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ABSTRACT

This book contains the proceedings from the QuEST Consortium held on April 2-6, 1972, which focused on problems of method and technique in teaching as well as on resource organization. The program schedule for the Consortium is presented with the following goals: (a) investigation of educational policy issues, action programs, and projects and (b) organization of the presentation of educational demands for collective bargaining. Twenty-two informational and advisory reports are presented along with six of the major speeches from the Consortium. Included also are panel discussions which investigated the following topics: teacher accountability, performance contracting, educational vouchers, national assessment, and educational experimentation. Special interest group discussions on guidance, higher education, and special education are also reported. The major conclusions of the participants of the Consortium are recorded: (a) teachers were the most articulate people at the Consortium; (b) teachers showed themselves to be the real experts at the Consortium; (c) the hinderances to educational innovations are financial and administrative; (d) involved and politically active teachers are needed to solve educational problems; and (e) teachers and effective collective bargaining contracts are necessary for educational change. (BRB)

AFT-QuEST Consortium Yearbook

PROCEEDINGS

of the

QuEST Consortium

APRIL 2-6, 1972

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO

1012 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

AFT President
DAVID SELDEN

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AFT Executive Council
PATRICK DALY, *Chairman*
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AFT Educational Research Department
DR. ROBERT BHAERMAN, *Director*
MARILYN RAUTH, *Assistant Director*

MEMORANDUM

TO: Robert Bhaerman, Director
Marilyn Rauth, Assistant Director
Department of Educational Research

DATE: June 20, 1972

FROM: Dave Selden

RE: *QuEST Consortium*

The nearly 400 participants who attended the QuEST Consortium were virtually unanimous in their praise for the handling and outcome of this pioneer educational meeting. I too was impressed. The Consortium exceeded the expectations I had when I originally proposed that such a meeting be held.

Many of those attending the Consortium have asked for copies of the various papers which were read. I am, therefore, asking that you prepare a "yearbook" summarizing the discussion at the Consortium. Hopefully, this publication will be the first of what will become an annual issue.

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THE PROGRAM

THE AFT-QuEST CONSORTIUM
APRIL 2-6, 1972

Sunday, April 2nd

7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—*Registration*—Concourse of States
Informal Reception—Cash bar in the Delaware Suite

Monday, April 3rd

8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.—*Registration*—Concourse of States

9:00 a.m. to 12 noon —*General Session* (All general sessions in the Cotillion North)

9:00 a.m. —"A QuEST Call to Action," Dr. Robert Bhaerman, AFT Director of Educational Research

"The AFT QuEST for Better Education," David Selden, AFT President

"Comments on the Educational Scene," Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Commissioner, U. S. Office of Education

—Brief coffee break at 10:15, Cotillion Foyer—

10:30 a.m —"The Concept of Educational Renewal," Dr. Don Davies, Deputy Commissioner for Educational Renewal, U. S. Office of Education

"Education for the 70's," Former United States Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. Introduction by Carl Megel, Director, Legislative Department, AFT

12 noon to 2:00 p.m. —*Luncheon Session* (All luncheon sessions in the Cotillion South)

Chairman: John E. Desmond, AFT Vice President of Local 1, Chicago

"The Challenge for the Teachers Union," Dr. Van Cleve Morris, Dean of the College of Education, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

"The QuEST Consortium: Structure and Expectations," Patrick L. Daly, AFT Vice President and Chairman, Education & Research Committee, AFT Executive Council

2:30 to 5:00 p.m. —*Issue Group Workshops—Session A*

Session	*AFT Group Leaders*	*Second Resource Persons*	*Recorders*
A-1 Testing & Grading: in Schools and Colleges	Marian Oldham, Local 420, St. Louis	Dr. Scarvia Anderson, Executive Director for Special Development, Educational Testing Service	Bessie R. Terry U. F. T. Local 2
A-2 In-Service Education: in Teacher Centers	Abe Levine, Local 2, New York City; UFT Vice President, Elementary Schools	Dr. William Smith, Associate Commissioner, USOE	William Kulik Fac. Fed.; Phila. Comm. Coll., Local 2026
A-3 The Teacher Paraprofessional Relationship	Mary M. Smith, Local 4, Gary, Indiana; and Loretta Johnson, Local 340, Baltimore	Dr. Gerald Durley, Director, Career Opportunities Program, USOE	Betty Lacy, Local 866, Berkeley
A-4 Behavioral Objectives of the Concept of "Guaranteed Learning"	Miles Myers, Senior Vice President, California Federation of Teachers	Dr. Robert E. Stake, Center for Instructional Research & Curriculum Evaluation, University of Illinois	Melvin Banner, Local 435, Flint, Mich.
A-5 Performance-based Certication	Ronald Burland, Minnesota Federation of Teachers	Dr. Karl Massanari, Associate Director, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education	Tom Barrett, Local 681, Dearborn, Mich.
A-6 The Open Classroom Concept	Arlynn Brody, Local 2, New York City	Dr. Henry Miller, City University of New York	Patricia Edwards, Local 1703, Ontario F. of T., Ohio
A-7 The Issue of Tenure: in Schools and Colleges	Henry Winkels, Assistant Executive Secretary, Minnesota Federation of Teachers	Dr. Robert Sherman, Professor of Education, University of Florida	Patrick Manning Local 1493 San Mateo (Calif.) Community College
A-8 The Teaching of Reading	Patricia Priore, Local 1520, Cincinnati	Dr. Stanley Wanat, Director of Research, International Reading Association	Sally Daniels, Local 681, Dearoorn, Mich.
A-9 Restructuring the Junior High School	Sol Levine, Local 2, New York City; UFT Vice President, Junior High Schools	Gerald Walts, Local 2, New York City; Chairman, Committee to Restructure the J.H.S.	Mary Saxer, Local 1738, Greenburgh, N. Y.

7:30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m.—*General Session*—Cotillion North
Panel Discussion on "Teacher Accountability"

Moderator: Mary Eilen Riordan, AFT Vice President and President of Local 231, Detroit

Panel: Dr. Scarvia Anderson, Educational Testing Service
Dr. Robert E. Stake, University of Illinois
Dr. Thomas Glennan, Jr., Office of Economic Opportunity
Mr. Al Mayrhofer, Learning Foundations, Inc.

Teacher Reactors: Miles Myers, California Federation of Teachers
June M. Wells, President, Local 1962; District 12 Federation of Teachers, Denver, Colorado
I. James Warnick, Jr., AFT Vice President and President of Local 762, Wilmington, Delaware

Tuesday, April 4th

8:00 a.m. to 8:50 a.m. —*Pre-session* for those who wish to discuss the question, "Are Free Schools a Valid Alternative?" with Steve Bhaerman and Joel Denker, authors of *No Particular Place to Go: The Making of a Free High School* (Simon and Schuster, 1972). Coffee and rolls will be available. *Assembly Room.*

9:00 to 12 noon —*General Session*—Cotillion North

Moderator: Albert Shanker, AFT Vice President and President, Local 2, New York City

"What's Happening with . . . ?"

". . . Performance Contracting," James A. Mecklenburger, Research Assistant, Phi Delta Kappa

". . . Educational Vouchers," Dr. George R. LaNoue, Associate Professor of Politics & Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

—Very brief coffee break at approximately 10:30, Cotillion Foyer—

". . . National Assessment," Dr. James A. Hazlett, Administrative Director, National Assessment of Educational Progress, Education Commission of the States

Respondent: Dr. John A. Sessions, Assistant Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO

12 noon to 2:00 p.m. —*Luncheon Session*—Cotillion South

Chairman: Herrick S. Roth, AFT Vice President and member of the Education & Research Committee, AFT Executive Council

"The Paradox of Innovation Without Change," James Cass, Education Editor, *Saturday Review*

Tuesday, April 4th (Continued)

2:30 to 5:00 p.m. —*Issue Group Workshops—Session B*

Session	*AFT Group Leaders*	*Second Resource Persons*	*Recorders*
B-1 Teacher Evaluation: in Schools & Colleges	Raoul Teilhet, President, California Federation of Teachers	Dr. John Withall, Professor of Education, The Pennsylvania State University	Drew Panko, Local 860, Yonkers, N.Y.
B-2 Discipline	Patricia Roberts, Local 340, Baltimore	Dr. Rod Hilsinger, Chairman, Curriculum & Instruction Dept., Temple University	Patricia Paget, Local 231, Detroit
B-3 The Education of Minority Group Children	Ethel Thurman, Local 691, Kansas City, Mo.	Dr Thomas Burns, Bureau of Elementary & Secondary Education,USOE	Charles Cheng, Local 6, Washington, D.C.
B-4 Educational Technology	Wilmer Adomat, Local 212, Milwaukee Vocational Teachers Union	Dr. John Peifer, Penna. State Dept. of Education	Alice Bishop, Local 231, Detroit
B-5 Flexible Scheduling & Differentiated Staffing	James F. Street, Local 1757, Coatesville, Pa.	Dr. Donald Sharpes, Office of Priority Planning, USOE	Sylvia Mendlow, U.F.T. Local 2
B-6 Individualized Instruction	David Mesirow, Local 111, Portland, Oregon (John Adams H.S.)	Dr. Betty Schantz, Assistant Dean, College of Education, Temple University	Tommie L. Summerville, Local 1068, Inkster, Mich.
B-7 Early Childhood Education	Betty Rufalo. Local 481, Newark, N.J.	Dr. Jessie A. Roderick, Associate Professor of Education, University of Maryland	William Gould, Local 1044, Nashua, N.H.
B-8 The Extended School Year	Paul Brewer, Local 822, Woodbridge, N.J.	Mary Kay Murphy, Researcher-writer (Author of AFT-commissioned research report on the extended school year)	Edward Casey, Rhode Island Federation of Teachers
B-9 Non-traditional and Independent Study: in Schools & Colleges	Frederick Koury, Local 2, New York City (formerly at John Dewey H. S.; currently Director of "City-As-School" Project for Board of Education)	Dr. Milton Schwebel, Dean, Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University	Betty Nyangoni, Local 6, Washington, D.C.

6:30 to 8:00 p.m. —*Special Interest Group Meetings*

	Group Leader	*Rooms*
Higher Education—	Patrick Manning, San Mateo Community College, Local 1493	Richmond Room
Special Education—	Nancy Kaye, Local 2144, Macomb Intermediate Federation, Michigan	Arlington Room
National Committee on Guidance Counselors—	Alice Bishop, Chairman, and Patricia Paget, Secretary Local 231, Detroit	Alexandria Room

In addition, rooms are reserved for—

Vocational Education ..... Baltimore Room
Librarian Committee ..... Annapolis Room
(UFT Library Media Committee)

8:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.—*General Session*—Cotillion North

Film presentation and Discussion:

"Inside Out," a provocative film which raises many questions on and challenges many basic assumptions of the educational system; it also deals with the Parkway Project in Philadelphia.

Moderator: Frank Sullivan, AFT Vice President and President of Local 3, Philadelphia

Discussant: Dr. Jack Robertson, New York University. Producer of the film.

Reactors: Lewis Frantz, Local 3, Philadelphia
Frederick Koury, Local 2, New York City
Dr. Milton Schwebel, Dean, Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University

* For those wishing to stay on, at the conclusion of the discussion there will be a showing of "The Way It Is," an earlier film involving an NYU project of Dr. Jack Robertson.

Wednesday, April 5th

8:00 a.m. to 8:50 a.m. —Pre-session for those who wish to discuss the issue of "Open Schools and Alternative Schools *Within the Context of Public Education*" with Patrick Fitzgerald (Local 28, St. Paul) on the St. Paul Open School and Donald Burns (Local 200, Seattle) on Alternative Schools. Coffee and rolls will be available. *Assembly Room*

9:00 a.m. to 10:15 a.m. —*General Session*—Cotillion North

Panel Discussion on "Educational Experimentation: As *We* See It."

Moderator: Raoul Teilhet, President, California Federation of Teachers

Panel: Dr. Robert Binswanger, Director of Experimental Schools, USOE

Jeffrey Schiller, Director of Experimental Research, OEO*

David Selden, AFT President

—"Bring your coffee back"-type coffee break at 10:15, Cotillion Foyer—

10:30 a.m. to 12:15 a.m.—Brief series of reports from the group workshop leaders on the major issues. (More extensive written reports will be submitted to the AFT Education and Research Committee.)

Moderator: Barry K. Noack, AFT Vice President and member of the Education and Research Committee, AFT Executive Council

12:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.—*Luncheon Session*—Cotillion South

Chairman: AFT President David Selden

"A Message on AFT-COPE," Alfred Loewenthal, Assistant to the President, AFT

"Needed: A *Total* School Program," Simon Beagle, AFT National Council for More Effective Schools

"Financing Education," United States Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota

"Meeting the Challenge: From *this* QuEST Consortium to Reality," President Selden

Thursday, April 6th

9:00 a.m. to 12 noon —Preparation of written reports and meeting of group workshop leaders (QuEST Advisory Committee) in Room R-801.

* The substitute for Mr. Schiller was Mrs. Lillian Regelson, Director, Evaluation Division, Office of Planning, Research and Development, OEO.

THE GOALS

MONEY AND IDEAS

DAVID SELDEN
AFT President

All indications are that the AFT-QuEST Consortium, which will be held in Washington April 3, 4, and 5, will be a smash success. It is about time. For years and years "our betters"—administrators, college professors, and armchair critics—have been telling us how to teach kids. At the QuEST conference, for the first time, teachers from all across the nation will begin to work on the problems of method and technique as well as resource organization.

Teachers are conservative when it comes to adopting new methods and techniques. From the days of Horace Mann, we have been shoved around in accordance with the plans of management representatives, when all the time we knew that, before any new *idea* could have a chance to work, *teachers* must be given a chance to work; that is, the conditions for good teaching must be established—but that costs money.

When, in 1966, after 20 years of struggle, the Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, everyone interested in the welfare of our schools believed we had come to a major turning point. At long last, the federal government was going to give the schools the money they so desperately needed.

Furthermore, the two chief obstacles which had stood in the way of federal aid for so long had been dealt with frankly and practically. Title VI of the ESEA forbade use of federal funds to support segregated school systems, and under the other Titles children in church-related schools were to receive educational services as well as transportation and welfare services. Throughout the '50s these two issues, rooted in the poisonous soil of American racism and bigotry, were to forestall action by Congress, but at last they had been resolved.

It took us a year or two to realize how fragile this first flower of federal aid really was. When the bill was passed, we teachers thought that the nation's schools would soon be receiving the $4 billion in new money set up in the authorization. Slowly we came to realize, however, that what the authorization meant was "up to $4 billion;" what we would really get wound depend upon (1) the amount of money actually appropriated, and (2) the amount of money actually spent by the Executive Branch after taking budget limitations into account. And so the New Educational Establishment installed during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations came up with a magic word: innovation. Since it was obvious that there would not be enough money to make the drastic improvements that teachers were so insistently calling for, we would concentrate on discovering bright new ways to educate children better without spending more money; ideas first, money maybe.

I well remember two conferences which illustrate the sterility of the innovation approach. The White House Conference on Education was held in 1965. Five hundred to a thousand "educators" met together for a week and listened to speech after speech. The speeches were brilliant, but nobody told us how we could educate children better without increasing staffs or reducing teaching loads or adding auxiliary services. By actual count, I was able to identify in that whole conference less than a dozen active teachers and less than an additional dozen of teacher leaders.

The other conference from the innovation era that I remember was one put on by the Office of Education to display new ideas for educating socially disadvantaged children. There actually were a few new ideas trotted forth, but these delightful little innovative projects which had been financed under ESEA were scarcely more than laboratory demonstration projects. I looked in vain for the answer to the massive problem of how to educate the two million children in big-city ghettos who were not and are not being educated under present conditions.

After five years of "innovation" under ESEA, after thousands of federally funded projects, research grants, study commissions, and task forces, it is hard to name even one new idea with widespread applicability to big-city school systems. The chief gain from the years of innovation is the now dawning realization—still not accepted in most quarters, but gaining ground—that innovation alone will not educate children any more than money alone will do the trick. We are coming to realize that new ways of educating children better often may cost more—in fact, usually will cost more—than the old ways.

I have said it before but I must say it again: As we begin to educate the hard-to-educate half of our population, it will cost more than it has been costing to educate the kids who learn almost in spite of anything we do. We will need new methods, however; not just more dollars. If we mean it when we say we intend to educate the children at the wrong end of the bus ride, then we have an obligation to put into practice the very best knowledge at our command, even though use of the new techniques will cost more on a per-child basis. Otherwise, we won't get the job done.

This is the priority task that I hope the first QuEST Consortium meeting will address itself to. The innovation era left a bad taste in teachers' mouths. Most of us came to know innovation as a process where teachers are asked to make up with their energy and creativity for the sloth and miserliness of government.

That is too bad. We cannot be always negative. We do need new ideas. Those ideas can best come from the classrooms of our nation. The teacher work force in elementary and secondary schools is comprised of 2½ million individuals of above-average intellectual ability and attainment. We must stop relying on the grantsmen, Ph.D. candidates, and foundation operatives to do our thinking for us. We must rely on our own ingenuity, and that's what the QuEST conference is all about.

Reprinted from the AMERICAN TEACHER, March, 1972.

A QuEST CALL TO ACTION

DR. ROBERT D. BHAERMAN
AFT Director of Educational Research

Welcome to the first QuEST Consortium of the American Federation of Teachers.

For those visitors who are not members of the AFT and, hence, are not aware, QuEST stands for Quality Educational Standards in Teaching. QuEST is the educational program of the national AFT. This Consortium is intended to generate *informational and advisory reports* on educational policy issues, educational programs, and collective bargaining programs for consideration and possible action by this union. This is our major goal.

Most conferences I have attended, and I am certain this is true for most of us here, have few goals, which too often are kept well hidden. Ours *must* be different.

What happens at most conferences? There are panels and workshops and seminars and luncheons and you go home and, when you receive the announcement the following year, you register and return and there are panels and workshops and seminars and luncheons. . . . We have some of those functions scheduled, too, but ours must be different, not so much for what happens while we are here, although that is important. It must be different because of what happens after you return home.

This is *your* Consortium. I don't expect that you will be passive listeners. I expect that you will be passionately involved in these sessions, in this union, and in its educational program.

We must remember that the goals of the teachers' union are diverse. Let me review them:

"The American Federation of Teachers is first and foremost a union, seeking benefits and improved working conditions for its members. But it is also an educational organization, deeply committed to improving the quality of schools at all levels. Finally, the AFT is a social force, working with other unions to improve the quality of American life."

These goals, of course, can never be separated. And we should remember that, particularly as we focus these three days on ways to improve "the quality of schools at all levels."

In the January, 1972 issue of *The Pennsylvania Teacher,* the editor, Jim Loftus, wrote about this Consortium. What he wrote should be heard by all teachers participating here. In part, this is what Jim wrote:

"As each year of teaching passes, I become less certain that I know where we are going or what it is that we should be doing.

"One certainty does grow: those running the schools have achieved no smashing success.

"It is, then, with some hope that I await the AFT-QuEST Consortium of Educational Issues.

"Examination of the advance material indicates that the Consortium might be the beginning of a process in which, at long last, the practitioners of the art of education will gain more recognition.

"Education stands unique among the professions. In all the others the standards, goals, techniques, and training are in the hands of those practicing their profession. Doctors who practice medicine, lawyers who practice law, architects and engineers who design and build—these are the people who run their professions.

"Everyone runs education but teachers. (Please note that I do not use the NEA redundancy, 'classroom teachers.' What other kind is there?) Perhaps, in April, in Washington, a major step will be taken to return teaching to teachers."

This, then, is our *call for action:* to begin to take the first steps to return *teaching to teachers.*

Incidentally, Jim Loftus also has some good advice on how we should go about our business. He also wrote:

"I have a refreshing suggestion for the managers of the Consortium. Let's conduct it in English, basic Anglo-Saxon, preferably. Let's try to get through the Consortium without once calling a library a 'learning materials center.'

"If we can't, I might as well stay home and play golf or watch baseball on my 'interior-located electronic multisensory entertainment aid.' "

I hope that Jim and the rest of us will not have wished we stayed home and played golf or watched baseball. But that is up to all of us here. If we are passionately involved rather than passive listeners and complainers, and if we take our energy and passion back to each local and state federation, the rest of the people in this country will know that we are serious when we say our goal is to improve "the quality of schools at all levels."

But what is a quality school? Perhaps this Consortium will begin to set the wheels rolling whereby some day soon each AFT local union will designate schools in its particular district as AFT-QuEST Schools. In this vision a QuEST School is seen as one which meets the local's QuEST standards, e.g., a QuEST School might be one in which:

1. The majority of the teachers belong to the union.
2. All regular teachers are fully certificated.
3. Auxiliary personnel are utilized intelligently and are maintained for the contributions they make in classrooms rather than as instruments for salary reduction.
4. The administration is accountable for providing the necessary materials needed by each teacher.
5. Evaluation—of both teacher and students—is for constructive ends rather than destructive or punitive ones.
6. In-service education is based on assessed needs of teachers, is individualized as much as possible, and if formal courses are necessary, they are taught by competent instructors who have current classroom experience (such as in the UFT's QuEST mini-courses).
7. Teaching roles might well be differentiated along lines which

are not made devisive to morale by the establishment of a new hierarchy of salary, status or authority.

8. Staff-development laboratories are developed for analyzing and solving instructional problems.

9. The pupil-teacher ratio standards of the local union are maintained.

Further, a QuEST School might be one in which:

10. More Effective School (MES) Guidelines for the 1970's are adhered to.

11. If the school were a middle school, the UFT Guidelines for Restructuring the Middle School are adhered to.

12. The AFT Standards for Excellence and Equality in Education are adhered to; e.g.,

—The School would provide for individualized instruction through classes no larger than 20 pupils and through an extensive diagnostic and remedial program.

—Its staff will have all the conditions and tools needed to enable children to learn, including professional teaching loads of no more than 20 periods per week in elementary and secondary schools, 12 hours in junior and community colleges, and nine hours in four-year colleges and universities.

13. If the school is an experimental, alternative-type, the new objectives are spelled out as much as possible and the operation is assessed in terms of these new objectives.

The important thing about this approach is the *process* itself and not only the standards, for those I have listed only begin to scratch the surface and would need to be made more localized and specific by each AFT union. What I am suggesting is a *process* in which AFT locals designate schools which meet their standards and, hence, qualify as AFT-QuEST Schools.

This is not to suggest necessarily that we set ourselves up as a new accrediting agency—although accreditation and governance are issues which must be explored in more depth than we have in the past. While they are not substitutes for collective bargaining, accreditation and governance should be studied as possible complements of C.B. What I *am* suggesting is that QuEST Schools are those which are given a local union's stamp of approval. Moreover, I am suggesting that, if any particular school failed to maintain the standards, it should become a school in which picket signs are raised until the appropriate standards also were raised.

I offer this concept of AFT-QuEST Schools as "food for thought" as we begin this first Consortium. I repeat this call for action: to begin to take the first steps to return teaching to teachers . . . with knowledge of the fact that it has been a long time since "it" was "ours" in the first place. No matter. It will be . . . if we will it. We, therefore, have an awesome task and an awesome responsibility as we begin this quest.

THE AFT-QuEST FOR BETTER EDUCATION

DAVID SELDEN
AFT President

Ten years ago I was involved in negotiating the first collective bargaining contract in New York City. We did not have to convince the school board of our right to negotiate salaries and fringe benefits. The negotiators on the other side understood them to be matters of dollars and cents. We could negotiate and compromise and come out with a contract.

But when we came to the question of class size, the people on the other side of the table said, "That's none of your business. Class size is a matter of educational policy and educational policy is something for us on this side of the table to determine." Teachers have the right, they argued, to be concerned with class size only when it gets so big that the teachers are exploited, then the union has a right to attempt to reduce class sizes to a level at which teachers are not being overworked. The size of the class that a teacher has to handle is a matter of educational policy and educational policy is something that administrators have the responsibility for dealing with. Teachers are supposed to carry out the directions of administrators.

The union negotiating team insisted on our right to negotiate on class size and other matters of policy. We fought that battle then and we won it. We said that teachers are professionals, and the essence of being professionals is that they are employed to use their judgment in carrying out their work. Furthermore, unlike architects, ministers, doctors, lawyers and some of the other professionals, teachers are employed collectively and, therefore, the decisions affecting school policy must be collective decisions in almost every area. Teachers must be collectively involved in decisions which have to do with professional matters and the quality of education.

Hence, a union dedicated to collective bargaining must be very active in the area of educational policy.

The quality of education is dependent upon five factors. The first, is the amount of money and *resources* devoted to education. Some people think that we might as well stop right there. It is true that dollars don't teach, but you can't teach without dollars. That has to be understood.

However, the quality of education also depends upon the *organization* of these *resources.* You could have ample resources at your command, fail to organize them properly, and therefore not have high quality education.

Once you have the proper resources organized properly, the *structure* of education must be considered. If you structure the form of educational service in the most effective way, within this context you have next to deal with the specific *techniques.* It is possible to make a very bad system work if your techniques in the classroom or in dealing with children are good.

Finally, you have to consider the *skill* of the people who are using

techniques, the organization, the resources. All these things are interrelated, but they are fields where teachers have not really exerted the influence and power they could muster.

Recently I was a speaker at the American Association of School Administrators Convention, and during the question period one fellow got up and said, "In view of the surplus of teachers . . ." (right then I got mad) "what are you going to do about removing the incompetents from your own ranks?"

After I had finished explaining to him that there was not a surplus of teachers but a shortage of money, I turned to the question about the "incompetent people in our ranks" and said, "In the first place, we will probably make superintendents of them." I probably shouldn't have said that, but the quality of education depends on a lot more than firing a few unfortunate teachers. We must not be social liberals and educational conservatives. It's easy for us to say, "Look. We just want to be able to do our job better in the classroom. Go away and leave us alone. Give us small enough classes and not too many, and we will do the job for you." I think we must admit that the way children were taught in 1900 is not the way children should be taught in 1972. There are new ideas; there are better ways of doing things with the resources we have at our disposal and that is what this conference is all about.

THE QuEST CONSORTIUM: STRUCTURE AND EXPECTATIONS

PATRICK L. DALY
AFT Vice President
Chairman, Education and Research Committee, AFT Executive Council

I think the purpose of the Consortium, to be very simply stated, is we would like to create a forum that will enable a cross-section of AFT members to do two things: One, to become more fully aware themselves of educational developments—what's happening in education in this country; and, secondly and most importantly, for this body to become an informational and advisory body to those who make AFT policy. From your deliberations over the next three days, especially in your workshop sessions, advisory reports will be compiled by the chairmen that will be directed to the Executive Council's Education and Research Committee, and from there directly to the President of the AFT, the Executive Council, and to the highest ruling body of this union, the AFT Annual Convention.

We did not want a conference where one leaves with only the vague sense afterwards that it was "interesting." We did want a conference with the combined talents of all our members to contribute directly to shaping the policies of the union.

One additional expectation we have is hope that the format, the structure of this Consortium will inspire many locals and state federations to establish local conferences to explore the application and recommendations here to your own particular situation and to promote the inclusion of these topics in local negotiations.

I think no one doubts any longer that such things as voucher systems, the latest glittering bauble from the OEO, are a proper topic for negotiating teams. Trial balloons in education have been darkening the skies for us over the last few years, not to mention such things as flexible scheduling, differentiated staffing, the extended school year, all of these things which certainly affect our traditional concerns of wages, hours and working conditions.

I think what we are attempting is, frankly, a little unique for a union. It is the attempt on the part of the leadership of this union to tear down a few walls and to say: Look, the Emperor and those under him don't always have clothes. We don't know everything; we are not all-powerful; and we are not all-seeing or all-perceptive. We need your help. We hope we can tap the wealth of knowledge and concern that exists within our union to provide a clear channel through which concerned members can counsel and advise our elected officers and convention delegates.

The question has come up from one or two people, "Isn't the national convention the proper place for this kind of thing? It is the highest ruling body."

I think we have to face the fact that we are a political body, I might add, and any of you who have been to a national convention know perfectly well that much of the time and the energy at an AFT convention must of necessity be taken up with purely political considerations.

The AFT conventions, and the AFT Executive Council, of course, are the bodies that must make the policy decisions which determine the direction of the AFT. But many of us, myself included, look to this Consortium as a continuing body which will be a primary force in supplying the intellectual leadership and counsel upon which the policy decisions should be based.

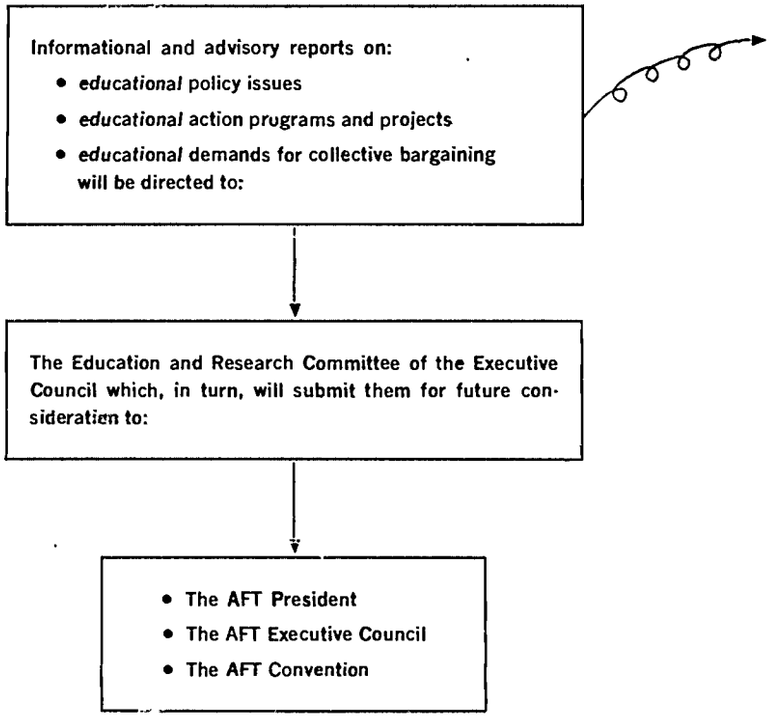
Before going further, I want to draw attention to one specific feature of the program that may have escaped you. I said before we wanted a conference that was more than one people would say was "interesting." In attempting this, we wanted to avoid the kind of hothouse atmosphere that we are very prone to as teachers—as teachers talking to teachers and listening to teachers and being highly sensitive if anything intrudes upon that magic margin of our own particular little clubhouse. We have tried, therefore, to cross-fertilize ourselves with some outside people. You'll notice in every workshop session there are AFT people and outside resource people.

In conclusion, I would like to welcome all of you here—those of you who are officers of your locals, members of negotiating teams, fellow politicians—but most especially, I really would like to welcome those of you who hold no political office in a union, and those of you who do those things that, when one cites them, they begin to sound like some sort of cliche. But, nevertheless, they are not cliche-like when one is doing them: the people who just simply teach five hours a day, five or six classes a day, collect the lunch money, collect the Bangladesh money, the Northern Ireland money, keep the safety patrol, the whole long list of things which may or may not have anything to do with teaching. The ones who attend the PTA meetings with the five loyal parents who also showed up and who run the multitude of clubs that only a nation of joiners like ours can spawn.

And, frankly, there are those of you who sat for years wondering, does anyone give a good damn—just what your conclusions are after years of experience, observation and reflection, of looking at children and wondering about what they should learn and how they should learn it. I simply want to say to you your union does give a damn, and we look forward eagerly to the results of your deliberations.

I.

THE GOALS OF THE AFT-QuEST CONSORTIUM



"Spinoff Goals"

1. The establishment of appropriate *local and* state QuEST committees.
2. Follow-up local, state, and regional QuEST conferences.
3. The establishment of a national QuEST Committee, an advisory body to the Educational and Research Committee of the Executive Council. (Note: The members who serve on the National QuEST Advisory Committee shall consist of the AFT Workshop leaders of the various issue group sessions scheduled during this Consortium. This group shall, in part, be reformulated at each annual Consortium.)

II.

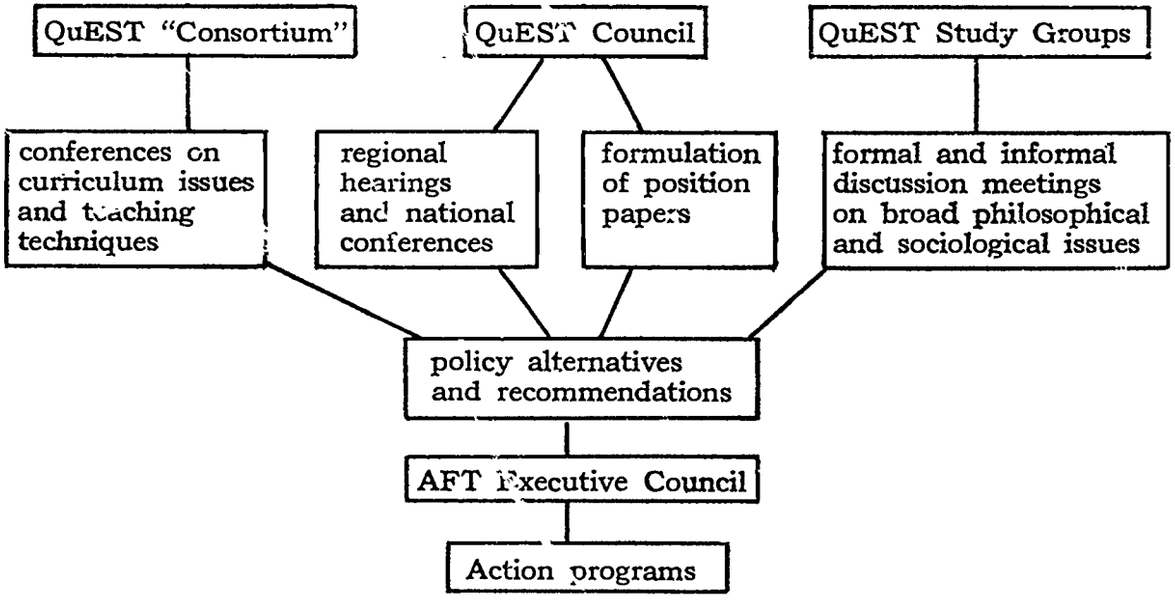
QuEST: QUALITY EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS IN TEACHING

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

"What I have in mind is an 'educational policy convention' where several hundred delegates from all over the nation would gather to discuss matters of *educational policy* only. Its standing, of course, would be *advisory;* its purpose primarily *exploratory.* I think, however, you can readily see the value of such a meeting. Some of our members are interested primarily in improving the quality of education and they have little or no interest in AFT internal politics or other aspects of teacher unionism. The national QuEST Consortium on educational policy should become an annual meeting, the only thing of its kind; a time and place where teachers meet for the sole purpose of considering professional problems."

From "The State of the Union"
AFT President David Selden
August 16, 1971.

III.



From "The AFT-QuEST for Educational Change."

INFORMATIONAL AND ADVISORY REPORTS

WORKSHOP REPORTS

Introduction: Mr. Barry Noack
A.F.T. Vice President
Member, Education and Research Committee, AFT Executive Council

There are some general themes that are enmeshed in all the reports to follow. We must be involved in decision making. We must see that the community is involved in decision making too. We must implement this in terms of our collective bargaining contracts and we must develop into a power system. We have tried to help you in the conference with ideas and give you facts. With ideas, facts, and knowledge and with your commitment comes power, and with your power, we are going to begin to get some things done. In no sense of the word have we said that we have all the answers and that when leaving this Consortium we will solve all the problems of education. They are too vast, as are the problems of society in general. But I do have a few suggestions for action:

I would hope there would be no representative here from a local which a year from now does not have a local QuEST committee. I would hope that on a regional or state basis you would begin to think about a QuEST meeting similar to this. A very important part of a QuEST meeting similar to this is that you will begin to establish dialogue with the State Department of Education. As you notice, we in AFT have done very little with the U.S. Office of Education except through our national office. But now the teachers are coming in contact with the USOE. We have to do the same thing at the state level, because the funds from USOE are going to the state departments. One of the things I plan to do when I get back to Minneapolis is to immediately write the U.S. Commissioner of Education and see that there is a Teacher Advisory Committee established for the whole area of renewal which Don Davies spoke about on the first day. So you see, we have some action projects for all of us.

NOTE: Because of the nature of the topics and because the nature of the discussion sessions varied widely, the reports which follow also vary widely. Some are purely informational and background reports, some are purely advisory, while some, in fact, most, include both informational *and* advisory aspects.

A-1, Advisory Report
Testing and Grading: In Schools and Colleges

The following points were offered for consideration:

1. That teachers have a voice in the selection of tests and a voice in the determination of the grading system to be used in the schools. That the bargaining agent, if there be one, involve itself in the selection of tests, the factor of when tests are given, and in the methods of grading. Where there is no bargaining agent, that teachers make every effort to be involved in these decisions.

2. Recognizing that testing, *when used properly*, can be useful to pupils and teachers, we recommend that tests be used to aid pupils' progress and development and teacher understanding of students. We believe a misuse of tests is to evaluate teachers.

3. This workshop is in favor of clinical use of I.Q. tests by clinicians, but *not* in favor of mass labeling and mass use of I.Q. tests. We, therefore, recommend that I.Q. tests scores *not* be recorded on pupils' cumulative records.

4. We recommend that local QuEST committees study uses, strengths and limitations of standardized tests.

5. We recommend that the A.F.T., through its Education and Research Committee, study testing and grading to develop a position for the A.F.T. and that the research staff disseminate its findings on testing and grading in *The American Teacher*.

6. Whereas this workshop recognizes the unfairness and limitations of the sole use of standardized tests to measure and determine the effectiveness of educational programs, we therefore recommend that there be a *total assessment* of such programs, including other means of evaluation rather than the exclusive use of standardized test results.

7. We recommend that local QuEST committees work with teacher-training institutions toward the improvement of both preservice and in-service courses dealing with testing and educational assessment and that such courses be less theoretical, with emphasis placed on understanding the purposes, scope and limitations of existing instruments for testing.

A-2, Informational Report
In-Service Education: In Teacher Centers

The major points of similarity in goals between the British "teacher centers" and those being proposed by the United Federation of Teachers are:

1. The establishment of centers where teachers could be taught and renewed in their skills and where they would have access to audio-visual and other resource materials;

2. The teaching of mini-courses by teachers who would be selected by other teachers.

A major difference between the two—a problem in the British system and a potential danger in the United States—is that in the former system, the warden or director of the center, while a teacher himself, is appointed by the school district and is, therefore, to some extent obligated to it. It would be essential to have the teachers themselves have full control over such appointments and over all decisions relating to teacher centers.

The term *teacher center* is an essential one, in that they are places run by *teachers* for the purposes of aiding other teachers in on-going training. In this light the UFT has made as one of its bargaining demands that the Board of Education set aside $2 million for an Education Development Fund, some of which would be used for establishing teacher centers.

The United States Office of Education, on the other hand, apparently prefers the term *"Renewal Centers,"* as part of an entire process of education in need of "revamping and renewing." Its stated reasons are due to:

1. the failure of colleges to train teachers adequately to meet the needs of poor/deprived students and teachers' high attrition rate (owing to "cultural shock").
2. the failure of the entire system to have so far met the challenges of what the USOE terms as the "three revolutions" (cultural, knowledge and teacher revolutions), and
3. the failure of various groups within the educational structure to abandon what the USOE terms as "territorial rights" (e.g., teachers over their classrooms, administrators as sources of decision-making outside the classroom).

Apparently the USOE has begun to rethink the entire question of power relationships within the established structure and has decided that a pilot program to establish a working model of the type of center for truly serving the needs of students be based on:

1. a cooperative sharing of the decision making process involving the total context of forces operative on students (e.g., community, administration, paraprofessionals and teachers) in the belief that
2. the unit in terms of cost effectiveness is no longer the teacher with his 30 or so students in class but rather a whole school and its attendant environment, and that
3. the position of the teacher within the proposed renewal center would be very different from that which the term "teacher center" has traditionally implied. The teacher would not be simply involved with his students and his particular difficulties in the class but with concerns of all the other forces and groups involved in the total structure.

There was agreement that there is a need for internship programs of possibly three years duration, as the colleges are failing to equip teachers to face actual teaching situations—particularly in the inner city. The USOE representative suggested that the union take advantage of its power and attempt to negotiate some control over what and how the universities teach teachers before they leave the colleges.

It was the position of teacher union representatives that teacher centers ought to be controlled by teachers since they were to serve the needs of teachers and that while meetings with other groups who may wish to offer suggestions are welcomed, all major decisions concerning the profession of teaching should be made by those who have the expertise, namely, the teachers themselves. Laymen very often cease to respect teachers who surrender their professional responsibilities and who turn over professional matters to non-teachers.

Nevertheless the USOE representative argued that within 5 to 10 years, one could expect to see enormous changes in the relationship among all the groups involved in education and that everyone must be involved. There should not be such a thing as "exclusiveness."

The question which remains, needless to say, is *how* can a fair and equitable "parity situation" be brought about?

A-3, Informational and Advisory Report
The Teacher-Paraprofessional Relationship

The teacher-paraprofessional relationship, relatively new as a part of the instructional situation, has become a part of the growing concern in the AFT for optimum education. Although regional and local QuEST conferences have probed the questions and although AFT locals have established paraprofessional units and collective bargaining contracts, there are still many unanswered questions in the area of the use of paraprofessionals.

Some positive suggestions for AFT action were agreed upon, but there was general agreement that more opportunity and time should be made available in other AFT conferences to explore the problem in greater depth.

The preliminary points for AFT consideration are: (1) The AFT should promote an education program within each local and at the national level to bridge the gaps between teachers and paraprofessionals and to eradicate misunderstandings. (2) The AFT should encourage locals to organize paraprofessionals with their teacher locals where state law permits. (3) Teachers should include in their bargaining demands proposals for increased numbers of paraprofessionals since "paras" have demonstrated their worth in improving education. (4) The Educational Research Department should provide information to locals (as soon as it can be made available) regarding national policies and guidelines which protect the rights of "paras" outside the rights guaranteed in CB contracts. (5) The AFT should encourage locals to fight for budget allocations in local budgets for paraprofessional programs which supplement and extend the services of the teacher. (6) The AFT should work actively for the continuation of the Career Opportunity Program. (Dr. Durley indicated that federal funding may run out by 1975). (7) The AFT should encourage locals to negotiate all fringe benefits and working conditions for "paras" that it now negotiates for teachers. (8) The AFT should work in developing guidelines for job descriptions for "paras." (9) The AFT can help locals to develop the goals for paraprofessionals especially on organization, job security, fair treatment, and career advancement. (10) The AFT should help to establish guarantees which cross state lines for rights and protection for paraprofessionals. This was felt to be more important to "paras" since most "para" programs are funded by the federal government.

The Workshop was unable to agree upon answers to three very important questions: (1) At what point should a person be admitted into the ranks of paraprofessionals? Should certain "minimal educational standards" be demanded and if so what? Can an intensive in-service program supplement or replace any kind of minimum education requirement? (2) What should be the general job description of a paraprofessional? Should he/she be permitted to do anything in the instructional situation as long as there is direct professional supervision? Should there be certain prescribed

assignments within the classroom with or without direct supervision? Should there be more rigid specific assignments within the classroom as opposed to those not directly involved with instructional chores? (3) What are the job security and seniority rights of a paraprofessional after he/she has passed the initial screening process, completed in-service training requirements and a reasonable probationary period? Should he/she then be permitted to live outside the school district where he/she works? (It was agreed that a paraprofessional should not be denied seniority rights nor job security which are basic to unionism. However, the understanding, the "para-pupils" relationship, and the improvement in school-community communications appear to have been enhanced by hiring "paras" who live in the immediate community of the school of employment.)

A-4, Informational and Advisory Report
Behavioral Objectives and the Concept of "Guaranteed Learning"

Many activities are taking place throughout the country which are related to the issue of "behavioral objectives." For example:

The State of Michigan is making preparations for adopting a statewide accountability model with behavioral objectives for every teacher.

In Colorado behavioral objectives plans are required for districts, schools, grade levels and/or curricula areas, each teacher's classes and for each unit of instruction within each class.

In Cleveland behavioral objectives are conceived as the particular gain on a particular test; this is carried out with a pretest—post-test sequence.

In Coatesville, Pennsylvania, the testing sequence is carried out to its highest point of development; there teachers took USOE training in writing objectives for each course, e.g., "The students shall identify Washington, D.C., on a map." Then in each class, the students take a pretest before each unit, focusing on a behavioral objective. "Identify Washington, D.C., on the map below"—using the exact words which appear in the teacher's objective. Then the students are given an Individual Learning System, using the same words. "Below is a map of the U.S. Notice where Washington is located. Below is a blank map. Identify Washington on the map below." Then the students are given a post-test which says, "Below is a blank map. Identify Washington, D.C. on the map below." (The participant who reported this noted that his fellow teachers had suggested the district use the pretest as all three.)

California, Illinois, and Wisconsin teachers reported similar developments. It also was reported that in Montreal, Quebec, anyone who has been to the United States to observe behavioral objectives has a special mystique and status all his own and that such a person is presumed to know how the system works.

It was reported that the surge toward behavioral objectives has historical antecedents, e.g., a recent *Phi-Delta Kappan* article dealt with payment-by-results in England between 1860-1870. (It was noted that Henry

Cole was the originator of both the payment-by-results scheme and the Christmas card!) Under the plan, teachers and schools were paid according to how well they achieved specific test results. In the first few years, the cost of education was cut from $800,000 to $70,000. But in a few years, the teachers caught on and test results went up. It got too costly and was dropped.

It was emphasized that the primary problem with behavioral objectives is over-simplification and that over-simplification makes it possible to use behavioral objectives as a means of tyranny and control. Most states reported efforts to gain power and control over classrooms through state-assessment programs, and many states reported that state legislators and state boards are battling each other over the question of who has authority.

It was suggested that the surge toward behavorial objectives is part of the struggle for public funds, that is, using behavioral objectives will cut costs. For example, it was asked, "What happens to individualized instruction under this scheme?" One response was that behavioral objectives are being sold as individualized instruction by some people, but what happens is that with tracks of learning sequences, masses of children are handed learning packs and teacher-pupils contact is reduced.

It was emphasized that the major weakness of behavioral objectives is that the learning which is the easiest to measure is the most trivial. It was also suggested that the assumption of a discrete sequence in all learnings is incorrect. Yet, behavioral objectives assure a sequence in all learnings.

It was noted that the present salary benefits result in teachers chasing after useless units to build up their checks. The question was asked whether or not we, as teachers, had clearly examined our objectives in terms of student needs. One participant said he wanted his own children just to be happy in school, but others raised the question of whether children could be happy if they could *not* read. Hence, some participants put the emphasis on *skills* and others on *awareness*. Interestingly, this division often seemed to be city-suburban split.

A community college teacher commented that behavioral objectives were valuable because he stopped for the first time to question what he was doing and to define his objectives.

Several points were offered for consideration by the AFT, locally and nationally: (1) A possible moratorium on all accountability schemes and that all locals utilize their positions to achieve this end,

(2) The creation of a national AFT task force on the problem, and

(3) That the AFT adopt or recommend a model of school evaluation based on school examinations by teachers (maybe visiting teams). However, teachers would need to take a close look at who the examiners were.

Finally, it was suggested that perhaps it is time for the AFT to give the testing companies "the *Nader-Raiders treatment.*"

NOTE: The following paper was presented by Dr. Robert Stake to this group workshop:

THE ISSUES ABOUT OBJECTIVES*

Dr. ROBERT E. STAKE
Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation (CIRCE)
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Ubiquity. All teaching has its purposes. Countless objectives are *simultaneously* pursued by every teacher. Some objectives are explicit; some are implicit. Objectives and purposes are also known as aims, goals, intents, and hopes. To understand the objectives people have, you also have to know something of their needs, their fears, their expectations, and their dreams.

Multiplicity/Diversity. People have more objectives than they can list. Different people have different objectives. Some people have objectives that are contrary to other people's objectives. Each person has objectives that compete with, and even contradict, some other of his own objectives. A list of objectives is an oversimplification of what the group wants and a misrepresentation of what any one individual wants. Nevertheless, it will sometimes be useful to have lists of objectives.

Behavioral Specificity. A stated objective always represents a *collection* of desired behaviors (or phenomena). The more specific the statement, then the smaller the collection, the less the misunderstanding about it, and the less useful it is to represent some of the complex purposes of education. The more general the statement, then the broader the collection of behaviors, the more the misunderstanding as to what is and what is not included but the more likely it can be used to represent some of the complex purposes of education.

There is no language that perfectly represents what a teacher aims to teach. It is helpful in some cases to state desired outcomes in terms of student behaviors—but not always. The people who hold the objectives should decide which language expresses their objectives best.

Responsibility. All teachers and all administrators are responsible for indicating the school's objectives just as they are responsible for arranging environments, providing stimulation, evoking student responses, and evaluating. But each teacher and administrator do not share equally in those responsibilities. To the extent that responsibilities are assigned, each teacher's assignment should capitalize on what he can do best. Few of us in the classroom are skilled in stating objectives. Those who are not should be invited--but not required—to develop the skill of stating objectives. A teacher's talents should be used to adapt teaching to the immediate circumstances, or to motivating students, or to appraising responses, or to whatever he is best at.

Obviously, stating objectives is not a prerequisite to effective teaching

* Prepared for Group Workshop, AFT QuEST CONSORTIUM, Washington, D. C., April 3, 1972.

nor should it be considered a universal remedy for poor teaching. Sometimes—but not always—it will help matters to have a teacher state his objectives

Priority. Different objectives will have different priorities. Priorities indicate how much effort (money, time, heart, etc.) should be allocated to each objective. Priority is based on need, resources available, and the probability that a given use of resources will alleviate a particular need. It makes little sense to be specific about objectives and vague about priorities.

Ephemorality. Objectives and priorities, for any person and any program, change with time. Statements of objectives, if to be used to mean something for an ongoing program, should be updated periodically.

Disclosure. Usually high-priority objectives should be apparent to both the teacher and the learner. Sometimes it will increase teaching-learning effectiveness to make the students more aware of objectives; sometimes it will not. It will not help to identify objectives which at the moment seem to the student irrelevant or contrary to his self-concept. The teacher should not deceive himself or his students by implying that he has indicated (or should or could) all the objectives involved in the learning. Of course, the teacher should candidly discuss the objectives with students who have a concern about them.

Evaluation Utility. Some knowledge of teacher objectives is necessary for a complete evaluation of a program. Specific statements may or may not help. The statement that evaluation cannot occur without specific statement of objectives is nonsense; evaluative judgment of merit and shortcoming does not require an awareness of objectives. Evaluation projects can be organized around learning activities, management decisions, or teaching problems just as well as around objectives. Objectives may be more usefully considered *after* studying program activities than before. The choice is made by deciding why the evaluation is being done and who is it being done for. It's a matter of judgment.

Krathwohl, D. R. Stating Objectives Appropriately for Program, for Curriculum, and for Instructional Materials Development, *Journal of Teacher Education,* 1965, 83-92.

Mager, Robert F. *Preparing Instructional Objectives.* Palo Alto: Fearon Publishers, 1962.

Popham, W. James. "Objectives and Instruction," *Instructional Objectives.* AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation, No. 3 (Robert E. Stake, Editor). Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969, 32-64.

Stake, Robert E. Objectives, Priorities, and Other Judgment Data. *Review of Educational Research,* Vol. 40, No. 2, April 1970, 181-212.

Stake, Robert E. and Gooler, Dennis. Measuring Educational Priorities, *Educational Technology,* September 1971, 44-48.

A-5, Information Report
Performance-Based Certification

The typical elements found in programs of performance-based teacher education are as follows:

1. The competencies (knowledge and skills) to be demonstrated by teacher-candidates will be derived from explicit conceptions of the teacher's role (the functions to be performed).
2. The criteria to be employed in assessing competencies mastered are based upon and in harmony with specified competencies.
3. The assessment of the teacher-candidate's mastery of performance of those competencies is the primary source of evidence.
4. The teacher-candidate's rate of progress through the program is determined by time needed to master and demonstrate the competencies rather than a pre-set course time or sequence.
5. The instructional program is designed to facilitate the development and assessment of selected competencies.

Other characteristics commonly found in performance-based teacher education programs are: the instructional program is individualized and modularized; the program decisions are guided by "feedback;" the program planning and operation is systematic; emphasis is on exit requirements, and the teacher-candidate is held accountable for demonstrating in a real-life situation that he/she has mastered certain competencies.

Some of the major activities taking place are, as follows:

16 to 18 state agencies are now involved in exploring the implications of performance-based teacher education and certification.

Nine state agencies are working together to study performance-based teacher education in the Multi-State Consortium led by Ted Andrews of New York.

Several states are studying performance-based teacher education in the Consortium of States led by Fred McDonald of Educational Testing Service. This group is just being initiated.

At least 13 institutions of higher education are now involved in programs using at least some elements of performance-based teacher education.

Some common characteristics found in the states moving toward performance-based teacher education are, as follows:

An attempt to identify and specify a legal framework within which programs of performance-based teacher education may be instituted.

A movement toward broader involvement in decision-making regarding teacher education.

A movement toward recognizing teacher education as a career-long, continuous process.

Experimentation with new type programs simultaneously with continuance of existing programs.

Some new teacher education programs developing and using elements of the performance-based concept.

Some resources that interested persons can use to learn more of performance-based teacher education are, as follows:

American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education
The Elementary Model Directors
Teacher Corps Programs
Teacher Centers (Texas)
Protocol Materials—University of Southern Florida
Training Materials—Indiana University
Module Bank—University of Houston
Module Collection and Field Testing—University of Miami
Catalog of Competencies—Florida State University

In the state of Washington, *Guidelines and Standards for the Development and Approval of Programs of Preparation Leading to the Certification of School Professional Personnel* were adopted by the Washington State Board of Education July 9, 1971. Teacher preparing agencies have been asked to submit within one year of September 1, 1971, reports describing their plans for implementing these new standards. These standards provide that teacher education programs are to be developed and implemented by a consortium of agencies. Each consortium will include colleges and universities, school organizations, and professional organizations.

The standards and guidelines emphasize the following principles:

Preparation should be related to performance; performance should be related to the objectives of the professional and his/her client

Preparation programs should be individualized

Preparation programs should be planned with the participation of those affected

Preparation is a career-long, continuing process.

In Minnesota the state agency is encouraging a wider involvement of school district representatives and professional organization representatives in the decision-making regarding the setting of state standards for certification and regarding the development of programs of teacher education. While performance-based programs are being encouraged, colleges may also recommend certification for candidates who have completed more traditional programs. At present there are several proposed certification regulations in development which will mandate this broader involvement. At this date (April, 1972) only one such regulation has been adopted by the Minnesota State Board of Education, and it is in the area of human relations training for teachers.

Neither Minnesota nor Washington have moved toward the listing of specific competencies which must be achieved by the teacher candidate. Instead they have opted to define a program planning process by which programs will be developed. This process requests the involvement of representatives of teacher organizations.

If state agencies begin to require the mastery of specific competencies as a prerequisite for certification, two dangers would exist. The first would be that pointed out earlier: non-validated knowledge and skill competencies as well as personal characteristics unrelated to true teaching effectiveness may be required, leading to certification standards perhaps even more non-relev ·: than those now existing. Second, pressure groups may be able to legislate requirements that attempt to define teachers and teacher behavior into unacceptable patterns. A candidate could be required to fit the mold or not be certificated. Only alert and active teacher involvement can prevent the certification process from becoming "Big Brother's" test for the "perfect teacher."

Some people even advocate using pupil achievement as the ultimate test of performance and criterion for certification. A candidate would not be certified unless he could produce a specified achievement gain in a class of children. Writing of this criterion in a paper titled, "Certification of Educational Personnel," B. Othaniel Smith of the University of South Florida says, "Moreover, as already pointed out, the criterion is more rigorous than that applied to the licensing of other types of professional personnel such as lawyers and physicians. Medical doctors are not licensed because of their ability to cure a percentage of their patients, nor are lawyers licensed because they can guarantee justice for a certain proportion of their clients. They hold license to practice their arts because of evidence that they can follow the acceptable procedures of their respective professions. A physician is not accountable for the death of his patient if he has followed the procedures recognized as valid in the science and wisdom of medical practice. Neither is a lawyer accountable for the loss of a case provided his behavior has conformed to the procedures and techniques of his profession. This is as it should be, for no one should be held accountable for an outcome unless he has control over all the factors that shape it. Neither lawyers nor physicians have such control, and teachers certainly do not. But a beginning teacher, like a beginner in any profession, is responsible for using appropriately the basic skills, knowledge and wisdom current in his profession. If a teacher does so, and yet his/her pupils fail to achieve at specified levels, a license should not be refused on that ground."

A participant asked how teachers can be assured of effective involvement in teacher education and certification. It was suggested that through collective bargaining teachers must negotiate provisions for teachers to have time for participation. Also through C.B., teachers must negotiate teacher-run systems for needs assessment, staff development programs, research activities that will help to validate the most effective practices for introduction into training programs.

Also, teachers must be informed; they must increase issue study at QuEST meetings. Teachers must analyze various programs and support actively those which have positive potential for teacher training. Teachers must sell their ideas—take the initiative—with colleges, state agencies, USOE.

The position of a LIFT Committee on Performance-Based Certification

was presented: a strong case for not linking specific competencies to certification. The feeling is that not enough specific competencies are validated by research; however, there should be a massive commitment to research in this area. It was felt that basing certification upon specified competencies is unwarranted at this time.

Several participants indicated concern about changing the rules of certification, especially during these days of increasing attack on teachers, of pressure to make teachers accountable, of pressure to hold the line on taxes.

It was reported that the Connecticut Federation proposed its own conception of performance-based teacher education to counter overtures by the superintendents and colleges. The Federation's proposal was adopted by the State Board of Education.

Various participants expressed concern about the performance-based teacher certification movement and particularly emphasized that they would not be willing to accept assurances of fair teacher involvement on faith alone.

The discussion leader presented a model for teacher involvement in teacher education. It was recommended that teachers use their collective bargaining power at the district level and their political power at the state level to assure their effective involvement in teacher education and certification. State level leadership and political power will be necessary to develop a legal framework that recognizes teachers' central role in teacher education and certification. A state, teacher-dominated council to set certification standards may be the only practical way to insure ongoing involvement of teachers.

B. O. Smith, in the paper cited above, recommends a certification evaluation board run independently of the college that trained the applicant. "If the movement to institute competence-based certification is to have any chance to succeed, the initial certification of a teacher must be based upon an evaluation made independently of the institution that gave the training. This means that each state must establish a system of individual teacher evaluation operated by professionals and based upon samples of skills and behaviors."

At the local level teachers must bargain for, and establish in contracts, the right of teachers to have time to participate in local and state teacher education activities.

Certification is the state's indication that the teacher education process has been successful to the extent that the candidate will be allowed to be employed as a teacher.

It is in teachers' interest to assure that certification processes are as effective as possible. The changes that can be made in teacher education by teachers and state agencies using approaches such as the state of Minnesota and Washington could be of great benefit to all. The tools for pupil assessment and identification of effective teacher competencies will be used. Teachers must influence how they will be used. It was suggested that teachers take positive action to make the state certification process meaningful.

A-6, Advisory Report
The Open Classroom Concept

First, there exists the need for a broad-based committee to be established to study the Open Classroom in this country and to establish a working model for other schools to adapt if they so wished.

Secondly, there exists the need for evaluation of the Open Classroom other than through academic channels. Some system of behavioral and/or aesthetic standards should be set-up specifically to help educators understand other positive aspects of the Open Classroom aside from the obvious cognitive ones.

Thirdly, there exists a need for teacher protection against indiscriminate and rapid changeover to the Open Classroom without adequate training or desire for such change.

Fourthly, there exists a need for some type of guarantee against the Open Classroom becoming a fad or gimmick which American educators have adopted from British standards without a concrete understanding of the process or a true belief in its potential, to guard against inflexibility in dealing with each community's and child's special needs and attitudes.

All in all, the Open Classroom is seen as *one of many alternatives* to an outdated educational system which is not producing adequately to fulfill today's changing societal needs. Further study of the Open Classroom in terms of practical models is needed for children, teachers, parents and administrators alike, or a fundamental misunderstanding of its nature will cause its death and decay in the system at large.

Specifically, the following concrete points were offered as suggestions: (1) to establish an organized base at the local board of education to serve as advisors; (2) to establish in-service courses to train teachers on the initial setting up of the classroom; (3) to insure participation on a non-coercive basis; (4) to establish guidelines for the gradual integration of the open concept within the traditional system; and (5) to insure freedom of action in the face of administrative disagreement.

A-7, Informational Report
The Issue of Tenure In Schools and Colleges

The teachers in this group were angry, angry against the current threat to our tenure system, for they recognize that the battle to save tenure laws is a harder and different kind of battle than the one to achieve them. The position was taken that the threat has an economic basis and that legislatures in different states are working on bills to gradually chip away at tenure and, in some cases, for outright repeal. Some of the bills which have been introduced aim:

to give annual contracts
to repeal tenure for principals
to expand the causes for dismissal

The participants were convinced that in view of the political com-

promises any bills—good or bad—are designed to raise the tenure question to an active issue for the purpose of destroying tenure.

The participants felt that the threat against tenure is also a threat against due process for teachers, that the claim that boards cannot fire poor teachers is not grounded in evidence, that we should respond to the tenure attack intellectually and politically, and that to protect the tenure of the teacher is to protect the freedom of the learning process in the classroom.

NOTE: The following paper was presented by Dr. Robert Sherman to this group workshop.

SUMMARY OF REMARKS

Dr. ROBERT SHERMAN
University of Florida

Much of the analysis of tenure at the elementary and secondary and higher education levels is similar. The problems and recommendations, therefore, can be viewed for the whole of education. This is not to say that the issues are simple and singular. Many mistakes in looking at tenure, like other things, come from acting as though there is a single and correct point of view, while all other views do not quite hit the mark. Rather, there are many and complex reasons for tenure; this complexity must be understood if tenure is to be preserved. But there are some general observations that seem to be the same at all levels of education.

There is no question that the attack against tenure today is a political attack. The popular literature makes this point if it makes any. Perhaps every major newspaper and popular journal has carried an account recently of the "problems" of tenure in education. Reading these accounts, one becomes aware of at least three things: the myths on which the attacks are based, the inconsistent line of reasoning used in the attacks, and the almost absolute lack of factual bases for the claims about and attacks against tenure.

For example, it is said again and again that it is impossible to dismiss an incompetent tenured teacher. Some writers say this and then go on (inconsistently) to outline a way of getting rid of such teachers. The fact is that every tenure rule outlines the reasons for which a tenured teacher can be dismissed. Moreover, there are recent examples (at the university level, certainly) of tenured teachers who have been dismissed. Furthermore, no critic ever cites figures of the number of "incompetents" who are tenured and the number of occasions in which dismissal has been tried and failed. The critics of tenure (as well as some of its supporters) seem not to be bound by the need for evidence and logic in analyzing this issue.

Another myth is that tenure for teachers is a kind of job security no other person enjoys. Often analogies are made to business and law. A closer look at the analogies, as well as general social evidence, shows, these claims are unmerited. Some persons who support tenure also fall into this trap in a way of assuming there is only one or a relatively few good reasons

for having tenure. But there are many reasons, and they all have their social values and consequences. The American Association of University Professors long has emphasized the relationship between tenure and academic freedom. Teachers unions rightly emphasize the job security aspect of tenure. Humanitarians should be interested in tenure as the right of any individual to "due process" when claims are made against himself and his job. Society should be interested in tenure as a way to attract and retain competent teachers. And there are many others: for example, that through tenure one is willing to forego quick profits for long-term security, that tenure encourages educational growth and progressivism, and that tenure protects an educational process (in the individual) that in its nature and at best is sporadic, halting, filled with false starts, *et cetera. All of these* are important values and reasons for tenure.

In many cases where tenure "does not work well" (whatever that means), the problem lies not with the tenure rules or the teaching profession, but rather with administrators who do not perform their functions adequately. If administrators fail to prepare a proper case against allegedly incompetent or otherwise ineffective teachers, they ought not to expect the teacher to be dismissed. Yet much of the attacks against tenure is a disguise for wanting summary dismissal power for those who cannot prepare a case within the limits of due process. It is amazing how much of this motivation seems to be behind the attacks against tenure. At a luncheon meeting of the AFT-QuEST Consortium (April 3, 1972), Dr. Van Cleve Morris said that administrators have to do all the dirty work for the teaching profession (such as getting rid of incompetent teachers). The evidence indicates that this not only is incorrect but that the opposite is more the case. Dr. Morris goaded the "teaching profession" to get rid of incompetent teachers. But the teacher union ought not to fall for this line. It is the job of Dr. Morris and other administrators like him to do this job; if they cannot or will not do it, they are the ones to be dismissed.

What can the teachers union do about the tenure troubles today? It can work on two fronts: intellectual and political. The myths about tenure remain because many of us do not take the time to study the issues and to inform others (especially the public—legislators and school critics) of a different and more intelligent point of view. A great deal of literature exists on this topic; it ranges from the popular writing to empirical studies. Teacher unionists should learn this literature and use it. They should analyze the popular criticisms and put them in better perspective.

A more fundamental and desperately needed kind of work is in constructing ar empirical base for the evaluation of tenure. There is much evidence available, but it is scattered. Doctoral students have studied the role of tenure in various ways; the National Education Association publishes a research report yearly on "The Teacher's Day in Court," in which tenure cases form a major part of the analysis; and the American Association of University Professors recently has published a number of studies of tenure. (See the *AAUP Bulletin*, September, 1971, for a report from the University of Utah, and March, 1972, for a report from Harvard Uni-

versity. The Harvard report is the best single analysis of tenure to come out in a long while; the analysis is not "culture-bound" by its private university setting, but can be of widespread general use.) Furthermore, the American Council on Education, funded by a large grant from the Ford Foundation, presently is engaged in a 10-month study of tenure. Its findings should be available shortly. The logical analysis of popular criticism and a factual base constructed from the sources mentioned above (as well as others) should go a long way toward putting the issue in proper perspective.

Such an analysis will show that the criticisms of tenure are politically motivated. This being so, the union also must work politically to counteract the criticism. Most unionists know what it means to work politically, so it should not be necessary to spell out all the details here. But one or two things should be said. Teachers should not fall into the trap of agreeing that tenure is a problem and that it is their problem. That is a matter for inquiry to decide. Teachers should point out that even if tenure is done away with, the problems of education still will remain. How, for example, will the denial of tenure help rebuild the decaying urban schools? Teachers should be more aggressive and put the burden and pressure on others (administrators, school boards, *et cetera*) to perform their proper roles in reference to this issue (as well as others). It is interesting to note, as an analogy to the tenure issue, that one critic suggests that where administrative decisions have been soundly based, no public hearing has reversed the decision to refuse employment to probationary teachers. And teachers should make as much as they can of the belief (which generally is correct) that the destruction of tenure will lead to collective bargaining. It should not be necessary, however, to "trade off" tenure for collective bargaining. The union should work to preserve tenure at the same time it tries to strengthen tenure arrangements through collective bargaining.

A-8. Informational and Advisory Reports
The Teaching of Reading

Like the hysteria over Sputnik in the late 1950's, in the late 1960's came the consciousness of the crisis in reading. Many promising things were said about "The Right to Read," and plans for a nationwide effort to "eliminate functional illiteracy" in the 1970's were formulated. More than two years have passed in the decade and the nation is still waiting—but finding instead totally inadequate funding to do the job. Only $3,990,000 has been earmarked—as of January, 1972—by the U.S. Office of Education to only 68 school districts across the nation, initiating a rather uninspired beginning to what is supposed to be the great educational thrust of the decade: The Right to Read.

This sparce allocation is totally inadequate. The need exists for massive sums of money (like the kind that go to the Defense Department) to finance public education—and reading—adequately. A national effort, through political action, must be undertaken in order to provide that money so that we can create and expand reading programs on all levels.

Specifically, the results of recent studies were discussed, e.g., George Weber's "Inner City Children Can be Taught to Read: Four Successful Schools," which indicated that small class size was not a variable in reading success. It was pointed out, however, that Weber never used more than 22-29 students per class, which many teachers with classes of 35-40 consider small.

The following points—recommended research—were offered for consideration:

1. A synthesis and evaluation of what is known in the area of reading.
2. An AFT-sponsored assessment of teacher-training institutions.
3. AFT task force to analyze the deficiencies in standardized tests in the area of reading.

It was felt that additional personnel is needed desperately in the form of paraprofessionals, more reading teachers and specialists. Needed is a dramatic change from the 35-40 student classroom with one teacher. The AFT model of a More Effective School was supported, with the effective use of additional personnel, paraprofessionals, cluster teachers, reading teachers and specialists, which hopefully would make it possible to achieve greater success in reading.

With the addition of concerned and capable personnel helping to make possible a more meaningful learning experience for the child, the next step would be redesigning the techniques used to meet each child's needs: individualizing the reading program and working with small groups to teach specific skills. To do this we would need appropriate class sizes. Hence, the More Effective School guidelines of 15-22 students per class was supported. However, not only small class size is needed, for we also need a plethora of materials, materials that teach the truth. As important as "the right to read" is "the right to read the truth." It was, therefore, suggested that a policy of non-censorship in teacher-student selection of materials be adhered to. Further, it was suggested that a strong emphasis be put on the need for integrated, nondiscriminatory, and non-sexist reading materials and that a special effort be made to find culturally and ethnically diversified materials relevant to the experiences of children in inner-city schools.

Finally, of major concern was the emphasis on standardized achievement tests. Most of these tests are given once a year and are not used to plan a program of instruction but merely to *label* children. The Research Director for the International Reading Association pointed out that these tests do not have a high consistency correlation, and in some cases, depending upon which test is used, a significant difference in test results is possible. Therefore, the complete elimination of these tests was suggested by participants in the workshop.

In addition, the fact was re-emphasized that teachers are not opposed to testing *per se;* they certainly are in favor of evaluation. But the position taken was that it is essential that we follow a diagnostic-prescriptive approach, and not label children on the basis of chance-happening performance on a given day, on a given test. In the area of research, the suggestion,

therefore, was offered that an AFT task force be appointed to analyze the deficiencies (such as the white, middle-class content bias) in the standardized reading tests. It was suggested that diagnostic instruments such as informal reading inventories, phonics analysis tests, Dolch Basic Sight Work lists, and experience-oriented vocabulary and comprehensive tests be used as substitutes.

Discussion of in-service training for reading teachers included comments on the inadequate job that teacher-training institutes are doing and the possibility of intern programs on the undergraduate level. For in-service teachers, it was suggested that QuEST mini-courses, such as those that have been established in New York City, be expanded on a local and perhaps even national level. On the national level, it was envisioned that they might be available as part of the next QuEST Consortium. Suggested courses in the area of reading included: Black Dialect, phonology and grammar; creating a secondary school reading program; phonics skills on the primary level; how to use audio-visual aids; and how to operate reading teaching-machines such as a controlled reader.

Lastly, since we teach the whole child and since the physical well-being of the child directly affects his attainment of reading skills, AFT locals must demand a total health program which insures that the child has adequate care not only of his physical being but also of his psychological and emotional needs. Urgently needed are early diagnosis of reading problems—and the supportive personnel and resources to do something about them.

A-9, Informational and Advisory Report
Restructuring the Junior High School

The report of a committee formed to plan the restructuring of the junior high school, initiated by the United Federation of Teachers (Local 2, New York City), served as the central focus point of discussion which began with the background of this issue, namely, the turmoil in the junior high schools which necessitated action to provide an atmosphere which would make career teaching in these schools worthwhile. The report of the committee resulted from two years of meetings first among New York City teachers and later with representatives of AFT locals from other major eastern cities. The present report is viewed as an East Coast position because the expanded meetings incorporated ideas not discussed in the original UFT meetings.

At the outset, the difficulty in converting a committee report to a bargaining demand paper was discussed. It was proposed, therefore, that the report be viewed as a basis for change rather than a prescription.

The elements of the restructuring plan were reviewed as well as the history of changing personnel in the New York City junior high school and the difficulties in these schools regarding destruction and violence which contributed to the need for restructuring. The following elements of the plan were noted:

1. The lowest grade in an 800 student school would be a half-way

house in the three year plan to bridge the gap between the elementary and secondary school program. Four teachers, located in close proximity in the school, would work with the students in the major subject matter areas and related fields. There would be latitude in time allowances in the schedule and subject matter included in the program.

2. The middle grade would give the student more responsibility and more freedom, and here the student would move away from the extended family idea to a more complete junior high school program. Electives in minor subjects would be provided as part of the program.

3. The upper-grade student would be involved in a program with electives in all subjects and these would be selected with guidance. The solid learning which occurs outside the classroom is considered in this part of the program with the provision of a fifth day for activities related to independent study. Tutoring given and received, politically-related activities, and community projects in hospitals, laboratories, and other community agencies were cited as possibilities.

4. Marking of students would include a plan to eliminate the A,B,C and numerical grade system.

5. Alternate schools for students who need educational provisions which cannot be met in the regular junior high school would be provided.

6. Training and retraining of teachers during summer workshops and on-going workshops during the school year are incorporated in the plan.

7. A new position of mentor, a teacher-selected, non-rating teacher, would be included to facilitate the training and retraining of teachers. A mentor would be selected for each grade level.

Reactions centered around the mentor's functions, and pros and cons related to this position. Concerns were raised related also to the department-head functions, and the problem of a position without authority which could cause a breakdown in the system. The problem of the mentor being selected because of popularity rather than expertise was considered. A rotating one-year term in the position was offered as a possible way of preventing the development of a "do-nothing" condition and providing for this type of experience for many teachers.

The problem of electives when teachers were required to teach short term courses in which they had little interest also was raised. Electives and the elimination of teachers or cutting the staff size in this type of program was discussed; it was viewed that an elective program could result in reducing staff or expanding it, depending upon the type of program offered.

School size in urban areas and the practicality of an 800-student school was discussed. An alternate proposal offered was the possibility of having groups of 800 in larger schools using the house plan or "school within a school" concept.

A formal resolution was proposed: "We, the AFT junior high school teachers, believe that a concerted effort must be made to restructure junior high schools to meet the needs of our present society. Recognizing

that each junior high school should organize a program for its specific needs, we believe that the proposed Local 2 plan should be used as a basis for restructuring."

The UFT, Local 2, plan to restructure the junior high school is presented in its entirety below:

INTRODUCTION

It is an accepted fact that the schools are under attack. Warranted or not, widespread criticism from all geographical regions and from all levels of society attest to this. It is obvious that our country is in turmoil, and since schools reflect society, this unrest is mirrored in the classroom.

If there is validity to these conclusions, educators can go in one of two directions. Taking an extreme position, one can argue that educators can do nothing until society solves its basic ills and then the schools would simply fall into line and the problems will wither away.

The committee believes that this is a simplistic viewpoint and not responsible. We would urge instead that educators present and fight for superior educational arrangements and seek the support of other segments of society.

Therefore, we are offering the following restructuring of the middle schools and hope that our contribution will help in some way to achieve the above goals.

GENERAL STRUCTURE

A typical student entering a middle school comes from a non-departmental elementary school. He usually arrives at an overcrowded school, is among the youngest in the building, changes classes each period and is given considerably more freedom than he previously experienced. This has been the traditional pattern for middle school students.

It is our judgment that this sudden "freedom" is overwhelming and creates a feeling of instability and disorientation. At the same time, due to maturation, our middle school student deserves greater freedom. Hopefully, the structure of a middle school will provide appropriate flexibility within a stable structure. We are also in agreement with authorities that approximately 800 pupils is an appropriate size for a middle school. We couple this belief with the concept of the necessity for increased individual attention and this necessitates an increase in personnel.

Lowest Grade

1. Units of 4 classes, 20 students each. Three units to the grade.
2. The same 4 to 5 major subject teachers for each unit.
3. The major subject rooms for each unit should be physically adjacent to each other.
4. The major subject teachers will be collectively responsible for the curriculum.
5. Large blocks of time will be allocated to the major subject teachers, which then can be subdivided as they deem proper.

Middle Grade

Here we have an older student, now familiar with the school, who, at this point, is capable of moving away from the "extended family" arrangement he experienced during his last term.

Therefore, we recommend that unit grouping be dropped and subject classes change as is now customary in present day junior high school or intermediate school.

However we will now begin to offer our student course electives in each of his required "Minor" subjects.

Course descriptions will be printed, distributed and after consultation with official teachers, parents and guidance counselors, each student will select one course in each of his required minor areas. This proposal for the middle grade should not eliminate the possibility for electives in *all* subjects if the faculty desires it.

Upper Grade

At this level, we will stress again the concept that promotion in school reflects the opportunity for greater responsibility and increased freedom. We will now offer electives in all areas, subject to adult guidance. In the belief that a great deal of learning does, can and should go on outside of school, we want to expose our senior student to relevant informal learning. For the approximate equivalent of one individual study or research, tutoring of younger students, school-wide service, industry related work, community projects or work for pay, etc. All of the above will be appropriately supervised.

PERSONNEL

It is generally agreed by social critics and spokesmen in the fields of education, government, and industry that our present school system has become less and less able to respond to today's educational imperatives. Overcrowding, lack of funds, insufficient personnel, overall social turmoil and the newly developing social expectations are some of the contributing factors.

If schools are to succeed, personnel sufficient in numbers and variety must be utilized. The staff of a school should determine the direction and atmosphere of a school. However well-meaning a faculty may be, it cannot perform its teaching responsibilities if it has inadequate facilities and personnel.

The Restructuring Committee cannot provide "pat" answers but simply a framework *from* which to *start*. The main task, therefore, is to see that adults, both inside and outside the classroom be able to be flexible in attitude, action, and thought.

The school of today must be able to provide those facilities and services which help the students work at their physical and mental optimum in an atmosphere free of tension and pressures. For example, no educational expertise and counseling can be truly effective if the students are hungry.

Whether through ignorance or poverty, many students come to school without breakfast or spend the day with either a snack or nothing for lunch. For these reasons the Committee feels that our schools should provide free breakfast and lunch programs for all students.

If the role of the school is "in loco parentis" we must be concerned with the physical need of the child as well as his mental development.

1. *Homeroom Teachers:* The Restructuring Committee suggests twelve (12) classes *per* grade with a total of thirty-six (36) homeroom teachers.

2. *Paraprofessionals:* A paraprofessional would assist each subject teacher. The paraprofessionals' duties would be kept flexible. These would include assisting the teacher, working with small groups or individual students and preparing instructional material. Their presence in the classroom would not only be an educational asset, but would also provide a vital link between the school and the community.

3. *School Aides:* There must be sufficient school aides to perform all non-professional tasks and to relieve teachers of all administrative assignments.

4. *Administrative Personnel:* The administrative work of the schools would be taken care of by one (1) principal, one (1) administrative assistant and three (3) secretaries assigned to each of the grade mentors. The functions of the mentor would stress teacher training and curriculum planning. We also recommend that the mentors be *elected.*

In many of our neighborhoods, non-English speaking groups need special services. Education, especially the knowledge and comprehension of the English language, has always been the major force in the assimilation of the immigrant in America. New York City, the gateway to the nation, has usually been the first stop on the mainland for newcomers. Consequently, it is here in this vast metropolis that this problem must be faced.

5. *Bi-lingual teachers in school and community relations* can help bridge the gap between the newcomer's families and the school which educates the children. These teachers have a variety of non-classroom functions. These include some home visits, speaking at meetings, and translating materials. By being able to communicate with the parents in their native language, the bi-lingual teacher is a liaison who explains the role of the school, serves as a resource person regarding community services, and assists the parents in becoming more acquainted with the school and to eventually participate and become involved in school/home/community activities: The number of bi-lingual teachers will be determined by the needs of the school.

6. The Teacher of English as a Second Language (TESOL) is in the classroom. His role is to prepare the students to become members of regular classes and to help the students adjust to their new urban environment. His classes are usually called "transition" or "orientation" classes. The length of the student's stay in these classes varies according to their ability to develop systematic control and fluency in English. At no time should class register go beyond fifteen.

7. No school can function properly with an insufficient secretarial staff. The following licensed secretarial positions have been suggested:

a) one (1) secretary of admissions and discharges
b) one (1) secretary for the principal and administrative assistant
c) one (1) secretary per grade (total=3)
d) one (1) secretary for the Guidance Department and Clinical Team
e) one (1) secretary for all compensatory time assignments (G.O., bus passes, etc.)
f) one (1) secretary to handle payroll

8. *Other Personnel:* Absent Teacher Reserves—10% of the staff

Family Workers—one (1) per grade

Attendance Teachers—at present the Committee is considering two (2) attendance teachers per school population of 800

Lab Assistant—one (1)

Industrial Arts—Assistant, one (1)

Home Economics—Assistant, one (1)

Librarians—two (2)

Library Assistant—(1) multi-media library

Speech Teacher—One (1)

Clinical Team. One (1) per school. The team shall consist of the following:

a) one (1) social worker
b) one (1) psychologist
c) one (1) part time psychiatrist

Medical Team: One (1) per school. The team shall consist of the following:

a) two (2) full time nurses
b) one (1) half time doctor
c) one (1) dental hygienist
d) one (1) part time dentist
e) one (1) part time optometrist

Guidance Department: Two (2) licensed guidance counselors per grade

CURRICULUM AND TEACHER TRAINING

Despite the limited space devoted to this topic in our report, this area is of major importance.

One of our basic principles has been the involvement of the participants in the planning. The curriculum for each school should be developed by each staff to meet the particular needs of that school.

It is beyond the scope of this committee to present new curricula in all areas for all of the schools involved. In fact, it would be contrary to the philosophy of the Committee.

We, therefore, recommend as part of the program, voluntary summer workshop for the entire staff with appropriate compensation. It is here that the specific staff for each of the schools will look afresh at their curriculum and devise, modify and update new ones. This Committee will, in time, prepare specific approaches which should be explored during the workshop.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the need for curriculum reform.

Increased flexibility, new or redesigned curricula, heightened sensitivity and greater student participation are the desired outcomes. Unfortunately, this is easier to say than effectuate.

Any new program requires the complete understanding support of the staff. It is imperative therefore that this previously mentioned summer workshop also includes sessions which will encou.age open discussion and offer legitimate insights into this new design.

This dialogue must also continue during the school term. Only in this wav can proper support develop and become self-perpetuating.

MODIFIED HETEROGENEITY

Too often, teachers in the New York City public Junior High Schools have been confronted with the problem of class labeling. Some classes are labeled "bright," while others are labeled "slow." Unfortunately this type of labeling cannot be avoided when classes are formed by homogeneous grouping. Whenever students are grouped by reading score or other ability factors, the school is, by necessity, placing the "bright" students in one class or group and the "slow" students in another class or group.

Regardless of how some schools have tried to disguise this homogeneity, the results of labeling are the same. Whether you call the class by exponent (6-1) or by room number (6-242), students and parents soon become aware of the situation, and the labeling game is on.

Therefore, we propose to break away from homogeneous grouping and to move toward heterogeneous classes. Realizing that teaching in a fully heterogeneous program is virtually an impossible task for a teacher (even with paraprofessional aid), the proposal for the new "middle school" is based on what may be termed "modified heterogeneity."

We use this term to denote the fact that each class will have a greater degree of ability range, but that range will not reach extremes.

In the lower grade classes will be formed in this manner. All students in the class will be able to move along at the best individual rate, with students at the lower end of the class spectrum able to strive to move upward toward the higher end of the class spectrum. This goal will be a possible task, since there will not exist extremes in any of the classes. In the middle grade, the "modified heterogeneous class" structure will be used in the same manner, with the additional factor of departmentalization. By the use of departmentalization, a student may be moved into another group

for a specific subject in which the student is extremely strong or extremely weak.

In the upper grade, complete individualized programming will be used.

MARKS

Numerical grading is, in our opinion, often arbitrary; it emphasizes for "poor students" the failure syndrome and it encourages "good" students to look for the "grade" rather than to reach for relevant satisfaction.

Education today is rapidly being assigned a greater responsibility for the well being and maturation of children, and as we move towards this new concept, the need for greater flexibility in evaluation, coupled with better communication seems to be apparent. Some educators and parents have complained that our present marking system is too inflexible and lacking in meaningful communication. As part of the restructuring of the middle school, we must begin to find new ways of evaluating the student and communicating the true meaning of that evaluation to the persons most concerned.

In the earlier grades report cards have been modified and these have been supplemented by a system of parent-teacher interviews. Several parent interviews are arranged each day until all the parents have been seen.

It is a goal of the Committee that a grading system be established that would allow for recognition of progress and at the same time would eliminate the stigma of failure.

We, therefore, urge that numerical grades be eliminated and that subject area reports, which indicate rates of progess on an individual basis, be used.

ALTERNATE SCHOOLS

Hopefully this middle school design will effectively unite students and teachers in more productive school experiences.

What is still needed however is something like a "halfway house" for those pupils who are so alienated from school that it is virtually impossible to get them to attend school or to do any worthwhile work if they do attend.

This alternate school should be physically apart from the school, very small, even more flexible than our basic design and one whose aim is to restore adult contact with these pupils so that they are more willing and able to return to the "mainstream."

STUDENT GOVERNMENT

The proper role for a child whether at home or in school is always difficult to define.

This Committee is convinced that middle school students can be given much greater school responsibilities than is commonly practiced.

One of the tasks of the summer workshop will be the development of new guidelines for self-government which will result in greater involvement for the students while not negating the professionals' responsibilities. It will be a task that must be done along with curriculum change. Some examples are:

1. Rules and enforcement of school behavior and decorum
2. School and program evaluations
3. Program suggestions
4. School-wide student workshops
5. Social activities
6. Community projects
7. Regular student leader. faculty meetings

CONCLUSION

For those people who are familiar with some of the current middle school experiments, this program may not seem too radical and deliberately so. Most of the newer school designs are small in scale or located in middle class areas. Almost without exception, New York schools are large, inner city schools.

What we hope the Committee has succeeded in doing is to begin the movement away from the traditional.

There are no perfect models. There are no complete solutions. We can only work towards constant improvement.

The model schools proposed by this Committee will make substantial changes, and begin the long road for all concerned with education, towards further innovation and more fruitful education. With the confidence gained from these first steps, the staff, parents, and children will be able to further evolve the restructured middle school.

Changes are coming; changes must come. We are convinced this is a major first step.

APPENDIX

Suggested Activities for the Fifth Day

By paralleling many school and community activities, all sectors: pupils, parents, faculties, and residents, can move toward greater homogeneity through shared interests and mutual benefits.

In the projected restructured middle school the "fifth-day" program allotment for extra-curricular aetivities as well as many of the relevant classroom curricula can intermesh with community needs; and in working to help satisfy these needs pupils may in turn gain valuable experience in common with their elders in coping with life problems.

The following table of possible parallel activities is by no means defini-

tive and complete but may serve to illustrate the almost limitless possibilities and as a framework for enlargement:

Examples of school activities	*Examples of out-of-school activities*
A. Student self-government and the study of organizational procedure and the history and practice of creative dissent.	A. On-the-spot lobbying internships in political, economic and/or social action clubs and storefront organizations — envelope-stuffing, duplicating, leaflettering.
B. Group Guidance and counseling workshops.	B. Community-school rap sessions, lectures, workshops.
C. School Beautification—anti-litter campaigns, bulletin boards, school gardens, murals, anti-vandalism education.	C. Neighborhood beautification and ecology watchdogging, street and minipark tree-planting, playground murals, Halloween store-window painting contests.
D. Home-nursing and baby care classes and kindergarten and pre-K. monitorships if any in school.	D. Child Care Center volunteers and paid child care aides, day camp junior counsellorships. Cooperative baby-sitting agency.
E. Home economics consumerism classes and assemblies.	E. Consumer education program, exhibits, workshops.
F. In-school work experiences for pay or other compensation: cafeteria; library; laboratory; storerooms.	F. On-the-job programs: private industry; professional offices; public institutions; co-ops. Orientation trips.
G. School journalism.	G. Community newsletters.
H. Performing arts, public speaking, dramatics, dance, creative writing, music.	H. Public affairs, "tailgate" theater, community performances, lectures, anti-drug-abuse plays.
I. Individual study and research projects.	I. Independent study outside public library; university campuses.
J. Tutoring and being tutored.	J. Tutoring and being tutored.

B-1, Informational and Advisory Report
Teacher Evaluation: In Schools and Colleges

The workshop was conducted in response to the ever increasing public and political attitude that "our schools are failing because of incompetent teachers who are protected by state tenure laws from effective evaluation and dismissal." Conservative economic forces are using this mythology to advance the argument that it would be a waste to put more money into education until such time that the incompetents are removed and the managers

of our school system are given the tools and laws by which they can discipline the classroom teacher.

The discussion centered around what the teachers' union response should be in this climate. Two resource people took the position that we (the AFT) should develop fair, accurate, professional analysis and assessment techniques to be used constructively to improve professional growth and instructional competency. This affirmative professional growth assessment program should be viewed as being independent of the traditional management evaluation that leads to limited conclusions of retention or dismissal.

Other participants assumed a different position and argued that teachers should use union power to protect teachers from all forms of evaluation and/or incompetent intrusion into the classroom environment. Albeit, the discussion that emerged from these two positions did not lead to polarization within the group in that there was general agreement on the following points:

1. There is an identifiable lack of agreement as to what constitutes criteria for expertise in teaching.
2. There is great disagreement over what would constitute effective teaching variables. A wide range in learning environments exists and/or needs to exist, thus almost defying standardization of definition in this area. There was agreement that there are certain kinds of positive behavior that assist learning and certain types of negative behavior that will obstruct it.
3. There is an apparent and justified reluctance on the part of the practitioners to submit to external investigation by school administration and/or the lay public. Historically, classroom evaluation has been used in a punitive manner to either coerce and discipline the teacher and/or initiate the first steps in a dismissal procedure. Public schools have consistently refused to expend the financial resources that would provide for even a minimal evaluation program designed to identify problems and seek a remedial resolution for them.
4. Effective evaluation and/or self-growth assessment can only flourish within the specific due process structure of a collectively bargained contract between the practitioners and the managers of our school system.
5. The teachers' union movement must go on the offensive in an effort to reject and clarify the myths attendant to the current attack on tenure. The focus of the accountability mythology is to prevent any significant increase in the funding of public education. The accountability, anti-tenure forces are contributed to a politically—economically motivated attack on the institution of public education that is not directly tied to the improvement of instruction. There is real concern as to the potential of the use of standardized tests as a simplistic tool of evaluation. It was unanimously supported that such devices are detrimental to the learning environment and the teacher-pupil relationship.
6. There are important differences in evaluation between the K-12

system and higher education. Peer evaluation and external means of evaluation, scholarship, committee work, etc., are of greater viability and are better understood in higher education.

7. Peer evaluation that functions without the general understandings which exist in higher education and/or a program of professional growth assessment independent of the "retain or dismiss" syndrome of evaluation at the public school level requires careful consideration by the K-12 teacher.

8. It was generally agreed that all evaluation instruments are imperfect, but that probably the best would be a competent evaluator, competent in the discipline area that he presumes to evaluate, armed with a blank piece of paper, and enough time and objectivity to ascertain, within the limits of human capabilities, what was going on in the classroom.

9. It was generally accepted that teachers have been involved in a self-evaluation procedure, a student evaluation process, a college/peer evaluation process of sorts, so that to accept the myths that we have been teaching without standards and evaluation is to commit ourselves to the mercy of the enemies of the teacher. It was strongly argued that rating scales should not be used as a means of professional growth in that they are management tools for retention or dismissal.

The overall conclusion was that public education and government must begin to spend significant amounts of money in the field of research to ascertain how youngsters learn, in what environments youngsters learn best, and what effective role the teacher plays in these processes. The current system of evaluation of public education, reflected by the participating teachers from all over the United States, is one dimensional, cavalier, punitive in nature, and does not contribute to the improvement of instruction. Evaluators, as a general rule, are not competent in the field of teaching in general. There is a high degree of anxiety on the part of practitioners as to the intent of the administration in the general area of evaluation and accountability.

At the same time, the participants recognized the need for professional growth and improvement in techniques to benefit the children in our schools. This latter circumstance can best be achieved in the due process environment of a collectively bargained contract.

B-2. Informational and Advisory Report
Discipline

The discussions focused upon the three main ideas that: (1) teachers consistently list classroom discipline as the number one obstacle to effective teaching; (2) existing research on the subject is insufficient and too often is of little value in helping teachers to deal with the problem in a practical way; and (3) teachers should continue to utilize the collective bargaining process to help themselves and their students in this area.

A recent Temple University survey was made to determine the effectiveness of its teacher-education program; questions were directed to its graduates who had been teaching two or three years. Using a scale of 1-26, the teachers were asked to identify the most important thing a college could teach. The overwhelming response listed "maintaining classroom control" as No. 1. To the question, "What did the college actually teach?", the responses showed "maintaining classroom control" as No. 23. The feeling was expressed that similar responses would prevail if other teacher education colleges were to conduct a similar survey.

Recognizing the frustration of teachers in dealing with this problem, two suggestions were offered as ways to help alleviate it: (1) That the AFT establish workshops which could develop practical "how-to" procedures for teachers to use in classroom management and discipline, and (2) That the AFT urge locals to negotiate contract provisions that would establish direct and forceful involvement of the union in teacher education. Some possible considerations are as follows: (a) Combining supervision of beginning teachers with the supervision of university interns and student teachers. Such personnel should be jointly appointed and financed by both the system and the university and hold full faculty rank and privilege in both.

(b) Student teachers and interns must fill a full schedule for a full semester (5 days a week from beginning to end of the half-year term). If teacher education institutions cannot maintain this condition or so alter their calendars, then they should go to non-union schools. (c) Teacher education programs should stress more in-service instruction and assistance in local schools. Any instruction on how to teach students ought not take place in the complete absence of students, as is the case in far too many courses. (d) In-service programs should concentrate resources in specific school buildings rather than disburse too little on too wide a basis to make any significant change.

Concerning the second main idea, research over the past two decades shows no change in the types of misbehavior listed. The point was made that while the categories may not have changed, the seriousness of the misbehavior and the numbers of students involved indicate great change. The fact that there does not seem to exist recent research in this area indicates a need for it. It was suggested, therefore, that AFT engage in basic and extensive research on student discipline both in this country and abroad, particularly in countries where illiteracy has been successfully reduced or eliminated.

Concerning the third main idea: Contract provisions are being negotiated in increasing numbers in the area of discipline. The problem of the disruptive child and the need to remove him from the classroom was considered. It was suggested that the AFT urge locals to continue negotiating contract provisions for dealing with disruptive children. Included should be: (1) Adjustment centers separate from the regular school building; (2) An in-school facility where disturbed children may be sent for a temporary

period of time to receive counseling; and (3) Procedures for excluding disruptive children.

Recognizing that, too frequently, referrals to the office are considered reflections on the teacher's competence, locals must assist teachers in enforcing these provisions.

It was suggested that the AFT continue to press for reduction of class size to 20, particularly at the primary grade level. In addition, it was suggested that AFT encourage locals to research what rights teachers have according to local laws when they act in a responsible way to maintain discipline in the classroom and, if possible, to attempt to negotiate these rights into contracts.

These suggestions are meant to approach the problem of student behavior in two essential ways: some deal with already existing problems and some would be directed toward preventing them in the future.

B-3, Advisory Report
The Education of Minority Group Children

The initial action was to change the name of the workshop group to "The Education of All Public School Children," since the general consensus is that schools are failing *all* children.

The focus thereafter centered around the methods of funding public school education, and the re-evaluation of the federally-funded programs that are invading inner-city schools, using "gimmicks" available to get re-funded although most of the programs are not carried out to help the urban student learn.

The discussions culminated in a number of suggested courses of action to be taken by the AFT. The group suggested that:

1. The AFT adopt two basic goals:
   (a) become politically active nationally and locally in order to select candidates for political office who favor our educational priorities; and
   (b) support and develop programs that are consistent with the ideals of this QuEST Consortium. These are to be selected from the numerous federally-funded programs that have recently invaded the public schools.
2. The AFT work toward eliminating the local property tax as the primary basis of funding education.
3. The AFT reaffirm and transmit to the U.S. Representatives our goals and objectives and that the priorities of the U.S. Office of Education be arranged to implement these goals.
4. Our major goal should be to go out into communities to educate them to the fact that the AFT is interested in improving the quality of education, that the union is concerned with the education of *all* children, and that we join forces with the community to reverse the retrenchment of education in our country.

B-4, Informational and Advisory Report
Educational Technology

The focus in this workshop was on Computer Assisted Instruction, although some discussion centered around closed circuit television and autotutorial instruction.

Since CAI is a recent innovation in education, there has not been an abundance of research material on the issue. However, when considering CAI, it is important to determine whether the computer is initially to be used for general data processing. The type of equipment required for CAI does not require the sophistication of one intended for data processing. The general business equipment can be added later at less cost than it would be to convert the data processing computer to instructional purposes.

There are several types of CAI—one for laboratories, used for computing formulas derived from the experiments; another to test models; and a third for individualized instruction such as remedial reading drill and practice.

The advantages of CAI are that they provide correctness of response, give an alternative to "booklearning," provide for individualized instruction, and help the student "learn for mastery."

The suggestion that teachers take a course in computer programming was not intended to make expert programmers out of them, but to help them understand the programming concept and to determine whether there is a practical application for it in the teacher's classes.

It is also important for teachers to know what types of instructional media are available and, possibly, for schools to have media specialists as part of the staff.

The following suggestions were made:

1. Initiation of a study to determine the need for media-specialist positions on school staffs;
2. Investigation of the desirability of present and/or future teachers receiving instruction in educational technology media;
3. Inclusion of a demand in contract negotiations that residual payments be given to teachers who make closed-circuit TV programs and/or create computer software; and
4. Consideration of a recommendation to all AFT locals that decisions regarding the use of computer-based and other multi-media programs be made jointly by the representatives of the teachers and administration, and once the decision has been made to use such programs, to require that the school board give teachers the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the program and equipment.

B-5, Informational and Advisory Report
Flexible Scheduling and Differentiated Staffing

The discussions on flexible scheduling and differentiated staffing often were heated by claims of the USOE resource person that the "best" teach-

ers never entered teaching or left the field after 3 years. Unable to defend these assertions satisfactorily, the USOE resource person reminded the participants that he too is a teacher—a foundations of education course one night a week. The statement seemed to exemplify the attitude of some of those who plan and augment new schemes for schools. The attitude is one of condescension toward teachers, as if those who choose to remain in the classroom must be inferior to those who use the classroom as a steppingstone to school administration and/or bureaucratic agencies.

However, differentiated staffing and flexible scheduling were exposed for what they really are: issues of economics and cost-effectiveness and not so much of quality of education. In the world of educational jargon, these subjects become all too clear and frightening. Students are viewed as "products" to be manufactured as cheaply as possible, with little deviation from the norm. Under these conditions, education is a quantitative subject which can be measured by the amount of input that the "product" can regurgitate on any given standard test mechanism.

Differentiated staffing and flexible scheduling, like "educational accountability," are only valued by so-called innovators in as much as they achieve the goal of cost-effectiveness (read cost-cutting). If any program proposal reflects the possibility of greater student achievement— while at the same time not effecting cost savings—it is doubtful it would be adopted. This brings up the question of priorities and the newly popular term, needs assessment. Is the real need being assessed the level of student achievement or the cost of the program? As a result of the group discussions, it became clearer that the real issue is one of economics and balancing budgets. If that is the case, these schemes are not related to the students and learning as much as they are attempts by administrators to cut corners—and costs.

A second topic that was discussed was the view of differentiated staffing as a way of attacking the teacher union movement and, in particular, the single salary schedule, the principle of extra pay for extra duty, the negotiated items of class size and class load, and the concept that each teacher is valuable to the student in his or her special way—no teacher is essentially any more or less important to the education of a particular child than any other teacher.

A number of points were offered as suggestions to the AFT Executive Council and for locals to consider in their negotiation sessions:

1. That the AFT reaffirm its opposition to any attempts at *vertical* differentiated staffing.

2. That the AFT impress upon the USOE its opposition to these schemes and convey our concern that while the United States has millions of dollars available for research projects that we know will fail, it has not funds for *proven* programs that do make a difference in the education of a child. The AFT, therefore, should press school districts to adopt the MES program in place of the USOE schemes.

3. That the AFT expose those schemes which misuse, misappropriate, and prostitute the funds and programs for which they were

created, and report those school districts which employ federal funding as a subsidy to their own district budget.

4. That the AFT insist that in any proposal for differentiated staffing or flexible scheduling, the initiation and planning must involve teachers in the actual decision-making processes and that this role continue throughout the entire process. In addition, the AFT should involve and inform the community and students of these proposals and make them aware of what is involved in them.

5. That any proposal must include provisions for maintaining the current contact time between teacher and teacher, and student and teacher. However, care must be taken to insure that the maintenance of such time does not come from teacher preparation time or unassigned time. Teachers should not be forced to give up what they had worked long and hard to achieve. And vigilance would be the only safeguard against such abuses.

6. That the AFT assist locals negotiating contracts to resist efforts to remove class size, class load, and preparation periods from the negotiated items; further, that the AFT help locals enforce such provisions in existing contracts.

7. That AFT locals make every effort to prevent the elimination of teacher positions as a means by which school districts attempt to cut costs—at the teachers' expense.

8. That educational change must come *from the classroom*, not from administrators removed from the classroom. If teachers do not take control of that change, they will continue to be plagued by "easy schemes" forced upon them. The value of such forced changes for students, teachers, and the union would be questionable—to say the least.

B-6, Informational and Advisory Report
Individualized Instruction

The understanding that each student has unique capabilities and experiences is certainly nothing new nor startling. If we are to believe the statements of goals current in the pronouncements of school districts, it is an objective that is sought everywhere.

The discussion made it evident that a definition of this concept is necessary to reduce its elusive nature. The following working statement was arrived at:

> Individualized instruction means the creation of an educational program that fits the needs and interests of each student, including (explicitly or implicitly):
>
> 1. a diagnosis of achievement and experience,
> 2. a negotiated set of objectives,
> 3. a negotiated set of activities,
> 4. a system of evaluation, particularly self-evaluation.

The word negotiate is critical. It is overwhelmingly important to involve

students and their perceptions in the process of deriving an education rather than to have them be merely passive recipients.

The discussion centered on three familiar questions: (1) What do we want? (2) Where are we now? (3) How do we get from here to there? Most of the focus was on "where we are now" in terms of individual practice—from the use of computers to individual contracts to special mini-courses. A clear theme that emerged was frustration: too many students, poor facilities, inadequate resources, insufficient personnel (in numbers and training), and unsympathetic parents, administrators and (unfortunately) some colleagues.

On the local level, a number of suggestions were presented: First, no program of individualized instruction should be undertaken unless teachers are involved in *initial* planning, and unless their desire to participate is based on non-coercive agreement. Second, a working definition is necessary so that whatever is meant by individualizing instruction is understood by teachers, parents, administrators, students. Beyond these things, the local and its building chapters need to determine priorities about personnel, space, time, and resources that will be devoted to implementing the program. Some locals, notably Local No. 2, have had success in getting local school districts to set up research and development funds to be used in the investigation and implementation of innovative programs under the direction of teachers. Under these circumstances it would be desirable to establish an in-service program with (a) teacher control, (b) incentives, and (c) opportunities for training during the school day, in school, with students, and with possibilities for visiting other instructional sites. Steps need to be taken to thoroughly research various proposals, to protect those teachers not wishing to participate, and most importantly, to prepare parents and the community.

On the national level, a number of suggestions also were presented: that research studies be set up to examine the effects of individualizing instruction on student performance and on teacher identity.

Beyond all of this, there are some problems (a partial list of which is noted here) that need to be examined:

1. Is individualized instruction simply a gimmick to transmit an increasingly non-functional curriculum? We can ill-afford to concentrate on method at the sacrifice of content.

2. How do we handle, in a frequently conformist-oriented society, a student's distress at being treated differently?

3. How do we handle the possible emergence of elitism?

4. To what degree should we be concerned about the articulation of instruction from year to year?

5. What attention should we pay to the schemes for non-graded structures which vaunt procedures like individualized instruction?

6. What attention should we direct toward the kind of forms we use to note student performance in mastering learning activities, especially in their cumulative records? For instance, what would happen

if we allowed incompletes to run over from one grading period to the next and through the summer to the fall?

7. What kind of re-examination of teaching roles is needed in terms of teacher-student ratios, use of paraprofessionals, learning more techniques for classroom decentralization, etc.?

8. What kind of curricular resources need to be developed for programs like individualized instruction?

9. Are teachers really too "hammy" to want real individualized instruction?

10. Will "individualizing instruction" become the cloak behind which "performance contracting" will hide?

B-7, Informational and Advisory Report
Early Childhood Education

Early Childhood Education is one of the most vital areas in education today, for it has taken on wider and wider dimensions. It means much more than kindergarten programs, for it now concerns educating the infant, one-year-old, two, three, and four-year-old as well.

Programs for this age group are becoming more and more the responsibility of the public. Demands for more day care centers, nursery schools, Head-Start and Follow-Through programs are being heard. Why? Simply because there is an urgent need for these programs.

More and more women are working outside of the home. Some are forced to work because of the present economical picture; the high divorce rate has increased the number of single parent families, forcing the mother to hold jobs in order to meet expenses; and there always have been the very poor mothers who had to work. In smaller, less complex societies, the child-rearing role could be assumed by the grandmother, neighbor, or relative; this is no longer feasible in our society. We have long since acknowledged that the very early years are the formative ones where careful guidance and nurturing must be provided. It is during these years that a child develops a feeling of self-worth, motivation, initiative and ability to learn. It is in these formative years that the child's foundation is built—or very often permanently destroyed. In summary, a changing society and a changing view of women's roles is helping the push toward centers outside the home where small children will be cared for.

The primary questions raised were: Will we as AFT teachers meet these needs? Without our participation, centers will still be opened for the need is there. But what kind of services and care will they provide? Will children be put into institutional-like settings which will stifle creativity? Will custodial care take the place of well-planned, well-prepared, high quality programs?

The following points, therefore, were presented for consideration of various units of the AFT:

1. Examine and strengthen procedures for educating members regarding political involvement relating to the needs of young children.

2. Initiate and sponsor bills and lobby for such measures in federal and state legislative bodies. Form a coalition of organizations with similar interests. (A Children's Lobby has recently been formed, with AFT representation.)

3. Publicize relevant information concerning current legislation and programs or other unions and other groups throughout the country.

4. Develop our own *quality models* in a similar manner as the AFT National Council for More Effective Schools.

5. Sponsor a special conference in this area and urge local conferences.

7. Through COPE Committee questionnaires, make certain that candidates are questioned on child-related and educational issues.

8. Develop a public relations program with community groups so that they are fully informed of the need of quality programs and personnel.

9. Local educational committees should investigate the many alternatives offered in Early Childhood Education programs.

10. Actively oppose and lobby against all financial cuts to programs in this area.

B-8. Informational and Advisory Report
The Extended School Year

The following major reasons were presented for the movement toward the *Extended School Year (ESY) and Year Round Schools (YRS)* concepts:

1. The high cost of education, school construction, teacher salaries and benefits, and expanded school enrollment.

2. The demand for increased quality education as well as expanding educational services.

It was pointed out that the biggest concern of those who advocate an Extended School Year is the potential cost savings, not the educational enrichment. For the most part, it often is simply a way of avoiding new building construction.

It was pointed out, further, that the American Association of School Administration at its last convention said that an Extended School Year makes sense for the following reasons:

School buildings are available.

Overhead costs are approximately the same during the summer whether or not school is in session.

Fixed charges are reasonably constant throughout the year.

The teaching staff is mobilized and available.

Presently, there are no constructive, developmental programs during the summer.

An extended school year could provide for the acceleration of the student program.

Some of the general comments regarding the Extended School Year and Year Round School Year were as follows:

1. Financial savings do not occur immediately. In fact, there is evidence which indicates that the immediate financial impact is a cost increase due primarily to increased teacher salaries. Possibly financial savings might result from cutting back the professional staff and/or hiring larger numbers of less qualified teachers.
2. To date, the ESY/YRS has been used primarily as a stop-gap measure to meet an immediate crisis, such as the rapid expansion of pupil population, a rejection by the voters of a school bond referendum, or a substantial budget cut.
3. In general, smaller districts have a better opportunity to implement an ESY/YRS.
4. The only means of evaluating an ESY/YRS program is to relate it to the goals which the community had when it established the program.
5. There is no evidence which indicates that an ESY/YRS leads to increased educational productivity.

A number of important questions were raised:

1. Will the ESY/YRS be optional or mandatory for teachers?
2. How will additional compensation be determined? Pro-rated? By percentage? Or by some formula which takes into consideration such factors as fatigue?
3. What will be the effect of the ESY/YRS on:
   - The size of the teaching staff?
   - The number of curriculum options?
   - The size of the class?
   - The ratio of professionals to paraprofessionals?
   - Teacher retirement formulas?
   - Teacher certification requirements?
   - Residency requirements for graduate study?
   - The ability of teachers to take sabbatical leave?
   - Sick leave policies?
   - Teacher tenure?
   - Teacher in-service programs?
   - Travel opportunities?

The following points were suggested for consideration:

1. Before undertaking an ESY/YRS a school district should consider all other alternatives.
2. Teachers, parents and community should be involved in planning stages from the outset.
3. An ESY/YRS must be accompanied by a restructuring of the curriculum. The program should involve the restructuring of both the calendar and the curriculum.
4. If possible, the school district should experiment with the pro-

gram on a small scale first, using either a pilot or demonstration model as the first session of the program.

5. The program must be planned with the needs of the local community in mind.

6. The school district should examine the potential impact of court decisions which effect the financing of education.

It is necessary to distinguish between a Year Round School, one which operates on a 12-month basis with the students attending 180 days, and an Extended School Year, one which operates on a 12-month basis but the students attending 220 or more days.

It also was necessary to distinguish between communities who undertake an ESY or a YRS for (1) survival needs, i.e., high bonded indebtedness, lack of funds, and (2) "being needs," i.e., desire to revise curriculum offerings, innovative educational programs. It was indicated that communities which enter ESY/YRS for survival needs must use the mandatory approach, whereas those which enter for "being needs," usually do so on a voluntary basis. "Being needs" communities do not pretend to save money.

A word of caution was raised with respect to state school reimbursement formulas. The specificity of many education laws pertaining to the reimbursement of school funds may necessitate legislative enactment in order to avoid further complications. For example, in the state of Georgia which uses an ADA formula for reimbursement, student attendance during July and August is excluded from the ADA, thus eliminating reimbursement for funds expended during July and August.

B-9, Informational Report
Non-Traditional and Independent Study: In Schools and Colleges

A federal study on "non-traditional" schools has stated that it is difficult, if not impossible, to try to define the nature of what we call "traditional" study.

The innovative aspects of John Dewey High School and the *City as School* program, both in New York City, were described. It was suggested that the activities in each of these programs could be described as "non-traditional," although most definitely not new to New York or to other parts of the country.

It was stated that as far back as the 1930's many people were pursuing types of "non-traditional" study and teaching on the college level in the use of materials and techniques of learning. After World War II, veterans had the opportunity of selecting their subjects which varied widely from those traditionally prescribed. Antioch College served as the pioneer institution in independent study. It was suggested that the "style or process" in which independent study is initiated is the most important aspect and that in order to effect change, one must look for those who believe as you do. The suggestion was offered that one look for allies first among colleagues and then consolidate these groups before moving on to more basic programs of

change. This is most important in situations which might be described as deeply traditional. There is nothing intrinsically good or bad about traditional or non-traditional modes of study. The most important fact is "power" or, in other words, the feeling students and teachers might have that their learning and teaching will give them some say about their lives.

The following points were presented in the course of the discussion:

Non-traditional study in secondary schools often presents problems of accreditation procedures. How do school systems set up standards of independent study, external learning, and the like which will be accepted by colleges?

Though accreditation is a problem, Parkway in Philadelphia, John Adams in Portland, Oregon, and John Dewey students so far have had no problems in gaining admission to college, although each has unique standards for measuring credit.

There is more to learning than "gaining credit;" this must be one area in "non-traditional" study which must be re-examined.

Independent study has succeeded both in a structured situation, such as in Dewey, and in the St. Paul Open School, a public school, where it is far less structured.

Several students from the free schools in Washington, D.C. felt that one must have the choice of coming to school or not coming to school and unless that is the case, everything else is "irrelevant."

Provide students with enough alternatives and they will come to learn.

It is important that we "politicize" students in schools early so that they may be aware of those factors in society which must be changed.

For many students, traditional teaching and learning have been successful, but for a growing number, alternatives are vital. Many are dropping out and real drop out figures are larger than is commonly believed.

Although no formal proposals were adopted, the following points were suggested for consideration:

1. Involvement of students in various alternative school situations would be invaluable.
2. There needs to be a clearinghouse listing and describing the varieties of "non-traditional" education going on throughout the country. (Most workshop members knew little about actual programs.)
3. Innovation programs initiated *only* from the top usually end in failure.

THE MAJOR PROPOSAL

"Meeting the Challenge: From *This* QuEST Consortium to Reality"

DAVID SELDEN
AFT President

[*Reprinted from the April, 1972 American Teacher, "Liberating the Office of Education"*]

LIBERATING THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION

DAVID SELDEN
AFT President

When President Richard M. Nixon vetoed his first education-appropriation bill, I sent a telegram to then U.S. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., urging that Allen resign. I had known Allen for a number of years when he was state commissioner in New York. Although he was not an enthusiastic union supporter, he was a good schoolman and he had devoted his life to trying to get more money for education. It seemed intolerable that Allen should remain in an administration so indifferent to the needs of the nation's school.

Poor Allen—he was killed in a plane crash a year ago—was given the sack by the President a year following my telegram, not because he was not doing a good job as commissioner and not because he was neglecting to carry out the administration's wishes in regard to education, such as they were, but because of an off-hand remark made at a staff meeting. When pressed during a question period by some OE staff members, Allen stated his opinion that the Vietnam war was a hindrance to education in the U.S. These two incidents involving the late commissioner illustrate the fundamental problem confronting us as educators.

Quite frankly, even brutally, education takes a back seat to politics in the U.S. Although we opposed the appointment and confirmation of the present U.S. commissioner of education, Sidney Marland, we should not be surprised, much less appalled, at his actions in support of recent excursions into the educational field by the President and his advisors.

Under present circumstances, no respectable educator can accept the position of the U.S. commissioner of education and hope to maintain his educational integrity. A commissioner of education, like other high-ranking government officials, is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and he serves at the pleasure of the President. That is to say, if someone in the White House—a presidential advisor of the President himself—takes it into his head to issue pronouncements on educational matters and the President gives the word to the commissioner, the commissioner must go along or else resign.

The incumbent commissioner, therefore, could not find it possible to issue a public protest—or plea for mercy—when teachers were so egregiously discriminated against during the freeze. He couldn't even rise in support of the legislation which would require teachers to be paid back the money which had been extracted from their paychecks by Nixon fiat. And when the President said that busing black children to school was bad, even if it would lead to racial balance in the schools, the commissioner had to say amen, even though as a local school superintendent he had in other years been a member of the NAACP.

True, Marland tried to put as good a face as possible on the President's antibusing pronouncements by saying that the President only was referring to the expenditure of federal funds for busing purposes—a miserable quibble, but at least he made the attempt to rationalize the new policy.

But even this now has been swept away by the President's busing-moratorium proposal and Marland and his superior, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson, must go along or get out. Since both of these officials have gone along step by step to this point, it would be difficult to make any reasonable argument as to why they shouldn't continue to take the next few steps.

Should the highest educational official in the U.S. be forced to subordinate what most of those in education know to be good practice to the exigencies of politics? Should a U.S. commissioner of education be prohibited from going public on the need for more money for schools? Should the U.S. commissioner of education be forced to defend outrageous anti-education and anti-social proposals in the hopes that by so doing he may be able to do some little good somewhere else? Should it be left to the President rather than the commissioner to announce the intent to form a wholly new educational research organization within the government with all the attendant problems of internal readjustment? Should other branches of government be permitted to launch ill-conceived time- and money-wasting educational projects without at least clearing them with the U.S. office of education?

I raise these questions for a very practical purpose. The NEA has made it a major objective to establish "education as a department of cabinet rank." The commissioner's title would be changed to secretary and presumably the prestige thus engendered would magically tap the reservoir of gold in the U.S. Treasury, permitting every school in the nation to get the financial transfusion so vitally needed. The AFT, too, has a resolution adopted a number of years ago which calls for elevating education to cabinet rank.

I submit that elevating the commissioner of education to the title of secretary would be an honor without profit.

We will not be able to establish an honest and effective national strategy for education until we have set up the U.S. Office of Education as a quasi-autonomous arm of the government. A secretary of education would be just as subservient to the needs of politics as the present commissioner of education—perhaps more so, since there would be more to lose. We need to do at the national level what we have slowly been doing at the state level. There should be a national board of education—yes, appointed by the President with staggered terms. The board should be a mixture of public representatives, administrators, and teacher representatives. It should have the responsibility of hiring a U.S. commissioner of education for a definite term: perhaps five years. It should have the authority to demand that the commissioner submit plans for approval of the national board of education. It should also have the right to deal directly with the President and Congress. The board and the commissioner should have the obligation to speak

out on matters of educational concern and the board and the commissioner should be held accountable (how I hate to use that word, but no other fits in this instance) for what they do.

I would like to liberate the U.S. commissioner of education—the office, that is. It ought to be permissible for a U.S. commissioner of education to criticize a war which has drained off money from domestic purposes and disrupted every college campus, even if the President should find such remarks distasteful. The U.S. commissioner of education ought to be able to expose the humbug in the busing moratorium; this should not be left to another agency such as the Civil Rights Commission which, to its credit, did step into this breach. It ought to be permissible for a U.S. commissioner of education to say that the main reason millions of children are not being educated in this country is that there are not enough teachers, paraprofessionals, and remedial people in our schools.

If the office of the U.S. commissioner of education were "liberated" and if we were reasonably lucky in the choice of the person who became the first liberated commissioner, education itself might begin to win back that position of credibility in the minds of the public which has been so seriously undermined during the past four years.

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THE MAJOR SPEECHES

Comments on the Educational Scene

Remarks by
DR. SIDNEY P. MARLAND, JR.
Commissioner of Education, United States Office of Education,
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

If there is one thing for which I stand, it is to increase the place of the teacher in the United States, to accord teachers an increasing recognition for the transcending obligations they carry in a free society. That has been my conviction for 20 years, and that is the theme on which I perform the work of my office.

I applaud those who conceived this meeting concerned with teaching and learning. I think it is a truth that the conventional associations of teachers in the United States today are conventionally viewed as self-serving rather than child-serving, as concerned with benefits rather than teaching, as concerned with economic issues rather than change and flowering in our profession. Now this is not true, but it is as we are often perceived. I think a meeting like this should have great recognition in our society as a great association of teachers turns its thoughts and energies and creativity away from economic issues and to the children.

There are two or three things happening in the Office of Education which I think are pertinent to the theme of this meeting and which have to do with teaching and learning. They are major thrusts for which we in the Office of Education do not take particular credit as the inventors, but say only that we are fortunate to be at the right place at the right time to build upon the spirit implicit in this room.

One, I hope that you have and will continue to have a lively and supporting role in what we call Career Education. I shall not elaborate on it today. This organization, the American Federation of Teachers, sits closely with us as we (1) conceive and extend this theme as a way of bringing more relevance to the lives of young people at all levels of education (from the elementary schools through the graduate schools) and (2) bring motivation, information, guidance, and self-determination to young people through a new spirit implicit in Career Education.

We are deliberately avoiding hammering out a definition of Career Education. But we are bringing together the best wisdom we can discover throughout the land, with assistance and support from people like Dave Selden and Al Shanker who sit on our council of critics, people like Walter Davis of AFL-CIO, who has been an active participant in hammering out these thoughts. We see Career Education as one central theme around which you may be able to bend your energies cooperatively if you choose to.

The second theme is Renewal, again a theme concerned with teaching and learning. In many respects it builds upon the breakthroughs the AFT has made in its More Effective Schools philosophy by targeting the re-

sources on children, on the disadvantaged, on those who have so far been passed by in our society. It concentrates our best resources, our best teachers, our best tools, our most free-wheeling experimental resources on breaking through that still frustrating problem of the disadvantaged child, most often the minority child, who is not succeeding in the present system. Renewal speaks to that as you have been speaking to it for eight or nine years through your More Effective Schools philosophy. I applaud that.

A third issue, not quite as central to AFT as these other two that I have mentioned but certainly among Office of Education activities which I think may have peripheral importance for you, is higher education.

Here again we are attempting to concentrate all possible resources on the disadvantaged in order to assure that no child in the United States fails to attain a higher education for lack of funds. The fate of this transcending goal lies now in conference committee in Congress. We seek not only improved circumstances for entitlement—entitlement and not merely a funded university program for grants, work studies, and loans—but an entitlement to the individual for the first time. This is a breakthrough in federal support for that high goal. Closely linked with it is assistance to higher education institutions which are serving national priorities such as the disadvantaged learner.

Across the board, therefore, from early childhood to higher education, we hope we are on the same wave length with you. We hope that there will be a symphony of teachers' voices raised in support of these goals. We hope that we will stand closely with you, as we have been doing, and draw you into our counsel at the federal level and extend corresponding counsel at all levels.

For example, returning to Career Education for a moment, we are now sponsoring some 16 regional seminars on this subject, bringing together the power of the people—community people, teachers, school administrators, state legislators, the voice of business, the voice of labor—to hammer out what this reform movement means, what it means in New Hampshire as distinct from New Mexico. Here, again, the voice of the teacher must be loud and clear as he shapes this still very fluid concept to the advantages of teaching and learning. We have asked that your organization, along with others, be clearly and truly represented in all of these regional sessions.

Just a few more brief thoughts on current legislation which has indirect if not direct relevance to the theme of this meeting: The National Institute of Education. I expect that the National Institute will be passed this spring or early summer. I expect that it will be a large new flowering of educational research, bringing the best wisdom and best scholarship in combination with the best practitioners in the land to turn our energies more forcefully, with better support and, as Dave Selden said, with the dollar necessary to carry out truly significant research and get it into the delivery system where you and I are. This is a very important new thrust. It changes the very character of the Office of Education, increases its role in the network of delivery to the teacher, increases its importance as a recipient of validated, respectable research, and facilitates its technical

assistance transfer from a central government body at the option of the local body. It is a large new dimension.

The Higher Education Foundation is another one now in motion which we hope to have passed this spring or summer. I have mentioned the student aid reforms to the entitlement concept and institutional support. Finally, while this is not on the subject directly of teaching and learning, a word on federal financing of elementary and secondary education.

I remember in my office one day Dave Selden and three or four of our top staff were gathered. Again I hammered on my concern, saying, "What are we going to do about the disadvantaged child?" Dave said, "Let's try money." I remember that very well. I used it once with Secretary Richardson and it is not wholly contrary to the evolution brought about by a number of converging forces. Your President sat with the President of the United States and about seven or eight other national leaders in the White House last September. Individual after individual, whether he was the President of the School Board's Association, the President of the PTA, the President of the AFT or NEA, one after the other, not by plan, testified as to the urgent problems of *paying* for elementary and secondary education in the United States. That was in September.

Converging with that kind of thrust from the leadership of elementary and secondary education came the Serrano decision in California and, shortly after, the Texas decision, the Minnesota decision, the New Jersey decision. Currently at least 17 other States are in litigation over the appropriateness of the local property tax to support the schools. Combined with this is the President's belief that the present local property tax is an unjust way of levying on the people the burden of elementary and secondary education.

Those converging forces have brought the Administration to the point of declaring very bluntly that it intends to try and find a better means of supporting elementary and secondary education through some new instrument of revenue raising. (I might add here, parenthetically, that there has been overemphasis attached to one new revenue source which has been mentioned and is under study; it should be understood that by no means has there been a decision or even a preliminary commitment to the value-added tax. It is but one of a variety of resources being considered to displace what is probably the most regressive tax that we have in our country, the local property tax.)

I have suggested that something in the neighborhood of 30 percent of the cost of elementary and secondary education be levied at the federal level. Our staff in the Office of Education has been deeply involved in a tightly knit study group of about 12 people working full-time, with some of the talent from the Secretary's office engaged with us, to design and conceptualize a variety of alternatives for the Administration and the Congress on this subject. There are two parts to the problem. One is the development of a new source of revenue, anywhere from $12 billion to $20 billion depending on what the Congress and the President decide.

Second is a delivery mechanism to reach the needs of the people equitably. We in the Office of Education are concerned with the latter.

The President has stated his intention to put the plan before Congress as soon as there is the convergence of a validated new system for revenue and validated set of alternatives for delivery. I stand ready to help implement that plan. That, too, should be an object of discussion and will be with the representatives of AFT. While it is off-target for the theme of this meeting, I think you should know we are working on it very hard.

It has been very good to be with you. I do greet you from the Office of Education. I commend you for what you are doing and I am particularly proud that you have asked a number of our other Office of Education people to share this program today.

The Concept of Educational Renewal

DR. DON DAVIES
Deputy Commissioner for
Educational Renewal, United States Office of Education

I have been looking forward to this session for quite awhile. I commend the American Federation of Teachers for taking the lead on having this kind of an enterprise and I hope that such focus on instruction will receive the continued attention of the organization nationally and of the locals represented here.

I come to talk to a group like this with very mixed feelings. I have spent a good deal of my life working for and with teachers and I come with a deep respect for teaching and teachers. I also come with a kind of deep impatience with our inability to get at and solve the serious problems of education: the problems having to do with race, poverty and the deterioration of the big cities of this country. I have spent the last ten years both giving and listening to speeches on this topic and I am increasingly frustrated and impatient with our ability, capacity as a profession and as a society to really solve those problems. I come also with a deep frustration at how difficult and how fruitless it is to give speeches which attempt to inspire groups such as this, where you are much, much closer to the problems than I am. I can not bring you expertise about your job and I can not bring you inspiration. I can share with you some of the thinking that we are trying to do about ways in which one little part of the Office of Education might be of more help in getting at the problem that I was agonizing about just a bit ago. That is what I would like to do today—straight out without a lot of flourishes.

During the decade of the 60's, most educational organizations and leaders spent a great deal of time and effort talking about a revolution in education and about innovation in its various guises. The Office of Education and other federal agencies and foundations spent a great deal of money on various educational innovations. Now I think most of you would share with me a feeling that the ultimate results of that were quite limited in relationship to the amount of wind expended and the amount of dollars expended. The results were quite small. Something was wrong, it seems to me, with that approach. I was one of the people going around the country doing a lot of that talking, so I am quite willing to share an important part of the blame.

With this line of thinking, let us try to identify what was wrong with those efforts to help the system change. There are five or six things that I would identify at the outset. First of all, most of the efforts at innovation or change were isolated, fragmented, not comprehensive; for example, they dealt with a third-grade reading program or a new approach to teaching science or a new way of organizing the school or a new way of scheduling

the time in the school. They dealt with one part of the system, with one level, or with one area. They were isolated, fragmented from one another. Second, most of what we were talking about under the label of innovation was something that was imposed from the outside, literally, imposed either by a foundation or government agency which had an interest in a new kind of program. Or they were imposed by a school board or a superintendent or by somebody on someone else. Such imposition, I think most of us now know, works for a little while, but when the foundation's or federal agencies' dollars go away, that which has been imposed also goes away or nearly totally fades away.

The third thing that was wrong is that innovation was considered (a) a kind of luxury sitting on the top of everything else that was going on in the system and (b) something that happened one time. We were going to install a new reading program or a new way of organizing the staff. The thing that it did not have was a way of getting built into the system so that you had a continuing process of change, a continuing mechanism for innovation that was not just one shot that lasted for two or three years and then disappeared.

And, next, all of our efforts and all of our talk during the 60's up until now seemed to do very little about reducing that time lag between the good idea and practice in the classroom, between the research and developement effort and what goes on in the schools, between somebody's bright idea developed in a classroom and lots of other classrooms. Finally, the efforts at innovation were characterized, in the federal government at least, by fragmentation among all the agencies of government and within the Office of Education among the various bureaus, units and divisions. We had a highly fragmented arrangement organizationally which was reflected by fragmented efforts in the field. Each part of the Office of Education had its own little programs and projects and efforts and, I might add, it is another characteristic of our efforts at educational change that we seldom actually used the data, information and evidence that increasingly was becoming available.

Most of you are aware that in the last five or six years we have begun to collect an avalanche of statistics and data of all kinds about what is going on in education. I have yet to see decision-makers and policymakers in Washington or in local school districts or states really use in a very profound and important way all of those data to make decisions. The same thing is true about decisions we were making about innovation.

There is nothing startling about this very brief little criticism and analysis of why our efforts at innovation did not work very well. The important question is what can we do about it. We have tried to put together a plan which attempts to address some of those problems so that perhaps the decade of the 70's will produce less rhetoric about educational revolution and more real results.

Dr. Marland mentioned a couple of pieces of this plan: one, the National Institute of Education; two, the National Foundation for Post-Secondary Education, both of which are part of this; the third is the part that

I would like to talk about briefly. It is the part that I have some special responsibility for; it is what we are calling our Strategy for Educational Renewal.

The phrase "educational renewal" grows directly out of John Gardner's concept which, if you remember his book on renewal several years ago, said the thing that is most wrong with the institutions of our society is that they are not responsive to the needs of tne people they are serving and they do not have built into them the capacity to respond quickly as the needs of the clients change. He was talking, of course, about hospitals, banks, social welfare agencies, colleges, schools, all of these institutions of our society. He said the most important need that our civilization has if it is going to survive, if it is going to *deserve* to survive, is to help build into those institutions the mechanism for continuing responsiveness and continuing change. And that is why we are talking about educational renewal.

It has, in the Office of Education, four important parts which I will mention very quickly and then get to the part that I think you are most concerned about. First, *educational data* where our effort is going to be to try to build a federal, state and local data system around commonly-agreed-upon ideas of what data is most needed in order to make decisions. It is going to try to provide for the first time better "hook-ups" between that data and the decisions policy-makers make.

Secondly, a new program of *educational technology* which is going to attempt to demonstrate ways in which both little and big technology (things all the way from tape recorder to the satellite) can be mixed together with the human resources available to provide better services to kids, adults, people of all kinds, who are our clients.

The third piece of the renewal program is *communications dissemination* where our major new idea (actually it is not a new idea at all; it is about 100 years old) is to try to build on the agricultural extension agent model and test out in the next few years the education extension agent idea. The education extension agent essentially will be a person who tries to be the human link between the research and development activities, on the one hand, and teachers and other educational personnel in schools on the other, much as the county agent in agriculture tried to help farmers understand the best results that were coming out of research and development and apply those results to their own farms. In the case of agriculture, that activity had a revolutionary impact on many aspects of agricultural life. Obviously, the analogy between agriculture and education, between farmers and teachers, is not a perfect one, but we think it is an adaptation of that idea. We will try to reduce this gap, this time lag between the good idea and teachers and kids in classrooms. That is what the education extension idea will be all about.

Finally, the fourth, the largest and most controversial aspect of educational renewal is an effort to try to provide *consolidated grants* to local school districts to support the planning and carrying out of comprehensive, long-term reform efforts. This program of grants to local school districts

will have the following characteristics. (This is probably the most important and I hope the most relevant part of this message because these are the school districts in which you are teaching.) First, we hope to shift from the *program* orientation in which the programs of the Office of Education, such as those in the Bureau of Education Personnel Development, determine what happens in the school district to a *problem* orientation where our funds can respond to the problems identified in the local school district. Second, this program will focus on the most serious problems that American education faces today, namely, the problems of educating low-income, minority group youngsters in areas of poverty. It will focus discretionary funds in those parts of school systems serving substantial numbers of low-income kids. Third, the program will be characterized by trying to concentrate funds with enough mass so that the dollars can make some difference. The site collection of schools in a district participating in this renewal program would be something between eight to twenty schools selected for some reasonable educational purpose. Either they would be geographically hooked together or they would share similar problems.

The change process which we will be trying to demonstrate is built around, first of all, the establishment of an Educational Renewal Council representing those people who need to be represented in any kind of an educational change effort lasting after the federal dollars are removed. That means, of course, parents, teachers, students, and administrators, supplemented from time to time by representatives of higher education and by the research and development agencies. But the heart has to be, of course, parents and teachers. This participatory process is nothing new. In the programs of the Bureau of Education Personnel Development which we have been working on over the last three or four years, such as the Teacher Corps, the Career Opportunities Program, Triple T and others, we have been trying to test out in the field (provide money for testing out) the concept called [illegible] that is, attempting to give equitable participation to all of those important parties in the process of identifying what is wrong, what needs to be done, and planning corrective action in a school and a community. The idea, of course, is to get around the weakness we have always had before in innovation where the idea has been imposed from the outside and then we try to build it into the system.

The next characteristic of the renewal process for change at the local level must be that the process starts by having the people who are involved and affected decide what it is that is most wrong, what the problems are that deserve the highest priority. There is a new piece of educational jargon that has come along in the last two or three years called "needs assessment." What that means, I think, is (1) to decide the biggest gaps between what you say you would like to do and what you are actually achieving; (2) to have involved in that process of needs assessment teachers, parents, students, administrators, and appropriate people from higher education and other agencies which have something to contribute to the process; and then (3) to build a plan for improving education on the basis of that assessment of needs.

The characteristic we are trying to test out is *comprehensiveness* which means that all aspects of the educational problem should be subject to planning and change: teachers, teacher training, curriculum, curriculum materials, the way the school is organized, the way time is used, the relationship between the school and the community—the whole thing. Again, we are trying to get away from the fragmentation problem where you deal, let's just say, with curriculum materials but neglect the fact that it does not do much good to develop such new materials unless the teachers are given the understanding and the skill they need to use them.

We hope to make available discretionary funds to school districts for a long enough period of time so that the process of planning and carrying out programs can really have some chance of success and so that the rug does not get pulled out just after the planning process really gets cranked up and things actually get started. This has been another one of our weaknesses in foundation and government support programs.

We would estimate that at least five years is necessary as a commitment to a school system engaged in a genuine renewal effort. We should do everything we can to avoid pulling the plant up by the root to see if it is growing every six months in some kind of premature evaluation. While recognizing the great demand for evaluation and for results, we should try to delay any final evaluation of the impact of the new program on kids until the program has had a chance to have had some real impact. That does not mean after six months; it means four or five years.

The characteristic of this effort which is at the heart, of course, is the fact that no new plan for improving education is going to make any difference at all unless the people who have to implement the plan, *meaning teachers*, are helped to develop whatever new skills, attitudes and knowledge they need to have in order to do what it is that they have decided they need to do. Of course, that is perfect common sense—we all know that—and yet this has been one of the most glaring limitations and omissions of most of our efforts to change education. Adequate money and adequate attention have not been given to the fact that teachers need help with knowledge, skills, attitudes, in order to carry out new kinds of efforts. So the heart of the renewal program will be personnel development, teacher training, or whatever you choose to call it. That *has* to be at the heart of it. In order to do this, clearly we need to provide funds to bring new resources and help to the district. It is our feeling, though, that this help needs to be brought in a different way than typically has been brought by colleges and universities, which set up courses on Tuesday and Thursday evenings and teachers go and take them. We think that the effort here has to be directly related to the educational planning and carrying out of a new educational program in that school district.

This brings us to an idea which has received a good deal of attention in the conversation about Renewal: the term *"teacher center"* Our concept of a teacher center is simply that it is a mechanism in a district or in the collection of schools that constitutes an educational renewal site. It is a mechanism for bringing to the participants the knowledge, information,

skills and attitudes that they need to do what it is that they have decided to do. It is a more responsive mechanism than the typical university operating by itself.

We are doing everything that we can to encourage the very active participation and partnership of colleges and universities in this process, but we are trying to arrange for the personnel development in the system by giving the basic authority to the people who are involved in that process themselves, rather than to the dean of a college of education.

The teacher center—or whatever people call it, and it can be called by many different names: renewal centers or resource centers—will have the responsibility of making sure that the best results of the research and development efforts also are brought to the participants in the local renewal effort.

This plan has stirred a great deal of interest and controversy, even a little conflict across the country, which I think is all to the good. Any proposal for a different way of doing things in education that is worth its salt is going to be controversial. The debate and the dialogue about this are still going on, which I think is also all to the good. We have been in the process—the Commissioner and the Secretary and others—of explaining and negotiating various aspects of this proposal with members of Congress and Congressional staffs. We hope that the plan can be modified in such a way to meet the various concerns they have about existing programs and about appropriate relationships between the legislative and the executive branches. Negotiation is continuing, but we do know that we will have authority to begin in Fiscal 1973 a pilot effort of educational renewal sites, no more than one in each state and perhaps not that many, in order to test the idea in practice.

We will have the capacity to provide substantial discretionary funds to a limited number of school districts interested in establishing a program with the characteristics laid out here. If that works during a pilot or experimental year, we will be in a position to ask Congress for the authority and for the funds to expand the educational renewal program on a very large scale.

It seems to me that this kind of renewal and reform effort is an absolute essential part of the other much larger effort being made to provide large new support for the schools of the country. Further, it seems to me that leverage to provide help for teachers and administrators interested in change is an absolute vital footnote to our effort to provide much larger, much more substantial general support for the operation of the educational system.

We are terribly interested in getting the very specific advice and help of all the groups affected by this plan. We have established a series of special interest task forces, including a teacher task force which has met already and which includes representatives selected by the American Federation of Teachers and by the NEA. We have an administrator task force, a higher education task force, a chief state school officers' task force,

and so on, so that this idea can, in fact, reflect the best possible and widest range of thought in the country.

The educational renewal idea basically is an expression of faith in the possibilities and the potential of this educational system. It is an expression of impatience, of the need for change. It is an expression that, by devoting yourself to this kind of effort, it is in fact possible to create the kinds of conditions in our schools and our communities which will begin to solve some of these agonizing educational problems society is facing.

(1) There are a number of obstacles—time, energy, and the general conditions in schools—which do not reward innovation and creativity. All of us, in order to be innovative, need help, ideas, knowledge, encouragement, somebody to hold our hand, give us a little nudge to get started Often that is missing.

(2) I do not think we can make much progress in talking about change in American education. States now have the major authority of decision-making in education; they are going to continue to have that and are going to have more as the financial structure changes. It is our view that the Office of Education needs to work in a kind of partnership with state departments of education and with local districts in planning and carrying out programs such as the one I am describing. Any effort on our part, or, as a matter of fact, on anybody's part, to bypass that very important part of our structure is going to be doomed. When I say partnership, I don't mean that full control is given to the state departments of education. I mean a balance of authority because here we are talking about discretionary programs in which the Office of Education has the final sign-off. However, we are asking the states in this program to nominate school districts interested in participating where the need is. They are now engaged in that nomination process. Then we are going to ask them to provide technical assistance and information to the participating districts. This is a far cry from saying we will just turn the dollar over to them. There is a genuine effort to create a balanced partnership of authority between OE, the states, and local districts.

(3) We are starting out really on a very small basis with a pilot year. We can not possibly be every place where there is need. All we are going to be able to do the first year is experiment with this process to see if it makes good sense. On the basis of that we could continue, but we can not claim to be meeting the needs of American education with this very small beginning effort. As far as whether or not participation by teachers in a process set up by the state is token or real, it seems to me that you, as teachers, and your organizations need to monitor (the program) very closely. If the process is not a genuine one, exert your energies and pressures to make the process work.

(4) I share the concern about our inability to find ways of doing what really works. I share the frustration that you have; I feel it very keenly. What we are trying to say is that a process of educational change and reform is needed to make the dollars spent on compensatory education, or any other kind of large scale support for education, more effective so that we are not, in fact, just buying more of the same. That is what I am

concerned about. This is a proposal to try to install a different process for educational change in order to make those dollars make some real difference. In lots of ways it is not new and in lots of ways it is old wine in a new bottle. The parts of it that are not new are that people who are affected by a process ought to be involved in it and that you ought to do your planning on the basis of decisions above what the real educational needs are. Those are not new ideas; they have been around for a long time. We just have not tried them out very often.

(5) I think it is up to all of us to try to make the process of involvement more genuine and more honest. It can not simply be done by legislation; it can not simply be done by guidelines; it can not simply be done by you. I was not trying to pass all of the buck, but I was trying to say that we are all involved.

Education for the 70's

HONORABLE WAYNE MORSE
Former United States Senator from Oregon

Mr. Chairman, Carl Megel, distinguished guests, my fellow teachers and friends of education. There is only one problem that having a biased friend causes a speaker other than a tingling of the ears, and this is the difficulty of living up to the expectations he raises in the audience.

Carl Megel, bless him, is such a biased friend. He is and has been a most diligent toiler in the legislative vineyard over the great years of the past decade which brought forth the most impressive array of legislation at the national level that this nation had ever witnessed. More, in fact, than in the preceding 150 years of our national history.

During those historic years, from the Vocational Education Act of 1963 to the present time, Carl has been presenting your case and voicing your views most effectively. I salute him, and I salute you, for the way in which you have responded to him and to your great leader, Dave Selden, when they have called upon you to alert the Congress to needed change in federal education and regulation.

Dave Selden and Carl Megel, Al Shanker and Phyllis Hutchinson have blown the trumpets, but it is your united action that has overcome the obstacles to progress. In union there *is* strength and you have shown that you *are* a strong union dedicated, as is this QuEST Consortium, to quality educational standards in teaching.

You have shown it in the More Effective Schools Program. You have shown it when you rallied to get the votes to override two Presidential vetoes of education funding measures, and you show it by your daily work in the classrooms of this land.

With your help, much has been achieved; but in this work and in this world, past laurel wreaths are less important than those yet to be won. The victories of the past with the bronze and silver medals—the gold has yet to be gained. It will be obtained, I am sure, in the decade ahead.

As of today, we are at the starting gate in the race for general federal aid to education which will come and come soon, of that I am satisfied. The question is, in what form and at what cost?

Why am I confident? Because I read the signs of the times. I hear the voices of the courts, federal and state, enunciating clear Constitutional doctrine. I detect in the hubbub of the Presidential primaries as a persistent undertone the expression of the average voter of his determination, and especially of her determination, that their children *shall* have access to an education that is equivalent to the best models now available, no matter what the cost in dollars or other values.

I note that the candidates themselves, in their approaches to the voter,

stress the new initiative and greater support for education which would result if they were to be called upon to govern.

It is, therefore, for me, basically an optimistic situation. It is a future which includes, masked though it may be with the froth of controversy and the high seas generated by the busing issue on the surface, underneath where it counts, the tide of solid support for greater involvement by the federal government in the funding of education in this country. It is a tide which is rising irresistably to the flood stage and will be continuing at least to the end of the 1970's. I detect it even in the initiatives of those who, by their actions in the past, have demonstrated less than a total commitment to the goal of federal support for our predominant pattern of providing, through our public schools, access based on equal educational opportunity to the goods, services and status rewards of our society.

So I say be of good cheer because your fight, and my fight, and the fight of all concerned citizens is progressing well and is bringing ever nearer the day when equity will rule and equal educational opportunity for all of our students will no longer be bounded by the irrelevant criteria of class or of color or of community origin.

With the public interest made manifest, with these openings to breakthrough appearing daily, with these deeply rooted sentiments becoming crystalized, there comes also both opportunity and dangers. Never was it more important for you as teachers, as educational leaders in the vanguard of the struggle, to assess with care and discernment the packaging and format of proposed solutions. Federal aid to education is coming and in significant amounts. But *how* it comes—in what guise and with what strings attached—should be a major concern to each one of you.

Let us review quickly some of the trial balloons which are being floated; the value-added tax sleight of hand, for example. As background, let us examine this first of the shiny, rose-colored trial balloons that have emerged fro.- the hydrogen tanks of the Treasury and the Office of Man-agement and Budget. To understand the value-added tax approach, we need to be aware of some basic cost figures for elementary and secondary education. The current price tag on American education—all sources, all levels—runs more than $85 billion a year. The figure is not surprising when we remember that students, teachers and teacher supportive services, such as school administrators, number 31.5% of the total number of citizens in this nation. Anything that occupies the working day of almost a third of our total population, in a trillion-dollar economy, is bound to cost money.

For public elementary and secondary schools, the cost for the current year is approaching $50 billion. Without increasing educational goods and services, keeping these things at the same levels as now, if we adopt the policy that the federal government has a one-third responsibility of providing the cost of educating the public school child, then we have established a benchmark, again without expecting improvement, of $16.66 billion.

In my work in the Senate, as early as 1964 when we took through with

a united committee that huge bill of '64, I urged then that by 1970 the federal government should be paying 35% of the cost of education and by 1975, 50%. I am still of that opinion, but I shall discuss this morning an understatement in terms of $35 billion.

Parenthetically, even the Wilson Riles Task Force report, and it was a Nixon-appointed group, found two years ago that if we are to equalize expenditures for all schools, urban and rural, with expenditure levels of our better suburban communities, the cost of that equalization would now be something more than $35 billion above what we annually devote to public elementary and secondary education. Therefore, if we are to take the beginning steps toward achieving equity of absorption of cost at the 33% level, and if we assume for the federal government a liability for but one-third of the cost of bringing education parity to all of our school systems, we find that there is a need on a conservative basis for a federal input of at least $28 billion.

Since draft legislation has not been circulated—only concepts—it is impossible to state problems which might arise from the small print of the proposal. But, all things being equal, just on the basis of the magnitude of the amounts being discussed, a proposal that generates an effective amount for educational funding of between $12 and $13 billion from use of the receipts of a regressive national sales tax plainly will fail. In the first instance, because it won't generate money enough to begin to do the job; second, this proposal, as it is currently voiced, is really fraudulent if it is sold on the basis of aiding education.

What counts is in the classroom. The source of the money used to buy educational goods and services is immaterial. The important thing is the quantity and quality of the goods and services paid for. The value-added tax does not, as presently formulated, bring an additional dime for buying books, paying teachers or paying clerical workers.

Third, as an Oregonian, I can testify to the fact that the voters of my state who do have an opportunity to review and repeal the actions of the State Legislature have made it more than abundantly clear on six or more occasions through the use of the referendum that the sales tax at the state level is detested and cannot survive politically. Every time it is enacted, the people have referred it to an election and trounced it.

In public life, you have to develop political antennas or you don't survive. My own have grown a great deal in these past two years and on this point I think I'm right. A national sales tax, if imposed on the people of this country by a Congress that was insensitive, might very quickly bring about through the ballot box such a turnover of Congressmen that the moving van industry profits on cross-country household goods shipment would break every ceiling to date and turn the industry into the hottest growth stock on the market.

About the only good that would come from its enactment would be the job prospects for CPA's and bookkeepers, and their long-time security and employment chances would be enhanced. I'd much rather put them to work setting up expenditure accounts in our school system; budgeting for

additional teachers' aides, innovative remedial reading programs, and calculating higher withholdings on an imposed classroom teacher salary structure.

Well, enough on that balloon; it has already been punctured and is gradually sinking as the gaseous rhetoric with which it was inflated dissipates into the atmosphere.

But the value-added tax proposal may be patched up again. An attempt may be made to re-float it. If this happens, look at it carefully and do your best to stop it. It is bad for education because it attempts to link school support to a single new gimmick of tax take, rather than as supporting education as a proper charge on the general revenues of the nation. It is a dangerous proposal, however, because its political salability is based upon the correct realization that the property tax at the local level on homeowners has reached a dangerous level. Relief in this area is vital, needed, and must come. It should and can be achieved, but not through a sales tax device which only shifts the pressure on the homeowner's family budget from the house to the pantry.

A far better revenue source for this purpose would be the overdue reform of our national taxation structure, eliminating tax havens, tightening up on depletion allowances, and repealing some of the business tax cuts which were made on the Administration's plea that their enactment would encourage employment and reduce inflation. That rationale has not worked; and, therefore, a reform in this area should be undertaken quickly. Estimates made by some of the Presidential candidates, and figures coming from the Proxmire Joint Economic Committee, can be read to support the contention that reform in this area could generate between $35 billion and up to $50 billion a year—more than enough to make a good start on the needed job of educational finance revision. This matter of tax loopholes enjoyed by powerful economic groups in this country, who have lobbies powerful enough to control votes in the Congress of the United States, is one of the greatest domestic issues facing the people of this country and the people have got to put up the fight.

Now, a word about special revenue sharing. A second, if earlier in time of presentation, trial balloon came up last year in the messages to the Congress from downtown. It was the so-called special revenue sharing proposal for education. Not too much time needs to be taken with this audience in exploding it. The fault it shared with so many other proposals which have emerged in the past three years is that it is unwilling to face up to the real costs that must be met if the situation at the classroom level is to be improved.

Shifting present categorical program funds from one budget label to another does not bring improvement. It actually works to the detriment of education if, in the process of making the shifts, you channel the money through the hands of political bodies which can deflect them from the schools into other municipal or county purposes.

Goodness knows we need more financial underpinning of needed local government services and they should be provided—air pollution, sewage

disposal, health and welfare activities, fire and police protection are cases in point—*but,* and it is a most important qualification, not at the expense of the schoolchildren of this nation.

Money can be found for all of these vitally needed services, and from the national treasury, if we restructure and improve our revenue system and if we curtail to a far greater degree than this Administration has been willing to, our totally indefensible preoccupation with the internal political arrangements of governments in South America, the Far and Middle East. We still support clandestine operations which have expensive consequences and we do it, I'm afraid, far too often because ITT, a great international cartel—not a private business at all—and others—the international oil companies among them—have bought access to our executive agency policy makers through the political campaign and convention support route. There is only one answer to the corporate power access route to the executive branch, and that is the election to the legislative branch of men and women who are responsive to the public interest and who are unafraid of blowing the whistle on the power plays, and are willing and able to use the mechanism of our system to lay before the public the facts as they find them.

That is why I hope you will continue to expand in the decade of the 1970's your own AFT-COPE approach, to find and elect those who share your vision of the public interest. That is why I hope that you will vigorously support the services of your Department of Legislation, headed by Carl Megel, so that you may have timely and effective notification of the fine print in the legislative proposals which emerge in the next eight annual sessions of the Congress, for it is in the language of the bills introduced and passed that the blueprints of the future are set forth.

I have talked with you about two such proposals—the value-added tax and special revenue sharing. There are others and many more will be floated. As they come past, look at them carefully. Test them by your standards. See if they measure up. How will a provision operate? Does the proposal vest vast discretionary power in the Secretary or the Commissioner, or does the bill define precisely what he must do and under what conditions he may do it?

I'll digress just a moment to tell you of another vital domestic issue which I think faces this republic, as to whether or not we are going to stop the trend toward a government by executive supremacy and secrecy in this country. Because, if you do not stop, you're going to leave the heritage of constitutional self-government to oncoming generations of young men and women in this country. You are going to have a government by an unchecked Presideney acting in secret! And you are far down the road to that government by secrecy as you sit in this auditorium.

You don't have the slightest notion as to what this Administration is doing in tearing into shreds the Constitution of this country in regard to ignoring and not following the advice and consent clause of the Constitution of the United States. And when you talk to me, don't forget you're talking to a Constitutionalist. And I don't intend to walk out on the Con-

stitutional law I taught for years just because I walked into the Senate of the United States for 24 years, defeated in 1968 in no small measure because I stood up and fought the danger of government by executive supremacy in this country under Republican and Democratic administrations.

It has nothing to do, I am sorry to say, with the matter of what party is in power. The sad thing is that Congress has been sitting up there for decades walking out on its responsibilities of applying the checks of the Constitution to the Presidents of the United States.

And now you've got a Supreme Court that has by-passed and ducked its responsibilities for some years in taking jurisdiction over cases that challenge Presidents for the usurpation of power.

I took this digression because I wanted to tell you two things: First, I haven't changed and, second, because I don't intend to change so long as God gives me the strength and the voice and the vitality to warn the American people before it is too late, that we are on the way to government by mere men and women, with all their human frailties, rather than a government by Constitutional self-government through law.

I am going to continue this fight because I know a little bit about history of other countries that also have permitted their procedural rights to be eroded away by permitting a central government to become all-powerful, and I want to say that's true also in this field of education. You had better start checking the arbitrary discretion and capricious judgment of a great many who are seeking to foist upon you, in my judgment, educational policies outside of the check and balance system.

I would ask you to ask a few more questions as these proposals come along. As I mentioned earlier, does the proposal vest vast discretionary power in the Secretary or the Commissioner, or does the bill define precisely what he must do and under what conditions he must do it? Does the proposal give certainty as to funding levels and the continuity of program operations and is it generally applicable to all, or is it based upon a model or demonstration basis for a few and selected areas? Above all, if it were to be enacted, how would it affect your school?

Look below the shining surface to the substance underneath as you make our great national policy decisions through the political process and properly so.

Don't be afraid to lobby in the public interest; your counsel is needed. If you get the straight facts set forth concisely and strongly, the men and women we help to elect will listen. They may not always be convinced and persuaded by your presentation, but you will be given a fair hearing if you have helped to elect fair-minded men and women who serve on the basis of a broad public support in their home districts.

Just as you exercise your responsibilities as citizen-statesmen through the political process in your analysis and support of legislation at the state and national levels, so, too, as leaders in the profession of teaching, and as your meeting here attests in its theme, you have a major role to perform in developing for all teachers new and better ways of carrying out your responsibilities to the children entrusted to you.

May I suggest one area in the decade ahead which has need of the insights that only you can provide. In the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, one part, Title III, is devoted to using high risk money to try out ideas that are innovative. It included ideas that seem to be good but whose cost is such that a system cannot on its own afford to take the risk of installation until they are proven. It is a unique grant of authority from the federal government. It is unique in this bill and now a law, in that the money to run the program was exported, as well as program money to support the applied approach.

The proposals which must emerge from a local educational agency are reviewed by a broadly representative state committee which approves project funding within an authorization ceiling of over $600 million a year. Currently funding now is at about the $143 million level.

I am concerned that you are made aware of the program because, frankly, I was surprised, in reviewing the Fourth Annual Report of the program operations, to learn that of the 682 state council members, only 34 were teachers; whereas school superintendents made up one in seven of the membership.

Yet your qualifications to serve on these state councils, I think, can not be surpassed by any other professional group. I know that public service of a type such as this takes much work and effort and that the rewards of service are for the most part non-material, since 18 states pay nothing and the balance give stipends ranging from $10 to $100 per meeting for attendance and on-site inspection trips. But it is in areas such as these that progress can be made and new directions explored. As a group, you have the talents and abilities to generate better ways of making your work more effective and your involvement with your students more productive for their growth.

I know that my own career was set in motion because a teacher of mine—a biology teacher at Madison, Wisconsin, High School—had faith in my ability to grow and be of service to society. In fact, she took out a life insurance policy on me and, using that as security, she made it possible for me to go through college by loaning money which made it possible for me to get my college degree. I suspect that I was not the only youngster whose mind was sought and enlightened by such an example as Linda Webber.

Research in educational theory is wonderful, but the practice and art of teaching are also of major importance. There you do not need the paper qualifications of a Ph.D. or an education doctorate, though increasingly you may have them, but you do need what only an active practitioner can supply: knowledge and common sense. These you do have in abundance.

I suggest also that by seeking out the routes through which appointments to the state councils are made, you will gain a knowledge of and an appreciation for the political network which governs in your state which can stand you in good stead as you forge the legislative alliances that protect your hours, salaries, and working conditions.

Let me pause at this point to share with you an allied insight which I

think has had very little coverage in the press but whose implications need to be brought again and again to the attention of the public. I speak about teachers' salaries and educational costs, a prime factor in pupil success. In these days when fears of inflation have brought into being wage and salary controls, teacher salary increases—which have been negotiated in the regular order prior to the imposition of the controls—have not fared well before the Wage Board. As I understand it, the 5.6% ceiling has been quite rigorously enforced against teachers generally.

Budget stringencies in school system after school system across the land have required release of teacher personnel, or they said so, and elimination in some cases of entire categories of teachers, such as librarians and physical educators. It is commonplace for entry salaries in the field to be many thousands of dollars less per year than starting salaries given other recent graduates who opt for other callings.

A large part of the resistance to equal pay for equal work in this field, as compared to other areas requiring equivalent preparation, stems quite possibly from the realization on the part of some who feel threatened by a change in their favored tax structure: that if equity were to prevail, a necessary consequence would be that a far larger share of the available tax revenues would have to be devoted to the educational enterprise and cause a diminution of income flow to alternate uses.

At the same time, there is a growing demand for more effective teaching in every school system. Parents are expecting more because they realize the importance to their own children of a more than adequate preparation for a life of productive contribution to our society.

Perhaps there would be less resistance to increased educational cost, and especially to the salary component, if more widespread dissemination were to be given to the research findings summarized in the Mondale Hearings on Equal Educational Opportunity, Volume 16-c, *Inequality in School Finance*, Appendix I, Schools and Inequality, pages 7031 to 7037. (See note at end of this speech.)

Let me quote from the summary to Chapter 4. School Services and Pupil Performance:

> In the preceding section, we reviewed 17 studies which deal with the effectiveness of school-service components. . . . From an inspection of these digested results it is evident that there is a substantial degree of consistency in the studies' findings. The strongest findings by far are those which relate to the number and quality of the professional staff, particularly teachers. Fourteen of the studies we reviewed found teacher characteristics, such as verbal ability, amount of experience, salary level, amount and type of academic preparation, degree level and employment status (tenured or nontenured), to be significantly associated with one or more measures of pupil performance. . . . Finally, as might be expected logically (with) all the foregoing components translate(d) into dollar costs, we find that measures such as expenditures per pupil and teachers' salary levels are correlated significantly with pupil achievement measures.

In looking over the table which summarized the findings, I must confess that I was somewhat surprised to find how consistently there appeared high correlations between student achievement and teacher salary as a variable. Time after time, whether the pupils studied were from Iowa, West Virginia, California or a national sample, whether they were white or black, male or female, the key factor which was correlated with student achievement was teacher salary, educational expenditure per pupil or instructional expenditure.

I submit that this documented finding deserves highlighting. It needs to be made part of the dialogue leading to action in the legislative arena. Now even though this study was printed as a Senate Committee print, and even though the original study was financed and printed by the Urban Coalition, I am sure the information in it has not been widely read outside the profession. What is needed is to bring it to the attention of the public, to editors, to TV station managers, to state legislators, yes, and to United States Senators and Congressmen.

Get a copy by writing to, or better yet, while you are in town, by dropping into the three offices on the Hill, at which each of you as a constituent is most welcome, and asking them to get you a copy.

Read it and when you get home write a letter to your two Senators and your Congressman, thanking him for the helpfulness of his efficient staff in getting you the copy. Explain to him that you had wanted to verify what I had reported to you at this meeting and that you think that he would like to know that there exists independent evidence that if we want quality of education, we must pay the price for it in terms of increased expenditures per pupil and, in particular, the salary increases for teachers will be a major factor in improving pupil performance.

Let him know that you are bringing his courtesy to the attention of the local news media and that in doing so you are acquainting them with these findings.

By doing these things you have opened doors for future contact. You have made office staff and committee staff aware of your interest. If others do the same or have done the same already, a cumulative impression is built up to your advantage. By giving feedback of the local district reaction to your Washington visit, you have again reinforced the positions of you as an advocate.

All elected representatives spend time at home. Know when the three are in your state. Get in touch with the offices each maintain in the district so that you can get an invitation for your Representative and your Senators to meet with your local union and face directly the voiced concerns of your membership. A word here: such a meeting would be more easily scheduled in an election year, but the off-year meeting may be more productive since there is somewhat less pressure on your guests.

Above all, reassure your own membership that members of Congress are human beings and that they will respond as you do and as all men and women to the rational appeal, to the humanitarian impulse, to the expressed needs and aspirations of the voters of their constituency. They

need to have channels of communication which let them know what is happening at home. Since, for the most part, they are not educators, they need the help that only you can give authoritatively in this area, and they will be grateful to you for it.

In fact, may I urge you to keep in mind one little rule of lobbying: when you go to the Congress on a matter that is vital to you and to talk to the member of the Congress, start with the assumption that that individual will not know anything about it. And you will not be wrong most of the time—and you should not expect anything else: you can't possibly know all the problems that are brought to your office, but you have the responsibility of being a student of these problems and a legislative juror if you are in the Congress. You have the job of presenting the evidence so that they can become the students and can carry out their jobs as legislative jurors in the public interest.

Take an active role, within of course any legal limitations which constrain you, in the political life of your community. Where schools and children are concerned, speak your piece. No citizen has a better right; no citizen is better qualified than you are in this area. To do so is almost an obligation upon you for having chosen the career of service that is yours. Remember that people take us at our own evaluation. What you are doing is of paramount importance to our country and to its future. Remember that, and you will be proud and confident and successful in your operations as a teacher in the wider classroom of society, political activity. Your decision to act upon your beliefs and convictions as to what is right can help to bring into being the future you wish to see.

In conclusion, let me say that this morning I have touched upon some aspects of the future of education by analogy and implication. Let me summarize briefly the major themes which knit together the various aspects we have shared. Education in the 1970's, beginning with the first session of the 93rd Congress, will undergo a revolution of its traditional financing patterns.

Equality of educational opportunity, which is implicit in the Constitution, will become explicit by legislation and court decisions. These financing changes will bring altered relationships in the political responsibility for our schools. As major financing responsibilities are assumed by state and federal sources, the function and authority of the local school board will change.

The arenas of conflict as to what should be done will increasingly be found in the legislative chambers in Washington and the state capitols. Schools have never been insulated from the political process. They will in the future be increasingly prominent in political debate. Those who work in them will be affected by the decisions taken, since teachers must live with the consequences of educational legislation and political decision. In their own best interest and in the interest of the children in their care, they should participate in the decision-making process, both formally in legislative hearings and public debate and informally via involvement with the party structure which provides access to policy formulation.

Teachers *need to be giving active support to candidates* and incumbents who voice their views, and they should seek to convert those incumbents or replace those, whose public record indicates that education is low on their personal priority scale. Institutions must grow, change and improve or they will wither and fossilize if, indeed, they do not disappear.

As spokesmen for constructive change and adaptation, the men and women who teach in the classroom have impeccable credentials to speak about how their discipline should be modified to do better as primary and essential function, the drawing forth of the best that is in each student in the process of providing him with a conceptual skill and understanding necessary to a full and productive life in our society. This means that involvement with the structures that introduce change, such as Title III of ESEA, becomes a matter of necessity.

Your job is important! Because it is, it should receive the status symbol we accord the things and people who we believe to be important. But this is magnified and legitimated as a goal by the demonstrated fact that when status recognition is given, the pupil is the one that benefits the most.

Greater recognition on the part of the pupil will be given the teacher as the teacher shoulders the public burdens involved in our political system. Individual work in this area is crucially necessary, but, as in the Olympics, education needs also the gold medals which are awarded for the team events and you can do it.

May Darling, of the Portland local union, did it brilliantly during her illustrious career. In the eight years remaining of the decade, it is my wish for you that every member of every local union in the nation will surpass her track record of accomplishment for her students.

I think I have demonstrated again that I came not asking for agreement but for thought, and you have given me all that any speaker is entitled to: fair and courteous attention. I want you to know that I appreciate the invitation and the honor to present my views to you, for I came only, may I say, seeking to have you think through some of the problems that I think will involve the educational crisis for the rest of the 1970's.

NOTE: Pages 7031 to 7037 referred to by Senator Morse.

SUMMARY OF EFFECTIVE SCHOOL SERVICE COMPONENTS

In the preceding section we reviewed seventeen studies which deal with the effectiveness of school service components. These investigations have been conducted using a variety of sample subjects, input and output measures, and controls for what are commonly presumed to be out-of-school influences upon pupil performance. In order to impose some degree of uniformity upon this diversity, we have attempted to condense the essential components of each investigation into a summary chart (Table 4, 1).

From an inspection of these digested results it is evident that there is a substantial degree of consistency in the studies' findings. The strongest findings by far are those which relate to the number and quality of the professional staff, particularly teachers. Fourteen of the studies we reviewed found teacher characteristics, such as verbal ability, amount of experience, salary level, amount and type of academic preparation, degree level, and employment status (tenured or non-tenured), to be significantly associated with one or more measures of pupil performance.

In order for school staff to have an effect upon students, however, it is necessary that students have some access to such persons. And, indeed, we also found that student performance was related to some degree to contact frequency with or proximity to professional staff. This factor expressed itself in variables such as student-staff ratios, classroom size, school or school district size, and length of school year.

In addition to findings in support of the effectiveness of staff, a number of studies under review also present results to suggest that service components such as age of school building, adequacy and extent of physical facilities for instruction also are significantly linked to increments in scales of pupil performance. Finally, as might be expected logically because all the foregoing components translate into dollar costs, we find that measures such as expenditures per pupil and teachers' salary levels are correlated significantly with pupil achievement measures.

In summary, we are impressed with the amount and consistency of evidence supporting the effectiveness of school services in influencing the academic performance of pupils. In time, we would wish for more precise information about which school service components are most effective and in what mix or proportion they can be made more effective. Nevertheless, on the basis of information obtained in the studies we have reviewed, there can be little doubt that schools "can have an effect that is independent of the child's social environment." In other words, schools do make a difference.

TABLE 4, 1

SUMMARY OF EFFECTIVENESS STUDIES
ON SCHOOL SERVICE COMPONENTS

Study Author(s)	Description of Sample	Measure of Pupil Performance (School Output)	Measure(s) of Effective School Service Component(s) (School Input)
1. Mollenkopf and Melville	U.S., 17,000 9th (in 100 schools) and 12th (in 106 schools) grade, male & female	Aptitude and Achievement Tests	1. Number of special staff 2. Class size 3. Pupil-teacher ratio 4. Instructional expenditures
2. Goodman	New York, 70,000 7th & 11th grade, male & female in 102 school districts	Achievement Test	1. Number of special staff 2. Instructional expenditures 3. Teachers' experience 4. "Classroom atmosphere"
3. Thomas	Project TALENT Sample (national) 10th & 12th grade, male & female	Achievement Test	1. Teachers' salaries 2. Teachers' experience 3. Number of library books
4. Benson	California 5th grade, 249 school districts	Reading Achievement Test	1. Teachers' salaries 2. Administrators' salaries 3. Instruction expenditures
5. Kiesling	New York, 70,000 7th & 11th grade male & female in 102 school districts	Achievement Test	1. Expenditure per pupil (in large school districts)
6. Coleman Report	U.S. sample	Verbal Ability Test	1. Teachers' verbal ability
7. Shaycoft	U.S. 108 schools 6500 9th & 12th grade, male & female	Battery of 42 Aptitude & Achievement Tests	1. Curriculum variables

Study Author(s)	Description of Sample	Measure of Pupil Performance (School Output)	Measure(s) of Effective School Service Component(s) (School Input)
8. Burkhead	90,000 Chicago High School students in 39 schools. 19,000 Atlanta High School students in 22 schools & 180 small community high schools	Aptitude & Achievement Tests & School Holding Power	1. Age of building 2. Teachers' experience 3. Teacher turnover 4. Teachrs' salary
9. Plowden Report	English Elementary School students		1. Age of building 2. Teachers' experience 3. Teachers' academic preparation 4. Teachers' "ability"
10. Cohn	Iowa High School students in 377 school districts	Achievement Test	1. Teachers' salary 2. Number of instructional assignments per teacher 3. School size
11. Raymond	W. Virginia 5,000 high school students	Freshman Year (College) GPA & Achievement Test Scores	1. Teachers' salary
12. Katzman	Boston Elementary School students	School Attendance, School Holding Power, Reading Achievement, Special School Entrance Examination	1. Pupils per classroom 2. Student-staff ratio 3. Attendance district enrollment size 4. Teachers' employment status 5. Teachers' degree level 6. Teachers' experience 7. Teacher turnover ratio
13. Bowles (1)	U.S. 12th grade Negro males	Verbal Ability Test	1. Teachers' verbal ability 2. Science laboratory facilities 3. Length of school year
14. Bowles (2)	U.S. 12th grade Negro males	Mathematics & Reading Achievement Test and a test of general academic ability	1. Class size 2. Ability grouping 3. Level of teacher training 4. Age of school building 5. Expenditure per pupil
15. Bowles & Levin	12th grade Negro students & 12th grade white students	Verbal Ability Test Scores	1. Teachers' verbal ability 2. Teachers' salary
16. Hanushek	6th grade white students in 471 schools & 6th grade Negro students in 242 school	Verbal Ability Test	1. Teachers' verbal ability 2. Teachers' experience
17. Ribich	Project TALENT	Achievement Test	1. Expenditures per pupil

The Challenge for the Teachers Union

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In preparing for this presentation, I have been mindful of the fact that springtime in Washington is neither the time nor the place for hurling challenges. A softer message—of hope, of new starts, of sunshine ahead—would be closer to the season's mood. However, I think we ought to be candid with ourselves—especially since this is the first time, as I understand it, that the AFT has convened for the express purpose of discussing "educational" as against strictly "union" questions.

My task is complicated a little by the implication in the format of the program that I might be expected to articulate "The Challenge" as it relates to each of the specific topics to be discussed by the workshop groups this afternoon and tomorrow and by the several speakers you are yet to hear from. I am sure you will appreciate the fact that I would not be able to do that here.

Instead, I want to analyze the "challenge" to the Teachers Union in the general context of American education today, both at the elementary and secondary level and within higher education.

To keep some kind of loose order to my remarks, and to give you a few program notes to keep track of where I am going, I would like to divide the challenges to the Union into two general categories: (1) Those challenges originating within the educational profession (I will call these the "inside" challenges) and (2) those challenges emanating from the general public at large. (I will call these the "outside" challenges.) As for the "inside" group, I have a few things to say *to* the Union from my vantage point elsewhere in the profession. As for the "outside" challenges, obviously I am talking to myself as well as to you, since all of us in the field of education are eventually held responsible for the management of teaching and learning in the nation today. When I get done with all of this, I may have some things to say about a third general challenge which I don't know where to put. I will call it the "philosophic" challenge because it raises large and disturbing questions for the teaching profession and the American people regarding the overarching socio-politics of American education.

In the March issue of the *American Teacher,* President David Selden, in a tone of subdued exasperation, remarked that he was looking forward to the QuEST Consortium, because it would be a chance for teachers to discuss the question of "how to teach kids," instead of always being told how by "administrators, college professors, and armchair critics." You are going to get a chance to do that shortly, but I would like President

Selden, and the rest of you, to sit still just a few minutes longer for some remarks by an individual who, strange to say, is proud to advertise himself as an administrator, a college professor, and yes, an armchair critic. I happen to think that there is a place for armchair criticism, especially if it doesn't last too long, and I assure you I'll keep it short.

The challenges to the Union from within the profession, "armchair" or otherwise, seem to me to swing around two concerns: (1) the quality of life in the nation's classrooms (what one of my colleagues calls "classroom ecology") and (2) what I will call the "professional equipment" of the American teacher. Let's take a quick look at these two concerns:

What is the ambience of the American classroom? Charles Silberman calls them "joyless." Are they? On any given Tuesday morning, they very well might be. And I don't think they are "joyless" in the "no fun and games" sense. What Silberman is saying is that there is no excitement, no exhilaration, no allure in the act of learning itself. He is exaggerating the case certainly, but he is partly right. In too many of our schools, many of them in the big cities, there is a deadening pedestrianism, a kind of "babysitting" mentality of marking time and getting through the day. And teachers, mindful of the quitting bell and the beckoning time clock or sign-out sheet, come charging out of their classrooms and out the door at 3:15 even before the kids can get their jackets on.

Has the AFT ever seriously considered measures to correct this syndrome in the teaching profession? Let me give you some specific illustrations of it in action:

Consider the teacher's time-honored conception of punishment. What does the teacher do when the student needs to be kept in line? Well, the student is either given an extra dose of homework, or if the recalcitrance is more aggressive, the student is kept in after school. In other words, to punish the child, the thing to do is give him more school! I will remind you of what you already know: that this message of considering "more school" as punishment is not lost on the average youngster.

Or consider a kind of reverse example of the same thing: There is an educational experiment now going on in Kansas City designed to test some of B. F. Skinner's "positive reinforcement" ideas. Now these ideas are well worth investigating, but this experiment comes out with some strange by-products of Pavlovian conditioning. The teachers in the test school have set it up so that the children are given rewards in the form of plastic coins, which can be "spent" on a rising scale of special privileges: unsupervised trips to the library or the cafeteria, playtime on the playground, a visit to the candy store across the street, or a trip downtown. When one child expressed the desire to just stay in his seat and read during the "special privilege" time, the teacher was puzzled and urged the child to take advantage of this opportunity for some time away from the classroom. As it turns out, the scale of prices on these activities (without benefit of Nixon's Phase One or Phase Two!) bears an interesting message: the further away from the classroom the activity, the higher the price. Thus, in their subtle but inadvertent way, the teachers are conveying a very important

but very sad truth to their pupils, namely, that the classroom is a detention area from which you can be released on temporary parole in exchange for "good behavior." The pupil very quickly learns, through this kind of unintentional conditioning, that even teachers believe that learning is to be identified with confinement and regimentation and that freedom is the opposite of learning and can be bought.

Has the AFT ever thought about this problem and how we might correct it? Take a final, more general example of the challenge: the "Free School Movement." In communities all over America, young people and parents are so desperate for a new communication between teacher and learner that they are setting up their own schools. They want something to happen in the education of the young which will make going to school something to look forward to every day. They want excitement and fun in learning, a quality of classroom life that invigorates the senses and arouses the curiosities. They want it and they intend to get it. The strength of this movement is certainly one of the most candid rebukes of the teaching profession in this country. The movement itself is a massive challenge to those who staff our classrooms. If those classrooms were alive and warm and invigorating, there would be no Free School movement.

Silberman is right. Some of our schools are "joyless." And the reason the schools are joyless is that teachers are joyless. They are, almost literally, dead on their feet. Has the Union ever pondered the problem of how to ease these individuals out of the profession into some other line of work and replace them with alert and lively people?

I want to turn now to another group of "inside" challenges, namely those that relate to what I call the "professional equipment" of the teacher. And here I speak more or less directly of teacher training and certification. In short, who knows what makes a "professional" in the education business? We all have a pretty good idea what a professional athlete or professional accountant or professional journalist should be able to do in his work; but we have always been very hazy about what makes a professional teacher. In my business of teacher training, we have to make guesses as to what it is. Those of you who are connected, directly or indirectly, with teacher education institutions will know what I'm talking about when I say that there are a number of different ideas on how to prepare a teacher and how to recognize a good teacher when you see one. Let me briefly detail a few of these ways for you:

First, there is what might be called the Balanced Mixture approach. Here one tries to create a careful blend of liberal studies, pedagogical training, and practical experience with children, in order to bring the trainee gradually into the world of learning and knowledge on the one hand and the world of children and the processes of growing up on the other.

Then, there is what might be called the "Interdisciplinary Disciplines" approach. Here (Harvard is an example) the standard disciplines are reshuffled and reorganized into new rubrics: "Learning Environments" combines neighborhood, "street" sociology with school architecture and

interior design. Or "Public Psychology" brings together studies in experimental and clinical psychology with public health and guidance.

Then, there is the "Make your own curriculum" approach. At the University of North Dakota's New School for Behavioral Studies in Education, the faculty has decided that in order to get teachers to encourage kids to be free-thinkers and self-starters, they should let their teachers in training start first. So, there's no curriculum in advance. The prospective teacher works out his own pattern of studies to suit his own curiosities. And he's given a situation of direct experience with youngsters to apply his findings.

Fourth, there is the "Do your own thing" approach. At the University of Massachusetts School of Education, just about anything can pass for teacher education. Credit is given for large lecture courses but also for watching movies, engaging in encounter groups, or anything else that anybody, students or faculty, want to try out.

There is a short list of the ways you can prepare a teacher.

At my place, we're trying to sort it all out and see if we can find the right combination. I am wondering if the Union has ever given systematic attention to this problem.

Not that you should be expected to, but you do have a vested interest in teacher education—just as doctors do in medical schools and lawyers in law schools.

Moreover, I know that among classroom teachers, there is a great deal of scorn for teacher colleges and education schools. Perhaps the time has come to put that scorn to the test. I will just say that the preparation of teachers is harder than it looks. But if you think otherwise, then I propose a challenge to the Union. How about the AFT establishing its own teacher training institute? We may have a surplus of teachers these days, but we don't have a surplus of good teachers, and if you could prove to the rest of us that you know more about how to prepare a teacher, I think we'd listen. Would you emphasize depth of academic training, or experience with children, or would developing personal warmth and feeling be the main criterion? Would you push books and reading or comradeship and relating? Would you hope your new teachers would learn how to apply what we already know about teaching and learning, or would you encourage them to forget about all that and think up some new, innovative ideas of their own? My colleagues and I would like to see how the Union thinks about this problem.

I want to turn now to those challenges to the Union which are really challenges presented to all of us in the education business. The wider society is beginning to ask some questions of us which we find difficult to answer and I think we might as well face them squarely.

I guess the one that bothers me the most, and should bother you, is the question of teacher competence. In almost every other line of work—including the major professions—there is an overt acknowledgement that some people are better at it than others and that there is a way to tell the good ones from the incompetent ones. The educational profession is an exception; it is peculiar in its loneliness in this regard. It is one of the few

major industries in which differentials in ability are so reluctantly discussed or thought about. It is a strange malady of the profession at large that we are so self-conscious about all this. We hesitate to speak of really fine teaching or completely lousy teaching. We avoid the subject as if it were some kind of professional taboo. And we are all blind to the question of competence in our own work. There is not a teacher alive who does not think he is a very good teacher!

Now, the general public is getting fed up with this "know-nothing" policy. In a technological, cost accounting, quality control economy, they are demanding that some kind of performance value be figured out for teachers of the young. And although it is going to be painful, I think we'd better develop some sort of response to this demand.

Part of the problem is simply coming to terms with the general notion of accountability—the idea that the teacher is given a job to do, and the doing of that job can and should be distinguishable from doing it poorly. I share with you the uneasiness over the possible misuse of this idea. Accountability has the sound of an ominous innuendo. It's one of those code words—like "law and order"—for closing in on the relatively defenseless individual teacher on behalf of some noble American principle. It rings in the ear with the message that whatever goes wrong in the school is of the teacher's doing or that you can measure a teacher's effectiveness just by giving his students a pre-test and a post-test and plotting the difference. You and I know that teaching is more complicated than that.

On the other hand, it is pointless to contend that every teacher is as good as every other. On a related issue, it is ridiculous to argue that everybody is entitled to tenure after X number of years of service without a candid determination of merit. The school administrator will not buy it, the public will not buy it, and you and I will not buy it.

I know that teacher unionism occupies neither of these extremes, but I believe it is safe to say that it has always seemed to have identified with the latter more than with the former view. That is, teacher unionism is not well known for its public stands on teacher competence. This task of deciding who is good and who is not so good at teaching usually falls to the "bad guy" in the drama, namely, the administrator.

I know too that in this group little love is lost on administrators—principals, superintendents, deans and presidents. But I think in this matter of judging competence, the administrator's voice is worth listening to. For one thing, the reason you hate our guts so much is that we are doing the dirty work for you. We are the ones who take over the nasty decisions about who is to be rewarded and who is to be let go. Our decision-making on these matters is very imperfect but it is about the only systematic gatekeeping carried on in the profession. In my experience, teachers and professors are reluctant to accept responsibility for judging each other's professional competence.

In some of my off moments, I have wondered why this is. It may have to do with the general insecurity of the profession of teaching. Teaching is a marginal activity, not widely admired in a culture which believes so

religiously in success and moneymaking. I imagine that most teachers sense this. It may also have to do with the fact that teaching competence cannot be separated from one's own personality and character as easily as, say, athletic ability or business competence. When you judge teaching, you are closing in on the judgment of a person's being.

But all this is for another day. The point is that teachers and teacher unions have a long history of inaction on this responsibility. They have surrendered their rights to professional status because they refuse to perform one of the basic functions of a true profession, namely, the control of quality among its practitioners. And so the challenge to the Union and the profession at large runs something like this: If you are threatened by "performance criteria," if you reject the principal of "merit pay," if you get the shivers when school board members issue calls for "accountability," then you had better come up with some newer and better scheme for telling the difference between the real "Pro" and the bumbling incompetent in the classroom.

For a few final moments, I'd like to turn to a challenge of somewhat larger scale which I see over the horizon and due to descend on us within the next decade. For want of a better term, I'm calling this the "philosophic" challenge, since it raises questions concerning the nature of education itself.

A few years ago, you will remember, the famous Coleman Report landed, like a slowly exploding howitzer shell, in the midst of the education profession. As Harvard's Pat Moynihan has frequently explained in print and on television, the upshot of the Coleman study is that schools simply do not have the impact on the child that we have always somehow assumed. As Henry Resnik's article in a recent *Saturday Review* (March 4, 1972) suggests, perhaps "part of the solution to the problems of schools lies beyond schools entirely. . . ."

We also have UFT's Albert Shanker noting in a recent column (April 2, 1972) that Benjamin Bloom, in his book *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics,* cites compelling evidence that the decisive intellectual development of the child occurs before he ever gets to school and "that the older the student, the more difficult to intervene to any appreciable educational effect."

Finally, we know that massive tinkering with the educational apparatus of this country has yielded next to nothing in the form of major breakthroughs in learning. As David Selden has pointed out, in spite of a decade of feverish "innovation," the schools of America continue in their failure to "educate hundreds of thousands of socially and economically disenfranchised young children in our cities."

Now, what are we to make of these new, so-called "discoveries?" Is there something lying beneath the surface of our lives which is about to erupt? Is there a larger truth somewhere that we only dimly see at the moment which will radically alter our conception of teaching and learning? I have an uneasy feeling that there is.

We have recently heard from Arthur Jensen of Berkeley and William

Shockley of Stanford concerning the relationship between race and intelligence. Although it is difficult for a student of these questions to discuss them in an open forum these days, it is safe to say that the serious counter-criticism of these findings suggests that the matter is still very much open.

But there is a numbing hypothesis lying behind Jensen and Shockley which has nothing whatsoever to do with race and which we may be missing, namely, that intelligence is 80 percent inherited. Forget race, forget ethnic origin. The disturbing possibility now looms before us—that schools are working with a measly 20 percent margin of perfectibility in their students.

We are beset these days by critics who claim that the school no longer seems to work. Is the 20 percent margin the reason why? We are told by Pat Moynihan that it doesn't matter much what you do to a school—raise or lower the per pupil dollar support, make classes larger, make them smaller, team your teachers, upgrade your school, make the school larger, make it smaller, create open classrooms—and all the rest. It doesn't really matter because the outcome in student achievement is about the same. Is the 20 percent perfectibility margin the reason why?

Since reading Professor Hernstein's article on "I.Q." in *The Atlantic* last fall, I have been shaken by this thought: Will the educational industry in America gradually be found out? Will the people and the politicians discover that we cannot deliver on our promise to equalize the young because our promise of general enlightenment was founded on the erroneous assumption that all men are equal and that each child brings the same mental equipment to school with him.

Professor Hernstein tells us that, although the race-intelligence question is far from settled, the vast majority of genetic psychologists agree with the 80/20 heredity/environment ratio when it comes to basic I.Q., or at least that set of abilities associated with meaningful participation in American culture. When this "new" datum finally hits the teaching profession, I sit in wonder as to what will happen.

Is there a challenge to the Teacher Union in all of this? Is there a job to do or a position to prepare? It's hard to say. One response would be to get busy to confirm or reject the geneticists' figures. Or perhaps whatever it is that is 80 percent inherited is less important and whatever the 20 percent stands for; but in that event, we'd have to change the whole society. Is a Teachers Union, or even a whole profession, or even a whole populace in a position to do that?

Let me just say I'm troubled about it. As we work our way from one small problem to the next in these troubled days of busing and property-tax protests and community control, and all the rest, I have the funny feeling that we are looking in a rear view mirror, trying to recreate the school in the image of the egalitarian, classless institution we used to know. But if it turns out that the school, for all its classlessness, can really effect very little in making people more equal, then we may be working on the wrong problems. Instead of worrying over the school and how it works—as I have in this paper—maybe we should study the wider society and how it

works. Why, for instance, after a generation of liberal reforms since Roosevelt's New Deal—why is it that American society is even more stratified and hierarchical today than it has ever been? And if that's the way highly technological and highly educated societies have to be, as the recent work in psychological genetics suggests, then how can we better prepare each other and our children to live in that kind of world?

It's something sobering to think about.

I wish you well in your deliberations. I hope I can join you for some of them. In any case, the common task is still common, to be undertaken together—to figure out how to bring a fuller, more humane, more effective education to every American youngster. Can we do it? Part of the answer may lie in how we address the questions which have been raised here today. I share with you the eagerness to get to them, not only in this conference but in our mutual conversations in the years ahead.

The Paradox of Innovation without Change

MR. JAMES CASS
Education Editor
Saturday Review

Most of us, probably, have observed cases in which wide-ranging innovation brought very little change in the school, but I guess that few of us had as dramatic an experience as John Henry Martin when he was Superintendent of Schools in a suburb of New York City just a few years ago. In his book, *Freedom to Learn* which is to be published later this month, he tells how in the mid-1960's he persuaded his board of education to increase the school budget by $4 million, which was, I believe, an increase of something like 50 percent. All of this increase was to be used to introduce the newest and most hopeful innovations in the district schools.

Class size was reduced from just over 30 to an average of just over 20. Specialists of every kind were hired, including guidance personnel, psychologists, social workers, classroom aides, and remedial specialists. More teachers with advanced degrees were hired. Modern math, modern physics, and advanced courses were introduced. Five out of every six teachers were engaged in retraining programs. More than 60 curricular and teaching reforms were instituted, and a teachers' council was elected to sit in review on the Superintendent's recommendations to the board.

After two years, Dr. Martin hired a top-flight psychometrician to find out whether the school district's investment had paid off. At the conclusion of a painstaking and sophisticated study, the expert's report said, in effect, "Dear John Henry, the $4 million has purchased no measurable change in student achievement."

There are many ways in which we could interpret Dr. Martin's experience. At the very least, it seems to me, it illustrates clearly that more money and good intentions alone will not bring about the needed reform in the schools. Neither, I hasten to add, is the necessary change likely to come without more money and good intentions. What is required, in addition, it seems to me, is a more sophisticated awareness of just how difficult it is for men and their institutions to change and a clearer understanding of what education has to be all about in the decade of the 70's.

Now, about the difficulty of getting human beings to change, you remember that two or three years ago, Dr. John Goodlad of UCLA reported on his studies of new approaches in school practices. In the course of visits to several hundred elementary school classrooms, he and his colleagues found that teachers and principals often were eager to talk about education and how to improve the classroom experience. Not infrequently they thought that already they were individualizing instruction, encouraging self-propelled learning, and doing all of the other things that were included in

the liberal litany of educational reform. But Goodlad and his associates found very little evidence of real change in the classroom.

Similarly, I am sure that many of us have seen schools that introduce team teaching in ungraded classrooms, for instance, with great fanfare. But when everything had settled down and the team of teachers had grown accustomed to their over-sized classrooms with 125 students, each of the teachers put his desk in one corner of the room and very little changed, except for the rhetoric in the teachers' lounge. In the same way it's all too possible to introduce an upgraded classroom in which modules of learning do not replace the grades but merely substitute for them.

The problems of replicating effective programs in practice, in other words, are more difficult than we anticipated a few years ago. It is very easy to reproduce the form and structure of innovative programs while missing their substance.

In other words, it's far too easy to innovate without changing what actually happens to the children in the classrooms.

One of the basic problems here, it seems to me, is people. We all find it enormously difficult to change our patterns of thought and behavior even when we want to. We are fundamentally resistant to change and have a great capacity for developing ingenious ways of accommodating to the pressures of necessity when they arise without actually altering our behavior. And most of the time the institutional structures within which we function not only serve to reinforce our accustomed patterns of thought and action, but actively inhibit any fundamental change.

But perhaps we should not be too surprised at our own reluctance to change. Perhaps we should not be particularly startled that, in Pogo's famous phrase, "We have met the enemy and he is us."

You will remember that Professor Benjamin Bloom, distinguished-service professor at the University of Chicago, in his classic study "Stability and Change in Human Characteristics," tells us that the older a child becomes, the more difficult it is to influence and shape the development of his individual characteristics, and that the older he is, the more intensive the environment must be and the more protracted its influence in order to induce any change.

He tells us, too, that something like half of a child's development has taken place by the age of five and that the process is virtually complete at the age of 17 or 18. Since most of us are somewhat older than that, it's small wonder that we change with difficulty or that we change only when the environment within which we are functioning is very intensive indeed.

But, after all, all is not lost. We adults do change, we do adapt to new circumstances. Human-relations training, specifically geared to facilitating change in human beings, is available to some of us, and most of us are dedicated to the idea of reform, to improving the educational process, to helping children achieve everything they are capable of. So some change does take place; some reforms are introduced, despite the resistance of the system and resistance from those among us who feel threatened by change.

Almost invariably, however, the reforms that take place do not come close to solving the massive problems that the schools face. It is almost always a matter of too little, too late. I do not mean for a moment to denigrate the reforms of the 1960's. Many of them, I am sure, have been effective to a degree. Many of them have made individual schools and individual classrooms more exciting and more humane places for children to function there. I think that our problem is that we have operated on old assumptions and, consequently, what too often we have done is to shore up the status quo and we have not yet pointed to the future.

The problem of the future, it seems to me, is the lack of understanding or acceptance of the new role that the schools are asked to play in contemporary society and our reluctance to put the knowledge that we already have of the teaching/learning process to work in the classrooms.

As long as society merely asked the schools to function as a vast sorting machine, to separate out the winners from the losers, a competitive system of education worked very well. Our rhetoric did not have to bear any direct relationship to classroom reality. We could talk endlessly about helping every child to develop his own talents to the fullest and then hand out classroom rewards solely on the basis of each child's ability to compete, not infrequently damaging the self-image of those youngsters who were unprepared to make it on equal terms with their peers, even when their own private learning curves were very positive indeed.

We could talk with great fervor about recognizing individual differences —in talent, in interest, in aptitude, in motivation and all the rest—and then in the classroom insist that every child learn the same amount of the same thing in the same length of time or fail.

We could, in short, make schooling into an educational horse-race in which those who were better trained, better prepared, and more talented started the race with a great advantage and so, inevitably, were the winners.

This conception of what schooling is all about is the major source of the shrill and angry criticism of the 60's and the message that it carries is that this conception of schooling will not work for the 70's. Now, the schools are being asked to make sure that every youngster is a winner.

What is happening is that we are being challenged to make the reality of classroom practice match the euphoric humanity of our rhetoric, and that is going to take some doing. The problem, of course, is how we should go about it. There are few guidelines or precedents, but there are some. There are some things we can learn, for instance, both positive and negative, from the experience of free schools and open classrooms, whether within the system or outside of it, but we should remember always that, if the challenge of the 70's is to be met, it has to be within the system. Free schools may serve some youngsters well and they may provide useful experience from which we can learn but, if the overwhelming proportion of the nation's children are to be well and truly served, it will have to be within the public schools themselves.

I would like to take just a few minutes to try to define two or three perspectives on what seems to me to be one, if not the central, issue in any

discussion of the role of the schools in society and the nature of fundamental school reform. The central issue, it seems to me, is the assumption that we make about who can learn what in school. These assumptions, I am convinced, lie right at the heart of the conception of education as a competitive rather than a developmental process. There is some fascinating evidence coming out of research and experience in higher education that bears on this issue but I think today we should focus on our perspectives that are closer to our immediate concerns.

You will remember that two or three years ago Professor Arthur Jensen in his elegantly lucid and, I believe, woefully wrong-headed study of race and intelligence in the *Harvard Education Review*, seemed to assume that the development of the kind of intelligence that IQ tests measures is the primary, if not the sole, academic task of the schools.

Certainly the development of the capacity for abstract reasoning and problem solving, as Jensen defines intelligence, is an important function of the schools and, as long as education was conceived as a means for sorting out the winners and losers in society, rather than as a means for stimulating individual development, this limited conception of the function of the schools worked perfectly well. But in terms of the way in which most schools functioned, it certainly did not have very much to do with the development of many of the youngsters who were forced to be in school by law.

There was another section of Professor Jensen's study that received less extended treatment, but I found it fascinating. At one point, he devotes a short section to the relationship of IQ to prestige professions. He noted that these occupations tend to be filled by people with high IQ's and that the speed and ease of training for various occupational skills shows a high correlation with high IQ. But, then, he also reports that IQ scores have a relatively low correlation with proficiency on the job after training is completed, and he adds: "This means that once the training hurdle has been surmounted, many factors besides intelligence are largely involved in success on the job."

It would be all too easy for an eager layman to over-interpret Professor Jensen's careful scholarship, but it seems to me that the data he cites strongly suggest at least two conclusions. First, that youngsters who learn more slowly than some of their peers may nevertheless still master necessary skills just as effectively if given the time and the encouragement; and, second, that possibly some of those factors that make for job proficiency should occupy a more central role in the life of the schools. We will come back to this second point a little later.

This first perspective suggested by Professor Jensen, it seems to me, is powerfully reinforced by Professor Bloom, whose Learning for Mastery program, I'm sure, is familiar to many of you. Going a bit beyond what I have heard him say, or have read that he has said, in an address at the inauguration of Dean James Dio at the College of Education at the University of Rochester a few weeks ago, Professor Bloom reminded his audience that less than a decade ago most educators were convinced that the learning

capacity of individuals differed greatly and that most of us assumed that only 10 percent to 15 percent were capable of truly mastering an academic curriculum. Shades of Dr. James B. Conant's dicta in the late 1950's! We also assumed, according to Dr. Bloom, that the reasons for failure were genetic, socio-economic status, language facility, or other factors that lay outside the responsibility of the school. But then he goes on to say, and I quote him here at some length:

> More recently we have come to understand that under appropriate learning conditions students differ in the rate in which they can learn not the level to which they can achieve or in their basic capacity to learn. Fundamental research on these ideas is still in process. Studies in which these ideas have been applied to actual school subjects reveal that as high as 90 percent of the students can learn these school subjects up to the same standard that only the top 10 percent of the students have been learning under usual conditions. As this research proceeds, special conditions have been discovered under which both the level of learning and the rate of learning become much the same from student to student. That is, there is growing evidence that much of what we have termed individual differences in school learning is the effect of particular school conditions rather than of basic differences in the capabilities of the students. As we learn more about how individual differences in school learning are maximized, our responsibility for the learning of students will become greater and greater.

Now, I find that pretty heady stuff, and certainly it strikes very directly at the heart of the assumptions we've been accustomed to make about who can learn what in school, as well as about who is responsible for failure. It also, I believe, points the direction which a fundamental rethinking of what schools are all about must take for the 1970's.

For a moment, I would like to turn back to our discussion of Professor Jensen and those factors that make for job proficiency but do not bear a high correlation with the kind of intelligence measured by IQ tests. What are these qualities and what can the schools do about them? I must admit that no highly informed researchers confided the answer to me. This is one of the questions that I hope to spend a great deal of my time pursuing in the course of the next year or two. But it does seem that simple logic would indicate that they are the qualities that make for effective human beings, and if the schools are to start living up to their educational rhetoric of the last generation, they are going to have to find means for encouraging the development of these qualities—all of which, of course, is so cosmically general that it is no practical help at all.

There may be some help on the horizon, perhaps from what would seem an unlikely source—the test-makers. This morning there was more than one mention, as I recall, about the increasing sophistication of the test-making profession. I am not expert in these matters but, as I understand it, there are several groups who are now hard at work developing instruments for measuring the effectiveness of affective education programs.

It may well be that their work will point new directions to ways in which strong, stable personalities can be developed with the help of the schools.

Others are working at ways to measure and, hopefully, to develop creativity in young people.

My old friend and collaborator, Max Birnbaum, of the Boston University Human Relations Laboratory, is working with his colleagues to develop a social IQ, a social intelligence quotient, which will measure the ability of individuals to work effectively with others and to help others function more effectively themselves. And there is, I understand, at least some tentative evidence that some creative programs in the visual and performing arts have been found to actively stimulate cognitive learning in a fashion that can be measured, even though it is not yet fully understood.

Obviously, most of these perspectives on the '70's, if that's not too sententious a label for them, are merely suggestive of what's coming over the education horizon. In other cases, they seem to point specific directions that the educational process must take if it is to discharge its commitment to the nation's children. It may be that we will find that we're already doing better than we know, but that we have simply been looking for the wrong outcomes or looking for too limited outcomes.

It may be that some of the changes—some of the innovations—of the '70's have produced more than we have been able to measure so far. It may even be that all of John Henry Martin's $4 million did not go down the drain, that it did help students in many areas of their life that were not measured. There are today, I think the evidence clearly indicates, ways of doing things better than those we employ.

There are insurmountable obstacles for many of you, I am sure, in your individual schools and classrooms for making the necessary changes. The day-by-day demands are far too great, but I am constantly reminded of the old story about the county agent in the Midwest who was attempting to get one farmer to innovate, to do it better than he had been doing it. Finally, he lost patience after several visits and said, "Damn it! Don't you want to farm better?" And the farmer said, "Hell, man, I don't farm half as good now as I know how."

I think that, during the 1970's, we are all going to have to farm just as good as we know how.

Financing Education

HONORABLE WALTER F. MONDALE
United States Senator from Minnesota

Time and time again your union has been the leading organization in the country fighting for a decent education for the children of our nation. Now you meet in a new and unique kind of conference called QuEST. And I see here an important new element in our effort to achieve equality in education. How can we give kids a fair chance? What are the sources of power committed to our children strong enough to make a difference, to bend bureaucracies, to get money, to stand up against temporary political opposition, to achieve justice for our children? I am increasingly convinced that will only come about if teachers use their enormous power and potential, not only in getting national programs and funding, state programs and funding, but right in the classroom, insisting that the special insights that teachers have be responded to in a significant and meaningful way. I see this QuEST conference as the beginning of an even fuller effort by the Federation to bring the power of teachers to bear on those problems in our school structure, if we are going to have a decent education for our kids.

Now, you have asked me to talk about school financing. I think it is essential that we do so because, as we all know, our schools are in a dreadful financial condition. We have heard rhetoric from the President, of course; in his past state-of-the-union message, he said to the Congress, "In recent years the growing scope and rising costs of education have so overburdened local revenues that financial crisis has become a way of life for many school districts." And, of course, that is a way of life for nearly 2.2 million teachers and 51 million American schoolchildren. We have seen those inequality problems expressed by the courts of California, Minnesota, New Jersey and Texas. You know the facts. In fact, you know them much better than I do—the difference in school valuations in California alone ranging from a low of $103 per pupil to a high of almost $1 million per pupil. (There was one school district in California that sent their children to Europe for the summer in order to have a special enrichment program for them.)

Per-pupil expenditures range from $400 a student to $2,580, a ratio of six to one, and these inequities we know are inter-state as well as inter-district—per-pupil expenditures in Alabama and Mississippi are in the $450 range, while they are $1,200 and $1,300 per pupil in Alaska.

But, as we all know, these inequities involve more than just the matter of distribution of funds. They involve the question of the total national commitment of financial substance to our school systems. There simply is not enough money being spent on education in America today and perhaps the biggest offender of all is the federal government. Local communities now contribute over half the total revenues for schools, states about 40 per-

cent, and the federal government, unbelievably, has permitted its share to sink from about 8 percent in the late '60's to about 6 percent today.

In view of this, I simply cannot understand the recent recommendations of the President's Commission on School Finance that unbelievably said that no further federal commitment is needed beyond a short-term $1 billion a year program to encourage state assumption of the burden now borne by local government.

You know, the definition of a mature legislator is to really believe in something, develop a good program, go out and sell it, see it passed and signed into law, and then watch it fail. I was the author of the President's Commission on School Finance, and I disown any parenthood at all for its program. Many local communities, as we know, have exhausted their capacities to increase school revenues and, of course, the percentage of school bond rejections is dramatic.

What we need, of course, is a broad new federal system of general aid to education. In a few days, Senator Stevenson and I will be introducing, I think, one hopeful version of the direction in which I think we should be going. This bill would provide a beginning funding level of $5 billion in general aid to state and local school districts. It would require that states use these new funds to reduce existing disparities in per-pupil expenditures among school districts within the state without lowering the expenditures in any district. It would provide cities with sufficient funds to meet the higher cost of education in urban areas and it would require a tendency toward equalizing payment among states as well as within them.

Our proposal, unlike the administration's special-revenue sharing program, will do more than simply shift existing funds from categorical program to block grants. The existing programs, such as Title I, Title III and the rest, will be retained, and Title I will not only be retained but will receive further protection. Under our measure no funds would be available under the new bill until and unless Title I receives at least the same level of funding as it did in the previous year. If fully funded, our measure would increase the federal government's share of total educational expenditures from slightly over 6 percent to approximately 16 percent.

Our bill, of course, recognizes that more money alone will not insure improvements in the quality of education. Too many of our children are not now acquiring the basic skills necessary for full participation in American life and too many others fall far short of reaching their intellectual potential. Additional resources are essential for our schools but more is needed than simple increased funding. For that reason, our proposal includes an additional voluntary-bonus plan to encourage improvements in the quality of education. If new legislation—this proposal or any other—is to pass the Congress and be signed into law and then receive the necessary funding, we must have a fundamental shift in national policy and this gets, I think, to the fundamental point that we all face in this year of 1972.

It is interesting how this campaign seems to be fought on every other issue except the important ones. It sickens me to see the nation's top bigot end up number two in Wisconsin as a candidate for the Presidency. The

central issue in the '72 campaign ought to be whether we intend to begin to deal justly and hopefully with our children or whether we intend to continue to deny them, the way we are today. If there is any issue that is beyond dispute, it is the attitude of this administration and the policy of this administration toward children.

To use a technical word, it stinks. It vetoed two essential, modest appropriation increases in the most vicious veto message that I have seen in a long time; it vetoed my child development act, which we helped shape with the AFT; and if I have ever heard a mean-spirited speech in my life, the President's separate-but-equal speech on television the other night took the record. Try to follow this administration's record on educational policy and you could only conclude one thing: they are against any help from the federal government at all. As a matter of fact, I think we would have been better off if they had ignored the subject entirely over the past three years—just leave us alone and we would have done better than what they have done now. For two years we had a repeated flow of messages from the White House that money would do nothing for education.

As late as 1971, the President in a message to Congress said, "We simply do not know what works—we do know that money for compensatory educaton has been a failure." That is an official Presidential message. At least they permitted the Secretary of HEW for a while to say that one thing that does work, at least hopefully, is quality school integration. Then the other night, the President said that one thing we know no longer works is integration, but it would help if we sent some more money to these school districts. I asked the Secretary the other day when he testified before the committee, "What is the policy of this administration toward the schools and the school children of this country? Are you for integration? Are you for compensation? Are you for integration and compensation? Are you against integration and for compensation? Where are you? I can no onger follow it." "Well," he said, "we are for integration if you don't have to bus and we are for compensation some places."

I said, "Well, Mr. Secretary, at least the last half sounds encouraging. What would you do for compensation, and is this a shift in the administration's position?"

And he said, "Of course, it is not a shift; we have always believed in compensating children who come from disadvantaged backgrounds." I said, "How do you do it, then?"

He said, "We have found that if you concentrate aid in the amount of $300 a student in a disadvantaged classroom that there is impressive educational gain."

I said, "Fine; I am glad to hear that," and I said, "Now, I gather from that, then, that what the Congress should do is to send $300 per pupil to every classroom and the number of kids who are disadvantaged. Is that your position?"

And, he said, "Of course not."

I think what is going on is that they are playing tricks with the schoolchildren of this country and that this is an issue which simply does not

weigh heavily on their minds or their consciences at all. How can we be a just and a decent and a hopeful America unless we give school kids a chance?

It ought to be worth a politician's political life to vote against school children in this country. It is not a question of money. This budget, as you know, asks for $6 billion in new spending for the Defense Department to usher in the new generation of peace—$6 billion in new defense spending! Just last week, the Secretary of the Navy wired every Naval post in the world and said, "Help us spend this $2 billion that we have got left over in petty cash before the end of the fiscal year—otherwise we will have trouble with next year's appropriation." Two billion dollars! That is a half a billion dollars more than Title I, which is to serve the 9 million disadvantaged school children of this country. What kind of a system of priorities is that? They are insisting on a new space shuttle which would cost $30 to $40 billion. The money is there—there's no question about that—and one of the quickest ways to have money is to get our troops and our airplanes out of Vietnam right now. That would be at least $8 billion and we would not be humiliated, as we should be, by that disgraceful picture we see in Vietnam today.

Another thing we could do to get the money is to establish a just system of taxation in this country. Two years ago John D. Rockefeller III, one of the poor boys from New York, came down to testify on tax reform. In the course of his testimony, he said he voluntarily paid a "tax" of 5 percent to 10 percent of his income in the previous tax year. Someone said, "What do you mean 'voluntarily'?" He said, "Well I did not owe anything but I sent a check in the amount I thought the government could use." That is one way of raising revenue! If we made the tax laws voluntary, I think we could raise about $1.85 next year for the federal government.

Every 20th millionaire in 1969 paid not a penny in taxes. There are some 3,000 or 4,000 Americans who made over $50,000 a year last year who never paid a penny in taxes. The average oil corporation paid 8 percent in taxes. George McGovern said that ITT did not pay any taxes, and they said, "Oh, yes, we did, we paid 2 percent." That killed the issue!

The truth of it is that we have a tax structure in which there are no loopholes for teachers and workers in this country and their families but the tax structure is loaded with loopholes when it comes to the wealthy. Wilbur Mills told the story last year of a friend of his, a rich American, who came to him and said, "We have got to close these loopholes," and he said, "What do you mean?" And he said, "Well, for years I have brought in about $300,000 a year in income and I have paid $150,000 or $160,000 a year in taxes. I started to read about how rich people do not pay taxes, so I hired myself a smart lawyer. In the first year that I reshuffled the way in which I took my income, I got a $10,000 rebate from the federal government." Now, that is what is going on, so Gaylord Nelson and I put in a bill last week which we call a loophole tax—we just filled 55 of them—the least excusable ones that you can find. Fifty-five loopholes! We raised $16 billion.

Now the administration has a $16 billion tax package—it's called a value-added tax; it doesn't fill any loopholes; it socks the average family another $150 a year in a general 3 percent national sales tax which would be the first in the history of this country. Let's get the $16 billion, but let's not raise taxes on the average American; let's fill the loopholes and get the $16 billion and send it home for education and to take care of the children of this country.

The President said, or at least we thought he did, that we should immediately spend $2.5 billion on the education of disadvantaged children. When you read the fine print of his message, in fact there is no new money in there. But I think that we should take him on the basis of what he implied in his message and immediately add $2.5 billion to Title I and give some real strength to that program.

These are the kinds of issues that we face. I, frankly, do not think it makes an awful lot of difference how you restructure the federal government unless you also get some leadership in there that believes in education and a Congress that insists upon education. This is a political issue. Nixon believes, and there are many politicians in the Congress who vote this way, that it makes sense politically to turn your back on the school children and their education in this country. The President's administration, if it stands for nothing else, stands for the proposition that you can turn your back on the American School children and gain political popularity. What we need to do above all is to show that that is not possible politically and this is where teachers and their families and people who believe in decent education come in.

We have enough teachers, we have enough young voters, and we certainly have enough evidence to prove what it's costing this country to continue to cheat children the way we are today, and you, more than anyone else, know that. You see the kids, you know those who are being cheated, you know the cost of cheating our children, and you know the immorality of a great and a powerful nation mangling and destroying children the way we do in America today.

I would like to see the 1972 campaign fought out on the issue of decency to the children of our country. I have enough respect for the voters of our country to believe that if they saw that issue in its true perspective we could elect the kind of President and the kind of Congress that would make a just America once again.

THE PANELS

Panel Discussion on "Teacher Accountability"

Moderator: Mary Ellen Riordan, AFT Vice President and President of Local 231, Detroit

Panel: Dr. Scarvia Anderson, Educational Testing Service
Dr. Robert E. Stake, University of Illinois
Dr. Thomas Glennan, Jr., Office of Econonic Opportunity
Mr. Al Mayrhofer, Learning Foundations, Inc.

Teacher Reactors: Miles Myers, California Federation of Teachers
June M. Wells, President, Local 1962; District12, Federation of Teachers, Denver, Colorado
I. James Warnick, Jr., AFT Vice President and President of Local 762, Wilmington, Delaware

TEACHER ACCOUNTABILITY

MRS. MARY ELLEN RIORDAN
AFT Vice-President
President, AFT Local 231
Detroit Federation of Teachers

Last year in Detroit we had a real battle going between the Detroit teachers and the chief negotiator for the Board of Education, because he decided that all tenure teachers should be evaluated and on a form that would prove which one was good, better, or best. We said that if they are tenure teachers and doing satisfactory work, "forget it," because there is no way we have figured out—and we have been trying—to distinguish between the good, better, or best. It depends just what you are talking about —and where.

After a long drawn out battle that got involved with the Michigan Employment Relations Commission and the circuit court and quite a few other things, it was "put on ice." In our contract we have agreed to attempt to work out a means whereby the union and the administration jointly attempt to emphasize the things which improve the quality of teaching in the system.

So far the committee has come up with one conviction: that self-determined accountability is the only kind that is really going to be effective in truly improving the quality of education in our city.

I have one other big problem in all of this. If you went to a lawyer who guaranteed to win your case and he did this consistently with all his clients or if you went to a doctor who consistently guaranteed cures to his patients, you would call the doctor a quack and the lawyer a shyster. Yet sometimes it appears that is exactly what the definition of accountability is for teachers: a teacher who guarantees that the youngster will learn. We can not guarantee how tall he will grow, how much he will weigh and neither can we guarantee how much he will learn.

But we have a learned panel here tonight and at the end of this session, please God, we will all be much wiser. We will all know much more than we know now. You do guarantee that? You are accountable? All of you? Good.

We will start with Dr. Scarvia Anderson, then Dr. Robert Stake, Dr. Thomas Glennan, Mr. Al Mayrhofer and then following that, the three teacher reactors. They have all promised a limit of ten minutes for the panelists and a limit of five minutes for the teacher reactors and then we will all have at one another and may the blood flow beautifully.

DR. SCARVIA B. ANDERSON

The term 'accountability' has acquired some rather fancy definitions since it became fashionable to apply it to education. And it has been

layered with a number of rather fancy accessories such as PPBS (Planning, Programming, Budgeting System) and performance contracting. There have even been some tendencies to confuse the trappings with the basic concept—for example, to confuse installing a computerized management system or letting a performance contract with *being* accountable.

The Office of Economic Opportunity recently reported its findings with respect to performance contracts: "There is no evidence to support a massive move to utilize performance contracting for remedial education in the nation's schools." We can be grateful for the part that the OEO announcement has played in stimulating a new thoughtfulness about educational accountability and skepticism about get-accountable-quick schemes. Accountable is, of course, not something you get; it is something you are—or aren't.

The definition of 'accountable' that I am going to use here is the plain dictionary one: 'accountable' : 'liable to be called to account, answerable.' We begin this symposium with the built-in premise that teachers should be accountable or answerable. The first problem before us, then, is deciding what they should be accountable for and whom they should be accountable to.

Throughout the history of the profession, expectations about what school teachers are to be accountable for have been very high. I cannot think of any other profession where the members have taken on such a staggering array of roles, responsibilities, and duties. Teachers are not only supposed to be masters of the contents of their fields and of techniques of imparting knowledge and skills, but also at various times bookkeepers, guards and parole officers, community leaders, clerks, social workers, secretaries, directive or nondirective counselors, technicians, medical aides, bearers of national and international "culture," and, not infrequently, cleaning men and women, cooks, and bottle washers. It is interesting that teachers have registered complaints about their working conditions (such as over-crowded classrooms) and particular duties they have been forced to perform (such as lunchroom supervision), but attacks on the larger problem of the complexity of their identities have been relatively infrequent.

At the same time that they have had so many responsibilities, teachers have also had a lot of people and agencies to be responsible—accountable—to:

administrators and supervisors—sometimes several strata deep,
parents of the students in their classes,
neighbors who are tired of paying such high property taxes,
community members who are taking out a large share of their frustrations on the schools,
leaders of the local teachers' union,
colleagues who will receive the products of their efforts,
students, and—

I am sure there are others.

This is a very complicated state of affairs and we are not going to uncomplicate it over night. But perhaps we can help the situation a little by

identifying priority areas of teacher accountability and making responsibilities in those areas as explicit as possible. At the same time, we may be able to point to correlated or contingent responsibilities of other parties to the educational process.

My model starts off with three propositions:

1. The teacher should be accountable to the students and the administration for some progress on the part of every student in his/her class toward some of the student goals the school system has set. This proposition contrasts somewhat with what a great many teachers are now doing. They are trying to get *some* of their students to make progress toward *all* of the goals they consider relevant to their particular teaching area(s) and level. It would seem more profitable for the future to try to move *every* student—at least a little bit. Proposition 1 also implies that teachers must interpret the goals appropriately in terms of what progress toward them will mean for each of the individual students they are responsible for.

2. The teacher should be accountable to the students for carrying out the activities associated with furthering student progress in an atmosphere of generally positive effect. In other words, the teachers should be accountable for making the process as well as the product of education worthwhile for the particular group of students they have at a particular time. (I am not going so far as to advocate constant joy in the classroom, but a teacher who presided over a joyless classroom would be found wanting in my terms.)

3. The teacher should be accountable to him/herself for the quality of the job done in fostering student development and creating a positive educational environment even in the face of limitations of resources and lack of cooperation from others. The question to which the teacher seeks an affirmative answer at the end of the school day or year is, "Have I done the best I could?" A corollary of this proposition is that teachers are obligated to make known to administrators any inadequacies in resources—especially those that tend to make their efforts fruitless.

These three propositions about teacher accountability imply certain correlated responsibilities of school administration:

The school administrator should be accountable to the teachers for involving them in the specification of school objectives and for providing and maintaining supports teachers need in order to be accountable for student progress and the atmosphere in which it is stimulated. These include reasonable working conditions, opportunities for professional development (e.g. Bob Bhaerman's "continuous progress growth programs"), technical assistance (including help in assessment of students), information and communication programs in the community, responsibility for the appropriate assignments of students, diligent concern for student behavior and attendance, and, most important, the support of professional respect.

It follows that the Board of Education must be accountable to the school administrators to provide the funds and facilities to enable the administrators to be accountable to the teachers so that the teachers can be accountable to the students (in the school that Jack built).

And the students and parents have related responsibilities:

Parents and guardians should be accountable to their children and their children's teachers for participating with the school in the formulation of educational goals and for sending their children to school, teaching them to respect others, and providing some home supports for the educational process.

Students used to be the only ones in the educational system who *were* held strictly accountable—for getting their homework, for not playing hookey or being tardy, for "good conduct." In many schools in recent years students have been let off the hook. It's time they assumed their share of responsibility for their own education again and are accountable to their teachers and themselves for assuming it.

I have focused on accountability of administrators, boards of education, parents, and students only as it relates to the propositions about teacher accountability. I did not mean to imply, of course, that these parties to the educational process do not have other responsibilities and are not answerable to other groups—for example, school administrators are accountable to parents and community members for involving them in the process of goals setting. However, I did not want to dilute our consideration of teacher accountability with these important but extraneous issues.

Henry Dyer has a model of "collective" accountability that is similar to this model of "mutual" accountability in many respects. However, Dyer's model as originally formulated did not countenance accountability of individual teachers. I understand he has relaxed his position somewhat. But his reasons for taking the stand he did originally have been recognized implicitly here when I noted the importance of the contributions of others to the teacher's ability to teach and maintain an appropriate atmosphere. The teacher's job is that much harder for every failure of administrator or student to be accountable in a correlated role. As much as I stress the necessity for mutual accountability, however, I am afraid *not* to insist on individual accountability too. Otherwise, we'll continue to go around in circles. We may recognize that lack of cooperation from other parties may depress accomplishment in certain circumstances, but this should not relieve the individual teacher, administrator, board member, parent, or student from the obligation to be answerable to relevant groups and individuals for his/her contributions to the educational process. Like most of the writers and speakers on this topic, I don't know what penalties should be levied or rewards given to those individuals who provide inferior or superior answers. But I tend to feel that the more publicity we can give to the concepts of *mutual* and *individual* accountability in education and the clearer we can make our specifications of the responsibilities of teachers, administrators, school boards, parents, and students, the fewer inferior answers there will be.

DR. ROBERT E. STAKE

I will have some different things to say here. It may seem a little tedious to you the way I get at them, but it is a fairly short statement. This

is my "two cents' worth" or at least it would have been until our products were priced at ten cents a dozen.

As Dr. Anderson said, a teacher is accountable to many people: to children, to parents, to fellow teachers, to administrators, to citizens, to herself. She makes agreements—explicit and implicit—with these people. The teacher is accountable for what she does and for what they expect her to do. That means she has a responsibility for fulfillment of a contract, to do all that she agreed to do, and, of course, we hope that she will try to do more than she agreed to do. A teacher agrees to do some things explicitly, by signing a contract, by setting forth instructional objectives, by writing lesson plans. She also agrees by her behavior, without words being spoken, to many other responsibilities. By accepting a textbook, she agrees to teach the subject matter of that textbook, or specifically disavows that. By giving sympathy and consolation, she agrees to attend to the emotional needs of children. When a teacher is suddenly inconsistent, she is not being accountable to those people who developed expectations from her consistent behavior.

Accountability, first of all, is a matter of doing what people expect of you. Of course, there are some things that people expect from the whole school: personal safety of the children; exposure to different ethnic values; opportunity to relate to different adult role models; non-discriminating sharing of learning opportunities. And the teacher has part of that responsibility.

A second aspect of accountability is identification of personal responsibility. Each teacher shares in this identification. A teacher is not accountable unless she helps people realize the nature of her responsibility. President Truman had a motto on his desk, you'll recall, "The buck stops here." And the accountable teacher is not one who passes the buck, not one who gives an irate parent the run-around, but one who helps the school staff assume and allocate responsibility. The teacher has an obligation to let people know what she is doing.

There is a third dimension of accountability, as I define it—disclosure. The public school teacher has the responsibility to make the carrying out of her agreed-upon duties a matter for public observation. Accountability, besides being a fulfillment of one's promises, besides being the identification of personal responsibility, is a matter of disclosure.

This three-dimensional definition of accountability does not say that a teacher automatically has a responsibility for evaluating for public disclosure the impact of her teaching. She does not have a responsibility for presenting data on the performance of her students unless this was a part, an explicit or implicit part, of the teacher's many agreements. Most teachers do not have such an obligation for presenting performance data. Most teachers today can be accountable without presenting any evidence to their supervisors or to the public that their students can't perform well on tests or have increased their understanding or can get better jobs or are being admitted to the university. Many teachers have agreed to deliver on these

promises, these outcomes, but have not agreed to the responsibility to gather evidence of impact for public disclosure.

As things now stand, teachers may choose to gather evidence on student learning, or may choose not to. As long as a teacher does not violate a substantive expectation, the teacher can be accountable without gathering evidence that her teaching is what a researcher or evaluator might call "effective teaching." Now, I am not addressing myself to the question: Should a teacher evaluate her performance in terms of student performance —the answer might be *yes* or it might be *no*. What I am saying is that demonstrated student performance is not automatically an aspect of teacher accountability. It is not, unless it has been defined that way by the people directly involved.

It may appear to you that I am splitting hairs, trying to find a way that teachers may avoid responsibilities that others have claimed, but I am not. I am trying to find out that teaching responsibilities are what people perceive them to be, not what a specialist, a linguist, an evaluator, a performance contractor, a test salesman, or any other advocate may want to define them to be. A teacher is accountable to people and what those people perceive the teacher responsibility to be is the content of accountability.

DR. THOMAS GLENNAN, JR.

It is not entirely clear that I have a different point of view. I want to assure you that I am not here on a "performance contract," but I'll try to be accountable. I am not a student of accountability and I have the impression that the notes I scribbled to myself have been covered many times today and are going to be covered many times tonight. These are random thoughts that come from a person who has thought a good deal about some of these problems in the context of what we are doing at OEO and also from a person who has thought a good deal about it in the context of my wife's experience, since she has started back into a career as a teacher.

First, I accept Dr. Anderson's point; I think that there is a system accountability. I think it is very hard to pull the elements apart. We are a long way from having the ability to do it, but surely the system itself as a whole is what is going to have to perform and what we are going to have to try to hold accountable.

We are concerned with how the teachers and the resources and the training and the supervision and the principals, school boards and communities put it all together.

As I look at it, there are a number of requirements. At least two of them have been clearly focused on by both the speakers and by your panels and workshops. There is the question of the goals and objectives, the question of with whom these goals and objectives are associated and who sets them.

Clearly I think the goals cannot be set just by the professionals, just by you, as teachers, or the principals, superintendents or supervisors. Clearly they cannot be set just by the parents, if for no other reason than the par-

ents do not have an entirely clear view and educated view as to what is possible in the way of goals. Clearly they cannot be set by the politicians, as the politicians do not have either the detailed knowledge required or the proximity, ordinarily, to the problem.

There is a great deal of difficulty in articulating these goals, even if we had a process by which to arrive at them: questions of measurement and areas of defining them in other than basic skills . . . or even in basic skills; questions in terms of the objectives that should reach particular objectives; questions in terms of the objectives that should be held out for students of differing abilities or differing apparent abilities.

I am impressed with the fact—and I mentioned this in the publication that we put out on performance contracting—that if you look at the incentives that were associated with the performance contracting contracts, and these are incentives, I hasten to add, that OEO supplied, as you sit back and look at them, they imply some very interesting and peculiar things about what the goals for education were. And I don't think they imply a very good set of goals. But I think it is interesting, also, that I know of nobody who quarreled with them. No school system came back and said "You're nuts! This isn't what we think is appropriate." We just have not thought in terms of goals frequently or we thought of them in terms of such a low level that they have not had any strategic impact in the way schools allocate resources, teachers, and so forth.

The second requirement for system-wide accountability is clearly the capacity to make some kind of judgment about the degree to which objectives have been reached. Generally this is measurement of some sort and I think, if nothing else, the performance contracting experiment has surfaced what is known well to many people but perhaps not paid very much attention to in the policy debates, namely, that we do not have very good measures and we do not even have very good concepts of what we want to measure.

Those first two I think are very important—ones that are being talked about here—and we are a long way from resolving the problems. The third and fourth requirements are things that also are talked about, but ordinarily I think, at least in the discussions I have been in, not as much or as clearly. If we have a system in which there is accountability of any of the sorts discussed here, we also must have a system in which there is the capacity to act upon the information generated. Those actions must include such things as personnel assignments, in-service training, staffing compositions, materials, and so forth.

At the present time, in order to make those decisions we use a variety of, I think, not wholly satisfactory mechanisms. Tradition—it was always done that way. Frequently I think there are hunches involved. There are some self-serving work rules, assignment rules. There is a nice rule of thumb which many of us use which is to spread resources as evenly as possible—everybody gets their share. And there is the old familiar one: oil the squeaky wheel. If the school is causing trouble, if the teachers are

yelling, if the parents are yelling, then do something to cause it to be a little less noisy.

The fourth requirement, I think, is that there has to be associated with this some kind of a system of sanctions and rewards. Superior performance, I think, should be rewarded; inferior performance ought to lead to corrective action of one sort or another. I do not mean by that, necessarily, that I am talking about financial remuneration. There may be remuneration of many other sorts: increased responsibility, greater scope for the teacher's efforts, and so forth.

Now, I suppose that the reason I am on this panel is not because I am a student of accountability, because I am really obviously not, but because OEO has tried a few things that are at least usually lumped in with the issue of accountability. Let me just mention a couple of these. One of the things I said about measurement is that they are going to be crude. They are going to have to be, I think, for the time being anyway, largely aggregations or averages, or medians or distributions. That means that you may want to talk about school buildings as opposed to talking about individual students. One of the problems has always been that if a school building is falling down in any of a number of measures—whether by test scores or attendance records or what have you—it has always been possible to say "that's just a trouble school . . . kids there aren't any good . . . it's just always been a problem; can't get any staff to go there" or whatever it may be.

We have been working with one public school system and a research institute to develop a very crude set of indicators as to school performance and to try to place a series of schools, at least to start with, in categories where the student populations, in particular, are roughly comparable. If the student populations are roughly comparable, then even these crude indicators of performance among those relatively homogeneous schools give some guidance as to where there are problems and where resources should be moved. They give a kind of guidance which can't be shrugged off as easily, I would think, as is the case when there are widely differing situations that are being compared. It is kind of simple-minded but I think it has an interesting possibility if it is, in fact, coupled with the resource management decisions to allow you to try to do something about it and to correct what seems to be inferior performance.

Secondly, let me talk a little bit about vouchers. I would like for the moment simply to exclude the very relevant and profound policy issues having to do with church and state, segregation and so forth—all of which are very relevant and very important issues—but simply talk about a mechanism which I think can be carried out in the context of the public schools themselves, if the proper kind of safeguards and regulations are used. This system says, in essence, that the school as a whole—the principal and his or her teachers—need to provide the kinds of services that are found satisfactory to parents. That does not mean that they can make some judgments as to whether the school is providing the kinds of services which they feel are important. For those schools within the public school

system, in this particular model, which fail to attract students or which see declining student enrollments, the school system ought to want to move to do something about it.

I think that is a form of accountability. If you will look at it outside of these other policies, which as I say I am not trying to dismiss since they are profoundly important, it is an alternative form of accountability and one I think that has been suggested by a number of people.

The final one is performance contracting. Here I think the attempt is to make organizations that are providing materials and services, now frequently providing them under normal kinds of contracts, somewhat more accountable to the school system in what they deliver. Despite the fact that we found that performance contracting, as we conceived of it nearly two years ago, did not perform up to what we had hoped it would, it certainly does not say (as we said in our report) that some form of performance contracting is not a better way to purchase materials, or some training services, or even some teaching services under proper conditions. It is a way of introducing a form of accountability of suppliers of materials to school systems.

Those are three things that we have been . . . or will be . . . trying to experiment with. They are all experiments. We are not offering them as a way we ought to go, but as something that ought to be examined and tried. Hopefully we will be able to report on them to you and to the rest of the public in a fashion that will allow you to proceed with the kinds of discussions and debates that you are having here.

MR. AL MAYRHOFER

I have taught, been a school administrator, and worked in the field of accountability for approximately 12 years—that's a little before some of the writing started. I am going to address accountability in terms of the public accountability because that is what is generating, in my opinion, the current furor and some of the political activity as regards the school.

The term accountability shares much with the terms 'busing' and 'capital punishment,' because they have all evoked more heat than light and for good reason. It is not atypical for people and groups in a pluralistic society to have motives, objectives, opinions, and preferences which are at variance with each other. Indeed, it is one of the strengths of America, and it takes a strong and wise people to secure the operational patterns which provide optimum sources for society with minimum stresses on individuals and groups. I, too, have opinions, particularly on accountability as it applies to teachers. I think my record in the past on this is pretty clear but I would like to go over it again.

I am opposed, except under certain circumstances, very special in nature, to holding teachers accountable for the learning of their students. Remember, I am addressing the issue of public accountability. I am indebted to Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers, for specific support of one aspect of my opposition position and will quote

part of an article that he authored. (It appears in a new publication by Leon Lessinger and Ralph Tyler, "Accountability in Education," which was done for the National Society for the Study of Education):

> "Teachers are also disturbed by the frequent association of accountability with something called teacher motivation, a doctrine which holds that many teachers fail to reach their children because they really don't want to."

I have been privileged to work with literally hundreds of teachers and my experience denies this dictum or doctrine. Oh, sure, there are a few here and there, but no more than in any other profession. The majority of the people I have worked with are good, dedicated people doing as well as they know how to do. Shanker goes on: "This view of accountability poses a great threat because, to be honest, most teachers aren't doing the best they can."

You noticed he says "the best they can," and for a very simple reason: they don't know how to do it any other way; let's get this accurate, they don't know any other way of doing things.

They are victims, if you like, of a system that has seen 8,000 new teachers move into New York, for example, every year for the past 20 years.

Shanker goes on to say that with 20,000 diverse backgrounds, after four weeks of teaching in New York City it is almost impossible to distinguish the new teachers from the ones they replaced. He concludes from this that with few exceptions, teachers do what the system compels them to do.

But I'd like to extend Shanker's idea and say that it is not the teacher alone who doesn't know any better way, but the system itself. It is for these and other reasons that I take the firm position that it is the system which must be held accountable.

I said earlier that teachers might be held accountable under special circumstances. Let me give a real-life illustration. I once worked in a school system which had a superintendent who believed that teachers could be led to greater productivity by the most creative, best organized, and most responsible of their colleagues. He got the board to set up an investment capital account for research and development, which amounted to about 1/15th of the budget of $15 million for a school district of, roughly, 12,000 youngsters. A needs assessment by a logistic group set up the target accomplishments. Any teacher or group of teachers could submit what amounted to a bid for a piece of that investment capital. No administrator or group could stop the proposal from being heard by the board. Any proposal recommended by the Academy of Instruction, which was an elected teachers' group, and the principal's council had advantage in the hearing with the board, but no one could stop a teacher or a group of teachers from getting a hearing on a proposal.

Now, the criteria for implementation included the probability of success based on learning research findings, cost effectiveness, and the practicability of installation of other schools. Those who were successful bidders depended for continued funding of this operation only on meeting their stated objectives and their objectives were stated in terms of student learning.

They were given every logistic support possible—that was my job, and I really enjoyed working with those people for not only the friendship, but for what was produced.

To list a few accomplishments of these teachers: a drug abuse program that was good enough to win one of the ten national awards of the National Laboratory for the Advancement of Education and which worked in the school district (that's more importan); a reading laboratory in which, in over five years, kids advanced an average of 2.8 grades per semester and gained success in their other subject matter areas, and which has been installed in other schools and other school districts and works there, as well; achievement, by system-technology methods, of the social study survival concepts in America, performance objectives and criterion-reference items for each of these linked; a math program which was very similar to the reading program both in terms of process and product; a physical fitness testing program, which measures and prescribes the kinds of activities most helpful to kids run by teachers and kids.

There are many others—these are but examples of conditions in which teachers were happy to be held accountable because they found a better way and received logistic and administrative support to develop, install and disseminate the better way. Those teachers are doing that right now in other school districts around the country.

Teachers need pre- and post-certification training and continuing support and they are not getting it, either from the colleges of education or the system.

Administrators need help in acquisition of management skills. Teachers and their children are the victims of that management and, of course, eventually of society. A system's capability cannot exceed that of the people who operate it. We must insist on holding the system accountable for the sake of our children, our nation, and our profession. In this way, we can get the monkey of blame off of the teacher's back.

We must see that if accountability measures are used, they be used accountably, as the engine which furnishes the energy to develop the objectives and feedback mechanisms to improve the quality and relevance of education. In this way, we can secure the student accomplishment our nation needs at a price it can afford and is willing to pay.

MILES MYERS' REACTION

Dr. Anderson's suggestion that the schools stop taking on every duty in the book was a very good and positive one. She did not stress it quite as hard as I wish she had, but she did make the point that we talk a lot about over-crowded classes and not enough about an over-crowded set of responsibilities.

I think an example of that in California is the fact that a month ago we had a bill in which public schools were given the job of stopping VD. Last year we were given the job of stopping drug abuse. The year before

that, it was everybody driving and the year before that, I can't remember. . . .

We have a list of responsibilities and we always endorse them and seem to welcome them, because it makes us feel worthwhile; yet every job we take on is just another inevitable failure.

Dr. Stake reminded us that we ought to begin to define our own roles, and who we are, and not be quite so defensive about questioning our goals and our results. I was reminded (of Mary Ellen Riordan's comment) that guaranteeing results is unprofessional because maybe if we understood what our role was, we would be a little less defensive. We would understand the fact that a professional does not guarantee results; he certainly does not work with the business of percentage guarantees and certainly not with the business of predicting for children unseen and yet unborn.

Dr. Glennan's comment on needs assessment made me feel a little disturbed and distressed because in my district (I teach at Oakland High School in Oakland, California) it is almost a weekly event when we hear about the latest needs assessment; and all of us in the schools know what the needs are. But we have a lot of people who are earning money and creating careers on the basis of finding out what the needs are without apparently coming into the schools.

Another illustration from California is that we already know what our priorities are and what they should be. Every research project I have heard about coming out of educational schools has said that ages three to five are the crucial years. In California, as in every other state in the union, the most amount of money is spent at the graduate level. In California it runs from $3,000 to $4,000 a year per pupil. The next highest amount per pupil is in the community college: from $1,500 to $2,000 a year. The next highest is the high school: around $1,000 to $1,200. Elementary gets around $800.

I was really surprised when my children started going to elementary school to find that the kindergarten teacher has the least status of anybody in the school and everybody knew it. Everybody in the elementary school looked down on the kindergarten teacher who always had one hell of a time getting any materials for her programs. Now, when we know what our priorities should be, we turn around and look at the way we distribute the money: how the hell can we sit around talking about "needs assessment" to figure out what to do?

Mr. Mayrhofer seemed to disagree a little with Dr. Glennan on the question of whether or not you really need sanctions and rewards in order to get results out of people. If somebody's failing with, say, 35 people a day, to walk in and say, "If I give you another thousand you will do better," really is kind of silly. There is a way in which, if we had the kind of investment and in-service training, to make teachers think about their jobs. Most of the in-service training that goes on in California in curriculum areas is done by curriculum groups. Not one single dime is paid by the school district.

As long as we think that there ought to be some correction of this, it

is clear if you work in a school that sanctions and rewards and paying somebody a little bit of money isn't going to do it.

I won't belabor that any more, but let's take the question of teachers bidding for money and being able to perform a job with it. I thought that was an excellent notion and it struck me as I listened to it why in the hell hasn't anyone looked into that. Why haven't they directly contracted with individual teachers when they're talking about teacher accountability? Why don't they contract directly with individual teachers? I haven't seen any sign of it in California. I know there was a program in Stockton, but it was not directly with individual teachers. I know that for a fact. It just simply is not true; they did not contract directly with individual teachers. They contracted with a partnership of a district and an organization that ended up for bureaucratic reasons certainly not in the hands of individual teachers who had programs they wanted to try.

Last of all, I think that as an organization we ought to take the position that we are very much in favor of accountability. In fact, that's what the American Federation of Teachers is all about: because accountability means responsibility and responsibility means power.

JUNE WELL'S REACTION

In Colorado I thought we were unique, but I come here and find that we are not. We have an accountability law that has been enacted by the legislature in effect now and we are busy writing behavioral objectives, spending many, many hours which could be spent in preparation and planning for more creative teaching directly in the classroom. Beginning next year we have the monster of the whole thing, PBES, Planned Budgeting and Evaluation System, which will assign an accounting code number to every subject we teach and every dollar spent. They tell us that by accounting for the time we spend on each subject, we can decide how much is spent and can relate back the amount of achievement that comes out of it. The hours that I have spent on the first level of writing behavioral objectives; I want to give up right now!

The thing that concerns me is the modern curriculum theory that we seem to be running across, influenced by system-analysts like Mr. Mayrhofer, which regards the child simply as "input"—inserted into one end of a great machine from which he eventually emerges as "output," replete with all the behaviors, competencies and skills for which he has been programmed. Even when the "output" is differentiated, such a mechanistic conception contributes only to man's regimentation and dehumanization, not to his automony, not to what you and I know education is all about.

Charges by accountability advocates that the teaching profession has refused to be accountable are pious pouts; I won't listen to them another minute. Since teachers have been systematically deprived of any participation in decision making, I don't think we can be held accountable for the mess we are in. The last person who should be held accountable is the classroom teacher, because he precisely has the least control over resource

material—or anything that comes into that classroom—unless he is creative enough to go out and scrounge them up night and day, as we do year after year in teaching.

The thing that concerns me most is that no program—accountability, vouchers, or performance contracting or whatever name you give it—can take the place of a good teacher with a small classroom, adequate time, and adequate materials to help individual students who are having difficulty. That always has and always will cost money. It may be reassuring to the public to hear of corporations, Lessinger and the others, calling for "educational engineering," but I say that all the new jargon and the new lexicon is not going to resolve the basic issue in education: that education is woefully under-funded. More money is needed; much more.

What is *not* needed are new ways to excuse the refusal of a society with inverted values which wants to avoid its responsibilities to school children. We in the American Federation of Teachers, we in the classroom, can and must do as our critics have done: go to the community. We have to inform citizens of the needs of children and what it's going to take to get those needs met. We have to tell our legislatures and school boards forcefully, if need be, and dramatically that we no longer will permit them to hide their irresponsibility behind the comfortable and deceiving illusion which accountability really is.

We have a situation in our school district with Dorsett in a performance contract; we went down one day to observe the situation and found 14 students in a machine-filled classroom with *two* adults there—no planning, everything laid out for them. The University of Colorado was supposed to be supervising the control group next door; we went next door and found *36* students with an ability range between 2.8 and 9.6, some old Readers Digest skill-builders, some old library books, and an old SRA kit. And that is what they were comparing with the Dorsett performance contract program. We have said time and agin, "Give us some money, give us all these things, and we will do twice what they are doing."

Go to any labor union meeting, read any of their newsletters and newspapers. They are hearing time and time again from their employers: "productivity! productivity!"—just as we are. It all stems from the pressure from business and industry's tax dollar that they're out to protect. They don't care about kids. They don't care about education. Just don't dig any deeper into my tax pocket—which we are going to have to do to improve education.

Another factor in accountability that concerns me is the idea of "comparability." They are going to compare my classroom with the one next door; they are going to compare our school with the one in the next neighborhood; they are going to compare our district with the next one and every state with the next one. You get into this sort of thing and forget about the kids, their concerns and needs. This, to me, is not what I went into teaching for or what I stay there for.

In our workshop this afternoon we got into this a great deal. Every time that it was convenient, they threw it up to us that, "you are profes-

sionals." I say, *OK*, if you call me a professional, then trust my professional judgment. Don't come around every time you turn around testing my kids to try to prove whether or not I am accountable. I am the single best judge of what is happening in that classroom. I'll be willing to try to prove it to you any day. I greatly detest the move to come in and say, "You are not accountable and I'm going to prove you're not and you're going to have to prove to me that you are." We have to fight this constantly.

I'll close on the thought of passing the buck, like Harry Truman. The buck has been passed time and time again and, as usual, it gets dropped in our laps. I am tired of them passing the buck and dropping it in my lap when I am not responsible for it. I think we ought to start passing that buck back up to where it begins.

JAMES WARNICK'S REACTION

I will open where Miss Wells left off, about passing the buck. Accountability reminds me also of the sign on President Truman's desk, "The buck stops here." Truman had the powers and the facilities to deal with the issues that were passed to him. Teachers are not in that same position.

I come from a small urban area, Wilmington, Delaware, and see the issue of accountability there quite differently from what accountability may mean in the suburban districts. I see overloaded classrooms that exist in many of our urban centers that have more educational problems than entire schools may have in the suburbs. Yet, administrators continue to state that "class size does not really make a difference in achievement." In Wilmington we are not willing to accept this administrative rationalization for large classes and are planning our own unique school in cooperation with the Board of Education. It is going to be the type of school patterned after the MES model, where smaller classes will make a difference. I firmly believe when teachers are given the kinds of working conditions, class size, facilities, the supportive help and training, the tools to do the job with, we will see significant, positive changes being made.

At our superintendent's meetings I repeatedly tell the superintendent that if teachers are poor in his estimation, it is because the administration does not accept the responsibility of providing the tools to do the job. Accountability must begin at the highest level of administration before teachers should be subjected to being held accountable for achievement.

Another issue to be dealt with is the role of parents and their relationship to accountability. For some time I thought that one of the big issues was that parents had been left out. After looking at the situation, maybe that is not as big a key as I once thought. As teachers we will have to deal with the kinds of situations the children come from and start the educational process from the level that the children enter school, regardless of their background.

As I have heard Si Beagle say time and time again, "We've tried everything but money, the real hard dollar." We have to create situations where there will be enough money available to develop what teachers know is

needed to do the job. We have tried performance contracting and voucher plans, to mention just two of the panaceas developed by the educational hucksters, but why don't we try the real thing—and that is money!

I do think that teachers are going to have to accept a certain form of accountability, but teachers must have an integral part in the development of whatever accountability system will be implemented.

Accountability must be directed towards improving education, not grading it. I hope that we can work from that point.

DISCUSSION PERIOD

Dr. Glennan: The accountability that I would hope to be judged by is that I would attempt to meet with anybody who quarrels with what we are doing and try to explain why we are doing it. We have to answer to Congress and to the public generally. I felt, and do feel, that it was a subject worthy of experimenting with. In fact, there were many people, organizations, and school systems moving to embrace performance contracting and which are still moving to embrace it. We subjected it to a test and tried and tried to report the results as impartially and appropriately as possible. I think that is a valuable public service. I hope that I have been accountable in it.

When we entered into something like performance contracting or as we are entering into the voucher system, which you probably feel even more strongly about, we do not do this solely on our own; there is a school system which feels it is worth a try. Let me go into the voucher system as we are now working with it. We have insisted and, I think, have involved in a very strong way, the teachers, the parents, and the administration. The grant currently being prepared by the Alum Rock system has involved a group writing that proposal made up of 20 teachers, 20 parents, administrators, and six principals. The teachers are participating and, I trust, agreeing. It is a situation, it seems to me, in which there are people who are responsible for the education in those schools, who will be carrying out the education in those schools, and who will be participating in the experiment, who have said it is something worth trying. I feel very strongly that the teachers must participate in a strong way. I frankly do not believe in the way that the performance contracting experiment was mounted, particularly in the timing.

In the performance contracting experiment (the Gary experiment is not one of them) all the contracts had to be approved by school boards and by the superintendents. Presumably, the teachers were involved in this. Despite being besieged, I do agree with you that the degree to which the administration of the public schools has ignored the teachers is profound. I tried to make the point that I believe this is a collective process. I have been astounded as I talked with people who might participate with us in experiments at the degree to which they will not consult with teachers. I do not deny that; I think it is true. We have done our best as we have moved forward in these things; we have learned from our experiences to try

to insist upon such participation. I couldn't agree more with most of the sentiments that are voiced here that teachers in the school system as a whole are being asked to shoulder the burdens of society; they are being asked—in that relatively small part of a individual's lifetime that they have custody of the child—to overcome these problems. I do not think it is fair to expect the schools of the country to alleviate all those problems. So we are, I hope, being responsible in this. We are not taking things quite as much on face value as we used to.

June Wells: Dr. Glennan possibly took care of my question, but I feel I must bring him up to date on the degree of teacher participation relative to performance contracts. In our school district, I never miss a board meeting. In the one where performance contracting was decided upon, I left the meeting at ten minutes after one (in the morning) when the word "adjourn" was used. The next morning the teachers met me and said, "Tell us about what happened when they accepted performance contracting last night." I said it wasn't even mentioned! When we asked the Superintendent, he said that was not "adjournment"—it was just a recess. At the next meeting, when I challenged the previous minutes, they struck them and proceeded to vote on it as the first issue of the meeting. But it was already done and no one knew anything about it. This is the kind of teacher participation that we are rebelling against.

Dr. Glennan: In that kind of situation, I can not do anything but say I agree with you. That is part of this problem of accountability. Clearly in this instance, somebody was not accountable to you!

We attempt in our office to evaluate our programs and we have a policy which says that those evaluations shall be public. And those evaluations have not all been favorable. They have all been available—the data underlined and available—to try and give those who disagree with our interpretations the opportunity to respond. But it is true that we choose what we evaluate and the measures we use to evaluate. It is not, by any means, a perfect system. The Congress, I suppose, provides the greatest single means of evaluating us, dealing with issues of migrant workers and the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of programs that deal with the problems of the Indians, and so forth.

Mr. Mayrhofer: I think that Dr. Anderson and, I believe, Dr. Stake addressed the notion of joint accountability and getting into specifics rather clearly. In spite of the fact that many teachers today look on management as a way of forcing accountability on the teacher, properly applied, it will force accountability on the system. First of all, if one were going to apply system technology wisely—and I would argue for wisdom in all of this—one would go through something that is traditionally American. I think one thing that many people have failed to take into consideration is the fact that in a democratic system it is the people who say what they want and the professional who says how they are going to do it. For too long we have been absorbed in processes; I have heard a lot of talk about processes tonight and very little talk about *output* and that is what the American public is concerned about and not with our failures or successes. I think

we have got the best educational system in the world for the college prep. In California, Arthur D. Little did a report with which you should be familiar. Sixty-five percent of California's students were labeled "Flying Dutchmen," that is they had no curriculum, nor were they prepared to go on to higher education or for the job market. They were not prepared for anything. Many of them were disenchanted with system. I would like to point out that many of those people are the adults voting against bond elections and tax overrides. A kid ought to at least like a class as well at the end as he did at the beginning. Let us go to the people and find out what they want. Remember they are mostly concerned with the 20 million functionally illiterate adults in this country and the 30,000 graduates each year who are functional illiterates. Get a "needs assessment" from them but don't relinquish the "how to do it;" that is the professional's job. Do not, however, come in with solutions before you have documented needs. Documented needs will require that the cost effectiveness of all the alternative solutions be examined, then we can get not only an efficient but an effective system.

Myers: In the PPBS design for California, we have categories called "English 1st grade, 2nd grade" and so on for each curriculum area and each grade level. The administrative investment in that school district is set off to the side in a box called "General Support." In that box will be a certain amount of money. You cannot figure out by looking at the program budget how much administrative time is being held accountable for any particular curriculum in the entire school district. If English goes down the drain, they can identify who the teachers are in their English box. If first grade goes down the drain, they can find out who's responsible there, because there is a first grade box. But the administration is in a category called "General Support" and we have no subject in the entire system called "General Support." Therefore, they never fail. On the other side of the coin, we need to keep repeating the idea that our public school system is one hell of a success. *Our system is one hell of a success!* We send children in California to school six hours a day, 180 days a year, and the public pays $1,000 to $1,300 or $1,400 for it. They are getting baby-sitting rates at $1.00 to $1.25 an hour and for that they get reading and writing and TV and all that besides. They can not go out and hire baby-sitters at that rate. They are demanding and they are getting a certain function. In fact, some of our most articulate critics are people who were great successes in school. We are turning out our critics. If we do a good job on them they are going to be coming at us tomorrow.

"What's Happening with . . .?"

". . . Performance Contracting," James A. Mecklenburger, Research Assistant, Phi Delta Kappa

". . . Educational Vouchers," Dr. George R. LaNoue, Associate Professor of Politics and Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

". . . National Assessment," Dr. James A. Hazlett, Administrative Director, National Assessment of Educational Progress, Education Commission of the States

Moderator: Albert Shanker, AFT Vice President and President, Local 2, New York City

Respondent: Dr. John A. Sessions, Assistant Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO

"What's Happening With . . ."

MODERATOR, ALBERT SHANKER
AFT Vice President
President, United Federation of Teachers

When the results of public schools are analyzed periodically, there is on the part of many a good deal of disappointment: disappointment by some that the schools concentrate too much on narrow subject achievement and by others that hundreds of thousands are not reaching the point of functional literacy. Periodically, as a wave of criticism comes, the most frequent reaction on the part of the media and writers in one field is to operate on several assumptions and to paint a picture of the causes of the failure of schools to achieve whatever it is the particular writer wants them to achieve.

One of the outstanding recurrent charges is that with all of the history of American education behind us, that schools have really not changed and that teachers and administrators constitute an ever-growing bureaucracy who have their own self-interests and who fear innovation and change and, therefore, that whatever is wrong with the schools must take into account the question of how one shakes up the institution in such a way as to turn it into something that is profoundly different, whether it be in terms of bringing in business or of keeping the teachers and administrators alert by giving consumer power to students and parents or by creating a different kind of hierarchy within the school that now exists.

So this is one of the constant themes: that the schools have been the same. Whatever has been wrong has been due to the sameness, due to the fact that you can not bring about any change, that the way to bring about change is to get some sort of a tremendously different structure that will either toss the people who are in there now out and replace them with others or compel them to respond in very different ways.

The other strain that comes with these waves of criticisms is generally a view that schools are organized along lines set down by philosophers—whether it be John Dewey or some other philosopher—and that what is wrong is that we have not applied to the schools the knowledge that the business sector and industry have within our society. Of course, in actuality, one of the dominant movements within the schools has been the constant work of school administrators to adopt the methods which are used in business, whether these were time and motion studies or other techniques but, essentially, to view the school on the model of a factory, to develop techniques that work in industry and to bring them into the schools.

To some extent the first two proposals to be discussed this morning can be viewed as coming out of both of these criticisms. That is, how do we radically shake up the schools in order to either replace the present per-

sonnel or get the present personnel to operate in a very different way? Performance contracting and vouchers have their own answers to this question. In a very close sense, they also are an outgrowth of the view that we ought to have more in the public sector, and especially in public education, of what exists in the world of private industry and business, whether that be payments for delivered products or whether it be the choice of the consumer and the competition that engenders in bringing about quality products, supposedly, (don't quote me as being an advocate of that view but that's the view) or whether what is wrong with schools is that we have not really come out of the medieval craft stage, where one person is responsible for making the entire garment, and that what we need is greater division of labor with a completely different cast of characters. The first two proposals we will be discussing today stem from attempts to respond to and to answer those basic criticisms.

". . . Performance Contracting"

JAMES MECKLENBURGER

I would like not to be placed in your mind initially in the role of an advocate. There have been times and places where I have taken the stance that would be more positive than negative toward performance contracting. My role this morning is primarily descriptive. I have been asked to explain what is happening or what has happened. I will have some comments about the OEO experiment which will differ significantly from some of the things that were said last night, but they will be equally hostile toward OEO.

A good question at this point is whether in talking about performance contracting we are talking about something that is dead, as OEO has said. Allen Calvin, chairman of the board of Behavioral Research Laboratories which has the contract in Gary and a number of other places, several months ago accused me of becoming an expert on a subject that will cease to exist—I have three publishers and a film library who are hopeful that that won't occur.

One of the most astounding things about performance contracting is that to date it has been such a tiny phenomenon and yet it has received so much attention. To create some sort of ratio between the size of the phenomenon and the size of the attention, my guess is that is has received more attention than anything else in public education recently. If you look at press coverage, I think it has received more mention than anything except busing or integration. Yet it has only been around for a little more than two years.

I do not believe at any one time there have been more than 50 performance contracts although, to a degree, that is a matter of definition. This year, depending on your definition, there are as few as ten or as many as 100. I think the 100 is erroneous; there are probably more nearly ten.

Definitions on this particular topic are very misleading generally. I

would like, however, to attempt to make a kind of logical division which, like some of the divisions that were made in other presentations yesterday, are for the sake of argument, rather than in fact, because these things are really intertwined.

The term performance contracting has three very distinct sets of meanings and they are frequently confused. I would say the American Federation of Teachers tends to confuse them. I might add that the American Federation of Teachers is probably responsible for the fact that performance contracting has received so much publicity.

When we talk about the performance contracting phenomenon, we can talk about the specific contracts that have occurred, we can talk about the rhetoric that has occurred or we can talk about the politics that have occurred. If we were to stand ten years hence, we could look back and say there was a thing called "performance contracting" that happened then there were pros and cons, arguments, and so on, some of which Mr. Shanker alluded to. Secondly, we can talk about performance contracting as a concept. One can make statements like "I think performance contracting is a good idea," or "Performance contracting is an interesting phenomenon," or "Performance contracting is a hideous idea." It makes some suggestions, again which Mr. Shanker alluded to, about the schooling process and education which you may or may not want to accept.

The essential notion, obviously, is that, like in business, perhaps payment for educational services or the expenditure of dollars for educational services should be linked to quality by some measure of the product of those services. I think this probably serves best as a definition of the idea: that payment should be linked to service with some kind of stipulated measure of results.

The third kind of approach to performance contracting, which is the one I think has probably gotten more use as a definitional device, is to say, "Performance contracting is a procedure which begins with a needs assessment (if it does) and then proceeds through a bidders' conference, an RFP, the writing of the contract, etc., down to turnkey or beyond." I am hesitant about that kind of definition because so few performance contracts by the other two definitions seem to fit it and more contracts have honored that kind of definition in the breach than in fact.

Today we ought to talk more about the historical approach than the other two. However, if you want to raise questions about the other two, that's fine, but I would like to suggest briefly what has happened. You have to remember that the whole thing started in 1969 and started in one place. In a sense that was not the origination. There had been some attempts by certain people, including Charles Blaschke, who did eventually establish the contract in Texarkana, to use this notion in other places and in other ways. But Texarkana was the one and only in 1969 and it received relatively little publicity until later—in February 1970. Suddenly there were reports which had a number of supporters—Blaschke, Lessinger, people in the U.S. Office of Education, Dorsett, the school system people themselves —all saying, "We have done this wonderful thing." This is not unusual—

when something is new, people want to claim it to be wonderful—but they made claims that particularly struck at the hearts of people who were worried about the quality of schooling, because they were saying nice measurable things like, "We got 2.2 years' grade gain in four months of instruction." That really turned on a lot of people, particularly the bureaucrats in Washington who like to play with those kinds of numbers.

So the project in Texarkana. although other things happened later, was single-handedly responsible for virtually all of the performance contracts that occurred the next year. The people who were involved last year visited Texarkana or talked with people who had, and most of them created projects that looked pretty much like the one in Texarkana. The term "performance contract" frequently became the kind of contract that occurred there.

To make it clear that performance contracting does not necessarily designate what occurred in Texarkana, perhaps the most noticed performance contract is the Evelyn Wood Reading Dynamics' guarantee that you will triple your reading rate with the same comprehension or your money back and that has been around for a long time.

In any case, there were about 50 performance contracts in 1970-71. There would have been 150, but there was a scandal at Texarkana relating to "teaching to the test" which turned off a lot of people. But for many it was too late to be turned off—e.g., the OEO—because they already announced their project before the scandal broke.

There were seven contracts in Virginia last year sponsored by the state; there were three contracts in Colorado also sponsored by the state. There also were the 18 cities (plus the two special cases) which OEO paid for. In addition, some cities did it on their own: Grand Rapids picked up two and OEO gave them one. Dallas picked up two and OEO gave them another. Philadelphia had one plus OEO gave them one. There were several others scattered nationwide, a number in Michigan, some in Boston, some in Washington, some in California, Texas, and so on.

Generally speaking, most of you know the issues, because the negative side of most has been raised by the AFT. If you read the Consortium Resource Notebook, the AFT's response is pretty well laid out. It is consistently negative, but its consistency may be a virtue that a lot of other people have not had, particularly OEO.

There were a few performance contracts that were not very much like Texarkana at all—just a few. It would be my suggestion for anybody still interested in the concept that the kind of thing done by Texarkana and OEO is probably a pretty bad notion as a way to design a contract and should not be done again. Maybe that is what OEO has proved.

But there have been some other kinds of things that may be equally interesting to you. There have been some contracts between school districts and individual teachers or clusters of teachers. Allusion was made to similar things yesterday by Mr. Mayrhofer, that money can be bid for by teachers in order to reach certain kinds of performance specifications. There have been some contracts, not many, between school districts and

principals. There have been some this year in Michigan in which the state department intends to pay districts for student achievement on a continuing basis. If you get the achievement this year, you will get the money again next year; if you do not get the achievement, you get less money next year.

In all of these things, people are advocating performance contracting—the kind they would call incentive contracting, linking money to results as motivation. The analogy, of course, is to motivation in business. The assumption is that most people are motivated by money or other kinds of rewards and, therefore, incentives might be used to improve the quality of schools.

Let me deal with the OEO experiment at some length. It is a distressing example, not necessarily of performance contracting, but of the kinds of things that have occurred in its name. The OEO experiment, like so many others last year, started in the wake of Texarkana. Charlie Stalford and Jeffrey Schiller of the OEO went there and came back excited. They had discovered the idea which was going to revolutionize compensatory education. That is another thing, incidentally, that is not a necessity about performance contracting, that it relate to compensatory education or disadvantaged students. But most have so far. In any case, they had the answer to compensatory education; they hastily came back to Washington and ran their ideas and subsequently a proposal through what was really a very hasty process culminating in the announcement in June of 1970 that they were going to do this wonderful thing as an experiment. It is very difficult to call something wonderful and say it is an experiment, but OEO consistently did that for about 16 months. This was quite clear from the rhetoric of most OEO spokesmen and Mr. Shanker picked up quite early that this was not, as he said, an experiment but a juggernaut. It seemed clear for quite some time that OEO, or the people who controlled it, were very interested in using the political impact of this idea to shame teachers and teacher organizations, perhaps to keep the pressures off for them to innovate because, obviously, they were innovating and to keep people from asking for more money because they were suggesting that there were better routines needed rather than more money.

In any case, I suggest, that at the top level, the approval level, the OEO experiment was always a political experiment, if it was an experiment at all, or demonstration or ploy—not necessarily by the people operating it (Schiller, Stalford and their small staff) but by the people who approved and publicized it widely. They designed the experiment, to be charitable, naively, in the sense that there is a great deal of expertise as to how to construct a social experiment available in Washington and elsewhere. OEO ignored all of it. There is a great deal of expertise as to how to use standardized tests which OEO entirely ignored, to their sorrow, because it's coming back to haunt them now in the form of a General Accounting Office audit. GAO is hiring people they should have hired 18 months or two years ago. There is a great deal of common sense that teacher organizations and others might have supplied but which OEO did not ask for. There is a great deal of experience in similar or smaller kinds

of experiments in the Office of Education which OEO did not ask for. OEO went off half-cocked and on its own.

Now again, you have to remember that Texarkana boomed in the spring of '70 when, you understand, the companies that bid on these projects did what they were asked to do, that is, made extravagant promises for their program in order to get the contract. As Mary Ellen Riordan said last night, you can't get the $400,000 *unless*. . . . That was put to the companies just the way it is frequently put to schools. You can't do this thing unless you make certain kinds of promises and, having talked to many of the people in those companies, they responded in just that way, "Well, we don't know whether we can do it or not; after all we've never done it before in the same way that OEO wants it done, but we'll try." It was a reasonable, earnest effort on their part at that time. They said, "After all, they're getting results in Texarkana so we will try to get those results, too."

The program was set up so that each company had three cities spread-eagle across the nation. The same company was in Portland, Maine and Anchorage, Alaska, which doesn't make much sense but that's what they did. It was intended to be an experiment where you compare experimental groups to control groups, a considerable problem. A friend of mine has written an article called "The OEO Experiment and the John Henry Effect." You will recall that John Henry was the steel driver who, when faced with a steam drill, drove so hard he broke his poor heart and died. There seems to be some evidence in the OEO results, although there is so much questionable about the results that it is a little unclear, that the control groups worked mighty hard in order to compete with the experimental groups at most of these sites; therefore, it might be claimed that the experiment caused considerable gains above expectations in control groups as well. That is why there was no significant difference between most experimental and controls, but OEO did not attend to that in its report of results.

Several things happened in OEO—in Washington generally but in OEO in particular—between the beginning of that project and the report of final results in January, 1972. The most obvious sign was that there have been three OEO Directors, and the most devastating sign was that in December President Nixon vetoed the appropriation for OEO so that for a period of time there was no OEO and the people there were free consultants. They just didn't have any jobs for a little while. OEO is not a popular agency in Washington; it wasn't particularly popular in the summer of '70 when this thing started, but since vouchers have received so much criticism, the thing has gone downhill. There is an interesting article in the February 5, 1972, *Saturday Review* called, "OEO as Innovator—No More Rabbits Out of Hats," which came out concurrent with the release of their results and which suggests, in effect, that OEO has gotten bombed politically, not in so many words, but I'll say it in so many words, that OEO chose to report its results in such a way as to get their maximum political impact.

There are lots of issues which I do not particularly want to get into, unless you want to ask, about OEO's results which relate to technical questions about how one uses standardized tests, how one reports the results of

standardized tests, and how one generalizes from the results. If you read the OEO statements and compare them with the statements of their own evaluator, you run into some interesting contrasts in opinion. The evaluator says we can tell you about this experiment; given these students, given these cities, given the year 1970-71, given these tests and the circumstances that occurred, we can give you some conclusions about this experiment and one should not generalize beyond the data. OEO has from the beginning generalized way beyond its data to make sweeping statements about the concept that they presumably were playing with, about companies, learning styles, learning approaches, and other things which ail, said Tom Glennan in an OEO press release, did equally badly and—incidentally—as well as the public schools in most sites.

What they really had, aside from a bungled experiment, in my judgment, was a set of results that could best be interpreted as "interesting." If it had been a low profile experiment, we might have gotten a report that said the results were "interesting," but, since it was probably the most visible experiment and maybe the most visible anything in public education and OEO was in trouble, it was necessary to say, "We did this great thing." The data did not support that this was the greatest thing ever—the data was only kind of "interesting." They chose the other route and organized their data in such a way that it comes out saying OEO was great: "We did this wonderful social experiment. We reached a firm conclusion about performance contract: it was terrible. It was not a panacea; back to the drawing board."

Perhaps you saw an editorial in the New York *Times* ten days or so ago called "Premature Discard," in which the *Times*, which accepted in February the first OEO press release without question, finally said, in effect, Wait a minute. That looks like a political action. How could anybody make such a sweeping conclusion in one year's time?

Anyway, to be charitable to the OEO experiment, I would say that one should simply disregard it. The OEO experiment does not tell us very much about performance contracting. It tells us some very interesting things about politics, about people and their frailties, about the naivete of learning companies, about school systems, about the calendar difficulties of setting up a program that is supposed to start in September when you start in August and have to hire and train staff, acquire equipment, and so on. There are a lot of interesting things about the experiment but, in terms of reaching a conclusion about whether performance contracts have any significant effect, there are some *tentative hypotheses* you could reach based on what they have done. But to reach *conclusions* based on what they have done I suspect is unwarranted.

There has been one other federally-funded study by the Rand Corporation which compared to the OEO study is brilliant, although it is probably just kind of ordinary. It cost about one-twentieth of what the OEO experiment cost but yielded some better information. They did a theoretical treatment of what a performance contract is compared to other kinds of contracting forms, how it operates as an incentive and so on. Then they

did case studies in several cities—Grand Rapids; Gilroy, California (which was kind of a bomb); Texarkana (they did a retrospective history of the first year but got it mostly wrong); Norfolk, Virginia (where they looked at one of the seven experiments in Virginia). Those documents were intended to be used by school administrators. That was their charge by HEW, so they tend to be administratively oriented. They tend to be very polite. They do not give you the "who was sleeping with who" information which frequently influenced what went on.

But, on a vague level without quotation by attribution and some other things that would have been interesting, most of what they say is true although they do not necessarily get at the whole story. They do contain most of the documents that came out of those performance contracts including the contracts themselves and whatever else was related—evaluation reports, if they were available at the time, etc. I understand, but I have not confirmed it, that Rand has $100,000 to do a follow-up this year on the programs that have continued, so perhaps we will get some more data at some future time.

Whether there is a future for this notion is anybody's guess. In the best tradition of educational innovation, it is already acquiring other names, mostly because of the OEO thing, e.g., in Grand Rapids, where the projects probably have been more successful than in any other city in the sense that the school system and the community have accepted them and amplified them in the second and third year. The first year they spoke about performance contracting and said all the things that everybody was saying in hyperbolic language. In the second year they learned that you can not be hyperbolic about this thing: it's just a device and a tool. And they talked about "contract learning," in fact, they used several different kinds of contracts with companies including performance contracts. This year, in order to get away from that emphasis, they are going to call the program "individualized learning." They were going to expand it considerably in terms of the number of companies that they contract with and the number of students who are involved, but they have moved away from that. Then I noticed in an article in the *American School Board Journal* references to "accountability contracting" which sounded like performance contracts but which did not use the now negative term "performance."

Well, that is "where it's at." It has been a complex, interesting, small, highly-publicized, very tentative, rather naive movement. I think the residue of it is something kind of "interesting." It got a lot of people excited. It raised some good questions about standardized testing which may leave practices somewhat changed for the better. It raised some good questions about other kinds of tests which have gotten testing companies excited. It made some changes in some school districts, according to the Rand report and my own observation, and it kept all of us hacks busy writing interesting things for other people to read. Whether it will continue is anybody's guess and you people will be partly responsible for what happens.

I would suggest, just to give you one other kind of quick perspective, that in three or four polls which have been conducted that raised questions

about performance contracting over the past year (and they were polls that just asked "Do you like it?" or "Don't you like it?" rather than "Why?"), roughly two-thirds of the school board members thought it was a good idea. Roughly half of the administrators thought it was a good idea or an acceptable idea, at least. Roughly 40 percent of the general public thought it was a good idea, with another 25 percent saying they really did not know. About 10 percent to 20 percent of the teachers thought it was a good idea, which may account for the bias in the program notes. In any case, it is an idea that has some widespread popular appeal, perhaps for the reasons that Mr. Shanker suggested earlier. It is my guess that whatever form of reincarnation it takes, probably a more sophisticated form, it will not go away.

". . . Educational Vouchers"

DR. GEORGE LANOUE

The voucher banner has sunk a bit in the last year for several reasons, principally some decisions by the federal court, but it still exists, and we may see it waved again during the Presidential campaign, if that should become opportune. I would like to tell you where vouchers are at the moment. (I might say that since it is going to be the national high school debate topic next year, some of you may have a responsibility in that regard.)

The history of vouchers is such that it would seem, I think, to any objective observer a rather dubious vehicle for liberal school reform. In the 19th Century, of course, there were various schemes that paid money to parents or students. They broke down because it proved impossible to have quality of education. So we gave up methods of financing private schools and moved to the public school system. Voucher supporters will point to the GI bill as a modern precedent, but that is a false analogy. The GI bill was a device to pay veterans compensation for the deferred income that they lost while being in the armed services. They could use this money for many different kinds of purposes—some went to divinity schools, for example; this money was considered to belong to them.

There are two contemporary precedents for educational vouchers in this country. The first is rather sinister. It was, so many of you know, the device that Southern state governments finally turned to when all of the other mechanisms that they used to avoid integration failed. In states like Virginia, Alabama and Louisiana, vouchers became the last hope of the White Citizens' Councils. In the tragedy of Prince Edward County, which this union did so much to alleviate when the public schools were abandoned, the device chosen was vouchers, so that white parents could continue the kind of education that they had in the past. Everywhere courts have struck down those kinds of voucher systems. In probably the most significant case, Poindexter vs. Louisiana, Judge Minor Wisdom said, "Unless this voucher system is destroyed, it will shatter to bits the public school system of Louisiana and kill the hope that now exists for equal educational

opportunities for all citizens, blacks and whites." With that, the federal court unanimously struck it down.

The other modern root for educational vouchers comes from the most conservative wing of the parochial school movement. It was a theory created by a Jesuit priest at Marquette that led to the founding of Citizens for Educational Freedom. This is the group which has advocated that the only fair way to distribute educational funds is to create non-regulated, non-compensatory vouchers. It comes as no surprise that it is an almost entirely white, middle-class movement and so conservative that it does not even have the support of many Catholic bishops. Given this background you might think that it is very unlikely that an agency of the federal government responsible for the education of the deprived, minority groups and poor would turn to vouchers, but that is exactly what OEO and the Nixon Administration did. They granted a substantial amount of money—several hundred thousand dollars—to Christopher Jencks at the Harvard Center for the Study of Public Policy in order to study this question. But the fact was that Jencks had already committed himself in print to being in favor of educational vouchers, so there was no issue about how it would come out.

Why did OEO turn to vouchers, such an unlikely vehicle for educational reform? There are probably three reasons. One is that the Nixon administration has looked for several ways to improve education without spending any money, to put it charitably. The voucher philosophy was perfect because it fits in with the traditional Republican view of the superiority of the marketplace to the ballot box in making public policy and it appeased certain parts of the laissez-faire Republican constituency. And it really does not cost any money. After all, the Nixon Administration has not really committed itself to spending that much money on vouchers, but only to experiment with it for five to eight years at which time the incumbent President will no longer be in office, unless there is a Constitutional amendment. So it was a sort of a philosophical gimmick.

There is also, I think, a more sinister kind of reason. Kevin Phillips (he was and perhaps still is Attorney General Mitchell's political advisor), in his book, *The Emerging Republican Majority,* suggested that vouchers could be one of the schemes with which Republicans could unite segregationist parents in the South with parochial school constituencies in the North and create the emerging Republican majority.

Finally, and we have to recognize this, there are some people in OEO and in the liberal community who really despaired at improving education for the poor with any other system and who really believe in this. As poorly as the experiment may be designed, they are committed to it as an idealistic kind of approach. Consequently, vouchers marry the most cynical kind of reactionary politics with an almost romantic kind of faith in the structural form of education. Jencks, for one, is kind of a realist about this. In his report, he said that an *unregulated* voucher system could be the most serious setback for education of disadvantaged children in the history of the United States. That is quite a statement for a supporter of vouchers to make, but he believes that vouchers could be regulated to benefit poor

children. That turns out to be the key to the whole idea. If even its supporters admit that it is extraordinarily dangerous—that it could be the greatest setback in the history of education for poor children—then we must look to the vehicle of regulation that they think would overcome this danger.

The Jencks' report lists seven different regulatory rules, including lotteries for student admissions and compensatory payments for poor children. Jencks' list tends to vary. OEO has a list that is rather similar. The study groups for vouchers in the various cities have slightly altered the list. Generally, the lists get longer and longer as people realize the kinds of problems that are involved. But my point is this: If vouchers are to make any difference at all in the competitive aspects of American education, then not much is gained if children simply circulate within the public system. The only real impact that vouchers can make is if there is a substantial movement of children and money from the public sector to the private sector. Another question is: How are these regulations going to be enforced in the private sector? In the OEO approach, there is something called the Educational Voucher Authority—which is supposed to be the body that will enforce all the regulations that will keep this thing from becoming a social disaster. When you try to figure out what an Educational Voucher Authority is going to be, you will see that they have not really figured it out either. Each time its design has somewhat different components and somewhat different jurisdictions. In Seattle, you have a consortium of parents and representatives of private groups, including one who would be appointed by the Archdiocese of Seattle. That would be the management system for this.

In addition, of course, OEO would ride herd on these experiments. And this is the critical factor: OEO guards this money as private money once it is paid to the parents. That is, when the money comes from tax sources and then is paid to the Educational Voucher Authority and the E.V.A. gives it to the parents, when the parents then spend that money in the schools, it is private money. The analogy they use is that it is as though it were Social Security money.

The consequence, then, if this is really private money, is that none of the state or federal constitutional protections any longer apply just as they do not if you want to spend your Social Security money. If somebody wants to give their Social Security money to the White Citizens' Council, the John Birch Society, a political party, or a religious group, they can do that any way they want to. That's their money. It is really a government insurance system, of course.

And the fact is that the reason why OEO has created all these regulations is because they intend to do away (this is not their purpose but is the effect) with the whole system of state and federal constitutional regulation of education and, of course, with teacher collective bargaining contracts as this moves into the private sector.

It will come as no surprise to you that this idea has received enormous criticism from the whole educational establishment. Ironically, it has had

the effect of reuniting the public school coalition of the early 60's. There is not, so far as I know, any educational organization of any consequence at all, that supports educational vouchers. Part of the reason, I think we have to admit, is self-interest. There are good grounds for not wanting to encourage competition among the established educational organizations, but there is also a very real fear that any voucher system in practice, at least when it becomes widespread, would be highly reactionary in terms of racial integration and economic equality, that it would foster all sorts of new kinds of political and religious sectarian schools, and that all the body of law that protects teachers, students, and citizens in dealing with public education would be lost.

I asked the official at OEO some of the questions that I thought you would like to have the answers to, as teachers. The first question was whether the voucher schools that are now in the so-called private sector would be able to dsicriminate in the hiring of teachers. After all, if we have a district, let's say, in which 70 percent of the teachers were hired by the public system, and you moved to a voucher system and that shift, say, is 50-50, that means these teachers are going to have to find jobs in these privately-controlled voucher schools, and what are the controls on these schools? I was told that the private voucher schools, according to the rules that are created, will not be able to discriminate on the basis of race or economic status but they will be able to discriminate on the basis of the religion of the teacher, the sex of the teacher, or the political philosophy of the teacher.

They have to include the parochial school constituency, or the politics of the thing fails. They want as great a diversity of schools as possible and, therefore, if they make these restrictions very tight they won't be able to get any private schools to participate.

Secondly, I asked the officials at OEO whether there is any provision for academic freedom for teachers in voucher schools. I have read a great deal about vouchers, but I have never seen anything in the pro-voucher literature that even discusses the question of academic freedom for teachers, the reason being, of course, that the emphasis really is on parent-controlled schools, and I do not have to tell you that there is a certain element of conflict between the parent-controlled schools and academic freedom for teachers. The supporters of vouchers are clearly on the parents' side in this conflict and so they simply have not done anything about protecting academic freedom for teachers.

Finally, I asked about the question of tenure and contract rights. I was informed that the local teachers in Alum Rock have participated in the drawing up of a proposal and had worked out a way to protect contract and tenure rights. (I don't know whether that's true; apparently the announcement will be made in a month that will tell us what the details of this are.) I then said I was a little surprised at that because my understanding was that teachers across the country had pretty much been opposed to vouchers and they said, "No, OEO had polls in San Francisco, Seattle, and Alum Rock which showed that teachers were overwhelmingly

in favor of vouchers." I asked if these had been published and they said, "No, we're thinking about publishing them," and I said I'd like to see them. The fact is that the national polls on this question, which have been printed and look to me to be reasonably valid, show that teachers tend to be about 3½ to 1 against vouchers.

There is a real possibility, then, that we are going to have a voucher experiment, except that as Jim Mecklenburger has pointed out OEO does not know how to run experiments. It is not going to be a real experiment in the sense that it will test any of the hypotheses that critics have about vouchers. In the first place, OEO has been very careful to pick communities in which the school leadership has been liberal. Therefore, OEO did not try to put one in Georgia or Alabama where the consequences would be fairly obvious. Secondly, OEO is going to monitor this so closely and the voucher money is essentially all federal money that anytime anyone wants to do anything that might embarrass OEO, they will say, "No." Thirdly, of course, there will be extraordinary media coverage. If anything really happens that would look bad for OEO, OEO will simply clamp down and at the end of the experiment will say, "Look, how could you say that vouchers might lead to segregation? We've had this experiment and nobody set up a White Citizens' Council in Alum Rock. How can you say that teacher rights might be violated in a voucher system? We've watched this and, yes, there was that incident, but we stopped it right away." So, you are really not going to learn anything about vouchers. If you want to learn what might happen with a voucher system, probably the best way to do that is market research of parents and private school systems to see what they would do if they had vouchers. That would not give you a perfect answer, but I think you would find more reality than this kind of very carefully monitored research.

While our attention is diverted to "the voucher experiment," the fact is that such states as Ohio, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Illinois and Maryland have passed tax credit or tuition grant programs which are, in effect, the worst kind of vouchers. For one thing, they are almost totally unregulated and they are generally only partially compensatory, so they are really sort of regressive tax schemes and these exist now; they are being challenged in the courts, but that's the real voucher system in the country and that's the real voucher constituency—the kind of people who put those laws through.

Indeed, if we don't do anything about those laws, it will be in effect the most serious setback for the education of disadvantaged children in the history of the country.

But the fact is that vouchers have substantial popular appeal, and I would mislead you and not perform my function as a teacher if I did not take up the next part of this.

The polls on vouchers show that generally about 50 percent of the citizens or parents support vouchers. Now, there are a lot of reasons for that, and I think that figure may be somewhat inflated. Some of these people don't understand vouchers and some of the people who support vouchers

are doing so for such clear unconstitutional reasons that they cannot be a part of the policy settlement.

The fact is that there are apparently substantial numbers of parents who feel so alienated from public education and from those people who have responsibilities for public education, that they are now willing to try a system that would substantially jeopardize the future of public education. And I think that's an indictment of all of us who work with and for public education. There are substantial numbers of people who believe that the public schools are neither responsive nor diverse enough and they are willing to junk the system to get change. And when they do, of course, they will junk the progress that we have made in teacher rights.

We can argue with these people, we can plead with them. If we are lucky, we may win the litigations or beat them in the legislatures, but it seems to me that nothing would be more effective than to actually improve the responsiveness and the diversity within public education.

I am not going back to the rhetoric that one sometimes hears about a monolithic public school system—that is nonsense. The public school system is as diverse as American life is itself—anybody who has traveled and looked at schools in different parts of the country knows that.

But there are people, apparently in substantial numbers, who really feel that it does not provide them with the choices that they want provided. So, I have some questions for you: First, does your organization conduct collective bargaining in such a way so that parents and students feel included in the essential issues of educational policy? Secondly, does your school system use any of the modern techniques to find out how citizens in its community feel about public schools and what changes they would like to see? Thirdly, does your system offer as flexible a curriculum as possible? Fourthly, has your system made a serious effort to create alternatives of learning techniques and school cultures within the public sector?

When public education is able to answer those questions with a firm "Yes," then I am confident that the American public will answer with a ringing "No" to vouchers.

". . . National Assessment"

DR. JAMES A. HAZLETT

Ralph Waldo Emerson in one of his essays says "to be great is to be misunderstood." If that observation is applicable to educational projects as well as to individuals, then National Assessment is a "great" educational activity. I have been with National Assessment almost three years and I think its greatest problem has been and still is its failure to adequately explain itself.

I think there are three reasons why National Assessment is difficult to understand: (1) the boldness of the concept, (2) the innovative activities of its measurement technology, and (3) the smokescreens set up during the developmental days of the project by important segments of the educational profession. These smokescreens were based upon sincere concerns,

let me hasten to add, and not upon calculated attempts to destroy from ulterior motives.

National Assessment is a bold concept because it represents the first attempt to describe learning levels of young people on a national basis—the first attempt to get *dependable* and *descriptive* information about what young people *know* and *can do* and how they *feel*.

National Assessment, because of its national scope and because it wanted to do things that present tests don't do, had to develop new approaches to measurement. It had to explore the applicability of sampling techniques; it had to experiment with criterion-referenced instruments; it had to learn how to handle the massive amounts of data that would be churned out of the computer—churned to conform with new sampling techniques and new instruments.

Thirdly, the smokescreens, the fears, the suspicions from within and without the profession to the uncritical mind were not differentiated from the real design of National Assessment. Indeed, from my reading of the proceedings of conferences during the exploring days, the design evolved during the years but the suggestions as to what should go into the design were fairly widespread and formed fuel for fear and indecision. Fact and fiction were inseparable.

Let me try to explain National Assessment by telling what it is not and use the various smokescreens as a point of reference. National Assessment:

is not duplicative of the past half century of educational testing.

is not demanding on pupil and teacher time.

is not setting up a national curriculum.

is not making invidious comparisons among states or school districts or pupils.

is not a national testing program.

is not a federal or foundation dominated project to usurp the prerogatives of local and state governments.

The National Assessment program is a national information gathering project designed to show what young people know and can do with respect to ten learning areas considered, in general to be major parts of the curriculum in the schools of this country: art careers, occupational development, citizenship, literature, mathematics, music, reading, science, social studies, writing. This program represents the first time in history that an attempt to get dependable data about the quality of learning in the nation has ever been undertaken. For half a century school children have been tested in basic skills and informational subjects and many people think that National Assessment is duplicative of these measurement activities. This is not an accurate statement and it is important to see the differences between what National Assessment is doing and what the familiar standardized tests are doing.

1. First, there is no standardized test administered universally to all children in a given age group, or of a given grade or on the basis of a national representative sample. Such tests have been so administered in a few state testing programs and in many school systems.

2. A common practice in states, in school systems, and in individual schools is to permit local administrators and teachers to choose the kind of test they want. If this is done the problem of correlating results from one kind of test with those of another is inexact and lacks the confidence which comes from using the same tests.

3. Standardized tests sort pupils out on a percentile continuum with half the pupils above the median performance of the group tested and half below; or they are compared with modal performances of a school, or class, or the norming population on which the test was standardized.

4. Standardized tests sum up the number of correct items or submit the items to some other simple calculation and yield a score.

5. Standardized tests maintain secrecy on individual items and release only scores to pupil, teachers, parents, or the public.

6. A foremost consideration on the selection of test items on standardized tests is how well they behave statistically and contribute to the sorting mechanism. A common characteristic of such items, therefore, is that about half the tested population can select the right answer and half cannot.

7. Standardized tests are helpful guidance tools in evaluating an individual's school performance and in considering future school planning.

I would like to take each of the statements I have made about standardized achievement tests and contrast them with a statement about National Assessment.

1. National Assessment is administered to four selected age groups in the entire 50 states on a matrix sampling basis so that the results within the narrow constraints of the sampling errors are presumed to be the same as if *all* persons in the age group in the country were assessed.

2. The same materials are used throughout the country, with an explanation needed. Not every child takes every exercise; only as many respondents as are needed to produce a valid result for that exercise.

3. Since no pupil takes all the exercises it is impossible to provide any kind of comparison of one pupil with another and assign individual pupil performances in terms of percentiles.

4. National Assessment does not sum up right answers into a score. Instead it gives the percentage response to each possible answer. It does determine the median on a range of correct responses of the nation as a whole and on certain group breakdowns, as will be described later, for learning areas by grade and therefore medians of groups can be compared.

5. National Assessment publishes up to half the items used in an assessment with percentage responses for each possible item. Each item stands as a sample skill or piece of knowledge considered worthwhile and tends to describe or exemplify the nature and degree of learning when considered with the objective it relates to.

6. National Assessment items, since they are chosen to exemplify the nature and degree of learning and not to differentiate pupils, are deliberately designed so that about 33 1/3 percent can answer up to 90 percent of the exercises and about 33 1/3 percent can answer up to 10 percent of the items.

7. National Assessment is not designed as a guidance tool because no pupils take all exercises, no pupil can be compared with another, and no pupil is identified. National Assessment is designed to describe achievement levels of selected population segments.

It should be obvious, therefore, that National Assessment is interested in the performance of *groups* of young people and in that performance as it is related to the curriculum as well as population characteristics.

According to the present design which evolved from 1963 to 1968 and which became operable in early 1969 the groups for which data are gathered are:

Ages 9, 13, 17, 26-35.
Male-Female.
Black-Total.
Size of community of respondent: (1) cities 200,000 and over, (2) urban fringes. (3) middle size cities 25,000-200,000, (4) small town-rural (25,000 and under).
Type of community in which respondent lives: (1) central city, (2) affluent suburbs, (3) remote rural.
Highest educational level of either parent of the respondent: (1) no high school, (2) some high school, (3) high school graduate.

In addition to these population groups the percentage responses to individual items are grouped by instructional objectives or by certain topics which are selected to analyze particular skills or types of learning within a subject area. For example, when the NAEP Reading report is released in May, there will be analyses of results according to eight themes:

Understanding word meanings,
Reading and visual aids,
Following written directions,
Reading and reference materials,
Reading for significant facts,
Reading for main ideas and organization,
Reading and drawing inferences,
Critical reading.

In addition to certain summary statements about reading performance by theme, by objective, and by population groups, a vast reservoir of 487 separate items (255 for immediate public scrutiny) are available for extensive curriculum analysis.

From this rather detailed comparison between standardized tests and National Assessment I think you can see the following:

1. NAEP has a social thrust rather than an individual pupil reflection; it describes group performance and not individual achievement; it is not a national educational testing program.

2. Because it uses sampling methods it is quite likely that no one person will ever be selected twice in his lifetime; that it is impossible to report an individual pupil's performance (since no pupil takes all the exercises); to report classroom results, school results, or state results. So class, school or state comparisons are not available.

3. NAEP tests ten subject areas. It has a method of setting up instructional objectives for each age group in each subject. It selects test items appropriate to these objectives. The methods involve scholars, school practitioners, and lay people from all over the country. Each subject is commonly taught in the schools of this country. NAEP makes no attempt to prescribe curriculum content, teaching methods, etc.

4. When pupils fall into a randomly selected sample, they are drawn from their classroom for less than 60 minutes and a specially trained examiner gives a package of exercises to groups of 12 or fewer. There is little demand on teacher or pupil time.

Control of National Assessment is placed in the Education Commission of the States. One of the objections to NAEP in the early days was that either the federal government or a foundation or a self-perpetuating private body, without public ties or accountability, would dominate the enterprise. So in 1969 the Commission was invited by the Office of Education and many public and lay groups to operate the project. ECS is a compact of states. Its leadership is made up of governors, state legislators, and educators. It is a quasi-public body and seemed a natural vehicle, in view of the climate of the times, to conduct the assessment. The project is funded by a grant from the OE National Center for Educational Statistics to the Commission. The present annual budget is $6 million.

Each year NAEP examiners, working under contractors, enter 3,500 schools and a large number of households, assess 90,000 people in four age groups in two subjects. The assessment packages are scored and analyzed and reports begin to appear within a year after the last person is assessed.

The reports release actual items and the full extent of analysis of data has not yet been determined. To date, reports in three subject areas—science, writing, and citizenship—have been released, but none to the extent anticipated. In May the first reading report will be issued. Then more of citizenship, writing and literature. In a year we will be expecting reports on music and social studies. In five years ten subjects will be assessed.

In 1972-73 science will be reassessed and the results of the second round compared with the first year. Each subject will be reassessed every five years and progress over time noted. So, you see, a mammoth educational census is in the making.

One of the latent forces in the data is the implication of the results for curriculum and for the general condition of educational literacy in this country. NAEP and ECS have taken the position that they are not making educational judgments in this regard. However, they are interested in stimulating the researchers, the educational community in general, and the public to study NAEP reports as they issue forth in the months ahead to help improve the educational product, to identify strengths and weaknesses, and to equalize opportunities.

We would welcome liaison activities from the American Federation of Teachers for joint systematic studies of the NAEP design and its results for education.

Respondent:

DR. JOHN SESSIONS
Assistant Director,
Department of Education, AFL-CIO

I have listened here to this very interesting discussion and I had a feeling that all of the plans that were being discussed, and many others that were alluded to, suffer badly from the very primitive state of the art of evaluation, which depends in American education primarily upon testing and upon subjective judgment. I think that National Assessment suffers least than most of them but even that group turned me off last night when I picked up and started to look through a description of your development objectives in career and occupational education. At random I opened a page which proposed as an objective for adults that they be able to gather their income data together in an adequate way to make out their income tax returns. I found that I fell short of your development objectives!

Standardized testing reached its first zenith in America at the time when American education was obsessed by two families: one of them was the Adams family that had threaded its way down through American history providing us with Presidents, men of letters, and college professors; the other family was that outrageous Kallikak family that had threaded its way down through American history filling our jails, our welfare rolls and our saloons. Testing came along as a magnificent way of separating out the descendants of the Adamses from the descendants of the Kallikaks and it became a very popular sort of thing.

Now testing seems to have taken a turn of 180 degrees to assume that every child is infinitely perfectable and if the test shows that the child is not steadily progressing toward that ideal, then somebody isn't doing his job. Tests could not do the first thing and I do not think they can do the second thing. I went to school during the first phase when tests were used to evaluate the kids who learned very quickly how to cheat. When tests are used to evaluate contractors or teachers, contractors or teachers learn very quickly how to cheat too. I do not know, Dr. Hazlett, but maybe the nation's school system will learn how to cheat on the tests!

I think simplistic forms of educational accountability—the kind of thing that much of this depends on—bring into schools not the techniques of the factory, but techniques that have been abandoned by factory workers long ago. Piecework worked feasibly as a system of evaluation in industry. Unions very quickly organized to abandon it. I think the same kind of evils exist in much of the discussion of teacher accountability in our school systems today.

I think we have to face it quite simply that you can evaluate teachers by the most exacting methods available to educational psychology today and you are still going to find that not all teachers are John Deweys. You

are going to have some great teachers; you are going to have some run-of-the-mill teachers; you are going to have some not very good teachers; and you are not going to solve the problems of American education by depending simply on the handful of John Deweys that you find (and if he thought as badly as he wrote, he might not have been a very good teacher either). What we need is to develop a total system of education that will make the best use of what we have got. Socrates, by all accounts one of the greatest teachers of all time, failed in his accountability test and he was put to death. His community was just as sure that it was right as the most confirmed believer in his tests is sure that he is right today.

I have to say that I have a new claim to fame this year: many years ago when I was teaching at Cornell, I taught an advanced seminar in creative writing. One of the ablest students in my seminar was a young man by the name of Clifford Irving! I wonder today if I were to have been paid on a performance contract over a long period of time, what would I be worth as a teacher? If I am accountable, to whom am I accountable? Am I accountable to Clifford Irving? He has done pretty well just on the basis of what he learned in my class. Just the other day he was offered $100,000 to do a TV commercial for a headache remedy. Am I accountable to the Cornell Board of Regents? Am I accountable to McGraw-Hill? In Athens I would be drinking hemlock. I think, quite simply, we have not learned very much about teacher accountability in the years since Socrates. That is what I believe QuEST is all about—that is the quest—and the fact that we do not have those things, that we are still practicing a primitive art is the tragic flaw—with vouchers, performance contracting, and many of the other come-easy schemes that crop up from year to year and from month to month.

DISCUSSION PERIOD

Question: How have teachers been involved in National Assessment?

Dr. Hazlett: Teachers have been involved primarily in the establishment of instructional objectives and in the development of the assessment exercise in order to contrast with standardized tests. I deliberately used the word "scholars"—school practitioners, to include classroom teachers, principals, and the lay public, to differentiate in the field of science, the pure scientist as compared to the teacher of science. Our objectives pamphlet lists the organizations from which we have drawn. We have lists of them so they can be identified in terms of proportionate numbers of various segments of the society. They come together in committee groups to help establish instructional objectives and review one of the items as to appropriateness. Some people have accused it of being a kind of consensus operation because we try to get agreement as to the worthwhileness of the exercise as a learning situation. Once that has been done, there is no more involvement with the teacher until the point when we have turned out maybe 7 percent of the information that we hope to turn out during the first cycle. That is why I indicated that we now want to involve organizations of various kinds—classroom teachers, and then break them down into their

specialities—to see if in their judgment there are any significant findings that will have some effect upon the establishment of objectives and upon curriculum development.

Question: Why did you deliberately not mention the Banneker School in Gary?

Mr. Mecklenburger: I had it on my outline but I talked too long! I have probably written more about Banneker than all other things combined and, in terms of my dissertation, 40 percent or 50 percent of the manuscripts are specifically on Banneker. I think I probably support Rand's opinion that of all the performance contracts, it is the most interesting and exciting. I do not know whether it is good or bad. I have some opinions but they are relativistic at best. (What would *you* like to mention about Banneker?) I was there a lot; I asked a lot of nosey questions; I managed to play some people off against some other people; I made friends with a lot of the people; I think most of the people involved at Banneker on all sides are interesting people. I really like Allen Calvin and I will not apologize for that. I think he is an interesting man. In addition, there is a lot of data. It did not come out when you would have liked it to have come out. It did not come out necessarily with the kind of interpretation that ought to have been put on it.

Question: Regarding Banneker School, since they were paid on the basis of teaching reading and math, did not they just teach these subjects to the exclusion of others?

Mr. Mecklenburger: It is difficult to say yes or no. If you had to pick one or the other you would have to say "yes," but it is really not very accurate either way. It changed over time. When they started the program, it was true. At this point it is less true, though I gather there is a good deal more time spent, if you count hours, in emphasis on reading and math than might be otherwise. There are explanations for that—positive and negative— and they tend to be the kind of responses that, depending on your premises, you can accept and reject simultaneously.

Do you accept the notion that says when students have had disadvantageous school experience, what the students need more than anything else is a strong concentration in reading and mathematics (survival skills) and, if so, what does that mean in terms of time allocation? This issue went to the State of Indiana; it was one of the central ones in the state's campaign against Banneker although that, to a degree, was a political campaign as well as an ideological one. It was an important issue which split the state school board and is still really not resolved—just sort of tabled. The then State Superintendent, Wells, made a very impassioned speech for the arts and sciences, the humanities, physical education and a lot of other things, and he pointed the finger of scorn at BRL for eliminating them. A lot of people agreed. The contrary argument is that these are students who tested in Gary, if we accept their testing program, near the bottom of the barrel. Their problem (if they get nothing else in school) has to be reading and math; therefore, we put appropriate emphasis there. I do not want to defend

the program on that issue one way or another except to explain that it is that latter rationale which is used to justify a change in the character of the program. It is certainly plausible for BRL to have done exactly the same things that it did in Banneker, or that COMES did in Grand Rapids, or that Westinghouse did or did not do in Philadelphia. It is perfectly possible to mount an instructional program without a performance contract. I think there has been a lot of confusion between the term "performance contract" as a contracting device and even as a way of thinking about school finance and the kinds of programs which in the last two years have used the label "performance contract." Most of the companies, and BRL would be an outstanding example, are willing and able to sell the same materials, the same programs, the same teacher training on other bases. For example, in Philadelphia there was a situation—and other cities I am told are going to pick it up—where BRL normally charges $20 per child per year for its reading program which includes a smattering of teacher training and materials. The fixed fee is $20. Now, they signed what most people consider to be a performance contract for the fee of $40—as opposed to the normal $20. They would guarantee, with their teacher training and with their materials but without their supervision as in the case of Banneker, that students who attended school during 150 days or more during the school year would achieve one year's grade gain; if not, no payment to BRL. It depends on which press report you read whether that was good or bad in terms of the meaning of the results, but what happened is that the results split in thirds. Of the 15,000 kids, there were 5,000 kids who were not there 150 days; for those, BRL received its standard of $20. Then in the other sets of results, roughly half of the students achieved a year or better in reading and roughly half achieved less than a year in reading. Therefore BRL received, overall on the whole experiment, $19.92 per child. Depending on which other statistics you read, the overall performance of the student population was considerably higher than expectations. That is, even though not every student by a long shot reached a year, the average gain was nearly a year—.8 or .9 for a school year. We get involved in all these statistical games as to what these test scores mean and we say, "OK, today I'm going to believe in standardized tests and I'll use the numbers" or "Today I do not believe in standardized tests and the numbers don't mean anything." The point I am trying to make is only that instructional programs and systems like Mayrhofer was talking about are not related to performance contracting except in the historical fact that it has been one way that some companies and, for that matter, some teachers have used to get an instructional system operating in a school system. There are other ways, obviously.

Mr. Hazlett: The subject areas I enumerated are the traditional subject areas. The basic skills have been those which have been most measurable. We are aware of that. We also concede that there has been an overuse of the multiple-choice-type test. One of our goals is to try to find ways of getting at some of the things we want to know in areas other than

the cognitive in order to try to get at the actual performance skill. In science we utilize actual apparatus which is a step beyond, at least, the verbal type. We are trying ways to get at the real feelings of kids without their responding in ways they think the examiners want them to. We have as one of our goals the development of more sophisticated measures. We have included three areas that have been difficult: art, music, and career and occupational development, which has probably been the most sticky of all to get at. In music, there will be actual opportunities to demonstrate proficiency on instruments. If a child says he can play the piano, we say, "Here's a piano, play it." We record it, then judge it. They listen to a symphony with a score in front of them and when suddenly the symphony stops, we say, "Mark on the score where the symphony stops." That's an intellectual exercise rather than a feeling one, but it is an attempt to get at some innovative approaches. In the areas of self-image and mature personality, we have not (progressed far), but if National Assessment does become a census-type activity, we envision that as measurement becomes more sophisticated and as people ask for that kind of thing, it ought to be included. But the current state of the art is such that we have not been able to do it.

Question: In terms of the data you will be getting and publishing soon, what do you expect will be the public policy impact of that data? What kind of reaction do you expect to get from public opinion, from state legislators, and from Congress?

Dr. Hazlett: I really don't know what to say the reaction will be. I don't think the program will or should be funded if it does not demonstrate that it is a tool by which education can be more meaningful in terms of both social interest and individual growth. It is the Congress that does fund the project ultimately. We haven't had enough data yet to really be able to draw any generalizations and, as I tried to say earlier, neither we on staff nor the commission wants to be in the position of making certain judgments. There are certain things that we are verifying on a national basis, things that we pretty well know already. It is evident, for example, that the Southeast part of the country, in the three subject areas reported, does not attain achievement levels at the same rate as the other three regions. The northeast does better than all four. That raises a lot of interesting speculations in my mind. We do not have input data to try to isolate causation. One of the early criticisms is that we were not able to pinpoint reasons for differences or to measure dollars effectiveness of certain kinds of activities. But I think that National Assessment can be converted in the next decade into a meaningful type of social indicator much in the broad sense of the economic and public health indicators of today.

CLOSING REMARKS: AL SHANKER

We have seen, I think, here that there are at least two approaches that have been described—one of them somewhat scientific, somewhat slow—and, I might say, something like the National Assessment, even though

over a period of time it may come up with some approaches and some answers, is not what would be viewed as a "sexy item" on the scene of American education. Unfortunately, the items which *are* also illustrate a willingness on the part of the highest levels of government to try things on the basis of immediate political concerns having high public relations impact and which could possibly shatter the entire structure of American public education.

We have heard the possible effect of vouchers and of performance contracting. What is of most concern is not the question of whether these particular programs are the right ones or the wrong ones, or whether an outside company should come in, or whether the contract should be written in one way or another, or the fact that there is some cheating that goes on in these programs as in schools which do not employ performance contracts, i.e., by students or teachers or the administration or sometimes by local school boards who want to look good in terms of achievement scores.

What is rather surprising in this area is the government's willingness to buy programs which were not only completely untested previously but, in many cases, not even developed. In many cases, if the students had been a little bit brighter there would have been no work for them the next morning, because the people were busy writing up the program which was "guaranteed" the year before—a non-existent program. In other fields society feels a responsibility. In the field of medicine, for example, we do not allow any company or any doctor without any prior testing or without any evidence to go around selling medicines and advertising that they are the answer to some incurable disease. In other fields, we call this quackery, and we throw people into jail. In education we give them government grants and a lot of publicity.

"Inside Out," a provocative film which raises many questions and challenges many basic assumptions of the educational system; it deals with the Parkway Project in Philadelphia.

Moderator: Frank Sullivan, AFT Vice President and President of Local 3, Philadelphia

Discussant: Dr. Jack Robertson, New York University. Producer of the film.

Reactors: Lewis Frantz, Local 3, Philadelphia
Frederick Koury, Local 2, New York City
Dr. Milton Schwebel, Dean, Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University

DISCUSSION OF THE FILM, "INSIDE OUT"

Mr. Frank Sullivan: The school you saw in the film is one which we represent in the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. The film was made under the direction of Dr. Jack Robertson, our principal discussant. We will begin by asking Dr. Robinson to make some opening remarks with respect to his film.

Dr. Jack Robertson: I made the film out of great frustration, trying to find some way to get at things I was feeling and learning, to get it where other people could see it. That is the reason.

Mr. Sullivan: The film does speak for you, the people who are portrayed in it, and so I think we can begin with the discussants.

Mr. Lew Frantz: I think the figures I am quoting are correct from the film: *145 students,* all of whom, although they were selected by lot, volunteered for the program and had built-in automatic motivation; *60-plus staff,* a ratio of approximately two to one, with liberalized attitude toward attendance; *90 courses* to select from. Parkway, which I believe is a valid and vital alternative, is pictured in the film, at least to me, as the alternative to policemen beating on kids and I deny that—that's not the only alternative. It is pictured as the alternative to chaos in the halls. I do not think that the picture is quite that clear-cut. I think it presents a somewhat oversimplified, one-possibility solution when there are a number of alternatives within the city limits of Philadelphia. There is also the Kensington Environmental School, the Pennsylvania Advancement School at one extreme and, on the other, there is a residential school maintained by the district for youngsters with school-oriented problems, which to most of you, would appear to be the ultimate in authoritarian repression. But I would point out that we have 145 students on 86 acres, somewhat like Parkway. We have class size of one to 10 or one to 12, and even within a highly structured setting, we, too, produce results. So there is more than one answer and the possible answers are not all necessarily at one end of the continuum.

Mr. Fred Koury: I came out of a school which is an alternative in New York City, John Dewey High School, which I think is a beautiful alternative and not, again, an alternative to the kind of witnesses we had in the first part of the film. Actually what we saw here were two films. Jack took portions of a film called "The Way It Is," which was the first effort of NYU to go into a school system and an attempt to prove that where the teachers and the system failed, NYU could succeed. He himself, by his own admission, said he failed also. I thought that if Dr. Robertson had ended on an affirmative note which says that most of us are good, well-intentioned, deeply desirous of changing lives—our own and our students—it would have been a lovely film. But he ended it back on the brutality that was filmed in front of the school in Ocean Hill during the tragic strike of '69. I believe that Dr. Robertson himself has turned "inside out," too, in many ways.

I am moving to a school (The City-As-School) which affirms my deep belief that the world of work and the world of education should be brought more closely together. I intend to bring all the resources at my command. Our union is behind this kind of experiment as it has been behind the John Dewey experiment. I intend to give it all of the effort I can, to do all the things right that Dr. Bremer did, and, I hope, to avoid the mistakes that Dr. Bremer may have made.

Dr. Milton Schwebel: Fortunately, these are the days when men are beginning to allow themselves to be human and to change their minds. One of my reactions to the Parkway School was a great sense of pleasure, a wish that if I were a student I could have gone there or as a teacher to teach there, and a wish that my children might have gone there or to a place like that. I agree with some of the others who have spoken. The circumstances were very favorable—the way we want them to be and the way they ought to be. It was not simply the fact of being able to go into the city, but these very things—that there were teachers who wanted to be in such a school—young people who wanted to be in such a school—a faculty and administrator who had great respect for and great understanding of the ways which young people could learn to feel free to learn. I could not help thinking: What has brought us to this? I was at NYU at the time Jack and a crew of people went to Bedford-Stuyvesant. In a sense, what temerity we had to think that we could go in and bring the message there! But from those early experiences we have really learned something about the change in our own consciousness.

I can not help but refer to a piece that I saw in *The Washington Teacher* by Charles Cheng. One concept was expressed when he, in a sense, asked the question: Is it crisis in a classroom or civilization in crisis? I think that what has happened since 1965-66 when those first clips were made and today is that there is a change in our own consciousness and awareness of the problems that we are all faced with in the cities and in the country, the problem of this civilization, the problems related to foreign policy, unemployment, racism, and the attempts, also, to destroy the rights of teachers to shape their own destinies. But during these years I think what all of us are saying, including young people, is that we demand a voice in determining what our destiny is, in determining what we are going to learn and how we are going to go about learning it. Students are saying it, parents are saying it, teachers are saying it and we, who are teachers, who fought like hell to win that right, need to recognize the importance and need for this on the part of other groups.

I disagree with my friend, Jack, when he says that the school systems are destroyed. They are all we have. We could just as well say that the health system in America is destroyed. It is lousy, awful, and we have got to change it. No one is going to change it for us. It is going to change as we change it. The legal system in America is pretty stinky in many ways. No one is going to change it for us. We are going to change it. The same thing goes for the public school system in America. In many ways it is pretty awful and we who are teachers know it because we are unhappy

about the ways in which it is awful. But if we see it in a context in which Mr. Cheng spoke of it today, we understand it is not that there are some bad teachers in the classrooms who have made it this way, but a set of circumstances in a society that is crying out for change. And the change will come about as people bring it about. It was the pressures of people that brought about such changes as we witnessed in this particular school system in Philadelphia and, as others have spoken, changes that are beginning to appear in many places around the country.

Mr. Koury: When we opened John Dewey High School the idea was that if it succeeded, we would have a Dewey in every borough. President Shanker mentioned that in one of his columns and the union supports this kind of program. There are also August Martin High School in Queens and Hillcrest High School in Queens where we have modular scheduling, electives, choices. Things are moving and students have a choice of going to those schools or another school. What do you do with kids who choose not to go to that school? That is, I think, where the schools have to start changing—meeting the needs of those who do not have that choice or choose not to out of fear that there are certain credentials they may not meet, state requirements, etc. Our school is going to mean that we have to redefine the role of the teacher. It has to be a new kind of role, and the student almost has to predict his own new role, too, if he is going to work successfully in a new school.

This is probably going to come out badly but somebody used it this afternoon: If a child slashes his wrist and is bleeding to death, the first thing I am going to do is hit a pressure point to stop him from bleeding; then I am going to worry about what made him do it and try to correct the situation. Similarly, if the basic idea behind mandatory compulsory education is valid, then there must be some sort of authoritarian pressure by government to make youngsters attend school. There must be, concurrent with that, viable alternatives to a standard school setting, e.g., storefront schools, skill centers, basic education centers, annexes for the various categories other than the normal student. Almost anything can be tried, measured to see if it's successful. But, ultimately, I must admit that concurrent with that there is an element of governmental, societal pressure that must be enforced at certain stages. I know of no other answer.

Dr. Robertson: I guess I did not get the point across very well in the film, but I was trying to convey the idea that we need alternatives. I said that in words, but the action which brought it to life was one kind of alternative in Philadelphia. I think we need all kinds. I am doing a lot of work with people in free schools, alternative schools, all kinds, in the system and out—and one of the best is in a suburb in Long Island, about 1,700 kids in a high school. The principal is a very fine administrator. He has helped a free school, an alternative school, a school without walls, to grow in one end of the building. It is free, it's really free. And it is the first alternative that he has tried to help happen inside that community. Now that he has it everybody likes it so well, the parents, kids, even some of the staff who are not in it. They have one unit now but will probably have two. There are

108 kids in it. It is his thought now and it is a growing thought among other teachers in that building that they need a range of alternatives within the building itself. They need them all the way from the right hand side to the left hand side of the spectrum. We need all those kinds of things. That is my answer. I may have said something too strongly in the film—I was under pressure anyhow—but, in some cases, I would dismantle schools although ordinarily I would not. I think we had to come to some alternatives, though. That is where I was. If it was a dead end without an alternative idea, I would have to come to the dead end myself.

Mr. Frantz: I would just like to say that in my experience in Philadelphia we can not dismantle any of the schools because of the sheer pressure of numbers. I would like to observe, and I think Fred would agree, that John Dewey—and that kind of modular organization where you do get a large number of offerings and a commitment on the part of the faculty to a large variety of offerings—is not the same as the free, open, school without walls that we saw portrayed in the middle part of the film. It is a little bit different. Again, our experience in Philadelphia was that you never had any trouble finding students to go to the school. If you notice the drawing being held, the chance drawing of the names of the students who will be permitted to enter the school, they had more applicants than they were able to accommodate. As far as the faculty is concerned, there have been some teachers who have tried Parkway and found that was not their bit. They left it, but there are teachers there committed to it and operating with it and still going.

Mr. Koury: In New York City, there are a series of alternate schools (and a weekly news bulletin called the "Mini-School News"). Harambee Prep, Lincoln Prep, Wingate Prep, Harlem Prep are academies to which the regular high schools can send students to try as a viable alternative. I read in the "Mini-School News" that they opened with high hopes; at the end of each of the stories they said, "For some of the kids, if they do not make it at Harambee Prep or at Wingate, they can go back to their regular school." But they do not. It is tragic that there are thousands of kids who have dropped out—culturally and educationally. The city and the schools have, to some degree, failed in their responsibility to meet the need of these students. It is the truth and it is tragic, but there are efforts being made to find and reach out to these kids. In New York City a man named Si Wiseman has pulled back 8,000 students off the streets and is giving them an education in one of the newest schools he has opened up, the Ebbett's Field School. He is doing some beautiful things. He is no Jesus; he is no miracle man; he is just doing the best he can with the staff and they are reaching as many kids as they can. The tragedy is that not everyone is reached and that souls are lost. It is a tragic fact of life not only in education but in every other area.

Dr. Schwebel: I would like to talk about one school that I do not know as well as I would like to. I am going to get to know it better, but I am somewhat familiar with it: the Springfield Community School in Newark. The idea is that this is a school involving the parents of the children in the

school—this is its concept—for children aged 2 to 12. The concept is that the parents are involved in the learning experience and in the operation of the school, as teachers are. Presumably, it has had something to do with the growing experimental school program in Newark. It is this concept that I refer to which we are trying to apply to a pre-school program in New Brunswick involving 80 children, parents and people from the universities. The notion is that the intelligence to help change the school system never has come only from the system. The initiation for change never has come from universities *and* school systems. The initiation for change has come from elsewhere. In fact, the introduction of elementary schools in America came from the precursors of the trade union movement when the workers in the 1820's and 1830's insisted on having something that the wealthy had, namely free elementary education; but it was not the teachers at that time who called for it, because they did not have that kind of control. It is the people on the outside who have the force and the pressure. It is through the intelligence, the energy, and the pressures of parents and citizens as well as the intelligence of children and adolescents joining with us who can make a difference in a school. My point is that at the elementary level, if change is going to come about, it is going to come about through the unions of people of that kind.

Dr. Robertson: I have been working with two schools in the New York area, both junior high schools somewhat on the same model. You could visit them if you like. They were not available at the time I made the film. One is the Clinton School in the Joan of Arc district, the same school mentioned in the film, four storefronts which comprise one school. That is one thought, but I am really hurting quite a bit because I think I have very inadequately answered the question, "What about all those kids who are left back in the other building, the ones for whom there is very little alternative?" I think that if you put all the alternatives in this country together there would be maybe a couple of thousand. However, in population it would not be very many, percentage-wise, of the student population, so that the bulk of our population stays in school without alternatives. In the very worst of those circumstances I do not think we can make it. That is what I have tried to say in the film. I believe that. Maybe in the better ones, perhaps in the middle-class ones where circumstances are not so bad, in Queens and Staten Island, maybe. I just think it is an absolute tragedy and to me what it says is that teachers are being killed in there as well as children as far as I am concerned. That is why I got into this in the beginning. But I think you have to do something about it, frankly; I think you have to create some alternatives.

Mr. Koury: Jack mentioned Dick Downey's school, the Clinton School. If you want to find out about an exciting junior high school write to Downey in New York City on West 56th Street. He's running the alternative junior high school. But I have to say something that never hits the press. The things going on in traditional high schools are already beginning to change—that never really makes the presses. In New York, Erasmus High School is opening up a separate school of music and art. That

may not be the answer you want but it is an answer, it is an attempt to keep the kids coming for something they love and care for—music and art—instead of having to try to get in The High School of Music and Art and fail, thereby feeling hopeless. Tilden High School is opening up an Academy of Political Science to attract the students of political theory and pre-law so that they do not drop out. These are attempts within the traditional schools to try to find answers. They are not always the answers that you and I want or even thought of. I would like also to mention that the United Federation of Teachers is involved in a massive re-design program for the junior high schools under the leadership of Sol Levine and Gerry Walts. The energy of the union is being expended toward looking at and changing the structure of a whole division, and it is not tokenism either.

Mr. Frantz: It is very interesting that in Philadelphia there are some alternatives—or open schools—appearing at the junior high level in white, working-class areas. I do not know why that is but that is what's happening. There is some opening up at that level.

Mr. Sullivan: The Parkway School was not the product of the demand from any community, parents, or anybody else. Parkway was the plan of the Superintendent of Schools of Philadelphia who came from the Harvard School of Education and who got $450,000 for several years in a row to operate that school. When Mr. Bremer came down from Two Bridges (in New York City), I was one of the first people he talked to in Philadelphia because he was going to operate a school in which he would select teachers only from the system. He would not hire any teacher, so none in Parkway were "off the streets," so to speak. We were agreeable to that because he was setting up a ratio of one to 15. He said he would start with 120 students and eight teachers. We were not going to quarrel with that either. He actually started with nine teachers and 143 students so he exceeded it somewhat. But it was certainly well within the limits of class size as we define it in our union contract. The only problem we had as supervisors of the contract was whether or not the hours that the school kept would come within the contract. We never had any grievances or complaints about the hours, so I am not so sure that the romance you have in the film about how long people spent and how many Saturdays they spent really reflects the truth of the matter. I do not know—I do not say it did not happen—it may have, but we certainly had no grievances processed for overtime or Saturday time or anything else. Films do not always reflect the realities of every situation, not just this film but a lot that we see.

Mr. Koury: The proposal that I wrote for The City-As-School plan in New York projected a ratio of one teacher to 20 students and I think we are going to get that. But Al Shanker is right when he talks about these as not answers to the larger problems of educating the masses of students for whom there may be no alternatives. That means re-changing the structures where they are. Whenever I spoke as English chairman of John Dewey High School, I always prefaced it with a remark of humility that we did not have to throw things out. We started with a fresh building and new teachers. Surely we had advantages that some of the schools suffering

today do not have. And so our school is going to have the expense, first, of a building; we won't have a large custodial staff to work with. There will be a small building housing a resource center and a place to which all kids can come for meetings and tutorial work and for concentration on prescriptive work. It will be small—what Finkelstein found out after he succeeded Bremer was that you can not go over 150 or 200 and be viably administrative. You can not. And I would say that that is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It does add emphasis to what Al Shanker has said about the fact that it is an answer for a small group of students but not for the masses who need to be educated and for whom there must be found some alternatives.

Most of the schools I work with are alternatives within the school system, that is, they are paid for out of public funds with the same ratio of teachers to students as the school generally holds. In the school that I was just talking about in the suburbs, the exact ratio holds. The difference is, I think, that in addition to the corps of teachers who are the backbone of the whole program you have all kinds of volunteer help and free help and very respectable help. We have psychiatrists who volunteer their time, not as psychiatric people but as people to help kids learn about psychiatry. You have the whole range of volunteer help made available to you when you begin to think that you can use the whole city as campus instead of just one school.

By the way, I kind of liked the interchange that was going on back and forth between the kid in the film and that other man who I think was a Vice-President. I thought the man got the worst of it. I thought the kid took his measure and understood it. It is those kinds of back-and-forth interchanges that I think ought to be going on all the time between our kids and the people who "are running this world." I really am trying also to get our kids and our teachers in contact with those people out there who are running things because I do not think it should stay that way.

Mr. Frantz: I would point out to those who are highly critical of public school and of public school graduates that they expressed themselves very well and, therefore, we can not have failed 100 percent. Secondly, I would point out that not every youngster—as seems to be popularly assumed in a standard high school—is a failure or has been failed by "the system." Many of them are succeeding admirably. Money, buildings or non-buildings, class size and curriculum, all are essential to much of what has been said this evening and none of which, on large scales, falls directly into the purview of the classroom teacher or our problems. Therefore, much of what is being said this evening to a bunch of very hard-working people properly should be said elsewhere.

Dr. Schwebel: There are plenty of enemies of public education in the United States who would like to do what they have tried to do for a long time—cut it down as much as possible. The President says he is interested in the welfare of children and vetoes the Child Development bill. The Congress talks about its interest in the welfare and health of the children and vetoes the lunch program. We can enumerate many other instances

except as we keep guard to protect against it. One of the essential things in keeping guard is having a balanced view, which means an historical perspective. It is difficult because we can be so dissatisfied, but I think an historical perspective makes a difference.

What I am proposing is that while we recognize our great dissatisfaction with conditions, we also recognize the fact that there are a hell of a lot more people actively involved and fighting and banding together to change them. The question is: What do you do about the children who do not make this alternative system? The fact is I think none of us really know! But I think one thing we do know is that the way our ideas evolve, the way we use to find a ready solution, is by confrontation, dialogue, change and battle of this kind.

TWO FILMS, MANY QUESTIONS

Educational Research Report

From the February 1972 AMERICAN TEACHER

DR. ROBERT BHAERMAN

Recently, two widely divergent films have come to our attention: one from the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, the other from New York University. Yet, in spite of their differences, both raise analogous questions regarding the processes and politics of education. This report will focus on these films.

"The UFT Looks Ahead: Which Way for Accountability?" is the title of the first film. If you were unable to attend the forum series in New York last spring, four lectures by UFT President Albert Shanker, this film would serve as a substitute for the session which dealt with the ubiquitous concept of accountability. This 40-minute film captures the spirit of the session: the perceptive questioning by two reporters; the attentive audience; the surfacing and then devastating wit; and the seriousness of the issues as one educational fad and panacea after another are encountered, logically dealt with, and destroyed.

Shanker begins by discerning three distinct notions in the current debate on accountability: (1) The view held by some that teachers are the "hired minds" of groups who might retain or get rid of any teacher whom they want to whether on the basis of adequate or inadequate knowledge; (2) the desire by some "educators" and politicians to tightly control educational expenditures (i.e., the question: how are schools accounting for the dollars that are spent?); and (3) the development of professional standards, the view which Shanker expounds so cogently in this filmed speech.

This conception of accountability would explore why things work in schools. It would reject the gimmicks which attempt to convince the public that so-called "innovators" in the form of private business firms are doing something new and creative. Shanker makes it clear that vouchers

and performance contracts are perversions of the concept of accountability. The former would result in dismantling the public-school system and handing it over to the private sector, while the latter is a deceit which "guarantees" outcomes and is based upon the notion of product rather than process. And as with other business ventures, it involves false packaging. ("Our company guarantees that all of you can be above average!")

Shanker has put performance contracts and vouchers into proper perspective, part of the political strategy of Nixon and his Rumsfeld-Sanchez supporters who only offer excuses to stop spending money on education until "the results are in."

A more meaningful approach to accountability than the oversimplified solutions and gimmicks of the educational entrepreneurs is offered in Shanker's three-part assessment of needs.

- To re-define educational objectives, not so narrow as to turn children into machines but also not so broad as to make measurement impossible.
- To develop a technology for teachers—the proper use of educational hardware—which does not now exist.
- To utilize a scientific research model to identify the variables within districts, schools, and programs which are doing something to reach the objectives.

Elsewhere Shanker has written on the need to identify the factors which have nothing to do with the objectives, which are neutral, and those which are dysfunctional:

"Teachers do not work in a vacuum, a controlled environment with all random factors controlled. So it is impossible to develop a design that will tell you what the teacher should be doing, or which practices are good and which bad, without considering those random factors, or outside influences, that limit the performance of even the best teachers. The individual student, his family, his socioeconomic background and the school system itself, must all be held accountable in degrees yet to be determined for everyone involved."

In an earlier address, Shanker made a similar point:

"These gimmicks (performance contracts and vouchers) should be rejected, for unlike many educational experiments which can be tried and, if they fail, be rejected—these experiments which reduce the commitments of government to education and which move the schools from the public to the private sector are, like experiments with hard drugs, irreversible. Our public schools, with all their faults, are worth keeping, and their improvement will come, not from gimmicks but from the same type of slow, painful, unrestricted, free, scientific inquiry that brought other areas of human concern into the modern world."

No teacher union, indeed no one in education, can escape the threats of performance contracts and vouchers. Neither can they avoid accountability. As Shanker has stated so precisely elsewhere, "Where accountability is concerned, no man is an island."

"Inside Out" is the title of the second film. Whereas the underlying

basic assumption of the UFT film is that public schools must be made to work, the assumption of this film is that it is already too late.

Produced by Dr. Jack Robertson of New York University, "Inside Out" is based upon a series of highly controversial premises:

- The entire system is outmoded. Band-Aid remedies will not work anymore. The system is not about to collapse. It already has.
- Schools as we know them are corrupt, for they do not exist for learning.
- Middle-class teachers are part of the problem and, in many ways, are as victimized as the children.
- Putting more money into a bad system is like throwing it down the drain.
- Children must be taken out of the traditional school setting and put into a real-life environment.
- Class size is not the issue. Changes in attitudes and school structure are.
- Schools do not need any more piecemeal innovations but rather total renovations.
- One does not need to be a licensed teacher in order to be effective.
- The public can save money by not building any more schools. Space is not the problem: the city is the school.

The bulk of the film then, quite logically, is about the Parkway Program in Philadelphia, often referred to as the "School without Walls." Parkway certainly has something going for it. However, in this exceedingly uncritical view, it achieves near-panacea status.

The oversimplification of the Parkway project is particularly troubling in view of the film's apparently blind and undiscriminating acceptance of the role of corporate giants. Ignored in Robertson's analysis are the educational and political motivations of such new saviors of our schools as the altruistic gas company!

If you agree that his premises are not overrated (my own feeling is that many of them are), you will agree that Robertson raises some important questions. Do we have the vision and vitality to build a new system? Or will the resistance of the old one prevail?

Robertson himself is optimistic of the outcome. He states, "What man has made, man can change." His proposed solutions, therefore, are along the lines that (1) attitudes of the total population must change and (2) we must "get the kids out of the school and into the community." He believes:

- We should not sit in judgment of students, if we wish to learn.
- Students must see themselves as a reflection of the community in which they live.

But in spite of those two positive aphorisms, Robertson's message primarily is this: "The system has a stake in perpetuating itself even when it is a failure."

One thing I will say for him is that at least he (apparently) views the solution within the framework of public education. No calls are made for

turning public schools over to private voucher-operated schools or to private contractors, although, as indicated, courses are offered by such "social institutions" as an insurance company and the United Gas Improvement Company. The only call is to turn schools "inside out." The basic question is this: Has Robertson accurately described the problem for which he so dramatically proposed his Parkway-type solution?

If drastic surgery is necessary (according to Robertson the patient has expired already), could it be done along the lines of the John Dewey High School experiment in New York City in which the patient hasn't been turned so much "inside out" as "right-side up." In JDHS, the school has retained its walls; but they are not made with intractable wall-board!

Where to rent the films

"The UFT Looks Ahead: Which Way for Accountability?" can be rented from the AFT, 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, or from the UFT film distributor, Evelyn Tinsley, Harold Mayer Productions, 155 W. 72nd St. New York, N.Y. Prints are limited, so order well in advance. There is a fine for prints returned more than five days after showing.

"Inside Out" rents for $60 per day from Dr. Jack Robertson, 3 Washington Square Village, New York, N.Y. 10012.

Panel Discussion on "Educational Experimentation: As *We* See It."

Moderator: Raoul Teilhet, President, California Federation of Teachers

Panel: Dr. Robert Binswanger, Director of Experimental Schools, USOE

Mrs. Lillian Regelson, Director, Evaluation Division, Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, OEO

Mr. David Selden, AFT President

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTATION

. . . As *We* See It

DR. ROBERT BINSWANGER

Experimental Schools is a rather new program in the Office of Education. It was introduced by President Nixon in his Message on Educational Reform in March, 1970, when he called for such a program to be a "bridge between basic educational research and actual school practices."

By supporting a small number of large-scale, comprehensive experiments with a major focus on documentation and evaluation, Experimental Schools serves as a successful bridge from research, demonstration, and experimentation to actual practice. In response to the President's message, Congress appropriated $12 million in Fiscal Year 1971.

In December 1970, Commissioner Marland announced that rapid implementation of the Experimental Schools program was one of his highest priorities. On December 28, 1970, 20,000 copies of the first announcement regarding this new program were distributed nationwide.

The announcement set forth the general policies that were established specifically for governing the first projects. It solicited letters of interest from all agencies interested and able to combine into a single, comprehensive, K thru 12 project a wide variety of promising practices for 2,000 to 5,000 predominantly low-income family children.

By February 1, 1971, nearly 500 letters of interest had been sent in to the Experimental Schools office. An independent selection committee recommended eight which, in its judgment in cooperation with the Experimental Schools staff, had put together the most creative and most significant combinations of promising practices that could be fully operational in September, 1971. Each of the eight sites was given a 60-day planning grant to work out its comprehensive programs. The eight which received planning grants were: Austin, Texas; Berkeley, California; Ferguson-Florissant, Missouri; Franklin Pierce, Washington; McComb, Mississippi; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Portland, Oregon; and Rochester, New York.

A panel reviewed the eight proposals and in April, 1971, selected three to be Experimental School sites: Berkeley, Franklin Pierce, and Minneapolis. Each of these sites developed its own unique program, each has met the Experimental School requirements in ways which suit the particular needs of the communities involved, and each has combined a variety of promising practices into a comprehensive K-12 school design. The plans are complex. They encourage flexibility. They allow for change and adaptability as progress reports and interim results show the need for changes in direction or emphasis.

Recognizing the need for long-term assessment, each Experimental School site is funded for five years of operation; first for 30 months to be followed by additional funding for the final 30 months. The Berkeley,

Franklin Pierce, and Minneapolis projects should not be viewed as models. Each was developed out of the experience, the history, and the special characteristics of a particular site at a particular time—the spring of 1971.

The Experimental Schools program expects to have a limited number of new starts in each of the next five years. During the life of the program, it is the intent of the U.S.O.E. to support a wide variety of comprehensive experiments. Thus, the requirements, procedures, format, and criteria used to select Experimental School sites will evolve and change from year to year.

As a major component in the proposed National Institute of Education, the Experimental Schools program is designed to increase and improve basic knowledge about the process of education and to implement on a wide scale significant concepts derived from research done in a "real world" setting. In the past, federal research activities in education have concentrated heavily on single programs such as staffing, curriculum and the use of technology. Results from piecemeal experimentation have been disappointing. Few significant changes have been implemented. The thrust of the first three Experimental School sites is comprehensive in all grades K-12 . Number are limited to a minimum of 2,000 and a maximum of 5,000. The comprehensive designs emphasize compatible and mutually reinforcing curriculum reform, staff training, administrative reorganization, community participation, and evaluation strategies.

Because of the complexity of their programs and because of their ambitious goals, any one or all three initial Experimental School projects may fail to achieve success. But regardless of the degree of achievement overall—or for any of the components—the three sites represent nationally significant comprehensive educational experiments. Together these first three, and those to come, promise to give a test to the idea of combining several practices into a comprehensive, coherent, articulated educational program.

It is imperative that the evaluation and documentation procedures be comprehensive and thorough. Therefore, within each program is a special evaluation design. This internal assessment provides for the basic tracking of student progress and for the collecting of vital data. This level of evaluation takes place within a site and is conducted by the project staff.

Evaluation on a second level is also specific to an individual site, but it is carried out by an evaluation contractor who is external to the project staff. For example, the Human Action Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, has a thirty-month contract to evaluate and document the Berkeley site; the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory has a contract for evaluation and documentation of the Franklin Pierce site; and the Aries Corporation in Minneapolis has a contract for the Minneapolis site.

The third level of evaluation includes an omnibus evaluator whose activities take in all projects and all sites and whose concerns include replicability of practices and programs, assessment of the second level evaluation activities, and the success of the Experimental Schools program as a whole.

Experimental Schools is designed as an evolving program in order to encompass the newest educational ideas as well as avoid the administrative rigidity and program inflexibility that seems to accompany the creation of new units. It is designed as a terminal program yet constantly revising and reviewing its annual focus.

In March 1971, a second competition was announced by the Experimental Schools office. This second competition broadened the Experimental Schools program by soliciting proposals for comprehensive projects which represent significant alternatives to existing school organization, practice and traditional performance. Applicants were asked to shift their focus and look anew at what students ought to learn, how to make different use of time and space, to rethink staffing patterns and personnel requirements, to consider alternative ways to organize and administer the schools, and to include the community in active participation in educational decisions.

More than 300 substantive letters of interest were submitted. An independent selection committee chose the following to receive $30,000-$40,000 four-month planning grants to prepare a complete proposal: New Rochelle, New York; Edgewood, Texas; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Newark, New Jersey; Gary, Indiana; Greenville, South Carolina; University of North Dakota; and the Vermont State Department of Education.

Eventually, after a review of their proposals, the following were the sites selected: Edgewood, Texas; Greenville County, South Carolina; Newark.

The Experimental Schools program itself is experimental. It is testing significant alternatives to present government and pedagogical practices. Most notably:

Funding is for something longer than a year, allowing for continuity and internal integrity while testing and retesting possible alternatives;

The target population is large enough to allow for sufficient experimentation but small enough to be thoroughly evaluated and documented;

The choice of curriculum, organization, staffing patterns, and internal evaluation measures are all the choice of local personnel and the community;

Each applicant is required initially to send in a simple letter of interest rather than a professionally prepared proposal;

Once a letter of interest is chosen by an independent selection committee as a possible contender for an operational grant, the U.S. Office of Education provides a planning grant to allow for any necessary technical assistance;

Instead of the evaluation and documentation coming after a project has been completed or well under way, it is an integral part of each Experimental School site from the beginning;

Documentation includes not only the narrow components in a

project, but the project itself and the total environment of which it is a part and which it is shaping;

The independent evaluators will use anthropological and sociological measures to identify both what is appearing to succeed and what is appearing to fail sharing both the "hard" and "soft" data with the U.S. Office of Education and the project staff;

The three levels of evaluation ensure integrity in the reporting systems; and

Each site will provide an information center for visitors which will not impinge on the experiment itself yet fully inform all interested parties on the results of the experiment.

There are already available a number of sources of funds to conduct basic research and pilot or model projects. Many of these activities will be part of the proposed National Institute of Education. But there are almost no funds available to support the extension of research necessary to build the bridges between basic research and common practice; between clinical testing of an educational theory and its natural use of a real-world educational setting. In recognition of the large number of important completed basic research experiments and the large time lag between their completion and any large scale operationalizing of their ideas and procedures, a limited number of such experiments will be selected to serve as the basis for the development of large-scale comprehensive experiments with emphasis on developing the means for broad implementation including approachs to financial support, staffing, training, organization, and community participation.

MRS. LILLIAN REGELSON

I am going to take a different approach and will talk about problems we are trying to deal with. There is a considerable lack of understanding of what we are trying to do and the experiments that we are running. We got into this business when OEO was started in 1964 and there was a great deal of hopefulness about being able to solve the problems of poverty in five or ten years. Implicit in that hopefulness was the assumption that we somehow knew how to solve the problems and that if we only had enough money and enough interest, we could get rid of poverty.

After a few years and some experience, we began to discover that perhaps the problem was more difficult than people had assumed. It was becoming clear that some of the programs were not having any great effect and some were having a negative effect, hurting people more than helping them.

Somebody had probably understood this at the time OEO was set up, because our legislation calls for a certain amount of evaluation—in very strong terms. And as we began to evaluate and look at what was happening, we began to wonder: What could we do to improve things? Why were programs having unanticipated effects? How could we avoid this in the future? We began thinking: How does one predict what a program

does and what a program does not do? People were asking, "If we can go to the moon, why can't we get rid of poverty?"

Why can we go to the moon? We can because we know how to predict where the moon is going to be at some future point in time with respect to the earth, what the trajectory of the capsule will be, how people will react in a zero G environment, how materials will react, how propellants develop, and so on. We know that because there is a structure and series of experiments that have been built up over many centuries in physics and chemistry. From this structure, one is able to predict what will happen under conditions which are not actually in existence at the time. Why can not we do that with respect to social programs?

Why can not we say that if we are going to have a program like Head Start or income maintenance, what the effects will be? How are people going to behave? Obviously, the knowledge base is not built up and the experience base is not built up.

What can we do about it? Well, some of us started taking a look at what has been happening in the sciences. One of the things that you observe, for example, is if you ask a physicist how he knows that something is so, he will cite an experiment. If you ask a social scientist the same question, he is likely to cite an individual and say, "He believes that" or, fairly frequently, he will get insulted—you are attacking his expertise.

We think that this difference of approach is something that has very important implications for how we do things, how we should do things, how we go about learning. That is, we would like to be able to collect information in such a way that somebody else can go back and, with the same circumstances, repeat the experiment and get the same results. Implicit in that is the problem in defining in very specific and measurable terms what it is you are about, what it is you are trying to do, and how the thing you are proposing is going to get you that information. This is very difficult.

In the year 1500 when physics was first starting, it was equally difficult, although it is hard to think now that dropping two weights of different masses off the Leaning Tower of Pisa and seeing that they hit the ground at the same time is a difficult thing to do. But you have to recognize in doing that, it overturned concepts of 900 years. In 1500, people were citing authorities (Aristotle) as to why things were as they were. It was only when they began to question and to measure that physics began to build up a kind of knowledge which was transmitable, replicable and could be used to predict.

We have to start collecting that same kind of information in social areas. We are not kidding ourselves. We know it is tough. The first thing that is tough is defining, in terms that people can work with, just what it is we are after. If I ask what a school is for, I am sure all of you have a very good answer in your own terms. But if I want to be able to tell somebody who is not an educator about the same thing, I would like to be able to express it in meaningful terms which can be measured and demonstrated. And that is a very tough thing to do.

We try to think in terms of quantifying objectives or at least describing them in objective terms, finding things we can measure, and then devising experiments which have some reality, some relationship to what we are really trying to achieve. Yet, with these very inexact terms, we can talk to other people about it. It is not an easy thing. It is much harder in many ways than what happens in the physical sciences, because we are dealing with people. The measuring devices are not there; we do not have the rulers, the scales and the cameras that people use in making physical measurements.

The testing devices that we are talking about are not what we would like to have. We do a lot of thinking about these kinds of measures; we think about things like attendance, about setting up objective measures to use to make observations. We are not talking about an "art," we are talking about collective bodies of information that we can look at. We are talking about something which will give useful and useable information with these poor tools. At the same time, we are trying to develop the poor tools so that next time we will do better.

We have another problem that you do not have in the physical sciences: we are dealing with people and we do not want to hurt them. That makes it even harder. We have to design things in which people are, at least, not worse off because of what we do. That means we must have more ingenuity in the design and more money, because we feel that when we go in and interrupt the normal functioning of the school system we have to carry it far enough so that there is not an abrupt break and so that children's education is not hurt and people are not hurt. We feel we have to be open. We have to be very careful of the confidentiality of what we find out about people. We need all the help we can get. We need people to think with us, about what we can quantify, what we can measure, and how we can go about doing these things.

There are reasons other than the reasons of experimentation. Only when you begin to look in objective terms at what's happening and why it's happening, can you begin to make decisions in at least an explainable way, explainable to people who are not involved in the process. It tends to make these decisions more explicit, at least to surface what is going into these considerations. We hope that it tends to help those people who are involved in the process—the teachers, the administrators—in looking at what they are doing, thinking of what they would like to do, and working for things that are important instead of for things that are obvious.

Where does OEO fit into all of this? Obviously we are not the Office of Education. We do not have continuing commitments to support teachers, schools, or research. We do not have the funds. We, therefore, have some advantages and some disadvantages. The disadvantages are that we do not have the tremendous base of knowledge that the Office of Education has. The advantages are that we can pick a limited number of projects to work in.

Our constituency is the poor; our responsibility is to the poor. It is not to any interest group that has any particular solution that they are ad-

vocating. Therefore, the pressure is to results rather than in terms of processes. We can concentrate our resources. We also have people with a considerable amount of experience in experimentation and background in evaluation. We are developing a way of thinking about these programs and evaluating them. We have a long way to go. It took physics 500 years from 1500 to where it is now. We do not expect that we are going to have any results that we would like in any short period of time. We have to work on specific problems; we have to develop certain techniques; we have to learn from our failures and go from there.

MR. DAVID SELDEN

I have a paper here which I could read to you, and I am tempted to because it is a good paper. But I think instead I will tell you a story. Once there was a junior high school in a midwest city, in the slum area, a white slum. There are not very many of those left. This city did have an all-white slum. The children in that junior high school consistently scored a grade behind the children in other schools in the district. Some of the teachers and the principal and other people thought something ought to be done about it. One teacher did some thinking about it and came up with a thing he called the "ever ready curriculum." The proposal, which was adopted by the faculty and the principal, consisted of abolishing all grade and subject matter distinctions.

The junior high school is viewed as a period of three years in maturation of students. The school was viewed as an agency to help children mature rather than for pouring things into students heads or preventing them from getting other things. The teachers worked very hard on this program and the whole school was transformed. The curriculum became extremely flexible; students had a great deal of choice of the types of things they would be engaged in; teachers were freed from their schedules to a great degree. There was not much large group instruction from that time on, but there was a great deal of small group instruction, committee work, project work and a great expansion of self-government by students.

Unfortunately, the person whose idea this transformation was got drafted and left to go into the Navy. When he left the school there were some people who preferred to teach spelling, algebra, the multiplication tables, parts of speech, and American historical dates. Within a year the experiment had disappeared. The waters had closed in over the whole thing and it is forgotten today.

This experiment occurred in Salina Junior High School in Dearborn, Michigan, in 1942. I was the teacher involved. I have often thought on that experiment with a great deal of sadness, because I put a great deal of myself into this. I had high hopes for it. An old colleague of mine, Ray Schultz, who taught at that same school, but not at the same time, could probably recount some of the scars in that school as a result of the disruption of ordinary routine. We had a lot of people who were skillful, dedicated, and energetic. Usually if you have people like that you can

make anything work. The idea is not so much important as the people who are carrying it out.

Why did it fail? One of the reasons it failed, as I look back, is that in that junior high school we had 35 teaching periods a week, standard for most junior high schools. Thirty-five teaching periods, 45 minutes long. We had two free periods a week, so we taught 33 periods. All our creativity had to take place on our own time and outside regular school hours. Humans being what they are, I think it is too much to expect people will be able to consisently put in extra work to carry on an experiment of this kind.

I would like to say in talking about experimental schools, that I really do not believe in experimental schools as such. In my experience anybody with an idea can usually get permission to use it within the school system. That has been my experience. Thirty years ago in a rather rigid school system I was able to turn a school upside down simply because I went to a principal with an idea.

About five years ago, I made a proposal to the Office of Education which was rejected. The proposal was that we would go to five big city school systems and ask the superintendent to give us an elementary school. We would undertake to run that elementary school. Of course, they would have to pay the salaries. We would run the school, plan the curriculum and supervise it for a period of three years. We would evaluate the results and see if teachers could produce any more achievement than is being produced by the bureaucracy. We never got the funding for it, so we had to give up that idea. The idea I would like to expound is that the laws of economics are harder to repeal than man-made laws and regulations. They just persist and keep operating.

I would like to see school systems where the teachers can be creative. There is a great deal of creativity in teaching. I think most people here today attest that people come into teaching with high hopes, with a great deal of dedication and intelligence. They invest a great deal of themselves in what they are doing. But the system kills it. People are sent into jobs in which they have no possibility of succeeding. The process of psychic self-protection sets in, creating the internal defenses to survive psychically in the face of repeated failure. We find ourselves doing a minimal job. It is so short-sighted of America, so short-sighted of our Congress, to tell us to do this s[illegible] thing. It is destroying teachers and it is destroying children. I do not [illegible]k you can expect much creativity. I am sorry to be so pessimistic. However, I think a change is coming, because we are on the brink of catastrophe.

At some risk, I will venture a story I have told several times and which has been received in silence. There are three men who meet in Hell. They seemed to recognize each other. One man said to one of the other two, "Haven't I seen you around Washington?" The other man said, "Yes, I used to work for the State Department." The fellow said, "State Department, yes, how come you are here in Hell?" The fellow said, "Well, in my job at the State Department it was necessary in the interest of the nation

to lie and cheat and sometimes to support governments that were inhumane and authoritarian. I suppose in the ultimate judgment somebody did not like that sort of thing and that may account for the reason I am down here. Hey, haven't I seen you in Washington?" "Yes, I used to work for the Defense Department." "How come you're here?" "Well, my job in the Defense Department required me to let contracts for napalm and atomic facilities for the destruction of human beings, and I suppose when you add it all up, it was not a very good thing to do." Then they turned to the third man and said, "Haven't we seen you around Washington?" He said, "Yes, I used to work for the U.S. Office of Education." "The U.S. Office of Education?" "Why are you here?" "Me, I'm not here."

DISCUSSION PERIOD

Dr. Binswanger: (Who me? I'm not here). I think the easiest thing to do in Washington is to make something permanent. My concern and the concern of the staff which is working on something that is labeled experimental is the haste and ease in which this could become a permanent agency in the government and not do the job. If we are not able to have the kind of evaluative criteria we need and if we are not able to obtain five-year funding, I would be opposed to another bureaucracy within the bureaucracy. I did not mean to say that the government shouldn't make a commitment to experimentation and that it shouldn't be a large and a permanent one. I am hoping that if we can be successful, we can be part of that evidence which we have never been able to produce to have this kind of commitment and permanency.

Mrs. Regelson: Whether or not vouchers are designed to destroy public education certainly is unproved. There are people who disagree as strongly as people on the other side of the argument. We would like to find out what happens. The only way to is to try it in a community which wants to try it. That is what we are proposing to do. I certainly did not mean to suggest that education is back in the days of Galileo, but rather that as we look at the way we deal with education, it really is an art. I have a great deal of respect for teachers. I think teachers have done magnificent things. The other side, however, is that I know that there are an awful lot of children who go out and cannot get jobs because they cannot read or do simple arithmetic. They have been through 10, 11, 12 years of school. Something is wrong. We can not afford to ignore that fact. We can not deal with the problem of poverty unless we can deal with that. You have been working in this area for a long time. Maybe the problem is the school administration. We try to avoid preconceptions. We try to avoid assuming we know the answers. We try to ask the question and see how we can answer it. If the problem is in the administration of the schools, what can be done to free things up? We do not believe that money alone is the answer. There have been too many examples of places where there has been money—and lack of success.

I understood that Tom Glennan talked earlier in the meeting about the voucher program and performance contracting. Those are really the only two large programs that OEO has underway. We do have a small program in which we are supporting some work that the Urban Institute is doing with the Atlanta school system in trying to develop basic evaluative measures for feedback, a way of providing information to administrators and teachers about the effects of their decisions and about possible effects of alternative decisions. We think it is a very important thing to do, but it is a small study. Those really are the two large programs: performance contracting and the vouchers.

Dr. Binswanger: The school system in Berkeley has approximately 6,000 children. In that 50 per cent - 48 per cent black-white split they are trying to challenge the concept of institutional racism; they are doing it by trying to offer 24 different alternative kinds of schooling within the public school system of Berkeley. They have different approaches within any one of these schools in terms of staffing patterns, curriculum, organization, and community involvement. In Franklin Pierce, Washington, they are trying to offer a program to individualize instruction for all children because that particular system has a 45 per cent transiency rate and for the last 10 years a 12 per cent unemployment rate. It is a poor suburban community in the State of Washington. The program in Minneapolis has several options for students and teachers, e.g., a contemporary school, an open plan school, a free school that goes from kindergarten through twelve. (Southeast Alternatives).

We do have a project that we are presently trying to negotiate for this fiscal year in Newark. I can no. tell you whether it will come to fruition or not. We began to work on the plan for Newark or were invited to work on the plan on the 20th of November. We have been to Newark since then and it is now April. We are getting very close to a deadline but I can not make a projection at the moment.

I can say two things (about the Newark situation). Number one, there was a proposal. We were told the proposal was to be made available to any and all people in the community. You will find it on record, in early November in a telegram to the Newark Board of Education, saying that if there was not some kind of comment from the Teacher's Union in answer to a series of questions, we did not see how the project could proceed. That same question has been raised at least three times in some kind of official communication since November. That is one of the issues that is most open and still far from resolved.

Mr. Selden: I would like to say that I have been acquainted with Bob Binswanger's work for a couple of years, three years, perhaps longer. I want to say that not everybody in the establishment is anti-union. Bob is hoping that we will be able to help in his work. He is willing to discuss things with us and try to work things out in a way in which the union can be supportive.

Dr. Binswanger: In the three projects that are presently operational, the variables that are being measured range from a few in one project to quite a list in another. In all cases they have been determined locally as appropriate for that particular community. We are not comparing projects, I should have said that. What Minneapolis does is not in comparison to what Franklin Pierce does.

Mr. Selden: The question is, What is the educational establishment doing to reach into the home and to establish favorable learning conditions and an environment which would be able to reinforce the efforts of the school? Unfortunately, teaching is a middle-class occupation and teachers do not live in slums. But the students who need the help of the schools do, for the most part. I just do not know whether there is an institutional answer. There are problems in society, with its gross inequities and social conditions, with its deep racism, with the other problems that come into the classroom. There are some problems that schools can not really cope with. We do the best we can, but until we have improved society itself, I think schools are going to fail a great deal of the time.

Mrs. Regelson: One of the advantages hypothesized for the voucher program is that the parent is forced to make the choice of where he will send his child to school. It is hoped that this will help them to feel more responsible for what is going on and participate further in the child's education. We obviously do not know whether in fact that will happen or not, but it is one of the things we are going to try to find out.

The only program we have actively underway now is the voucher program in Alum Rock. Within the last three weeks, we have had a planning meeting which involved 20 parents, 20 teachers, 10 administrators, 6 principals, and 3 people from OEO planning the program for next year. We think it is the only way to do it. We are trying and we hope it works.

Mr. Selden: There are conflicting currents in American educational thought today. On the one hand, there is the infant school and the open school approach advocated by Silberman, who is really not an educator. On the other hand, there are many people who feel you can not afford these loose structures when the need for achieving skills, in spite of everything, is so urgent. Some way or another we must strike a balance between freedom and the school's essential function of overcoming environmental handicaps and teaching people, in spite of everything.

Concluding Statement

Mr. Teilhet: Understand a few things from a union standpoint that the solution to the anxiety you are raising and that we are sharing as teachers and fellow unionists, is that we need to organize our unions to bargain within the structure to produce the kinds of schools that David Selden talked about through contracts and our own power factor. We need to organize within society politically to become a strong enough force to create the structure behind the USOE and OEO that will give them the direction and money and the wherewithal to implement the kinds of ideas that you

are raising. I think that we are reflecting here the typical frustration of a faculty functioning under the devil theory. If we can beat the devil for a while and whip these people, we will go away feeling better. The only way we are going to feel better is if we organize and put ourselves together and not be so threatened by experimentation, but take hold of experimentation, control it, define it, and find out those answers to the questions that are legitimately being raised that we complained about for so many years and that no one was trying to answer. We have to get our heads out of the sand and not be scared to death when somebody comes down with a new idea and stop letting peop' 10 things to us and start doing things ourselves.

THE SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP MEETINGS
GROUP LEADERS

Guidance Counselors: Alice Bishop and Patricia Paget, Local No. 231, Detroit

Higher Education: Patrick Manning, San Mateo Community College, Local No. 1493

Special Education: Nancy Kaye, Local No. 2144, Macomb Intermediate Federation, Michigan

GUIDANCE COUNSELORS

Scheduled as a "special interest" group, the guidance counselors affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers met to share ideas and perspectives during a two-hour break in consortium activities on April 4.

The meeting was chaired by Alice Bishop, member of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, Local 231, who opened with a summary of past activities of the group. Patricia Paget, Local 231, acted as secretary, and read the minutes taken during the group's previous meeting at the August, 1971, AFT annual convention in San Francisco.

Bishop then opened the meeting to discussion of problems the counselors were experiencing in their respective schools.

The group agreed that its major problem was hostility from the teachers. Participants stated that most counselors, unfortunately, consider themselves a part of the administrative staff, and engender resentment from the teachers by their freedom from classroom restriction. Too few counselors attend union meetings or attempt to back the teacher in the face of administrative difficulties. Too often, the teacher feels that the counselor is against the teacher in defense of the child.

Bishop cited meetings between teachers and counselors held for the purpose of establishing communication which have instead uncovered hidden misunderstandings and resentments. It was further agreed that a part of the problem was generated by the tremendously diverse working conditions of counselors in various sections of the country. "In New York City, for example," said Ruthe Brimberg, a member of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, "counselors are asked to handle discipline in the school, and become semi-policemen, and representatives of the administration."

"In Dearborn," added Paget, "counselors teach guidance classes and are therefore automatically members of the teaching staff."

After the discussion, the counselors proposed several recommendations for their own group. They suggested that counselors be concerned with their image as a part of the teaching staff; that they attempt to implement a team approach; that they try to persuade teachers in their schools that they will stand with them on union issues; and that they identify themselves first as union members, and then as counselors.

The group also developed a set of recommendations for action to be taken by the AFT. These were, that the AFT insure that any counselor working in a federally-funded program be fully certified; that the AFT work to make professional-guidance services available to all students at all levels; that the AFT formally recognize the title of "guidance counselors" to differentiate them from all other counselors; and that the AFT include counselor working conditions in collective bargaining with school boards, i.e., that one counselor per 250 students be established as minimum professional standard.

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HIGHER EDUCATION

The special interest group meeting on higher education was called in order to start a national AFT program for quality education in colleges. Thirteen college locals were represented.

We decided to concentrate on community colleges and junior colleges since most of us in attendance were from those institutions, because AFT is growing rapidly in community and junior colleges, and because these colleges are most in need of direction by teachers.

We found ourselves in broad agreement on the major issues. Our main problem was how to organize ourselves and other teachers to work effectively on issues.

Our decision was to hold regional meetings, at which teachers in each region would develop guidelines specifying what conditions are required to have an effective community or junior college program. Meetings are being planned for New York, California, Illinois, Wisconsin, and other areas. We will then meet at the national level to draw our results together and establish national guidelines for effective community and junior colleges.

The remainder of this report lists our points of agreement during the discussion, many of which may later be adopted as guidelines.

Community and junior colleges have a comprehensive mission—they provide transfer and terminal courses, liberal arts and technical courses, adult and community education offerings, remedial programs, and guidance services. But we may find problems of conflicts among these missions or of misplaced or undetermined priorities among them.

The colleges should be tuition-free. They should have an open enrollment policy. And they should provide financial support for low-income students. Their governance should faithfully reflect the composition of the community and should be responsive to teachers and students. The colleges should have an optimum size, perhaps 2,500 students. They should provide extensive guidance services—educational, vocational, financial, and personal.

We noted some present dangers for community and junior colleges. We should prevent these colleges from becoming lower-class tracks, in comparison to four-year colleges. We should prevent the emergence of a dichotomy between liberal arts-transfer programs and technical-terminal programs. We should prevent Boards and administrators from acting as brokers who seek out state and federal funds for projects without consulting teachers.

We felt the colleges should develop many more ties with the community. And we felt that we should survey what we actually do to students, in contrast to what we claim to do or feel we ought to do.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

Special education throughout the country has often been treated as a stepchild to general education. The decision makers in local, state and national educational sectors have tried to ignore special education as much as possible. Programs developed not because of an inherent belief in the education of all children including the exceptional child, but because of pressure from parents and concerned teachers. Within this framework, the teachers of exceptional children have had a most difficult time in providing adequate educational opportunities. We find classrooms that are absolutely unacceptable, dark, barren rooms with little or no materials and no supportive services.

Having an opportunity to come together to discuss and recommend policy, projects, programs and demands for collective bargaining at this Consortium is, for me at least, a step towards having teachers become involved in the process of developing respectability for our profession, and it also offers to us one method by which we can begin to affect the delivery of quality educational services to handicapped children in this country.

Since we do not have the time to discuss all the major items that come to mind, I am offering for consideration two major areas of concern that can serve as a basis for discussion. From these items we need to develop recommendations to the advisory committee. The first area deals with the direction special education is taking nationwide. The second area concerns our master contract items dealing with special education.

Special education, as education in general, is caught up in an agonizing process of re-evaluation of its basic tenets and procedures. The pressure for change is coming not only from the general community disillusioned with the progress of education but from the concerned educators that know the concepts, practices and beliefs in special education have not been meeting the needs of exceptional children. This mood of change gives us a prime opportunity to look at our field and to develop alternatives that could change the course of action. The following items have considerable overlapping, but can be considered as separate entities.

The first area concerns the efficacy of de-categorizing that would remove such labels as educable mentally retarded, learning disabled, deaf, etc. To many of us removing the categories would be met with support. The critical questions that we should keep in mind are: What would we replace the categorical programs with? Where would the children be educated? What impact would the changes have on general education? How much support can we hope to glean from general education? The issue is so complex that we could spend all night just discussing these few questions. I strongly urge some type of statement concerning this issue.

Paralleling the investigation of the categorical/non-categorical issue is the development, evaluation and demonstration of alternatives to the typical special educational programs and practices. The present segregated

classroom may be replaced by a variety of approaches which must include the regular classroom teacher. Everything from performance contracting, voucher systems and engineered classrooms have been suggested. The effect on classroom teachers appears to be the crucial issue. While we may agree with new programs and practices it seems to me that the teachers should be the ones most involved with the decision making, when in fact they are not. Contracts in many districts do not clearly spell out protections for special education teachers in terms of recourses when their classroom responsibilities are affected.

Another parelleling issue concerns the criteria by which a child is identified and labeled exceptional. The problems of identification, such as the assessment tools, whether the instruments are culturally free and what cut off points are used to determine eligibility have serious consequences. Coupled with this issue is the one concerning program planning. Some educators are recommending that program planning should concern itself primarily with the individual identified needs of the child rather than with the labeled deficit, such as deafness. While many of us might agree with this, the fact that teachers have not been involved raises some questions. The movement towards looking at individual needs would necessitate that teachers, diagnosticians and psychologists work together. Contract items would give leadership in this area. Another consideration in this area is the possible change of job description and/or certification. If we begin to work with children with identified needs, rather than labeled deficits the teachers may need other kinds of training, they may need different scheduling in school and so on. If our primary responsibilities change, we need options developed for the purpose of becoming prepared for new roles.

The advent of legislation in 29 states mandating special education and court cases in many states addressing themselves to procedures and practices which affect the definition of the disability, the degree of the disability, funding, demand for services, programs, practices and staffing has serious implications for us. In a sense the courts are prescribing our roles as they have done several times in general education. It's a moot point to discuss the efficacy of these decisions. We need instead to develop methods by which we can either live with the decisions and/or change them so that we can better serve the children. In some cases, as in Michigan, the advent of legislation and court cases have forced the leaders in special education to react and make decisions that seriously affect education and our contracts. As a direct result of court cases in Michigan, court cases in other states and the advent of the passage of mandatory special education, the IQ levels used to determine eligibility for placement in the classrooms for the educable mentally handicapped have been lowered and there is the suggestion that we remove the criteria of an IQ score altogether. This change will remove children presently in the programs and place them in regular classrooms and will preclude placement in the future of children who had previously been eligible. In California, their court cases have resulted in the massive exodus of children from their educable mentally retarded programs and may result in the abolishment of all such programs.

As with the educable mentally retarded child, the services to all mildly handicapped children is coming under close scrutiny. These children have, historically, been the one's to receive service if services were provided. There is strong movement to place all the mildly handicapped in regular classrooms. If we carry this concept to its logical conclusion we may for example find only psychotic children in programs for the emotionally disturbed and only the severely and profoundly retarded in classes for the mentally handicapped. We at present have contract items that deal with some of this. What happens to them? What will we replace them with? What provisions will be made to assist the regular classroom teacher? The laws of the state and the contract language would be affected also in the area of expulsion and suspension. I'm not sure that the universities prepared us to teach the severely handicapped let alone know curriculum and materials for them.

Accountability is upon us, but many special educators have believed that *we* had time to think about our plans. We really don't. Aside from the classroom problems of developing evaluative techniques that would achieve accountability, there's the real problem of itinerant personnel in special education. Two areas of real concern that come to mind are those of the speech therapist and school social workers. To be accountable we may have to be successful and success may be synonymous with "cure." I'm sure you can see the problems inherent in the "cure syndrome."

This brief review of the direction special education is taking nationwide, has omitted many areas and is superficial to say the least, but is to be reviewed only as background. These areas cannot, however, be discussed without considering what is presently in our contracts.

The area of contracts is a sensitive one. I obviously haven't read all contracts and have to rely on the ones I have read and the statistics available on this subject. Before I list some concerns, I feel the need to say that in no way are my remarks to be considered an indictment of locals and their negotiators. I am well aware of the priorities facing us in negotiation and I am also aware that many of our negotiating teams have not had the information necessary to include or modify their demands. I am also aware that very often the special educators in the district have not been the most active members in the local. Nor have they often been the advocates of changes in this area. Coupled with these problems I also know that administrators and boards of education have not been willing to seriously consider demands in this area. I apologize first to those who may resent the implications of my remarks, but I would be less than honest not to say them.

The only study which I have been able to find is *"Special Education in the Collective Bargaining Process," Phi Delta Kappan*, June, 1971. This paper analyzed 71 contracts or 80.7 percent of the contracts in the tri-county area of Detroit, Michigan for 1968-1969 school years. The analysis, obviously, included contracts which were written by federation and association locals and there is no breakdown on which group wrote which items.

Regardless of who wrote the items, some pertinent facts were discovered that merit our attention.

1. Acknowledgements of the existence of handicapped children were of two types: "Those that simply acknowledged the existence of handicapped children and those which suggested or provided a course of action. Acknowledgement items were often predicated with a statement to the effect that handicapped students (especially the emotionally disturbed) were disruptive to the learning environment and potentially burdensome to the teacher."

2. "Only two contracts (3 percent of the contracts) included identification items even though their existence was acknowledged." The emotionally disturbed or disruptive student predominated.

3. "43.7 percent of the contracts (31) had items pertaining to referrals." Behavior problems also had priority.

4. "20 (31.2 percent of the master contracts) contained provisions regarding pupils who were 'diagnosed' or 'identified' as handicapped. In 17 of the 20 items, the handicapping condition referred to was emotional disturbance, behavioral disorders or adjustment problems."

5. "A wide range of action for diagnosed children was agreed upon. An example of this is: The teacher has the right to request the transfer of exceptional children and, if denied, has the right to confer with appropriate personnel."

6. "Only one contract had an item regarding the placement and discharge of students to and from special education programs."

7. "7 percent of the contracts discussed integration."

8. "7 percent of the contracts contained items relating to special education teachers' rights."

9. "60.5 percent of the contracts granted salary differentials ranging from $125 to $750." With the shortage of classrooms and oversupply of teachers this item is fast being removed.

10. "Requirement for adequate facilities appeared in three contracts."

11. "39.4 percent of the contracts referred to corporal punishment of pupils."

The findings of this study indicated that while relatively little attention is given to special education, the implications of the items cited posed major concerns. Some of the summary bears repeating. "It is notable that the 'handicap' of major concern was that of emotional disturbance (disruptive behavior) . . . contract provisions for handicapped children tend to be more concerned with the removal of such children than with the amelioration of their problems. Contract provisions are frequent and clear in expressing intolerance toward 'problem' behavior."

The study just cited and the trends in special education are issues that are intrinsically tied to the traditional and often outdated concepts resulting from inadequate understanding and prejudices that create an intolerable situation for all those concerned about special education.

After the position paper was presented, the group felt that although the issues raised throughout the Consortium had relevance for us, we had

to concentrate on the problems in special education and how we relate to general education. The following are the recommmendations:

1. Much more time and publicity needs to be devoted to the field of special education. There wasn't enough time or a broad enough cross section of participants to develop any more than simplistic recommendations.
2. Time and commitment is needed to begin resolving needs of general education and special education. We must begin to discuss mutual problems and understand each other.
3. General education must reassess their negativism towards exceptional children.
4. Assistance should be given to all teachers for the purpose of solving the problems of exceptional children. For regular education teachers in-service on such areas as the disruptive child would be helpful.
5. The types of evaluation procedures and the depth of them need to be examined in light of their efficacy for identification and placement of exceptional children.
6. Teachers need released time so as to be part of the staffings which identify, label, and recommend services for exceptional children.
7. Teachers should have released time for professional meetings.

THE PRE-SESSIONS

'FREE SCHOOLS' INSIDE THE SYSTEM

Pre-session for those who wish to discuss the issue of "Open Schools and Alternative Schools *Within the Context of Public Education*" with Patrick Fitzgerald (Local 28, St. Paul) on the St. Paul Open School and Donald Burns (Local 200, Seattle) on Alternative Schools.

The QuEST consortium's early-morning pre-session on the question of open schools attracted better than 40 persons, most of whom had attended the session which extended until late the preceding evening. Though the consortium program promised coffee and pastry to the early risers, the teachers participating sacrificed their sleep because of a real desire to explore all the alternatives available within the school system.

The session was opened by Patrick Fitzgerald, member of Local 28, St. Paul, Minn., a young teacher on the staff of the St. Paul Open School, which was initiated by a group of parents dissatisfied with the traditional school system, who brought a proposal for an open school to the St. Paul school board. The parents guaranteed that they would match funds provided by the board, and eventually secured a grant of $200,000. This money was used to purchase an old office building, second-hand furniture and general equipment.

The school limited itself to a student enrollment of 600 pupils encompassing all grades from kindergarten through twelfth. The only prerequisite for a student was his desire to attend. The same qualification was required of the staff, who were hired on a projected ratio of 10 to one. No set curriculum was established, and attendance was extremely loose. Any resource the school lacked on its premises was sought after in the wider city, including specialized courses offered in the public schools. The staff enlisted the aid of community volunteers and parent aides to travel with the younger children and to further reduce the pupil/adult ratio.

After describing the physical properties of St. Paul Open School, Fitzgerald explained its underlying motivations and philosophy. "The open school," he said, "is an expansion of the open classroom." It exists on the basic premise that all learning is one whole and therefore relevant to the student's life, because he is in essence his own "living textbook."

All learning in the school is informal, done in learning modules called experience sites, Fitzgerald explained. The learning takes place at random, rather than sequentially, and is based on the student's own experiences, interests, and ability to choose. The teacher acts as a functional administrator, who is an advisor to the student, aiding him to set up a week's program of activities, rather than as an information-giver. It is a child-centered school, and there is no pass or fail, and no grades. There is no structured hierarchy. The teacher is respected for his greater knowledge, but is in no

way an authority figure. Decisions on school policy are made by the entire staff at biweekly staff meetings, which are themselves optional though well attended. The staff is advised by a council composed of two community people, two parents, two members of the staff and 10 students.

After Fitzgerald's talk, Donald Burns, member of the Seattle Federation of Teachers, Local 200, and teacher on the staff of the Seattle Alternative School, compared his schooi's setup to the St. Paul School. Burns is a teacher of many years experience who chose the alternative school as a viable option to improve the quality of education within the system. The Seattle school is very similar to that in St. Paul, though it confines itself to the traditional building with more rigidity. Inside the building, however, prevails the open school described by Fitzgerald.

The audience, though interested in the open-school concept, was curious as to the preparation necessary for a teacher in such a school. Fitzgerald suggested that any such training include sensitivity groups, combined with any discipline which interested the individual. The consensus of reaction from his listeners was that the staff must be able to accept the open school, and that it was not the answer for all teachers.

Burns summarized the open-school position when he stated that, though it was only one alternative, the major idea the open-school concept was working for was to make learning relevant and desired by the child, an idea which he hoped could be successfully adapted to any method of teaching.

. . . AND 'FREE SCHOOLS' ON THE OUTSIDE

Pre-session for those who wish to discuss the question "Are Free Schools a Valid Alternative?" with Steve Bhaerman and Joel Denker, authors of *No Particular Place to Go: The Making of a Free High School* (Simon and Schuster, 1972).

"I don't think public-school teachers and those in free schools should see each other as antagonists, as they often do," said Joel Denker, who had come to an 8 a.m. QuEST consortium pre-session to talk about his experiences in both kinds of schools.

His audience, some 60 or so early-rising conference-goers, munched rolls, drank coffee, and tried to get over the chip on its collective shoulder, some bending to the task by sitting on the carpet of the hotel meeting room.

Denker and Steve Bhaerman, his co-author of a book on their two-year experience running a free school in the Washington, D. C., area, appeared a little more slicked-up than usual (Bhaerman was wearing a suit), apparently trying to meet the audience at least half-way. But despite all this, some observers felt a certain tension remained.

Denker continued, speaking of his hope for an "interchange," in which teachers and students would go to a public school, then to a free school, then back, which he recommended to achieve a feeling of "security."

"When I taught in a public school, I felt insecure, boxed in," he said, recounting his problems with student and teacher freedoms at a suburban Maryland school. "When we were in a free school, the responsibility was up to us. We learned how to have responsibility, and how to fail.

"People in public schools tend to internalize their anger," he said, "to take it all out on themselves, or they externalize—blame it all on someone else." Denker emphasized his belief, clearly stated in his chapters in the book, "No Particular Place to Go: The Making of a Free High School" (Simon and Schuster, 1972), that the free-school experience was one of self-discovery for both teachers and students.

Bhaerman described his experiences as a Teacher Corps intern in an inner-city Washington school (see American Teacher, December, 1971). "The school never ever relates what's taught in the classroom with what happens to a kid, and I think that's done with a purpose," he said. "When we formed our own school, we were working out of what we felt was the suburban aim of making students into managers of others, and the inner-city aim of creating petty bureaucrats.

"School means more when the student decides to go there," Bhaerman observed.

The first question from the audience was a bristling "Who financed you?"

"We did," Bhaerman replied, "and we had extreme difficulty." He described the tuition (which included room and board) of from $275 to

$350 a year, plus one $1,000 donation the first year, and a $10,000 grant the second.

"What about all of us who feel a great need for change?" the same questioner persisted. "You took a small number . . ."

Bhaerman: "Most of these projects that start on a larger scale, like John F. Kennedy High School [a Maryland "free-plan" public school which changed its style this fall], get people involved who don't want to be, and they'll sabotage it."

Denker: "People in free schools are beginning to see their role in more political terms. You can't just start an alternative school and assume it will survive by its beliefs alone. You have to deal with all the incredible regulations, steel doors, parking space, etc., things which keep young people from renting their own houses, the compulsory-schooling laws. You have to call it a school. I don't think it's enough to seize control of existing public schools, and say that's enough. One of the destructive things about public school is the relationships between teachers and students."

A man sitting on the floor chimed in, "Don't hunt for the sole answer. If free schools say they have an answer . . . people don't have the guts to fight for it when they're in . . ."

And a woman from Philadelphia: "We can question."

"It sounds like an escape from integrated schools, and is it an excuse to take public monies from public schools," said a teacher from New York City.

Denker: "As a public-school teacher, you're the legislator in power of the compulsory-school law. You have to enforce certain kinds of discipline on kids."

"The freedom that you call freedom," said a woman from New York, "could often be very detrimental to the child," and she described her own son's experiences in "the free school of his day."

Bhaerman spoke of a substitute teacher in New York who saw her job "as that of a policeman," and who felt the need to impress the school administration with her competence at that. The woman from New York nodded, recognizing the situation.

"Free schools are pretty good, they serve their purpose," said a younger man in the audience. "The system is pretty big, the country reaches from here to Honolulu, and to effect change, we know we have to unite. We've got to get together on it and decide what we're to do."

"B. F. Skinner says what you're doing is therapeutic," said still another teacher.

Denker: "There's no place in our society for young people to function. There's a moratorium between childhood and adulthood, grown even longer because of the draft. Schools are fulfilling a social responsibility forced on them by the society."

"What you're doing," said a woman with nearly the last word, "is turning out revolutionaries. We turn out an excellent product for the system. What you're doing is creating a revolution. You're getting your children ready for very uncomfortable lives."

THE QuEST SONGS

The Challenge For Our Union

Adapted by Bob Bhaerman
(from "We Shall Not Be Moved")

1. The challenge for our union; shall we not be moved?
   The challenge for our union; shall we not be moved?
   Unlike the tree that's planted by the water,
   Shall we not be moved?
2. To build a better system; shall we not be moved?
3. Students and teachers together; shall we not be moved?
4. Citizens and teachers together; shall we not be moved?
5. To throw off the chains around us; shall we not be moved?
6. The "status quo" abound us; shall we not be moved?

Accountability!

Adapted by Bob Bhaerman
(from "The Hoky Poky")

You put your pre-tests in,
You take your post-tests out,
You put the test scores in,
And you mix 'em all about,
You say some hoky poky
So as not to lose face
That's Accountability!

You put Sanchez in,
You take Rumsfeld out,
You put Sanchez in
And you fly him all about
He says some hoky poky
So as not to lose face
That's Accountability!

You put Learning Foundations in,
You take Dorsett out,
You put Learning Foundations in,
And you shake 'em all about
They say some hoky poky
So as not to lose face
That's Accountability!

You put teaching machines in,
You take the teachers out,
You put teaching machines in,

And you switch 'em all about,
You say some hoky poky
So as not to lose face
That's Accountability!

You put your green stamps in,
You take your prizes out,
You put your green stamps in,
And you paste 'em all about
You say some hoky poky
So as not to lose face
That's Accountability!

You put your federal money in,
You take your other money out,
You put your federal money in,
And you "schmeer" it 'round about
You say some hoky poky
So as not to lose face
. . . That's Accountability?

Turn the Schools 'Inside Out'

Adapted by Bob Bhaerman
(from "Put Your Finger in the Air")

1. "Turn the schools 'Inside Out', 'Inside Out'
   Turn the schools 'Inside Out', 'Inside Out'
   Turn the schools 'Inside Out,'."
   So the instant experts spout,
   "Turn the schools 'Inside Out', 'Inside Out.'

2. "You don't need a licensed teacher, after all,
   You don't need a licensed teacher, after all,
   You don't need a licensed teacher.
   You can hire the local preacher,
   You don't need a licensed teacher, after all.

3. "Class size is not the issue, bring in more,
   Class size is not the issue, bring in more,
   Class size is not the issue,
   'Stead of books, buy toilet tissue,
   Class size is not the issue, bring in more.

4. "You can save the public money, come next fall,
   You can save the public money, come next fall,
   You can save the public money,
   Run the school on milk and honey,
   You can save the public money, come next fall.

5. "Public schools you can tell are corrupt,
Public schools you can tell are corrupt,
Public schools you can tell,
Can all go to .....!
Public schools you can tell are corrupt.

6. "The system has caved in, has collapsed,
The system has caved in, has collapsed,
The system has caved in,
Blame the teachers for this sin,
The system has caved in, has collapsed.

7. "Don't put money down the drain, so we say,
Don't put money down the drain, so we say,
Don't put money down the drain,
Think of all the kids we'll maim,
Don't put money down the drain, so we say.

8. "Knock the teachers-on the head, on the head,
Knock the teachers on the head, on the head,
Knock the teachers on the head,
Leave them till they're blind or dead
Knock the teachers on the head, on the head."

Talking Turnkey

Adapted by Bob Bhaerman
(from "Talking Union")

If you want smaller classes let me tell you what to do,
You've got to talk to the teachers in the school with you.
You've go to build you a union, got to make it strong,
If you all stick together, teachers, it won't be long
You'll get integrated textbooks . . . More Effective Schools
. . . planning periods . . . the twenty/twenty plan.

Now it ain't quite this simple, so I'd better explain,
Just why you've go to ride on the AFT train,
'cause if you wait for the superintendent to ease your day,
All you're gonna get is "incentive pay" . . .
Transistor radios for the kids . . . green stamps . . .
. . . turnkeys

Now you know your class is too big, but the super says it ain't,
He adds ten more kids, till you're about to faint.
You may be down and out, but you ain't beaten,
You can pass out *American Teachers* and call a meeting'
. . . talk it over . . . speak your mind . . .
decide to do something about it.

Suppose they're thinking up fancy plans, it's just outrageous,
And bringing in some scabs for starvation wages,
And you go to the super' and the super' will yell,
"Before I hire teachers, I'll bring in the B.R.L."

'Course the super' may persuade some Texarkana tools
To come into your classroom and act like fools,
But you can always tell a "bureaucrat", they're easily read,
They paint a dollar sign on each children's head.
Oh, they don't have to worry . . . they'll always get their dough . . .
On what they're able to do with "teaching to the test."

You've got the AFT now and you're sitting pretty,
Put some teachers in the negotiating committee.
The super' won't listen when one teacher walks,
But he's got to listen when the union talks!
He'd better . . . be mighty lonely . . .
If everybody decided to walk out on him.

He's holding a performance contract, feeling mighty slick,
'Cause he thinks he's got the teachers licked.
Well, he looks out the window, and what does he see,
But a thousand teachers, and they all agree
He's a bastard . . . pedagog . . . O.E.O. agent . . .
Life member of the N.E.A.

Now, teachers, you come to the hardest time
The super' will start spouting his "accountability line".
He'll call out Marland and the Kenneth Clark fans,
They'll tell you it's a crime to be against their plans.
They'll dehumanize your classrooms, put students on a track,
There'll be a performance contract stickin' in your back.
Educational engineers . . . independent auditors . . .
management s'port groups . . .
Let's send 'em back where they came from.

But out in Gary, here's what they found,
And out in Seattle, here's what they found,
And in the Bronx, here's what they found,
And up in Providence, here's what they found,
That if you don't let the O.E.O. break you up
And if you don't let the phony contracts break you up,
And if you don't let voucher systems break you up,
And if you don't let the hierarchies break you up,
You'll win . . . what I mean is . . .
Take it easy . . . but take it!

We Don't Want Your Broken Eggs, Mister

Adapted by Bob Bhaerman
(from "I Don't Want Your Millions, Mister")

"Like many other educational notions, vouchers are being sold as an 'experiment,' and those who oppose the 'experiment' are branded as self-interested members of the establishment. But not all experiments are alike. Some are harmless in that we try something new and, if we don't like the result, we go back to what was there before. But there are experiments that are like the act of dropping an egg to see what happens. We quickly see what happens, but the egg cannot be put back together again."

Albert Shanker in The New York *Times*, 7/4/71

"To suggest that guaranteeing performance is a 'gamble with good odds' is forgetting that we are dealing with children's lives and not with marketing soapsuds."

Bob Bhaerman in *The American Teacher*, Jan. 1972

1. We don't want your broken eggs, mister,
   We don't want those scrambled schemes.
   We just want the right to teach, mister,
   In public schools with honesty.

2. Let them try their "egg tricks" elsewhere,
   Let them keep their "guarantees,"
   We just want the right to give, mister,
   Boys and girls their dignity.

3. We don't want your huckstered soapsuds,
   We don't want your marketing.
   We just want the right to build, mister,
   With our proud community.

4. We don't want those phony vouchers,
   We don't want that gimmickry.
   We just want the right to have, mister,
   Public schools, not bigotry.

5. We don't want your egg drops, mister,
   We don't want those soft-boiled dreams.
   We just want true research, mister,
   Built upon reality.

Solidarity Forever

With American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO verses
Adapted by Bob Bhaerman

1. Brothers and sisters stand united, we shall never be defiled,
   As we use our Teacher Power for the good of every child.

Nevermore will we be shunted off as "weak and meek and mild."
For the Union makes us strong.

Chorus: Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
For the Union makes us strong.

2. Within the mighty House of Labor, we shall win this victory.
Teacher workers joined together in The Great Fraternity,
With our voices raised forever in accord and harmony,
For the Union makes us strong.

3. When all teachers in this nation shall have joined the AFT,
We shall have a force of workers that will stretch from sea to sea.
Nevermore shall teachers lack the power, strength and dignity,
For the Union makes us strong.

4. We shall never stop our quest until we reach this cherished goal:
Every classroom in this nation taught by those with union soul.
We shall unify our forces, weld the parts into one whole,
For the Union makes us strong.

NEXT STEPS

NEXT STEPS

There surely will be future AFT-QuEST Consortiums—at the national as well as regional, state and local levels. They will be based, in part, upon the informational and advisory reports generated by the first AFT-QuEST Consortium in 1972. The hope—and expectation—is to build upon the initial base established at the 1972 Consortium in a developmental way.

Therefore, we will focus upon what AFT locals have done and on what they can do to plan educational action programs. And we will rely to a greater extent on AFT teacher talent, for if the 1972 Consortium taught us anything, it illustrated that such talent exists in great depth.

As the May, 1972 issue of *The Colorado Teacher* reported:

"Every Consortium participant came away with some major conclusions:

1. The most articulate people involved in the Consortium and in education were the teachers.

2. With a few exceptions, the 'experts' at this Consortium had nothing new or of great significance to offer teachers. The teachers showed themselves to be the real 'EXPERTS.'

3. The needs in education are great and teachers have no shortage of ideas on how to meet these needs. The blocks are administrative and financial. There is no surplus of teachers, only a shortage of funds.

4. The problems of education will need massive funding for remedy and this can only be achieved by involved and politically active teachers.

5. Any real change that comes in education will come only through teachers and effective collective bargaining contracts."

Future AFT-QuEST Consortiums will build upon these five major conclusions.

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