factor affecting the overall quality of teachers within urban districts is the *lack of suitable induction experiences* for novices in the profession of teaching which results in *high attrition rates among young teachers*. These factors are common across many of our nation's school districts and were present in the four districts studied.

Consistently, throughout every interview, respondents reported that one of the main goals of engaging in peer review was *improved assessment* of teaching practice. Teachers, union leaders, school board members, district officials, and principals all reported that traditional administrative evaluation of classroom teachers and teaching were not effective in maintaining satisfactory levels of quality instruction and learning. The common principal evaluation of a teacher's classroom practice is often solely based on a very short observation a few times per year. Typical comments about the lack of worth of such administrative evaluations include that of Rodriguez,

> The superintendent ... indicated that ... administrators' evaluation of teachers was not significant in the role of really identifying poor performers. Our own records review for a period of time showed that 99% of our teachers were all above average or superior -- which we knew was not accurate. So we ... invested in making a strategic decision to empower teachers to evaluate and assess new teachers to the district. (Director of Human Resources, Redland Public Schools)

HEA president, Jeffrey Boss recalls the nonexistent nature of principal evaluation from his teaching days,

> ... the superintendent at the time... mentioned that there was a lot of noise on the board that evaluation was not being effective and not being as useful as the board members felt that it needed to be. And I said, 'That issue doesn't particularly bother me. I've felt that it was relatively useless for a while, too, and gave him my personal experiences from the evaluation which were not positive. Since, due to the fact that I was a union leader and a department chair, the principals didn't even bother to evaluate me. They never even came in. It was just like I was ignored in the whole process.'

Respondents emphasizing the inferior quality of principals' assessments implicitly make the plausible argument that peer review as a mechanism for teacher evaluation can only be better -- it can do no worse.

Principals are also critical of the quality of evaluation and assistance they can offer their staff members. Due to the multiple demands of their jobs, principals report that they are unable to adequately evaluate and assist their staff members. Mary Jo Pillato, an elementary principal in Redland, when describing the intern portion of Redland's program, reports that consulting teachers' mentoring provides for her new hires a level of service that she is incapable of giving, *because she is a principal with many other responsibilities.* Respondents within various roles and across the districts echoed Pillato's observation, often remarking that the job of being a principal precluded administrators from visiting classrooms long enough and often enough to adequately evaluate classroom practice.

In a secondary school with dozens of subject matter specialists, administrative conduct of teacher evaluations becomes even more difficult. Secondary teachers when referencing the goal of improved assessment very frequently pointed to the role of subject matter knowledge and subject-specific pedagogy as integral to quality instruction and quality evaluations. MCEA executive director, Patrick Kewin, describes principal's limited scope of ability saying

> Principals are no longer really the instructional leaders. I mean, they're not up to date on all of the instructional strategies and techniques. They don't have the repertoire that a teacher needs to have. ...The principal ...can come in and talk about relationships that you might have with kids, but in terms of understanding the instructional strategies, or the tactics and strategies that teachers need to use, the repertoire... This is one of the problems.

Mark Lawrence, a Fowlerton middle school science teacher, summarizes well the position of secondary teachers, declaring

> An administrator can come into my classroom and tell me if I am teaching, using the proper techniques, but as far as the science -- no. ...So if I'm going to be reviewed, I want it to be by a science teacher.

The instrumental goals of improved assessment and support for practitioners are addressed not by the mere shifting of evaluation authority from principals to teachers, but by the change in the evaluation process within the programs. Rather than the much-maligned, traditionally quick checklist evaluation format used by principals for decades, within the peer review programs studied, the evaluator (consulting teacher) works much more closely with the practitioner, over a longer period of time, than in the former system. Classroom observations are greatly increased from contractual obligations of two to three occurrences per academic year required from administrators. When interviewing

consulting teachers, the lowest number of observations reported was eight for an intern performing well in his/her classroom in Fowlerton. At the other end of the range is Redland, where because of the low caseload ratios, consultants reported observing teachers as often as 60 times. In Redland, it is very common for consultant teachers to visit program participants every week.

The second major impediment to "getting rid of bad teachers" is *teachers' unions perceived protection of incompetent teachers.* Unions, as discussed in chapter three, historically acted as if quality issues were not within their range of responsibility. Critics claim that teachers' unions are no exception, often acting without regard for the quality of educational experiences provided for children. While all four districts reported similar criticisms from the public, the two NEA-affiliated unions, in Hayesville and Marine City, reported significant *internal criticism* coming from their own members.

> (The) NEA came in and did an assessment of Marine City Public Schools. They talked to teachers in the classrooms, and business and community leaders as well as to district administration and some parents. The biggest thing that they kept getting over and over was "The Association keeps protecting bad teachers. You need to have a way to fire bad teachers," kind of thing. *I think the most telling piece of that was when our own members were saying that.* (Tuckey, Union President, MCEA)

> The teachers were saying back to us is "*We're tired of our union protecting people that are struggling or people that are incompetent.* We don't want you doing that any more. Okay? We want to do something else here. We want to either help these people or help them leave, one of the two." (Kewin, Executive Director, MCEA)

> One of the biggest criticisms that I took both internally and externally, ... was over the issue of evaluation and the fact *that we didn't police our ranks at all.* (Boss, Union President, HEA)

Such comments are reflective of the increasing delegitimation of traditional industrial unionism among teachers as union members. Furthermore, they are indicative of a general trend toward efforts aimed at establishing and meeting professional criteria for legitimacy within the occupation of teaching.

The third significant factor affecting the overall quality of teachers within a district, *high rate of novice attrition*, was reported in each of these urban areas. Across the four cities, respondents indicated that their respective districts suffered from a large turnover rate among their novice teachers. Thus, the districts and unions, both placed great importance on the support and retention of their best new teachers. Mary Brunnick, a veteran consulting teacher in Marine City summarized this point well, saying

> We are getting what's called a brain drain. Within five years, 50% of our teachers, new teachers are leaving us. And they're usually, not always but often, our best. They're the best; they're the ones who are the best in the classroom. ... So we tell them that ... Marine City has made this commitment to try to keep our teachers. This is one of the reasons why they put the mentoring program in place is because we realize that an urban district like ours is difficult...

The intern component of these programs was reported to be a great comfort to participants who were inexperienced in either the district or city, by making resources available of which they would otherwise be ignorant.

So significant is this portion of Redland's peer review program, that human resources director, Rodriguez, uses the fact that they have an intern program as a recruiting tool when trying to attract candidates. He describes Redland's use of the intern experience, saying

> Our mentoring program has been probably our number one magnet for attracting educators from outside of (Redland) to come to (Redland). ... When I'm going to Puerto Rico or the southern colleges ... to recruit

> African American educators, I tell them very simply, "Look around this room here. There are 180 districts, 350 recruiters, all trying to recruit the same 70 or 80 college graduates from southern universities. ... You go around the room and ... talk to the districts and say, "What kind of support am I going to get that first year? Formal support? Not that there's a helping teacher on the side of the building or the building principal will come in periodically. That's nonsense. I'm talking about real support: that's going to be in there 50 or 60 times during the course, going to mentor you, going to provide demonstration lessons, going to release you to go observe teachers that have good classroom management practices (or) strong instructional skills..., who are going to release you for the day so you can do an inservice and get professional support.
>
> "We can offer that to you in (Redland) and we've consistently have been doing it and our retention rate of teachers is over 93%. ...Chances are that wherever you start to work is where you're going to stay. But you also need to know that within the first five to seven years, (there) is the high burnout rate for teachers when they get out of the profession because they didn't get support in the first year or two."
>
> Eight out of ten people that we talk to who we aggressively want to recruit come back to us and say, "99% of the districts in this room can't offer the kind of formal services you can. I'm more interested, let's talk." It's a very successful recruiting tool.

While the other districts did not emphasize the recruitment aspect of the internship experience to the extent that people in Redland did, all districts were relying on their programs to curb attrition among novices. In the future, however, urban districts may implement similar intern programs to retain their high quality novice teachers and thereby improve the educational experience of their school children.

In only locale, Marine City, did comments deviate significantly from the overall pattern described above. Teachers in Marine City, as well as the district's Director of Human Resources, reported that one of the purposes of their peer review program was to "protect teachers" from administrative discipline. The use of Marine City's peer review program as a shelter for teachers is clearly evident in the report of Andrea Anderson, a Marine City elementary teacher.

> the (consulting teacher)... was so supportive. She would just come and ... she'd observe me during my lessons. She'd say, "I don't see anything wrong. You're doing wonderful work. You're helping the children, you're supporting the children." She said, "If I saw a problem, I would tell you. But she said I don't see any problems." I kept her for the year. *I even kept her for two years because I still felt under the old principal we had, I felt threatened a little bit...*

While the teachers described this purpose in a beneficial light, the district administrator did not. From his vantage point, the Marine City peer review program was not upholding the professional standards and accountability espoused -- the professional criteria for legitimacy. Because of this, Marine City's director of human resources was considering advocating the cancellation of the program.

Program Implementation

When engaging in institutional and organizational evolutionary change, implementation efforts are critically important to successful transformation of both collective and individual conceptions of "the way things should be." Therefore, this section is devoted to examining the implementation efforts in each of the districts. This will be done in a three-step process. First, I will concentrate solely on the implementation process in Fowlerton because it was the first district to engage in peer review and thus has a unique implementation story. Second, a synthesis of the stories of Hayesville, Marine City, and Redland will be presented together because their implementation efforts are very similar. This similarity is instructive when considering the larger population of districts which either are presently engaging in peer review or are considering it. Lastly, separate sections examining teachers' and principals' reactions to implementation are presented.

Having the oldest program, Fowlerton could not base their program on any preexisting model. As described previously, Miller, who was unhappy with the quality of novice teachers in Fowlerton and unable to persuade the state to establish a five-year teacher training model with an internship, decided to establish an internship program, not for student teachers, but for teachers during their first year of employment. From this revelation, Miller proposed a intern plan in which experienced teachers (consulting teachers) mentored and evaluated novices. However, Miller's original proposal met with harsh criticism and condemnation from building administrators in the district through their union, the Fowlerton Association of Administrative Personnel (FAAP), who viewed the proposed program as a turf issue. For nine years, the FAAP and central office negotiators rejected Miller's proposal.

During contract negotiations in 1981, a new district negotiator, attorney Al Schultz, made the critical difference which led to the program's acceptance. Miller explains the pivotal role Schultz played in implementation by highlighting the institution of professionalism within Schultz' occupation, legal practice.

> The school board had a new negotiator who was an attorney.... When we had this intern program on the table, we could never get it accepted.... But *the attorney could understand a profession, and I could see that he was interested in how we were describing the purpose of the program, ... because it was really an effort to start a professionalization program*. So he's the one who got management to put it in place.
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> He ...came back to us and said "Can we use these expert teachers/consultant teachers to deal with more experienced teachers who were having serious problems?" That was quid pro quo. I didn't really have that in the plan, but I didn't do any second thinking about it, I just said "you got it" and shook hands on it and that was the deal.

The fact that Schultz was an outsider to the institution of public education, highlighted by Miller, supports the conceptual constraints within which workers in an institution operate. As an outsider, Schultz was not subject to the same cognitive limitations that educators develop within their strongly institutional organization. Simply put, for workers within public education, teacher evaluation is not some thing teachers do. Within the traditional institution of public schooling, teachers teach, and administrators evaluate -- and never the twain shall meet.

Once finally accepted in 1981, Miller and Locke, the assistant superintendent, worked out the program parameters together. When the program design was completed, Miller and Locke traveled throughout Fowlerton explaining the program to teachers and parents in schools and other local organizations. Generally, the program received a warm welcome from staff members, parents and the local business community. After its first year of operation, the major Fowlerton newspaper endorsed the peer review program in its op-ed pages. Since then, the Fowlerton program has survived many fiscal challenges and often contentious labor relations. During the 1995-96 school year, the program was temporarily canceled in a labor dispute between the FFT, the FAAP and the superintendent's office. It was reinstated the following year with the full support of FFT members.

In Hayesville, Marine City and Redland, the stories of implementation differ from that of Fowlerton, but are similar to each other. In each district, a concern about teacher evaluation and support started conversations between union presidents and superintendents. The union presidents had heard something about peer evaluation taking

place in Fowlerton, or another city, and brought the idea to the superintendent's attention. Unlike Miller and Locke, leaders in the other three cities typically took approximately a year to research the concept of teacher peer review and develop programs curtailed to particular local nuances. MCEA president, Pattra Tuckey describes the typical process, saying

> (The former MCEA president) had done a lot of reading and had heard of a program in (Hayesville),... So he went to visit and came back with the idea. So when they were at the bargaining table that year, the issue came up again so we proposed that we take a look at the program in (Hayesville). That's a program that's talking about peer assistance and it's getting the experienced teachers the assistance they need to improve their skills as well as helping new people. That might be something that might work in (Marine City).
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> The superintendent at that time was very excited about the idea. So they (organized a) joint committee, it was made up of central administrators, principals, and teachers selected by the association. They spent about a year doing research, and writing what they wanted the program to be and what they wanted it to address and basically what it wanted to look like.
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> All along we kept doing checks with our membership especially through the representative assembly about what was happening with the project. When they got the initial program written, we took it to our assembly and had people take a look at it, because this was in-between bargaining. When we finally took a polling of our members, we had a good 70% of our members saying "good, let's do it."

While Tuckey describes keeping members informed through their representative assembly, Hayesville and Redland chose different avenues for informational dissemination. In Hayesville, rather than relying on representatives disseminating information, the HEA kept members informed constantly throughout the process through a weekly union newsletter. In Redland, union president Jerry Schlicker visited every worksite within the district to explain the program to teachers. Cognizant that peer review was foreign to the

institution of public school teaching, union leaders took great pains to ensure that their programs would neither be improperly construed, nor be a great shock to their membership. Teachers' reactions to these efforts will be explored in the following section.

During the process of program development in both Marine City and Redland, action in their respective state legislatures regarding teacher mentoring programs greatly affected implementation. Because their legislatures were discussing teacher mentoring programs both Marine City and Redland sought funding for their programs as "pilot programs" because of the mentoring component inherent in peer review. In Redland, the actual programmatic structure was altered to secure funding, which proved problematic in implementation. RFT vice president, John Denzer, recalls the period of implementation, saying

> At the same time we were underway with the design of (the program), the state legislature was considering changing the state education law that would provide some grant funding for mentor programs. So, at the same time we were doing this, we applied for... and we received a grant of about $600,000. However, the grant had some strings attached to it which on the balance was good but it just (required) ...a couple more things that needed to be incorporated into the planning... at the 11th hour.
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> In the state program, there was a 20% reduction in teaching responsibilities for first year teacher -- which at the secondary level makes absolute sense. To this day, I'm sure that whoever wrote the legislation only had in mind secondary teachers because instead of teaching five which is the traditional, you'd teach four. Well, it's not so easy a fix for an elementary teacher or a special education teacher... So that was a challenge to work that out. But we worked it out and the first year we had over 170 interns in the program.

While reduced workloads are common during the induction period of practitioners in other professions, they are virtually unheard of within teaching. Although logistically

problematic, as Denzer stated, teachers in Redland reported that the reduction was very worthwhile during their first year teaching.

While Marine City was able to secure $100,000 per year from their state house initially, it also forced them to hurriedly start their program in the middle of the school year. This, in turn, created problems in the schools where consulting teachers were currently teaching. Lee Santos, a member of the planning committee and director of human resources, explains,

> There was movement afoot in the legislature,.... People were saying, "Well, geez, ...we need to think about implementing mid year." So it was like "Oh, man!" ...It wouldn't have even hurt so much for secondary teachers because their workload often changes over (semester break). But for the elementary teachers, you have to take (into account things like), you've got your kindergarten child in Miss Karschnick's class. She's a master teacher. Now you rip that teacher out and she goes in (the program), and she *wants* to go into the program. She loves the program. We got many, many negative comments from, from doing implementation in mid year. We did it because we knew the legislature was meeting and we wanted to show that this model could work. ...They ultimately did put some money towards the program. I think it was $100,000 per year.

The unintended consequences of starting the program in mid-year thus generated a measure of animosity among some parents that would have been either non-existent, or greatly reduced had the program started at the beginning of the school year.

Although Hayesville also started their program at semester break, they avoided the problems experienced in Marine City by starting on a small scale, with only intervention participants. HEA president, Boss, describes the implementation saying,

> We started with the intervention phase first and in the middle of the year. So we started with only three or four consultants and only a very, very few cases of some of our experienced teachers who were in severe difficulty. Matter of fact, ... these were individuals that to a degree had become legends in their own time. Everybody sort of knew that (they were) serious problems but nobody ever did anything about (them). So we sort of

> phased it in and had a whole semester's experience of working with just a few cases before we brought in the large group of new teachers the next fall.

Starting the program in this manner accomplished two things for leaders in Hayesville. First, by starting out with only a few people in January, the program leaders were able to develop appropriate procedures and work out initial "kinks" with the advice of active consulting teachers. Second, by starting with teachers recommended for intervention that were so poorly performing to be deemed "legends," they avoided, or lessened, the vitriolic opposition of traditional unionists among their members, than if they had started with more controversial recommendations.

A key component of any policy implementation effort is the manner in which it is presented to those persons charged with the responsibilities of changing their practice to comply with the new policy. McLaughlin (1990) made the observation that implementation dominates outcomes and that local will to implement policy changes is important to the success of such efforts. Therefore, it is important to examine the manner in which the innovative leaders in each district attempted to develop the will necessary to successfully engage teachers in a paradigmatic shift in their thinking about unionism, teacher evaluation, and the "proper" roles and responsibilities of teachers in issues of quality control among their peers.

Presentation of Peer Review to Teachers

Every union leader interviewed was cognizant that the vision of teachers as professionals embodied by peer review would be revolutionary to their members.

Therefore, when garnering support for the peer review among teachers, union leaders took great care to introduce it not as "teachers evaluating teachers." Instead, they emphasized the issues of professional responsibility, new teacher induction, and support for teachers having difficulty. Miller, because of his interest in teacher professionalization, emphasized professionalism when approaching his members. Specifically, Miller recalls asking them,

> If you have an experienced teacher in trouble and they need to be removed from the profession, whose responsibility is it? Is it management's responsibility or is it the union's responsibility? Eleven to one, they said "It's the union's responsibility."

Miller's emphasis on teacher quality and the removal of substandard teachers --union members-- is indicative of his deep commitment to the professionalization of teaching for its own sake.[17] Therefore, while not emphasizing teachers evaluating teachers, Miller does address head-on the notion of professional accountability for quality of practice and furthermore, locates that responsibility within the teachers' union.

Marine City, Hayesville, and Redland, however, began their programs as a result of the public pressure around issues of accountability, not out of an intrinsic desire for teacher professionalization. In these cities, leaders emphasized the more supportive nature of peer review by highlighting the difficulties many teachers faced as either novices or troubled veterans under the traditional organization. Boss, HEA president, stressed for his members, the all-too-common lack of support and feelings of inadequacy experienced by most first year teachers, saying

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[17] One must remember that Fowlerton's program predated the recently increasing public pressure for accountability, or the increasing delegitimation, apparent in the other three districts. Fowlerton's program was operational fully two years before A Nation at Risk (1983) was released and accelerated scrutiny of public schooling.

> We were losing a lot more (novices) because... there wasn't much support and they felt tremendously lost. Probably, the biggest selling item with our own members was saying flatly to them, "Do you remember what it was like when you were first year? What kind of support did you have?" We brought out all kinds of horror stories and all kinds of personal testimonial to that. So, that's why our whole process has a variety of supports.

Union leaders in Marine City approached introduction of peer review to their members in a similar manner, emphasizing its supportive nature as well. As stated earlier however, because of an atmosphere of mistrust in the district, Marine City's program *is only supportive*. It does not contribute to the official summative evaluation and dismissal processes in the district. The significance of Marine City's union leaders inability to reconcile the competing criteria of legitimacy will be addressed in depth in the following chapter.

The creation of the consulting teacher positions necessary for peer review was the focus of Redland's union leaders. The consulting teacher positions were looked upon as a means for professional development and career advancement in a manner very similar to some of the career ladder plans of the 1970s and 1980s. RFT vice president, Denzer explains,

> In establishing this consulting teacher position, it provided an opportunity for teachers who didn't want to leave the profession to get ahead so to speak, which had been lacking in this district. I think it's still lacking in most districts. The old song (goes), the only way, you can't get ahead in teaching but you can get ahead in education so you can advance but it's out of the classroom. This program enabled teachers to stay in the classroom and still have additional responsibilities, receive additional compensation, and make a contribution to the profession.

This focus was further supported by the heavy emphasis given to professional development as an important aspect of the consulting teacher experience through several

interviews with consultants in Redland. Regardless of how these peer review programs were presented however, teachers in the districts had to accept the idea for the programs to be successfully implemented.

Teacher Reaction to Implementation of Peer Review

Although union leaders took great pains to introduce peer review to their unions in the most conducive manner possible, one would not expect such a significant shift in the conceptualization of unionism to be accepted without challenge. However, the general trend of teachers' reaction to the introduction of peer review programs is characterized best as *skeptically optimistic*. While the teachers interviewed generally disliked administrative evaluation of teaching practice, many were initially very unsure about the involvement of the union and fellow teachers in teacher evaluation. Susan Wallace, a Redland elementary teacher, succinctly encapsulates the predicament caused by the competing criteria for legitimacy as well as summarizes the prevalent attitude of teachers well, commenting

> It's almost like a contradiction because we're employed by the union and it's supposed to be saving people's jobs but there comes a point sometimes when, if someone is having a really, really difficult time and they don't see it in themselves, for the sake of the kids, you have to step in. It's not an easy thing.

Most veteran teachers when asked about their thoughts regarding the respective programs in their districts responded favorably towards both the intern and intervention components, but especially liked the intern experience. Once again, Ms. Wallace offers useful insight,

> I think (the intern experience) is a nice luxury because I started a long time ago... When I started, ... I went right into the classroom and it was a sink or swim situation. (I) cried for two months every night. I really think the intern program is excellent. The concept is wonderful and I wish I had been able to do it.

Given the stressful nature of one's first years teaching, and the powerlessness of novices, it is understandable why teachers view the induction aspect of these peer review programs more favorably than intervention.

Not all teachers were initially receptive to the concept of peer review however. Ruth Tharpe, a Redland teacher recalls a faculty meeting during which the program was initially introduced to the teachers, saying,

> I think a lot of people just weren't in the mind set yet in the schools. I mean that some of the people that worked on this in the beginning were very smart intellectually.... I think you have to give other people a chance to catch up with you.... I remember (John Denzer, RFT vice-president) coming to our school to talk ... and teachers practically threw things at him. He had been working on this and he didn't understand the problem. Because when you work on something, you already have it all ironed out. When everybody left that day, they were having a fit.

Union presidents in Hayesville and Marine City, similarly reported some opposition to implementation efforts. In both cases, critical teachers were characterized by their peers as being senior teachers who had "been through the trenches" and looked upon peer review as either "selling-out to management" or "as a way to "pit teacher against teacher." Across all four districts, however, resistance to the implementation of peer review was reported to be restricted to a small minority of the classroom teachers.

In three of the districts, the overall positive response of teachers to the programs was documented in union polls of their members when considering implementation. Fowlerton and Hayesville reported similar support of 92% and 96%, respectively. Marine

City teachers supported peer review at a lower level of approximately 70%. Unfortunately, district and union officials in Redland never surveyed teachers individually about implementing their program. The Redland program was formulated as a memo of understanding between the district and the teachers' union, then incorporated into the overall collective bargaining agreement upon which teachers voted and subsequently approved.

Teachers' Concerns

While teachers generally agreed with the notion of peer review, they often had concerns about how the process would work, and the fairness of the evaluations. Chief among their concerns was the notion of personality conflicts between fellow teachers resulting in inappropriate intervention referrals by peers, or stylistic differences between consulting teachers and participants resulting in "unfair" teacher evaluations. Such feelings are indicative of the general unease generated as organizations engage in institutional change. In this case, the unions changed institutionally by moving away from, or redefining, their role of protecting members which, traditionally, is a function upon which their legitimacy rests. Teachers in all four districts commonly reported these two initial concerns, but countered that their fears lessened as they became more familiar with the process.

An interestingly counterintuitive concern that did not diminish over time was expressed by elementary teachers in both Marine City and Redland. These teachers reported that although the consulting teachers may be excellent classroom teachers, they

lacked the context-specific knowledge of each school's environment. Judy McCarthy, a Marine City elementary teacher, is critical of the change from teacher evaluations conducted by building administrators to evaluations conducted by consulting teachers. Because of their knowledge of the local contextual factors, McCarthy prefers evaluation by building principals to that of consulting teachers. She explains

> **McCarthy**: It (switching from administrative evaluation) makes me uncomfortable.
>
> **Kelly**: Why?
>
> **McCarthy**: I just don't feel that (consulting teachers) should have that power because although they may be really good teachers, I don't know that they would know all of the intricacies of the building and everything that was going on.

McCarthy continued to explain that she would rather accept the traditional administrative evaluation, with its limitations, than that of someone who was ignorant of the local context of her school and classroom. McCarthy's hesitancy to have "outsiders" come into her classroom to for evaluative purposes was repeated by other elementary teachers included in the study as well.

While I am unable to state with confidence that a pattern of response to peer review exists among teachers according to grade level, I did notice a trend across the interview respondents. Generally speaking, secondary teachers appeared to be most accepting of the concept and practice of peer review, while elementary teachers tended to be more defensive and critical of the concept as well as its practice. The phenomenon of elementary teachers being more resistant to peer review may be due to their unease with subject matter knowledge and emphasis on interpersonal relations as a core pedagogical

tool. Because of this, criticism of their teaching may be construed as criticism of them as people. Secondary teachers, on the other hand, typically have stronger disciplinary knowledge as well as a personal identification with a discipline rather than with children. Because of this, they may be able to separate criticism of their teaching from their own self-conception. I cannot make any firm statements about this perceived phenomenon, regarding either its significance or even its existence. In any event, given the high prominence accorded to peer review and professional unionism by the NEA and AFT, this is definitely an area in need of further research.

Potential Problems

Although I view the development of peer review among teachers favorably, I must give heed to problems that were reported occasionally in the districts examined. Therefore, within this section, I will present three problems reported during this study: 1) use of the consulting teacher as a crutch, 2) antagonism among peers resulting from peer review programs, and 3) unclear bases for recommendations into intervention. These problems were reported by only a few people throughout the entire study. However, because of the seriousness of their potential effects, it is prudent to give them attention. The evidence supporting each of the potential problems was scarce and the number of sites included in this study small. Therefore, further research into each of these phenomena will be of great use to practitioners and may yield important theoretical insights for researchers.

Although the peer review program is strongly supported by everyone interviewed in Redland, an elementary classroom teacher made an interesting observation of a potential negative effect resulting from new teachers' participation in the peer review program as interns. According to her observation, overreliance on consulting teacher may result in the atrophy of interns teaching skills and independence. She describes the effect saying,

> When I was an intern there were three of us in this building who had a mentor and we all got through the first year. During the second year, although my mentor had thought she was doing okay, ...the administrator let (one of the three teachers) go because she wasn't able to do it.
>
> The second year is probably the most critical because they don't have that person coming in. Mentors do a lot. They get materials for them. They help them with a lot of planning. And it's somebody that, even though it's subconscious, somebody's ... keeping tabs on them and they know it, too. They know they're getting evaluated by their mentor as well. (During) the second year, they have to be more self motivated.

Therefore, engagement in peer review, in some cases, may have the capacity to act more as a crutch for marginal teachers, possibly over-supporting them while in the program to the point that the teacher fails to become self-sufficient. Although this phenomenon was only mentioned by one respondent during the study, it may be worth further investigation.

Second, traditional unionists claim that peer review will generate a climate of mistrust and antagonism among teachers. Chase (1997c), trying to answer this criticism in an Education Week article titled, "Teacher vs. Teacher? Nonsense." argues that peer review is more about assisting new teachers into the profession and assisting veteran teachers in trouble, rather than an a "gotcha" in which teachers try to get rid of each other. In a sense however, getting rid of irreparably bad teachers is integral to peer review. When viewed solely as a mechanism to fire teachers, the potential for a great deal of

animosity to develop exists. Unfortunately, Hayesville high school teacher, Dick Buckholtz, after recommending a teacher for intervention, was the recipient of a great deal of animosity from the referred teacher and the referred teacher's friends in the building. Buckholtz tells his story as follows,

> **Buckholtz:** I'm saying now I'll never recommend another person to (the peer review program). Because I've done nothing but catch hell for three years. It's just somebody laying in wait for me to screw up so they can do something... and it's been jab, jab, jab and I'll never recommend somebody for (intervention).
>
> **Kelly:** Did you already recommend somebody for (the peer review program)?
>
> **Buckholtz:** Yeah. And it went through (the building committee) and got recommended and passed on and never went on (intervention). And all I'm catching is hell.
>
> **Masinick** (a coworker of Buckholtz): I can explain why, too. There was to be a meeting between somebody at central office, the teacher, and his legal representative. He involved the lawyer. And the lady from the board didn't show up. So it was thrown out.
>
> **Buckholtz:** Yeah, if you've got that teacher in the building that, even though he isn't a good teacher but he's got two or three friends in the building, those two or three friends turn against you, too. And I'll never do it again. I mean, if the guy sat back there and slept all day and the kids were shooting each other, I'd just...

While Buckholtz' situation was complicated by the recommended teacher never being placed into intervention, the residual anger of the incident resulting in poisoning the working atmosphere of the department, increased tension among the staff, and alienated a teacher who stuck his neck out to recommend someone for assistance through intervention. If such actions were allow to occur with any amount of frequency, criticisms

about generating climates of mistrust and antagonism to the point of damning the program may come to be.

The third potential problem observed concerns the validity of peer recommendations of fellow teachers into intervention. A great deal of the literature regarding teachers' work accepts as a fundamental premise, Lortie's (1975) "culture of isolation." Repeatedly references are made to the "factory model" of schooling in which teachers work independently of one another, each adding their own piece of the product to the chassis.[18] The organization of schools is often characterized as an "egg crate" both physically and intellectually with each classroom, and the lessons therein, being disconnected from one another. Thus, the problem concerning the validity of peer recommendations is this:

> If teachers work in a culture of isolation, without much opportunity to work together and even less opportunity to observe each other, how can they make judgments about each others' teaching?

When a doubtful Hayesville teacher asked this question of me, I lacked an adequate response, saying something like "Well, you *just kinda know* who the good teachers in the building are." Needless to say, it was hardly a response of which I was proud. It is however, an excellent question, deserving a better answer than my first response.

Just how do classroom teachers *know* who is a good teacher and who is bad? From interview data and informal conversations with teachers in the districts, it appears that teachers rely on four primary sources of information; 1) teaching a class for which the material in another class is a prerequisite, 2) student talk both to each other and with the

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[18] See for example, Johnson (1990), Nasaw (1981), Lortie (1975).

teacher, 3) close physical proximity, and 4) faculty gossip. Unfortunately, the data collected during this study will not allow me to provide a satisfactory answer to this question at this time. Instead, I would like to focus on the underdeveloped concept of interdependence among teachers in a school.

There exists within schools an interconnectedness and interdependence that is often neglected in the literature. Teachers are both technically interdependent through the curricular ties within students, and institutionally interdependent through the established organizational culture within the school building and/or department. One common reference made during interviews was that teachers teaching higher level courses (or grades) reported great frustration with the apparent lack of leaning occurring in the classes of occasionally substandard teachers in lower level courses (or grades). This frustration, in some instances led to placement of substandard teachers into intervention. The interdependence of teachers upon one another in both elementary and secondary schools has been a topic long neglected in educational research, which deserves much greater scrutiny.

The three potential problems presented here, as well as the teachers' concerns, fail to substantiate enough evidence to condemn current and future reform efforts involving teacher peer review. They do however provide a cautionary warning for future reformers and union leaders when considering the design and implementation of such programs. The concerns expressed in this section are accounted for in the policy recommendations presented in chapter seven.

Principal Reaction to Teacher Peer Review

The reaction of principals to the implementation of teacher peer review programs was remarkably similar across the four districts. Uniformly, the majority of principals initially reacted to the implementation of teacher peer review programs with staunch opposition. In Redland, the administrators' union went as far as filing a law suit against the school district because "they felt that (the district) was taking away *their right*, which was to review and assess teachers" (emphasis added, Director of Human Resources, Redland). Across the districts, comments regarding the principals' initial reaction ran along the same vein. Typical comments included,

> There was a fear that we were *taking away some of their power*. For some reason, administrators have viewed the threat of evaluation as a power base. (Jeffrey Boss, Union President, Hayesville)
>
> Many were not real pleased with it because they felt as though somehow that was *taking away part of their responsibility*. (Mary Jo Pillato, Principal, Redland)
>
> There has been resistance by some principals who see it as *an erosion of their power*. (Colleen Kiesler, Classroom Teacher, Marine City)
>
> One of the main difficulties that arose was convincing school administrators that *their authority as principals or supervisors was not being eroded* as a result of us negotiating this plan. ...it was initially a real turf thing between the teachers' union and the school administrators' union on who was going to evaluate teachers. (Robert Locke, Assistant Superintendent, Fowlerton)

These comments represent a domino effect caused by adaptation of principals and their unions to the major change within the institutional environment of their respective school districts. Due to the interdependencies that develop as actors and organizations within societal sectors interact with one another, any major change on the part of one societal actor induces forced adaptation from other societal actors. From the above statements,

one may speculate that teachers' assumption of evaluative duties within schools removes from the principals the "latent function" of teacher evaluation as a mechanism of control and authority (Merton, 1957). Facing the loss of this latent function, principals understandably were initially resistant to implementation efforts in every district studied.

Among most principals, however, this resistance was short lived. As the programs were implemented and as the principals actually experienced having consulting teachers in their buildings, their initial opposition began to slowly dissolve. Universally, it was reported that the basis for principals' support resulted from the tremendous demands upon their time. By relinquishing evaluation duties, principals reported being able to devote more time to other school matters. Principal Mary Jo Pillato describes the relief Redland's peer review program provides for her, saying

> I've enjoyed having the mentor program in the building because I know that the three first year teachers that I have are going to get daily assistance and advice and practical guidance that I could give, if I wasn't principal. But because I have so many other responsibilities, it helps me to have assurance that no one is going too far astray without support and guidance.

Pillato's relief over the loss of evaluative duties was reported across all districts. Remarkably, when considering their initial opposition, principals eventually became among the strongest supporters of the programs, even lobbying for the retention of the Hayesville program when budget cuts threatened their program. In Fowlerton, principals asked the district and the teachers' union to expand the program to include teachers for the first two years, rather than the first year only.

Summary

The process of engaging in organizational and institutional change is very complex. The interconnections between the multiple goals pursued by the various participants in a school district quickly become labyrinthine. The end result, however, is a web of support for a process through which some school districts are attempting to improve educational experience of children -- teacher peer review. Whether the actors' goals are accountability to the public, or increased professionalism, they both unite in seeking increased legitimacy for their respective organizations by focusing on *improved teaching*. It is important for reformers at the local level to have a unifying goal to which potential adversaries may justifiably support in order to maintain organizational legitimacy.

As with any major educational reform effort, implementation is the key to success. It is no different for teachers' union reform. Upon review of the data presented thus far, it is evident that institutional impediments to implementation are numerous, and together, quite strong. Principal opposition to teacher peer review has not been addressed in the literature to date, but if unaddressed may condemn such programs before they are fully implemented. Furthermore, there exist many cognitive constraints within which teacher work and view their roles in schools such as reluctance to open classroom doors to other teachers, or unease with assuming the responsibilities demanded of consulting teachers. Therefore, very clear communication with both teachers and principals must be part of any implementation effort. By clearly communicating the programmatic design, the peer review process and the reasoning behind teacher peer review, it may be possible to greatly lessen the trauma experienced by actors within the focal districts.

From the data presented in this chapter, it appears that the three factors contributing to the retention of poorly performing teachers (i.e. poor quality of principal evaluation of teacher, union protection of incompetent teachers, and a high attrition rate among novices) are addressed by through the process of peer review peer review as it was implemented in the focal cities. In each of the cities, the numbers of substandard teachers leaving the district, either through retirement, dismissal, or resignation, increased under their respective peer review systems. At the same time, districts reported lower rates of attrition among novice teachers. Furthermore, from reports in local newspapers and heightened prominence at the national level, it appears that engagement in peer review may have beneficial effects on the legitimacy of local teachers' unions. Whether each of the unions in this study were able to successfully meet the competing criteria for legitimacy within professionalism and unionism, and were able to reconcile them, are the foci of the following chapter.

Chapter Six

RECONCILIATION OF THE COMPETING CRITERIA OF LEGITIMACY

This chapter serves a simple purpose -- to answer the question posed many pages ago.

> How do teachers' unions reconcile the competing criteria for legitimacy of the institutions of professionalism and unionism to which they are held?

Before an answer is formulated, however, the criteria upon which the answer rests must be explicated and explored. The question rests on the premise that the teachers' unions studied do indeed reconcile the fundamental tenets of both professionalism and unionism. Thus, before this focal question can be answered, it must be determined whether the unions in question are meeting the criteria of professional and/or union legitimacy individually. Only then can one ask how the competing criteria for legitimacy are reconciled.

To this effort, this chapter is constructed in two parts. The first section examines how the peer review programs meet the competing criteria for legitimacy individually. This examination determines whether or not the four focal unions meet the professional criterion of quality control, as well as the union criteria of protecting their members' rights and negotiating traditional issues with district administration. The conclusions reached are based upon the data presented thus far, as well as some data to be included in this chapter, and rely solely upon the author's judgment.

The second section directly addresses the question of how organizations, as institutionally constrained as unions, can successfully transform themselves by reconciling supposedly antithetical institutions with competing criteria for legitimacy and vastly different notions of practitioners' occupational responsibility. In doing so, it explains the importance of organizational legitimacy within institutional environments as an important catalyst for change. Thus, this chapter provides a useful synthesis of the data presented thus far with the theoretical framework discussed in chapters two and three. Others, however, may interpret the phenomena presented in this study and the rising prominence of "new" or "professional" unionism differently. Therefore, alternative interpretations are presented and evaluated based upon the data collected during this study. Finally, implications of this study for future organizational analysis within neoinstitutionalism are presented.

Peer Review as Quality Control

When considering if the teachers' unions studied are actually upholding professional criteria for legitimacy, one must examine the effects of their peer review programs upon the quality of the teachers within the district. From the interview data and the documented rates at which interns and intervention cases are nonrenewed, it appears that consulting teachers are indeed upholding a higher standard of professional practice than did principals who failed to dismiss comparable numbers of teachers per year due to poor performance. The table below exhibits the rates at which both interns and intervention cases are not successful.

Table 5 Evaluation Data by District

Districts	Fowlerton	Hayesville	Marine City	Redland
% of Total Staff through Program	50%	60 %	25 %	33%
% Interns not Successful	7 to 8 %	5 to 7 %	5 %	7 to 8 %
% of Interventions not Successful	69 %	59 %	50 %	10 %

Unfortunately, specific numbers of teachers nonrenewed on an annual basis prior to program implementation were not available in any of the districts visited.[19] On a general level, the vast majority of interview respondents reported that consulting teachers were more demanding evaluators than their administrative predecessors. Typical comments to this effect include "a peer teacher is more likely to make the tough call" (Human Resources Director, Hayesville), and "teacher consultants... (are) not afraid to make those hard decisions." (Asst. Superintendent of Human Resources, Fowlerton). Note that both of these comments were made by district administrators, not by union activists. This is not to say, however, that there were no criticisms or concerns expressed about the peer review programs effectiveness as quality control mechanisms.

Interestingly, when analyzing responses relevant to issues of peer review as a mechanism for quality control, an unanticipated division among the four districts arose. While strong supporters for the peer review programs were found in each district, strong critics were not as evenly distributed across the districts. The programs of the two districts with AFT-affiliated unions were described in a much more beneficial manner than

[19] For comparison of the numbers of teachers nonrenewed through peer review programs with the numbers nonrenewed previous to program implementation, district personnel directors and union presidents were asked to compare the rates of dismissal from memory.

the programs in those with NEA-affiliated unions. To most effectively relate the differences between the districts, each district will be described separately.

Hayesville (NEA)

The peer review program in Hayesville is based upon the premise that "good teaching is good teaching" (Boss, HEA president). Thus program leaders did not emphasize the assignment of consulting teachers by subject matter concentration to the program participants. The resulting mismatch of subject matter between participant and consulting teacher was the most commonly mentioned factor by all teachers interviewed, whether consulting teachers, interns, former intervention participants, or normal classroom teachers. It was universally condemned by all teachers interviewed. When told of the overwhelming dissatisfaction with the common mismatches, the president of HEA responded that due to the very late and unpredictable nature of the districts hiring practices that the program coordinators cannot adequately plan and assign to effectively match program participants. Boss explains

> ...it's a problem and I don't know if we're ever going to be able to overcome it. It would be wonderful if we could arrange situations so that, ... we could have all of the multiplicity of needs. This district has so much movement that it changes and so when we pull somebody in to be a consultant, then the demographics may change and we don't have that person quite fitting the needs. A math teacher may also have to deal with all the sciences because we don't have enough of a load to cover all of those things.
>
> ...looking at it from our view of the panel, I can understand people out there feel much more concerned because they want to have somebody who's dealing with the same material that they're dealing with. But you see, we don't find that much of an issue tied in with their knowledge of their material. The only time we find that is when somebody has been completely misplaced in an area. Over 90 to 95% of the problems deal

> with management issues and developing things in the classroom and that crosses all of the areas.

There were also several statements made by people in a variety of positions across the district regarding the rigor of the summative decisions. Of these comments, the observation most often made was about the recidivism of interns who had successfully completed their internships. In a number of instances, interns who had successfully exited the program were later recommended for intervention as being seriously deficient. In a few cases, the necessary recommendations for intervention could not be made because the teacher had not been on staff the minimum of five years to be placed in intervention. Classroom teachers interviewed at all school levels reported instances similar to that below,

> That individual was able to ... play the game, be different when the (consulting teacher) was observing them. Yeah, the teaching changed. You didn't hear the degrading marks that you heard all the time from her when her (consulting teacher) was observing. (Elementary Teacher, Hayesville)

> ...the end result was the teacher is still teaching or was teaching and I wasn't so sure that anything had changed. The behavior of the class was still the same. The lack of instruction that was taking place was still very low. It was easy for the teacher to prepare for the day the (consulting teacher) coming in. It's almost like if they're on intervention, that (consulting teacher) needs to be there every day. For a long period of time to see what long term is happening. (High School Teacher, Hayesville)

Others blamed the recidivism of interns on principals' unwillingness to agree with recommendations for nonrenewal or intervention. Two reasons were given by informants for principals' reluctance, high principal turnover constantly started the administrative evaluation over again, and discomfort of the principal to recommend based on an inadequate number of observations. The respondents observations of principals' reticence

to nonrenew teachers are further supported by the works of Susan Moore Johnson (1984) and Edwin M. Bridges (1992).

The significance of the conditions described above becomes readily apparent when one considers the observation of Gerri Jackson, Hayesville Director of Human Resources. Although she is a strong critic of the recidivism and apparent lack of high performance standards, Jackson still remarks

> I think that in terms of the outcome, *a peer teacher is more likely to make the tough call.* I have found that in both districts that the principals were a little bit more hesitant to make the difficult call and to basically terminate a person.[20] (emphasis added)

Even though several informants mentioned a lack of rigor within Hayesville's program, it was still generally believed that consultant teachers were more rigorous evaluators than principals. The belief that consulting teachers would be more likely to recommend dismissal of a fellow teacher than a principal was reported in every district, except Marine City.

Marine City (NEA)

The consistent refusal of the MCEA to allow their peer review program to officially contribute to the possible dismissal of a teacher has resulted in the questioning of the program's continued existence. Rather than a consulting teacher's negative evaluation leading directly toward dismissal proceedings, in Marine City, the negative exit is merely noted in the teacher's personnel file. The impetus to place a teacher on probation and document the teacher's deficiencies is solely the responsibility of the building

[20] Ms. Jackson worked in two districts, both of which had summative peer evaluation of teachers.

administrator. If that administrator does not take action, the teacher remains in the classroom with children, teaching poorly. MCEA President Tuckey when commenting on this phenomenon, places the responsibility for removing substandard teachers squarely upon the shoulders of school principals.

> ...several teachers (whom) we have unsuccessfully exited from the program, they are still teaching in school. The principals have not bothered to take the time to put them on probation. *We know that they are still doing a lousy job* but the principal hasn't taken up the job to do that. *It's still the responsibility of the principal* to do that. In fact, in two cases, the principal had been on the panel and he still hasn't done his job. (emphasis added, MCEA President, Marine City)

Tuckey's statement indicates the strength of the cognitive constraints within which members of highly institutional organizations view their world. Even while pursuing a program geared toward teacher professionalization, the union president in Marine City is unable to see the contradictory nature of her organization's position. Because of the MCEA's refusal to "police their own," they clearly fail to uphold the professional criterion for legitimacy of quality control.

However, if the principal does move to dismiss the teacher following participation in Marine City's peer review program, according the former Director of Human Resources, Lee Santos, the fact that the teacher had been through the peer review process contributes greatly to the arbitration hearing process.

> We had much better success in those hearings with the documentation that we developed as a result of the (peer review) program. I don't think we've lost a (peer review)-based non-renewal yet... We haven't lost any of them because people see the documentation and all the help they've been given. ... So that clears up one major hurdle for the hearing examiner -- "Has this person been given enough help to overcome their deficiencies?" And when they see how many visits in the log, they usually (have) no sympathy for them, or very little anyway.

Therefore, even though the peer review program and the process for dismissal are kept separate officially, the district still reaps the benefit of the consulting teachers' work in mentoring and evaluating teacher performance. However, these benefits do not accrue to the MCEA, who through their insistence on separation have apparently chosen to place protection of all members, a criterion for union legitimacy above the professional criterion for legitimacy, quality control. Because of the increasing emphasis within the public arena on issues of accountability within education, the MCEA's actions will only further delegitimate their organization in the community.

Fowlerton (AFT)

Over the 15 years of its existence, the Fowlerton peer review program has managed to maintain a level of respect and credibility among both union supporters and district administrators. The complaints of recidivism and inappropriate union protection which were raised in Marine City and Hayesville are not present in Fowlerton. Throughout the district, regardless of position, people consistently reported that the consulting teachers were tougher evaluators than the principals. Director of Human Resources for Fowlerton, Robert Locke, notes

> Teacher consultants--their colleagues--are harder on the interns than the principals were. Normally in the past what you would find is that principals have a tendency to give more "outstanding" ratings. ...But you're going to find that teachers are harder on their colleagues than are building administrators and incidentally, not afraid to make recommendations regarding dismissals.

Regarding recidivism of interns, Fowlerton has only had two interns recommended for intervention years later. When one considers that slightly over half of the teachers in

Fowlerton (approx. 1300) were inducted through the intern program, the lack of recidivism is impressive.

The merit of Fowlerton's program was recently validated through an unusual and unfortunate turn of events. Due to labor relations problems arising between the teachers' union, the principals' union and district officials, the Fowlerton peer review program was canceled for an entire school year. During this time, school administrators resumed evaluation of the teaching staff. As a result of their evaluations, not a single teacher -- either novice or veteran -- was dismissed. Jacqulyn Turner, an elementary teacher describes the situation, saying

> I think the years that we have had (the peer review program) have always had a positive effect. Last year, when we didn't have it, it was more of a burden on our administrators because they couldn't get around to all the new hires and help them out and give them the guidance that the intern program has given them. Actually, this is my own personal conviction, *they were slighted. Our new hires last year were slighted the opportunity to be educated into the (Fowlerton) Public School System.*

Ironically through its absence, compelling evidence arises that the Fowlerton peer review program is fulfilling the criterion of quality required by professionalism and public calls for accountability. The fact that the Fowlerton Federation of Teachers canceled the program however, raises valid questions about the teachers' union *internalization* of quality control as a legitimate union function.[21] This only further highlights the often contradictory nature of the competing criteria for legitimacy in which unions find themselves.

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[21] The FFT president rejects the characterization of his treatment of the peer review program as representing any lack of internalization. Instead, Miller explains his actions by stating that the labor-management atmosphere of the FowlertonPublic Schools had become so contaminated that the FFT was ending all activities requiring collaboration with the district administration. Thus, the teacher peer review program was a victim of this more far-reaching action.

Redland (AFT)

Like Fowlerton, Redland has also been able to maintain a peer review program which is consistently regarded as credible and effective. The Redland program has never had a case of recidivism, nor would they support the placement of a former intern back into intervention. When asked about recidivism, the coordinator of Redland's program stated that the joint governing panel would rather recommend termination than allow someone to go through the program twice.

As in the other cities, the vast majority of people indicated that consulting teachers were much more demanding evaluators than building principals. Both union and district officials repeatedly made reference to the poor quality of administrative evaluations, when talking about the strength of their peer-based evaluations. Director of Human Resources, Aurelio Rodriguez, highlights the relative weakness of administrative evaluations, saying

> An administrator is required to do a minimum of three observations and a final evaluation on all new teachers. Over the last several years, an analysis from the department of human resources showed that somewhere between 40 and 60%... of new teachers were not getting their full complement of three observations and one evaluation. So they weren't even getting that full contractual observation or evaluation and ... those are the minimum. That's probably the most you're going to get. In the mentoring program, a mentor has somewhere between 55 and 75 contacts and formal observations with their interns. Question to you is whose recommendation would you support? The one who has been in the classroom three or four times or the one that's been in contact with this mentor 50, 60 or 70 times?
>
> It is my belief that if there's a conflict between the administrative recommendation and the teacher mentor recommendation, that I would be more inclined to support the mentor's recommendation because of so much more contact that they have with that intern as opposed to the administrator's contact.

The program leaders' commitment to maintaining the integrity of program through monitoring consulting teachers, having small caseloads per consultant, forbidding recidivism, and releasing consulting teachers for only half of their teaching load has worked to produce an exemplary program which successfully mentors and evaluates teachers.

Professional Legitimacy

Reviewing the programmatic features and quality control indicators in each district, I conclude that all four programs studied are contributing to the betterment of the overall quality of teachers in their respective districts. Although admirable, these contributions are necessary *but not sufficient* to meet the professional criterion for quality. To do so, the unions, as professional organizations, must take/accept collective responsibility for self-regulated quality control of their members. From the data gathered for this study, it is apparent that the teachers' unions of Hayesville, Fowlerton, and Redland, accept the necessary responsibility. The Marine City Education Association, however, refuses to accept responsibility for such self-regulation of quality among their members and so does not meet the professional criteria for legitimacy. Thus, the MCEA is professionally illegitimate.

Of the three teachers' unions accepting the requisite responsibility, as indicated earlier, there are varying levels of effectiveness and programmatic quality. Because of the manner in which consulting teachers are assigned by subject matter specialty and lack of recidivism, the programs in Fowlerton and Redland are superior to Hayesville's program.

The program developed in Hayesville, although more demanding than principal evaluation, does appear to be fundamentally flawed. The HEA program seems to operate in ignorance of the research supporting the great importance of a deep knowledge of one's subject matter, and of subject-specific pedagogy (e.g., Ball, 1991; Lampert, 1990; Wineburg & Wilson, 1991). This fact alone does not alter the judgment that HEA accepts responsibility for quality among its members because their consulting teachers do actively contribute to the dismissal of substandard teachers from their ranks -- an action taboo to traditional labor unions. However, the HEA engages in professional unionism *poorly* by not making use of readily available pedagogical research or their member's complaints regarding curricular mismatches between consulting teachers and program participants.[22]

Redland's unique programmatic structure of releasing consultant teachers for a maximum of half-time, allows a smaller caseload ratio. This facet of their design works to the benefit of program participants by allowing a much closer working arrangement than in any of the other districts. It also allows more closely matched assignment of consulting teachers according to subject matter to be made. While beneficial for program participants, it may not be most beneficial for elementary students however. Although no data was gathered from students or parents during this study, it seems that splitting an elementary classroom between two consulting teachers, each with a half-time assignment may be problematic for the students. Further study in Redland on the effects of splitting elementary instruction in this way should be conducted.

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[22] When I last spoke with the president of the HEA, he reported that the peer review program's governing panel would be taking this issue under advisement.

Union Legitimacy

When answering the question of whether the unions studied uphold the criteria of legitimacy as a union, one must first focus upon the traditional concerns of unions -- wages, working conditions, due process, and job security. In all four districts, the unions were reported to be strong negotiators with district officials. In no district were accusations of "selling out to management" made by even the most critical of informants. In fact, a history of adversarial, sometimes contentious, bargaining was present in each district. Although district-union cooperation through peer review programs did lead to other cooperative ventures occasionally within the districts, as Miller, president of the Fowlerton Federation of Teachers explains,

> It (cooperating in the peer review program) does not make the difficult parts of bargaining any easier. It does help with the stuff where there is a mutual determination to resolve problems. But the tough stuff is still tough.

Tough issues in collective bargaining will always arise. The districts and unions studied here are no different. To illustrate, Hayesville, Fowlerton, and Marine City all experienced labor relations strife during the last two years to the point of considering striking against the district. In each instance, however, the peer review program was able to survive the tough times due to a generally accepted utility.

Regarding the issues of job security and due process protections for members, all four districts successfully met these criteria -- but not as traditional industrial unions may meet them. The teachers' unions examined all continued to support grievances filed by members and closely monitored working conditions for adherence to contract regulations. Teachers' jobs, however, are not reflexively protected without concern for the quality of

the teachers' job performance. Instead, the peer review programs function as exemplars of due process. For those teachers recommended into intervention, by definition, they have been identified as substantially substandard teachers who, without peer review programs, would be recommended for termination by their building administrator. Instead, they enter an intensive program designed to provide the assistance necessary to improve their job performance to an acceptable level. Only if they fail to do so, do dismissal proceedings proceed on the basis of incompetence.

Reconciling the Competing Criteria of Legitimacy

Generally speaking, teacher peer review programs do hold promise for successfully reconciling the competing criteria of legitimacy. In Fowlerton, Redland, and to a lesser extent, Hayesville, the competing criteria of professionalism and unionism were successfully reconciled. The unions in each of these three cities were able to take responsibility for the quality of their members, while at the same time remaining tough negotiators over the traditional "bread and butter" concerns of more conservative unionists. The teachers' union of Marine City, because it could not satisfy the professional criterion for legitimacy, failed to achieve the synthesis observed in the other districts.

In the successful districts, the teachers' unions have undergone an institutional and organizational metamorphosis, *without a great deal of internal difficulty or dissension.* The cognitive and normative constraints which institutionalism predicts for organizations attempting fundamental change were not insuperable. Actually, they were far weaker than would be stereotypically predicted for organizations as historically and institutionally

bound as teachers' unions, thereby lending credence to the importance of organizational delegitimation as a catalyst for significant change. This is not to say that no internal opposition arose in these districts, or will develop as the National Education Association makes embracing "new unionism" and collective responsibility for the quality of teachers primary issues.

Indeed, dissent was present in each district studied when the concept of teacher peer review was considered, most prominently in Marine City. Recently, very strong opposition among a minority of NEA state and local affiliates quickly developed as the national union charts a new course for teacher unionism. NEA president Bob Chase has been accused by critics of being a "heretic" regarding the institution of unionism (Chase 1997c). State-level affiliates from California, New Jersey and Wisconsin have generated particularly vitriolic opposition. Dennis Testa, president of the New Jersey Education Association, when speaking in opposition to the NEA's acceptance of peer review claimed that he "wanted to continue to be teachers' protector" (quoted in Bradley, 1997, p. 14). Testa's position is indicative of traditional unionist's who view "the union in the role of defender interposed between teachers (the potential victims) and administrators (the evaluators)" (Chase, 1997c, p. 28). Within this conception of teachers and unionism, "teachers remain largely passive -- pawns whose fate is determined by others" (Chase, 1997c, p. 28).

It is against this conception of teachers and their unions that the implementation of peer review specifically, and professional unionism more generally, must compete at various organizational levels of teacher unionism -- local, state and national. It is

interesting to note that the strongest opposition to the concept of peer review within teachers' unions does not take place in the local districts which attempt it, but at the state level. This may be due to the rather heterogeneous nature of teachers which constitute the collective bargaining units around which local unions form. As one moves vertically through the union bureaucratic structure, it may be that a homogenization process occurs (Berube, 1988; Lieberman, 1997). The result of this process may be that union leaders, those leading state level organizations, may be more homogenous and more strongly committed to unionism norms and values than the union members who are actively teaching in classrooms.

Commonsensically, and according to institutional theory, as an actor works for many years for a union, the manner in which that actor views the world is shaped and constrained by the institutional pillars embraced by the organization. However, simply applying this concept to the study of teachers' unions at the national level leads to an apparent paradox. Equating hierarchical position within a union bureaucracy directly to dogmatic adherence to institutional constraints suggests that national leaders, such as Shanker or Chase, would be the most dogmatic of all union members. Clearly, this is not the case. Rather than being the most conservative unionists, national union presidents are advocating for fundamental change and reform within their organizational structure and focus.

To explain this, one must understand the various activities in which organizational actors engage, or the "ecology of games," within large bureaucratic structures (Firestone, 1989). Because of their role within the NEA organizational structure, state level unions

are actively engaged in the collective bargaining process through support services supplied to local districts. Because of their ongoing engagement in collective bargaining and arbitration, state level union leaders become immersed in the industrial paradigm of unionism. As a result, the institutional constraints inherent within industrial unionism can have a large effect on the decisions and actions of such leaders. Leaders of the national teachers' unions however, do not engage in collective bargaining with local school districts. Because of this, institutional constraints which may be so strong among state level unionism can atrophy among national leaders. The resultant weakening of cognitive constraints allows national leaders to explore options beyond the traditional norms of the institutional paradigm within which rank-and-file union members must operate.

Peer Review and Organizational Legitimacy

As explained theoretically in chapter two, and presented empirically in chapter five, legitimacy within a societal sector is a critical resource for organizations. Teachers' unions are no different. Repeatedly, respondents reported that increasing *technical* demands for better teaching, increased student achievement and strengthened accountability systems were motivating factors for unions and districts to consider peer review-based teacher evaluation. The increasingly technical environment in which schools and teachers' unions must currently operate requires the redefinition of the criteria upon which legitimacy is to be granted. Because organizational legitimacy is necessary for survival, the increasing delegitimation of public education and teachers' unions poses a serious organizational threat. As Oliver (1991) observed, within a changing institutional

environment, organizations may respond in any of several ways. The teachers' unions studied here chose to respond by modifying their institutionalized norms to better meet the emerging, more technical, criteria for organizational legitimacy within public education. Peer review was their mechanism for change. Whether the implementation of teacher peer review programs and the resultant toughening of teacher evaluation standards has had a demonstrable effect on the public has yet to be seen however.

Because of the nature of this study, it is difficult to reach any definite conclusions regarding the effects of engaging in peer review on the organizational legitimacy of the teachers' unions studied. All persons interviewed during this study were members of the educational community and institutional environment. Therefore, accurate descriptions of the effects of these programs on more broadly-conceived organizational legitimacy are anecdotal at best. The most concrete evidence of increased legitimacy was an editorial published in Fowlerton's major newspaper (9/28/81), which applauded the efforts of the union and district for establishing their peer review program. Furthermore, within Fowlerton, both the union president and the director of human resources reported that during the first years of the program, parents expressed their gratitude that the issue of teacher quality was being addressed during informational meetings in which the peer review program was explained.

Evidence also exists which supports increased legitimacy and professionalization for teachers in both Redland and Hayesville. In Redland, Mary Jo Pillato, a principal reports that their peer review program

> raises the value of teaching as a profession. It provides a career ladder. It gives value to those teachers that have worked hard and have been effective.

The establishment of a qualitative hierarchy in which excellence is recognized and rewarded is imperative for an occupation to be deemed professionally legitimate (Labaree, 1989). Thus, by honoring those excellent teachers and culling from their ranks those teachers deemed substandard, peer review contributes to the legitimation of teachers and their unions according to Labaree's (1989) criteria of an occupation recognizing that its practitioners differ qualitatively.

Further anecdotal evidence supporting the legitimation of teachers and their unions can be gleaned from the interview data. In Hayesville, the consulting teachers' expertise is recognized through their participation, and the union's cooperation, in teaching courses at a nearby major university. In Marine City, the business community supported the teachers' union's efforts by contributing funds toward the establishment and implementation of their peer review program. In Redland and Hayesville, participation in the joint governing panel of their respective peer review programs has been a foundation upon which further collaborative efforts between the teachers' unions and district officials. Empirical study of the relationship between the implementation of teacher peer review programs and community members' perceptions of the union are needed to better examine this phenomenon.

Alternative Perspectives

Some may question the use of the word "reconciliation" within this study. Rather than a reconciliation, the adoption of peer review can be construed as simply adapting a organizational procedure normally affiliated with the professions of medicine and law into

unions which remain essentially unaltered. This argument, however, fails to recognize the significance of union members contributing to summative evaluation decisions of fellow union members. Such actions are not only antithetical, but heretical, to the fundamental tenets of traditional unionism. For local unions to implement effective teacher peer review procedures, their members must first accept that it is their professional responsibility to maintain the quality of teaching among their peers. Through their actions, some local teachers' unions are beginning to give shape to an emergent institution distinguishable from both industrial unionism and professionalism -- professional unionism.

According to some critics, the recent shift of emphases in the NEA and AFT may be nothing more than diversionary tactics. Susan Straub, president of Pennsylvanians For Right To Work, Inc., clearly expresses in the excerpt below what some conservative critics of teachers' unions believe -- namely, that peer review implementation is just another way in which unions are trying to grab more power for themselves.

> President Bob Chase of the National Education Association attempts a compelling case for his members to join him in his new-found support for "peer-assistance and -review programs," but between the lines, the old union demagoguery lives on.
>
> Throughout his argument, the intent is clear: The NEA's current drumbeating for peer-review adoption is about the *union* "taking charge of their profession," not *teachers.*
>
> What better way to whip recalcitrant nonunion teachers into joining the union that controlled their review, assistance and dismissal recommendations?
>
> Mr. Chase is absolutely right when he calls peer assistance and review "tough-minded unionism at its best." Adding one more link to the chain that will bind every teacher to the local union official and behemoth national union is the most basic union organizing tactic.
>
> School directors, taxpayers, and competent teachers should view this newest bandwagon led by the NEA with a wary eye. (original emphasis, Straub, 1997, p. 35)

While one may characterize Straub's interpretation of peer review as a mechanism to "bind every teacher" to their teachers' unions as extreme, Myron Lieberman, a former union advocate now turned critic and prominent author, has repeatedly argued that teachers' unions' primary interest is that of power and at time conflicts directly with the interests of teachers.

In his latest book, The Teachers Unions (1997) Lieberman highlights the conflicting interests of unions as organizations and their members, classroom teachers. Lieberman explains

> On some matters, the union interests coincide with teacher interests, but on others, there is an actual or potential conflict of interest. For example, the teachers are consumers of representational services. The unions are producers of them. In this capacity, it is in the union's interest to be paid more, in the teachers' interest to pay less. The union's interest lies in persuading members that they are receiving excellent service for their dues; the member interest lies in getting all the facts, not simply those which strengthen the union's position. (p. 3)

While Lieberman's focus above is on fiscal matters, it does support a position that, although legally bound by labor statutes to do otherwise, teachers' unions may not necessarily act in the best interests of teachers. Although Straub uses this line of argument directly against the implementation of peer review, I believe that it is inappropriately applied to the phenomenon under study.

As structured in the three cities successfully reconciling professionalism and unionism, peer review programs do not aggregate power to unions at the cost of their members. Instead, unions are accepting a much greater proportion of the responsibility (and risk) for maintaining quality control. If consulting teachers (union members) fail to uphold quality standards, or the unions refuse to accept the requisite responsibility, no

benefit at all accrues to the union. When, as in Marine City, unions act in the interest of protecting jobs at the expense of quality education, they only further delegitimate themselves as professional organizations and further weaken their already marginal status with the public. Furthermore, because public schools are institutions of the state, representatives of the public, district administrators cannot abdicate all authority over evaluation procedures. Therefore, rather than peer review becoming a tool of independent teachers' unions, they are mechanisms in which both the district administrators and the union representatives must cooperate. The result of which may be, as it was in Fowlerton, Hayesville, and Redland additional cooperative ventures aimed at improving the educational experiences of children.

Other critics take a different approach however, labeling peer review as a mechanism for "union-busting." The November 1997 issue of NEA Today featured a pair of articles debating the merits of peer review with an accompanying internet discussion forum. In the internet discussion, 72% of respondents thought peer review would negatively impact both teachers and unions (http://www.nea.org/neatoday/9711/debate.html#forum). Typical comments included

> I could think of no more effective union busting tool than turning members against one another. The job of a union is to look out for its members. Why would one pay dues to an organization that would work against them in favor of management? (Chris Henderson, http://www.nea.org/neatoday/9711/messages/72.html)

> Peer review is the worst idea to come along in quite a while. First of all, simply by choosing some staff as peer reviewers, you are splitting the faculty into "good" and "not-so-good." ... Our teachers' unions must remain strong, united and supportive. (Al Stein, http://www.nea.org/neatoday/9711/messages/48.html)

> This is the worst of your many bad policies that consume my dues money... There is no way that a peer teacher can judge another teacher without the same political agenda every educator follows. Giving union support to this undercuts my right to be represented against arbitrary termination actions. Tenure and job security are what the union needs to focus on. (Peter Thorpe, http://www.nea.org/neatoday/9711/messages/53.html)

> Evaluation is a tool of a bureaucratic or authoritarian scheme of organization; whereas mentoring is collegial and helping. What do you get when you mix the two? --- vindictive or territorial teachers entering the program in order to exercise more power than they have ever had before... They are like the brown shirts of Germany, turning in friends and family to gain favor with the party. (Larry Wilson, http://www.nea.org/neatoday/9711/messages/74.html)

Critics, such as these, miss the point that the teacher peer review programs, as currently operated, first provide assistance to novices and teachers in need. Only after an extended time of observation and interaction between consulting teachers and program participants are summative decisions made. From the tone of the comments above, it appears that the writers are unfamiliar with districts which actually operate peer review programs. In no interview conducted during this study were any of the above problems described by respondents. There were no charges of "union busting," of divisiveness caused by consulting teacher selection, of vested political agendas, or description of "territorial teachers" reminiscent of Nazis. In the opinion of this author, such comments are indicative of emotional hyperbole uttered by persons whose institutionally defined world view is being fundamentally questioned as teacher unionism evolves.

Implications for Organizational Analysis

This study indicates that the characterizations of schools as institutional organizations whose legitimacy is based upon adherence to traditions and organizational

myths may no longer be as useful as when first conceived. Instead, a new conceptual understanding of public schools needs to emerge which accounts for the increasingly technical environment in which they must operate. No longer can schools neglect the technical demands placed upon them. Maintaining a facade of dedication, effectiveness and caring will no longer provide schools with the legitimacy requisite for public support and ultimately, survival. In an era of increasing technical demands and public scrutiny, failure to produce quality learning for the students will be organizationally devastating.

Neoinstitutionalism provides a useful tool toward understanding the actions, or lack thereof, taken by organizations within the societal sector of public education. Institutional theory need not be limited to examinations of organizational inertia and passivity. By more thoroughly incorporating the role of evolving institutional pressures and legitimacy within societal sectors, social science researchers can provide more useful explanations of organizational actions in turbulent, or "unbalanced" environments (Rowan, 1982). Within unbalanced environments, actors continue to perceive their surroundings through the filtering lenses of cognitive, regulative and normative institutional constraints, but they need not be passively reacting. When a state of unbalance arises within an environment, actors and organizations must make choices. What choices are made depend on the interpretations key actors make of their environment. A more dynamic institutional theory may help analysts to identify and explain these interpretations and therefore explain, or even predict, organizational change.

Conclusion

Teacher peer review programs do offer local unions an avenue through which the competing criteria for legitimacy may be reconciled successfully. Implementation of peer review programs in and of itself does not guarantee successful reconciliation, as is so clearly observed in Marine City. When considering design and implementation of such programs it is imperative that efforts are informed by a thorough knowledge of the institutional context in which the various actors involved work. Furthermore, it is important that sufficient attention be paid to the clarity of performance standards and the consistency with which they are applied. Without doing so, teacher peer review programs will fail to reconcile the competing criteria for legitimacy *well.* Hayesville, provides ample evidence of a local union with good intentions at reconciliation, but does so in a manner which is substantially less than optimal. Therefore, while peer review programs may hold much promise for teacher professionalization and professional unionism, they are not panaceas. They must be designed, implemented and operated with great care and in full knowledge that institutional constraints are inherent in major organizational reforms. The following chapter offers for potential reformers a series of policy recommendations and programmatic design concerns in an effort to better inform future efforts.

Appendix A

Methodology

To examine this phenomenon, a multi-site case study was conducted to construct a comparative analysis of peer review-based teacher evaluation programs/policies as well as the districts and unions which support them. The methodology employed included a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection procedures, including analysis of documentary artifacts for all such programs in the nation as well as site visits and numerous interviews in four representative districts. This particular approach has met with past success when similar topics were explored by Susan Moore Johnson (1984) in her study of the effects of teachers' unions upon schools, and by David Cohen and Richard Murnane in their mid-eighties studies involving districts in which merit pay plans had actually survived (Cohen & Murnane, 1985; Murnane & Cohen, 1985a, 1985b). Of particular relevance to this study is the very similar methodology employed by Cohen and Murnane which yielded data highlighting the effects which the fundamental tenets of industrial unionism upon teachers' unions. In their studies, Cohen and Murnane identified six school districts having merit pay, interviewed a sample of personnel in each district, and collected the necessary documentary evidence to complete their analyses. Although unionism was not directly addressed in these studies, the author's final analyses highlight the importance of educational reforms fitting within the fundamental tenets of modern unionism previously described.

Among the "four most important strategies" for success implementation of merit pay plans as identified by Cohen and Murnane, three specifically address traditional industrial unionism concerns pertinent to this study (p. 7). First, successful merit pay plans "define the scheme as extra pay for extra work," thereby avoiding qualitative differentiation among members (p. 7). By doing so, the merit rewards framed in such a way as to be consistent with the industrial unionism focus on "bread and butter" issues. Furthermore, Cohen and Murnane identify explicit attempts by those involved with merit pay plans to "manipulate the merit rewards so as to minimize provocation" including passing "them out to nearly everyone," as well as purposively keeping "a low profile on merit pay" (p. 7). Both of these strategies evolve directly from concerns regarding the development of competition among teachers, which could result in the breakdown of solidarity among the teachers. By adopting similar data collection procedures, this study produced data necessary to reach an acceptable conclusion regarding the main research questions.

Design of Study

To establish the scientific integrity of this study, I designed a data collection procedure keeping in mind the tests of academic quality of construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. To establish construct validity, I used multiple sources of evidence which converge toward reliable interpretations of events and policies. To address concerns about internal validity, the use of multiple sites, informants, and documentation allows for pattern identification among the evidence, as well as the

identification of disconfirmatory data. External validity of this study to a larger population will be limited due to the natural limitations of such a small sample size. As Yin (1994) observes however, "*This analogy to samples and universes is incorrect when dealing with case* studies" (original emphasis, p. 36). The purpose of this study is not to identify universal truths about peer review. It is instead to investigate the changing institutional dynamics within the labor relations of school districts which engage in peer review. From this investigation, the generalizations made are statistical, but analytical, speaking to the "institutional arena" of teacher unionism (Weiss, 1995). The multi-site nature of this study is adequate for this purpose. The final measure of academic integrity, reliability, is also supported by the multi-site nature of this study, as well as the detailed case study protocol developed in Appendix B.

Rather than adopting a dogmatic approach to data collection, I prefer to think of it pragmatically. Because of this, I designed an interview schedule (Appendix C) crafted within the parameters of standardized survey interviewing as presented by Fowler and Mangione (1990). However, because the histories, personalities, and current conditions of the sites included in the study will vary, I will only emphasize standardization to a point. In addition to the scheduled responses, I will allow my informants to elaborate as they feel the need to do so, within reason. By doing so, I hope to achieve a high degree of internal validity as well as accurate accounts of the phenomena of interest.

Since by definition, the informants had information I was trying to acquire, digressions and anecdotal excursions by the informants were considered carefully. The respondents were thus given the opportunity to direct the interviews where I *really*

wanted them to go. Anecdotal and other unrequested offerings by respondents may indeed be the gold for which the researcher mines. While interviews were not be allowed to wander aimlessly at the whim of the informant, a good measure of latitude was allowed. It would be tragic for an interviewer, intent on adhering to the interview schedule, to needlessly limit the range of data which might assist his research. As the oral historian, Valerie Yow (1994) notes, one must never dismiss "the possibility of discovering something not even thought of before" (p. 7).

By engaging the people involved with peer review programs in in-depth interviewing, I hoped to reveal the underlying values and assumptions which inform their actions and policies. Hammersly and Atkinson (1983) support this approach writing

> The actual words people use can be of considerable analytic importance. The 'situated vocabularies' employed provide us with valuable information about the way in which members of a particular culture organize their perceptions of the world. (p. 153)

Yow further supports the use of data collected in this manner "to discover habitual thinking (often below the level of conscious thinking), which comes from the evolving culture in which individuals live" (p. 23). Although the term "culture" has numerous meanings, I agree with the definition given by ethnographer Clifford Geertz (1973);

> Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. (p. 5)

Through the in-depth interview, one "can reveal a psychological reality that is the basis for ideals the individual holds and for the things he or she does" (Yow, p. 15). One can therefore begin to map out the topology of "webs of significance" (or cognitive and

normative institutional constraints) a respondent has spun to form his reality and actually gain access to the world through his perspective.

Data Collection

The interview portion of data collection is comprised of interviews at each site including a representative of the superintendent's office, the union president, a school board member, a consulting teacher, and a peer review program participant. In addition to individual interviews, group interviews were conducted with teachers at each major level of schooling, elementary, middle, and high school. All interviews were both in-depth and semi-structured to facilitate comparison across interviews through a selection of common questions, as well as allowing for idiosyncratic data to be gathered through probing and allowing respondents to identify issues/occurrences which they deem relevant.[23] The interviews involved 79 respondents, ranged in length from 30 minutes to 2.5 hours, and occurred between December 1996 and May 1997.

All interviews were taped and transcribed. The resulting data was then analyzed in a fashion similar to Benzley, Kauchak, and Peterson (1985). First, each of the common questions was examined for different types of responses. From this preliminary analysis, categories were formed and the responses reanalyzed and coded. The transcripts were then reread several times to identify important passages relevant to the study. These passages were then excerpted into a database and coded by city, informant position, and

[23] See Appendix B for the foundational interview schedule to be asked of each group of interviewees.

main issue. During this process, I developed sixteen different codes, or issues, some of which were further refined into smaller subgroups. The list of sixteen issues included

- Impetus
- Purpose
- Quality Control
- Solidarity
- Teacher Reaction
- Principal Reaction
- School Board Reaction
- NEA/AFT Differences
- Programmatic Features
- Implementation
- Participation Experience
- Labor Relations
- Success of Program
- Slow Spread of Peer Review
- Legal Issues

Coding the responses in this manner allowed me to identify patterns of responses by district and across positions of respondents. I was able to do this simultaneously by constructing large tables by topic in which columns and rows divided the data by position and district. Conducting data analysis in this manner greatly facilitated my ability to identify response patterns and interesting atypical responses. This process was done in an iterative fashion with the assistance and criticism of fellow researchers at Michigan State University.[24]

Site Selection

The school districts included in this study were chosen according to the following criteria; longevity of program, programmatic features, national union affiliation, geographic location. The four districts upon which this study focuses include 2 NEA-affiliates and 2 AFT-affiliates, all located in urban areas with one each in the west and east, and two in the mid-west. The four unions represent between 2500 and 4800 teachers each, with a total representation of approximately 12,700 teachers.

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[24] I am deeply indebted to Jennifer Borman, Brenda Neuman, Catherine Reischl, and Steve Sheldon for their very valuable criticism, assistance, and patience, during the early stages of data analysis.

Over several months, from approximately January and August 1996, I collected all references to peer review and teachers' unions that I could find. Unfortunately, neither the AFT nor the NEA, keep a list of local affiliates which engage in peer review. Some of the references were from off-hand comments in newspaper articles or personal conversations. Therefore, the validity of all of the collected sites varied considerably. I planned to collect data from no less than four sites which implemented and maintained teacher peer review programs.

At the beginning of this study, I compiled a list of sixteen possible sites with peer review. The sites were

Possible successful sites

District	Affiliation	District	Affiliation
Toledo, OH	AFT	Pittsburgh, PA	AFT
Columbus, OH	NEA	Old Westbury, NY	AFT
Cincinnati, OH	AFT	Parma, OH	AFT
Rochester, NY	AFT	Santa Cruz, CA	AFT
Seattle, WA	NEA	Lamphere, MI	AFT
New Albany, IN	NEA	Dearborn, MI	AFT
Poway, CA	AFT	Salt Lake City, UT	NEA
Hammond, IN	AFT	Dade County, FL	AFT

To each of the above unions, I mailed a letter explaining the study, requesting information about their various programs and soliciting their permission to take part in the study. From the responses , I identified six districts as potentially fruitful sites to be included in this study. From the six, I chose the only two NEA-affiliated unions included because of the difficulty of institutional change inherent in engaging in peer review with the NEA during a time at which the NEA officially opposed the practice. The two AFT-affiliated

unions included in the study were chosen because of their longevity and unique programmatic features.

Appendix B

Case Study Protocol

I Procedures

A. Initial Contact -- Initial contact will be made by phone with both the superintendent and the local union president. Must have names, and possibly references, prior to contact.

B. Participation Agreement -- A shortened version of the approved dissertation proposal, letters of consent, and confidentiality agreements will be forwarded to both the superintendent and the union president. Also included will be a stamped self-addressed return envelope and a request for descriptive material relating to the program.

C. Scheduling Field Visit -- Upon physical receipt of letters of consent from both the superintendent and the union president, identify a week during which a field visit will be acceptable. Make plane and hotel reservations as needed. Schedule interviews. Confirm interviews before leaving.

II Data Collection and Management

A. Day One -- Arrive night before. Review notes to date. Interview union president in morning. Interview superintendent late morning. Interview school board member early afternoon. Arrange to collect documentary evidence with central office personnel. Gain written consent and interview group of elementary teachers after school. Provide refreshments. Confirm interviews tomorrow.

B. Day Two -- Review evaluation files. Make copies of records of positively and negatively evaluated teachers. Gain written consent and interview peer evaluator, peer evaluatee during the day and group of middle school teachers after school. Provide refreshments.

C. Day Three -- Conduct follow-up interviews with union president and superintendent. Interview group of high school teachers after school. Provide refreshments. Depart field site.

Appendix C

Foundational Interview Schedule

Historical Questions

1. What caused the local teachers' union to consider peer review?

2. What caused the local teachers' union to adopt/reject peer review?

3. Were there difficulties inhibiting initial implementation of peer review? If so, what were they? What was done to overcome them?

4. Who initially proposed teacher peer review?

5. Can you identify any person or group who either strongly advocated peer review or strongly opposed it? Who were they? Why do you think they took that position?

Motivation/Support Questions

6. Why do you think the union supports peer review?

7. Does the superintendent support peer review? Why (not)?

8. Do the principals support peer review? Why (not)?

9. Do the teachers support peer review? Why (not)?

10. Is the public/parents aware of the peer review program? How were they made aware? Do they support peer review? Why (not)?

11. Do you like working in a district with teacher peer review? Why (not)?

Labor Relations Questions

12. How would you characterize labor relations between the teachers' union and district administration prior to considering peer review?

13. How would you characterize labor relations between the teachers' union and district administration after implementing peer review?

14. Has the presence of peer review affected the overall tenor of labor relations between the teachers' union and district administration?

Appendix C

15. Has the overall prioritization of union concerns changed since peer review was adopted? If so, how? To what would you attribute these changes?

16. Has the peer review program weakened members' solidarity within the union? If so, how?

17. Have any tensions been noted between peer evaluators and others in the schools? If so, please describe them.

18. Has engagement in peer review resulted in legal action for any employee of the district? If so, please describe nature of the action.

Programmatic Questions

19. Why was it decided to include only a portion of the teachers (or all the teachers) in the peer review program?

20. If peer review is optional, why was it decided to be optional?

21. Does the program currently have or cause any difficulties? What are they? Why do they arise? What is being done to address them?

22. Is the local union/district sharing its experience with any other unions/districts? How so?

22. To what factors would you attribute the success of the current peer review program?

23. Do you think the peer review program is successful? By what criteria are you making that judgment?

24. Have teacher evaluations changed as a result of peer review? How? Why (not)?

25. If teacher evaluations have changed are they more or less thorough? more or less demanding? more or less effective at maintaining a high quality faculty? more or less fair?

26. Has peer review had any impact on the day-to-day life of classroom teachers? If so, what has changed?

Appendix D

Consent Form

I, _____ do hereby freely consent to participate in the research of Philip P. Kelly, of Michigan State University, and may discontinue my participation at any time without penalty. I understand that Mr. Kelly is conducting a comparative analysis of school districts and teachers' unions which engage in teacher peer review. To do this, Mr. Kelly will interview individuals from the teachers' union, the superintendent's office, the school board and classroom teachers. Mr. Kelly will also collect documentary evidence to support his analysis, including, but not limited to programmatic publications, the district-union contract, and teacher evaluations.

Estimate of Time Required

I understand that Mr. Kelly will interview me no more than twice with each interview lasting approximately one hour, for a possible total time commitment of approximately two hours.

Confidentiality

I understand that Mr. Kelly will protect the identities of all participants, as well as that of the districts in which they work. Due to the presence of others, the confidentiality of teachers participating in group interviews cannot be promised. However, pseudonyms will be used for all cities, districts, and people involved in this study in any publications.

Publication of the Final Report

I understand that Mr. Kelly will retain all rights to publication of this dissertation and any data collected in the process. In all publications, Mr. Kelly will protect the identities of all cities, districts, and people.

If I have any questions at any time prior to, during, or after this research, I may contact either Philip P. Kelly at 517-545-3248 (H), 517-353-3738 (O), or his supervisor, Dr. Gary Sykes at 517-353-9337 (O).

My dated signature below indicates my consent to be part of the research described above.

_____ _____

Signature Date

Appendix E

No. 637. Employed Civilians, by Occupation, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1983 and 1993

OCCUPATION	1983				1993			
	Total employed (1,000)	Percent of total			Total employed (1,000)	Percent of total		
		Female	Black	Hispanic		Female	Black	Hispanic
Total	100,834	43.7	9.3	5.3	119,306	45.8	10.2	7.8
Managerial and professional specialty	23,592	40.9	5.6	2.6	32,280	47.8	6.6	4.0
Executive, administrative, and managerial [1]	10,772	32.4	4.7	2.8	15,376	42.0	6.2	4.5
Officials and administrators, public	417	38.5	8.3	3.8	581	45.2	11.3	4.5
Financial managers	357	38.8	3.5	3.1	529	46.2	4.4	4.2
Personnel and labor relations managers	106	43.9	4.9	2.6	96	60.7	7.9	4.6
Purchasing managers	82	23.6	5.1	1.4	109	34.9	8.0	5.3
Managers, marketing, advertising and public relations	396	21.8	2.7	1.7	496	31.2	3.1	3.5
Administrators, education and related fields	415	41.4	11.3	2.4	635	59.9	13.0	3.8
Managers, medicine and health	91	57.0	5.0	2.0	450	70.5	6.5	4.2
Managers, properties and real estate	306	42.8	5.5	5.2	481	45.7	6.6	6.3
Management-related occupations [1]	2,966	40.3	5.8	3.5	4,155	52.7	7.5	4.6
Accountants and auditors	1,105	38.7	5.5	3.3	1,387	49.2	7.0	4.2
Professional specialty [1]	12,820	48.1	6.4	2.5	16,904	53.2	7.0	3.8
Architects	103	12.7	1.6	1.5	123	18.6	3.1	2.3
Engineers [1]	1,572	5.8	2.7	2.2	1,716	8.6	3.7	3.6
Aerospace engineers	80	6.9	1.5	2.1	83	7.5	2.1	3.9
Chemical engineers	67	6.1	3.0	1.4	58	10.0	2.5	4.9
Civil engineers	211	4.0	1.9	3.2	221	9.4	4.7	3.8
Electrical and electronic	450	6.1	3.4	3.1	533	7.6	4.5	3.4
Industrial engineers	210	11.0	3.3	2.4	201	16.4	3.4	4.4
Mechanical	259	2.8	3.2	1.1	296	5.2	4.4	3.3
Mathematical and computer scientists [1]	463	29.6	5.4	2.6	1,051	32.4	6.0	2.5
Computer systems analysts, scientists	276	27.8	6.2	2.7	769	29.9	5.8	2.4
Operations and systems researchers and analysts	142	31.3	4.9	2.2	236	39.7	6.3	3.0
Natural scientists [1]	357	20.5	2.6	2.1	531	30.1	3.6	1.9
Chemists, except biochemists	98	23.3	4.3	1.2	133	28.8	4.3	3.0
Geologists and geodesists	65	18.0	1.1	2.6	54	14.0	1.0	2.1
Biological and life scientists	55	40.8	2.4	1.6	114	40.4	3.9	1.4
Health diagnosing occupations [1]	735	13.3	2.7	3.3	909	20.5	3.0	3.9
Physicians	519	15.8	3.2	4.5	606	21.8	3.7	4.6
Dentists	126	6.7	2.4	1.0	152	10.5	1.9	3.0
Health assessment and treating occupations	1,900	85.8	7.1	2.2	2,602	86.4	8.3	3.5
Registered nurses	1,372	95.8	6.7	1.8	1,859	94.4	8.4	3.2
Pharmacists	158	26.7	3.8	2.6	187	38.1	6.1	2.7
Dietitians	71	90.8	21.0	3.7	94	92.8	17.5	6.0
Therapists [1]	247	76.3	7.6	2.7	416	74.9	6.9	4.1
Inhalation therapists	69	69.4	6.5	3.7	92	58.4	10.0	6.9
Physical therapists	55	77.0	9.7	1.5	115	72.5	3.0	5.0
Speech therapists	51	90.5	1.5	-	83	91.8	6.7	1.2
Physicians' assistants	51	36.3	7.7	4.4	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Teachers, college and university	606	36.3	4.4	1.8	772	42.5	4.8	3.1
Teachers, except college and university [1]	3,365	70.9	9.1	2.7	4,397	75.1	8.6	3.8
Prekindergarten and kindergarten	299	98.2	11.8	3.4	501	97.7	11.7	5.0
Elementary school	1,350	83.3	11.1	3.1	1,668	85.9	9.3	3.9
Secondary school	1,209	51.8	7.2	2.3	1,237	57.5	6.9	3.1
Special education	81	82.2	10.2	2.3	286	84.0	10.1	2.3
Counselors, educational and vocational	184	53.1	13.9	3.2	224	67.6	14.3	6.9
Librarians, archivists, and curators	213	84.4	7.8	1.6	223	83.5	6.2	3.8
Librarians	193	87.3	7.9	1.8	195	88.3	7.0	3.5
Social scientists and urban planners [1]	261	46.8	7.1	2.1	399	57.0	5.9	3.0
Economists	98	37.9	6.3	2.7	117	47.6	4.8	3.5
Psychologists	135	57.1	8.6	1.1	241	64.1	7.1	3.1
Social, recreation, and religious workers [1]	831	43.1	12.1	3.8	1,096	50.5	15.6	5.0
Social workers	407	64.3	18.2	6.3	586	68.9	21.4	6.0
Recreation workers	65	71.9	15.7	2.0	89	75.1	14.8	4.7
Clergy	293	5.6	4.9	1.4	350	11.4	8.7	3.1
Lawyers and judges	651	15.8	2.7	1.0	815	22.8	2.8	2.1
Lawyers	612	15.3	2.6	0.9	777	22.9	2.7	2.1
Writers, artists, entertainers, and athletes [1]	1,544	42.7	4.8	2.9	2,026	46.6	5.3	4.7
Authors	62	46.7	2.1	0.9	139	57.2	2.4	1.9
Technical writers	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	63	52.8	2.7	2.3
Designers	393	52.7	3.1	2.7	541	52.6	3.7	4.4
Musicians and composers	155	28.0	7.9	4.4	174	32.8	8.8	5.8
Actors and directors	60	30.8	6.6	3.4	96	38.3	10.4	4.7
Painters, sculptors, craft-artists, and artist printmakers	186	47.4	2.1	2.3	222	48.0	3.5	4.1
Photographers	113	20.7	4.0	3.4	135	26.2	6.5	7.1
Editors and reporters	204	48.4	2.9	2.1	266	48.5	5.0	3.4
Public relations specialists	157	50.1	6.2	1.9	155	59.6	7.0	3.5
Athletes	58	17.6	9.4	1.7	80	23.9	10.1	3.9

Appendix F

Although the preceding six chapters may be interesting to educational reformers and union leaders, for those considering implementation of teacher peer review a more practical question is of more pressing interest; *How can further efforts at teacher professionalization through peer review be best facilitated*? For these readers, this appendix offers a series of practical considerations and policy recommendations to better inform their efforts. First, the past actions of the national unions and suggestions for future initiatives will be presented. Second, the focus will shift to the state level teachers' unions and legislators. Finally, a series of concrete programmatic and policy recommendations are offered to local teachers' unions and school districts considering changing their teacher evaluation practices to a peer review-based approach.

The NEA and AFT

The leaders of the NEA and AFT, presently Bob Chase and Sandra Feldman respectively, can play a major role in legitimating peer review as an acceptable evolutionary development within the institution of teacher unionism. Chase has made great strides toward legitimating peer review through his many speeches and writings. Chase has been careful to treat the concept of "new unionism," of which peer review is a part, as *evolutionary*, not as a whole-cloth replacement of the more traditional concept of unionism. Throughout his appearances and writings, he is careful not to denigrate the traditional unionists who built the national teachers' unions into the prominent and

powerful organizations they are today. To this end, Chase is fond of saying that his new direction for the NEA is "about tough-minded unionism at its best" (1997c).

Feldman has not made peer review or the evolution of the institution of unionism a top priority thus far in her short tenure. In the opinion of this author, she is not in as strong a position organizationally as Chase. Having to immediately follow Al Shanker as president of the AFT, Feldman has tremendous shoes to fill. Consequently, Feldman must work within the intellectual shadow cast by the legacy of Shanker. As a result, her first priority is to legitimate her own role as the authentic leader of the AFT, not to advocate a new conception of unionism which may call the legitimacy of teachers' unions into question. Feldman does however have the power of the "bully pulpit" through weekly columns in the New York Times, as well as the legitimacy of being closely associated with Shanker before his death.

By highlighting and publicizing a more "professional" conception of unionism, Chase and Feldman can facilitate the necessary institutional transformation advocated herein. To analyze how such leadership may facilitate the evolutionary process, it is useful to recall Scott's (1995) three pillars of institutions, the regulative, normative and cognitive. Advocacy by legitimate, vocal leaders on these issues has the potential to affect all three pillars. The regulative pillar already changed significantly when the Representative Assembly of the NEA voted in July 1997 to no longer oppose the practice of peer review and evaluation. The executive council of the AFT made a similar decision in the mid-1980s. Within the broader arena of labor law and court decisions, although no federal labor law endorses supervisory responsibilities for only some members within a

bargaining unit, no legal challenge brought against any of the four unions studied resulting from their peer review program has been successful. Whether this trend will continue, or whether the federal and state labor statutes will be rewritten remains to be seen.

Advocacy from the presidents of the national unions will work more slowly and more indirectly on the cognitive and normative pillars which rely on commonly held beliefs and ideas. However, strengthening of the normative pillar supporting peer review is facilitated by a broader social undercurrent stressing accountability within public organizations and schools. Redland school board member, Maureen George, when recalling the conditions surrounding the design and implementation of Redland's peer review program remarks

> I think there is a great human cry for accountability. Accountability. How do we make teachers accountable? And so some people, some board members are really looking for the mentor program to do that. How we make teachers accountable?

This emphasis on accountability creates a cultural climate and normative pressure which support the evolutionary development of professional unionism of which peer review is a part.

Furthermore, advocacy by the national union presidents of institutional reform toward professional unionism affects the cognitive pillar of unionism by making it acceptable to even consider what heretofore had been taboo, namely, the evaluation of one union member by another. The cognitive pillar relies on mimetic processes for propagation of an institution which, in turn, are facilitated by isomorphic pressures as an institution becomes culturally supported as the conceptually correct model. Professional unionism and peer review are not yet accepted as *the* correct model, but their continued

prominence in speeches and writings of union leaders may slowly legitimate professional unionism as the prevalent model. As this occurs, isomorphism will occur among state and local unions in an effort to retain their legitimacy as members of organizational environment of teacher unionism.

State-level Unions and Policymakers

Because state legislatures establish teacher licensure requirements and most educational laws, and because state level unions are often very powerful political forces at the state level, it is *possible* that the establishment of peer review programs may be greatly facilitated through state level legislative activity. However, political tensions between teachers' unions and politicians may work to the detriment of such efforts. It may be possible, however, to craft the rhetoric and design of a legislative proposal in such a way that it may find support from both teachers' unions and politicians as well.

Organizations such as the Holmes Partnership, the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, and the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, all call for fifth-year, or graduate-level, teacher preparation programs. Some leading teacher preparation programs, such as that at Michigan State University (MSU), recently changed to include what is termed an "internship." As designed at MSU, the internship, or fifth-year, consists of a year-long combination of student-teaching and seminar classes. Understandably, students who participate in these programs endure financial hardship due to the demands of their internship, and forgone income that they could have earned by attending more traditional teacher preparation programs.

Because of this, teacher peer review programs can be presented as a method to solve multiple problems simultaneously. First, novice teachers receive intensive assistance during their first year as they would during the fifth-year programs, but without the financial burden. Furthermore, as reported earlier, the mentoring aspect of the peer review programs in this study all resulted in great teacher retention. As a result, it can be claimed that these programs help to retain teachers in urban areas, thus reducing teacher turnover and consequently improving the quality of the educational experiences for urban children. The university-led seminar portion of fifth-year programs can also be worked into peer review programs as is done in Hayesville, where novice teachers take two courses at a nearby university which are co-taught by university professors and outstanding classroom teachers. Furthermore, because of the dependency of teachers' colleges upon local school districts for placement of student teachers, Hayesville teachers were able to negotiate free tuition for the novice teachers and others.

Second, the factor of teacher accountability will appeal to those of a politically more conservative nature. When compared to dismissal rates under principal-led evaluation systems, peer review-based systems appear to be much more strenuous. According to interviews previously cited, consulting teachers were able to provide much more useful assistance than principals, and hence were able to remediate marginal teachers. They also were able to make the decision to terminate failing teachers at a much higher rate than principals. Because of this, conservative advocates can stress the increased teacher accountability and can claim that they are helping to "get rid of bad teachers."

Hindering these efforts are the initial costs of the programs which are considerable. Based upon the costs and numbers of participants in table 3 (p. 69), the average cost per participant is approximately $3,600. Because of a shorter time involved in the peer review program, the cost for interns is less than that for intervention cases. Overall cost of operating the programs can be reduced through early release of interns who are excelling in their new teaching assignments. By releasing such interns early, consulting teachers will be able to accept more interns hired during the school year, and more teachers placed in intervention throughout the year. The cost incurred can further be justified by highlighting the exorbitant costs currently incurred by districts and unions during adversarial dismissal proceedings which often escalate into hundreds of thousands of dollars. The lack of turnover among newly hired teachers also must be included in any arguments aimed at justifying the expense of peer review programs.

Local Unions and School Districts

For local school districts and teachers' unions, I offer the following ten recommendations for programmatic design and implementation. Each will be explained briefly.

1. Go Slowly
2. Keep open lines of communication between teachers, principals, union and district officials.
3. Establish clear criteria for selection of consulting teachers.
4. Provide professional development/training for consulting teachers to establish a common basis for operations.
5. Periodically review consulting teachers' work to ensure maintenance of uniform enforcement of performance standards.
6. Match consulting teachers and participants by grade level or subject matter
7. Establish clear standards as quality performance indicators.
8. Directly connect peer review program with dismissal proceedings.

9. Establish a three semester limit for placement in intervention.
10. Avoid recidivism.

Go Slowly. Because of the cognitive and normative constraints within which school personnel currently operate, it is imperative that districts and unions take the time to educate members of their organizations about the concepts and purposes underlying peer review programs. Rushing through the design and implementation process will only result in generating strong opposition both from traditional unionists who view peer review as a threat to solidarity and administrators who may view it as a loss of authority or power.

Keep open lines of communication between teachers, principals, union and district officials. It is important that open communication exist during the processes of program design and implementation. The districts included in this study used a variety of methods to communicate among the various parties, including weekly union newsletters, presentations at each school within the district, and large district wide meetings of teachers and/or administrators. During interviews, district and union representatives uniformly stressed the importance of good communication and the desire that their district had given the process more thought. It was not uncommon to hear interviewees, such as Tuckey Pattra, president of the Marine City Education Association to make comments regarding rumors during the implementation process such as,

> The first year or so, the kinds of rumors we got, they were funny they were so ridiculous. We started out with "All of the consulting teachers have district cars and cell phones." and "They all have brand-new computers." We all looked around and said "WHERE?" Two of our consulting teachers did have cell phones, but they bought them with their own money. They did not have district cars or any of those luxurious things.

To avoid such rumors, it is imperative that all parties understand the process and the programmatic features being discussed.

Establish clear criteria for selection of consulting teachers. To avoid any misunderstanding among teachers, it is imperative to have clearly defined criteria for the selection of consulting teachers. An appearance of impropriety during the selection process will negatively affect the face validity of the entire program.

Provide professional development/training for consulting teachers to establish a common basis for operations. To avoid the problems of inconsistent applications of performance standards among consultant teachers, it is important that they receive some common form of training from program leaders and/or outside consultants in either evaluation or adult learning. Furthermore, it may of use to the district and program for consultant teachers to engage in further professional development around issues pertinent to the local district to broaden the scope of expertise among their consultant teachers.

Periodically review consulting teachers' work to ensure maintenance of uniform enforcement of performance standards. Professional development and common training is not always enough to ensure consistency in consulting teacher performance. Some individuals, while excellent classroom teachers, may fail to be adequate mentors or evaluators. Furthermore, as close working relationships between consulting teachers and program participants develop, some consultants may be unable to make the hard decision to make a negative evaluation.

Match consulting teachers and participants by grade level or subject matter. It is important for consulting teachers and participants to have a common professional frame of reference. It is unfair, and professionally indefensible in light of pedagogical research, to ask both a consulting teacher to evaluate/mentor a teacher teaching outside of the consultant's range of expertise, as well as to ask a teacher to submit to evaluation by such an evaluator.

Establish clear standards as quality performance indicators. To avoid any ambiguity during the evaluation process, it is important to establish clear indicators of quality performance. By doing so, it is clear to both the consultant teacher and the program participant the criteria by which the evaluation and mentoring processes will be guided. Furthermore, clear standards will articulate for all teachers within a district, whether involved in the peer review process or not, what professional expectations the district holds for them.

Directly connect peer review program with dismissal proceedings. In order for teachers' unions to make the claim that they are professional organizations, they must be willing to accept responsibility for maintaining an acceptable level of quality control among practitioners. Failure to do so will result in criticism of the union's embrace of "peer review" as only more empty union rhetoric, designed to mollify the public into thinking that accountability is being addressed. This most likely will result in further delegitimation of the union. Furthermore, failure to connect peer review programs with dismissal proceedings results in no clear benefit to district administrators who must document and often duplicate efforts of the consulting teachers. The end result being that

substandard teachers remain in the classroom with children much longer and the cost of dismissing these teachers increases.

Establish a three semester limit for placement in intervention. Although Fowlerton, Hayesville, and Marine City do not place time limits upon intervention, claiming that it is unfair to place artificially imposed time limits upon processes of remediation with goals as various as intervention participants, I think they are in error. By definition, while a teacher is in the intervention process, they are substandard. As such they are not offering to children appropriate educational experiences. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the children to establish some terminal point at which a decision must be made. By establishing a three semester limit, intervention participants are allowed at least a full school year to improve their performance. The additional semester allows for both placements made during semesters, and for decisions to be made at semester breaks to reduce the upheaval caused by the dismissal of a teacher.

Avoid recidivism. Nothing will damn a peer review program faster than recidivism. If a former program participant is (re)recommended for intervention, program leaders should think very carefully about accepting the teacher back into the program. Under no circumstances should a teacher be re-accepted shortly after being successfully released from a program. However, in the interests of fairness, both to the program and the individual teacher, it is reasonable to allow some teachers who successfully completed their intern experience at the beginning of their career to be admitted into intervention at some point several years later. What this time limit should be, or under what conditions

intervention recommendations should be accepted, must be decided locally through joint discussions with district administrators and union officials.

From the data and analysis presented within this study, I believe that teacher peer review programs, while not panaceas, do hold significant promise for the professionalization of teachers and for guiding the evolution of the institution of teacher unionism. The above recommendations for leaders at the national, state, and local levels, should facilitate the development of the emerging conception of professional unionism and contribute toward the establishment of teaching as a self-regulating profession. It is important, though, that individuals interested in advocating teacher peer review be cognizant of the institutional constraints within which actors in local unions and school districts must operate. To proceed without considering these cognitive, normative and regulative factors will greatly increase the difficulty of the task and, more often than not, may lead to failure. This would be a great disservice to teachers, their unions, and the students who benefit from having the best teachers possible.

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