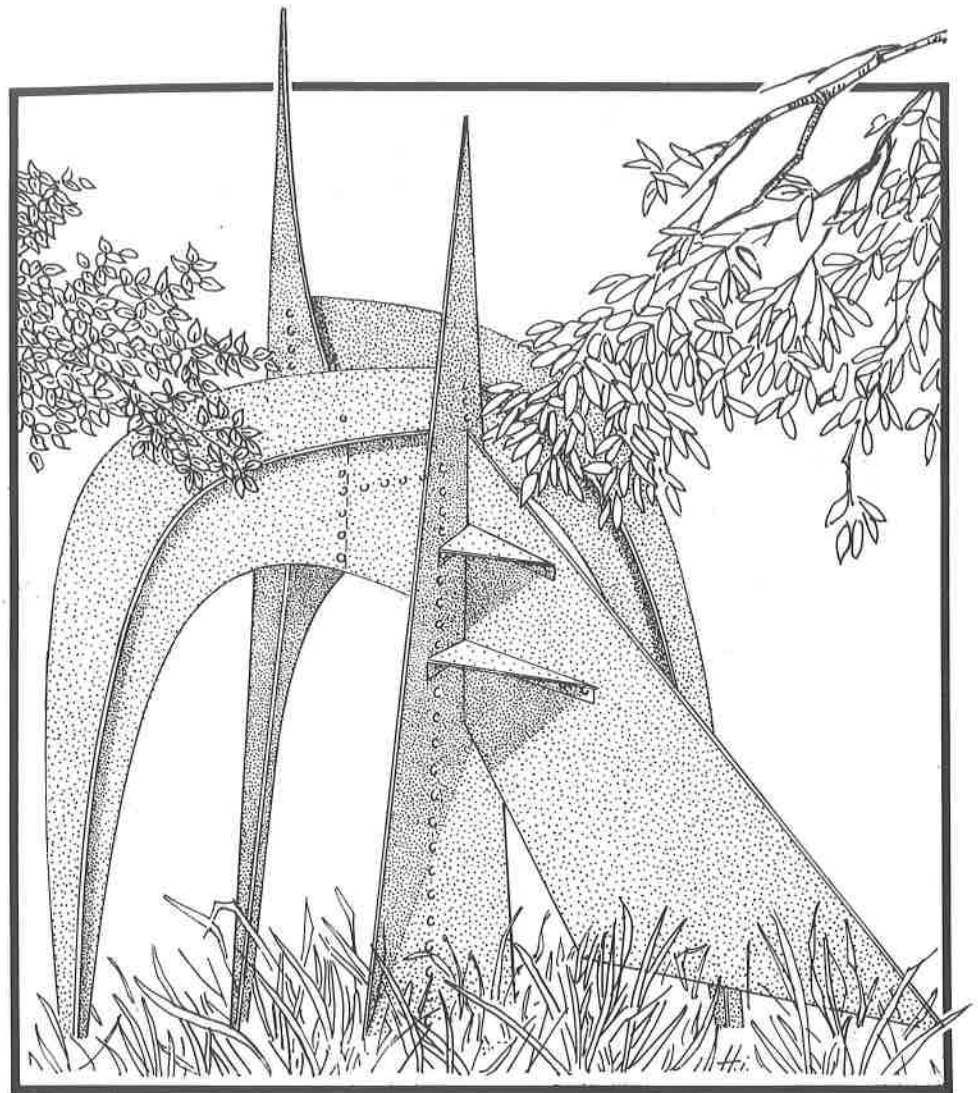


FRESHOIDS

IN EDUCATION



Perspectives on Educational Policy

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Editorial: The Need for Perspectives on Policy

By Patricia F. First

Timing is fortuitous for an issue of Thresholds devoted to educational policy. This issue concentrates solely on policy and presents the viewpoints of practitioners and scholars and some authors who are both. There is an excitement about the study of policy at Northern Illinois University, the home of the Thresholds in Education Foundation. All of the authors in this issue are now, or have recently been at Northern. They study, talk about, and write about policy in all of its aspects--the policy statements, the historical and social contexts, the policy development processes, the evaluation systems, and the administrative implementation. They also concern themselves with educating educators for their policy making roles.

At Northern, as elsewhere, an increased emphasis on the study of educational policy followed the tremendous impact of the abrupt shift in federal policy when President Reagan initiated the "new federalism." This shift, plus the avalanche of commission reports beginning with A Nation at Risk pointed up anew the need to study policy making processes, policy decisions and policy makers.

The main action in educational policymaking moved in the 80's to the state level. We have followed frantic state activity in response to the commission reports, with governors in the forefront of initiating educational change and legislators active in areas they used to leave to state

boards of education. Impulsive action based on incomplete data is frequently setting the stage for long-range problems. At the same time, local superintendents are seeing issues pushed to the local level for policy analysis. Expertise for this task is at times lacking.

But policy is never static. It is continually growing and evolving and policy language is forever in need of reformulation. Even after the present push to excellence has rested in its historical niche, the need for understanding and practicing the intricacies of policy making at all governmental levels will remain important. The authors in this issue have addressed both the understanding and the practice. From "first principle" to a "working" definition of policy, the content exemplifies the interplay of theory and practice. May the reader find much that he or she can use to make and/or influence policy development in education at all governmental levels. We will then have made a contribution to rectifying the present state of affairs where educators are more often reactors, rather than initiators, in their own field.

The issue editor wishes to thank Mirdza Kains, Director of Rehabilitative Services, Fairfax Opportunity, Fairfax, VA, and former National Education Policy Fellow for her contributions to this issue in her role of outside reviewer.



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First Principles and Policy Development: A Perspective from Educational Foundations

By Diann Musial

Policy development in education has a long history rooted in ideology, religion, and the nature of man. Education is unique in these roots for policy development in other disciplines seldom concerns itself with such diverse sets of first principles. Richard J. Deasy (1984) recently reiterates this uniqueness when he assesses the delicate balancing act of setting educational policies. He points out the difficulties inherent in balancing competing interests which span the rights and perspectives of the individual with the diverse needs and demands of society, the values of subcultures with those of the nation as a whole.

Education issues can never be separated from life's deepest questions regarding man and his place in the world. H. Thomas James (1980), President of the Spencer Foundation, observed that "because the study of education is hardly separable from the study of the nature of man, many of the questions now under investigation have deep intellectual roots in philosophy and theology." I would add that the study of education also has roots in epistemology, praxiology, sociology, and of course history. In fact, to discount any of these domains in analyzing and formulating educational policy is not only short-sighted but fraught with potentially grave error.

Yet our most prominent spokespersons on educational reform often avoid discussion of first principles. Questions regarding the nature of learning, the nature of man, equality versus excellence, parental rights, and the exercise of religious freedom are of paramount importance in determining educational policy. It is amazing how few reform documents attend to any of these questions or principles. Rather, most get on with the business of changing the curriculum, adding hours to the school day, or increasing the emphasis on mathematics, science, and literature. Diane Ravitch reflects on this shortsightedness when she discusses the importance of asking the right questions in educational reform. Ravitch comments that our schools have come to be treated like "sociological cookie cutters." She states that "forgotten questions" are rarely asked in professional circles, questions such as "what does it mean to be an educated person? Are the graduates of our schools educated people?" (Ravitch, 1981).

At a National Institute of education sponsored hearing in Chicago, Louise Kaegi, Editor

and Public Relations Coordinator of the American Bar Association, argued that many educators see education as "fundamentally a process of planned change where the overriding purpose of education is therapeutic socialization, adjustment, social problem-solving, or simply moving through a time-space process that must be managed and studied" (Kaegi, 1983). There seems to be a growing trend to view education primarily in terms of social science and then, further, to view it primarily in terms of what can be verified through quantitative measurement. The science of data collection and measurement is not to be condemned in itself, but to limit educational policy formulation and implementation to social science research does deserve condemnation.

For these reasons, there is an urgency to educate Renaissance men and women who can address educational issues in public debate, drawing on philosophy, history, literature, and theology, as well as the findings of social science. We need policy-makers who see the connectiveness of things, who have an understanding about the cosmos, the nature of humankind, and morality. We need persons who care about and discuss first principles. Onalea McGraw (1984) notes that it is ironic that these fundamental topics, which are the basis for human conduct, can only be addressed superficially in public schools since consideration of the transcendent order is excluded by judicial edicts that decree public schools to be strictly secular institutions. The words of C.S. Lewis apply:

In a sort of ghastly simplicity we remove the organ and demand the function. We make men without chests and demand of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honour and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful (Lewis, 1973).

The rediscovery of the importance of analyzing all aspects of a question often from a first principles point of view has caused educational foundations to reassert its perspective in educational policy development. The "foundations" of education concept is over fifty years old and, as in common usage, we take it to refer to the structures upon which an edifice is built. The foundational studies constitute the area best suited to inquire, interpret, and probe educational goals, processes, and evaluation (Miranda, 1985).

According to Steiner (1985) a foundations perspective requires exploration into the nature of policy, clarification of the dimensions of policy analysis, and an examination of policy formation. To accomplish these three steps she argues that philosophy, sociology, psychology, history, and praxiology are critical disciplines. Philosophy provides the inquiry methods for normative analysis, sociology and psychology provide the inquiry methods for empirical

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analysis, and history provides the inquiry methods for longitudinal analysis. Philosophy also provides the principles for just ends and means, while psychology provides the principles for individual action and sociology the principles for group action. Praxiology provides knowledge of means-ends relationships which is central, since actions should be taken that are prudent means to good ends. Praxiology tells us what works and so what is prudent. Steiner concludes that educational policy-makers must be grounded in the philosophy, sociology, history, and psychology of education and she names such a multiple-perspective grounding, educology (Chistensen, 1981).

In the fourth century B.C., Aristotle noted that the least initial deviation from the truth is multiplied later a thousandfold. Sixteen centuries later Thomas Aquinas echoed this observation. Paraphrasing it, he said in effect that little errors in the beginning lead to serious consequences in the end. Mortimer Adler uses these remarks to initiate a sophisticated treatise describing ten philosophical mistakes that have led to basic errors in modern thought. Some of these errors aptly apply to the current discussion of policy; specifically, the error of failing to differentiate between the perceptual and conceptual, the failure to understand the affirmation of free will or free choice, and the fallacy of reductionism. Unless great care is exercised in the clarification of basic assumptions, repugnant consequences will result from the best of reasoning (Adler, 1985).

...variation in the definition of policy not only leads to miscommunication and confusion, but the particular definition assumed by the policy analyst determines the kinds of policy questions that are asked, the kinds of policy-relevant data that are collected, the sources of data that are tapped, the methodology that is used, and finally, the policy products that emerge.

Such a discussion of initial basic errors in modern thought are similar to those cited by Egon Guba (1984) who bemoans the serious problems of dealing with the very definition of the word, policy. He states that variation in the definition of policy not only leads to miscommunication and confusion, but the particular definition assumed by the policy analyst determines the kinds of policy questions that are asked, the kinds of policy-relevant data that are collected, the sources of data that are tapped, the methodology that is used, and finally, the policy products that emerge. Unfortunately, if the reader and the analyst operate from different definitions, the reader will find the policy products irrelevant at best and pernicious at worst. He then considers eight different definitions of policies and describes the many diverse policy types, policy determiners, and points of actions that result from the implied definitions. He concludes with a plea for critical analysis at the policy definition stage prior to undertaking other analyses.

The warp and weave of the foundations perspective seeks out these underlying definitions, assumptions and implications. It evaluates factual claims, projects consequences, tests consistency and coherence, and examines the influence of politically and socially powerful groups on educational discourse and practice. Scholarship in educational foundations is not a form of apologetics since part of its mission is to raise questions and submit all educational claims and phenomena to critical examination. In foundations we not only analyze but bring together the ideas from many fields of education and the human sciences thus performing an integrating function (Miranda, 1985).

It must be noted that no one definition of policy should be glibly accepted. Nor should one necessarily try to espouse a definitive single definition for policy. Nevertheless, not all definitions are equal in their consequences for policy analysis. Each definition calls for its own data, sources, and methods and each produces unique outcomes. Explicitly or tacitly, each different definition has an enormous impact on the processes and products of policy analysis. What constitutes a better definition is of course a matter of values; thus, the selection of a particular definition involves a value choice. Ultimately, an examination of first principles or definitions necessarily leads to ethics, another domain which must not be overlooked.

The great ideas of truth, liberty, goodness, and beauty (ideas we judge by) and liberty, equality, and justice (ideas we act on) are, therefore, fundamental to policy analysis. Yet questions about the justness of a policy are the very questions that we shy away from (Steiner, 1985). It is significant that great theorists of the thinking process label the highest level of cognitive development using terms like Evaluation (Bloom) or Judgment (Guilford). Yet this highest level of thinking which (requires a value choice) is the one most often neglected both in the school curricula and in policy analysis. In contrast to such avoidance by other academic areas, the discipline of foundations naturally directs itself to the questions of morality and justice.

Policies are often analyzed empirically using a regression statistic which selects from a variety of input variables the one or two that best explain a selected phenomenon. A foundations perspective does not limit itself to such an empirical analysis of explained variance. Instead of merely wondering which variable is most significant (regression), a foundations perspective asks which variable should be most significant (ethics).

Much has been said throughout this article about the centrality of "critical inquiry" into first principles. But to think critically is to think and analyze from a privileged position. We can increase and clarify our understanding of the world by changing and comparing views from alternative perspectives, paradigms, or theoretical positions. Ultimately however, the

criterion for measuring whether or not education is "improving" is a political one. To what extent and in what respects do educational practices bear upon the conditions for a more democratic society? If we lose sight of this standard our thinking and planning becomes fragmented, feeble, or merely self-serving. Therefore it must be, and is the mission of Foundations to emphasize the centrality of democratic commitments by providing a largeness of view in the development of American educational policy.

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History and Educational Policy: Reflections on the National Teacher Shortage

By Jeffrey E. Mirel

In the area of policy studies, history is a victim of its own success. History is so deeply ingrained in the policy making process that most policy makers and policy analysts simply take it for granted. Recently, for example, advocates of bilingual education denounced as a return to the discriminatory practices of the past, plans by U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett to alter federal bilingual guidelines. In response to these critics, Bennett also claimed historical

precedent, arguing that the proposed policy change would restore traditional power to local districts, power that had previously been usurped by the federal government (Fiske, 1985; Lyons, 1985). Clearly, a sense of history is central to both these policy stands. In fact, it is often difficult to tell where historical consciousness ends and where policy positions begin.

Unfortunately, that historical consciousness is often based on an inaccurate or even distorted knowledge of the past. Careful historical research frequently seems to be an afterthought in the policy process. Probably nowhere is that more apparent than in the area of educational policy. Over the last two decades, we have seen a great deal of excitement over such programs as open classrooms, career education, effective schools, and "back to basics," programs that policy makers seem to really believe are "new and innovative." In one form or another, these 'innovations' merely represent a recycling of old ideas, and educational historians watch school leaders embrace

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them as panacea with considerable cynicism (Perkinson, 1977). In American education, it seems that those who cannot remember the past compel our children to repeat it.

Given that situation, it is not surprising that a great deal of the recent literature on "applied history," the linking of history to policy studies, centers on justifying the ways of historians to policy analysts. In that vein, my purpose in this article is to present some of the major approaches historians take in analyzing policy, and to demonstrate how an historical perspective can illuminate a specific educational policy issue that has a striking parallel in the past, the impending national teacher shortage.

The arguments that historians use to justify the inclusion of their discipline in policy analysis generally fall into two broad categories: (1) history provides a 'natural laboratory' for testing policy questions, and (2) history alone can demonstrate if there has been change or lack of change over time (Mandelbaum, 1977; Grob, 1979; McCurley III, 1979; Resnick, 1981; Sterns, 1982; Tyack & Hansot, 1982; Graham, 1984). As David

History then becomes a laboratory in which these solutions can be analyzed.

Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot have noted, the first of these arguments rests on the idea "that most significant human problems have a long history" and historical study offers us the chance to see how others have tried to solve them. History then becomes a laboratory in which these solutions can be analyzed. "This kind of historical "experimentation", Tyack and Hansot argue, "has at least two advantages: it is cheap (no small matter when funds are short); and it does not use live guinea pigs (usually poor people)," (Tyack & Hansot, 1982).

This type of laboratory research is ideal for answering several inter-related policy questions. What are the historical precedents for a given change or reform? What analogies and judgments can be made when considering present situations and post conditions? And, what have been the outcomes of efforts to solve particular problems in the past?

If that general approach to policy analysis is akin to work in a laboratory, the other, seeking changes over time, is probably best compared to the process of navigation. Much as navigators determine their physical location in relation to where they have been and where they wish to go, historians plot the position and direction of events and trends through time. This approach is based on the belief that human action has meaning as it relates to past and future events. Here historical and policy analysis almost indistinguishably merge. As James McCurley III argues, "The policy process represents the means by which governments try to resolve issues. More importantly, policies are the institutional mechanisms which allow governments to effect and/or ameliorate change in society. The policy process thus exhibits two traits of specific interest to historians: continuity and change

over time" (McCurley, 1979). Indeed, any definition that describes policy as a course or pattern of action implicitly demands analysis over time--historical analysis (Anderson, 1979).

This approach to policy studies can provide answers to a very different set of questions from those raised in the historical "laboratory." Given the conditions before and after the implementation of a policy, how well have the policy goals been realized? What are the relationships between ends and means? Are specific policies examples of incremental or fundamental change? What new problems have new policies created? And, perhaps most significantly, are things better or worse because of particular policies?

Although I have described these two approaches to historical policy analysis separately, in fact, historians use both as complementary tools in their research. In applying them, historians have access to the storehouse of human policy failures and successes. Such knowledge can be vital to policy analysis. As Aaron Wildavsky argues, "Analysis aims to bring information to bear on current decisions that do have future consequences. Taking these consequences into account (acting now to do better later) is the soul of analysis. Because prediction comes at a premium, however, analysis uses history--what has been tried in the past, how past patterns have led to present problems, where past obligations limit future commitments--as a source of both limits and possibilities" (Wildavsky, 1979).

As school opened this fall, the National Center for Educational Statistics, an arm of the US Department of Education, found that nearly 12,000 teaching positions nationwide went unfilled.

One current educational issue that is especially appropriate for historical analysis is the growing national teacher shortage. As school opened this fall, the National Center for Educational Statistics, an arm of the US Department of Education, found that nearly 12,000 teaching positions nationwide went unfilled. The projections for the future are even worse. The Center forecasts an ever widening gap between teacher supply and demand. In 1990, when 46.6 million children enter the nations' schools (2.6 million more than this year), an estimated demand for approximately 180,000 additional teaching positions will be met by only about 140,000 teachers (Saunders, 1985; Salholz, 1985).

What is occurring is the confluence of several demographic and social trends that make the 1970s and 1980s strikingly parallel to the 1930s and 1940s. As in the 1970s, the national birthrate throughout most of the 1930s was dropping. Consequently, in both periods, elementary school enrollments and the number of teaching positions also declined. The financial crisis in education in the 1970s, though not as severe as in the Great Depression, had several similar consequences for teachers. Faced with declining enrollments and taxpayer revolts, school districts in both eras fired teachers and increased class sizes. As a result of these trends, in the 1930s

as well as the 1970s, there were far more teachers than there were jobs. Not surprisingly, in both periods, enrollments in colleges of education and other teacher training institutions plummeted as young people sought more marketable careers (Church & Sedlak, 1976; Tyack, Lowe & Hansot, 1984; Mirel, 1984; Lenz, 1985; Saunders, 1985; Salholz, 1985).

The situation began to change in the early part of both the 1940s and 1980s. As in 1945, school districts in 1985, particularly major urban ones, announced serious difficulties in filling teaching positions. By 1942, the Depression era oversupply of teachers had vanished, and many of the teachers who had clung to their jobs during the hard times began leaving the classroom either for military service or, more frequently, for better paying jobs in defense plants. Similarly, by 1980, most of the surplus teachers in the 1970s had left the profession, and many teachers trained in math and science abandoned the schools for higher salaries and greater status in private industry. In both periods, the number of available teachers also declined rapidly because of an increasing number of retirements. Following World War II, many older teachers, who had put off retirement for patriotic reasons during the war, began to leave the profession. Today, experts project that, over the next ten years, 30% of the teachers currently in the schools will retire (Kandel, 1948, Lenz, 1985). Finally, both eras witnessed substantial increases in the birthrate with the post-war baby boom and now, with the babies of the baby boomers (Church & Sedlak, 1976; "Mini-baby boom", 1985). William Bennett recently predicted that "elementary school enrollments will increase annually through the early 1990s." Unfortunately, Bennett warned, the number of available teachers is expected to remain constant ("Mini-baby boom," 1985).

The post World War II years are, then, an ideal laboratory in which to analyze how educational policy makers dealt with a very "contemporary" problem. Yet to deal with the past as if it is a precise analog of the present is to be ahistorical. A number of differences between the eras must be taken into account if this type

Today, experts project that, over the next ten years, 30% of the teachers currently in the schools will retire (Kandel, 1948, Lenz, 1985).

of historical analysis is to be useful. First, the roles of both the state and federal governments in education were far more limited in the 1940s than they are in 1985. Today, we expect the state and/or federal government to take a major role in resolving almost every educational problem. Second, except in several large urban school systems, teachers' unions played only a minor part in educational politics and policy making during the 1940s. In post-war years teachers' organizations had little or no say about the adoption or implementation of policy. New teachers' unions are a powerful factor in educational politics. Third, because teaching was one of the few occupations open to women in the post-war years, public school officials could routinely count on a

sizable number of talented and ambitious women to fill vacant faculty positions. The successes of the women's movement in the 1970s has enabled many women who previously would have been teachers to seek higher status, better paying jobs. Fourth, we do, however, have a far larger pool of college educated individuals today than we did in the immediate post-war years. These individuals could be easily re-trained as teachers if they chose to enter the profession. And finally, it does not appear that the current baby boom or the teacher shortage will be as large as those of the past. Each of these factors indicate a major change over time and each must be taken into account in any thorough analysis of the teacher shortage, then and now.

During the post-war years, states and local districts tried to increase the supply of teachers by issuing thousands of emergency certificates to individuals who did not meet the standard requirements of teacher certification.

With these factors in mind, how can we use historical research to chart the course of current policy on the teacher shortage? One area that is ripe for investigation is the debate over the educational requirements for entry into the teaching profession. During the post-war years, states and local districts tried to increase the supply of teachers by issuing thousands of emergency certificates to individuals who did not meet the standard requirements of teacher certification. Fifty thousand such certificates were issued in 1946 alone ("Labor Bureau Says", 1946). As late as 1963, as many as 100,000 teachers holding emergency certificates were still teaching often in urban districts (Drachler, 1976). In response to the current shortage, some states and districts are repeating that "solution." This summer, Los Angeles, which has suffered a chronic lack of teachers for several years, "invoked an emergency section of the state law to hire over 1,250 teachers who lack teaching credentials. New Jersey now allows college graduates to earn their certification on the job" (Salhola, 1985).

Leaders of the nation's teachers' unions such as Albert Shanker and Mary Hatwood Futrell have vehemently denounced these policies. They see such actions as further examples of the contempt in which the teaching profession is held and as a movement to weaken already lax standards for entry into the field. Almost invariably, they invoked the spectre of post-war emergency certification, claiming that that policy loosed a flood of incompetent teachers upon the schools and contributed to the decline of American education. They contend that if we pursue such a course again the quality of the public schools will deteriorate even more (Shanker, 1985; Salholz, 1985).

But will it? In a recent article in the New Republic, Timothy Nosh notes that Albert Shanker, who entered the profession during the post-war teacher shortage, "didn't have to get his teaching credit before teaching in the New York schools, and [Shanker] speculates that his fellow "permanent substitutes" would rank in the top 25% of teachers today" (Noah, 1985). Except for the

dig at Shanker, Noah's argument proves nothing unless it becomes the starting point for historical inquiry. Investigation into the educational backgrounds and the careers of teachers who were granted emergency certificates in the post war years, is the only way we can assess the quality of the teachers who entered the profession under these circumstances. Additional historical investigation can reveal how students fared with these teachers. By comparing the educational outcomes of classes taught by teachers with and without emergency certificates, we can gain important insights into the impact these policies had on student performance. Without these kinds of studies, the claims and counterclaims about the effects of emergency certification are mere rhetoric.

Since colleges of education are once again on the front lines of this crisis, knowledge about how they handled this problem forty years ago could be invaluable for guiding current policy decisions.

Such projects represent only a small portion of the possibilities for historical inquiry into the certification aspect of the teacher shortage. Other work, for example, could focus on such areas as higher education and could investigate whether there were post-war changes in the process of teacher certification. Particular attention might be paid to extension courses, in-service programs, and other non-traditional avenues toward certification offered by colleges of education during the post-war years. Since colleges of education are once again on the front lines of this crisis, knowledge about how they handled this problem forty years ago could be invaluable for guiding current policy decisions.

Coinciding with that research might be studies into the relationship between colleges of education and state departments of education during these years. Since both state and federal governments will be deeply involved in this issue in the next few years, whatever insights we could draw from the state/college interaction of the post-war period could be useful in forecasting the consequences of an increased governmental role in the certification process. Right now, one of the most widely cited recommendations for dealing with the shortage are state and federal scholarship programs for prospective teachers. Would such programs increase 'outside' influence on the certification process? What state and federal strings will be attached? Could such strings harm efforts by teachers for greater control of entry into the profession? While the historical analogies we draw in this area may not be precise, the parallels may be close enough to provide some telling answers to these questions.

Of equal importance to research into certification, is inquiry into how the few strong teachers' unions of the 1940s responded to the crisis. Most of these unions were located in urban areas such as Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and New York which bore the brunt of the teacher shortages. Many of these unions experienced a dramatic growth in membership and power during this period. With more jobs available than there were teachers to fill them,

organized teachers found themselves able to win major concessions from local school boards. It is not surprising that the first successful teachers' strike in the nation occurred in 1948 amid the worsening shortage (Eaton, 1975).

The growth of union power during the post war years suggests that during the coming shortage, teachers' unions may wield even greater influence than they do today. The call by Albert Shanker for a national 'bar exam' for teachers is not merely a response to concerns about lower professional standards during the coming shortage (Shanker, 1985). It is also the first test of union strength in a political and educational environment that is changing because of the shortage. How the teachers' unions will reach for power and how they will act if they gain it is another aspect of the policy process that can be illuminated by historical research. We need to know a great deal more about the development of the large urban teachers' unions during the 1940s and 1950s. How did they use the undersupply of teachers to their advantage? What concessions other than salary increases did they wrest from local school boards? How did their policy agenda change as their power and influence grew? What policy precedents were set during these years?

As this sample analysis shows, even when strong historical parallels exist, the issues that demand careful research are numerous. But it is only through close historical investigation of those issues that politicians and educational leaders can attain the measure of insight and predictability needed for making effective policy.

If history is so powerful a tool for policy analysis, why hasn't it been central to the study of public policy? There are several reasons. First, policy analysts and historians approach their tasks from very different perspectives. Analysts seek knowledge that is immediately useful while historians often seek knowledge that is relevant only to their discipline. At their worst, these positions lead to analysis that is merely expedient, and to history that, in Tolstoy's words, answers questions that nobody asked. Yet as we have seen, historical investigation of policy issues can both sharpen the questions posed by policy analysts and produce fruitful, historical research. For a lasting marriage between these fields, both sides need to work toward a middle ground that respects relevant, historical inquiry.

...historical research is often exceedingly slow while policy analysis often finds time at a premium.

A second more critical problem, is that historical research is often exceedingly slow while policy analysis often finds time at a premium. Analysts struggling with worsening human problems cannot wait for definitive historical works before making decisions. Yet historians, like other social scientists, get nervous when they are asked to go beyond their data and make recommendations based on incomplete research.

This dilemma, however, may be more apparent than real. If most policy changes are indeed incremental, then historians who specialize in the

history of particular policies or institutions probably could use their knowledge to provide quick and accurate assessments of new proposals. Also, historians often undertake research into areas that, at the time, seems irrelevant to policy questions and yet, when completed, proves to be extremely timely. A good example of that situation is research into the history of religion in American education that began, unnoticed, in the mid-1970s and emerged on the cutting edge of educational policy debates in the 1980s. (See, for example, Brereton, 1981; Perko 1983). And, of course, historians can anticipate policy issues that will become 'hot' and plan their research accordingly. Scholars who begin working now on histories of the drop-out problem will find their studies increasingly important to the national debate that we will surely have on that issue.

Finally, and perhaps most troubling, is the historians' fear that policy makers and policy analysts may not be interested in accurate historical research at all. Ronald Reagan is only the most visible, not the only, politician who distorts history for political purposes. Historical findings for politicians from both sides of the political spectrum are often merely weapons of political warfare. And, as in any war, truth is often the first casualty (Bromwich, 1985; Decter, 1985).

The great variety of historical interpretationsoffers at least a partial solution to that problem. Politicians and analysts can choose between well crafted liberal, conservative, or radical studies of most major events and trends. While the interpretations may differ, the canons of historical scholarship, the ground rules for scholarly debate, will remain intact.

But historians who enter the policy process allied to one political faction or another almost inevitably will face a more troubling problem. Where does one draw the line between historical interpretation and political expediency? How much subtlety can one sacrifice in the political use of one's work before it is stripped of substance? In short, how can one maintain professional integrity while playing a political role? Perhaps the only answer lies in Wildavsky's challenge, that the true goal of policy analysis is not the exercise of power, but rather speaking truth to power.

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The Perspective of the Courts: Their Effect on Educational Policy

By H.C. Hudgins, Jr.

Introduction

As policy makers in education, courts are relatively young. The history of judicial intervention in educational policy making reveals that, rather than assuming responsibility for or taking credit for new directions in education, judges have played a reluctant role. This position may surprise critics of the courts, and school board members may doubt its validity, but it has merit when one examines the record. In fact, for only approximately ten percent of our nation's history can the judiciary be properly characterized as activist initiators of educational change.

The initial basis of judicial non-interference may be readily explained by our country's early history. When the federal Constitution was written in 1787, public education as it later came to be known and as it is known today was largely nonexistent. What education existed grew out of the efforts of individuals banding together to operate and support schools. It was a number of decades after the drafting of the Constitution that states actually assumed responsibility for the education of their children. It was just over a century ago, a state court resolved the question of the legality of taxing citizens to support secondary schools (Stuart, 1874).

As public education first became available to the masses, it was state government, not federal government, which supported as well as controlled it. Through their legislatures, citizens gave considerable autonomy to local school boards for making decisions affecting the operation of local school systems. Thus was begun a partnership unique to public schools in America - state support for and local control of education. In no other country will one find the degree and kind of local control that exists in this nation's public school systems.

The one missing link to the partnership was the third level of government: The federal level. For many years this level was essentially not involved with either the support or control of education. However, since the adoption of the Constitution, much has happened with respect to the balance of support and control of education at the national, state, and local levels. This balance is reflected particularly in the judicial

branch of the government, and it has considerable import in the kinds of decisions that have been made resulting in educational policy. That is the central focus of this article, the courts as educational policy makers. For the purposes of convenience, three fairly well defined stages of evolution of the courts as policy makers have occurred. They include the era of judicial non-interference, era of judicial initiation, and the era of judicial indecisiveness.

Judicial Non-interference

This period encompasses by far the lengthiest of the three eras, covering the years from 1787-1950, or over three-fourths of the time our nation

From 1788-1950, the nation's highest court heard fewer than two dozen cases, most of which were handed down in the latter one-third of this period.

has been under the Constitution. It is characterized as an era in which education was ignored, for the most part, by the judiciary. With respect to elementary and secondary education, this non-interference was reflected by the very few cases upon which the Supreme Court acted. From 1788-1950, the nation's highest court heard fewer than two dozen cases, most of which were handed down in the latter one-third of this period. By contrast, the current Supreme Court typically hands down that many educational decisions in only two sessions.

The earliest education cases based on the federal Constitution involved challenges to the first and fourteenth amendments. Those involving the first amendment centered around a challenge to some fundamental rights claimed to have been violated while those involving the fourteenth amendment were usually challenges of the legality of a statute. In neither instance was the fundamental right of boards of education as policy makers threatened (Hudgins, 1970).

The subject matter of the opinions of the Supreme Court during this period is as revealing as the few number of cases the justices heard. The justices revealed a hands-off attitude toward education. An example of this stance is an 1899 opinion. In it the justices ruled that it was legal for a rural county in Georgia to close an all-black school while keeping open an all-white school, despite the fact that the black students had access to no other school in the county

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(Cumming, 1899). It upheld the legality of a Mississippi statute that classified students as white or colored, thus categorizing an oriental girl as colored (Gong Lum, 1927).

During the time that the federal judiciary was staying out of school disputes, state courts also restrained themselves from hearing and acting on education controversies. Unless it could be shown that school board members had clearly abused their authority as policy makers or had acted arbitrarily, capriciously, or unreasonably, their action stood. Likewise, unless administrators had abused their positions as implementers of policy, their decisions were not questioned. A few examples are illustrative of the predominant thinking during this era. A Vermont court in 1859 upheld a school official who spanked children for misbehavior out of school and after school hours (Lander, 1859). A half century later an Arkansas court refused to intervene in a principal's suspension of a student for having been intoxicated during the Christmas holidays (Douglas, 1909). In the 1940's the search for a student believed to have stolen a coin was justified on the ground that it was intended to establish the child's innocence (Marlar, 1944). These cases support the notion that courts believed it best to leave education to the educators.

The last quarter century of this period revealed a slight erosion of the hands-off attitude. Federal courts began to question the action of state legislators and even struck down state statutes. A Nebraska statute providing that children in the elementary grades could not study a foreign language was overturned (Meyer, 1923) and twenty years later a statute requiring that children salute the flag was also overturned (West Virginia, 1943).

Similarly, state courts underwent an increase in litigation from 1925-1950. The courts made this possible by allowing persons to challenge state action under provision of the federal Bill of Rights. As originally drafted, the Bill of Rights was designed to curb the federal Congress. Thus, for many years, a citizen could not bring suit against state action growing out of an alleged violation of a provision of the first amendment. However, beginning in the mid-twenties and in a series of cases that followed, the Supreme Court began to assume a more assertive role in resolving education conflicts. The Court gradually made selected provisions of the Bill of Rights subject to the states as well as to Congress. This incorporation doctrine thus made it possible for citizens to challenge an alleged violation of their rights by both federal and state governments. At the outset, this increased involvement enabled the Supreme Court, with other courts following, to examine initially the legality of various kinds of religious practices in schools, based on state law, that were alleged to be a violation of the first amendment. These practices included the flag salute (West Virginia, 1943), public financial support for transportation of children to nonpublic schools (Everson, 1947), and for providing them with books (Cochran, 1930).

A parallel development during this time was an increase in court litigation based on the language of the fourteenth amendment. At first, the due process clause was frequently used as the basis for a court suit, and it was later followed by reliance on the equal protection clause.

For almost 150 years the courts either refused or declined to become involved in educational policy making. Beginning about 1925,

however, local and state control of education began to be questioned as courts gave some indication of their assumption of an expanded role. When it ruled that Congress impliedly may expend funds for education as a function of general welfare (Hilvering, 1937), the Supreme Court created an opportunity for citizens to view education in a much broader context, and, correspondingly, to transfer some of the control from states to the federal government. This control took the form of legislation with accompanying regulations, increased expenditures of federal funds for education, and the creation of additional questions inviting resolution by the courts.

Selection of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States helped initiate the era of judicial initiation in policy making.

Era of Judicial Initiation

Over a period of time courts gradually began to exercise closer and more frequent review of laws and policies related to education. Particularly at the federal level, courts began to weigh the merits of a statute or policy against a constitutional standard, as contrasted with obvious non-involvement some decades earlier.

Selection of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States helped initiate the era of judicial initiation in policy making. With the landmark desegregation decisions (Brown, 1954) as a fulcrum, the Supreme Court made it clear that neither local school boards nor state legislatures have authority for pupil assignment if race is at all a consideration; that became the province of federal courts. More than any other, this opinion ushered in an era of judicial activism affecting the civil rights of both teachers and students that set a new course for the courts. In short order, the Court struck down segregation in the listing of candidates on a ballot (Anderson, 1964), in interstate bus terminals (Thomas, 1965), and in public parks (Watson, 1963), among other public places.

With respect to teachers, the Court overturned an earlier decision by invalidating a loyalty oath law in New York (Keyishian, 1967) and expanded teachers' freedom of speech by upholding their right to teach controversies (Sweezy, 1957).

In one of the most significant opinions during this era, the Court ruled for the first time that like teachers, students have constitutional rights while at school (Tinker, 1969). This decision laid the ground work for court expansion of student rights including due process in disciplinary hearings (Goss, 1975) and recourse against school board members for violating the rights of students (Wood, 1975).

Lower courts overturned many school board policies and regulations by holding that students may refuse to salute the flag for a variety of reasons, determine the length of their hair so long as no disruption results, publish articles without prior approval in the school newspaper, participate in extraclass activities even though married, and make political statements through

symbolic expression. The several hundred court opinions decided in favor of students on these five issues, represented direct challenges to the policy-making function of local boards of education. There was little question but that many board members resigned themselves to the

student's rights (Southeastern Community College, 1979).

In the first half-decade of the 1980's, the Court has continued to chart a somewhat unpredictable, albeit restrained course. It has ruled that a child has a right to sue one's local

Approximately two decades after the Brown decision, Supreme Court decisions began to take a different direction. The justices began to retreat in their activism and instead started to look to the legislative branch of government for initiative in resolving educational problems.

The pattern of the last dozen or so years reveals a lack of clear direction from the courts.

reality of their decisions being reviewed and often overturned by courts.

Era of Judicial Indecisiveness

Approximately two decades after the Brown decision, Supreme Court decisions began to take a different direction. The justices began to retreat in their activism and instead started to look to the legislative branch of government for initiative in resolving educational problems. This stance reflected the thinking of Warren Burger who had replaced Earl Warren as Chief Justice in 1969. The addition of Justice Blackmun in 1970 and Justices Powell and Rehnquist in 1972 gave him initial support. Although the philosophical cleavages of the justices have rearranged themselves since 1972, the Court did reveal a new direction through three key educational decisions in 1972-73. It held that a nontenured teacher has no right to procedural due process prior to nonrenewal unless state statutes provide for it (Roth, 1972). It ruled that educational finance reform must be left to states--not the federal courts--for education is not a fundamental right guaranteed by the federal Constitution (San Antonio, 1973). It also declared that the Brown decision is limited to the southern states initially affected by it (Keyes, 1973). These three opinions signaled the Court's interest in reestablishing a more equitable balance of control among the three branches of government.

The Court continued its non-aggressive stance by ruling that corporal punishment does not violate the eighth amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment (Ingraham, 1977), and academic dismissal of a student does not entitle one to due process under the fourteenth amendment (Board of Curators, 1978). In these two opinions it is noted that the Court did not second guess the action of local school officials as initiators of policy and as makers of discretionary decisions.

The late 1970's also revealed the lack of a clear direction of the courts. The Supreme Court expanded the rights of teachers when it held that boards of education as collective bodies can be sued for a violation of one's individual civil rights (Monell, 1978). But, in a very fragmented set of opinions, the justices declined to retain or destroy all elements of affirmative action (Bakke, 1978). They ruled one year later that physical facilities and programmatic considerations of an institution outweighed a handicapped

school board for unjustified removal of books from the library, but it declined to state what might qualify as acceptable guidelines (Island Trees, 1982). It held that teachers may be required to perform non-medical and non-educational services for special education students, particularly if those services relate to a child's educational program (Irving, 1984). It ruled that, although school officials are subject to the fourth amendment for purposes of searching students, they are not rigidly bound by it (New Jersey, 1985).

The pattern of the last dozen or so years reveals a lack of clear direction from the courts. A much closer analysis of the decisions than is permitted in this space reveals a lack of philosophy that is clear and consistent. It reveals nonetheless a fragmentation of philosophies to the extent that one is not comfortable in predicting how a court will rule on an issue. This situation has the effect of making many local school board members uncomfortable in dealing with policy questions. At best, they may hazard a guess of what will be accepted and hope the decision is not challenged.

The present state of the judiciary is very much removed from the inaction of our country's earlier history, and it is not so activist as the period from 1954-1972. The length of the present period of uncertainty will likely be determined by the continued service of the nine members who currently constitute the Supreme Court. The judicial philosophy of their replacements may prompt a different course which at this point is clearly unknown.

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The State: Finance and Educational Policy

By Raymond L. Lows

Equality, efficiency and liberty are three American cultural values that significantly influence public policy decisions (Garms, Guthrie & Pierce, 1978). Actions, at the federal, state and local levels, regarding education are initiated and shaped by one or more of these values. It is also widely believed that equality, efficiency and liberty are conditions which should be maximized by governments. However, exclusive pursuit of conditions associated with one of these values will diminish or eliminate conditions associated with the other values. Therefore, it is essential that conditions associated with the three values must be maintained in equilibrium as social, political and economic conditions change. Those involved in educational policy decision should be aware of interactions among the three value dimensions.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationships between school finance and educational policy within the context of maintaining equilibrium among the values of equality, effi-

ciency and liberty. A primary concern is whether or not an understanding of the relationships will help to promote conditions which will sustain continued financial support of public schools.

Analysis of the relationship between school finance and educational policy required the specification of time-frames, and such specification is necessarily arbitrary. Therefore, for convenience in discussing state school finance and state educational policy, three time-frames have been identified, the era of liberty, pre-1970s; the era of equality, the 1970s; and the era of efficiency, the 1980s. (See Guthrie (1980) for alternative chronological subdivisions.)

Prior to the 1970s, the role of the state in school finance and educational policy was minimal. Local school districts enjoyed an "era of liberty" in which decisions regarding school finance and educational policy were essentially local matters. Decisions about school finance and educational policy were decided by educators. In addition, teachers, administrators, boards and parent groups formed a united front.

The state school aid formula in most states was a foundation level program which identified a "minimum adequate" level of financial support for each child and was used to distribute meager amounts of state funds to local school districts (Johns & Morphet, 1975). Most revenue for supporting public education came from local tax bases, such as the property tax. Rapid growth in population and property tax bases following World War II provided opportunities for local school districts to be creative in the design of facilities and programs to meet the needs of local

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communities. New and promising educational practices were often found in high-level expenditure school districts. State, as well as federal, funds were made available to encourage innovative practices in local school districts and the state was proud of its 'lighthouse' school systems.

Educational policy making at the state level during the 'era of liberty' was comparable to the state's contribution to the financing of public schools. Policy making was limited to little more than encouraging innovative practices at the local level. Clearly, robust local tax bases, strong community pride, and state educational policies to encourage innovative practices were necessary to sustain the 'era of liberty' prior to the 1970s. These complementary conditions were sufficient to provide sustained financial support for public schools during this period.

During the latter part of the 1960s conditions resulting from a prolonged 'era' of liberty began to attract public attention. Post-World War II population and economic growth had not been uniform throughout all communities. Some communities were blessed with opulence while others were cursed with poverty. Regardless of the effort made by poverty stricken communities,

In the late 1960s, the 'era of equality' began to dawn as the constitutionality of state school finance programs was challenged

their school system could not provide the innovative practices and programs which were being implemented by those communities with solid local tax bases (Wise, 1967). Hence, a state policy which encouraged innovative practices in local school districts ceased to be functional in promoting financial support of local school systems when an increasing number of the school systems were having difficulty providing a 'minimum adequate' program for each child.

In the late 1960s, the 'era of equality' began to dawn as the constitutionality of state school finance programs was challenged in similar cases in Virginia (*Burruss v. Wilkerson*) and Illinois (*McInnis v. Shapiro*). In *McInnis v. Shapiro*, it was alleged that the method of financing education used in Illinois denied equal protection by depriving school children in poor school districts resources equal to those in the more affluent districts. Plaintiffs requested as a remedy for this alleged inequity that public school revenues be allocated in proportion to 'need.' Although the court denied relief to the plaintiffs, for the lack of a judicially manageable standard for determining need, the stage was set for subsequent school finance litigation.

Disparities in the California school finance system were observed and dramatized in *Serrano v. Priest*. In 1968-69, the Beverly Hills school district spent \$1232 per pupil with a tax rate of \$2.38, whereas Baldwin Park school district spent \$577 per pupil with a tax rate of \$5.48. Although complicated judicial procedures extended the case through 1976, the California Supreme Court held for the plaintiffs and declared the California

system of financing education to be unconstitutional.

Although hopes for a national school finance reform strategy based on the US Constitution were brought to a close in *San Antonio v. Rodriguez*, reform occurred state by state throughout the 1970s. This sustained effort in the courts had the effect of promoting legislation to reduce the disparity in spending among school districts. Little effort was made to reduce the level of spending in any school district. Reduction of disparity was sought by 'leveling-up' expenditures (Fuhrman, 1982).

It would be sheer folly for a state to pursue a goal of equality in spending if some effort were not directed toward pursuing a goal of equality in the provision of programs and services. Hence, educational policy during the 1970s was concerned with the reduction of disparity in spending and in programs and services among school districts. Clearly, continued school finance litigation, robust state tax bases, and legislative responsiveness were necessary to provide sustained financial support for public schools during this period.

In the late 1970s, decline in the economic condition of states, competition for scarce resources, and dissatisfaction with public education resulted in a demand for school reform. In response to calls to improve schools, the states enacted a broad range of educational reforms. In many cases, resources were allocated to carry out specific reform measures. Hence, it does not seem inappropriate to refer to the period from the late 1970s and the 1980s as the 'era of efficiency.'

Since resources have been attached to specific reform initiatives, it is reasonable to expect that future funding for additional reform may be contingent upon the success of current reform efforts. If so, then efforts must be directed toward evaluating the effectiveness of reform measures if the reform movement is to be sustained over a period of time (Odden, 1986; Kirst, 1986).

Evaluation of reform initiatives will not be an easy task. In some instances, a variety of processes may have been proposed to achieve

Educational policy during the 1980s is concerned with the implementation of school reform.

educational reform without sufficient information regarding the process that would produce the best results. In other instances, there is such great diversity in approaches to reform taken by the states that evaluation will be very expensive. In some cases, there are a lack of acceptable performance indicators. While in other cases, resources were allocated to implement reform but no resources were allocated to evaluate the effectiveness of the reform.

Educational policy during the 1980s is concerned with the implementation of school reform. Financial support was provided to implement some school finance reform measures. Evidence of successful reform seems necessary for continued funding of implemented reform measures

and for future funding of additional reform measures. If evidence of successful implementation of school reform measures is not forthcoming, then the school reform movement of the 1980s is likely to be of short duration.

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The Professional Association and Educational Policy: Potential Roles and a Case Study

by Ronald E. Everett

Introduction

The chief reason for doing any policy work involves the realization that change is planned or it becomes haphazard and uncontrolled. The fact of the matter is that any type or degree of policy work is intimately associated with change. Effective change is brought about through policy development. Experience has taught us that change can be deliberate, conscious and intended, and policy study and analysis are tools of those providing leadership and who serve as agents of change. Accepting these ideas, one can begin the

search for the role or roles that professional associations can take in the various facets of policy work by exploring the policy development cycle, examining definitions of policy analysis (which can be viewed as separate from policy development), and studying change strategies.

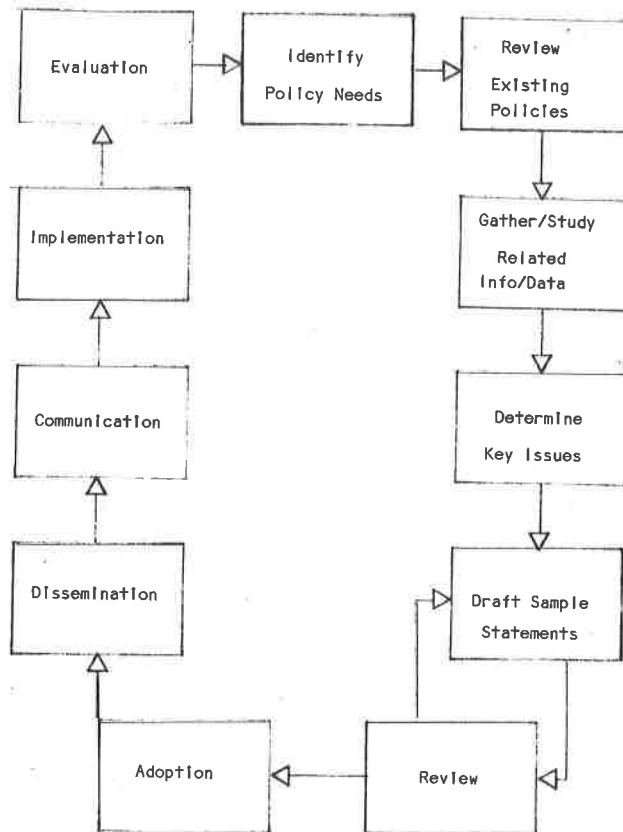
Policy Development Cycle

The policy cycle, that is both a formal and informal decision-making model, can be thought of as following the basic scheme:

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FIGURE 1

Policy Development Cycle



This particular model shows the basic steps involved but does not attempt to reflect all of the detailed activities that go into policy development. Each step, with the exception of 'adoption' carries potential roles for professional associations.

Policy Studies/Analysis Defined

The potential roles for associations is expanded by looking into definitions of policy study or policy analysis. These can be defined in many ways. The following is proposed to provide a point or frame of reference from which to seek roles that professional associations can perform in policy work. Consider the following as an operational definition of policy studies:

The application of systematic approaches (taken from any academic discipline) based on the measurement of program effectiveness, quality, cost and impact on the design, execution, and evaluation of public policy (Rosenberg, 1983).

Policy studies can be done on the basis of the past, in the present, or by speculating/projecting the future. We can review current policies and/or policy proposals by asking:

"How effective was the policy decision we made sometime ago in bringing about the state of affairs we anticipated?"

"Are we where we expected to be in pursuit of our specific goal?"

or

"If we make this set of policy decisions, what are the likely circumstances to be five years from now?"

While these serve as key considerations, successful efforts at planned change must take as a primary target the improvement of the organizational ability, not only to function effectively, but to develop and grow into a more fully functioning system (Carlson et al., 1969).

Assuming that this operational definition is acceptable for our purposes, the following possible roles are suggested for professional associations:

1. research
2. measurement (against a criteria or standards such as effectiveness, quality, cost, and/or efficiency)
3. planning
4. development
5. dissemination
6. implementation
7. evaluation

All along the way, the people who will be impacted are moved through the stages of unawareness, understanding, belief and finally acceptance (Mali, 1981).

Even though the list suggests a linear relationship, the relationship, as already noted, is more accurately thought of as cyclical. Since

changes in policy bring about anticipated and unanticipated results, new policies will need to be found to overcome the unfavorable unanticipated results of the previous policies.

Since policy work is intimately associated with planned change, examining change strategies can also suggest potential roles. The work

One of the problems faced by public sector policy developers is the multiple roles that they are sometimes forced to assume.

advanced by Bennis, Benne and Chin (1969) postulates that planned change is the conscious utilization and application of knowledge as an instrument or tool for modifying patterns and institutions of practice. The strategies involved are empirical-rational, normative-reeducative and power-coercive.

One of the problems faced by public sector policy developers is the multiple roles that they are sometimes forced to assume. In contrast to private industry (where the roles are clearly separated with communication channels established), the public sector confuses, combines and confounds the roles. For example, Ford Motor (or GM or Chrysler) has design engineers. These design engineers don't build the vehicles, work out the advertising campaigns, sell the vehicles, or service them after they are sold. Each of these functions or tasks is carried out by a distinct and separate department and by distinct and separate individuals within those departments. These individuals share information with one another in order to make future products more attractive. This ensures some job security without confounding the tasks performed by each division.

Unfortunately, within the public sector, this is not always the case. For example, those who are charged with studying a problem are also expected to develop a solution, sell that solution to the appropriate audiences, implement the solution, and evaluate the results. The multiplicity of roles creates credibility problems with clientele, blind spots with developers, and generally results in suggested changes never getting off the ground.

Because of these possible problems, associations are sometimes invited in to sort out or pick up the pieces of public sector policy work. Before examining a particular case, a brief summary of some of the roles that could be performed by professional associations in policy studies/analysis seems appropriate:

1. to identify the need for policy change
2. to perform studies and reviews
3. to gather, provide and create information
4. to determine/raise key issues
5. to draft position/policy statements
6. to disseminate/educate those who will be impacted by the policy proposals
7. to communicate
8. to help design implementation strategies
9. to be instrumental in evaluating the effects of the policy

This list does not exhaust all of the possibilities nor will all of these roles be examined in detail. It should also be noted that different associations may perform different roles in one policy situation and have reversed roles in the next--or perform no appropriate role at all.

A Case in Point

The history and current status of the Illinois Public School Finance Project, initiated in 1981, and a role performed by the Illinois Association of School Business Officials (Illinois ASBO) during the winter of 1984-85, makes a particularly good case for the purpose of

Using the resources of the State Office of Education, outside consultants, and an elaborate and extensive committee structure that provided a vehicle for developmental input, the Resource Cost Model (RCM) was created as a tool that could be used to define what an appropriate and adequate education would cost Illinois under a specific set of specifications.

describing a successful role an association performed in a major policy experience. For the past four years, the Illinois Public School Finance Project has undertaken the development of a cost-based funding of education approach for the State. Using the resources of the State Office of Education, outside consultants, and an elaborate and extensive committee structure that provided a vehicle for developmental input, the Resource Cost Model (RCM) was created as a tool that could be used to define what an appropriate and adequate education would cost Illinois under a specific set of specifications. The plan was to then tie this new tool to a State-aid distribution system. Cost-based funding was and is a significant departure from the Resource Equalizer method of distributing state aid familiar to superintendents and other practitioners in Illinois. The perceived changes that were forecast by the RCM in terms of shifts in amounts of state-aid, reporting requirements, auditing and accounting changes and the like, caused significant anxiety in the field. Local leadership in large and small school districts all voiced their concerns. Despite attempts by Project staff to educate district administrators as to what the RCM was (and was NOT), how it worked, what it could do, how it could be used, what it would accomplish and how it was an improvement over the present system, many myths and rumors about the RCM circulated. These myths and rumors carried one or more of the following themes: RCM is a state aid distribution formula; RCM costs too much--the state can't afford it; RCM is too complicated--only a select few can understand it; RCM is too flexible/sensitive to change; RCM dictates local staffing patterns and expenditures; RCM takes away local decision making, and/or RCM generates an entitlement to some level of state aid. These statements and others like these overshadowed the purpose of RCM. To a certain extent both the Project staff, State Board of Education staff and local educational personnel contributed to the confusion and

chaos that developed and existed during the Fall of 1984.

Four events seemed to be responsible for at least contributing to the anxiety that existed. The first event was the release of the State Superintendent's Preliminary School Finance Reform Recommendations in September. Because of the long anticipated unveiling of a "new formula", two interesting things happened. First, the entire reform recommendation package was seen as all RCM. Second, the small piece of the reform recommendations that was RCM was hidden and confused with other policy changes that were really separate and distinct from RCM. If one was happy or unhappy with the outcome of any of the recommendations, RCM got the credit and/or the blame--mostly the blame. The battle lines for the upcoming legislative session were rapidly being drawn. During the initial exposure of these recommendations, a second activity took place. Project staff sent to each school district a computer print-out (based on hypothetical district data) that showed what district costs would be under one set of RCM assumptions and how those costs might be split between the state and local school districts. This set of assumptions required a \$660,000,000 increase in state revenue over and above the amount being put into the present formula, AND showed approximately 100 districts receiving less state-aid under the new plan than the old formula (SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN MANY CASES). Based on the outcry from the 'loser' districts, the third and fourth events were put in motion: The State Superintendent REVISED his recommendations and the Project staff made some changes in the RCM specifications resulting in new computer runs. This second run was shared with local district personnel without adequate explanations. When one compared print-out 1 with print-out 2, it was obvious that 'something' had changed because previous 'winners' became bigger 'winners', some 'losers' became 'winners', 'winners' became 'losers' and a variety of other possibilities. When the Project telephones began to ring, few, if any, satisfactory answers or explanations were available.

It was at the height of this period of anxiety and confusion that members of Illinois ASBO approached the Association's Executive Director asking for help. Using the School Finance Research Committee of the Association as a catalyst, the resources of the Association brought the Project staff, selected school business managers, and some University personnel together in a retreat situation for the specific purpose of breaking the RCM into small understandable pieces and procedures so that local understanding could start to develop. The retreat efforts, the analysis and study that was completed resulted in the development of an Association monograph that 1) taught a paper and pencil (manual) approach to local RCM calculations, and 2) developed a micro-computer approach to process local data using RCM specification and procedures (Everett, Lows, 1985). This publication described in detail the way the model was put together, how the many variables of RCM and their numeric values related to one another, and a detailed explanation of the processes that were involved in determining the number of RCM units and the dollar values of each unit.

When the publication started to reach its final form, members of the School Finance Study Project approached the Association to see if

Illinois ASBO would become the vehicle to develop and provide a series of state-wide workshops using the monograph as the basis for these workshops. The idea was to have a neutral agency (the Association) educate superintendents, school board members, and school business managers about the neutral aspects (the mathematics) of the Resource Cost Model. It was the stated belief of the Project staff that this 'third party' approach would provide at least the following two advantages: 1) once people could use the model themselves, they would dispel the misperceptions that were circulating, and 2) the elevated level of understanding would permit better questions to be asked, better solutions to be proposed, and better overall involvement in refining the Resource Cost Model.

The Association entered into a contract to provide 31 workshops state-wide during February 1985. Nearly a thousand school district personnel attended one or more of these workshops. The workshop format included a multi-media overview of the model, a careful walk-through of the prepared monograph, The ABC's of RCM and a sequence of hands-on exercises that were structured in such a way so to ensure that participants would leave the workshops completely equipped to run their own calculations on their own real data back home.

Based on comments received during the presentation of the workshops and unsolicited letters received following the workshops, the presentations and materials were not only well received, but did, in fact, accomplish the desired ends.

Summary

There are definite roles that associations can perform in the public policy arena. These relate to policy development and analysis, strategies for bringing about change, and pre and post policy evaluation. Specifically, these roles can include 1) identifying policy needs, 2) study and review of policy status, 3) generating data related to policy needs, 4) establishing policy goals (which can also serve as the evaluation criteria), 5) drafting policy ideas, 6) educating, 7) communicating, 8) implementing and/or 9) evaluating policies.

While examining the recent experiences of Illinois ASBO with the efforts of the Illinois State Board of Education's School Finance Study Project to develop the Resource Cost Model as a potential new policy approach to distributing state aid, it is apparent that several of these roles were successfully carried out by an association. There is not a set role that can or must be performed by associations but rather each association should posture itself to perform a variety of roles and be ready to perform as many or as few as each policy situation makes feasible.

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The School District Superintendency and Educational Policy

By Charles A. Sloan and Donald E. Weber

The genesis for policy, its development, and its use is unclear. According to Guba (1984) policy is not defined in any uniform way. Further, Guba asserts that the particular definition assumed by policy analysts determines the kind of policy questions that are asked, the kind of policy-relevant data that are collected, the sources of data that are tapped, the methodology that is used, and finally, the policy products that emerge. For the purposes of this paper, the policies under consideration are those purposes, processes and outcomes that occur at the local school district. Also of concern are the arenas that local boards of education and administrators are able to function within or respond to upper level governmental mandates. The remainder of this paper is divided into four sections and a summary. The four sections relate to the purpose of policy development, policy origination, policy adoption, and the tests of policy. The summary purports to synthesize the intent and use of policy by local boards of education and administrators.

Purposes of School Policy

The intent of local board of education actions is to bring about acceptable social policies. Hence, policy statements guide the administration to implement what the board of education desires to happen when certain situations develop in the school district. School board policy development should be carefully planned, involving the school board, public and administration. Such planning provides for an implementation strategy that insures that the policy has meaning and provides direction to the school district.

Policies act as blueprints in providing actions that insure consistency, thoughtfulness, and thoroughness on a day-to-day basis in the administration of a school district. Well developed policy statements provide guidance to the administration to insure that a uniform harmonious direction of the school district occurs. The purpose and process of board policies should provide effective educational outcomes for

the students.

It is imperative that all school board policies adhere to federal and state laws. Further, the intent of board policy is to obey all court decisions and follow state and federal guidelines relative to administrative rulings from those bodies of government. The rules and regulations for the operation of a school district gain their genesis from school board policy. The board of education, as a policy-making group, adopts policies that aid the administration in the overall operation of the school district. It is desirable that policies be (1) narrow in scope, in order to leave little room for interpretation, (2) purposeful in nature, and (3) should act as an overall guide to the school district. Hence, school board policies are designed to bring about positive action to circumstances and situations that develop within the school district. In summary, school board policies contain purpose, regulations, and direct actions to be taken by school personnel.

Policy Origination

As laws are generated by the respective legislative bodies, they have a direct impact upon board policies in a local school district. For example, when Congress enacted legislation dealing with special education, desegregation and busing, school districts found that board policy had been prescribed by federal authorities. However, more recently this trend of federal intervention in education has abated. The Reagan administration has shifted the policy initiatives to the states.

As a result of the Reagan changes in policy, the state legislatures have become more active in school reform. State legislators have liberally enacted state policies about public schools that necessitate many changes by local boards of education and administrators. These statewide policy initiatives have covered a wide spectrum related to the operation of local school districts. Regardless of the wisdom of the respective legislative body, their enactments become reality and have direct impact upon board of education policies.

One of the major concerns about the more recent plethora of state initiatives is the ability of local citizens and educators to manage their schools. Kirst (1984) asserted that the recent spate of reports on education nationwide is indicative of loss of confidence in ability of local authorities to provide high quality education.

The concern about local control of schools versus state control has been, and is currently widely debated. For example, Murphy, Mesa and Hallinger (1984) asserted that the state has an important role in school reform. They have suggested that, based on their understanding of effective schools and instructional leadership, and on their own work in California, they are

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firmly convinced that states can and should claim a significant and direct part in school improvement. However, Odden and Odden (1984) suggested that if states take school effectiveness seriously, they must, however be prepared to see state goals reached differently in each school. Further, Finn (1984) suggested that effective schools need strategic independence from state and district controls. In addition, Odden and Odden (1984) suggested that state leaders should prepare for nonuniformity while insisting on uniform goals and standards. Moreover, they suggested that states can support effective schools and stimulate school improvement activities by:

1. Providing symbolic leadership to keep education on the policy agenda.
2. Articulating clear educational goals.
3. Building awareness of school effectiveness.
4. Developing system incentives that recognize and reward educational effectiveness.
5. Creating school-based technical assistance programs.
6. Altering training and certification requirements.
7. Strengthening state data gathering.

The courts also play a very important part in policy development for school districts. Recently, landmark decisions, such as desegregation and special education, have been handed down by lower courts and the United States

...it is imperative that the board of education and the school administration stay abreast of court decisions that affect the operation of the local school district.

Supreme Court which have altered the policies and administration of local school districts. These influences must be recognized! Further, it is imperative that the board of education and the school administration stay abreast of court decisions that affect the operation of the local school district.

Unfortunately, past practices have a way of prescribing future actions. Precedent setting decisions need to be translated into policy statements so that future circumstances can be managed consistently. All school districts should have an organized board of education policy manual. The school board policies and administrative regulations need to become consistent for all schools within a school district. Moreover, these policies need to be made available and translated to all individuals affected: (1) citizens, (2) administrators, (3) faculty and staff, and (4) students.

Policy development does not originate strictly from board of education members. It is a major responsibility of the administration to keep the board of education informed about current legislation and court decisions affecting the operation of the school district. The general citizenry will also bring to the attention of the administration and board of education concerns that may need to be formulated into policy. Therefore, originators of policy concerns or

issues may be board of education members, administrators, and citizens of the community; however, only the board of education can adopt policies that provide governance to the school district! Hence, school board policies provide the "official" over-all direction of the school district.

Policy Adoption

Every school district has been and will be faced with circumstances that include public input prior to board of education adoption of a policy. In order to provide a scenario of policy development, the following example has been provided about a concern brought to a board of education. The concern was related to weighted grade status for high school students.

Students, their parents, and citizens were concerned about students in accelerated classes not receiving additional credit or weighted-grade status recognition for having taken accelerated classes. The board of education was being responsive to its electorate by investigating the ramifications of adopting a policy on weighted grades.

Input from board members was presented to the administration. The administration organized a faculty committee to thoroughly investigate the value of considering a weighted grade policy statement. From the beginning, it was perceived that the public was supportive of this investigation. After a thorough investigation, a policy statement was drafted and presented to the board of education for consideration. The policy statement presented by the administration included insight of citizens, parents, faculty, students, and the board of education. The policy suggested contained a consensus of opinion that students' academic progress would be enhanced by receiving recognition for taking accelerated classes. Hence, a weighted grading policy was adopted by the board of education and implemented by the administration and faculty.

The scenario above was presented to outline how school administrators and school boards can

...policy making is the most important of the board's responsibilities.

engage in a process that includes all interested publics--board members, community members, parents, students, faculty and administration. Such action implements Gilbert's (1984) notion of how policy can occur, and he suggests that policy making is the most important of the board's responsibilities. Further, Deasey (1984) proposed four tenets of policy making that incorporate competing interests at the local school district level. These four tenets are:

1. The policy must be justified in terms of a comprehensive view of the school.
2. The shaping of policy and, without question, its implementation must be collaborative.
3. The policy should state what will count when implemented.
4. The policy commits a change in behavior.

The study and adoption of new policies in school districts take resources, time, and a range

of input from interested publics. To assume that effective policies occur overnight is foolhardy. Furthermore, developing effective policies is a serious endeavor that requires time and the most diligent of efforts.

Test of Policy Adoption

The intent of a school board policy is to provide consistency and equity in the operation of the school district. A school board policy

...policy development is a task that is never completed and must be monitored rigorously by administrative personnel.

contains the directives of the board of education to the administration for the implementation of educational programs and procedures.

Policy development must be ongoing in nature. Moreover, policy development is a task that is never completed and must be monitored rigorously by administrative personnel. Laws are continually changing, the courts render decisions that affect public education, and circumstances within respective school districts necessitate that educational policies be kept current and responsive. It is the responsibility of the superintendent of schools to insure that school board policies have purpose and provide direction to the school district. Berruth (1984) has suggested that we should examine policy in light of the following questions:

1. What problem does this policy answer?
2. What are the goals of the policy?
3. Are they desirable goals according to my vision of education?
4. What are the mechanisms proposed to achieve these goals?
5. Will the policy achieve its intended effect?
6. What other effects is it likely to have?
7. What are the costs and benefits both socially and economically?

Summary

Educational policy formulation, adoption, and implementation by local school districts and school administrators have become increasingly complex in the current era. Local school policy has become a subject of national concern. There are those critics of the schools who do not believe local boards of education and administrators are responsible. In addition, the more recent history of influences on the schools by

federal and state mandates, judicial case interventions, as well as the educational debates about local versus outside control of the schools, have clouded the issues confronted by local school boards and administrators. One thing seems certain, the effectiveness of the local school district has direct impact on our society as a whole. For example, Shannon (1985) has suggested that there is a direct link between the quality of elementary and secondary education in the United States and the success of our economy and the effectiveness of our national defense.

The issues of school policy formulation and which bodies, governmental, political, or private have the most clout will continue in our society. The posture that local boards of education and administrators must assume is to remain resilient and take into account all societal influences. Furthermore, local boards of education and administrators must become politically astute and active at each level to be informed and to influence policy in its developmental stages. School administrators must become more politically involved to develop credibility and responsibility as educators as they provide leadership and guidance to local school boards in the development of district wide policies.

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TO OUR READERS:

We wish to recognize the many contributions that Dr. Weldon Bradtmueller, Associate Professor of Education, Northern Illinois University, member of the Thresholds in Education Foundation Board of Directors, and Issue Editor, has made to the educational community. We are saddened by his recent untimely death.

THE EXECUTIVE EDITORS

The Principal and Educational Policy

By Richard M. Smelter and David S. Carr

The Problem: What is Policy and Who Formulated It?

The terms 'policy,' 'rule' and 'regulation' are bandied about in informal conversation to such a point that their exact meanings are often confused and intermingled with one another. Some distinction, therefore, must be drawn between policies and the other dictates of the established organization. Castetter (1981) offers us a rather concise definition of 'policy,' to wit: "...a plan for expressing the system's intended behavior relative to its human resources (or other functions)." He goes on to elucidate the confusion:

Policies are often confused with rules, regulations, procedures, directions, instructions and practices. The latter are instruments that the administrator uses to translate broad policies into specific objectives and courses of action. Practices, procedures and rules are in effect in every school system, regardless of the presence or absence of policies.

Stephen J. Knezevich (1975), in his work Administration of Public Education, supplies us with further definitors for precisely what policy is:

Policy making is judged to be a most important function of a board of education.... A policy is a general statement of intent to act in a particular manner when confronted with a given situation or to achieve a given result at some future point in time. A policy statement represents a guideline to future courses of action to be pursued to ensure consistency and fairness...Policy statements are the means through which a board expresses and maintains control. Consistency of behavior and the ability to anticipate another's actions are important for any group of people who must work together in a complex institution.... A policy statement as a rational guide to future action is phrased usually in broad enough terms to include all issues likely to be involved, but at the same time is specific enough to apply to a particular situation.... Rules and

regulations grow out of and should be consistent with announced policies. A policy does not stipulate the strategy to be pursued to achieve objectives; it points the general direction.

A policy, then, is a broad statement which lays the groundwork for how employees of any organization should conduct themselves in any given situation. Policies also indicate the general direction the organization wishes to go in regards to the objectives of that particular institution. Rules and regulations, although they may be present in the absence of a policy statement, tend to be on firmer ground if they are seen to implement and enforce a policy from above, as opposed to merely being the product of lower-echelon administrative whim. Generally speaking then, 'policy' is the more global term; 'rules' and 'regulations' are more finite. Hence, rules and regulations enforce policy; policy does not enforce rules and regulations.

One step removed from rules and regulations, and inferior to them, are verbal instructions and guidelines to procedural issues. These are usually not found in print, but are some of the most frequently encountered expressions of management during the course of a typical work day. Most school administrators do not traverse the school with their school board's policy manual on their person, nor do they carry with them the written rules and regulations which govern their particular site. Rather, they simply 'tell' subordinates what to do in areas of mutual concern. The verbal instruction, "Mr. Smith, please try to keep the children working more quietly in your room," is usually taken at face value by the teacher, without any request on that teacher's part to have the administrator cite exactly where in the rules and regulations of the school or in the board policy manual it has been decreed that a lower noise level is deemed more desirable than a higher one. Centering on a discussion of Gouldner's Organizational Rules, Hoy and Miskel (1978) point out the superiority of rules and regulations over the verbal command:

Organizational rules have an explication function, that is, they explain in rather concise and explicit terms the specific obligations of subordinates. Rules make it unnecessary to repeat a routine order; moreover, they are less ambiguous and more carefully thought out than the hasty verbal command. Rules act as a system of communication to direct role performance.

Taken the above, then, we can rank order our terms as follows:

- a. policy
- b. rules and regulations
- c. verbal instructions

There exists, however, another important aspect to what we have discussed thus far and to what the literature points to in general; namely, that the formulation of policy is considered to be

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a function of the board of education and not a function of the building principal, or unit executive. Nowhere in the works cited could any reference to 'building policy' be found. Does this imply that educational writers believe them, while the principal must address himself or herself to 'policy,' he or she does not formulate it? It is the thrust of this article to argue that this is precisely the case.

Gorton (1983), in his work School Administration and Supervision, lists what he considers to be the most important functions of the school administrator, none of which emphasize policy-making per se. These are:

- a. planning
- b. implementing
- c. coordinating
- d. delegating
- e. initiating (in which he means initiating action to deal with a felt need)
- f. communicating
- g. working with groups
- h. evaluating
- i. problem solving

Moreover, Kimbrough and Nunnery (1976) point out that much of our current thinking on policy making stems from the turn of the century, as part of a public backlash to the excesses of the Industrial Revolution:

Primarily because of the efforts of municipal reform-oriented public administration theorists, one of the central doctrines of the era was the separation of policy development (politics) and policy execution (administration).

This separation continued well into the current century.

For example, one widely used 1940 text in educational administration defined 'executive activity' as "all the acts or processes essential to make policies and procedures effective" (Rimbrough & Nunnery, 1976).

It appears evident, in spite of all of the liberalization which has impacted upon public education over the past forty years, that this separation is still alive and well today, at least as judged by contemporary literature in the field. A book written in 1973, however, seemed to suggest a turn in the road, while at the same time arguing for a more temperate and balanced stance.

The trend, particularly in cities of considerable size, appears to be in the direction of the practice of granting the principal greater autonomy in the management of the local school than has been granted in the past....Too much central control may tend to interfere with local initiative and may produce a mechanical uniformity in local administration that sometimes creates a climate of mediocrity. Too much local autonomy, on the other hand, may result in a breakdown of the central system and in a reversion to the ward type of organization now almost universally abandoned in progressive cities (Jacobsen, Logsdon, & Wiegman, 1973).

Before we proceed further with this notion of 'balance,' let us review what we have discovered thus far.

- a. Most books on educational administration do not speak of the principal as a policy-maker, but rather as a policy-

implementor. By taking this stance, they seemingly subscribe to the Weberian tenet that the function of management is to put organizational policy into effect after such policy has been determined by a board of directors (or, in our profession, a board of education).

- b. Many authors, and wrongly so, confuse the terms 'policy,' 'goal' and 'objective' to a point at which they're seemingly synonymous, which they are clearly not. A good way to remember the differences, we may suggest to the reader, is to use World War II as a model: the 'policy' of the Allies was to oppose the violent spread of Nazi doctrine, the 'goal' was to resist this threat by carrying the war to Germany's own territory, while one of the 'objectives' was to secure North Africa. While policy alludes to goals and strategic objectives, objectives facilitate goals, which are in turn expressions of overall policy. In the school setting, the broad policy of the organization is to 'educate' children, while a goal might be to teach them to read and an objective to inculcate reading-readiness skills by the start of first grade. Policy, therefore, is the 'macro' term, while objective is the 'micro.' Rules and regulations are formulated to ensure that the foregoing runs smoothly, without undue debate on the part of superordinates and subordinates.

- c. In spite of all the recent literature, mainly in educational journals, on applying the principles of participatory democracy to educational administration, it appears that most school districts today are still run from the top down, with major policy being established by the board of education, hopefully, but not always, with the superintendent, who is usually the only professional educator in their midst. While principals may like to maintain the illusion that they formulate policy, they seldom do. What they are engaged in, rather, is the bolstering or undermining of policy as a consequence of their enforcement or non-enforcement of the rules and regulations which have been designed to serve policy.

Toward a More Balanced View?

Over the past few years, much interest has been generated in this country concerning the organizational structure of Japanese industry, which emphasizes participation of the worker on the assembly line in the formulation of overall company policy. This interest, no doubt, would not have materialized had not our contemporary scene been deluged with the popularity on our roads of very little cars with very foreign-sounding names. Success breeds interest, so to speak.

In a like manner, perhaps, a felt lack of success, real or imaginary, has bred interest. Thus, we have A Nation at Risk (1983) and a new education reform package for the state of Illinois (1985). School districts are being mandated to explore the feasibility of consolidation, implicitly saying that larger organizations are superior to smaller ones or at least can supply

services that smaller ones cannot. Standardized methods of evaluating teachers are being urged and, one expects, will soon be thrust upon the academic community. Competency tests for children are once again in vogue, and their use in the school appears close at hand.

What has seldom been discussed is the internal mechanics of the organization itself, or, for our purposes, the entire mechanism of exactly how policy is arrived at in the first place. If policy is indicative of what value the organization puts on certain goals, might not we follow the example of Japanese industry?

The organization must provide some method by which a group may determine its common goals...When human beings are arbitrarily forced together, they cannot become an effective group until common goals have been determined. This phenomenon is sometimes observed in faculties of schools which do not have common purposes. Conflicts sometimes develop within a group over the determination of purposes (Morphet, Johns & Reiller, 1967).

One of the prime characteristics of board policies is that they are generally established by individuals who possess little, if any, knowledge of exactly how children are educated and, once established, they seem to possess a life of their own in many districts. Indeed, much of what writers may attribute to board activity, namely the writing of policy, is actually accomplished by members of the organization...the superintendent, curriculum director, etc. Rules and regulations, the vehicles through which policy is implemented, may change over the years, in an attempt, in many instances, to deal with the futile effort to pursue policies which have become dated. Obviously, this is not the case everywhere, as boards of education with progressive leanings

Despairing of any attempt to change policy, these educators have learned to work around it.

regularly alter their policies to keep in stride with the times, but the tendency to imbue policy with an almost religious aura can still be found in districts characterized by principals and teachers who ignore it with alarming regularity. Despairing of any attempt to change policy, these educators have learned to work around it. These educators are functioning in an environment in which their advice as to policy issues is neither sought nor appreciated. In some cases a principal espousing an innovative concept is often rebuffed with the rejoinder, "How would you know? You work here." It is as though a board, willy-nilly, invested its public funds in any enterprise thought to be profitable, without consulting the district's business manager or corporate attorney. If this is considered, as it usually is by all but the foolish, to be ill-advised, then why is the principal often overlooked when advice is sought regarding the formulation of district policy? If, as we have seen, "Policy implementation is, to a considerable degree, the responsibility of unit executives, acting within guidelines established

by the central administration" (Castetter, 1981), then why isn't the implementor consulted more often as to the feasibility of what is to be implemented?

Sergiovanni and Elliott (1975), citing a study of principals who ran what were considered to be outstanding elementary schools, point out some characteristics of these building executives:

They were aggressive in securing recognition of the needs of their schools. They frequently were critical of the restraints imposed by the central office and of the inadequate resources. They found it difficult to live within the constraints of the bureaucracy; they frequently violated the chain of command, seeking relief for their problems from whatever sources that were potentially useful.

Why, we may ask ourselves, should this be necessary in order to secure quality education for children? What turns a principal into a rebel?

Castetter (1981) has stated that:

...the central administration is concerned with four major responsibilities of the personnel function: (1) policy development; (2) policy implementation; (3) function control; and (4) function improvement.

We would like to add a fifth responsibility to this list, namely participatory policy making.

The advantages of participation are alluded to by Hersey and Blanchard (1977):

In an organizational setting, it is urged that the criteria for an individual or a group's performance should be mutually decided in advance. In making these decisions, managers and their subordinates should consider output and intervening variables, short- and long-range goals. This process has two advantages. First, it will permit subordinates to participate in determining the basis on which their efforts will be judged. Second, involving subordinates in the planning process will increase their commitment to the goals and objectives established.

If this approach shows certain advantages for goals and objectives, then we suggest it shows some merit for the establishment of overall policy.

What is, however, being suggested in this article is the belief that the principal ought to have some input into what the eventual form that policy manual will take, as it will ultimately be his or her responsibility to implement what lies therein.

This is not to say that boards of education should not have the final say as to what will be included in a policy manual and what will not. The law clearly imbues them with this responsibility, and rightfully so in any educational system which holds itself accountable to the community it serves. What is, however, being suggested in this article is the belief that the principal ought to have some input into what

the eventual form that policy manual will take, as it will ultimately be his or her responsibility to implement what lies therein.

The nation of Japan has emerged, from one of the most crushing defeats ever suffered militarily in modern times, as an industrial giant through "Theory Z" or participatory policy making. Do Americans have any less responsibility to the education of our youth than do the Japanese to the production of automobiles?

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Evaluating the Policy Making that is Guiding Educational Reform

By Jeri Nowakowski

The purpose of educational evaluation is to assess the worth of educational programs, projects, and materials (Joint Committee, 1980). In the last half dozen years, a number of important evaluation texts have reinforced the formative role of evaluation--that is, the use of evaluation for improving social and educational programs (Cronbach et al., 1981; Rossi, Freeman & Wright, 1979; Brinkerhoff et al., 1983; Madaus, Stufflebeam, & Scriven, 1985). In a recent address at the annual Evaluation Conference, Michael Scriven--evaluation's resident philosopher

and conscience--reminded evaluators that evaluation can and should play a broad role in policy making and program evaluation (Scriven, 1986). Evaluation for policy formulation and implementation is important. But just as important, he reminded the field, is evaluation of the impact of policy. Evaluation for accountability, or summative evaluation, assumes that not all policies are of equal value, success, or benefit to citizens--it seeks to separate those worth the investment from those not.

The Role of Evaluation in Policy Making

The potential role for evaluation in educational policy making is substantial. Evaluation helps justify and formulate policy, and it provides information for monitoring and improving its implementation. Evaluation is the feedback loop that informs policy makers about the success of programs their policies have established. And, finally, as Scriven reminds us, evaluation helps citizens and policy makers address the tough questions regarding the value and cost effectiveness of continuing one set of policies and programs over another.

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Sound evaluation practice has been defined by a set of standards promulgated by a joint committee representing thirteen major educational and psychological organizations (Joint Committee, 1981). Sound evaluation practice, according to these professional standards, is useful, practical, ethical, and accurate. The technical qualities it demonstrates should be congruent with criteria for sound inquiry in research. Policy makers who hire or use sound evaluation practice to support decision making, then, are formulating policy and judging its worthwhile implementation and impact based upon systematic inquiry which adheres to defined standards.

There is a defined role for sound evaluation in educational policy making. That role focuses on providing information for the formulation and implementation of policy as well as for studies of its impact. Further, evaluation has traditionally served two purposes--formative and summative. Formative evaluation is designed to help policy makers judge how well specified policies are being followed, and to provide information to improve implementation. Summative evaluation is designed to answer go/no go decisions about which programs should be cut, expanded, or modified. Program evaluation results are fed back into the policy setting process.

The Role of Evaluation in Educational Reform Policy

Reform, by definition, means change--but, more than that, change for the better. Change-for-the-better necessitates an assessment of where you are, a plan, new standards, and..improvement. For most states the National Commission reports provided the status assessment (Odden & Odden, 1984). Educational reform legislation provided the new standards--establishing major changes in expectations regarding student education, teacher and administrator credentials, and delivery of sound instruction. According to Odden and Odden, some states (e.g., South Carolina) have also provided a plan for school improvement. This plan operationalizes educational policy found in legislation through a technical assistance unit for districts to use in implementing reform policy. Few states have provided similar assistance for implementation of required reform policy. And, as yet, no state has proposed a strategy to assess whether reform brings about expected improvements. Both activities rely heavily on evaluation.

Why is the evaluation of reform important? To appreciate the long-range impact of social reform, one need go back no further than 1965 and

ESEA also brought program evaluation.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Title programs brought a new level of funding and federal involvement to public education. ESEA also brought program evaluation. Robert Kennedy demanded that accountability be written into the legislation. When practitioners realized norm referenced tests were not providing sound measures of interventions, educational evaluators such as Ralph Tyler, Robert Stake, Michael Scriven, and Daniel Stufflebeam began devising models for

comprehensive program evaluation (Madaus, Scriven, Stufflebeam, 1985). But, by that time National Institute of Education hallways were lined with cardboard boxes filled with evaluations of Title programs from districts across the nation. Standards were not uniform, nor were programs, nor were strategies for measuring their effectiveness. Disparate information could not be appropriately aggregated at levels where decisions were to be made. Data gathered were not always meaningful nor even accurate, and so it was not useful.

Having little compelling evidence to the contrary, skeptics of externally funded interventions for education won the day at the federal level.

The short-term result was that ineffective district programs were not improved and that, in general, an accountability trail wasn't established. The long-term result--that is, the debate over the effectiveness of ESEA has not concluded, and it may never be concluded. (See House, 1985 for a review of this hot and extended debate.) Having little compelling evidence to the contrary, skeptics of externally funded interventions for education won the day at the federal level. And educational practitioners enter a new era of reform having an insufficient record of the myriad of interventions undertaken by school districts under ESEA just twenty years ago.

Five years from now when the citizens of Illinois ask their legislature "Was reform successful?" what will be the response? Be assured the question will come up, as it has concerning the ESEA. The answer will affect yet another generation of students. Initial planning for comprehensive evaluation of a reform program is important now if useful data are to be gathered from multiple levels of a system. If reform fails, it is not likely to fail across the board. If it succeeds, it is likely to do so on a program by program, and district by district basis. It is more likely to succeed if meaningful feedback is provided through evaluation to guide district staff and state-provided technical assistance. It is more likely to succeed if policies and programs which are not effective are identified, refined, or changed before they eat up scarce resources. It is more likely to succeed if exemplary programs and policies are described, their success shared, and their efforts rewarded. In short, reform is more likely to succeed if the policy makers who shape and direct it are held accountable. And, if reform efforts fail, citizens and educators need to know whether it was due to poor policy making, poor district implementation, or intractable problems.

Evaluating Educational Reform

This second section outlines the role evaluation might play in educational reform, focusing especially on evaluation of the policy making process. It is important at the outset to distinguish between evaluation of programs established by reform policy and evaluation of the total reform package itself. The former is a piecemeal, bottoms-up process to provide compliance information to grant officers, while

the latter is a comprehensive, top-down affair aimed at studying impact of the total reform package. Program evaluation at the district level ought to provide information to help local staff improve an intervention, and help state staff provide and monitor corrective action. To the degree that program evaluations can be aggregated and summarized across districts, they provide one barometer of policy impact to be fed back into the policy setting process. But legislators and citizens also need information regarding the effectiveness of the total reform process. That information should be fed into the decision calendar at points where budget reallocations are made, priorities are rethought, and further legislation, programming and information needs are determined.

The evaluation paradigm briefly described below attempts to outline some of the areas that might be studied to evaluate the effectiveness of policy setting for reform. The four areas related to policy setting, and the issue areas within them, were identified through a study of standard setting in three different fields, auditing, accounting, and educational evaluation. This historical research reviewed policy making over a fifty-year period in accounting and auditing, and over a five year period in educational evaluation (Nowakowski, 1982). The question: How is policy for sound professional practice defined, established, implemented and enforced?

Guba (1984) identifies eight definitions of policy and three policy types. State-set policy for reform, like the policy and standards set by governing boards in accounting and auditing, appear to fall under the following definition: "Policy is the accumulated standing decisions of a governing body by which it regulates, controls, promotes, services, and otherwise influences matters within its sphere of authority." Such policy is typed by Guba as policy-in-intention. Guba points out that appropriate evaluation of policy depends on an understanding of how policy is meant to function in a setting. Policy as it has been established by the Illinois legislature in Senate Bill #730 defines new and far-reaching standards for education. The policy specifies goals which educational professionals are responsible for achieving.

How does one evaluate policies which basically constitute goals for professional behavior and sound professional performance? Study of the accounting discipline indicates four areas of concern in setting policy for professional services (Nowakowski, 1982). They have been revisited regularly over the decades by both the accounting and auditing fields. They include:

- Assessment of the policy setting context
- Study of the policy setting structure
- Evaluation of the content of policy
- Evaluation of the use and impact of policy

Assessment of the Policy Setting Context. The context in which policy is set changes regularly, in part as a result of implemented policy. So, the rationale for policy must be revisited to keep it viable and justifiable. As the context, for example the quality and delivery of public education, changes, so must policy makers keep abreast of these changes and adjust policy as necessary. The rationale for policy must remain clear, defensible, and accessible to those affected or it loses its credibility and then its effectiveness.

Evaluation information of interest:

Need: Evidence is collected which indicates there is an ongoing need for policy, that existing policy addresses needs, and that needs have not changed in nature or in order of importance. Evidence indicates that these needs are best met by present policy makers as opposed to policy makers at another level or within another agency.

Effectiveness: Evidence substantiates that policy is effective in bringing about changes. For example, policy is supported by relevant organizations and professionals, quality of policy is deemed high, ongoing research supports policy and its effects, policy begins to be assimilated into practice.

Feasibility: There is evidence that agencies and organizations can negotiate and cooperate to achieve policy, and there is a minimal amount of intervention taking place through legal action or from agencies with overlapping responsibilities. It is possible for professionals and agencies to comply with policy through reasonable efforts.

Study of the Policy Setting Structure. Who has developed and set policy, for whom is the policy set, which stakeholders have been considered in the process, and to whom are policy setters ultimately accountable? The composition of the committees and boards responsible for policy development should be defensible. This group, not just a legislature but the state staff, committees, and practitioners who feed information into policy making, is the nexus of the policy making process. The credibility of the policy making process depends on its supporting structure, who was involved and why, which organizations were represented and which not, which perspectives represented and which not, what due process procedures were used to solicit feedback from stakeholders, and so forth. What formal or ad hoc structure exists for ongoing review, revision, and refinement of reform policy?

Evaluation information of interest:

Organization: what organizational structure was used in the policy setting process, what criteria guided the choice of structure (for example, the number and nature of committees feeding into the policy setting procedure), what issues were considered in deciding the composition of policy setting committees and boards?

Constituents: How were constituent groups identified--were important stakeholding groups included? Was the relationship between policy makers and constituents (e.g., educational practitioners) defined, were constituents involved in the policy making process at appropriate points? What procedures were used to inform important audiences and constituents (e.g., relevant professional organizations, citizens, special interest groups) throughout the policy making process? What plans exist to return to these groups for feedback on a regular basis?

Research: Who had responsibility for research information or activities? What evidence is there that research was used throughout the policy setting process? What evidence is there of plans to review, contract, and use research to update policies?

Financing: How was the policy setting process financed, how costly is the process to set, monitor, and update policy? (For example, salaries, expenses, meetings, production of documents.) What sources of income were considered

for funding the implementation and enforcement of policy? What major costs have been anticipated for the long term implementation and assessment of established policy? Is there an audit trail to monitor expenses related to the implementation of reform?

Evaluation of the Content of Policy. A study of standards in accounting and auditing demonstrates that initial policy can be flawed, but that there are fewer flaws if it is based upon a functional definition of professional services and sound practice, and sound theoretical and research bases. Is there evidence that a process for policy review and refinement exists? Do stakeholders have a clear understanding of the authoritative base of a policy and their responsibility in its compliance? Have policy setters agreed to provide other support documents besides policies, if so, how will they differentiate such support documents from policies?

Evaluation information of interest:

Authority: On what authoritative basis was policy generated (e.g., to solve problems in the field, to reflect conventional practice, to reflect research and theory)? What level of authority does policy carry? By what means are the consistency and validity of policies being verified? Have the boundaries for professional judgment within a policy statement been made clear?

Scope: Is it clear to which settings and professional services policy is applicable, and to which it is not? Are the limitations of the policy, legal and contextual, clear? Are relevant support documents available to those affected by policy, for example, interpretations, case examples, bibliographies, policy papers, research papers? Have strategies to update or revise policies been established; do due process procedures include important stakeholding groups in that review process?

Evaluation of the Use and Impact of Policy. Policy makers tend to lose control over policy when it leaves their desks and is moved into the field for application. Because this is so, it is important to establish strategies to assist in applying, monitoring, and remediating those expected to apply policy. Enforcement or reward strategies should be identified, along with those who bear responsibility for them. How will new standards established by policy be transmitted into professional education and certification requirements? Will professional organizations be asked to play a role in promoting the application of policy? What role are the courts expected to play? How will policy setters collect information regarding the effects of policy on practice; and how and when will this information be fed back into policy making?

Evaluation information of interest:

Education: How will standards established by the policy be used in educating audiences and stakeholders about sound practice? How are they to be transmitted to professionals, e.g., through preservice, inservice, or continuing education?

Promoting, monitoring, and enforcing policy: How is substandard performance to be identified and penalized? To what degree is technical assistance made available to promote appropriate application? By what means is compliance to be monitored and remediated? How is comparable

information to be gathered across programs to attest to the effectiveness of applied policy?

Legal use of policy: Will noncompliance of policy be penalized through the legal system? Has litigation related to policy been anticipated? Are there court-appointed masters available to discuss the rationale and authoritative base of established policy?

Monitoring use of the standards: What means have been established to monitor the effect of policy on professional services and educational outcomes? Is there evidence that policy is to be updated in light of relevant court rulings, research findings, and emerging problems? To what degree have plans been formulated to study cost-benefit aspects of established policy?

Summing Up

Since states are playing a more aggressive role in educational intervention (Kirst, M., in Odden & Odden, 1984), it has become increasingly important to study reform at the state level. Where reform is particularly successful, it will be helpful to other states to identify why that is so. Similarly, it's important to identify weak links in the reform process. How can states study the effectiveness of the dozens or even hundreds of acts which constitute their reform package? What should they look at, how should they compare themselves with other states? What will constitute success and what failure in the reform movement? Who will be accountable for reform within a state when the dust has settled?

The evaluation questions outlined in the proposed paradigm above offer one set of issues which might be studied to allow citizens, educational practitioners, and legislators comparative information regarding the formulation, implementation, and impact of educational reform policy across states.

The evaluation questions outlined in the proposed paradigm above offer one set of issues which might be studied to allow citizens, educational practitioners, and legislators comparative information regarding the formulation, implementation, and impact of educational reform policy across states. One might imagine the questions and issues outlined above listed down the left hand side of the page, and key states involved in reform displayed across the top of the page. Each cell would provide information regarding the nature and success of policy setting. The result would be case studies and supporting data that diagnose the 1985 reform effort that are useful both for short term improvement, and long term understanding. Imagine the benefits when, in 2005, reform revisits in the guise of a new frontier, a drive for excellence, or a competitive advantage.

In summary, educational evaluation has matured as a field over the past twenty years. It has tested models, professional standards, a national professional organization, and a growing armory of inquiry strategies for use in serving decision makers. Evaluation has established a well defined role in policy making at the federal level (Saxe & Koretz, 1982), and there is growing

evidence that it can result in substantial and positive impact (Leviton & Boruch, 1983). Emphasized here has been the importance of the role evaluation can play in educational reform. Evaluation of programs established through reform policy can provide information for program improvement and compliance. Evaluation of the total reform package, particularly the policy setting process driving educational reform, can provide information for state-wide adjustments, refinements, comparisons, and accountability.

Comprehensive evaluation of state reform packages should begin now. Without it, it's likely that the inevitable debate over whether educational reform made a difference, will extend well into the next decade. To the degree that we have been conscientious in the study of such an important social intervention, we can answer responsibly and directly. Evaluation can provide important assistance to that end.

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Some Commentary on Contemporary Reforms: Ambivalent Samaritans or Education Reactionaries?

By Alvin H. Townsel

The reader who has read what I have written or heard what I have said during the past three years and has decided that this commentary will say much the same will not be surprised. That is true because I haven't changed my mind about these things. That also is correct because the statements I have made were based on the analysis of educational policy rather than the advocacy of educational policy. The application of policy science in education requires more than advocacy of predetermined positions with the help of scientific terminology. Educational policy analysis is finding out what governing bodies do related to education, why they do it, and what difference it makes in the lives of those publics involved in the educational enterprise. It entails the systematic identification of the causes and consequences of public policy, the use of scientific standards of inference, and the search for reliability and generality of knowledge. Based on my analysis, recent education reforms tend to reduce the responsiveness of urban schools to urban population needs.

Policy originates in the gap between two differing distributions in the society, that of existing resources and that of existing needs. By focusing on the disjunction between urban educational needs and resources provided by various reform proposals I should be able to reiterate my concerns. Those concerns address the predictive effects of proposed education reforms on such educational outcomes as academic achievement, school leaving, self-esteem, and employability for children enrolled in urban school districts. Of necessity, such an approach will elucidate the relationships which exist between policy alternatives and underlying values--e.g., quality, equity, and efficiency. Also inevitably, tensions which exist among school units due to demographic, social, and economic circumstances will be exposed. That is, the approach used should seek to overcome the myopia which frequently results from rigid disciplinary boundaries. Within this milieu it seems problematic that equity will be given a chance in the excellence game implicit in many reform proposals or that the gap between urban educational needs and the resources provided through policies based on those proposals will be filled. The

commentary which follows will explicate this point.

The Policy Context

A profile of nine major education reform reports, released between 1982 and 1984, is presented in Table 1. The contents of those reports provided the bases for numerous federal and state policies and will form the framework for subsequent discussion. In Table 2, the critical areas of recommendations from those reports are presented. The relative dearth of particular emphasis on quality and equality is the fundamental concern germane to this commentary.

Recent education reform policies were engendered by the rapid response of the American public and governmental officials to an exaggerated sense of alarm regarding the sad state of American education and embraced by the federal administration as a political ploy (Howe, 1984). In rapid-fire succession states engaged in massive reforms of their systems of public education which frequently ignored two decades of progress made toward equity. Many of those reform policies symbolized the abyss of what Faustine C. Jones, in 1977, described as the "eroding commitment" (Jones, 1977). Those policies tended to view education reform as increased accountability for the teaching profession, differential pay systems, and strengthened graduation requirements for high school students. They linked business and governmental support for school improvement to numbers that emerge from educational achievement and aptitude tests as yardsticks for judging our schools and students. As such, a quandary might well arise, "Were the formulators of education reform policies ambivalent samaritans or education reactionaries?" That is, what were the policy goals?

Now, my thinking as to the state of education departs from the sad state expressed in numerous of the education reform reports and from many policy goals established in reaction to them. I think American education needs to be upgraded, as it always has, and I am delighted that so many people are interested in that task. Maybe it took a sense of alarm to awaken them to this need. I am convinced, however, that a significant portion of the decline in test scores grows out of our willingness to bring a much larger proportion of our diverse society into the schools and succeeding with them there to some degree, a goal not yet accomplished. I would favor a further decline if we could now get the youngsters who drop out of high school each year to stay there. There appears to be a reactionary trend signaled in the recent reports on this point. Goals related to the 25% dropout rate from American high schools, particularly for the 40% to 50% rate found in major cities, are scarce, and some recommendations are likely to increase dropouts. John Goodlad (1984) says, "The quality of an educa-

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**Table I
Profile of Reports**

TITLE	ACADEMIC PREPARATION FOR COLLEGE:	ACTION FOR EXCELLENCE:	AMERICA'S COMPETITIVE CHALLENGE:	HIGH SCHOOL:	MAKING THE GRADE	A NATION AT RISK:	THE PAIDEIA PROPOSAL:	A PLACE CALLED SCHOOL:	A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOLS
	What Students Need to Know and Be Able to Do	A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools	The Need for a National Response	A Report on Secondary Education in America		The Imperative for Educational Reform	An Educational Manifesto	Prospects for the Future	
Sponsor/ Author	Education Equality Project—The College Board	Task Force on Education for Economic Growth Education Commission of the States	Business—Higher Education Forum	Ernest L. Boyer The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching	Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy	The National Commission on Excellence in Education-US Department of Education	Mortimer J. Adler on behalf of the Paideia Group	John I. Goodlad	National Association of Secondary School Principals and the Commission of Educational Issues of the National Association of Independent Schools
Chair(s)	Not Identified	Governor James Hunt, Jr.	R. Anderson David S. Saxon	Ernest L. Boyer	Robert Wood	David P. Gardner	Mortimer J. Adler	Ralph W. Tyler	Theodore R.Sizer
Representation of Task Force Members	200 high school and college teachers as members of various College Board committees and council	41 members: governors, legislators, CEO's, state and local school boards, and labor	16 members: business and higher education	28 members: state and local level educators, higher education, and business	11 members: state departments, local school level, and higher education	18 members: governor, legislators, State Boards, local school level, higher education, and professional associations	22 members: National, state and local level educators	6 members: National, state and local level educators	Study team of educators and educational researchers
Data Bases Utilized	Data collected from 1400 people through questionnaires and meetings; also judgments and recommendations	Task Force consensus on problems and recommendations	Past surveys and contemporary expertise	Field studies of 15 public high schools, data from High School and Beyond (NCES) and A Study of Schooling (Goodlad)	Background paper by Paul E. Peterson utilizing existing data	Commissioned papers; public oral and written comment; existing analyses; and descriptions of notable programs	Primarily philosophical	Questionnaires and observations in 38 schools across the country	Field studies of 14 public and private high schools
Time Frame of Study	3 years	1 year	1 year	1 year	1.5 years	1.5 years	1 year	8 years	3 years
Date of Release	May 1981	May 1981	April 1981	September 1981	May 1981	April 1981	September 1982	September 1983	January 1984

Source: Northeast Regional Exchange, Inc., Education Under Study. 1984.

tional institution must be judged on its holding power, not just on assessment of its graduates."

Three other concerns seem cogent to the ability of urban school districts to respond to urban school population needs:

1. The motivation of students within a school, particularly urban schools, needs more attention than is suggested by prescriptions to do more homework, take harder courses, and study hard to get ahead of the Japanese.
2. Issues of discrimination on the basis of race, sex, and national origin constitute a continuing equity goal that is ill attended to in the reports and policies formulated in response to them.
3. Youth unemployment is higher than any

other age group and the rate among minority young is double the rate for whites, reaching almost 50%. For minority youth who are dropouts, it climbs to almost 65%. Yet reforms which relate to youth unemployment and vocational education which enrolls close to one-third of American youth received almost no attention in this wave of comment on American education (except for some cogent comments by John Goodlad).

Based on these needs, the policy goals of education reform most appropriate to urban school districts seem to be: (1) increased motivation, (2) increased academic performance, (3) increased holding power of the schools, (4) equal access to

Table.2
Critical Areas of Recommendations from the Nine Major Reports

	ACADEMIC PREPARATION FOR COLLEGE	ACTION FOR EXCELLENCE	AMERICA'S COMPETITIVE CHALLENGE	HIGH SCHOOL	MAKING THE GRADE	A NATION AT RISK	THE PAIDEIA PROPOSAL	A PLACE CALLED SCHOOL	A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOLS
	The College Board	Education Commission of the States	Business- Higher Education Forum	Ernest L. Boyer	The Twentieth Century Fund	Commission on Excellence	Mortimer J. Adler	John I. Goodlad	TheodoreSizer
School Organization and Management		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ +		✓ +	✓ +
Curriculum	✓ +	✓	✓	✓ +	✓ +	✓ +	✓ +	✓ +	✓
Students and Learning	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ +	✓ +	✓ +
Quality and Equality	✓	✓		✓	✓ +	✓	✓	✓	✓
Teachers and Teaching	✓	✓	✓	✓ +	✓	✓ +	✓	✓	✓
Postsecondary Education	✓	✓	✓ +	✓		✓		✓	
Leadership:									
Local Role	✓	✓ +	✓	✓ +	✓	✓ +		✓	
State Role	✓	✓ +	✓	✓	✓	✓ +		✓	
Federal Role		✓	✓ +	✓	✓ +	✓ +			
Business & Industry		✓	✓ +	✓ +		✓			
Research			✓		✓ +	✓ +		✓	

✓ indicates that the report discusses and/or advances recommendations for action on this theme.
✓ + indicates that the report particularly emphasizes this theme.

Source: Northeast Regional Exchange, Inc., Education Under Study, 1984.

educational opportunity, and (5) youth employability. I suspect that short shift accorded these significant policy goals is due, at least in part, to two factors. First, the problems of American education were not defined so as to guide future policy or to retrospectively make sense out of past action. Second, inadequate policy analysis methodologies, if any, were employed. Each of these considerations is important to effective policy analysis.

The Importance of Problem Definition in Educational Policy Analysis

Problem definition as an essential step in the solving process has long been institutionalized in policy analysis. Authorities in policy analysis have maintained that emphasis. In more recent years, problem definition and its importance to methodology has received specific recognition from scholars in policy analysis, such as Meltsner (1976), Rein (1980), Wildavsky (1979), MacRae and Wilde (1979), and Dery (1984). More recent scholars have tended to address such direct questions as: What is a problem? What is problem definition? How does one go about formulating a problem? and How can one tell good from bad problem definition? They also related problem definition to problem solution.

Contrary to most scholars in policy analysis, recommendations in many of the education reform reports seem to have viewed educational problems as objective entities in their own right, out there, to be detected as such rather than the product of imposing value, demographic, social, economic, and political frames of reference on educational reality. As such, the stage setting

function of problem definition in numerous instances may not have defined certain activities as solutions for urban school settings. That is, the inclusion of education reforms as a part of the policy-making agenda had been engendered by the reform reports and assured through political processes, thus establishing ground rules within the policy-making arena. The scope of relevant policy inquiry at this point appears to have been severely restricted so as to accommodate available resources and policy instruments, interests, constraints, prevailing values, and other commitments of reactionary constituencies which excluded consideration of urban school population needs.

The Importance of Adequate Methodologies

Contrary to the apolitical mystique that had served to render education immune to political inquiry, the declaration that there exists a politics of education worthy of systematic study was made in 1959 by Thomas Eliot. Since that time, education policymaking, when compared with other policy areas, has developed no convincing theoretical reason for claiming that educational politics have such a distinctive character that their study requires special analytical conceptual, and/or methodological tools (Peterson, 1974). There is much debate, however, among education policy analysts as to the relative value of basic and applied research that would yield immediate dividends in school improvement. I contend that there is no shortcut to improving educational outcomes without improved knowledge of the policy process. As such, basic research which probes the linkages between the preferences of constituents and the policy process is needed

(Tucker & Zeigler, 1980); so is research that better establishes the link between educational policy and changes in educational outcomes. For basic research to be policy-relevant, it will be necessary for educators to identify variables that are alterable through policy change, and that will also bring about the kind of educational outcomes desired.

Single case studies, policy output studies, multiple case studies, and comparative studies are valuable methodologies in testing proto-theory in urban education. They describe associations between environmental resources and demand, system characteristics, and educational policy. There also is a need to develop a better understanding of precisely how socioeconomic, demographic, and political forces go about shaping that policy (determination research), and precisely how education policy impacts the socioeconomic, demographic, or political fashion in urban settings. That is, the need exists for the construction of causal models which map developmental and sequential inferences about how these forces interact.

Thomas R. Dye (1976) has proposed the use of path analysis as a methodology for causal modeling. Assuming that (1) relationships are additive and linear, (2) the residual "error" terms are uncorrelated, (3) the causal paths involve no reciprocal causation, and (4) the causal arrangement is appropriate, he posits that path analysis, like regression analysis, provides an overall estimate of the exploratory value of a model. Other advantages of the use of path analysis include its assistance in identifying spurious relationships and the capability of testing for both direct and indirect causal paths in the determination of a dependent variable. This methodology enables the educational policy analyst to ascertain whether a determining variable acts on a dependent variable directly, or through mediating variables, or both. The analyst can compare the relative influence of direct and indirect causal paths.

The Quandary

By discussing these crucial elements of educational policy analysis, I have demonstrated that, in spite of the recency of decision

making facts are pertinent and illuminating to the quandary:

- Between 1970 and 1983, the U.S. Economy created jobs for 22 million new workers. Nineteen percent of those jobs went to youths between the ages of 16 and 24. One-tenth of one percent of the jobs went to Black male youths.
- Far more Black youths are unemployed than White. In 1955, only 2% more Blacks were unemployed. But by October 1984, the difference had reached 28%. Only 6 of every 100 Black teenagers have full-time jobs.
- Thirty-two percent of 16 to 24 year old Blacks and other ethnic minorities are neither in school nor employed.
- The minority youth populations are increasing rapidly, 24% between 1970 and 1980, compared to an increase of 8% in the white youth population.
- When 1980 sophomore dropouts were asked why they left high school, white males most frequently indicated they did not like school. Minority males most often cited poor grades. White females indicated marriage and a dislike for school. Minority females cited poor grades and pregnancy.
- Only 36.4% of the Black graduating seniors in 1982 entered college, a substantial decline from 43% in 1980 and 1981.
- The 1983 annualized labor force participation rates of Black and Puerto Rican teenagers were the lowest in history, 36.4% and 27.1 respectively, compared to 56.9% for whites.
- In 1980, 44% of Black teenagers were functionally illiterate.
- Black students, mostly male, are placed in classes for the mentally retarded at more than three times the rate of white students.

The value of these data is not to be found in black/white distinctions. Rather, the point is emphasized that since today's in-migrants and immigrants to the central cities of metropolitan areas are more likely to be nonwhite, the problems of urban school populations are of great urgency. More than 60% of Blacks live in cities; on the West Coast, there have been large urban immigrations of Chinese, Filipinos, and Mexicans. In addition to a large Black population, some East Coast cities have large Puerto Rican and Latin American populations. Minority populations within Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, both within the central city and outside the central city, tend to be a young population. The problems of responding to the educational needs of those populations are great.

My assertion is that the education reform movement must be broadened and deepened to include a sizable number of students, perhaps as large as 25% to 30% of the total for whom schools, even with the current reforms, seem to offer little promise. Students who drop out and lack skills for employment are more often unemployed than others. They have higher crime and delinquency rates. For corporate America, and for state and local government, they represent a \$20-billion-a-year loss. A society in which two-thirds to three-fourths of the population becomes steadily more affluent while the remainder, including a disproportionate share of the urban school population, spirals downward simply will not work. Addressing this issue, then, is not a matter of social responsibility alone. It is an urgent task central to the country's future political,

"Should the epistlers of the recent spate of education reform reports and the policymakers who fashioned recent education reform policies based on their recommendations be viewed as ambivalent samaritans or education reactionaries?"

sciences, the technology does exist to account for demographic, socioeconomic, and political differences among school districts in policy formulation. It appears that little analysis was performed related to some recent educational reforms. Therefore, I return to the quandary, "Should the epistlers of the recent spate of education reform reports and the policymakers who fashioned recent education reform policies based on their recommendations, be viewed as ambivalent samaritans or education reactionaries?" The fol-

economic, and social development.

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Policy Implications of Applying Integrated Information Systems to Educational Management

By Frederick P. Frank, Muriel E. Mackett, Jeri Nowakowski, and Peter Abrams

The emergence in the past two decades of cooperatively sophisticated computer based information systems has had a dramatic impact on management practices and policy in many private and public sector institutions. So important is our need in education for more and better information about educational programs, students, and educational outcomes, that application of more fully developed computer based information systems is now being seen by many educators as a critical component of educational management. One advanced genre of these information systems--which we have chosen to label as integrated information systems for educational assessment--holds particular promise for providing educational administrators with more comprehensive, reliable, and timely information about students, personnel, instruction, finance, and the organization (see Note 1). Access to this type of information is essential to enable administrators to manage educational processes more effectively and efficiently.

These integrated information systems are in our view the precursors to more meaningful educational accountability and educational programs of increased quality. Further, we can expect that the application of integrated information systems to educational management will cause educators to reexamine and modify existing educational policy and lead to the creation of new policy dealing with dimensions of the educational process not previously attended to (see Note 2). This potential can be made evident by first contrasting traditional systems with 'new'

integrated information systems for educational management and then discussing policy implications.

Traditional Versus Integrated Information Systems

Information systems traditionally used in educational management, in contrast to new integrated systems, have tended to be quite limited in scope and application. Generally, those traditional systems can be characterized as:

1. Narrow and fragmented single-purpose information systems which focus on day-to-day management tasks mainly associated with financial accounting and student scheduling and control, and which largely exclude information about the instructional process.
2. Non-integrated data bases which perpetuate an artificial dichotomy between information for instructional management and information for scheduling, finance, purchasing and other management areas, which discourage meaningful aggregation of data across populations and organizational levels, and which monitor single measures of educational progress (for example, testing) on which to make any given decision.
3. 'By-hand' information systems, or mainframe adaptations of these, which tend to be cumbersome and costly, produce information which may not suit needs for the decision at hand, and, especially in the case of many mainframe systems, rely on pre-packaged software which is not easily acceptable to local needs.

But there is some evidence that the state of the art is changing. In recent years, a number of educators have begun to develop new kinds of microcomputer based information systems for educational management. These systems are far more broadly based than the old 'by-hand' systems and have begun to offer the possibility of comprehensive and fully integrated information systems for administrative/management use. It is becoming increasingly clear within the field of educational administration that the dichotomy separating classroom and instructional management from financial accounting, student control, and other management functions is indeed artificial and can and should be replaced by fully integrated information systems to inform educational decision making.

The state of the art is changing in part due to a fundamental revolution in microcomputer hardware and software which is changing definitions of information systems and expanding the opportunity to achieve fully integrated information systems for educational management. The

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revolution is centered about the development of the technical capabilities of microcomputers as sufficiently powerful stand-alone systems and their capability for networking with other micros and mainframes on a scale not imagined prior to this time. Educational administrators are becoming more aware of the potential accessibility of vast information libraries and extensive data banks available through information utilities, as well as exploding developments in user oriented software.

In contrast to traditional systems, the new integrated microcomputer based information systems for educational management now being developed, are characterized by greater management accountability for the total educational experience with an expanded vision of what that experience is and what it might become. Based on our research and on-site work with school districts in Illinois, integrated information systems which can be expected to promote improved educational management will tend to evidence the capability to:

1. Incorporate comprehensive information pertinent to at least six management areas, student, personnel, instructional, fiscal, organizational, and information management.
2. Aggregate and integrate information across all six of these management areas as well as across different populations and organizational levels (for example, classroom, grade, building, district, region, state, and nation), producing multiple measures of educational processes on which to base any given decision and strategic planning.
3. Use computer languages which are compatible and interface advanced conceptualizations of information systems with advanced computer technologies, including extensive, low cost networking and uploading and downloading of information and extensive use of flexible, interactive microcomputer software to meet local needs.

These new integrated information systems for educational management thus can be seen to be fundamentally different from traditional systems in conceptualization, scope, technology, and potential application in educational management.

These new integrated information systems for educational management thus can be seen to be fundamentally different from traditional systems in conceptualization, scope, technology, and potential application in educational management.

Policy Implications

Integrated information systems are in their infancy but in our judgment will develop very quickly. As these systems are applied to the educational setting, they will have a significant impact on existing educational policy and cause the creation of new policy domains. Policy implications can be described most readily in terms of the six management areas noted earlier.

1. Student management includes such key areas as managing student performance and progress, record keeping, and scheduling. With the application of the new information systems technologies we can expect that whole new banks of variables about students will be used by educators to monitor and facilitate student progress. Administrators can expect to have at hand greatly expanded and more usable data on student background and demographic characteristics, student educational history, student achievement variables, student learning variables, and current student learning environments. In each of these cases, the educational community will have to think very carefully about the meaning of new information modalities for understanding and influencing the learning environment for each individual child. With the new information systems technologies, we have the option to deliver individualized instruction more cost effectively than ever before. This means that all students, including those whose skills place them in the mainstream of student progress and who have heretofore not been the target of individualized instruction, may have their educational needs more closely assessed and their educational programs more specifically tailored to their needs.

2. Personnel management includes areas such as staff personnel selection, development and evaluation, and in-service training. The importance of the application of the new information systems technologies in this area will be found in the ability of management to profile a district's strengths and weaknesses, monitor achievement, and integrate and analyze all this information to determine staffing needs. Better measures of district needs will drive selection of staff, criteria for assessment, and ensuring staff development. Further, information can be accessed and used by administrators and teachers who wish to self-evaluate in order to set professional objectives. Evaluation of middle management and supervisory personnel will undergo parallel shifts. To the extent that specific instructional goals can be more clearly articulated, both educational managers and teachers will be held more accountable for making progress toward achieving them. This will require that administrators work more closely with staff to better control the scope and rate of student academic achievement.

3. Instructional management includes areas such as management of teaching and learning

Microcomputer networks and information utilities will also promote low cost availability of innovative curricular materials and curriculum-related information bases.

processes and instructional and curricular materials, as well as curriculum and program development and evaluation. To the extent that there are significant increases in the amount and kinds of information about student progress that are gathered and analyzed, administrators will be enabled to assist teachers in adapting their teaching strategies more quickly to the needs of individual children and groups of children.

Microcomputer networks and information utilities will also promote low cost availability of innovative curricular materials and curriculum-related information bases. This will foster curricula of expanded scope and content, new teaching materials, new management and teaching techniques, alternative curricular structures and improved instructional delivery systems. Building principals will use data bases to track and analyze achievement across curricular progress, schools and classes. For example, a principal could monitor and assess a teacher-created daily math program with the aid of statistical analysis of observational and pre- and post-test data using a microcomputer in his or her office.

4. Fiscal management includes areas such as accounting, budgeting, and resource allocation. Application of the new information system technologies to this management area will result in vastly increased possibilities for true program budgets. To the extent that educational personnel can generate reliable information in support of specific program options, the resource allocation process will be tied more directly to those options. This means that program needs and resource decisions can be better integrated.

5. Organizational management includes areas such as reporting, decision making, planning, and accountability. Under the influence of the new

...administrators will be able to reflect in their own behavior a more integrated approach to decision making.

information systems technologies, the concept of organizational management will shift toward more informed decisions directed at achieving organizational goals. Organizational goals, through information-supported strategic planning, will become more closely defined. Information to monitor and audit more specific aspects of organizational functioning will be collected more efficiently and be more accessible. To the extent that new information technologies allow administrators to relate various aspects of an organization, administrators will be able to reflect in their own behavior a more integrated approach to decision making. In this sense, student management, personnel management, instructional management, fiscal management, and organizational management will be more closely and clearly related in administrator decision making.

6. Information management includes the knowledge, skills, and procedures for establishing, maintaining, developing, accessing, analyzing, and utilizing information which cuts across the first five management areas above. With the application of the new information systems technologies, will come greater management responsibility for information security and confidentiality and for accuracy and fairness in collection, interpretation and use of information. Also, increased emphasis will be placed on understanding how to discriminate the relative importance of particular kinds of information for helping children progress academically and otherwise. The availability of comprehensive informa-

tion bases on the educational process from across each state and the nation will provide the opportunity to engage in cooperative research on a scale that would have been impossible just a few short years ago. The knowledge and skills required to apply integrated information system to the educational process will require changes in pre-service and in-service training programs for teachers and administrators. These changes will require acquisition of new knowledge and skills by those higher education personnel who wish to participate meaningfully in the preparation of educational administrators.

Implications for educational policy flow from all these anticipated changes. Policies which guide educational management will be in a state of rapid transition as applications of new information systems technologies continue to expand. These policies will require attention at local, state, and national levels for some time to come. If the educational community can attend to policy implications with care and facility, the schools should be enabled to take advantage of the enormous possibilities posed by these technologies. The new technologies offer unprecedented opportunities for educators to promote and be more accountable for educational excellence and equity for all young people. These outcomes should be at the center of our thinking and action in the educational policy arena.

Reference Notes

1. Elaborated treatments of the author's conception of integrated information systems for educational management appear in F. Frank, M. Mackett, P. Abrams, and J. Nowakowski, "The Educational Utility and Educational Administration and Management" and M. Mackett, F. Frank, J. Nowakowski, and P. Abrams, "Preparing Educational Administrators: in D. Gooler, The education utility: The power to revitalize American education and society, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications, 1986 (in press).
2. The authors draw on their experience in providing training in integrated information systems for principals and other administrators in school districts in Illinois.

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Educating Educators for Their Policy Making Roles

By Dennis D. Gooler

Educational policy, in the minds of many educators, is something that someone else determines and passes on to the educator, who must in turn act consistently with the policy. That is, educational policy is set by someone else. In the minds of many educators, the question of educating educators for their policy making roles is a moot question, for it is felt by many that educators do not themselves make policy, but merely follow policy.

Fortunately, more and more educators are beginning to see that such a perspective on educational policy making is counterproductive at best, and defeating at worst. Educators at all levels do have an opportunity to set, or at least to influence, educational policy making. Furthermore, it might be argued that educators have an obligation to help shape educational policy, for without engaging in this policy making role with diligence, educators in effect proclaim that they are less than professionals in their own field. Not to be involved in policy setting is to abdicate leadership in education to others. Even within the system of public education that has evolved in the United States, with strong emphasis on local control of and citizen participation in the education system in each community, there remains both the need for and expectation of strong leadership from professional educators in helping set the education agenda. Shaping educational policy is thus one of the most significant aspects of educational leadership.

If one (at least for the moment) presumes that educators ought to be involved in shaping educational policy, what might be said about how educators ought to be prepared or trained to effectively work in the areas of policy analysis and formulation? In this article, I would like to describe briefly some content areas I believe to be important in the preparation of educators to pursue their policy making roles. These areas are not meant to be inclusive, but rather representative of the kinds of things educators might be expected to know about, or know how to do, if they are to exercise appropriate leadership roles.

Recognizing a Policy Situation

It is of critical importance to the educator seeking to influence policy formulation to recognize those situations or instances in which a policy question is at issue. At first glance, this statement seems almost ridiculous in simplicity, yet, after closer inspection, a certain amount of complexity becomes more apparent.

Teachers, administrators, and other educational personnel find themselves in a continuous decision-making state. Teachers face the need for making literally hundreds of decisions daily about instructional strategies and/or techniques. Administrators make decisions about a host of problems or issues throughout the day. Which of these decisions are solely matters of strategy or procedures, and which involve, potentially, matters of educational policy? The answer is not always evident. As a consequence, many educational decisions may be made as though they were strictly strategic or tactical questions, when, in fact what is at issue is a policy concern. Too often, we make policy decisions not by design, but by default, not recognizing the policy nature of what we are addressing. Educators can develop considerable frustration when they seek to solve policy matters through techniques or decision processes that are simply not suitable for such purposes.

It is thus of considerable importance that educators be helped to better differentiate those situations calling for decisions about policy, from those situations calling for decisions about strategy or technique. There may be a variety of ways to accomplish training in this area, including the use of the technique known as 'front-end analysis,' or other kinds of analysis tools. What matters is that educators develop a better sense of the characteristics of the policy situation, as contrasted from the strategies situation, so that appropriate analytical tools can be used at the right place and time.

Big Picture Perspectives

Educators who engage in policy analyses and/or policy formulation must develop a sense of the 'big picture.' Educational policy, by its very nature, is concerned with generalizability, with guidelines that extend beyond a single case or a single instance of something. To set policy is, in part, to set parameters within which individual actions or activities occur. To set effective educational policy, therefore, requires that those involved in shaping policy have broad perspectives on the issues involved.

It is uncomfortable for many educators to develop a sense of the big picture in education. If you are a teacher, you have enough to do to keep matters related to one classroom in reasonable perspective. It is difficult, and often not very rewarding, to try to worry about issues of policy that relate to a bigger unit such as a school building or a district. The school administrator functions primarily within the confines of the building and, while district level policy is often important, that policy often seems less relevant than issues at hand in the building. Even further removed are state or national level policy debates. And yet, given the structure of American education systems, policies made at one level often have direct impact at another. Unfortunately, too few of us have either the interest or the expertise to get involved in policy formulation at the next level.

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As educators, we have a tendency to develop a sense of contextual isolation. We seem to lack the tools (and the motivation) to reach beyond our own particular setting, to see the bigger picture within which what we do fits. Or maybe it is the sense of powerlessness that precludes our attempts to develop big picture perspectives, for in the face of the complexity of the education system it is easy to believe nothing you do has an influence

If we can be involved in setting policy, we have a greater sense of control over our own destiny.

on that system. The problem is, of course, that this view of things, taken over the long run, contributes precisely to the feeling of powerlessness. It is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Helping to influence policy, however, belies that sense of powerlessness. If we can be involved in setting policy, we have a greater sense of control over our own destiny. And once we begin to have that sense, we also are more eager to gain a 'big picture' perspective, for we see more clearly how things relate one to another, and how we can make things be what they ought to be. There is a circular argument here: we need to develop a big picture perspective if we are to engage in effective policy formulation; and if we engage in policy formulation, we develop a better big picture perspective. The relationship is a positive one, but we must find ways to help educators break into the cycle somewhere. The place to start, of course, is in our initial preservice training programs. In those programs, we must do a better job helping aspiring new educators gain a grasp of the big picture in education, to see how the various elements of the education system fit together. Failure to provide this overview jeopardizes the new educator's interest in and ability to engage in policy analysis and formulation.

Historical and Philosophical Contexts

One aspect of a 'big picture' perspective is an understanding of the historical and/or philosophical context or framework within which any educational policy is constructed. The policy issues confronting education today (e.g., issues of local control, equity, quality, etc.) have their roots in historical developments, and in various philosophical schools of thought. The educator who engages in policy analysis or policy development, without an adequate historical understanding of the policy being analyzed, does so with some risk. It is not so much that "there is nothing new under the sun, therefore let us not try nor consider new approaches or new policies"; rather, it is that a sense of history, and a clarity of philosophy, provide intellectual parameters within which policy deliberations can be most effectively undertaken.

In most preparation curricula, in many colleges of education, lip service at best is paid to providing students with an adequate understanding of the historical and philosophical underpinnings of their field of endeavor. Consequently, educational policy is often debated without benefit of the kinds of contributions to the debate that

could be made by educators who possess an informed historical perspective. Educators who lack awareness of the historical development of education institutions and practices will tend to approach each policy discussion as though there was little known about the matter. There is a continuity to the history of education, a continuity featuring recurring policy and/or operational concerns. We must do a better job encouraging new educators (and, indeed, educators currently on the job) to develop this historical and philosophical perspective.

The three areas of content outlined above are essential, not just because they inform policy making processes in education, but because they are vital to delivering quality education opportunities for everyone. In addition to these general content areas, however, there are three more specific areas that are particularly germane to analyzing and formulating educational policy. The first of these areas focuses on the need to identify the consequences of potential policies.

Multi-stage Consequences

Educational policies are most often developed for purposes of enhancing the accomplishment of certain goals or objectives thought to be important or appropriate. Of course, these goals are held to be positive, that is, to produce positive outcomes. In most cases, educational policy is examined only in light of the extent to which the policy in question does indeed enhance accomplishment of intended goals. If the goals are met, we tend to regard the accompanying policy as being good, or positive.

There is a body of activity that has been developing, called technology assessment. Technology assessment might be loosely defined as those procedures designed to help analyze the second and third-order consequences of any human or technological activity. Technology assessment is conducted because, in many cases, technological (or education) projects or activities may not only meet the primary goals of the technology, but may also produce second or third-order consequences,

Decisions to implement a policy or intervention should thus take into account the full range of possible outcomes or consequences that might result.

not all of which are positive. If an analysis of the desirability or effectiveness of a particular technological intervention stopped at an examination of the first-order outcomes, consequences of the use of that technology, other consequences, not intended, may be overlooked. Those unintended consequences may be of significant importance, indeed may even outweigh the initial positive outcomes of the technology. Technology assessment, in short, forces us to look long-term at the potential consequences of what we propose to do, and to confront the full range of consequences that might occur if we were to implement a certain policy or intervention. Decisions to implement a policy or intervention should thus take into account the full range of possible outcomes or consequences that might result.

Education leaders involved in making or

analyzing education policy should develop skills of forecasting second and third-order consequences of implementing educational policy. An example might illustrate the point. A school district may be debating which of several reading approaches will be used in the district. School officials study carefully the results of research on alternative reading approaches and, based on that research, make a decision to adopt a certain reading approach, an approach that had been demonstrated to be effective in helping children achieve a certain level of performance on standardized reading tests. The district implements the reading plan but, after a relatively short time, discovers a problem. The reading program does indeed positively influence test performance, but the method used in teaching reading in the program so alienates children that, while children learn the skills of reading, enough to do well on the tests, the children are so turned off that they choose not to read. The initial objective, to raise test scores, is met. The secondary consequences, however, are devastating: a group of children who have the skills, but no longer the desire, to read.

The educator involved in policy analysis and development ought to be attuned to multi-stage outcomes and consequences, and ought to be informed by the full range of potential consequences.

The example may be too simple, but the point is not: good education policy is that which acknowledges both the immediate and long-range implications of certain kinds of activities. The educator involved in policy analysis and development ought to be attuned to multi-stage outcomes and consequences, and ought to be informed by the full range of potential consequences. Again, we generally fail to prepare new educators to consider this kind of analysis.

Differential Impacts

One component in the overall pattern of consequence determination, worth making a special note about, concerns the idea that certain educational policies may have different consequences for or impact differently on different people. The notion of differential impacts is an important one, particularly in a nation growing increasingly multicultural. In some respects, to raise the question of differential impacts of educational policy is to address squarely the issue of equity. If educational policy is made assuming that all individuals will be affected in exactly the same manner, then policy making takes one form. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that a certain educational policy may have differing consequences for different publics, then it is likely that greater care will be taken to analyze potential policies in light of the desirability of outcomes for all those people affected in one way or another.

The responsible educator assumes differential impacts, and seeks to shape policies that will provide the most good for all those affected by the policy. But once again, the question must be raised about the extent to which we in colleges of

education currently prepare our graduates to adequately consider the question of differential impacts, both immediate and long-range. The question is a complicated one, but one which cannot be ignored in any discussion of how to educate educators to be better policy makers.

Costs and Benefits

A final content area that is essential to policy making focuses on determining the potential costs and benefits associated with implementing a given educational policy. What will Policy X cost, in what ways will we benefit from the policy, and do the benefits justify the costs?

Much work has been done on cost/benefit analysis, and some of that work has found its way into education. Many educators fear such analyses, expressing concerns that the benefits of education cannot be quantified, that educators deal with intangibles, that education is not a business. While these cautions are always worth noting, there is growing evidence that education is increasingly being subjected to measures of accountability, one of which is some form of cost/benefit, or cost-effectiveness analysis.

The educator seeking to shape educational policy must pay attention to the underlying principles of cost and benefit studies and methodologies.

The educator seeking to shape educational policy must pay attention to the underlying principles of cost and benefit studies and methodologies. Public education consumes public dollars, and the public wants some assurances that what is being done with the public money is appropriate and effective. Policies that are framed to guide education simply must acknowledge the need for some kind of record of the relationships between costs and benefits. And, consequently, preparation programs must include some training for educators in understanding both the concepts and the techniques of examining costs and benefits.

What might be said in summary fashion about educating educators for their policy making roles? First, it can be said that virtually every educator is and ought to be involved in thinking about and shaping educational policy. It is also clear that many educators have abdicated their responsibilities in this area. We continue to do so at great peril, for if educators do not shape educational policy, someone else clearly will. And if educators fail to attempt to be part of the process of shaping educational policy, then those educators have little basis for complaining about the policies that do obtain.

Second, it is clear that colleges of education could be doing more to prepare educators to be involved in policy analysis and formulation. The content areas suggested above are included in varying degrees in some preparation programs, and totally missing in others. Hopefully, each college of education would review its own preparation programs to determine the extent to which these areas of content, and others, can be found in its programs. If this content cannot be found, corrections could and should be made.

Educational policy provides the framework within which the more specific, concrete operations of our schools and other learning environments function on a day to day basis. It is essential that all of us examine on a continuing basis the policies that guide our efforts. Our education system is likely to be only as good as the wisdom portrayed through our policies. Our educational policies ought to be demonstrably

aimed at producing a high quality and just education system. Our educators, as professionals, ought to be front and center in determining educational policy. And our higher education institutions ought to be vigilant in helping prepare educators for these vital policy roles. To do less is unthinkable.



The Role of the Policy Analyst

By Patricia F. First

The policy analyst is the current manifestation of a long line of advisors seeking to improve society. The advice of experts has been sought by policy makers since earliest times. The costumes have changed and been as diversified as those of magician, tax collector, confessor, constitution writer, strategist and economic planner. The form has changed with convenience, values on the scale of knowledge, morality and culture. But the function has stayed rather constant (Kelly, 1963).

The Theory

Though they used to be called magicians, the justification for what policy analysts do can rest on as solid a rock as the idealism of Emmanuel Kant (First, 1979). Kant believed that things can be better or good and that there is an orderly and systematic way to achieve a desirable future state.

Kant told the world that truths derive their necessary character from the inherent structure of our minds, from the natural and inevitable manner in which our minds must operate. Kant's great thesis was that the mind of man is not passive wax upon which experience and sensation write their absolute and yet whimsical will, nor is it a mere abstract name for a series or group of mental states. It is an active organ which transforms the chaotic multiplicity of experience into the ordered unity of thought (Durant, 1926).

The policy analyst attempts to establish order. He looks for orderly and systematic ways to develop anticipatory actions. If Kant is to be believed that things can be better, then the policy analyst can believe that people can make things better by finding orderly and systematic ways to transform chaos into order. Policy making is an attempt to establish order.

Policy analysis on the way to desirable outcomes may have been an axiomatic given for Kant. Policy analysts act on the premise that information from analysis makes a difference in decisions (Meltsner, 1976). Correspondingly, Kant is the progenitor of the view that methodological concepts and principles of inquiry are procedural ideas and rules that are adopted in a practical way for the purposes of controlling the world in which we live (Aiken, 1956).

Kant, as an idealist-realist, is a leading exponent of the inductive-deductive mode of inquiry, i.e., experimental reasoning or problem solving (McGrath, 1979). Policy analysts, as opposed to traditional researchers, make use of both the inductive and deductive modes, as the needs of their work dictate.

In the process of policy development analysts use normative as well as exploratory forecasting. Kant believed in the notion of normative forecasting in that it has a predetermined desirable outcome and an orderly, systematic way of arriving there. Thus, these ideas of Kant's imply policy analysis.

Emergence of the Policy Analyst

The emergence of policy analysts, perhaps, is related to the inability of organizations or entire governments to function in an environment that has become too uncertain. In an uncertain environment building images of the future and foreseeing consequences can become a principal dimension of the role of policy analysts.

Social planners, political scientists, policy analysts and other types of advice-givers, have become more interested in the governance and financing of education during the last decade

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because education has become more blatantly political as it has consumed a larger share of state and local tax dollars. The high costs of education impinge on other areas of political interest such as land use, transportation, welfare and prison reform. Examination of the inter-relatedness of all these social problems calls for the objectivity which the policy analyst can bring to the policy development process.

Objectivity is open-mindedness, a willingness to examine the information available and the arguments from all sides (Harris, 1968). For the policy analyst, the end of such objective study is to implement plans and decisions to bring about action for the future. The action should result in desirable change which should lead to a better future society.

A plan is often expressed as a policy. Policy analysts examine policy statements for their implications and impacts. Policy analysis

Both the creation of new knowledge and the determination of beliefs are essential for policy analysis.

in this case is the process which seeks to identify the obvious and the subtle issues implicit, interrelated, and linked in the ultimately accepted policy statement. Both the creation of new knowledge and the determination of beliefs are essential for policy analysis.

Sandell (1977) describes policy analysis as a "...set of procedures for inventing, anticipating, exploring, comparing, and articulating the alternatives available for achieving certain objectives. It is a method of managing...collecting and organizing...information. It is an effort to ease the consternation that stems from seeking better ways to ordain the process of decision making."

Easing the consternation is important in an uncertain environment. Policy analysts are thus emerging as the advisors of this age.

Policy Research

Policy research is research that will be used by decision makers to help solve today's complex social problems (Majchrzak, 1984). Policy research is done by policy analysts. Writers, such as Majchrzak (1984), differentiate between policy research and policy analysis, confining policy analysis to the study of the policy making process. But such fine distinctions are not agreeable to this author. The focus here is upon the theoretical, ethical and purposeful base of the work of the policy analyst. The purpose of that work, in whatever form the research takes, is to help solve today's complex social problems.

The analyst seeks out alternative ways to solve the problem. Dery (1984) writes that policy problems in the real world are complex, wicked, or squishy. Often, just defining the problem becomes the job of the analyst, and, the objective of a policy research study.

Policy research is usually constrained by timeframes so that the results will be available in time for use by policy makers. What is "good"

then becomes relative to what is "good" given the time and resources allowed. This will not be "perfect" or "ideal" research, but given its purpose there is no point in criticizing the methodology from that vantage point. Usually one must do the best one can in a limited timeframe so the results will be used.

The analyst is interpreter as well as researcher. One of the most important, and infrequently mentioned functions of the policy analyst is the communication and interpretation, in understandable non-research language, of policy research and other kinds of research to policymakers. The analyst also interprets and explains policy decisions to the constituents of the policymaking body. Policy analysts functioning in these roles are frequently found in governmental agencies.

The policy analysts have a wide choice of tools with which to pursue their functions. One of the tools of the policy analyst is the decision-making model, which is useful if one believes with Henderson (1975), that a system that cannot be modeled cannot be managed. The relative utility of a decision making model depends in part upon who is asking which questions for what purpose. These questions depend upon such things as the analyst's training, experience, professional position, personal values, and notions of how the world operates and how it can be improved (Peterson, 1976).

The decision-making model, a model of the policy development process, enables the analyst to identify the actors in the policy making process and to understand the environment in which these actors are operating. "For policy research to yield usable and implementable recommendations, the research process necessitates an understanding of the policy making arena in which the study results will be received (Majchrzak, 1984).

To be successful, the analyst must accurately assess the policy maker's power over his/her world. But he/she need not accept this factor as one which closes opportunity for social improvement. The easiest basis for policy making may be that which fits in neatly with prevailing conceptions of who has how much control and over what. But even from that basis, incremental steps toward improvement and change can begin. Small steps are better than none and alternatives investigated may lead to wide open doors toward the goal. The policy analyst can use planning tools both to manage the future and to cause change. Policy is never static. It is continually growing and evolving. With a faster change-rate in all of life, policy making has become more anticipatory and this also relates it to planning.

The most important task of the analyst may not be deciding what is equitable and efficient policy. The most important task of the analyst may be to specify the institutional framework in which equitable and efficient policies can be chosen. Analyzing the policy development processes themselves thus becomes crucial. The policy analyst believes that thorough analysis of both the processes and the policies produces better evidence and enhances the quality of policy-level decision making.

The Value Dilemma

The thorough policy analyst cannot escape the awareness that the analysis itself is a process that arranges possible policies along some value continuum. "Policy analysis is essentially a value-based enterprise. Whether or not a policy

of ameliorating the condition of the poor is a good or useful policy depends on value-judgments, not scientific data" (Guba, 1985).

The tension between objectivity and relevance is the dilemma for the analyst (Chalip, 1985). If the policy research is dependent upon a funding source, the needs of the client must be considered, and here again the issues of timelines and timeliness are pertinent. The analyst continually must ask herself such judgmental questions as, "Is some information better in this case than none?" "Have enough views been considered?" If the work is to be pertinent to policy, one must too frequently compromise on the answers.

Analysis cannot stand by itself. It must gain acceptance within and outside the bureaucracy (Meltsner, 1976). To gain such acceptance, analysts try to develop a consensus model of analysis and even modify the analytical product itself to gain acceptance as a study proceeds. Policy analysts cannot design and move toward desirable educational futures without also taking into account business and industry, as well as variables of a political, economic, cultural and technological nature.

Hays (1985) has written of the need for information and feedback from a variety of sources for both the policy analyst and the policy maker.

Individuals responsible for formulating new policy directions realize they are peering into a rather murky crystal ball, trying to discern the consequences of actions not yet taken. Therefore, they constantly seek information from a variety of sources to bolster their confidence that the programs they propose will, in fact, work. And, even when the decision maker has great confidence in his or her chosen alternative, there is a strong need for information that will make the decision appear legitimate to other political actors.

Policy analysis is planning. Planning for education or any field, cannot be done in isolation from the rest of society. A cognizance of national and world policies, as well as developments closer to home must be one of the analyst's tools.

Planning develops a sense of direction. In 1975 Bailey wrote that planning is really a form of social control and is concerned with the nature of the conformity and balance existing in social relations systems. Some feel, with Bailey, that under planning lie disguised preoccupations with order and control. But others (First, 1979) see creative opportunities in planning and policy analysis. Analysis can be a creative process if it is used to open alternatives for a system's clients.

With reference to any given issue, the analyst must reason back and forth between what policy should be and what it is (Mead, 1985). Even the answers to what it is often is clouded. What is on paper in a policy statement may be in no way reflected in practice. Given the extreme decentralization of our educational system, this harsh reality has plagued policy analysts working on educational reform issues.

Other value questions are part of doing policy research. Sterling (1985) asks, "Should analysts be hired guns paid to do the bidding of

their clients or be guided by some higher cause? Conflicts of interest, distribution of results, massaging the data, selective use of evidence--the considerations are many." Each policy analyst must confront these questions.

Policy analysts know that moral considerations are integral to their enterprise. But adequate and appropriate plans can be made. Responses can be elicited to society's complex problems. A sense of direction and moral concern can be generated. It is still possible to accept Kant's theory that things can be better or good.

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Policy Making- Higher Education's Paradox

By Alfonso Thurman

Today's higher education institutions have been characterized as organized anarchies. Given their multiple missions or functions--teaching, research and service, an archaic formal structure which does not describe actual power, and the largely immeasurable outputs, it is understandable that they are called such. Add to this the fact that universities have not one, but three bureaucracies--one of faculty with a hierarchy of departments, colleges and senates or executive councils, another of administrators with the task of managing a set of essential supportive services (one of which is to finance the institution's activities), and another of students with their student government or associations and their monitoring, budget, and development committees. One can see that they are, indeed, unique enterprises. It is through this maze that policy decisions must pass.

Additionally, higher education institutional policy decisions are impacted by diverse external entities; thus, they have become amoeba-like as they absorb, react to, and withdraw from these influences. Some of these external forces are the federal government and its multitudinous agencies (such as the Departments of Education, Energy, Defense, the National Institutes of Health, and the National Science Foundation), institutional and professional foundations (such as the American Council on Education, Association of American Universities, and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges), accrediting agencies, and the courts. Combine these forces with contentious internal groups whose interests generally vary significantly--administrators, faculty, academic staff, and students--and requests from governing boards, state coordinating bodies, and legislative interests and mandates, the policy making process becomes a potential political quagmire.

Designing a policy-making process while trying to please or placate the external and internal constituencies requires a careful balancing act. Overall policy is generally fashioned via the president, vice presidents, and the university senates or councils made up of faculty, academic administrators, and students. These bodies are supplemented by a multitude of committees, which deal with items of governance, contracting, buildings, construction, and curriculum development. In addition to these groups there are subgroups of academic and non-

academic departments, boards and offices which develop and implement their own policy decisions.

This amalgamation of administrators, governing bodies, departments, and committees becomes the policy making structures which must receive, digest, and synthesize external communiques with their often competing facts, interpretations and policy alternatives while systematically doing the same for the internal networks with their differing incentives; and then, must fashion policy decisions which provide for prudent management while conserving limited resources.

Given the complexity of today's higher educational institutions, there remain those who feel that policy decisions should be clear, succinct, compatible and consistent. No wonder college and university presidents are remaining in office for fewer years!



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School District Policy Development

Checklist: Ten Important Steps

By Thomas E. Glass

The development of policies is one of the most important responsibilities of school boards. The development of procedures to implement policies adopted by the Board is the responsibility of the district administration and is no less important.

What is a school district policy? In general, it is a broad or specific statement of purpose. Some policies are very broad in scope and some are more limited in nature. For example, a policy on educational opportunity is a broad type which states the Board's intent of providing educational programs to meet the needs of all students in the district. A more specific intent is addressed in a personnel policy which states that employees must not possess a conflict of interest with district business operations.

Often, there is a great deal of confusion as to what is policy and what is procedure. Generally, procedures are the steps which the district administration will take to implement a board policy. Sometimes these procedures, as in the case of a reduction in force policy, need to be quite detailed and guarantee due process.

In this age of litigation, school districts periodically find themselves in court defending their policies and procedures. Generally, it is the procedures used in the implementation of policies which run afoul of the law.

To be sure, many procedures need to be adopted by official board action along with the policy. Also, districts need to understand that just because some item is included in a state statute does not mean that a district policy should not be written at the local level. Procedures specially fitted to the local scene need to be developed and, in many areas such as personnel, employees are expected by courts to be familiar with district policies, not necessarily state statutes. This also follows for items in the negotiated agreement.

How Should a School District Organize to Develop District Policies?

Step 1. In most districts there is already an existent policy manual. The new manual may be a revision. Or, the district may decide to start from scratch and develop a totally new manual. This decision should be based on a needs assessment made by a committee of administrators, board members, staff and probably consultants. Many states have organizations which furnish a

policy development service to districts. The committee should look into what types of technical assistance are available from these groups. More specifically, the committee should look carefully at the policy needs of the district which often will be determined by district size, experience, and programs.

Step 2. The following are the usual sections of a school district policy manual. The committee might wish to establish a priority list as to what section should be developed first.

Sections

Board of Education	Community Relations
Instruction	Administration
Students	Financial Management
Personnel	Non-Instructional Oper.
Special Education	School Facilities
	Miscellaneous

Step 3. Once the schedule of work is determined, the committee should then assess the types of resources needed to develop each section. Timelines also need to be established in order to make sure the project will be completed at some point. Also, in the case of a major revision, Board members will have to carefully read and consider each policy before its formal adoption at a board meeting. This takes much coordination.

Step 4. An administrator should be appointed by the Board to work with the committee on what probably will be a year long task. Many districts release an administrator for a school year to work on the project. The committee will likely have other responsibilities, and a facilitator between the committee and outside resource persons is very necessary.

Step 5. Policies need to be developed on a schedule and most importantly be previewed before all concerned parties in the school district. Better yet, as many staff members as possible should be involved in development of the policies in order to feel ownership and involvement.

Step 6. Procedures need to be developed along with the policies because many times the board will want to know specifically how a policy, such as reduction in force or dismissal, will be implemented. Additionally, a legal consultant will have to review most policies and procedures at this time for their legality and appropriateness.

Step 7. Once the draft policies and procedures are developed, the administrative team of the district should assess them in order to insure they will meet the operational needs of the district. The committee should meet at least several times with the administrative team for this purpose.

Step 8. Once the draft policies and procedures have cleared the administrative team, legal consultants, and committees, they should be carefully typed and printed using a numerical

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system and perhaps different colors of paper for policies, procedures, and forms, which should also be included in the manual.

Step 9. The policies should be presented to the Board in small numbers. The Board should not hurry through them as this would imply to the public and staff they are not important documents. In fact, it is suggested that once adopted, the policies most affecting employees be put in binders and distributed to them. They should also be recovered once a year for update.

Step 10. The administrator appointed to develop the policy manual should be relieved and another central office administrator be given the task of continually updating the policy manual of the district. Due to changes in legislation, district programs, and legal precedent a district with a good policy manual probably will make 10 to 20 updates per year.



Policy: A Working Definition

What is Policy: -- A Working Definition

In general, policy making involves decisions intended to have wide rather than narrow influences on people and operations, and which are intended to have more than a short-range impact. In somewhat less general terms, policy making has the following three characteristics:

1. Policy making involves the strategic function of leadership and guidance.
2. Policy making shapes and clarifies substantive goals and major objectives.
3. Policy making gives direction to the development and operations of programs, influencing or determining the allocation of resources vis-a-vis competing demands.

A policy statement can be defined as having the following characteristics:

1. A clear intent to provide general direction (statement of position) rather than specific orders (statement of procedure);
2. Application to a well-defined population;
3. The (usual) absence of a specific reference to time;
4. Addressing an area over which the policy-making body has authority or particular influence.

Statements of policy, by design and by definition, are intended to have relatively long-term effects. They may require the development of procedural statements (e.g., guidelines, rules and regulations) that assist the respondents in the implementation of the policy.

SOURCE: Illinois State Board of Education, "The State Board of Education Policies and Procedures Handbook," Springfield, Illinois, Illinois State Board of Education, Policy Development Process Section. (Photocopied)

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