Teacher quality is the single strongest determinant of student achievement. School and district leaders know that putting a great teacher in every classroom is the surest way to improve the performance of schools and students. Finding ways to accomplish this goal is a top priority for educators and policymakers throughout the state of California.

Districts nationwide are trying many different approaches to meet the goal of improved teacher quality. Some districts aim to increase teacher support, instituting such programs as school-based coaching, rigorous induction, and ongoing professional development. Other districts are making fundamental shifts to the ways teachers are compensated, including linking pay incentives to student performance.

Finding funds for any of these approaches is a challenge. Teachers’ salaries already take the largest share of school district budgets, and making changes to recruit, support and retain great teachers will cost even more. The current economic climate requires broad community engagement to win the financial and political support necessary to improve the quality of teaching in California schools.

This policy brief reviews the recent experience of the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) with the development and approval of Proposition A. Proposition A (also known as the Quality Teacher and Education Act, or QTEA) included a parcel...
of 2008. Proposition A (also known as the Quality Teacher and Education Act, or QTEA) included a special tax dedicated mainly to increasing teachers’ salaries. It also increased flexibility in the salary schedule and strengthened accountability for teacher performance. Many in SFUSD call QTEA “a start” in the quest to improve teacher quality. Securing these additional funds required committed and prolonged stakeholder collaboration and hard work, which will have to be sustained as new policies are put into practice. Other districts looking for additional funds to raise teacher salaries or introduce new systems of teacher compensation or support will likely encounter similar challenges. This brief identifies the many factors that led to voter approval of QTEA, with an eye toward lessons for other California school districts that seek to accomplish similar goals.

What is the Quality Teacher and Education Act?

For many years, education stakeholders in SFUSD were aware that teacher salaries in San Francisco were too low, especially compared to those in neighboring suburban districts, and that to increase teacher quality the district would have to pay more. It has been understood that the only way to significantly increase the money available for salaries was to institute a parcel tax, which is a supplemental tax levied on every piece of property in a city or county. The lack of an alternative is a result of California’s Proposition 13 of 1978, which set a 1 percent cap on property tax rates. The parcel tax emerged as one of few sources of discretionary tax revenue available to school districts.

Discussions about using a parcel tax to support an increase in teacher salaries began nearly a decade ago. The parcel tax took so long to pass both because of conflicting funding priorities in the district and because of tense relations between district, board, and union leadership. A change in district leadership and the satisfaction of some prior funding needs opened the door for the development of a teacher-salary parcel tax proposal. Early ideas about how a parcel tax might be used were ambitious, and negotiations became more focused when financial feasibility and parent and business goals became part of the conversation. Broad community engagement led to a stakeholder-approved proposal, formalized in a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between SFUSD and the United Educators of San Francisco (UESF), and an effective political campaign led to approval at the polls. Figure 1 depicts this process.

The primary factors behind the success of QTEA were early consultation with stakeholders in the business and parent communities and close cooperation between union and district officials. There were significant differences in opinion throughout the development and negotiation of QTEA, but all parties were prepared to work together productively and to make necessary compromises. Initially, the district and union had different visions of what a parcel tax might be used for. The district wanted to use the funds to develop a performance pay system, in which teachers would receive bonuses...
and incentives for increasing student performance. The union’s initial goal was to use the funds for an across-the-board salary increase. Ultimately, the district and union found a middle ground, compromising to develop a policy that satisfied teachers, students, parents, and the community at large.

In June 2008, the voters of San Francisco, with a 69.8 percent majority, approved the proposal authorizing SFUSD to collect $198 per parcel of taxable property annually for 20 years. Parcel tax revenues will be used in SFUSD to fund a general increase in teacher salaries and introduce several new elements in the teacher-compensation system. The revenues also will provide support for school-improvement initiatives, including new technology and charter schools. Figure 2 shows the final breakdown of the funding provided through QTEA, which adds up to more than $500 additional per student per year.²

Executive Summary continued

Hough identifies a number of lessons for other districts interested in seeking additional funds to raise teacher salaries or introduce new systems of teacher compensation or support. First, start early; passing a parcel tax requires a lot of time and hard bargaining with all of the competing interests in a public school system. Be prepared to sacrifice things you value in order to pursue shared goals. Work to build trust, to ensure that parties bargain in good faith and honestly represent their interest and values. And engage the community early in order to build and sustain political and financial support.

FIGURE 2. Final Breakdown of QTEA Fund Allocation

- Teacher Compensation, Training and Support (71%)
- Technology (13%)
- Charter schools and R&D (6%)
- Other (2%)
- Retirement benefits for other employees (7%)
The majority of the parcel tax revenue was earmarked for teacher compensation increases. According to a district official, “This was always the teacher salary parcel tax.” Forty-one percent of the tax revenues will be used to fund salary step increases, which amount to an increase of 11 percent for new teachers and 4 percent for senior teachers. There will be targeted bonuses for teachers in hard-to-staff schools and hard-to-fill subjects as well as for uncertified teachers working to obtain their credentials while teaching in hard-to-staff schools. There will be retention bonuses for fourth- and eighth-year teachers. In addition, the 20 schools that show the most improvement each year on a “mutually agreed upon growth measure” will receive a block grant of $30,000 to be allocated at the discretion of the School Site Council. The district originally wanted to include both individual and school-based performance incentives, but only the school-based incentive was included in the final MOU.

The parcel tax also will fund increased professional development for teachers, providing 18 additional hours per year. It will also support instructional improvement at the school site through the master teacher program, under which up to 50 teachers will receive part-time release to work with colleagues to improve teaching and learning in their schools. These professional development and support programs are seen as crucial to realizing the district’s ambitious reform agenda.

The increased focus on teacher professional development was paired with provisions that strengthened teacher accountability. Throughout the development of the proposal, conversations with parents and the business community made it clear that these groups would only support a teacher salary parcel tax if accountability provisions were included. As one district official said, “If we paid teachers more we could ask more as well. Don’t expect the community to support higher salaries with no strings attached at all.” The conversation about accountability turned to the Peer Assistance and Review (PAR) program, the district’s existing mechanism for rehabilitating or removing low-performing teachers. Through this program, which is governed by a joint union-district management team, teachers who receive low scores on their evaluations receive one-on-one coaching and support. Teachers who improve continue teaching, but a failure to improve is grounds for dismissal. The changes to PAR were the source of serious contention during the negotiations between the district and union, but they were seen as essential to garnering community support. The changes made it easier for teachers to be referred into PAR, raised the standards for successful completion (“raising the PAR bar”), and ended the possibility of re-entry to the program. Table 1 details how the PAR program worked before and after QTEA.

TABLE 1. Peer Assistance and Review (PAR) before and after QTEA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before</th>
<th>Changes as a result of QTEA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Each teacher is reviewed annually (or biannually) by the principal using the SF teaching standards as part of the regular review process.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A teacher enters PAR if s/he receives an “unsatisfactory” summary evaluation, or if s/he “needs improvement” for two consecutive years.</td>
<td>In addition, teachers enter PAR if they “need improvement” for two consecutive semesters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher receives coaching and support through PAR coaches for one year.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After the teacher has been in PAR for one year, the PAR panel reviews the teacher’s case. If the teacher now meets standards on each of 31 competencies, s/he exits PAR successfully. If a teacher fails to meet standards, the district is free to exercise its legal option to dismiss the teacher.</td>
<td>In order to exit PAR, a teacher must be “proficient” on all seven agreed-upon elements of the SF teaching standards.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a teacher who exits PAR successfully, s/he could re-enter PAR the next year if the evaluation rating were once again “unsatisfactory.”</td>
<td>A teacher who has exited the PAR program and subsequently receives an “unsatisfactory” notice may be moved to dismissal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Seize the moment

When discussions about the parcel tax started a decade ago, relations between the union, the Board and the district were tense and marked with mistrust. Two former superintendents faced sharp union criticism and controversy, and both were ultimately pushed out by the Board. The climate during this time was not conducive to working together to achieve a collective goal. The arrival of a new superintendent opened the door to change. Carlos Garcia was named superintendent in 2007. As a former school leader in SFUSD, he had “a good track record” as a collaborative leader. After many years of tension in the district, Garcia said, teachers “were all ready to move on, and they gave me the opportunity to do that for them.” Teachers, the Board, and central office administrators were prepared to cooperate, recognizing the importance of renewed goodwill within the district for a disillusioned and skeptical public.

District and union leaders were careful to keep things positive in the negotiations around the 2007-10 contract, the first after Garcia took office. UESF President Dennis Kelly says, “We were very aware that the public needed to see that there was reasonable unanimity and congeniality, so we were pretty careful not to blow up the negotiations and to keep them aimed productively and relatively low key.” During these negotiations, the agreement to pursue a parcel tax was operationalized for the first time; the contract stipulated the creation of a negotiating team to develop an MOU detailing the terms of a parcel tax initiative.

Lessons Learned

Passing a parcel tax is hard to do, and it was only possible in San Francisco because of thoughtful cooperation among district and union leadership, the Board of Education, and other stakeholders. There are several key lessons from the SFUSD experience that other districts can draw on as they take up similarly difficult issues.

Start early

It takes time to build trust and bridge differences. Despite virtually unanimous agreement that teacher salaries were too low in San Francisco and that a parcel tax was necessary to fund increases, QTEA did not become a reality for nearly a decade. The delay stemmed largely from competing funding needs in the district, including the district’s obligation to upgrade facilities to conform to the Americans with Disabilities Act. The delay was also due to differences in opinion in early meetings at which “fault lines” were exposed between Board members and union and district leaders. The district wanted to use the parcel tax to support performance pay, which was a “nonstarter” for the union. Tensions ran so high that it took years for the district and union to develop sufficient trust to arrive at a shared understanding about what the parcel tax could be used for.

Even after the union and district formally agreed to pursue a parcel tax, the negotiations that led to the MOU took more than a year. By the time formal negotiations began, both sides were committed to compromise, but it still took time to overcome earlier disagreements.

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Both sides felt a sense of urgency, agreeing that the parcel tax needed to be developed and voted on quickly while the mood in the district was optimistic and collaborative. An external partner involved in the parcel tax development said, “There was some discussion about the superintendent and the honeymoon he enjoys, and that the political ability to get something done is higher [early on] than after the [inevitable] bumps in the road.”

**Build trust through open communication**

Especially in a district like San Francisco, in which “the well had been poisoned for years between the leadership of the union and the district, Board and the superintendent,” building trust is crucial. New district leadership generated a wave of optimism, but continued communication and cooperation were necessary to build and sustain trust. As one district official says, “You can never discount the importance of relationships and relationship building around this stuff, for people being willing to take risks.”

Superintendent Garcia’s reform agenda helped to build this trust. The district’s strategic plan “places equity, student achievement and accountability at the forefront,” putting the focus on every child’s right to learn. The strategic plan was developed through a process of community and teacher involvement, and this process helped develop a sense of partnership among stakeholders. This leadership style was a far cry from what the union perceived as “controlling, authoritarian” policies of the previous administration, and it helped to pave the way for working together on a parcel tax. Ultimately, for the district, union, and community to come together around a parcel tax proposal, all partners had to believe that the others were working in good faith. SFUSD leadership’s sustained focus on collaboration gave the union the feeling that “we could work together and that teachers and school workers were not the problem. … So there was a shift there from pointing a finger to ‘let’s work together to make schools better places to teach and learn.’” Only then was a fruitful discussion about a parcel tax possible.

**Build on shared goals**

The fundamental motivation for the parcel tax was that all partners — district, union, Board, and community stakeholders — wanted to improve teacher quality districtwide. The parcel tax was seen as a way to recruit and retain high-quality teachers. While the need was universally understood, the use of data in these conversations helped ensure that all parties were on the same page. From the start, the district and union relied heavily on data both to understand the problem they were trying to solve and to develop solutions. Providing facts about the problem allowed for more productive conversations about finding common ground.

In addition, the district’s broad reform agenda helped to place the quest for funds within the larger strategic vision of improving educational opportunities for all children. It was widely understood that teachers are central to improving education at the classroom level, and that increasing salaries and support is essential to attract and retain the best teachers. As one district official says, “Everybody was in the mood that we wanted more money for teachers. We were starting from a fairly common point.”

Beyond the shared belief that teacher salary increases had to be the main use of parcel tax revenues, it was widely agreed that professional development and teacher support were essential elements to be built into the parcel tax. The fact that these fundamental goals were shared helped the district and union negotiate on other issues that proved to be more contentious.

**Acknowledge competing values and interests**

Both sides made concessions to ensure the success of QTEA. Despite the agreement on fundamental goals and a shared commitment to pass the parcel tax, there were conflicting visions about what QTEA should be used for. Both sides found ways to compromise; as one union official said, “I think we really negotiated the ways that you approach some things that can be polarizing and we found ways to make them work.”

From the outset, the union and a majority of the Board wanted an across-the-board raise for teachers. The district, while supportive of a salary boost for all teachers, also wanted to fund differentiated pay, including performance pay. The district felt that the
parcel tax was fundamentally “about enlarging the pie large enough that you could have a slice for differential compensation.”

The district’s initial ideas about differential compensation closely resembled Denver’s ProComp program, which was implemented in 2004. This compensation system has four essential elements, all of which the district was interested in: 1) incentives for acquiring knowledge and skills, 2) bonuses for teaching in hard-to-staff schools and subjects, 3) remediation for underperforming teachers, and 4) rewards for meeting school and individual student performance goals.

Initial conversations about using the parcel tax to fund performance pay initiatives made it clear that this was not a viable option in SFUSD. As one union official said, “For me, the implications [of performance pay] are that the teachers are not working as hard as they would or could, and if you dangled this little reward in front of them, they would make an effort. I find that unacceptable.” Performance pay for individual teachers was quickly taken off the bargaining table, but the district and union continued to negotiate on other provisions, many of which continued to be contentious and required careful negotiation and collaboration.

**Work to find compromise on contentious issues**

Both union and district leaders were much more willing to negotiate on still-contentious provisions when they felt that the other was open to compromise. As one union official said, “Everyone realized that we had to move forward with this while there were differences [of opinion] in what the teachers had to give. We sensed from the beginning that there’s a give and take here and we can make our case about [what] should change for teachers — as opposed to something being proposed upon us, some merit pay scheme.” With both sides committed to compromise, the district and union negotiated on such provisions as teacher accountability, school-wide performance incentives, and bonuses for teachers working in hard-to-staff schools and subjects.

Changes to the PAR program proved to be among the most contentious issues in the negotiation of QTEA. The expansion of the PAR program was supported by both district and union leaders as a way to extend services to more teachers who need support. However, the district and union disagreed on the PAR provisions calling for higher standards for exiting the program, or “raising the PAR bar.” Before QTEA, teachers successfully completed PAR if they “met standards” on the 31 elements of the San Francisco teaching standards. The district wanted to change this provision, requiring teachers to demonstrate a higher level of skill in order to successfully complete PAR. The district would have preferred that teachers be “proficient” on all 31 standards, while the union did not initially support any changes to the exit requirements. In the end, though, they compromised. The two sides ultimately chose seven areas where teachers should demonstrate “proficiency.”

From the beginning, an essential element of the district’s accountability plan was a school-wide incentive for improvement, but this provision required compromise as well. The union was hesitant about introducing performance incentives, given doubts about the validity of using student test scores for such a purpose. To address this concern, the two sides developed criteria for awarding performance bonuses that rely on multiple measures to identify successful schools. Union and district officials agreed that growth in student test scores is one important criterion for evaluating school performance, but that other measures, such as student attendance or dropout rates, should be included as well.

The district and union agreed to provide a bonus for teachers in hard-to-fill subjects, but bonuses for teachers in hard-to-staff schools took some careful negotiation. Union leaders stressed that they “will not agree on anything that smacks of ‘combat pay,’” which is money given to teachers as a bonus for working in schools perceived as difficult. The district and union were able to come to agreement on this provision by reframing the bonus as “extra pay for extra work,” reflecting the additional hours that are often contributed by teachers in hard-to-staff schools.

**Segregate new funds from ongoing negotiations**

It was important to the union that the expenditure of new money from the parcel tax be negotiated separately from the regular bargaining process in order to ensure that parcel tax revenues would be used to supplement, rather
than supplant, existing resources and programs. As a union official explained, “We did not want to tie the negotiated salaries to the parcel tax. … It would have meant that nobody would have gotten any [additional] increase for at least two years.”

Provide something for everyone
The final agreement addressed the interests of key constituencies other than the district and the union. The parcel tax had to “be for everybody” to ensure broad support. Communication with other bargaining units, specifically administrators and paraprofessionals, led to the inclusion of provisions that benefited Child Development Program workers, paraprofessionals, and substitues. In addition, funds were allocated for academic innovation, technology, and charter schools, which were priorities for the business community.

Acknowledge fiscal realities
Recognizing limitations on voters’ willingness to support new taxes was a critical factor in the negotiation process. The union and the district initially aimed for a tax of $265 per parcel, but polling revealed that voters would support the tax only at a lower level. The final proposal requested $198 per parcel.

The fact that QTEA would not raise enough revenue to accomplish every goal focused the negotiators’ attention on what mattered most. As one union official said, “Most of us were thinking of more money than the final property tax that we got, so I think some of our schemes were more generous at the beginning … everyone had to pull back their expectations.”

A wide array of interested parties viewed the parcel tax as an opportunity to pursue a “laundry list” of school reform initiatives that could not be financed with available funds. Some of their ideas were scaled back, and others never made it into the proposal. For example, lengthening the school year was initially supported by both the district and union, but it would have required a substantial share of the anticipated revenue from the parcel tax. As one district leader said, “Having recognized what our resources were, we had to throw [the extended school year] in. But I think that people began to realize that it was going to have to be a compromise.”

Include external partners
In California, a parcel tax must pass with a two-thirds vote of the community, which means that “any ‘no’ campaign can kill it.” Both the district and union understood from the beginning that the support of the parent and business communities was essential for the success of QTEA.

Supporters convened several community forums before the parcel tax proposal was finalized. These meetings made it clear that both parents and business leaders wanted things done differently in the district. Most significantly, neither group would support an increase in pay without increased accountability for teachers. In the view of one community spokesperson: “We want to support a parcel tax, but we need to see the teachers union agree to things that are best practices around the country … new ways of structuring salaries to get best results for kids.” Backers also concluded that “to sell this to the business community, we had to have some sort of accountability.”

Once it became clear that the parent and business communities would not support a parcel tax without differentiated pay and a focus on teacher accountability, the character of the negotiations changed. As a district official noted, “We were a little bit more silent on the accountability thing, because it was a lot easier for it to come from community members than us, and probably more effective for the union to hear that from them.” The preferences of the business community and the resources it brought to the table, coupled with the views of parents, had a big impact on the negotiations, leading to the inclusion of teacher-accountability provisions, as well as investments in technology and charter schools.

Get agreements in writing
In the years before QTEA was passed, SFUSD had successfully passed several facilities and funding initiatives. In the course of these experiences, the district and union learned the critical importance of a written agreement, negotiated in advance of a campaign, as a basis for sustaining trust and holding parties to promises.

In 2004, voters approved creation of a public education fund in which one-third of the money was not allocated in
advance. Despite the creation of a community committee to advise on the use of these funds, the lack of guidelines for the use of the “third-third” led to a great deal of internal strife as groups clamored for the funds. An increase in teacher salaries was an allowable use of the money, but the union felt that the advisory committee “acted as if we had stolen money out of the kitty” when they requested funds for this purpose. Through this and similar experiences, the district, the union, and external partners learned that “you need [the proposal] to be coherent, you need it to be intelligent, you need it to be strategic and it needs to be in an MOU.” When it seemed that the negotiators might not finalize the MOU before the parcel tax was placed on the ballot, the superintendent refused to move forward without a signed agreement. The MOU was completed and signed before QTEA was placed before the voters.

Work to build and sustain voter support

The development of the parcel tax proposal and the political campaign to pass it went hand-in-hand. As one partner said, “You can’t bifurcate the two … because it was a political campaign from day one.” Polling, fundraising, and a coordinated political campaign were essential to earn the support of the required two-thirds of San Francisco’s voters.

The first polls showed 57 percent support for a teacher salary parcel tax. More than two-thirds of voters (68 percent) supported an increase in teacher salaries, but 73 percent believed “raises should be tied to job performance,” and 58 percent thought that “raises should be tied to the ability to teach challenging subjects.” The polling results echoed feedback from community meetings and further strengthened the focus on accountability and differentiated pay as critical elements in a message that would resonate with voters.

Fundraising was also essential to the campaign, and the need to win financial support from the business community further reinforced the importance of including accountability provisions. According to an SFUSD administrator, “By putting that [accountability] piece in, we were able to get donations from [San Francisco business leaders] who would probably not have [contributed] before.” More than $800,000 was raised to support the campaign for QTEA.

The political campaign in support of QTEA was run by a political consulting company, which convened weekly planning meetings among the key stakeholders, and was supported by a coordinated political effort by the UESE. The campaign sought to increase awareness about the need for a parcel tax, focused on the slogan “every child deserves a great teacher, and every teacher deserves a living wage.” In addition, the district convened more than 20 community meetings to spread awareness of QTEA.

Summary

Teachers are the most significant influence on student learning, and their salaries make up the lion’s share of districts’ education budgets. Thus it makes sense for district administrators and policy makers to focus on teachers’ salaries as a potentially powerful source of leverage for reaching ambitious educational improvement goals. Increasing teacher salaries across the board may be important in itself, but it is equally important to use the limited money available for teacher salary increases in the most efficient and thoughtful way.

Teacher salary schedules in districts across California typically award pay on the basis of experience and education level. Districts nationwide are becoming increasingly interested in alternative compensation approaches that can help them meet their educational goals, such as attracting and retaining teachers in hard-to-staff schools and subjects, improving teachers’ professional practice, and increasing student achievement. In San Francisco Unified, the district and union worked together to both increase general compensation and to introduce new compensation strategies that support closer alignment between school district goals and expenditures for teacher salaries. The salary initiatives in San Francisco are a start to providing professionally competitive, market-sensitive salaries and offering support and recognition for excellent teaching.

As long as Proposition 13 has a hold on education funding in California, districts statewide have to be creative in seeking funding to increase teacher salaries and support. One of the only strategies available to districts is the parcel tax. Because a two-thirds vote is required for passage, a parcel tax
requires a lot of time and hard bargain-
ing with all the competing interests in
a public school system. It requires all
parties to sacrifice things they value in
order to pursue shared goals. It requires
trust to ensure that parties bargain in
good faith and honestly represent their
interest and values. And it requires
broad community engagement to build
and sustain political and financial sup-
port. The hard bargaining and open
communication that led to the approval
of QTEA may also help to restore pub-
lic confidence in the education system,
and it may help to build the foundation
for sustained improvement in the per-
f ormance of schools and students.

SFUSD has taken an important step
toward the goal of ensuring that all stu-
dents in the district have great teachers.
Other districts seeking to embark on
a similar path will have to pursue the
same kinds of painstaking negotiations
that led to the passage of QTEA, but
they may be helped along the road by
lessons learned by SFUSD.

Endnotes

1 Data in this report were collected through review
of existing and collected documents and interviews
with leaders from San Francisco Unified School
District central office, United Educators of San
Francisco, the SFUSD Board of Education, and
involved community organizations. For a more
detailed case study, see http://gse.berkeley.edu/
research/pace/reports/WP.09-3.pdf

2 Funding per student is an estimate based on initial
parcel tax revenue projections ($28,529,226) and
2008-09 student enrollment (55,497).

3 Comparing teachers with one year of experience
and 30 on the BA+60 salary schedule.

4 For the complete strategic plan, see http://por-
tal.sfusd.edu/data,strategicplan/Strategic%20
Plan%20REV9.pdf

5 The PAR provision raising the standards for suc-
cessful completion of the program is still under
consideration and will not be implemented until
the 2009-10 school year.

6 As a result of the 1999 lawsuit Lopez vs. San Fran-
cisco Unified School District.

7 For the complete strategic plan, see http://por-
tal.sfusd.edu/data,strategicplan/Strategic%20
Plan%20REV9.pdf

8 For more on Denver’s ProComp system, see
“Alternative Teacher Compensation: A Primer” by
Koppich & Rigby (2009), http://gse.berkeley.edu/
research/pace/reports/WP.09-2.pdf

9 When funds were collected for the first time in
January 2009, revenue was higher than anticipated
because of an expanding number of parcels in San
Francisco. The district and union will jointly decide
how to allocate these additional funds

10 District employees and employees of nonprofit
organizations cannot participate in political cam-
paigns within their employed role, but can engage
in political work as individuals, outside of normal
work.

11 See again Koppich & Rigby (2009).
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