

Race to the Top: Impact on Schools and Students

a review of external evaluations conducted to date



Spring, 2016

About the Education Institute of Hawaii

The Education Institute of Hawaii (EIH) is a local think tank that produces independent, objective, nonpartisan research drawing upon the opinions and insights of principals, teachers, parents and community leaders. We work to ensure that the perspectives of schools and communities inform public discourse and public policy. We envision exemplary public schools, transformed through empowerment, servant leadership, and an unwavering quest for excellence in education.

Foreword

Aloha Friends and Colleagues,

We have a new opportunity for public education in Hawaii. The federal Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), signed into law in December, returns many decisions that were once the purview of the U.S. Department of Education back into the hands of the states.

This is a welcomed departure from recent efforts by the Hawaii DOE. Under requirements of Race to the Top, the DOE pursued a series of reforms that had dramatic effects upon principals, teachers, students and families. Many changes, like the Common Core Curriculum, standardized testing, and new teacher evaluation system, are still the subject of fierce debate, not only in Hawaii, but across the country.

The top-down, prescriptive nature of these reforms, and the aggressive timetable under which they were implemented, left many Hawaii educators feeling exhausted and frustrated – questioning whether the intended benefits of Race were really worth the costs borne by Hawaii's schools and students.

ESSA gives Hawaii the chance to adjust our course toward a destination of our own choosing – not one dictated by federal rules and deadlines, but driven by local decisions about what's best for local students. ESSA also requires that the Hawaii DOE engage in dialogue with schools and communities about these choices before they are committed to paper, opening the door to greater school empowerment.

A logical step in this process is to reflect upon Race to the Top to ensure that we don't repeat its mistakes or discard things that worked. Because Race is controversial, it will be important to ground discussions about it in evidence and objective analysis, as much as possible.

The evaluations conducted by the American Institutes of Research (the "source material" for this report) provide a useful starting point for such a reflection. The following report examines AIR's findings about the impacts of Race upon schools and students. We hope it provides a useful step in efforts to seize the opportunity presented by ESSA. We also hope it advances the ongoing effort to make all schools into empowered, nurturing places where passion and talent are cultivated in educators and students alike.

Darrel Galera
Executive Director

Roberta Mayor
Board Chair

I. Introduction

The Race Debate

From the 2010-11 School Year (SY2010) through the 2013-14 School Year (SY2013), Hawaii implemented a series of public education reforms funded by a federal Race to the Top grant (“Race”). The reforms had numerous impacts upon students, teachers, principals, and the school system as a whole – impacts still being felt and debated today. Some have proclaimed Race a success, while others describe a disastrous experience. There are few objective assessments that the public or policy makers can use to draw their own conclusions.

Past Evaluations

Over the final three years of Race to the Top, the Hawaii Department of Education (HIDOE) contracted with American Institutes for Research (AIR) to conduct annual, mixed-methods evaluations of Race reforms in Hawaii. AIR is one of the world’s largest nonprofit, non-partisan research and evaluation organizations.

In every year of its 3-year evaluation, AIR conducted surveys of all principals and a random sample of teachers at 60 schools. AIR also conducted site visits to 12 randomly selected schools each year. In all, AIR received responses from more than 200 principals and 1,800 teachers in each year of the evaluation.

AIR also conducted interviews of State and Complex area leaders and gathered evidence on whether implementation was consistent with the plans and milestones developed by the Hawaii DOE. However, for reasons described in the following section, these interviews were not the focus of our review.

Our Focus: School & Student Impacts

This report draws upon student data and opinion data from principals and teachers contained in AIR annual reports. We attempt to synthesize AIR data and findings to answer two specific questions: (1) What did AIR find were the impacts of Race upon schools and students, according to teachers and principals themselves? (2) What next steps are suggested by AIR’s evaluations?

We reviewed all three AIR annual reports (SY2011 through SY2013), looking for evidence of positive or negative impacts on schools and action steps implied by the findings. We considered “evidence” of school-level impact as survey or interview data from teachers or principals, student achievement data, and information from AIR’s school site visits. We placed greater weight on data from AIR’s Year 3 evaluation than Years 1 and 2, since this was the more recent data.

Where AIR data or findings offered evidence of school/student effects, we categorized these into positive and negative impacts. We called an impact “positive” if there was evidence that a Race-related effort was perceived by schools to have had a positive, intended effect in schools. We called an impact “negative” if there was data indicating that a Race-related effort was perceived by schools to have had unintended negative effects or failed to achieve its intended, positive result.

In a concluding section, we comment on these impacts in terms of their effect upon three arenas of change: Culture (norms, values, attitudes), Conditions (structures, roles), and Competencies (skills, knowledge) in schools. Addressing changes in all “3 C” arenas has proven to be an effective approach for other school districts.

Limitations of Data & Scope

Because AIR evaluations were conducted during Race implementation (with the last report published September, 2014), it is possible that they were too early to gauge impact in some areas. For instance, the evaluations were concluded before Common Core mathematics curricula had been fully deployed and before the Smarter Balanced Assessment Consortium (SBAC) testing system was implemented.

It was beyond the scope of this review to “update” AIR’s findings. However, we did scan more recent information (e.g., national Race evaluation literature, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) scores, and data from recent EIH surveys) to ensure that none of the AIR’s findings have since been contradicted by major studies or data sources. We emphasize that conditions observed by AIR may have since changed.

We do not address whether Race was implemented according to HIDOE’s plan. AIR evaluations list the HIDOE’s new Strategic Plan, Common Core Curriculum, and greater alignment of state and school policies as accomplishments of Race. Since our review focuses on *student and school* effects, we did not view new policies or systems as impacts, unless there was data showing that teachers or principals felt they affected schools or students. Therefore, several aspects of Race discussed by AIR are not addressed in this review because they did not deal with school- or student-impacts.

Because our review focuses on student and school effects, we do not view new policies or systems as impacts, unless there was data showing that teachers or principals felt they effected schools or students.

We emphasize that this is *not* a critique of AIR’s work nor a comprehensive re-evaluation of Race to the Top. Rather, it is a review of data available in AIR annual reports, with a deliberately narrow focus on school and student impacts, as perceived by principals and

teachers. We try to summarize this sub-set of the AIR data in a way that renders it useful to the general public and policy makers.

II. Race to the Top: School & Student Impacts

Three years of AIR evaluations point to several impacts upon schools and students, much of it captured through AIR’s surveys of teachers and principals from SY2011 to SY2013.

Positive Impacts

1. Data Teams helped identify struggling students and encouraged teacher collaboration.

Greater access to, and use of, data was a key reform under Race, and a required strategy for all Hawaii schools. The effort included new data systems, data coaches for schools, and school-level Data Teams, i.e., staff who were expected to meet regularly in department or grade-level groups to review and analyze data.

AIR found that, “Among teachers, there was general agreement that data teams have helped teachers identify struggling students and collaborate with each other to find and implement instructional support strategies.” (AIR, Year 3, p. 17). AIR’s Year 3 survey data showed 78 percent of principals agreed or strongly agreed that, “Data Teams have an impact on student instruction” (slightly down from 81 percent the prior year) and 91 percent felt that, “Data teams increase teacher collaboration” (up from 90 percent) (AIR, Year 3, p.47; Year 2, p.58).

However, AIR also found that, “Ensuring that the focus on data is translating into meaningful changes in instructional practices—a challenge noted in previous years of the evaluation—continued to be a theme in AIR’s third-year site visits” (AIR, Year 3, p.18). Generally, across all years of its evaluation, AIR found that teachers struggled with how to use data to change some aspect of their practice with confidence that they were on a better track.

2. Statewide Induction and Mentoring yielded benefits for new teachers.

As part of a commitment to foster “Great Teachers and Great Leaders” under Race, the DOE rolled out a statewide induction and mentoring (I&M) program providing support to all new teachers. This statewide I&M initiative established mentors for all new teachers and ongoing professional development designed to enhance new teacher effectiveness and retention. Although I&M programming existed in some Complex Areas prior to Race, the program was systematized and scaled statewide under the Race grant.

“Over the course of the three-year study, the induction and mentoring program was viewed as a highly valuable and successful initiative.”

- AIR Year 3 Evaluation

According to survey data presented by AIR, statewide I&M supports were perceived as

having positive impacts. Per AIR's 2014 report, 83 percent of new teachers agreed or strongly agreed that, "Work with my mentor has impacted my students' learning" and 87 percent agreed or strongly agreed that, "Work with my mentor has helped me be effective in my teaching." These figures were comparable to prior years of evaluation. When asked how mentors helped, "Helps me differentiate instruction and provide accommodations to meet the needs of diverse learners" was the support most frequently cited by teachers (AIR, Year 2 p.71, Year 3, p.57). AIR's summary conclusion: "Over the course of the three-year study, the induction and mentoring program was viewed as a highly valuable and successful initiative" (Year 3, p. 26).

3. Some elements of English Language Arts Common Core curriculum had positive effects.

Under Race, Common Core State Standards (Common Core) were introduced into specific grades and subjects each year to guide instruction. Common Core implementation began with elementary school English language arts (ELA) in SY2011 and expanded to all grades and subjects by SY2013 (though some subjects were not fully implemented until SY2013, as discussed below). Data cited by AIR relating to impacts of Common Core came from interviews with teachers and principals during school site visits (12 schools in Year 3). No *survey* data related to the perceived impact of Common Core on students was presented by AIR in its reports.

Based on its interviews, AIR found, "The majority of ELA teachers...indicated that the transition to the ELA CCSS...had been relatively positive overall...including the positive impact of these standards on students' writing, critical thinking, and classroom discussions" (AIR, Year 3, p.11). Opinions about Common Core's impact varied between grades and subjects, though. AIR found that feedback regarding the, "ELA Springboard curriculum [grades 6-12] was somewhat negative" (AIR, Year 3, p.12).

Common Core mathematics was a different story. AIR found math implementation "more challenging" noting that "teachers expressed concern about mapping the CCSS to secondary school subjects...because the mathematics CCSS are integrated across grade levels" while course constructs were still 'boxed in' to subjects like Geometry and Algebra (AIR, Year 3, p.13). A survey of principals by EIH in 2015 affirmed AIR's findings with 70 percent of principals who "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that "CCSS is good for students", while comments indicated that some components of Common Core were better than others, and that it may be "too early to tell" what this impact on students might be (EIH, 2015, p.10-11).

4. Academic Review Teams provided principals with valuable support.

Under Race, the state required each school to develop (or realign an existing group to become) an Academic Review Team (ART), comprised of teachers and school administrators. The ART was to serve as a planning and management committee that would review performance data, set priority strategies, routinely manage and monitor practices, and target supports and resources within a school. School ARTs were also charged with shaping a school's Academic and Financial Plans.

AIR surveyed principals in each year of its evaluations and found in Year 3 (SY2013) that 93 percent of principals agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “ARTs provide me with valuable support” (AIR, Year 3, p.39). This figure was slightly up from 90 percent the year before – the first year of ART implementation (AIR, Year 2, p.51). Despite high survey ratings by principals, AIR site visits also found that many schools were still in the “initial stages” with ARTs, during the final year of Race (AIR, Year 3 p.iv).

5. The classroom observation component of EES was reported to have had benefits.

Improving the teacher performance evaluation system was a key component of the state’s Race reforms. In 2013, the state and the Hawaii State Teachers Association agreed to a new evaluation system that included Classroom Observations by administrators; Student Perspectives using the Tripod Student Survey; a Core Professionalism review; Student Growth measures; and, Student Learning Objectives (SLOs), intended to link planning and assessment with learning goals. EES was rolled out statewide in SY2013, however EES ratings were not tied to teacher compensation until after the AIR evaluations, in SY2014.

Most feedback from teachers and principals was critical of EES across multiple years of AIR evaluation. However, interviews from AIR’s school site visits revealed that a “majority of teachers...described the classroom observation process as valuable, enabling them to reflect on their practice and providing them with a new mechanism with which to collaborate with school administrators” (AIR, Year 3, p.24). AIR concluded, “Teachers generally characterized classroom observations as helpful, although they often perceived them to be overly time consuming and subjective” (AIR, Year 3, p.24). More recent data from 2015 EIH principal surveys affirmed the AIR observations, with many principals commenting that observations were a useful practice (EIH, 2015, p.22-23).

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- AIR Year 3 Evaluation

Negative Impacts

1. Race had no impact on student achievement, and possibly negative effects in some areas.

AIR’s three-year evaluation focused on three core research questions. Two of these questions focused on fidelity of implementation and changes to policy or practice. AIR’s third research question was the one most relevant to this review: “What is the impact of Hawaii’s Race initiative on student achievement?”

AIR found that, “While student achievement in Hawaii has continued to improve over the course of Race...those gains did not appear to be the result of the grant, but are the

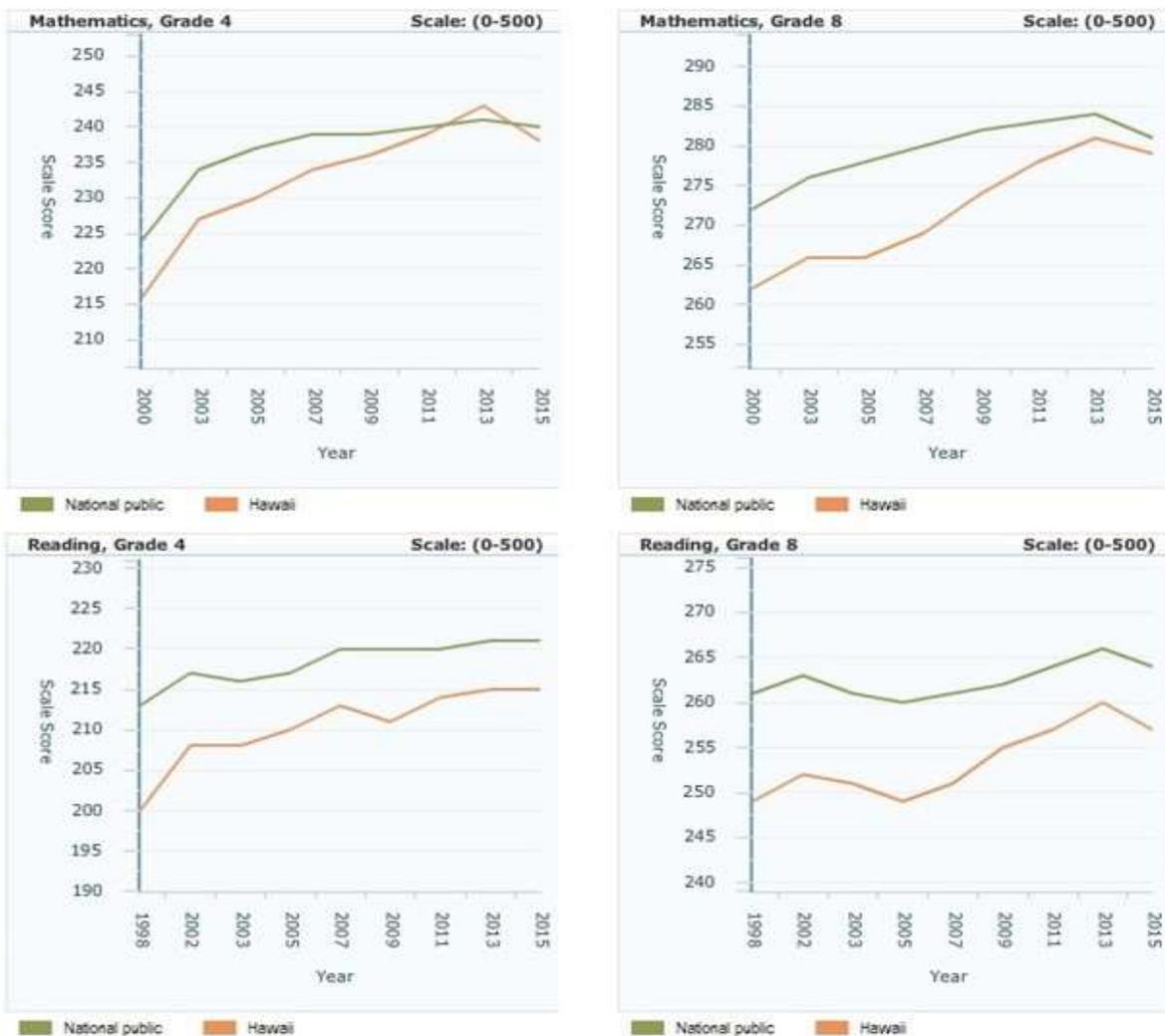
continuation of a trend of improvement that started earlier.” Based upon HSA and NAEP data, AIR also concluded that, “the pace of student achievement growth has slowed over the Race years, relative to pre-Race years.” AIR added that “the estimated Race impact on student [reading] proficiency is negative” (AIR, Year 3 p.x, xi).

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– AIR, Year 3 Evaluation

The trends observed by AIR appear to have continued beyond the final year of Race. In 2015, NAEP scores for Hawaii show a dip in student proficiency greater than what would be expected given Hawaii’s historical pattern (National Center for Education Statistics, NAEP State Profiles, 2015). It should be noted that both the AIR data and subsequent NAEP data may reflect a temporary dip in scores, as schools and teachers adjusted to new curriculum, standards, and assessments.

NAEP Scores Hawaii and U.S.



2. Most principals and teachers felt Race did not make a difference.

In the final year of Race, AIR's surveys found that only 26 percent of principals and 37 percent of teachers felt it made a positive difference in schools. While 62 percent of teachers said that Race had changed school practices, only 37 percent felt that effects were positive. AIR concluded, "This gap between perceived changes and perceived benefits may reflect the challenges associated with making changes and educators' perceptions that the changes have not yet improved student or teacher outcomes" (AIR, Year 3, p.37). Also noteworthy was that, "principals reported a 13 percentage point decline in their perceptions that "Race is making a difference" in Year 3, relative to Year 1" (AIR, YR3, p.37).

3. EES did not improve schools' ability to identify and intervene with unsatisfactory teachers.

As previously noted, a new EES performance evaluation system for teachers was a central component of Race-driven reform. EES was intended to improve upon past evaluation systems by enabling principals and the HIDOE to more accurately identify both exemplary and unsatisfactory teachers.

As of AIR's final evaluation in 2014, 46 percent of teachers and 60 percent of principals felt that the EES "gives useful information to inform practice." Teachers interviewed by AIR worried that EES did not provide an effective way to identify high-quality professional or teachers they considered to be failing their students (AIR, Year 3, p.23).

More recent data from EIH's 2015 revealed that principals felt EES did not make it easier to identify or intervene with ineffective teachers. Comments included: "bad teachers still marked Effective," "free passes to Satisfactory ratings," "too difficult to get rid of Unsatisfactory teachers," "PEP-T [the old evaluation system] was more effective in getting rid of bad teachers," and "EES is making it extremely (almost impossible) to get rid of them legally" (EIH, 2015 Survey, p.57). Post-AIR EES data from SY2014 also appears to bear this finding out, with relatively few teachers rated "unsatisfactory" under the new system.

4. Schools said Race created unrealistic workloads, reducing time for other critical functions.

Running through all three years of AIR reports are school comments on the unrealistic demands created by Race, and their negative impact on school staff. In its final evaluation year, AIR noted, "[M]any school leaders and teachers expressed significant concerns regarding the workload that resulted from the implementation of all six strategies at once...[S]taff said they were overwhelmed with the state's expectations, struggling with the pace of change, and concerned their level of effort was not sustainable" (AIR, Year 3 p.ii).

In particular, principals noted that the numerous meetings required of them by EES

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– AIR, Year 3 Evaluation

were not feasible. Meetings for setting and reviewing Student Learning Objectives (SLOs) were singled out as especially onerous and adding little value. “Principals repeatedly described the burden of scheduling and conducting observations, as well as pre- and post-observation conferences with teachers, compounded by the pre- and post-conferences required for the SLOs” (AIR, Year 3, p.24). AIR continued, “Concerning the SLOs themselves, the overwhelming feedback from school staff focused on the extensive amount of time it took to develop them and...for the pre- and post-SLO conferences” (AIR, Year 3, p.25). The 2015 EIH Principal survey affirmed and updated this finding, with principals calling SLOs “a waste of principals’ time” and calling for its removal from EES (EIH, 2015, p.31-32).

Principals and teachers were asked to rate various “Challenges to Having a Qualified Teaching Force.” The highest rated factor, identified by 75 percent of teachers and 73 percent of principals, was, “lack of time to collaborate with other teachers.” Lack of collaboration time was considered a bigger challenge than professional development, qualified candidates, or teacher salaries (AIR, Year 3, p. 55). Using data to improve instruction also suffered under time constraints. Asked to identify Challenges to using data, “lack of time to analyze data” and “lack of time to collaborate” were the top obstacles, with approximately 80 percent of both teachers and principals identifying these as a “moderate” or “major” challenge (AIR, Year 3, p.46). AIR concluded that, “Many teachers and administrators noted that school operations suffered” (AIR, Year 3, p.24).

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- AIR Year 3 Evaluation

5. Teachers and principals reported that Race negatively impacted school morale.

By the final year of AIR’s evaluation, one-third of principals and more than half of teachers reported that “Low Staff Morale” was a “moderate” or “major” challenge to their “school’s efforts in improving student performance” (AIR, Year 3, p. 61). “[P]rincipals reported...a 12 percentage point increase in low staff morale as a challenge in Year 3, relative to Year 1” (AIR Year 3, p. 60). AIR observed in Year 3 that, “the stress and burden associated with the state requirements that were rolled out this year was by far the most common theme in our conversations with staff across all the schools we visited...[T]here was a clear increase in the volume of negative teacher feedback about Race and associated reforms than in the previous year” (AIR, Year 3, p.xi).

Running through Teacher and Principal comments is the notion that implementation was rushed, with too many components implemented at once, and unrealistic demands upon teacher and principal time. In some areas, this was compounded by a lack of training and sufficient preparation time. For example, “There was agreement among interviewees that implementation of Common Core had been rushed, with a lack of in-depth training and

opportunities for collaborative learning among teachers...CCSS trainings occurred before teachers were fully immersed in implementing the standards” (AIR, Year 3, p.12). Data from the EIH 2015 principal survey suggests these effects continued beyond SY2013, with 68 percent of principals saying they “agreed” or “strongly agreed” with the statement, “Race To The Top has adversely effected the morale of adults at my school” (EIH, 2015, p.34).

III. Understanding Race through 3 Arenas of Change

We have examined three years of AIR evaluations through the lens of impact on schools and students, using AIR school surveys and student achievement data. We now turn to look at AIR’s school survey data through a different lens: three “arenas of change” requiring attention in any major change effort. This framework was first proposed in 2006 in the book *Change Leadership: A Practical Guide to Transforming Our Schools*, by Tony Wagner and Robert Kegan, et.al. It has been used by schools and districts across the country.

Based on their study of reform efforts in multiple U.S. schools and school districts, the authors assert that successful school change requires attention to 3 different “arenas of change:”

- **Culture:** The shared values, beliefs, assumptions, expectations, and quality of relationships that will foster shared ownership and motivation, helping sustain change efforts and making results endure.
- **Conditions:** The infrastructure put in place to promote desired change, such as new roles and responsibilities, new structures or decision-making bodies, new laws and policies, new equipment or facilities.
- **Competencies:** The new skills and knowledge that positively impact the desired change, and the investments in developing those skills and knowledge such as professional development, job-embedded training, and collaborative learning opportunities.

Successful change efforts are characterized by investment in all three arenas. Efforts that under-invest in one or more of the “3 Cs” predictably produce incomplete or impermanent changes. Looking at impacts of Hawaii’s Race to the Top reforms through the lens of the 3 Cs can point us toward areas where new attention and effort may be required as Hawaii moves forward.

It bears repeating that this report focuses exclusively on school and student impacts, and draws heavily upon AIR survey responses from teachers and principals. The reader should understand that the 3Cs framework is only being used as a way to understand this teacher and principal data. We do not apply the 3Cs to perceptions of State administrators and other evidence of changes to system-wide structures, policies, and practices. Applying the 3Cs framework to this other data could offer different conclusions.

From the perspective of teachers and principals, many of the initiatives attempted under Race focused on changing school Conditions – creating new structures, processes, standards, and roles – to produce positive change for students. The Academic Review Teams, Data Teams, the Educator Effectiveness System and other central elements of Race were all designed to the establish Conditions under which principals, teachers, and schools would operate. New Conditions were a clear emphasis of Race.

While Conditions received a lot of attention under Race, the arena of Competency little, according to teachers and principals. AIR’s survey and interview data across three years shows that teachers and principals perceived a pattern of under-investment in professional development. They commented on insufficient time, resources, and attention devoted to building the skills and knowledge required to understand and effectively implement the changes being demanded. Teacher and principal comments about the training related to Common Core as “rushed” and “inadequate” is one prominent example. Teachers and principals also noted a lack of time to engage in those activities such as data analysis and teacher collaboration that would build new competencies.

For teachers and principals, Race’s emphasis on Conditions, with insufficient attention to Competency undercut school Culture, and the sense of ownership, understanding, and capability needed to make reforms transformative and enduring.

Finally, little of the activity under Race seems to have been directed toward addressing Culture. There were few opportunities for teachers and principals to work with state administrators to develop a sense of shared values and beliefs underlying the change effort. This is evidenced by comments related to the DOE’s lack of consideration for and response to feedback from schools. It is also evidenced in survey data pointing to the detrimental effects on both school morale and the trust and relationships between schools and state administrators. Race efforts devoted little time and attention to Culture change, except as a byproduct of changed Conditions.

At the school level, then, Race’s push to change multiple Conditions, with insufficient investment in Competencies, had negative impacts on school Culture. The net effect was poor morale, anger toward state administrators, and an intensified emphasis on compliance accompanied by feelings of inefficacy reported by teachers and principals. For teachers and principals, Race’s emphasis on Conditions, with insufficient attention to Competency undercut school Culture, and the sense of ownership, understanding, and capability needed to make reforms transformative and enduring. Whatever next steps are taken, they might benefit from attention to impacts on all 3Cs, particularly those that were neglected or negatively impacted under Race to the Top.

IV. Next Steps Suggested by the Review

A close reading of AIR's evaluations, with a focus on student and school impacts, suggests a few important action steps in the aftermath of Race.

1. A third party should evaluate results from Race now.

As noted, many results of Race may take time to materialize while others may have been eroded over time. For example, test scores and teacher evaluation data may be skewed during the initial years of implementation as people adjusted to new requirements. Now, a full two years after the completion of Race implementation, a full and fair assessment of its impact is possible. The evaluation could focus on areas identified by AIR as "possibly needing more time" such as impacts on student achievement; the effectiveness of EES at identifying exceptional or struggling teachers; impacts on teacher and principal morale; and perceptions among principals and teachers as to whether and how Race made a difference.

2. DOE must move from 'gathering feedback' to real dialogue with, and influence by, schools.

AIR reports repeatedly quote principals and teachers who expressed a lack of voice in the policy decisions that impacted them. "Lack of communication" from the DOE, and a desire for "dialogue with teachers and principals" and was pointed to consistently across 3 years of AIR reports (AIR, Year 1, p.vii; Year 3, p.7-8). In Year 3, teachers and principals continued to comment that even when feedback was solicited, follow up and responsive action was rare (AIR, Year 3, p.8; EIH, p.22, 30, 44). One exception was the DOE's response in SY2014-15 to school outcry over EES, where changes were implemented to reduce the burden on school staff (AIR, Year 3, p.25). EIH survey data from the following spring suggests that some principals viewed the results positively. Comments captured by AIR and in EIH surveys since then point to a persistent need for dialogue and opportunities for shared decision-making about policies that affect schools. These comments call upon DOE leaders to develop new methods for policy-making that give schools not just a "voice" or a "chance for feedback," but real influence through ongoing dialogue.

3. The DOE should take steps improve staff morale.

Throughout its three-year evaluation, and especially in its final year, AIR noted, "The State should continue to monitor and take steps to improve staff morale, given the level of concern expressed by many school leaders and teachers" (AIR, Year 3 p.iii). Testing, establishing, and refining new mechanisms for schools to influence policy, as described by the previous point, will be a good first step. However, additional steps must be taken to address the negative experiences of many teachers and principals under Race, to take corrective action, heal relationships, and rebuild trust. Without devoting time and effort to these steps, broadly related to "morale," future efforts to improve schools may be hampered by distrust, wounded relationships, and a depleted organizational culture.