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What Do We Know About Teacher Leadership? Findings From Two Decades of Scholarship

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The concept and practice of teacher leadership have gained momentum in the past two decades. Teachers are assuming more leadership functions at both instructional and organizational levels of practice. Empirical literature reveals numerous small-scale, qualitative studies that describe dimensions of teacher leadership practice, teacher leader characteristics, and conditions that promote and challenge teacher leadership. Less is known about how teacher leadership develops and about its effects. In addition, the construct of teacher leadership is not well defined, conceptually or operationally. Future research focused on the differentiated paths by which teachers influence organizational capacity, professionalism, instructional improvement, and student learning has the potential to advance the practice of teacher leadership. A conceptual framework is offered to guide such inquiry.

KEYWORDS: instructional leadership, leadership in education, teacher leadership.

The concept of teacher leadership has become increasingly embedded in the language and practice of educational improvement. The central tenet of teacher leadership aligns with notions of individual empowerment and localization of management that have extended throughout the history of the United States (Clark, Hong, & Schoeppach, 1996). Specifically, the concept of teacher leadership suggests that teachers rightly and importantly hold a central position in the ways schools operate and in the core functions of teaching and learning.

Although this is not a new concept, "what is new are increased recognition of teacher leadership, visions of expanded teacher leadership roles, and new hope for the contributions these expanded roles might make in improving schools" (Smylie & Denny, 1990, p. 237). Recognition of teacher leadership stems in part from new understandings about organizational development and leadership that suggest active involvement by individuals at all levels and within all domains of an organization is necessary if change is to take hold (Ogawa & Bossert, 1995; Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2001). Educational improvement at the level of instruction, for example, necessarily involves leadership by teachers in classrooms and with peers. Expanded teacher leadership roles range from assisting with the management of schools to evaluating educational initiatives and facilitating professional learning communities. The hope for teacher leadership is continuous improvement of teaching and learning in our nation's schools, with the result being increased achievement for every student.

The most recent emphasis on teacher leadership has its roots in the education reform initiatives of the 1980s. Notions of teacher leadership are woven through-

out discussions of teacher professionalism (Little, 1988), for example. This professionalization movement emerged from concerns about the status and health of teaching as a career option (Sykes, 1990), about how state economies are dependent on high-quality education and high-quality teachers (Berry & Ginsberg, 1990), and about how the isolated culture of teaching diminishes teacher growth and professionalism (Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994). To address these concerns, initiatives sought to increase the status and rewards of teaching so as to attract and retain intellectually talented individuals, to promote teaching excellence through continuous improvement, to validate teacher knowledge about effective educational practices, and to increase teacher participation in decision making about classroom and organizational issues. Strong endorsement of teacher professionalization continues, as evidenced in recommendations made by the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) focused on encouraging and rewarding career-long development and by the Council of Chief State School Officers (Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium, 1996) in their standards for school leaders, which supported a collaborative approach to school leadership.

Since the 1980s, significant investments have been made in educational initiatives focused on improving the quality of teachers and the conditions of teaching. Berry and Ginsberg (1990) explained that "between 1983 and 1986...46 states created some kind of performance-based compensation system, such as merit pay, career ladders, or mentor teacher plans. Hundreds of millions of dollars were spent, and hundreds of thousands of teachers participated in a variety of performance-based pay systems" (p. 616). Other professional reforms have included site-based decision making (David, 1989; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Sickler, 1988) and professional development schools (Book, 1996; Darling-Hammond, 1988). All of these initiatives have at their core the need for more active participation of teachers in the leadership and development of the educational enterprise.

Three models of education restructuring have been described: technical, professional, and client focused (Elmore, 1990). Of these, the professional model most directly explicates the pivotal role of teachers in efforts to advance education. In contrast to the technical model, which values most highly knowledge that is generated through systematic inquiry by external specialists (usually researchers), the professional model values teacher knowledge and judgment grounded in practice, as well as equally externally generated knowledge. In the professional model, the daily realities of teaching—variety, uncertainty, and ambiguity—are recognized, and the need to exercise teacher judgment in addressing these realities is understood. It follows, then, that teachers hold tacit or craft knowledge needed to inform and lead improvement initiatives.

With nearly two decades of research and practice related to the most recent resurgence of teacher leadership, what is known about teacher leadership? The purpose of this article is to summarize findings from a comprehensive review of the teacher leadership literature, as well as to address a need identified by numerous authors including Yarger and Lee (1994), who explain that "in the absence of conceptual frameworks for guiding program development and evaluation, teacher leadership programs will continue to be sporadic, idiosyncratic events" (p. 235). Toward this end, the article concludes by presenting a conceptual framework that situates key findings of this review in a framework that can guide both current practice and future inquiry about teacher leadership.

The literature search encompassed sources from 1980 to the present in which teacher leadership was identified as a key term, as well as literature on shared decision making and teacher professionalism when such sources addressed roles and responsibilities of teachers beyond classroom instruction. Specifically searched were the ERIC database, Education Abstracts, reference lists from scholarly works, and recent books from leading education publishers. In all, 140 potential sources were reviewed, with a total of 100 cited in this article. Of the works cited, 46 were articles from peer-reviewed journals, 13 were from non-peer-reviewed journals, 7 were scholarly reviews of literature (published in journals or scholarly books), 12 were scholarly book chapters, 11 were books, 6 were reports, 4 were refereed conference presentations, and 1 was from a national education newspaper. Forty-one of the sources located were studies or reviews of studies, and of these 14 were grounded in theory. This review draws largely from the empirical sources, but supporting discussion from nonempirical sources is selectively included.

As a whole, the empirical body of literature has several major limitations. Studies are largely qualitative, small-scale case study designs that employ convenience samples and self-report methodologies, mostly interviews and some surveys. There are only a few large-scale quantitative studies, and these reflect the difficulties incurred when attempting to quantify complex variables such as teacher leadership. Few of the studies are theoretical. The range of teacher leadership contexts, role expectations, and structures addressed in the totality of this literature is quite broad, rendering comparison of findings difficult. To be sure, a major dilemma in trying to make sense of the literature is its diverse nature. In some cases, teachers designated as leaders served full time in formal leadership positions. In other cases, teacher leaders served as full-time classroom teachers but assumed additional leadership responsibilities. The focus or level of leadership work engaged in by teachers leaders was also diverse, ranging from organizational-level work (e.g., membership in a site-based decision-making council) to professional development work (e.g., mentoring) and instructional-level work (e.g., action research). In presenting the results of this review, care has been taken to identify the specific form of teacher leadership (e.g., instructional, professional, or organizational-level work) from which findings are drawn. A table that summarizes each of the 41 studies or reviews of studies is presented in the Appendix. To the extent possible, the following information is noted in the table related to each source: research questions, design and methods, type of teacher leadership examined, and key findings.

Each source, empirical as well as nonempirical, was reviewed, abstracted, coded, entered into a database with keywords, and subsequently retrieved as topically related to the various sections of this article. The article is organized around seven questions:

- Why focus on teacher leadership?
- How is teacher leadership defined?
- What do teacher leaders do?
- · Who are teacher leaders?
- What conditions influence teacher leadership?
- How are teacher leaders prepared to lead?
- What are the effects of teacher leadership?

The article concludes with summary statements of the review, implications for practice, a conceptual framework, and suggestions for future research.

Why Focus on Teacher Leadership?

The literature is abundant with reasons for advancing the concept and practice of teacher leadership. These various reasons cluster into four related categories: benefits of employee participation; expertise about teaching and learning; acknowledgment, opportunities, and rewards for accomplished teachers; and benefits to students. Findings related to each category are described subsequently.

Benefits of Employee Participation

Some of the rationale for teacher leadership emphasizes the benefits that can be realized when employees participate to a greater extent in their organizations. Arguments related to this assertion are largely pragmatic. One such argument asserts that additional person power is needed to run the organizational operations. In education, for example, schools are viewed as too complex for principals to lead alone; the help of teachers is needed to fulfill the responsibilities of site leaders (Barth, 2001; Keedy & Finch, 1994). "The most reliable, useful, proximate, and professional help resides under the roof of the schoolhouse with the teaching staff itself" (Barth, 2001, p. 445). Another argument for employee participation is to ensure consideration of employee perspectives that can inform management and result in more effective decisions. In education, teachers are direct service employees who hold vital knowledge regarding daily operations and interactions with clientele. They are employees whose perspectives can well inform decisions.

A third argument holds that greater employee participation leads to greater ownership and commitment to organizational goals. In the case of teachers, "when teachers share in decision-making, they become committed to the decisions that emerge. They buy into the decision; they feel a sense of ownership; therefore, they are more likely to see that decisions are actually implemented" (Weiss, Cambone, & Wyeth, 1992, p. 350). If a goal is implementation of curricular and instructional reforms at the classroom level, an internalized sense of ownership and commitment among employees who lead at that level—that is, teachers—is essential (Hart, 1995). Teachers who participate in making decisions about conditions that affect what happens inside classrooms have a greater sense of empowerment and are less likely to feel like passive victims (Barth, 2001). "The teacher who leads . . . gets to sit at the table with grown-ups as a first-class citizen in the school house rather than remain the subordinate in a world full of superordinates" (p. 445).

Expertise About Teaching and Learning

A second set of articulated reasons for teacher leadership extends the rationale of employee participation to specifically acknowledge the unique contributions of teachers to educational improvement given their expertise about teaching and learning (Hart, 1995; Weiss et al., 1992). In a major report by the U.S. Department of Education resulting from the National Teacher Forum, Paulu and Winters (1998) asserted that teachers are critical to education reform because they are the ones who have "front-line knowledge of classroom issues and the culture of schools, and they understand the support they need to do their jobs well" (p. 7). Teacher expertise is at the foundation of increasing teacher quality and advancements in teaching and learning. This expertise becomes more widely available when accomplished teachers model effective instructional practices, encourage sharing of best practices, mentor new

teachers, and collaborate with teaching colleagues. Through such interactions, they break down teacher isolation and help create a more professional work environment (Barth, 2001; Hart, 1995; Lieberman & Miller, 1999; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994; Weiss et al., 1992). Clearly, teacher expertise about teaching and learning is needed to inform decisions and to lead instructional improvement (Barth, 2001).

Acknowledgment, Opportunities, and Rewards for Accomplished Teachers

As indicated in the introduction of this article, a major reason for the resurgence of interest in teacher leadership was the desire to recruit, retain, motivate, and reward accomplished teachers (Hart, 1995). Acknowledging their expertise and contributions and providing opportunities for growth and influence can support these objectives. A frequently cited perk for teachers who lead is a break from the routines of the classroom in order to engage with colleagues and administrators, to learn more about the "big picture" of their schools and of schooling, and to exercise creativity through collegial and organizational work (Barth, 2001; Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992; Troen & Boles, 1994). Unfortunately, this suggests or reinforces that leaving one's classroom or teaching practice is required to be intellectually reinvigorated and to learn with adults.

As substantiated later in this article, one of the clearest effects of teacher leadership is growth and learning among the teacher leaders themselves. Learning and leading are viewed as inseparable (Barth, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 1988; Ovando, 1996; Porter, 1986; Ryan, 1999). "Teachers who assume responsibility for something they care desperately about . . . stand at the gate of profound learning" (Barth, 2001, p. 445). The opportunity to influence the conditions of teaching and learning for adults and children in schools through greater involvement in making decisions also has been articulated as having appeal to many accomplished teachers (Barth, 2001; Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992). In outlining a life cycle of career teachers, Steffy, Wolfe, Pasch, and Enz (2000) described how teachers can expand the ways in which they contribute as they advance in their careers, and how in doing so they find opportunities for continuous learning and a source of renewal.

Benefits to Students

Often mentioned as a reason to promote teacher leadership is the benefit realized by students when adults model democratic, participatory forms of government and communitarian social systems for schooling (Barth, 2001; Hart, 1995). Not only do students observe and experience democratic leadership, but they are, presumably, the beneficiaries of higher teacher morale and better decisions about student life in school because their teachers are more centrally involved in decision making and other forms of leadership (Barth, 2001). Furthermore, it has been posited that only when teachers learn will their students learn (Barth, 2001).

How Is Teacher Leadership Defined?

Teacher leadership has been described as its own unique form of leadership in schools, but it also has been related to several recent conceptions of school leadership. To address the question *How is teacher leadership defined?* we first present definitions of teacher leadership that have been offered in the literature. We then describe five more general conceptions of leadership in which teacher leadership is reasonably situated.

Definitions of Teacher Leadership

In writing about teacher leadership, many authors readily assert its importance and describe its various forms, but they usually fail to define it. This lack of definitional clarity is not unique to teacher leadership. When introducing their findings from a review of literature on school leadership, Leithwood and Duke (1999) stated:

It is important to be clear from the outset that what has been learned about leadership in schools over the century has not depended on any clear, agreed-upon definition of the concept, as essential as this would seem at first glance. (p. 45)

The same is true of our findings from the literature on teacher leadership. Very few authors provide what would be considered a definition of teacher leadership. The lack of definition may be due, in part, to the expansive territory encompassed under the umbrella term "teacher leadership." Presented here is a summary of overarching conceptions of teacher leadership. In a later section of this article, we describe how teacher leadership is more specifically operationalized in response to the question "What do teacher leaders do?"

Ways of thinking about teacher leadership have evolved over time. Silva, Gimbert, and Nolan (2000) describe this evolution in three waves. In the first wave, teachers served in formal roles (e.g., department heads, union representatives), essentially as managers, whose main purpose was to further the efficiency of school operations. Wasley (1991) described this use of teachers as an extension of the administration "designed [not] to change practice but to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of the existing system" (p. 4). In the second wave, according to Silva and her colleagues, teacher leadership was intended to capitalize more fully on the instructional expertise of teachers by appointing teachers to roles such as curriculum leaders, staff developers, and mentors of new teachers. The third wave of teacher leadership, viewed as emerging currently, recognizes teachers as central to the process of "reculturing" schools such that the intentions of the second wave (i.e., maximizing teachers' instructional expertise) can be realized. This third wave reflects an increased understanding that promoting instructional improvement requires an organizational culture that supports collaboration and continuous learning and that recognizes teachers as primary creators and re-creators of school culture (Darling-Hammond, 1988; Silva et al., 2000). This involves teachers as leaders both within and outside their classrooms (Ash & Persall, 2000).

Childs-Bowen, Moller, and Scrivner's (2000) conception of teacher leadership is closely aligned with Silva et al.'s third wave: "We believe teachers are leaders when they function in professional learning communities to affect student learning; contribute to school improvement; inspire excellence in practice; and empower stakeholders to participate in educational improvement" (p. 28). Crowther, Kaagen, Ferguson, and Hann (2002) describe a more expanded view of teacher leadership and its contributions as

action that transforms teaching and learning in a school, that ties school and community together on behalf of learning, and that advances social sustainability and quality of life for a community.... Teacher leadership facilitates principled action to achieve whole-school success. It applies the distinctive power of teaching to shape meaning for children, youth and adults. And it contributes to long-term, enhanced quality of community life. (p. xvii)

Pellicer and Anderson (1995) take another approach in conceptualizing teacher leadership. They start by establishing a definition of instructional leadership as "the initiation and implementation of planned change in a school's instructional program, supported by the various constituencies in the school, that results in substantial and sustained improvement in student learning" (p. 16). They then suggest that instructional leadership "does not necessarily begin and end with the principal. Rather, instructional leadership must come from teachers if schools are to improve and teaching is to achieve professional status" (p. 16). Wasley's (1991) more succinct definition also highlights the work of teachers in the domain of instructional leadership with the distinct goal of improved student success. She writes that teacher leadership is "the ability . . . to engage colleagues in experimentation and then examination of more powerful instructional practices in the service of more engaged student learning" (p. 170). Finally, Fullan (1994) conceptualizes teacher leadership as encompassing "inter-related domains of commitment and knowledge" (p. 246), including commitments of moral purpose and continuous learning and knowledge of teaching and learning, educational contexts, collegiality, and the change process.

The conceptions of teacher leadership described above highlight the use of teachers' expertise about teaching and learning to improve the culture and instruction in schools such that student learning is enhanced. Such a view of teacher leadership involves leading among colleagues with a focus on instructional practice, as well as working at the organizational level to align personnel, fiscal, and material resources to improve teaching and learning.

Teacher Leadership Situated in Other Conceptions of Leadership

Teacher leadership is reasonably situated within four conceptions of leadership that are inclusive of formal *and* informal leaders: participative leadership, leadership as an organizational quality, distributed leadership, and parallel leadership. The emergence of teacher leadership would seem to be more likely when these forms of leadership are present in the surrounding context of practice. Each is described briefly here.

In their review of the leadership literature, Leithwood and Duke (1999) identify six categories of leadership: instructional, transformational, moral, participative, managerial, and contingency or style. Teacher leadership is closely aligned with both *instructional* and *participative leadership*:

Instructional leadership . . . typically focuses on the behaviors of teachers as they engage in activities directly affecting the growth of students. Many versions of this form of leadership focus additionally on other organizational variables (such as school culture) that are believed to have important consequences for such teacher behavior. (p. 47)

Participative leadership stresses the decision-making processes of the group. One school of thought within this category of leadership argues for such participation on the grounds that it will enhance organizational effectiveness. A second school rests its case for participation on democratic principles. (p. 51)

A view of leadership that is complementary to Leithwood and Duke's participative leadership is offered by Ogawa and Bossert (1995), who conceptualize leadership as an organizational quality, as opposed to an individual quality. Drawing from institutional theory, they explain:

The parameters of leadership [are] at the organizational level. If leadership affects the survival of organizations, then it is a phenomenon of nothing less

than organizational proportions. This is hardly a startling revelation, but one that is missed by many conceptualizations of leadership—particularly those that treat it as a quality that individuals possess apart from social context. . . . The leadership must affect more than individuals' actions; it must influence the system in which actions occur. (p. 233)

Ogawa and Bossert go on to describe leadership as organizing, in that

leadership is not confined to certain roles in organizations. It flows through the networks of roles that comprise organizations. Moreover, leadership is based on the deployment of resources that are distributed throughout the network of roles, with different roles having access to different levels and types of resources. (p. 238)

They conclude by asserting that future leadership research will require that the unit of analysis be the organization and that methodology will involve tracing the network of relations throughout the organization. In schools, such research would necessarily involve teachers and would reflect teachers' roles in instructional, professional, and organizational development.

Spillane et al. (2001) introduced the concept of *distributed leadership*, which is aligned with Ogawa and Bossert's assertion. In distributed leadership, "school leadership is best understood as a distributed practice, stretched over the school's social and situational contexts" (p. 23). Furthermore, they explain, "The interdependence of the individual and the environment shows how human activity as distributed in the interactive web of actors, artifacts, and the situation is the appropriate unit of analysis for studying practice" (p. 23). Employing the school as the unit of analysis, Spillane and his colleagues have developed a research agenda to investigate why and how leadership stretches across people in schools to affect the conditions for teaching and learning.

Finally, the concept of *parallel leadership* has been introduced by Crowther et al. (2002). They explain that

parallel leadership encourages a relatedness between teacher leaders and administrator leaders that activates and sustains the knowledge-generating capacity of schools. Parallel leadership is a process whereby teacher leaders and their principals engage in collective action to build school capacity. It embodies mutual respect, shared purpose, and allowance for individual expression. (p. 38)

Crowther and his colleagues suggest that principals assume primary responsibilities for strategic leadership, such as visioning, aligning resources, and networking, and that teachers assume primary responsibility for pedagogical (instructional) leadership focused on implementation at the instructional level of practice.

In contrast to the vast majority of the traditional leadership literature (reviewed by Northouse, 2004, for example), these recent conceptions of leadership as participative, organizational, distributed, and parallel share in common the view that leadership is not vested in one person who is high up in the hierarchy and assigned to a formal position of power and authority. Instead, leadership is viewed within an organizational context as involving "a social influence process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person [or group] over other people [or groups] to structure the activities and relationships in a group or organization" (Yukl, 1994, p. 3). Leadership is viewed as a potential capacity of both teachers and administrators. Duke (1994) posits that "leadership . . . is not the special province of partic-

ular roles. While certain roles carry with them the expectation of leadership, examples abound of individuals who are perceived to exercise leadership while occupying subordinate positions" (p. 269).

Several studies support this view of leadership as shared across roles or positions in schools. In analyzing sources of leadership for implementation of a specific initiative in four schools, Heller and Firestone (1995) found that teachers contributed to a variety of formal and informal leadership functions, most significantly to sustaining and promoting a vision for change and encouraging each other in the process. Further, their findings challenged the assumption that some *one* has to be in charge. "When one defines leadership as certain kinds of work, what turns out to be crucial is that the work gets done" (p. 84). Similarly, on the basis of studies of effective schools, Neuman and Simmons (2000) concluded that "every member of the education community has the responsibility—and the authority—to take appropriate leadership roles. Leadership . . . has been reconceptualized to include all facets of the school community" (p. 9). Fullan (1994) asserts that

teacher leadership is not for a few; it is for all. The vast majority of teachers must become new professionals. . . . We cannot achieve quality learning for all, or nearly all, students until quality development is attained and sustained for all teachers. (p. 246)

In conclusion, the concept of teacher leadership has not been clearly or consistently defined. While it is a unique form of leadership not necessarily vested in a formal hierarchy or role description, it also is legitimately grounded within the boundaries of several other leadership theories. Teacher leadership reflects teacher agency through establishing relationships, breaking down barriers, and marshalling resources throughout the organization in an effort to improve students' educational experiences and outcomes. In order to clarify how teacher leadership is operationalized in practice, we now address the question "What do teacher leaders do?"

What Do Teacher Leaders Do?

Teacher leadership is practiced through a variety of formal and informal positions, roles, and channels of communication in the daily work of schools. Sometimes teachers serve in formal leadership positions, such as union representatives, department heads, curriculum specialists, mentors, or members of a site-based management team. At other times, leadership is demonstrated in informal ways, such as coaching peers to resolve instructional problems, encouraging parent participation, working with colleagues in small groups and teams, modeling reflective practice, or articulating a vision for improvement. As mentioned in the introduction, teacher leaders sometimes assume full-time positions of leadership and other times continue with full-time positions as classroom teachers while also taking on various individual and collective leadership responsibilities. In response to the question "What do teacher leaders do?" our review suggests that the leadership practices and possibilities for teachers are numerous and varied, and as such leadership opportunities for teachers also are numerous and varied.

Over the past 20 years, there have been many programmatic efforts aimed at increasing the practice of teacher leadership. Hart (1995) described three such efforts that emerged from the teacher quality initiatives of the 1980s: mentor teacher programs, teacher career ladders, and shared governance. *Mentor teacher programs*

were intended to draw on the expertise of master teachers to support the development and growth of early career teachers while simultaneously providing an incentive for the master teachers to influence not only professionals but also school and school district policies and practices. *Career ladder programs* took many different forms but were generally introduced to recognize and support increasing degrees of teaching expertise and to reward teachers accordingly. Often they took the form of differentiated work opportunities (e.g., leadership roles in curriculum and staff development) or formal promotion based on indicators of advanced teaching performance. *Shared governance* emerged to capitalize on teacher expertise and to increase teachers' influence on decision making about instructional, classroom, and organizational issues so that decisions were informed by teachers and the necessary teacher commitments for implementation were established.

More recently, professional development schools were created with the intent of more directly and powerfully supporting preservice teacher education and ongoing professional development through collaborative partnerships between K–12 and higher education faculty (Book, 1996; Darling-Hammond, 1988). Much of the leadership work in professional development schools is intended to be distributed and collective, with less emphasis on one-person, formal leadership roles. Smylie, Conley, and Marks (2002) indicated a recent "shift away from individual empowerment and role-based initiatives toward more collective, task-oriented and organizational approaches to teacher leadership" (p. 165). They suggested that this shift may be due to more collective and distributed orientations to leadership and to the equivocal findings from previous research about the effects and effectiveness of teacher leadership conceived as formal, one-person roles. With these programmatic initiatives as a context, we describe the specific types of leadership practice that can take place within these and other contexts of practice.

Newer conceptions of teacher leadership tend to expand notions of teacher leadership as practiced from formal roles to include leadership practiced through more informal means of leadership. In support of more informal roles, an in-depth multiple-case study of three teacher leaders from different regions of the country and different grade levels of practice revealed significant tension between teacher leaders in formal positions and their colleagues (Wasley, 1991). Of the three teacher leaders studied, it was the teacher who was not formally designated as a leader in his school who was more fully recognized and accepted as a leader. The author concluded that teachers can serve as powerful leaders when they work collegially with other teachers to encourage examination and evaluation of instructional practices and their effects on student learning and progress. Also in support of more informal roles, Darling-Hammond, Bullmaster, and Cobb (1995) contend that "teacher leadership can be embedded in tasks and roles that do not create artificial, imposed, formal hierarchies and positions" (p. 89) and that leadership should be an expectation extended to all teachers. Furthermore, they suggest that "such approaches may lead to greater professionwide leadership as the 'normal' role of teacher is expanded" (p. 89).

A recent study by Crowther et al. (2002) focused less on the formal or informal nature of teacher leadership roles and more on "illuminating the work of extraordinary teachers whose impact on their schools and communities had won the acclaim of their principals and colleagues" (p. xx). This 5-year study was conducted in disadvantaged schools in Australia and, later, in the United States. On the basis of their findings, the authors developed a six-point framework for teacher leadership

intended to capture the essence of how teacher leaders lead, regardless of position or title. In this framework, teacher leaders are described as conveying convictions about a better world; striving for authenticity in their teaching, learning, and assessment practices; facilitating communities of learning through organization-wide processes; confronting barriers in the school's culture and structures; translating ideas into sustainable systems of action; and nurturing a culture of success. The authors described many varied scenarios in which teachers led together and in complementary ways. They further emphasized a collective enterprise of leadership in that not all teachers demonstrated leadership by the same means or in the same domains.

Dimensions of teacher leadership practice that frequently emerge in the literature are relationship building and collaboration. In a study of six elementary teachers of the year in Florida, Acker-Hocevar and Touchton (1999) described these formally recognized teacher leaders as boundary spanners and networkers who "work within and across school boundaries and structures to establish social linkages and networks among their peers and within the community" (p. 26). It is interesting to note that the teachers in the study described different means of agency through which they accomplished change. These means included advocacy, fairness, enabling others, teacher professionalism, relationships, and innovation. LeBlanc and Shelton (1997) also examined how teacher leaders exert influence. In their interviews with five teacher leaders nominated by principals and peers, collaboration was identified as the primary means by which the teachers made an impact. Conley and Muncey (1999) were interested in examining whether teacher leaders identified conflicts in their roles as collegial team members (a horizontal relationship with peers) and as teacher leaders (a vertical relationship with peers). From their limited sample of two elementary and two high school teacher leaders, they found that the teacher leaders did not sense a contradiction or conflict in roles. All of the teachers performed both types of roles, although each had a preferred approach for leading.

A degree of caution is appropriate in considering these findings from the literature about what teacher leaders actually do. Some evidence suggests that espoused teacher leadership practices can differ from actual teacher leadership practices. For example, findings from a study of 13 teachers in formal teacher leadership positions in seven K–8 schools in one district and a randomly selected sample of their peers revealed that while teacher leaders reported providing support to peers at the classroom level, most of their work actually occurred at the building or organizational level and was quasi-administrative in nature (Smylie & Denny, 1990). An earlier study in which 87 teachers were interviewed also showed that very little teacher leadership time was focused on teacher instruction (Dierks et al., 1988). Such discrepancies between intended or espoused and actual practice probably reflect the challenges encountered by teacher leaders when they attempt to influence directly the instructional practices of peers.

Despite increasing attention on informal ways of leading, dominant forms of teacher leadership reflect more traditional, formal, one-person leadership roles both in the literature and apparently in practice (Archer, 2001; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Guiney, 2001; Paulu & Winters, 1998). Domains of teacher leadership practice and specific examples reported in the literature, including formal and informal leadership roles as well as instructional, professional development, and organizational functions, are summarized in Table 1. The domains of practice are categorized as coordination and management, school or district curriculum work, professional development of

TABLE 1 What do teacher leaders do?

Dimension of practice	e Examples of supporting literature		
Coordination, management	 Coordinating daily schedules and special events (Wasley, 1991^a) Participating in administrative meetings and tasks (Smylie & Denny, 1990^a) Monitoring improvement efforts; handling disturbances (Heller & Firestone, 1995^a) 		
School or district cur- riculum work	 Defining outcomes and standards (Paulu & Winters, 1998^a) Selecting and developing curriculum (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995^a; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994) 		
Professional development of colleagues	 Mentoring other teachers (Archer, 2001; Berry & Ginsberg, 1990; Darling-Hammond et al., 1995a; Devaney, 1987a; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Hart, 1995; Paulu & Winters, 1998a) Leading workshops (Devaney, 1987a; Fessler & Ungaretti, 		
Participation in school change/ improvement	 1994) Engaging in peer coaching (Berry & Ginsberg, 1990; Devaney, 1987a; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Guiney, 2001) Modeling, encouraging professional growth (Silva et al., 2000a; Smylie & Denny, 1990a) Taking part in school-wide decisions (Berry & Ginsberg, 1990; Hart, 1995; Paulu & Winters, 1998a) Working with peers for school change (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995a; Heller & Firestone, 1995a; Silva et al., 2000a) Facilitating communities of teacher learning through organization-wide processes (Crowther et al., 2002a) Participating in research, notably action research (Henson, 1996a) 		
Parent and community involvement	 Confronting barriers and challenging the status quo in the school's culture and structures (Crowther et al., 2002a; Silva et al., 2000a) Becoming involved with parents; encouraging parent participation (Paulu & Winters, 1998a) Creating partnerships with community businesses (Paulu & Winters, 1998a) Working with the community and community organizations (Courtheast et al. 2000a) 		
Contributions to the profession Preservice teacher education	tions (Crowther et al., 2002a, Paulu & Winters, 1998a) • Participating in professional organizations (Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Paulu & Winters, 1998a) • Becoming politically involved (Paulu & Winters, 1998a) • Building partnerships with colleges and universities to prepare future teachers (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995a; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Paulu & Winters, 1998a; Sherrill, 1999)		

^aIndicates empirically based source.

colleagues, participation in school change and improvement initiatives, parent and community involvement, contributions to the profession of teachers, and preservice teacher education.

Who Are Teacher Leaders?

Teacher leaders are both teachers and leaders. The majority of literature related to the question "Who are teacher leaders?" indicates that teacher leaders are or have been teachers with significant teaching experience, are known to be excellent teachers, and are respected by their peers. Background as a teacher seems to account, in part, for what enables teachers to influence the practice of their colleagues. After studying 10 teacher leaders over 2 years, Snell and Swanson (2000) concluded that because the teachers demonstrated high levels of instructional expertise, collaboration, reflection, and a sense of empowerment, they became leaders or, more accurately, were allowed by their peers to lead. Lieberman, Saxl, and Miles (1988) studied 17 teachers who were new to varied full-time teacher leadership positions over a 2-year period. From their classroom experience, these teacher leaders brought strong teaching, organization, and interpersonal skills to their new positions. In the process of making a transition to leadership responsibilities, they reported learning about school culture, about how to work in the system, and about themselves. These teachers also felt that they developed the ability to promote learning among their teaching peers. A decade later, Acker-Hocevar and Touchton (1999) similarly found that "the influence of teachers in the system is a combination of how well they know how to work the system, their perceived expertise, the influence afforded them, the collective agency of the group, and the norms within the school district" (p. 26).

Teachers drawn to positions of leadership are viewed as achievement and learning oriented and as willing to take risks and assume responsibility (Wilson, 1993; Yarger & Lee, 1994). As leaders, this orientation can put them in direct conflict with colleagues, which can result in a sense of diminished affiliation with teaching peers. LeBlanc and Shelton (1997) reported that as teachers extended their practice from that of teacher to that of teacher leader, they frequently experienced conflict between their need for achievement and their need for affiliation. Wilson (1993) also found that "the very capabilities that distinguish teacher leaders from others in the high school environment—risk-taking, collaboration, and role modeling—produce tensions between them and colleagues" (p. 26).

On the basis of their ongoing work in schools focused on developing teacher leaders, Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001) suggest factors that influence a teacher's readiness to assume the role and responsibilities of a teacher leader. These factors include excellent professional teaching skills, a clear and well-developed personal philosophy of education, being in a career stage that enables one to give to others, having an interest in adult development, and being in a personal life stage that allows one time and energy to assume a position of leadership. While not explicitly stated, many of these readiness factors imply that teacher leadership is best suited for teachers in midcareer and midlife, assuming that such teachers also demonstrate high levels of teaching competence.

Overall, individuals who function as teacher leaders are reported to have a solid foundation of teaching experience and expertise. Opportunities for leadership seem to grow out of success in the classroom, presumably because teachers who are successful in classroom settings can more easily gain the respect and trust of colleagues nec-

As teachers

- Significant experience in their teaching fields; excellent teaching skills (Fullan, 1994; Katzenmeyer & Moller, 2001; Lieberman et al., 1988a; Sherrill, 1999)
- Extensive knowledge of teaching and learning, curriculum, and content area (Fullan, 1994; Katzenmeyer & Moller, 2001; Lieberman et al., 1988^a; Sherrill, 1999; Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Clearly developed personal philosophy of education (Katzenmeyer & Moller, 2001)
- Creative, innovative, seekers of challenge and growth, take risks, lifelong learners, enthusiasm for teaching (LeBlanc & Shelton^a, 1997; Wilson 1993^a; Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Assume individual responsibility for actions (Crowther et al., 2002^a; Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Respected and valued by colleagues, viewed as competent (Acker-Hocevar & Touchton, 1999a; Little, 1988a)
- Sensitivity and receptivity to the thoughts and feelings of others (Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Cognitive and affective flexibility (Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Hard-working, able to manage workload, strong administrative and organizational skills (Lieberman et al., 1988^a; Wilson, 1993^a)

As leaders

- Build trust and rapport with colleagues, establish solid relationships, work collaboratively, influence school culture through relationships (LeBlanc & Shelton, 1997^a; Lieberman et al., 1988^a; Sherrill, 1999)
- Supportive of colleagues, promote growth among colleagues (Lieberman et al., 1988^a; Wilson, 1993^a)
- Effective in communicating, including good listening skills (Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Handle conflict, can negotiate and mediate (Weiss et al., 1992^a; Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Ability to deal with process, effective group processing skills (Lieberman et al., 1988^a; Yarger & Lee, 1994)
- Ability to assess, interpret, and prioritize district and teacher needs and concerns (Sherrill, 1999)
- Solid understanding of organizational diagnosis and of the "big picture" issues in an organization; can envision broader impact of decisions made by administrators and teachers (Acker-Hocevar & Touchton, 1999^a; Lieberman et al., 1988^a)

essary to lead effectively among one's peers. Table 2 summarizes the characteristics and abilities of teacher leaders reported in the literature. The characteristics of teacher leaders as teachers are listed separately from their characteristics as leaders to emphasize that teacher leaders seem to come from the ranks of effective classroom teachers.

What Conditions Influence Teacher Leadership?

Much has been written about conditions conducive to cultivating and supporting teacher leadership, as well as those that challenge or diminish its effectiveness. Of all of the questions posed to frame this review of literature, findings in response to the question "What conditions influence teacher leadership?" were the most robust and consistent. Summarized in Table 3 (p. 270) and described subsequently are three categories of conditions that influence teacher leadership: school culture,

^aIndicates empirically based source.

roles and relationships, and structures. These categories are interrelated, and some items can be appropriately placed in more than one category. For example, relationships and structure can influence and also be influenced by school culture. Such interrelatedness was evident in Smylie and Denny's (1990) study of the relationships between teacher leaders and their colleagues, in which he concluded that "teacher leaders' definitions of their roles are remarkably consistent with and appear to have been shaped by . . . professional norms, rights, and obligations" (p. 254). In the realities of teacher leadership practice, therefore, cultural, relational, and structural influences are not likely to be separated meaningfully.

School Culture and Context

School culture is widely recognized as a dominant influence on the success of improvement initiatives in schools (Deal & Peterson, 1998; Fullan, 2001a, 2001b; Griffin, 1995; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994), and certainly it is regarded as influencing teacher leadership. As evidence, Hart (1994) studied two middle schools located in the same district. Each of the schools had implemented a teacher career ladder program in which the focus was working and learning with peers through peer coaching and shared decision making. After implementation, each school had strikingly different opinions about the program, one very negative and one very positive. The school whose experience was more negative upheld individualism and isolation as prevailing norms. Furthermore, the principal was not visible, the teacher leaders were left on their own to succeed or fail, and there was no regular communication between the principal and teacher leader or with the faculty at large. In contrast, the school with more positive outcomes was reported to uphold the norms of teamwork and openness. The principal and teacher leaders worked closely together and communicated regularly with the school's faculty. Frequent and ongoing opportunities were provided for faculty to share feedback and to participate in shaping the role of the teacher leader. In addition, the role of the teacher leaders was explicitly and visibly linked to the core instructional values of the school. Hart (1994) concluded:

No matter how carefully planned or how thoughtfully integrated with good instructional practice, the new work design for teachers in the comparative case analysis ultimately was shaped within each school and, in terms of individual roles, nested in that school. This suggests that much thought to the particular function of teacher leadership in each unique context is warranted. (p. 495)

Similarly, Talbert and McLaughlin (1994) found great variability in the degree of professionalism and teacher participation in high schools depending on unique characteristics of local practice contexts. They concluded that the negotiated norms and standards of daily practice within departments, schools, and school districts had great influence on the professional lives, engagements, and relationships of teachers.

One qualification regarding the assertion of a relationship between school culture and the prospects for teacher leadership was put forth by Smylie (1992a) in his study of interactions between teachers and teacher leaders. He found that it was possible to have a social context in schools that was very collegial and open among teachers but in which teacher leadership did not flourish. Collegiality and openness were evident among teachers as long as these teachers were considered equals. The collegial norm did not necessarily extend to teacher leaders, because the nature of that relationship was hierarchical and violated professional norms of equality and independence. These findings might indicate that a collegial and

TABLE 3 What conditions influence teacher leadership?

Category	Facilitators	Challenges
School culture and context	 School-wide focus on learning, inquiry, and reflective practice (Katzenmeyer & Moller, 2001) Encouragement for taking initiative (Katzenmeyer & Moller, 2001) Expectation for teamwork and for sharing responsibility, decision making, and leadership (Katzenmeyer & Moller, 2001; Pellicer & Anderson, 1995) Teacher leaders viewed and valued as positive examples and role models for teaching profession (Little, 1988a) Strong teacher communities that foster professionalism (Caine & Caine, 2000; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994a) 	 Lack of clarity about organizational and professional direction, purpose (Duke, 1994) Norms of isolation and individualism (Hart, 1994a) Socialization of teachers to be followers, to be private, to not take on responsibilities outside the classroom (Little, 1988a; Moller & Katzenmeyer, 1996) Reluctance by teachers to "advance" and violate egalitarianism norms (Little, 1995a) View of teacher leadership as career advancement (Little, 1995a) "Crab bucket culture" wherein teachers drag each other down instead of supporting and inspiring one another
Roles and relationships	 Colleagues recognize and respect teacher leaders as teachers with subject area and instructional expertise (Little, 1988^a) High trust and positive working relationships among peers and with administrators (Silva et al., 2000^a) Assignment of teacher leadership work that is central to the teaching and learning process, as opposed to administrative or management tasks (Hart, 1994^a; Little, 1988^a) Recognition of ambiguity and difficulty in 	 (Duke, 1994) Hierarchical, instead of horizontal, relationships with peers (e.g., teacher leaders exercise authority instead of work collaboratively in learning and decision-making endeavors) (Cooper, 1993; Darling-Hammond et al., 1995a) Appointment of teacher leader by administrator without teacher input (Wasley, 1991a) Change in the nature of relationships between teacher leaders and peers, from social to organizational and instructional purposes (Little, 1995a)

Category	Facilitators	Challenges
	teacher leadership roles (Stone et al., 1997) • Principal support for teacher leadership through formal structures, informal behaviors, coaching, and feedback (Buckner & McDowelle, 2000; Kahrs, 1996) • Clarity about teacher leader and administrator leadership domains, including common ground (Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992a) • Attention to interpersonal aspects of the relationship between teacher leader and principal (Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992a)	 Ambiguities about teacher leaders' roles and expectations (Ovando, 1996a; Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992a) Uncertainty about teacher leader versus principal domains of leadership (Smylie & Brownlee-Conyers, 1992a) Inadequate communication and feedback among teacher leaders, principal, and teacher staff (Hart, 1994a)
Structures	 Structures that support learning and leading as embedded aspects of teachers' roles (e.g., professional development schools) (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995a) Site-based, participatory decision-making structures and processes (Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994) Removal of hierarchical structures in schools and districts (Stone et al., 1997) Access, time, and space (LeBlanc & Shelton, 1997a; Ovando, 1996; Troen & Boles, 1994) 	 Traditional top-down leadership structures (Institute for Educational Leadership, 2001) Lack of clarity about process and locus of decision making and channels of authority (Pellicer & Anderson, 1995) Isolation of teachers caused by traditional schedules and structures (Coyle, 1997) Inadequate time for collaboration, learning, leading (LeBlanc & Shelton^a, 1997; Ovando, 1996^a) Lack of incentives or rewards for engaging in leadership activities (Little, 1988^a)

^aIndicates empirically based source.

collaborative school culture is a necessary but insufficient condition for promoting teacher leadership.

As suggested in the previous paragraph, long-standing norms of the teaching profession significantly challenge the prospects of teacher leadership. Traditionally, teachers have been socialized to be private, to be followers, and to steer away from assuming responsibilities outside the classroom (Lieberman & Miller, 1999; Little, 1988; Moller & Katzenmeyer, 1996). In addition, one of the most prevailing norms in the teaching profession is egalitarianism, which fosters the view that teachers who step up to leadership roles are stepping out of line. A significant problem with formal teacher leadership roles has been the conflict they create with this norm. Formal role designations create hierarchies within the teaching ranks that can result in distance or conflict among teaching colleagues (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995). Tension frequently is created between the "we are all the same" value and an expectation for leadership within the teaching ranks (Little, 1988; Smylie, 1992a). "The promotion of teachers breaks the rules of the game" (Cooper, 1993, p. 35). Duke (1994) refers to this prevailing norm metaphorically as a "crab bucket culture." He explains that, when one is crabbing, no lid is required to keep the crabs in the bucket because crabs will reach up and drag each other down should any attempt to climb out. As unflattering as this view is, undoubtedly it registers with many in the teaching profession.

Despite the stranglehold of established school cultures and professional norms, there are reports that these traditions are giving way to new norms more conducive to teachers sharing in valued leadership functions. In such cultures, there is a school-wide focus on learning, an expectation for participation, and a view that teacher leaders are positive examples for the teaching profession (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995; Katzenmeyer & Moller, 2001; Little, 1988; Pellicer & Anderson, 1995). Although such teacher-leadership-friendly cultures are reported, they do not appear widespread. There is much to be learned about reculturing schools so that more adaptive norms for collective learning, continuous improvement, and teacher leadership take hold.

Roles and Relationships

With influence identified as a primary means of exercising leadership (Acker-Hocevar & Touchton, 1999; LeBlanc & Shelton, 1997; Yukl, 1994), it is no surprise that building relationships with colleagues and principals emerges as a key factor in the effectiveness of teacher leaders (LeBlanc & Shelton, 1997; Silva et al., 2000). Strongly affecting the nature of these relationships are role expectations, because expectations form the core around which relationships develop. The influence of relationships between teacher leaders and their colleagues on the emergence of teacher leadership is discussed first, followed by a discussion of the influence of relationships between teacher leaders and their principals.

Teacher leaders and their colleagues. "The success of teacher leadership depends largely on the cooperation and interaction between teacher leaders and their colleagues" (Yarger & Lee, 1994, p. 229). Recall that the ability to establish trusting and collaborative relationships was identified as a characteristic of teacher leaders in the previous section of this article and that relationships were reported to be a primary means of exerting influence. Also significant was the perception by colleagues that teacher leaders must have subject area and instructional expertise. Such recognition is important because the symbolic role of any leader requires that he or she

be held up as a model (Little, 1988). Further facilitating the success of teacher leaders is an understanding by colleagues that teacher leadership roles are by their nature ambiguous and, therefore, must continue to be shaped by context needs, demands, and interactions (Hart, 1994; Stone, Horejs, & Lomas, 1997). Ongoing communication and feedback between teacher leaders and their colleagues are needed to promote such understanding and support and to make the work of teacher leaders and the outcomes of that work visible (Hart, 1994). Projecting the potential for success of teacher leadership, Little (1988) wrote, "Prospects will be strengthened by roles that invest leaders with dignity and by activities that show them to be exemplars of rigorous, rewarding professional relationships" (p. 413).

Teacher leaders and their principals. The relationship established between teacher leaders and their principals is consistently identified as a strong influence on teacher leadership. "Where we have seen teacher leadership begin to flourish, principals have actively supported it or, at least, encouraged it" (Crowther et al., 2002, p. 33). The pivotal role of the principal in facilitating productive teacher leader-principal relationships is emphasized in the literature (Barth, 2001; Childs-Bowen et al., 2000; Conzemius, 1999; Crowther et al., 2002; Hart, 1994; Kahrs, 1996; Lieberman, 1988; Little, 1988; Terry, 1999). According to Barth (2001), "Good principals are more hero-makers than heroes" (p. 448). Principals clearly are viewed as the individuals in the principal-teacher dyad with the greatest power, and the ones who set the tone for the relationship. Offering a negative example were findings from the Silva et al. (2000) case study in which each of the three teachers felt constrained by their principals in their efforts to exercise leadership. Offering a more positive example were findings from the Acker-Hocevar and Touchton (1999) Florida teacher of the year study in which the teachers who exerted the most agency were reported to have the most empowering principals (Acker-Hocevar & Touchton, 1999). These authors explained:

Power relationships, critical to the change process, can transform or maintain the culture and structures of schools. The interdependence of structure, power and culture is corroborated by these teachers' stories over and over again, no matter what the situation—empowering or disempowering. Teachers cannot be given power (empowered) without accepting it. . . . On the other hand, administrators must know how to create conditions that foster empowerment and release their control over teachers, alter their roles, and engender commitment, trust, and respect. (p. 26)

Numerous authors have suggested ways in which principals can promote teacher leadership. The following list compiles these various suggestions from the literature. It is important to note, however, that except for the suggestion by Hart (1994), these suggestions are not the result of empirical study.

- Build a school culture and environment that is conducive to teacher leadership, including both formal structures and informal behaviors (Bishop, Tinley, & Berman, 1997; Kahrs, 1996; Lieberman, 1988).
- Expect leadership, relinquish authority, trust teachers, empower teachers, include others, protect teacher leaders from their colleagues, share responsibility for failure, and give credit for success (Barth, 2001).
- Redefine the role of the principal from instructional leader to developer of a community of leaders (Troen & Boles, 1994).

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- Create opportunities for teachers to lead; build professional learning communities; provide quality, results-driven professional development; and celebrate innovation and teacher expertise (Childs-Bowen et al., 2000).
- Provide a school environment in which teachers engage in reflective practice and can implement ideas that grow from reflection (Terry, 1999).
- Pay attention to the change process and to human relationships, listen well, communicate respect, perpetuate ongoing dialogue about teaching and learning, and encourage teachers to act on shared visions (Conzemius, 1999).
- Offer "diligent, supportive, visible, and frequent reinforcement of the real power of teacher leaders" (Hart, 1994, pp. 494–495).

Smylie and Hart (2000) offer a strong theoretical orientation for the role of principals in developing teacher leaders. They use the concepts of human and social capital in framing school leadership that promotes learning and change. Human capital includes individuals' knowledge, skills, and attributes. Social capital refers to the resources that exist because of the collective relationships among individuals. Smylie and Hart posit:

The research is clear that principals play a vital role in the development and maintenance of social capital among teachers. Their contributions come through creating structures and occasions for interaction to take place and for social bonds to form, mobilizing groups for interaction, and establishing broad support systems. Beyond these managerial functions, principals play an active role in fostering productive social relations within the structures they may help create. They foster social trust by exhibiting consistency and competence in their work. (p. 436)

There is evidence to suggest that principal support of teacher leadership is more readily espoused than enacted. One particular area of difficulty resides in the struggle and messiness of clarifying domains of teacher leadership, domains of principal leadership, and areas of common ground (Little, 1995; Teitel, 1996). A self-report survey involving a representative sample of 330 elementary, middle level, high school, and alternative school principals in Texas revealed that teacher involvement was very important and should be happening more than it was (Gates & Siskin, 2001). An analysis of these principals' leadership styles, however, indicated that 71% were characterized by a "selling" style of leadership, which is considered incompatible with high levels of teacher involvement in decision making. The authors concluded that, while generally supportive of the concept of teacher leadership, principals may lack the knowledge and experience required to effectively support higher levels of such leadership.

The way in which relationships between teacher leaders and their principals evolve has also been shown to influence the success of such relationships. On the basis of a study of seven teacher leader–principal dyads in one K–8 school district, Smylie and Brownlee-Conyers (1992) identified six major factors that influenced the development of their relationships over periods of time ranging from 1 to 4 years. First, the teachers and principals acknowledged that they were forging new territory and that there were numerous ambiguities and uncertainties about their evolving roles. Second, each partner held different interests and prerogatives. Budget, personnel, and community interactions were viewed as primary prerogatives of the principals; interactions with students and relationships with teaching peers were viewed as primary interests and prerogatives of teachers. Third, principals and

teachers held different expectations regarding teacher leadership. Teachers, at least initially, were more optimistic about these newly established roles. Fourth, principals and teachers both held strong interpersonal obligations to one another. Honesty, confidentiality, respect, and loyalty were values upheld. Fifth, principals and teachers interacted strategically with one another. Principals offered praise and support of the teacher leaders and managed the pace and activities of the teacher leadership work. Teachers tended to avoid conflict and advance their ideas indirectly by taking a "planting seeds" approach to promoting change. Sixth, key events helped shape and solidify the relationships. For example, successful completion of initiatives and presentations made by teacher leaders outside of their schools served to foster mutual respect and a sense of confidence between the principals and teacher leaders. Overall, the development of solid relationships between the principals and teacher leaders was dependent on effective communication and on intentional tending of the relationship. The authors concluded, "The success of new teacherprincipal working relationships associated with teacher work redesign appears related not only to the structure of the new teacher roles and working relationships but to the development of the interpersonal dimensions of the relationship" (p. 180).

One of the clearest and most complementary delineations of principal and teacher leader roles has been offered by Crowther et al. (2002). As described previously, Crowther and colleagues advance the concept of parallel leadership in which teachers assume primary responsibility for leading improvement in teaching and learning and principals assume primary responsibility for strategic leadership, involving alignment of resources to support improvements in teaching and learning. In this type of leadership model, according to the authors, principals engage in the following, often new, roles:

- Linking the development work in schools with an inspiring image of a preferred future;
- Generating an identity that promotes creation of cultural meaning;
- Aligning organizational elements that foster the holistic implementation of school-based innovations;
- Distributing power and leadership so as to encourage teachers (and community members) to view themselves as important in shaping the school's direction and values; and
- Forming external alliances and networks to allow schools to collaborate with other schools and with the broader community.

Performing these roles was reported to pose challenges for principals. Challenges such as communicating strategic intent, incorporating the aspirations and views of others, posing difficult-to-answer questions, making space for individual innovation, knowing when to step back, creating opportunities from perceived difficulties, and building on achievement to create a culture of success were noted (Crowther et al., 2002).

Structures

Long-standing practices of school governance and teaching have both emerged from and been reinforced by structures that do not easily give way to support newer conceptions emphasizing shared leadership and collaboration among teachers. These newer conceptions essentially "violate a central tenet of effective organizations, at

least under the classical theory of management-employee relations, by blurring the lines between those who set goals, plan, control, and supervise, and those who carry out these directives" (Cooper, 1993, p. 27). Replacing such hierarchical structures is necessary if teacher leadership is to be supported (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995; Stone et al., 1997). According to Yarger and Lee (1994), "teacher leadership requires some coherent reordering of the workplace of schools. This reordering helps to create a climate that encourages teacher collaboration and involves teachers in making decisions" (p. 234). Stated more forcefully, Coyle (1997) asserts that "unless we flatten the present hierarchies . . . and create structures that empower teachers to collaborate with one another and to lead from within the heart of the school, the classroom, we will . . . discourage true educational leadership" (p. 239). Certainly these views assert the influence of structure on teacher leadership.

Challenging teacher leadership are a tradition of top-down leadership, instead of shared or participatory leadership (Institute for Educational Leadership, 2001), and a bureaucratic structure that results in isolation of teachers, instead of promoting interdependent work (Pellicer & Anderson, 1995). Also posing a challenge are existing physical structures (e.g., architecture) that perpetuate isolation and autonomy among teachers (Coyle, 1997; Fullan, 1994). Lack of teacher access to one another and insufficient time for leadership work have long been noted as challenges as well (LeBlanc & Shelton, 1997; Moller & Katzenmeyer, 1996; Ovando, 1996; Smylie & Denny, 1990). In a study of the effects of teacher leadership on the teaching practices of 25 teacher leaders, Ovando (1996) found that participants frequently used planning and conferencing time for leadership activities, lacked time and resources for the clerical duties involved in their leadership work, and lacked opportunities to work on their leadership skills, despite professional development opportunities. Finally, a lack of rewards or incentives have been noted as problematic (Little, 1988). Dierks et al. (1988) found that only 62% of 87 teacher leaders interviewed reported some type of reward. Extrinsic rewards, such as a lighter teaching load, release time, or stipends, accounted for 55%, and intrinsic rewards, such as personal satisfaction, accounted for the remainder.

Considered supportive of teacher leadership are structures such as professional development schools in which learning and teacher leadership are presumably embedded, or potentially embedded, in all teachers' roles (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995) and in which "interns and mentors become immersed and active in the organization" (Silva et al., 2000, p. 800). Darling Hammond et al. (1995) explain:

Teacher leadership is inextricably connected to teacher learning . . . in the course of restructuring, opportunities to collaborate and take initiative are available at every turn. The specific teacher leadership responsibilities that evolve are not predetermined a priori but are varied, flexible, and idiosyncratic to individual school teams and their distinctive situations. (p. 89)

Such structures promote job-embedded, relevant work for teachers and make visible the connection between teacher leadership roles and instruction (Hart, 1994; Little, 1988). As noted often in this article, engagement of teacher leaders in valued instructional work is considered a key factor in their success (Little, 1988). Structures that promote teachers learning and working together on a daily basis, with a focus on valued teaching practices, are more likely to result in teacher leadership flourishing.

Site-based management has also been identified as a structure conducive to teacher involvement and leadership (Acker-Hocevar & Touchton, 1999; Conley, 1991; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Paulu & Winters, 1988; Smylie, 1994; Weiss et al., 1992). Findings from one study of teachers involved in shared decision making, however, serve as a reminder that such a structure alone does not necessarily result in teacher leadership. Duke, Showers, and Imber (1980) found that a teacher's desire to lead in a shared decision-making context is related to his or her perception of the risks and costs versus the potential benefits (e.g., reward structures). Furthermore, they found that involvement in decision-making processes was an insufficient enticement for participation. Teachers wanted evidence that such involve-ment resulted in influence on decision making.

The structures of time, space, and access for collaboration also have been identified as essential supports for teacher leadership (Stone et al., 1997; Troen & Boles, 1994), although findings from Smylie's (1992a) study of interactions between teacher leaders and teachers showed that the psychological orientation of or beliefs held by teachers about the nature of professional relationships between teachers (e.g., independent and horizontal) was the most important predictor of interactions. This means that if teachers viewed the nature of professional relationships as independent of other teachers, they were less likely to take advantage of structures that allowed for interactions between teacher leaders and teachers. Again, we are reminded that structure creates opportunity for teacher leadership to be effective but that, ultimately, it is what happens within the structure that will determine whether the positive potential is realized.

How Are Teachers Prepared to Lead?

We now turn to the question "How are teachers prepared to lead?" Evident throughout the literature was a call for more formal preparation and support of teacher leaders (e.g., Griffin, 1995; Ovando, 1996). Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001) explain, "We ask teachers to assume leadership roles without any preparation or coaching, because [we assume] they appear to intuitively know how to work with their colleagues" (p. 47). These authors go on to suggest that the quick retreat of teachers from leadership roles indicates that this assumption is false.

In addition to the need for explicit attention to the preparation of teachers for leadership, more thought must be devoted to the intentional development of principals who effectively support teacher leadership (Crowther et al., 2002; Hart, 1994). Hart (1994) asserts that prospective administrators need to be prepared for collaboration and interactive leadership, dynamic leadership, and career-long professional development. She warns that "departments of educational administration that retain a focus on traditional constructs of school organization and leadership may be left in the dust by these reforms" (p. 83). Troen and Boles (1994) suggest redefining the role of principal from instructional leader to developer of a community of leaders within the school. Many of the ways in which principals can support teacher leadership were identified in the previous section.

Beyond preparation of teachers and principals, some contend that the school itself must be prepared (Griffin, 1995; Little, 1988; Smylie & Denny, 1990). That is, both individual and organizational capacities must be developed. Regarding organizational-level work, Smylie and Denny (1990) explain:

Little attention has been paid to preparing the school as a setting for new forms of leadership. . . . Teacher leadership development is a complex under-

taking. It involves more than the design of new work roles and efforts to develop individuals' skills to perform them. It involves a range of personal responses and organizational factors that are likely to mediate how these new roles are defined and performed by individual teacher leaders and how effective these roles will be in achieving their objectives. (pp. 237–238)

By way of introduction, then, to the need for preparation, calls have been made for improving preparation for teacher leadership at the teacher preservice *and* in-service levels (Moller & Katzenmeyer, 1996; Ovando, 1996; Silva et al., 2000), for preparing teachers *and* principals (Crowther et al., 2002; Hart, 1994), and for improving individual *and* organizational capacities (Griffin, 1995; Little, 1988; Smylie, 1990). The focus in this section will remain on preparation or support of teachers for leadership. Unfortunately, very little empirical work has been conducted in this area. However, numerous articles and books have described teacher preparation and professional development programs and have suggested content emphases to guide the intentional development of teacher leaders. First, we present two frameworks that suggest content emphases for the development of teacher leaders. Then we describe several teacher leadership development programs that have been reported in the literature.

Teacher Leadership Development Content Frameworks

Two frameworks or models were located that identified content domains for what teacher leaders should know and be able to do. On the basis of a review of the school effectiveness, teacher effectiveness, and leadership literatures, Rogus (1988) developed a framework that aligned content development needs for teacher leaders with specific leadership functions. Areas targeted for development of teacher leaders included the following: demonstrating skills of effective instruction, demonstrating an inquiry orientation to teaching, working with others, creating community, leading curriculum review and improvement, articulating and communicating vision, fostering ownership among peers for programs, empowering self and others, developing political support for change, and demonstrating patience and persistence. Rogus was careful to note that while the framework was grounded in previous research and reflected the "wisdom of practice," it lacked empirical support.

The second framework advanced the idea that skills required of teacher leaders would vary somewhat depending on the career stage of the teachers with whom the leaders worked. Sherrill (1999) identified a set of core competencies or expectations that would apply to all teacher leaders and a set of specialized competencies that would be drawn upon when supporting teachers during three different career stages: preservice preparation, induction, and ongoing professional development. The core expectations included demonstrating exemplary teaching and learning, understanding theory and research about teaching and learning, understanding theories of adult development, cultivating desired dispositions in teachers, demonstrating knowledge of clinical supervision, and guiding colleagues by means of reflection and an inquiry orientation. Additional expectations for assisting preservice teachers included the following: knowing the teacher preparation curriculum, valuing collaboration with higher education faculty, facilitating feedback conferences with university personnel present, providing feedback related to learning theory, and analyzing their own leadership work through the lens of adult learning theory. To support teachers during their induction phase, expectations for teacher leaders included understanding the unique concerns of teachers during their early career years, developing relationships with and nurturing growth in developing teachers, and collecting data from classroom observations to use as a basis for feedback. Expectations of teacher leaders who support experienced teachers included being able to assess and prioritize district and teacher needs, knowing how to create a positive school culture, establishing positive relationships with administrators, understanding action research and inquiry, expanding colleagues' instructional methods, and offering effective workshops and presentations.

It is interesting to note that in the study conducted by Dierks et al. (1988), in which teacher leaders themselves were interviewed about their leadership training needs, the content needs identified were much more organizationally focused than those of Rogus (1988) and Sherrill (1999) just described. The Dierks et al. (1988) teacher leaders wanted to learn more about budget and finance, school law, multicultural education, current educational research, change processes, and participatory decision making.

Teacher Leadership Development Programs

Seven programs located in the literature focused on the development of teacher leaders and teacher leadership. In the following, each is described briefly.

The central feature of two programs was a professional development school partnership between teacher education institutions and local schools or districts. One of the programs involved both preservice and in-service degree programs and was based at Johns Hopkins University (Clemson-Ingram & Fessler, 1997). The authors indicated strong support of the program:

"Teacher leadership" assumes a position of prominence in the Department of Teacher Development and Leadership. In fact, it permeates the entire scope and sequence of programs which prepare new teachers and administrators and includes a program designed to assist experienced teachers in their ongoing professional development. The designers of these programs embrace the concept of leadership in schools as the responsibility of all members of the school community. (p. 95)

The two preservice programs are grounded in a career-long view of teaching. The intent is for beginning teachers to develop a view of themselves as aspiring leaders. The immersion preservice option extends across 15 months and involves full-time assignment to a professional development school in which preservice teachers work closely with a teacher mentor both in the classroom and in school-level responsibilities. Mentor teachers and interns often attend conferences together as well. The masters program for experienced teachers targets supporting classroom mastery as well as leadership responsibilities outside the classroom. Coursework focuses on advanced instructional strategies, alternative methods for measuring performance, action research, change for school improvement, and opportunities for specialization. Aspiring expert teachers and aspiring principals attend classes together.

A professional development school was also featured in the teacher leadership program at Fairleigh Dickenson University and served as the primary context in which leadership skills were developed by teachers (Forster, 1997). The 5-year program results in a bachelor's degree, state teacher licensure, and a master's degree. The teacher development strands in the program are personal development and human relations, professional development (including an emphasis on curriculum, instruction, and assessment), and organizational practice. As with the professional

development school model in the Johns Hopkins program, the context of a learning community was viewed as key in the development of leadership. Odell (1997) reviewed both of the programs and identified common emphases on instructional strategies, collaboration, inquiry, and adapting to continuous change.

In addition to university-based degree programs, two programs were reported in which teacher leadership development efforts were based in schools or school districts. The first to be described was a district-wide initiative in the Douglas County School District in Colorado in which building resource teachers (BRTs) were placed in each school (Hayes, Grippe, & Hall, 1999). This involved shifting resources from supporting centrally assigned content specialists to supporting site-based generalists. Criteria for selecting the BRTs included 5 years of successful teaching in the school district, 54 quarter hours of graduate work, experience in supporting adult learners, and various site-specific criteria based on unique site needs. The BRTs served in the roles of mentor, coach, consultant, liaison with the district, and resource to teachers, principals, parents, and paraprofessionals. By explicit design, the BRTs were *not* involved with student discipline or teacher evaluation, which allowed them to maintain a more collegial presence with their peers and a clear focus on teaching and learning.

Development and ongoing support of the teacher leaders was an intentional and robust program component. The selected teachers received 9 days of training before they began in their positions as BRTs. This training addressed personal and professional transitions, school culture, change facilitation, supervision and coaching, effective staff development, and processes for teacher leadership. Multiple means of job-embedded learning and support were also provided. These included additional monthly training driven by site and district goals, bimonthly opportunities for networking with other BRTs, and individual coaching by the director of staff development and the assistant superintendent for learning services. The BRTs were jointly supervised by the director of staff development and respective site principals.

The reported success of the BRT program was attributed to a sustained support plan, a clearly defined teacher leader role, and teachers who benefited from and believed in the BRT program. The leaders of this program offered the following suggestions for other districts considering such site-based teacher leadership programs: recognize that change takes time (i.e., 3 to 5 years for development and the same for implementation) and make a commitment to the time and resources required to support implementation; develop a broad base of support to increase capacity; pay attention to the change process and the different leadership skills required for development and implementation; keep information flowing by continually sharing goals and data; and take the inherent risks and support the risk takers but do not shrink away from the plans (p. 33). The intentional and long-term approach to the BRT program is aligned with Little's (1988) advocacy of a slow and careful process for getting started with teacher leadership so that the needs of all constituents can be considered in the development process.

An example of teacher leadership development that occurred in the context of a single school involved the elementary laboratory school at the University of California, Los Angeles (Feiler, Heritage, & Gallimore, 2000). The intent was to use inhouse experts—teacher leaders—for improving teaching and learning practices in the school. Faculty were involved in ratifying expectations for the teacher leaders. Specific teachers were chosen to serve as leaders given their curricular-area exper-

tise related to school improvement targets, their perceived leadership skills or potential, and their image among peers as legitimate leaders, being viewed as having instructional expertise and as being accessible and supportive. The teachers were released from classroom duties 1 day each week by having teacher interns provide classroom coverage. This release time allowed the teachers to visit classrooms, to assist other teachers with their instructional practice, to meet with the principal, and to engage in school development work. Some of the time also was used for their own development, enhancing their knowledge in various subject areas, for example. A study conducted during the second year of implementation resulted in the following recommendations for how other schools might initiate such site-based teacher leadership programs: (a) select teacher leader roles that meet the greatest need; (b) choose leaders who have credible expertise and leadership skills; (c) clarify the leader role early on; (d) have teacher leaders spend a majority of their time in classrooms or working directly with other teachers; (e) focus on student learning; and (f) ensure that the principal supports the teacher leader.

On the basis of their multiple-year study of teachers who lead, Crowther et al. (2002) developed and refined a series of 14 seminar-style exercises to promote the development of school-wide leadership, most specifically focusing on fostering teacher leadership. The exercises are considered developmental in that they intend to build a strong base for the leadership but do not guide participants through the implementation process in terms of specific initiatives. The exercises are designed for implementation at the school level, engaging both teachers and administrators. The exercises are small group based and aimed toward developing a sense of community among participants. The first cluster of exercises is designed to raise consciousness and gauge readiness. The second cluster of exercises targets building a base for school-wide leadership. The third cluster offers exercises for actualizing teacher leadership focused on successful school revitalization. The authors explain that the exercises are sequenced to result in a cumulative positive effect. Empirical studies on the effects of these exercises have yet to be conducted.

Caine and Caine (2000) also view groups as a productive context in which to support the development of leadership. After years of using small group processes as a primary means of providing and supporting professional development of educators, they discovered that qualities conducive to leadership often emerged from these experiences. They describe the following discernible shifts in participants' orientations: a shift from wanting to control to letting go and allowing a community of relationships to form, a shift from viewing subjects and objects as separate to seeing many interconnections, and a shift from relying on external sources of power (e.g., "the system") to feeling empowered and wanting to support the empowerment of others. Furthermore, Caine and Caine suggest that these shifts give rise to a greater sense of self-efficacy. Allowing a community of support to emerge, seeing interconnections among people and events, and developing a sense of empowerment and efficacy, they suggest, create a strong foundation for leadership effectiveness.

Finally, Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001) have developed one of the few comprehensive models for developing teacher leaders, starting with an assessment of leadership readiness. They suggest three criteria to assist in the identification of potential teacher leaders: competence, credibility, and approachability. Sociograms that employ these criteria have been used to identify teachers who are viewed by their peers as having leadership potential. Also used has been a teacher leadership

readiness self-assessment tool. The leadership development model itself is organized around four questions: "Who am I?" (understanding of self); "Where am I?" (understanding of colleagues and school); "How do I lead?" (learning about the ways in which one leads); and "What can I do?" (identifying targets and plans for application of leadership knowledge and skills).

Summary

The teacher leadership preparation literature suggests that both formal training, such as university coursework or district-based professional development, and jobembedded support, such as coaching by principals or other administrators, are important elements for development. In fact, perhaps one of the strongest themes evident was the notion that the emergence of leadership is fostered in the context of a learning community—big (e.g., school or district) or small (e.g., small groups). Also evident was the need for administrator support of teacher leaders as they courageously venture forth to lead among their peers. In terms of content emphases for teacher leadership development, three primary themes emerged: continuing to learn about and demonstrate advanced curricular, instructional, and assessment practices; understanding the school culture and how to initiate and support change in schools; and developing the knowledge and skills necessary to support the development of colleagues in individual, small group, and large group interactions.

What Are the Effects of Teacher Leadership?

The literature is relatively rich with claims of the potential and desired effects of teacher leadership and relatively sparse with evidence of such effects, especially at the levels of classroom practice and student learning. To date, most research in this general area has "centered on non-instructional individual and organizational outcomes" (Marks & Louis, 1997, p. 247). Findings that could be discerned from the literature are reported here in three sections: effects on teacher leaders, effects on colleagues (including relationships, classroom practices, and school-level effects), and effects on students.

Effects on Teacher Leaders

By far, the strongest effects of teacher leadership have been on teacher leaders themselves. Barth (2001) asserts that the process of leadership and decision making represents the best learning opportunity possible for teachers. There is some evidence to support this assertion. As teachers lead, they are reported to grow in their leadership skills and organizational perspectives (Ryan, 1999). Some also change (and, presumably, improve) their instructional practices, in part because their leadership roles afford more opportunities for exposure to new information and practices and more opportunities for observation and interaction with other teachers around instructional practice (Ovando, 1996; Porter, 1986; Smylie, 1994). Engaging in research is one leadership arena in which teacher participation seems to support improvements in instruction by increasing understanding about instruction, increasing commitments to developing and evaluating new instructional methods, and maintaining an openness to new challenges (Henson, 1996).

It has also been suggested that teacher leadership is a potential solution to the drift and detachment experienced by many teachers during their careers (Duke, 1994), with the rationale being that involvement in setting direction and supporting

professional and school improvement can increase the meaning of teachers' work, which, in turn, can spark higher degrees of engagement. Smylie's (1994) review further points to psychological benefits for teacher leaders in that motivation is strongest among teachers who take on new leadership roles, as long as their work is meaningful at the level of instructional practice. Porter's (1986) research on teacher leaders who had half-time appointments as teachers and half-time appointments as researchers on university projects revealed several additional benefits for these individuals: increased intellectual stimulation, reduced isolation, and reflection and analytic thinking about their practice given their regular opportunities for distance from intensive daily practice.

Not all of the reported effects of teacher leadership on teacher leaders themselves have been positive. Teacher leaders are known to experience difficulty in switching roles between teacher and leader (LeBlanc & Shelton, 1997; Ovando, 1996). Stress can result from the juggling that occurs when these individuals are simultaneously teaching and leading and from the varied, ambiguous, and sometimes allencompassing nature of their leadership work (Porter, 1986). As mentioned previously, the shifting nature of relationships with colleagues can be problematic (Cooper, 1993; Duke, 1994; Little, 1988; Smylie, 1992a; Wasley, 1991). In particular, two shifts in the nature of collegial relationships create difficulty. First, the assigned work of teacher leaders can result in peer relationships that are more hierarchical and less horizontal. Second, what was once a comfortable, primary social relationship with teaching peers shifts to include implicit or explicit instructional, professional, or organizational expectations. As previously emphasized, both of these relationship shifts violate egalitarian professional norms. A negative effect of these relationship shifts can be a sense of greater distance from and even a loss of specific, valued relationships with colleagues. Not only may this threaten the likelihood of teachers being allowed to lead; it may diminish their desire to lead. Some of the challenges related to roles and relationships discussed in the previous section and listed in Table 3 could also be considered effects of teacher leadership on teacher leaders themselves.

Effects on Colleagues

At the collegial level, the outcomes of teacher leadership can be viewed in terms of the effects on relationships between teacher leaders and their colleagues and in terms of the effects on practices at the classroom and school levels. As already discussed, one known challenge to teacher leadership is the changing nature of relationships between teachers when some teachers assume leadership responsibilities. Most of the reported relationship effects involve an element of distancing and conflict, such as lower levels of trust and even resentment among colleagues. On the basis of his study of teacher leaders and their peers, Smylie (1992a) noted that "teachers' relationships with teacher leaders may differ substantially from their relationship with teachers who do no hold these positions" (p. 87).

Within the context of a large-scale study of high schools in 15 states, Weiss et al. (1992) conducted intensive investigations in 6 of the high schools. A salient finding was the presence of conflict among, between, and within teachers involved in shared decision making. Conflict emerged about who participated and who did not, among teachers who did participate, and within individual teachers as they worked through the dissonance that occurs when considering new ideas that challenge old assumptions and practices. In addition, Weiss et al. (1992) indicated that

there was much confusion about the locus of final decision-making authority. Wasley's (1991) extensive case studies of three teacher leaders also revealed high levels of tension, resistance, and resentment in interactions with colleagues.

Teacher leadership has been reported to have effects on teacher practices at the classroom level. Interviews conducted by Ryan (1999) with 12 teacher leaders, 4 nominated from each of three schools, and their respective 18 nominators and three principals revealed a high level of perceived impact on the instructional practices of colleagues. The teacher leaders in this study were department heads, and time was scheduled for leadership activities. Teacher leaders "were available to their colleagues as a resource in such areas as instructional practice, assistance in dealing with difficult students, helping to plan new programmes and even offering advice on personal matters" (p. 26). These teacher leaders were viewed as extending their influence beyond their own departments and reported being satisfied with the level of influence they could exert on school policy and teacher practice through their positions as department heads. They were not interested in greater levels of authority. Supportive school cultures and principal leadership were identified as key variables in the success of these teacher leaders.

Smylie's (1994) review of research on redesigned teacher work and its effects on classroom practice explored a variety of contexts for teacher leadership practice, including teachers leading in the contexts of career ladder programs and site-based decision making as well as other formal roles and positions. Smylie drew two primary conclusions. First, changes in classroom practice were more likely to occur among the teachers whose work was redesigned (i.e., the teacher leaders themselves as opposed to their teaching colleagues). Second, changes in classroom practice were more likely to occur when initiatives were collective, as opposed to individual, and when initiatives targeted changes in the instructional practices of teachers as opposed to organizational-level practices.

Findings regarding the school-level effects of teacher leadership are somewhat conflicting. One study conducted in a large, urban district indicated that teachers and students in 16 schools with high levels of teacher participation in decision making were no better off in terms of teacher job satisfaction and attendance or in terms of student achievement, attendance, and behavior than teachers and students in 17 schools with low levels of teacher participation (Taylor & Bogotch, 1994). Furthermore, teachers at both high and low participation sites felt equally deprived in regard to their participation in decision making. Degrees of participation and teacher satisfaction were measured quantitatively by surveying teachers at the identified sites. School-level data on teacher attendance and on student attendance, achievement, and behavior were retrieved from school profiles available from the district's central office.

A smaller study that involved five teacher leaders, each from a different school district, who were interviewed once a year over 3 years suggested that there were strong school-level (macro) effects but weak classroom-level (micro) effects (Griffin, 1995). Specifically, teacher participation in decision making was reported to influence school-wide issues such as evaluating student achievement, strengthening curriculum frameworks, dealing with challenging student behavior, and integrating technology as an instructional tool. The author offered several explanations for the lack of effects at the classroom level. These included teachers' beliefs in their own (high degree of) competence, a culture of isolation that perpetuates a lack of individual or collective inquiry around practice, preva-

lence of "politesse" in the school's culture, teacher leaders' uncertainty about which teaching models are better than others, and overload in terms of information and amount of decision making. Griffin (1995) further suggests that the first four themes are interrelated:

Teachers in most schools are unaware of the work their colleagues do with students and have come to believe that their peers' teaching is acceptable at least and exemplary at best based on the absence of evidence to the contrary. This evidence is unlikely to emerge as long as the privileges of privacy continue to be the norms of schools. . . . Adding to this veil is the fact that schools are nonconfrontative social organizations, at least in terms of how teachers interact with one another. . . . For decades, it was unthinkable that teachers, as members of a professional class, would call attention to the shortcomings of other teachers lest such attention would be generalized to the entire group. (p. 44)

Overall, the research on teacher leadership effects on colleagues and their class-room and school-level practices suggests that school culture is a considerable obstacle to be overcome if the potential positive effects are to be realized.

Effects on Students

There are many well-reasoned assertions and even some data-based inferences about the effects of teacher leadership on student learning, but little evidence exists to support these claims. Arguing the importance of teacher leadership in achieving democratic outcomes for students, Barth (2001) states that "in high performing schools . . . decision making and leadership are significantly more democratic . . . [and] the more the school comes to look, act, and feel like a democracy, the more students come to believe in, practice, and sustain our democratic form of government" (p. 444). Certainly Barth is a recognized authority on educational leadership and improvement; in this particular article, however, no supporting citations or data were offered. Only five studies could be located that directly examined the effects of teacher leadership on students.

First, in a qualitative study involving three elementary schools in which 12 teacher leaders, 18 of their nominating peers, and their three principals were interviewed, the teacher leaders were perceived to be having a positive effect on students because they influenced instructional practices of colleagues and participated in school-level decision making (Ryan, 1999). Colleagues were reported to have been influenced by the teacher leaders who served as resources in the areas of instruction, dealing with new students, and implementing new programs. Participation in school-level decisions about curriculum, scheduling, and other school policies that influence educational practices was viewed as creating and supporting better learning environments and opportunities for students. Once again, a supportive school culture and principal leadership, along with decision-making structures, was viewed as contributing to the success of teacher leadership.

Second, a quantitative study of teacher empowerment in the context of school-based shared decision making showed direct links between teacher empowerment and the variables of professional community and collective responsibility for students (Marks & Louis, 1997). Indirect links were revealed between empowerment and authentic pedagogy by way of how the school was organized for instruction specifically as a professional community with collective responsibility for student learning. This study involved 24 urban schools (8 elementary, 8 middle-level, and

8 high schools) and employed surveys, interviews, observations, ratings of pedagogy, and assessments of student achievement. Although a direct relationship between teacher empowerment and student learning was not discerned, the authors

strongly support the argument that empowerment will positively influence teachers' efforts to improve instruction, their belief that student achievement is in large measure a result of their own teaching effort, and their propensity to exchange information among themselves about the effectiveness of their teaching. (p. 262)

Third was the quantitative study by Taylor and Bogotch (1994) mentioned in the previous section on collegial effects. Recall that in this study no significant differences were found in terms of student attendance, achievement, or behavior between schools with high degrees of teacher participation in decision making and schools with low participation.

The remaining two studies that examined the effects of leadership on students were large-scale quantitative studies conducted by Leithwood and Jantzi (1999, 2000). The authors reported no statistically significant relationship between teacher leadership and student engagement and a significant but weak relationship between principal leadership and student engagement. The two studies involved about 1,800 teachers each, with 9,900 students in the original study and 6,490 in the replication. In considering the claims made about teacher leadership effects, some degree of caution is warranted, given the way in which the construct of teacher leadership was operationalized for measurement purposes. These validity concerns are discussed subsequently, in part to highlight the dilemmas raised throughout the present article about what teacher leadership really is and how it is defined. In the absence of a valid definition, measurement and analysis are problematic.

As a means of determining the effect of teacher leadership, the teacher respondents in the Leithwood and Jantzi studies (1999, 2000) were asked to rate the extent of influence on school activities exerted by (a) individual teachers who provided leadership on an informal basis, (b) individual teachers who provided leadership on a formal basis, and (c) teacher committees or teams. This way of defining teacher leadership does not operationalize leadership itself, but only the individual, collective, formal, and informal means by which leadership takes place. In contrast, the effect of principal leadership was determined by asking teacher respondents to indicate the extent to which their administrators demonstrated specific leadership practices, such as being visible, having a positive presence, providing organizational support for teachers to interact, and frequently reviewing student progress. Also problematic was the term "school activities," which was left open for interpretation by respondents. School activities can include many varied events and practices, including fund raising, recess, classroom instruction, decision making, parent conferences, teacher assistance teams, and science fairs. Again by comparison, items used to operationalize the focus of principal leadership were specific and recognized as more directly affecting teaching and learning. A final measurement concern about the teacher leadership variable was that the value used for analysis combined the values from the 3 individual items on the survey. Given the validity concerns with each individual item, combining the items magnifies the potential for error. Furthermore, while the teacher leadership variable was a combined value drawn from 3 survey items, the principal leadership value was averaged from 9 survey items, and the school conditions values were each determined by averaging the responses of between 26 and 33 survey items. Together, then, these measurement concerns raise questions about whether the finding of nonsignificance of teacher leadership was real or was an artifact of construct validity problems.

The Leithwood and Jantzi studies provide examples of the methodological challenges inherent in attempting to define ambiguous variables (such as teacher leadership), to map their theoretical paths of influence, to develop valid and reliable means of measurement, and to then attribute means of influence. Smylie (1994) pointed to another problem in reaching conclusions about the relationships between the redesign of teachers' work (e.g., expanded work that includes leadership functions) and classroom outcomes: "True redesign of teachers' work has not taken place" (p. 141). In other words, the structure of teaching continues much as it has always been, with teacher leadership roles, functions, and interactions maneuvered within or in addition to existing, usually constraining, structures. In sum, it is no easy task to investigate the effects of teacher leadership—given all of its incarnations—on students, teachers, classroom practice, and school communities.

Conclusion

What is known about teacher leadership? It has been almost 10 years since Smylie (1995) offered an assessment of the quality of literature on teacher leadership. Little has changed during this time. This collective literature is still overwhelmingly descriptive instead of explanatory, although several recent studies have begun to investigate the paths by which teacher leadership might influence improvement. Studies have remained largely focused on leadership from formal teacher leadership positions, although informal means of leadership are becoming more recognized in contexts such as professional development schools. The literature still is more robust with argument and rationale than with evidence of effects of teacher leadership. Most of the existing research is limited to case study designs, small sample sizes, and self-report interview methodologies. The few large-scale quantitative studies that do exist have not provided evidence of the effects of teacher leadership but have exposed dilemmas in attempting to define teacher leadership in ways that make quantification possible and meaningful. The teacher leadership research continues to be idiosyncratic in nature, lacking an overarching conceptual framework and common or complementary theoretical underpinnings. These are some of the reasons why definitive answers to the question "What is known about teacher leadership?" are difficult to ascertain.

Despite concerns about the overall quality of the teacher leadership literature, it is both possible and appropriate to offer statements that summarize findings distilled from the extant literature. We also present a conceptual framework for teacher leadership and offer related implications for practice and future research.

Summary of Findings From the Teacher Leadership Literature

Earlier in this article we presented various authors' definitions or conceptions of teacher leadership. After reflecting on the literature as a whole, we suggest that teacher leadership is the process by which teachers, individually or collec-

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tively, influence their colleagues, principals, and other members of school communities to improve teaching and learning practices with the aim of increased student learning and achievement. Such leadership work involves three intentional development foci: individual development, collaboration or team development, and organizational development. In addition to this summary definition, we offer the following statements that summarize substantive findings from our review:

- Recent models of school leadership as instructional, participative, distributed, and parallel are more inclusive of the concept of teacher leadership as defined above. These models presume that leadership must emerge from many individuals within an organization and is not simply vested in a handful of formally recognized leaders.
- Teacher leadership is an umbrella term that includes a wide variety of work at multiple levels in educational systems, including work with students, colleagues, and administrators and work that is focused on instructional, professional, and organizational development.
- Teacher leaders have backgrounds as accomplished teachers, and they are respected by their colleagues. From this background, they extend their knowledge, skills, and influence to others in their school communities.
- Teacher leadership roles are often ambiguous. The likelihood of being successful as a teacher leader is increased if roles and expectations are mutually shaped and negotiated by teacher leaders, their colleagues, and principals on the basis of context-specific (and changing) instructional and improvement needs.
- Professional norms of isolation, individualism, and egalitarianism challenge
 the emergence of teacher leadership. Teachers who lead tend to feel conflict
 and isolation as the nature of their collegial relationships shifts from primarily
 horizontal to somewhat hierarchical.
- Developing trusting and collaborative relationships is the primary means by which teacher leaders influence their colleagues.
- Principals play a pivotal role in the success of teacher leadership by actively supporting the development of teachers, by maintaining open channels of communication, and by aligning structures and resources to support the leadership work of teachers.
- Certain structures may increase opportunities for the emergence of teacher leadership (e.g., professional development schools, site-based decision making) but do not ensure its success.
- Intentional and systematic efforts to support the capacity of teachers and principals to share in school leadership functions appear to be severely lacking.
- The most consistently documented positive effects of teacher leadership are on the teacher leaders themselves, supporting the belief that leading and learning are interrelated. Teacher leaders grow in their understanding of instructional, professional, and organizational practice as they lead. Less empirical evidence supports student, collegial, and school-level effects.
- Teacher leadership work that is focused at the classroom level of practice (e.g., implementing instructional strategies) is likely to show student effects more readily than work focused at the organizational level (e.g., participating in site-based decision making).

Conceptual Framework for Teacher Leadership

We now present a conceptual framework grounded in and extending the findings from this review of the literature. It documents key understandings about teacher leadership and suggests a path by which teachers who lead ultimately can influence student learning. In essence, the conceptual framework suggests a theory of action for teacher leadership. There are seven major components in the framework (see Figure 1). The first three serve as the foundation upon which teacher leadership is possible and are largely drawn from the existing literature. These are the characteristics of teacher leaders, the type of leadership work engaged in by teacher leaders, and the conditions that support the work of teacher leaders. The next three components suggest the path by which teachers lead to affect student learning. These components identify the means by which teachers lead, the targets of their leadership influence, and the intermediary outcomes of changes in teaching and learning practices. Student learning, the seventh component, completes the theory of action. Next, we describe more fully the components within the conceptual framework and the ways in which they interrelate.

Teachers who lead are respected as teachers by their colleagues and administrators. They assume a learning orientation in their work and demonstrate or are viewed as having the potential to develop leadership knowledge, skills, and dispositions. The success of teacher leaders depends, in part, on the nature of their leadership work, which must be valued by their peers, visible within the school, and continually negotiated on the basis of feedback and evaluation of its effectiveness. Also important is that the leadership work of teachers is best shared among teachers and collectively

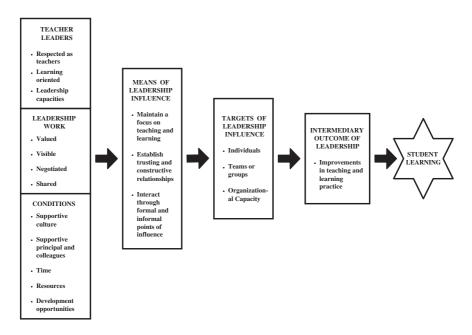


FIGURE 1. Teacher leadership for student learning: Conceptual framework.

addressed. Conditions known to support the work of teacher leaders include the active support of their principals and colleagues, the availability of time and resources necessary to carry out the work, and opportunities to learn and develop in ways that directly support their leadership work. Teacher leaders lead by maintaining a focus on teaching and learning and by establishing trusting and constructive relationships. They lead from formal positions of leadership as well as through informal collegial interactions. As leaders, they influence the development of individuals, collaborative teams and groups, and organizational capacities (e.g., structures, policies, processes, resources) to improve teaching and learning in their schools. Improvements in teaching and learning practices, such as creating positive learning relationships between teachers and students and among students, establishing classroom routines and expectations that effectively direct student energy, engaging students in the learning process, and improving curricular, instructional, and assessment practices, ultimately result in high levels of student learning and achievement.

Implications for the Practice of Teacher Leadership

In this age of high accountability, the need and potential for teacher leadership, as well as the press for results, has probably never been greater. Schmoker and Wilson (1994) speak to the implications for teacher leadership and professionalism in our present educational context:

An emphasis on results not only would promote unprecedented levels of professional capability, confidence, and prestige; it would do much to attract those looking for a profession that is intellectually alive and socially purposeful. It would broaden public and fiscal support for the essential arrangements that favor teacher leadership. (p. 149)

A major implication for the practice of teacher leadership, then, is to link such efforts to student-focused learning and school improvement goals.

Here we describe a process for effectively using teacher leadership as a resource for improvement. First, schools and districts must clearly articulate student learning and school improvement goals and related priorities for development and action. These goals and priorities then serve as the focus around which resources personnel, intellectual, material, and fiscal—are directed, including the resource of teacher leadership. Second, possible ways in which teachers can lead efforts related to goal accomplishment must be generated, recognizing that specific leadership functions and needs that are well served by teachers are fluid, meaning they are likely to change and evolve as improvement goals and emphases change. Such functions could be numerous and varied, including modeling best instructional practices in teacher leaders' own classrooms so that others might observe, serving as an individual mentors for early career teachers, planning and conducting content-specific staff development sessions, coaching around implementation of best practices, participating as representatives on school site councils, and facilitating conversations with parents about how to maintain high levels of communication focused on student learning. Essentially, the territory of shared leadership for improvement of teaching and learning can be explicitly mapped out.

Third, the unique and varied leadership capacities of individual teachers must be matched with unique and varied leadership functions. Arguably, a teacher who serves as a superb mentor is not necessarily best suited to serve as site council chairperson. Recognizing unique strengths and matching them to needed functions

results in greatly expanding the leadership potential and capacity in schools. By doing so, schools can move from rhetoric to a practice of shared leadership that is inclusive of many teachers. Fourth, conversations about the purpose of and expectations for the varied leadership work must be held among formal and informal leaders and with school faculties. If such conversations are not appropriately or feasibly held on a school-wide basis, the purposes of and expectations for leadership work must be communicated with staff.

Fifth, schools must identify supports that can advance the leadership work of teachers. Decisions about how time can be restructured to create space for leadership work must be made, as well as decisions about what resources might be tapped to assist in developing the knowledge and skills of teacher leaders for their designated leadership functions. Finally, regular opportunities to obtain feedback and to reflect on progress that is being made toward goal accomplishment must be embedded in program planning. Clear indicators of progress should be established to identify signs that the nature of the work should be adjusted. The practice of teacher leadership requires flexibility with adjustments informed by ongoing individual and collective reflection about the effects on educational practice and student learning.

Implications for Future Teacher Leadership Research

The most basic implications for future research in the domain of teacher leadership are to clearly articulate the research questions that guide such inquiry and to clearly define the targeted context of teacher leadership practice, including how and why the focus on teacher leadership emerged in the setting, how principals were involved in the teacher leadership process, how the work of teacher leaders was situated (e.g., formal or informal, collective or individual, full- or part-time settings), and the specific improvement focus of the leadership. Furthermore, future research would be enhanced if researchers explicitly mapped out their theories of action for teacher leadership. This would involve identifying the presumed means by which teacher leadership influences others such that improvements in teaching and learning result. If theories of action are made explicit, other researchers can reference, extend, and even test the presumed variables and linkages among variables. Similarly, given the largely atheoretical nature of the extant teacher leadership research, another major implication is to ground future research in existing relevant theory to the extent possible. Theories of leadership, human resource development, organizational learning and development, work design, and power, for example, inform various dimensions of teacher leadership practice. Research grounded in theory is less likely to revisit what is already known and is more likely to further existing understandings and inform practice. Notable in this review of literature was the theory-driven research of Mark Smylie and Ann Hart, for example, in which theory informed the identification of relevant variables, grounded the formation of research questions, and provided a framework for analysis, interpretation, and application of findings.

Much content should be emphasized in future teacher leadership research, including attention to existing gaps in the literature and extending selected domains of existing knowledge. Particularly important would be research focused on describing and examining the paths of leadership influence on student learning, on changing school cultures and structures to support teacher leadership, on creating more collaborative and shared means of leadership for improvement, and on developing or modifying preservice and in-service programs that prepare and support princi-

pals and teachers in the work of shared leadership. The following questions are offered as directions for future research.

- What are the paths by which teachers positively influence student, instructional, professional, and organizational development? For example, how do teachers formally and informally lead such that changes in teaching and learning result?
- How might leadership by teachers be differentiated to address the numerous and varied formal and informal types of leadership work that is well assumed by teachers? As leadership functions are differentiated, how are the respective leadership strengths of individual teachers aligned with the varied leadership functions? Which teachers are best suited for different teacher leadership roles?
- By what means can existing *egalitarian norms* of the teaching profession be replaced by norms that recognize, value, and actively support differentiation of teacher expertise? How can many teachers be involved in leading improvements in teaching and learning?
- How can the work of teacher leaders be structured to maximize positive effects on teaching and learning, addressing such issues as maintaining a clear focus on instructional improvement and providing opportunities for jobembedded collegial work?
- In what ways are *principals influenced and supported* in their roles as instructional leaders through collaboration with teacher leaders?
- Given the constraints of time, schedules, access, and space, how can the work space of all teachers be reconfigured to promote continuous learning and development as a cornerstone of educational practice?
- What combinations of formal training and *job-embedded learning* support the development of effective teacher leadership?
- In what ways are educational leadership programs currently *expecting and preparing administrators and teachers* to share leadership for school improvement? How might such preparation be improved?

Closing Perspective

This article began by offering Smylie and Denny's (1990) view that the resurgence of interest in teacher leadership is due, in part, to new hope that teacher leadership will contribute to the improvement of schools. One could conclude this review of the literature, however, with a pessimistic view of the prospects for teacher leadership, correctly claiming that there is little empirical evidence to support its effects. An equally defensible conclusion, however, is the reasonableness of advancing teacher leadership and doing so with an informed spirit of hope. A long view of the findings from our review, we believe, substantiates this more optimistic view. Clearly, a large number of teachers and their administrators have ventured forth courageously into the uncharted waters of shared leadership, genuinely hoping to improve teaching and learning for the children and youth in their charge. Furthermore, many have persevered in their explorations despite being thwarted by centuries-old structures and conditions of schools that resist change. In doing so, they have contributed important understandings about surface-level and under-thesurface conditions for weathering the storms, keeping afloat, and remaining on course. Building on the results of past explorations, the journey and inquiry of teacher leadership seem appropriately continued. Contributing to a spirit of hope, we close with the impassioned words of Marilyn Wilson (1993):

I hope the school of the future will be a nonhierarchical system that nourishes informal arteries of influence, a place where the pulse and rhythm of good teaching and learning are driven by the capabilities of teacher leaders.... Only then will we genuinely begin the work of fashioning school environments within which it is possible for every student to achieve. (p. 27)

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APPENDIX Summary of Teacher Leadership Studies and Reviews of Studies

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Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
Acker-Hocevar & Touchton (1999)	Theoretical: How do teacher leaders describe decisionmaking structures, culture, and the power/politics of their work, particularly their agency to accomplish work and make decisions together?a	Theoretical; qualitative; open-ended interviews. Six recipients of the Florida Elementary Teacher of the Year Award	School-level shared decision making at elementary level. Part of a statewide reform context	Teacher leaders understand the big picture, envision the impact of decisions, work within and across school structures to establish social networks of influence, use varied means of "agency" to accomplish change. Teachers with most agency also had most empowering principals and work contexts.
Conley (1991)	Who participates in decision making? Specifically, teacher expectations for participation, forms that participation has taken, and power in decision-making ^a	Theoretical and research based; critical review of existing studies on teacher participation in decision making at the school level.	Teacher participation in the context of school-level decision making	Discrepancy between actual and desired amount of participation creates more dissatisfaction and stress, less loyalty. Teachers desire more participation in decisions about instruction (classroom level) than about management (organizational level) but also feel deprived of decision making about management. Points to question about teacher influence versus authority in decision making.
Conley & Muncey (1999)	Do teachers identify contradictions	Theoretical; qualitative; in-person and follow-	Two schools identified as exemplary school	Teachers did not sense a contradiction in teaming and leadership roles.

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Studer	Research	Design and	Nature of	Var. finding
Study	dnesnon(s)	шешоа	teacher readership	Ney mumgs
Dierks et al. (1988)	What is teacher leader- ship? What charac- teristics define teachers in leader- ship positions? What responsibilities do teacher leaders	Atheoretical; no literature cited; qualitative. Interviews with 16 openended questions. Eighty-seven teachers (about seven nominated from each of 14 consor-	Three categories of teacher leaders: classroom teachers with additional leadership responsibilities, leaders in local associations, staff	Teacher leaders spent significant time in committee meetings and less time working with other teachers on instructional issues. Sixty-two percent reported getting some reward (intrinsic or extrinsic) for leadership role.
	have? How are they compensated? What are needed directions for change?	tium member school districts)	development personnel	
Duke et al. (1980)	Are teachers anxious to participate in and commit to decision making? What are the costs and benefits of participation?	Theoretical and research based; qualitative and quantitative. Interviews included one openended and eight forcedchoice questions. Fifty randomly selected teachers from five secondary schools in which chand designs multing	School-level shared decision making at the secondary level	Teachers rated the benefits of shared decision making as more significant than the potential costs, except for the time involved in participation. Most teachers, however, were not anxious to participate in school decision making and derived little satisfaction from doing so. Findings raised questions about mere teacher participation spout mere teacher
Gates & Siskin	What are principals'	had been implemented Theoretical and research	State-mandated site-	teacher influence in decision making. Most principals reported that teacher
(2001)	leadership styles, attitudes, and prac- tices? What vari- ables are predictive	based; quantitative; mailed surveys. Representative sample of 500 Texas school principals,	based decision making requiring school-based councils that act in an	involvement was very important, especially relative to evaluating the effectiveness of instructional programs. However, most were also

categorized as demonstrating a selling rather than a participatory style of leadership. Teacher involvement in decision making affected targeted areas outside of the classroom (student evaluation, curriculum frameworks, policies for students with behavior problems, technology integration) but had little effect on teacher practices within classrooms. Lack of classroom effects explained by culture of isolation, autonomy, "politesse"; teachers' beliefs about their own competence; uncertainty about what excellence is; informa-	tion and decision-making overload. One school had very positive views of the effects of the teacher career ladder program. The other had very negative views. In the positive school, the prevailing norm was teamwork; teacher leaders were public and accountable, there was strong principal-teacher leader communication, teacher leader roles were collectively shaped and reshaped with faculty, strong and repeated assertions were made between teacher leader roles and instructional values of the school.
advisory capacity School-level shared decision making at the elementary level	Teacher career ladder program involving varied teacher leadership roles (e.g., peer coaching, sitelevel decision making)
all levels. Sixty-six percent of surveys returned and usable Atheoretical but research based; qualitative; individual interviews once a year for 3 years. Five elementary teachers, each from a different restructuring school district. Schools varied in sizes, demographics, culture	Theoretical and research based; qualitative; comparative case study of two middle schools in one district that had started a career ladder program; observations, interviews ($N = 164$), field notes, documents. Principals and all but three teachers in the two schools
of leadership styles, especially collaborative leadership? What do teachers believe are the primary consequences of their schools' efforts to improve the workplace and redesign the role of the teacher toward greater participation in school decision making?	What were the atti- tudes and judgments of involved people about a new teacher career ladder program in two schools? How could the differences in perceptions between the two sites be explained theoreti- cally with role the- ory constructs?**
Griffin (1995)	Hart (1994)

APPENDIX (Continued)

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Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
Heller & Firestone (1995)	Who performed leadership functions in schools in which a social problem-solving initiative has been successfully institutionalized?	Atheoretical but research based; qualitative; case studies; structured, open-ended interviews. Principal and three teachers from each of eight schools, plus three district informants (total: 30). Four districts, one poor urban school, seven wealthy suburban schools	Site-based implementation of a specific social problem-solving program	Teachers contributed to many leader- ship functions, most significantly to sustaining and promoting vision for change. Leadership functions were performed by many different peo- ple, with no key figure in the change process.
LeBlanc & Shelton (1997)	How do teacher leaders perceive themselves and others as they work in their teacher leadership roles?	Atheoretical but research based; qualitative; semistructured individual interviews. Five teacher leaders who had received some form of leadership training and who had been identified by principals and peers as leaders	Visible leadership role in school (e.g., lead role in project, successful implementation of initiative)	Teacher leaders experienced conflict between needs for achievement and for affiliation, gained increased job satisfaction as a result of leadership roles, and believed they made the most impact through collaboration and strong relationships with peers. Viewed themselves as needing lifelong learning, as focused on and caring about students, and as maintaining a positive attinde
Leithwood & Jantzi (1999)	What are the relative effects of principal and teacher leadership on students?	Theoretical and research- based framework; quantitative; large school district. One	Increasing school-level leadership expected from school district and provincial	Teacher leadership had no statistically significant effect on student engagement in school. Principal leadership effects reached statistical significance,

process, using resources, managing work, building skills and confidence

in others.

themselves and gained an understanding of the school culture and how to work within the organizational system. Common skills and capabilities: trust and rapport, orga-

nizational diagnosis, dealing with

although weak, on student engagement and school conditions. Effects were moderated by family educational culture.	Same as 1999 study (above). Teacher leadership had no significant effects on student engagement. Principal leadership had significant, although weak, effects on student engagement.	Teacher leaders came to leadership roles with significant teaching experience, knowledge of the curriculum, strong administrative and organizational skills, and excellent interpersonal skills. In the leadership positions, they learned about
government (presumes increasing teacher participation)	Increasing school-level leadership expected from school district and provincial gov- ernment (presumes increasing teacher participation)	Three types of teacher leadership roles: effective schools research, site committees, one-on-one work with teachers
survey completed by 1,762 teachers (71% response). One survey completed by 9,941 students (100% response)	Theoretical and research-based framework; quantitative; replication of 1999 study (above) with new sample. 1,818 teachers (75% response) and 6,490 students (90% response rate)	Atheoretical bur research based; qualitative case studies. Seventeen teacher leaders from a variety of schools in a large eastern city
engagement with school?a	What are the relative effects of principal and teacher leadership on students' engagement with school?a	What capabilities do teacher leaders use to effect change? Do teachers have a core of skills and capabilities in common?a
	Leithwood & Jantzi (2000)	Lieberman et al. (1988)

APPENDIX (Continued)	tinued)			
Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
Little (1988)	What are the prospects of teachers accepting one another's initiatives on matters of curriculum and instruction?	Atheoretical but research based; data drawn from four separate studies: 2-year study of instructional leadership in eight secondary schools;	Varied formal teacher leadership roles (e.g., improving curriculum and instruction within high schools, assisting	Prospects of teacher leadership will be advanced when the work of teacher leaders is regarded as important and difficult; roles show teacher leaders to be exemplars of rigorous, rewarding professional relationships;
		teacher advisors charged with assisting the development of teachers in 19 school districts; schoollevel level leadership teams; 2-year study of the California Mentor Teacher Program	with the development of in-service teachers, participating in school-level leadership teams, mentoring)	shared teacher and administrator interests in leadership are publicly demonstrated; incentives favor teacher collaboration; and local policy supports hiring and evaluating principals who support and preserve teacher leadership.
Little (1995)	How did two high schools, known for the nature and scope of their efforts, transform secondary education? (Note: The researchers did not set out to study tea-	Atheoretical but research based; qualitative case studies; semistructured interviews, document reviews, and observations of planning sessions, in-service activities, daily routines	New teacher leader- ship roles that crossed traditional subject area bound- aries in secondary schools	Teacher leaders experience tension between egalitarian teaching norms and expectations that they have some authority over peers. Subject area specialization important part of legitimacy for leading as a teacher.
	cher leadership but discovered "the shift- ing and contested ground of leader- ship" through other inquiry targets.)	over a 2-year period. Focused on 53 teachers, 21 present or former teacher leaders, in two restructuring high schools		

Links revealed between teacher empowerment and professional community and collective responsibility. Indirect effect of empowerment on authentic pedagogy by how schools were organized for instruction. Teacher empowerment plays a role in teachers' efforts to improve and their belief that their own learning will enhance their students' achievement. Teacher empowerment does not directly cause increased achievement.	Teacher leadership viewed as satisfying to some extent and as having both positive and potentially negative effects. Teaching and leading require two different frames of mind. Challenges included time, increased workload, pressure, and demands of work.	Teachers have front-line knowledge of classroom issues and school cultures that must be sought for educa-
Decentralized school-based management	Site-based management context. Varied formal teacher leadership roles (e.g., department chair, mentor). Maintained classroom teaching responsibilities	No specific teacher leadership roles or contexts specified.
Theoretical and research based; qualitative and quantitative; case studies of 24 restructured schools (8 elementary, 8 middle, 8 high); surveys, interviews, observations, ratings of pedagogy, assessments of student achievement. 910 teachers surveyed (82% response); 144 core teachers observed and provided student work samples	Atheoretical bu research based; qualitative; open-ended survey. Twenty-five teacher leaders (19% selected of the entire pool). One school district	Report from the 1996 National Teacher Forum. One hundred
To what extent does teacher empower-ment influence the school instructional context? How and to what extent does teacher empower-ment enhance authentic pedagogy and student academic performance?a	What are the perceptions of teacher leaders associated with their dual duties of teaching and leading? What are the opportunities and challenges related to performing both?	Why is teacher leader- ship needed? What forms can teacher
Marks & Louis (1997)	Ovando (1996)	Paulu & Winters (1998)

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Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
	leadership take? What steps can teachers take to become effective leaders?a	twenty exemplary private and public school teachers from throughout the United States. All states and provinces represented	Many and varied roles implied	tion reform. Teachers lead in varied formal and informal ways. Supports for teacher leaders include encouraging leadership, creating leadership training opportunities, easing time constraints, and creating more constraints, and creating more
Porter (1986)	What are the benefits to research and to teachers when practicing teachers collaborate with university researchers in the conduct of research about teaching practice?	Atheoretical but research based; qualitative; observations and interviews. Five teacher collaborators	Teachers who teach half of the time (usually mornings) and conduct research with university professors the other half of the time (usually afternoons)	Benefits of research: maintains focus on important problems of practice; lends credibility to research; presses to seek solutions rather than simply identify problems of practice. Benefits to collaborating teachers: increased intellectual stimulation, reduced isolation, time and space for analyzing and reflecting on practice. Drawbacks: added time and stress of splitting job between two
Pounder et al. (1995)	What are the relationships between leadership (principal, teacher, secretary, parents), four organizational functions, and school effectiveness?	Theoretical and research based; quantitative; large suburban district. Surveyed the principal, 1 counselor, 20 teachers, 2 secretaries, 1 custodian in each of 57 schools. Existing data	Leadership defined as social influence. No specific leadership roles examined	roles. Principal and teacher leadership positively associated with commitment, which was positively associated with school effectiveness and negatively associated with teacher turnover. Parent leadership positively associated with reduced student absenteeism and achievement.

		on attendance, staff,		Conclusion: Organizational leader-
		and testing were used		ship seems to affect organizational
				performance.
Powers et al.	How do special educa-	Atheoretical and limited	No specific leadership	Special educators faced with the chal-
(2001)	tors describe and	literature; quantitative;	contexts or roles	lenges of teacher leadership wanted
	understand their pro-	surveys. 117 (80%	specified	professional development in organi-
	fessional develop-	response) U.K. special		zational matters (e.g., navigating the
	ment needs to	education leaders,		system, leadership, management).
	prepare for the chal-	including head teachers,		Little interest in development
	lenges of	deputy head teachers,		related to self (e.g., stress manage-
	leadership?a	and senior teachers		ment, communication skills). Most
				popular forms of training: school/
				district based, short courses, specific
				to current role, and offered by
				higher education, not a government
				agency.
Ruscoe & Whitford	What are the effects of	Atheoretical but research	Professional develop-	Quantitative survey data indicated that
(1991)	professional devel-	based; qualitative and	ment schools	teacher involvement in more than
	opment schools on	quantitative; surveys		one type of restructuring and over a
	teachers' attitudes	and interviews across		longer period of time resulted in
	about their profes-	3 years. Teachers in		more positive teacher attitudes.
	sional lives? Are	24 professional devel-		Qualitative interview data offered
	there school-specific	opment schools across		insights about why more positive
	effects? Are there	3 years in one Ken-		attitudes were held and suggested
	multiplier effects	tucky county. Survey		that the presence of a supportive
	when teachers are	participation rates were		administrator, collegial and change-
	involved in more	64%, 94%, and 86%		oriented faculty/peers, and a stu-
	than one restructur-	across the 3 years.		dent-centered orientation were key
	ing effort simultane- ously?a			influences.
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Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
Ryan (1999)	What is the perceived impact of teacher leadership? What conditions support or constrain teacher leadership? ^a	Atheoretical but research based; qualitative; semistructured interviews. Twelve teacher leaders (4 in each of three schools nominated by peers), 18 nominating teachers, and 3 principals (one from each of the three schools)	Secondary department heads (and one guidance counselor) with varied roles (e.g., resource to individual colleagues, school-level decision making). Time built in the day for leadership functions	Significant influence on the practices of colleagues by serving as a resource regarding instruction, difficult students, and new programs. Student learning supported by influencing decisions about curriculum, professional development for staff, scheduling, and student and school policies. Conditions with the greatest influence on teacher leadership: school culture, decision-making
Silva et al. (2000)	What is teacher leadership from within the classroom? How do teachers who lead predominantly from the classroom experience teacher leadership?	A theoretical and limited literature; qualitative; multiple case study; semistructured interviews and biographical data of three teacher leaders in a progressive school district	Leading while still maintaining classroom teaching responsibilities	Structures, principal. Teacher leaders navigate the structures of schools, nurture relationships, model professional growth, help others with change, and challenge the status quo by raising children's voices. Barriers to teacher leadership: principals, valuing of structure over people, finding space and time
Smylie & Denny (1990)	How did teacher leaders define and perform their new leadership roles? What factors did teacher leaders believe influenced	Theoretical and research based; qualitative and quantitative; individual, unstructured interviews with 13 teacher leaders in their second year serving as leaders in	School-based lead teacher role while still maintaining classroom teaching responsibilities. Lead teacher role expected to include	Discrepancy found between teacher leaders' perceptions of their primary role (providing classroom-level support to peers) and their actual performance (spending time in building-level meetings and administrative work). Teacher leaders felt

legial school norm does not necessarily extend to teacher leaders because of the hierarchy.

with teachers leaders. Further, a col-

Smylie (1992a)	the development and performance of their roles? How did other teachers perceive and respond to these leadership roles and their performance? What factors influence the quantity and	seven K–8 schools. Surveys with openended questions were returned by 56 (62% response) randomly selected peers of the 13 teacher leaders. Theoretical and research based; quantitative; surbased; quantitative; sur-	working with peers individually, as well as building- and district-level leadership work School-based lead teacher role while	supported by the district but were less certain about support and expectations from their principals and peers. Tensions existed between classroom and leadership responsibilities. Forty-five percent of peers reported having direct contact with teacher leaders, 65% identified building-level benefits of having teacher leader positions, 57% identified district benefits; and 48% identified personal benefits. Three variables had statistically significant effects on the interactions of
	quality of interactions about classroom instruction between teachers and teacher leaders?	veys completed by 116 teachers (66% response) from seven schools, each with one formally designated teacher leader. Small K–8 midwestern, suburban school district	still maintaining classroom teaching responsibilities. Lead teacher role expected to include working with peers individually, as well as building- and district-level leadership work	teachers with their teacher leader col- leagues: extent to which advice implied obligation, extent of assumed professional equality among teachers, and opportunities available for inter- actions. In sum, if advice implies obligation, if strong beliefs exist about professional equality and inde- pendence, and if there are few oppor- tunities to access teacher leaders, teachers are less likely to interact

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	Research	Design and	Nature of	
Study	question(s)	method	teacher leadership	Key findings
Smylie (1992b)	In the context of school decision making what is the	Theoretical and research based; quantitative; surveys completed by	Teacher participation in school site councils addressing organiza-	Teachers vary in terms of their will-ingness to participate in decisions.
	willingness of teach-	116 teachers (60%	tional, administra-	have the greatest influence on will-
	ers to actually par- ticipate if given the	response) from small K–8 midwestern, subur-	uve, and instructional	ingness to participate.
Smylie &	opportunity?a What kev factors are	ban school district Theoretical and research	decisions School-based lead	The six major factors in the relation-
ğrownlee-	related to the devel-	based; qualitative; indi-	teacher role while	ship between teacher leaders and
Conyers (1992)	opment of relation-	vidual interviews with	still maintaining	their principals were ambiguities
	ships between	each partner of seven	classroom teaching	and uncertainties, interests and pre-
	teacher leaders and	teacher leader-principal	responsibilities. Lead	rogatives, expectations, interper-
	their principals from	pairs, one pair from	teacher role expected	sonal obligations, strategic
	the perspectives of	each of seven schools	to include working	interactions, and key events or
	both?a	in a small K–8 mid-	with peers individu-	accomplishments.
		western, suburban	ally, as well as build-	
		school district	ing- and district-level	
;	,	, ,	leadership work	
Smylie (1994)	What are the relation-	Theoretical and research	Varied: career ladder	Evidence concerning classroom out-
	ships between	based; critical review of	program, specific	comes equivocal, but two overrid-
	teacher work	existing studies on	formal teacher lead-	ing conclusions reached. When
	redesign and class-	teacher work redesign	ership roles, school-	classroom outcomes do occur, they
	room instruction?	and its effects. Work	based management	most likely result from the teachers
	What theoretical	redesign encompassed:		whose work was redesigned (e.g.,
	connections exist	career ladder programs,		the teacher leaders themselves) and
	between teacher	individual teacher lead-		from collective orientations to
	work redesign and	ership roles (e.g., men-		teachers' work and change (as
	changes in class-	tor, lead teacher), and		opposed to individual orientations).
	room pracuce:	parucipanye decision		It is utilicale to track connections

between work redesign and student outcomes, in part because it is questionable whether work redesign has really taken place.	Site councils in which teacher participation was high: Teacher participation was frequent, regular, and inclusive; decision making was collaborative and consensus driven; focus included school mission, curriculum, instruction, and staff development; leadership and responsibility were shared between the principal and teachers. Site councils in which teacher participation was sporadic and noninclusive; decisions were made by the majority and reflected prevailing point of view; the focus was on procedures and management; leadership was mainly from the principal, teachers did not take much initiative or responsibility. The higher the participation, the greater the reports of instructional improvement and the more likely test score changes would be positive.	Dimensions of teacher leadership emerged as expertise, collaboration, reflection, and empowerment.
	Site-based management and shared decision making	Classroom teachers who also engage their colleagues in
making in the context of school-based management	Theoretical and research based; quantitative; longitudinal study over 5 years; standardized test scores in reading and math. Surveys received from 116–174 (of about 200) teachers (various return rates for different biannual survey collections) from seven schools in a small K–8 district with shared decision making	Atheoretical but research based; qualitative; 2-year study; interviews,
	What are the relationships among variations in the implementation of participative decision making, instructional improvement, and student learning over a 5-year period of time?	What knowledge, skills, and disposi- tions characterize
	Smylie et al. (1996)	Snell & Swanson (2000)

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Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
	teacher leaders who have come into prominence under standards-based reform? What experiences contribute to the development of teacher leaders?	professional portfolio reviews, and journey diagrams with 10 mid- dle school teacher lead- ers working in urban schools	standards-based instructional reform	Expertise was the foundational dimension in that it established credibility. Intensive and extensive high-quality professional development was perceived to have contributed to the development of the teacher leaders.
Stone et al. (1997)	What are the commonalities and differences in teacher leadership at the elementary, middle, and high school levels?	Atheoretical but research based; qualitative and quantitative; multisite case study. Eighteen teachers, six each from an elementary school, a middle school, were nominated by peers at their respective schools. Multiple data sources: staff surveys (76%–100% response); formal and informal interviews with teacher leaders, their colleagues, and principals; focus groups; journals; direct and participant observation; principal journal; other documentation	Varied formal and informal leadership roles while maintaining full- or partime classroom teaching responsibilities	Teacher leaders assume leadership roles to accomplish meaningful work, to understand more fully the educational enterprise, to increase overall knowledge and skills, and to expand influence and participation in decision making. Teacher leaders are constrained by time, power, and politics. Teacher leaders can improve professional practice by encouraging collaboration and decision making and can assist school improvement efforts by raising teacher voices and views. Challenges were experienced owing to hierarchical structures in which teacher leaders were viewed by colleagues as both leaders and peers.

Strong professional communities have higher degrees of professionalism, including a shared technical culture (shared knowledge and standards), strong service ethic (caring and expectations for students), and professional commitment (to teaching, subject matter, professional growth). There was substantial variation in the degree of community across departments within high schools, suggesting that norms of practice are negotiated at a proximal level on a daily basis.	reacher participation did not signin- cantly improve teacher or student outcomes. Teachers in both high and low participating sites reported being deprived of sufficient deci- sion making in all 19 areas of par- ticipation. Teachers felt most involved in decisions about how and what to teach and felt least involved in testing policy, hiring, and budget issues.
None of the schools had formal sanctioning authority for teachers	leacher participation in school-level decision making
Atheoretical but research based; quantitative and qualitative; surveys of 623 teachers (77% response) in 16 California and Michigan high schools; also 3 years of interviews	Atheoretical but research based; quantitative; large, urban, diverse school district, known for its restructuring program; 250 schools; 16 high participation sites and 17 low participation sites. Survey of 19 dimensions of participation completed by 637 teachers (39% response). Survey about job satisfaction sent to 15 highreturn-rate schools (7 high participation and 8 low participation sites)
To what extent do particular local contexts of the school system matter to teacher professionalism? To what extent does teacher professionalism appear to be socially negotiated or constructed within school communities?	what is the effect, if any, of teacher participation on outcomes for teachers and students?
Talbert & McLaughlin (1994)	Taylor & Bogotch (1994)

APPENDIX (Continued)

Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
Wasley (1991)	What is the nature of	and completed by 213 teachers (71% response). School-level data retrieved on teacher attendance and on student attendance, achievement, and behavior.	Three different teacher	The following conditions must exist
	leaders do? What are the constraints and supports? How do the teachers and their colleagues define and perceive the value (or not) of teacher leadership?	studies. Three teachers from different parts of the country, roles, levels in K–12 system. Extensive on-site observations and interviews with three nationally nominated teacher lead-	while maintaining full- or part-time classroom teacher responsibilities	ful: The work must be significant; the teacher leaders must not be "hit" people; the ground rules, incentives, and rewards must be clear; there must be support for local policy and professional associations; and teacher leaders must have good training. Challenges included:
	How are they selected and evaluated? Do these roles promote experimentation and collegiality? Do they result in more powerful learning for students? ^a	ers and with their respective principals and selected colleagues		administrative rather than instructionally focused tasks; lack of training, time, and security for leadership roles; sharing leadership in a hierarchical system; lack of incentives for teacher leaders and their colleagues; colleagues as nonparticipants in school reform efforts; and matching intentions with realities.

Site-based shared decipant who does not; among participants sion making and who does not; among participants as they worked together; and within participants as old and new ideas conflicted. Confusion arose about the locus of final decisionmaking authority. More attention has to be paid to the change in culture required and to the preparation of administrators and teachers. It was not clear that shared decision making had a positive effect on student achievement. Despite the challenges, only one or two people indicated that they would go back to less participation in decision making.	Ę	Decentralization of authority primarily to teachers, including budget, curriculum decisions, and 70% in curriculum decisions, and 70% in staffing decisions, and 70% in staffing decisions. Ninety-two perlum, and staffing decisions; participation by community and properties and funding constrained empower.
Site-bas	Not included	Decentra author to teav ing bu lum, a decisi tion b
Atheoretical but research based; qualitative; open-ended interviews with primarily the principal and nine teachers in each of six high schools that had implemented shared decision making (from a national sample of 12 high schools)	Atheoretical and limited literature base; qualitative; interviews and onsite visits with four effective and four ineffective middle school principals as identified by the Audit of Principal pal Effectiveness	Atheoretical and limited literature base; qualitative; individual interviews with 30 teachers in three highly decentralized elementary school sites (one site each in Montana, Cali-
What is the nature of face-to-face interactions and confrontations with colleagues in the context of shared decision making?	What are the strategies used by middle school principals to cultivate teacher leadership in their schools? ²	How do teachers respond to opportunities for more influence? How do these opportunities affect their teaching, their work life, and their sense of efficacy?a
Weiss et al. (1992)	Whitaker (1995)	White (1992)
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Study	Research question(s)	Design and method	Nature of teacher leadership	Key findings
		fornia, and Minnesota) with at least 5 years in the decentralized model. An unspecified number of site and cen- tral administrators also were interviewed.	councils was unusual	ment. Teachers perceived that decentralization improved their work lives by increasing their morale, knowledge of school and district, teacher communication within and between schools, and student motivation. These schools were perceived to be run largely according to democratic principles.
Wilson (1993)	Who are teacher leaders? How do they think, feel, and behave? How do they show leadership? Do they have an impact on the system?	A theoretical and limited literature base; interviews and demographic data of 13 teacher leaders nominated by 400 high school peers from one school district. More than half of the nominated teachers had served in formal teacher leadership roles (e.g., department head, union representative, committee member) at some point in their careers.	Formal and informal teacher leadership roles	Teacher leaders seek challenge and growth; support, coach, and encourage colleagues; and seek to persuade and influence colleagues rather than confront. Common characteristics of teacher leaders: hardworking, innovative, creative, gregarious, and available. Teacher leaders feel challenged by school cultures that do not support their leadership; risk taking, collaboration, and role modeling create tensions with colleagues.

*Indicates rewording of research question from original source for reasons of brevity or clarity. In some instances, the research question was developed by the authors of this review on the basis of purpose statements provided by the original author(s).