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ABSTRACT This publication reports the proceedings of the National Accountability Conference held by the National Education Association in March 1977 on the theme: "Schooling: Expectations in Conflict." Section 1 of the report draws primarily on the contributions of the major speakers and seminar leaders to discuss the nature of conflict, the implications for schooling if present conflicts are not resolved, the constructive uses of conflict, and the resolution of conflict. Section 2 summarizes the concerns and priorities expressed by seminar participants in conference work groups. Section 3 summarizes the action plans presented by the conference work groups to NEA Executive Director Terry Herndon, and Herndon's responses. Section 4 contains brief concluding remarks on the conference, abstracts of conference resource papers, and a list of conference participants. (Author/JG)

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Report of the
NEA Instruction and
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National Accountability
Conference

Schooling: Expectations in Conflict

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NEA Position on Accountability

The National Education Association recognizes that the term "accountability," as applied to public education, is subject to varied interpretations. The Association maintains that educational excellence for each child is the objective of the education system. The Association believes that classroom teachers can be accountable only to the degree that they share responsibility in educational decision making and to the degree that other parties who share this responsibility—legislators, other government officials, school boards, administrators, parents, students, and taxpayers—are also held accountable.

The Association believes that there should be no single or statewide accountability system. It will resist any attempt to transform assessment results into a national or state testing program that would seek to measure all students, teachers, or school systems by a single standard and thereby impose upon them a

single program, rather than providing opportunities for multiple programs and objectives. The Association believes that specific behavioral objectives should not be used as course objectives, nor as a basis for determining accountability.

The Association opposes the unquestioned pursuit of behavioral objectives and insists upon

- a A critical examination of the effects of use of behavioral objectives
 - b The identification of areas where behavioral objectives are useful but not harmful
 - c The acceptance of alternative statements of objectives
 - d Recognition that evidence of learning is not always available upon request or demand
 - e Recognition that performance criteria are not always uniformly or universally applicable to a given population
- (Resolution 77-48)*



Robert Lipscomb
Conference Chairperson

The accountability movement in education reflects a trend on the part of the public and their elected representatives to ask that educators answer for what they are doing to meet expectations of schooling as defined by states, localities, and the federal government. The fact that these expectations are frequently in conflict with each other, with the best interests of both students and teachers, and with reality says a great deal about why the public's confidence in schooling today is so low. The accountability movement is a misguided response to this diminished trust or to unrealistic expectations. Those who look on it to improve schooling, including some educators, have failed to comprehend either the conflicts inherent in the expectations or the final implications of the accountability movement.

Here are some examples of the significant conflicts facing educational decision-makers today:

- Effective schooling requires a definitive and practicable agreement on student needs, yet never have the constituencies of-or with an interest in education (teachers, students, parents, and state, federal, and local governments) been further from consensus.
- Goals for schooling range from pitifully limited (back-to-basics) to pitifully inflated (a cure-all for the ills of society).
- Communities that have lost confidence in their schools want to pay less for education yet expect the schools to restore public confidence using diminished resources.
- Evaluation of schooling depends heavily on

- standardized tests, yet many experts believe such tests are neither valid nor reliable
- Many observers of schooling believe that education can never reach its goals unless teachers control the decision-making process, yet teachers are conspicuously absent and purposely excluded in significant numbers from decision-making councils in the educational hierarchy
- Schools and teachers are increasingly evaluated according to student performance rather than quality of services provided, in the face of incontrovertible evidence that student performance can be neither accurately measured nor reliably guaranteed

In recognition of the existence and the profound implications of such conflicts, the National Education Association held a National Accountability Conference, March 16-19, 1977, in Washington, D.C., on the theme "Schooling Expectations in Conflict." Conference Chairperson Robert Lipscomb of the NEA Executive Committee, the major speakers, seminar and action group leaders, and the participants addressed directly or indirectly many aspects of the theme, which invited and inspired a wide range of interpretation.

The first section of this conference report draws primarily on the contributions of the major speakers and seminar leaders to thinking in four major areas: the nature of conflict, present and future implications for schooling if current conflicts are not satisfactorily resolved, constructive uses of conflict, and the resolution of conflict. The second section summarizes

the concerns and priorities expressed by seminar participants in conference work groups. The third section summarizes the action plans developed and presented by the groups to NEA Executive Director Terry Herndon and Mr. Herndon's responses. Brief concluding remarks, abstracts of conference resource papers, and a list of participants complete the report. We hope the document will encourage constructive and coordinated local-state-national action to make schools better places for students and teachers.

NEA Instruction and Professional Development is indebted to the leaders and participants for making the National Accountability Conference a success. We are grateful also to Ms. Darcy Bacon for her fine work in observing the meetings and writing the report.

Robert M. McClure
 Program Manager
 NEA Instruction and Professional Development

1. The Nature and Implications of Conflict¹

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The Nature of Conflict

Conflict, its nature, and the responsibility it places on teachers was the topic of Robert Coles' keynote speech to the National Accountability Conference. Coles probed the impact teachers do have and stressed the impact they could have on conflicts in society. Accusing schools of reflecting "the powers and principalities," he urged teachers to join hands with children, not to resolve conflict, but to encourage, examine and learn from it. He told them to view conflict as healthy and necessary, its pain a prerequisite for hard decisions and true progress. Telling of a particular child's personal experience that had a deeply disturbing aftermath, Coles scored one school for suppressing conflict when it should have been applauded and nurtured. Yet he expressed a broadly optimistic view of the value of conflict in relation to schooling, provided teachers take a forceful rather than a fearful approach to conflict where it exists.

Conflicts in goals and conflicts in program were the respective topics addressed by two other general session speakers, Wendell Rivers and Harry Broudy. Rivers traced much of the existing conflict in goals of schooling to the fact that the traditionally accepted aims of education have become obsolete since the Progressive Era when they were adopted. Asking schools today to enable students to (a) adjust themselves to their environment, (b) meet the immediate

¹The conference speakers and seminar leaders are quoted in this section from the full written versions of their oral presentations. Abstracts of their papers are appended to this report.



Robert Coles

needs of earning a living, maintaining good health, and achieving contentment in life, and (c) bring about the objectives of the society in which they live creates, in Rivers' words, "a situation of goals in conflict with reality." The reality is that the environment is changing as fast as or faster than the students can learn to adjust to it. The pace of change also limits the ability of schools to help its clients meet immediate needs since "current information concerning how to meet those needs will not stay current." As for the third traditional goal of education, Rivers contends that the present system of education is unsuited in structure, function, and philosophy to be a vehicle for social reform. According to this analysis, the most commonly held expectations of schooling cannot be achieved because they are tied to the past and thus are in conflict with the realities of today. They must be refined and expanded to truly reflect the realities of the future.

Broudy, in exploring public expectations of school programs and what can realistically be achieved, pointed out that "there are as many publics as there are constituencies vocal enough to make their expectations - often conflicting - known to local, state, and federal educational agencies. If life expectations conflict, demands for programs to implement these expectations may also come into conflict - but once the school accepts a direct causal connection between school outcomes and life outcomes, it is trapped into accountability for producing these life outcomes." He made the essential point that public expectations of schooling often fail to take into account the fact that



Wendell Rivers

school programs "do not translate directly into their uses in life. The effects of schooling [are] more detectable in their absence than in their presence. We tend to underestimate the resources furnished by formal education and to overestimate the resources of experience." As a consequence, in Broudy's view, the public both overestimates what schools can accomplish and underestimates what they accomplish. Discussing the various styles of teaching, Broudy pointed out that "palaver about teaching and teacher education routinely holds up the model of a triple-threat teacher who is a flawless didactic machine, a clever Socrates, and a compassionate expert in group dynamics. Since the correlation among these types of competence is very low, teacher education programs are perpetrating a fraud or exhibiting a profound

ignorance." Public expectations of schooling and programs developed for implementation by the "triple-threat teacher" are predicated on a premise bound, eventually, to disappoint.

Broudy asserted that leaders of the educational establishment have surrendered decision-making authority about the curriculum to a "consensus of the diverse constituencies or to legislative mandate." However, he concluded that they may have had no choice. "In the absence of a clear national ethos and professionally legitimated authority, the voice of the people perforce is the voice of the school." Implicit in this analysis is the necessity for teachers to formulate, as a profession, their own expectations for schooling, accepting the realities that cannot be changed and working to change those that can.

As Wells Foshay expressed it in his seminar on "Management Systems, A Paradox in Expectation," for years "school people have stated their goals as mere window dressing intended to keep the public at bay. Now we're paying the piper. Powerful members of the public, seeing through this stratagem, are stating our purposes for us--and being nonprofessionals, they state them in the narrowest, most rudimentary terms." The accountability movement can be seen in part as a product of this phenomenon. In particular, Foshay viewed management systems, with their intent of developing program goals that can be stated, measured, and evaluated in cost-benefit terms, as a "maladaptive response" to mistakes we are making in education. Their emergence in the wholly inappropriate area of schooling, in his view, to some



Harry S. Broudy



Arthur Wells Foshay

extent reflects failure on the part of educators who can be faulted for vagueness of purpose, unwarranted promises, inadequate communication, and "retreat to a narrow pragmatism at the slightest pressure."

Their emergence is also a product of the misperceptions of those who apply management systems to education. Foshay pointed out that while management systems "offer an opportunity to reduce the mystery" of what educators do if they force us to become specific about our purpose, they also "have the effect of removing decision making from the point of action," with several inevitable results: decisions are less responsive to local conditions than they would otherwise be, local administrators are reduced to being bureaucratic functionaries, and as the decisions are removed from their point of origin, they become increasingly "coarse grained" and have an ultimately destructive effect on educational quality. The end result of the misguided attempts to achieve accountability through management systems is in total contradiction to any initial expectations of improving quality or even efficiency. There are no benefits and the costs are incalculable.

Ernest House examined the nature of some of the conflicts affecting "Assessment Evaluation Programs." He traced the origin of much of the accountability movement to the concern of Congress, when it enacted the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, that parents have a right to know the effect of money spent on their children's schools. The initial intent of assessment, though based on the

questionable premise that test scores would serve as accurate indicators of school quality, may have had validity. However, this intent was altered within the government from assessing the responsiveness of schools to identifying the most efficient allocation of resources, and the modern educational accountability movement was born. House sees two inherent flaws in this application of accountability: the perception of "educational techniques and children as raw materials in a manufacturing process," and the assumption that there is a stable relationship between "inputs" in education (i.e., educational techniques) and "outputs" (i.e., test scores). He sees a further defect in the expectations underlying systems analysis and behavioral objectives approaches to education: the false premise that scientific technique can replace expertise in teaching based on "knowledge of craft" and experience.

In Michigan, House studied the effects of an accountability scheme in operation and reported that the system promised "much acrimony between the state government and the teachers in the state without offering any real prospect of improving education." The source of much of the acrimony was the inability of standardized tests to measure accurately what is taught in schools, much less of test scores to serve as "proxies for skills that are the means to functioning in later life." House maintains that the challenge for evaluation is to make it "complementary" to the practice of teaching, not a substitute for it. Recent public concern over declining school performance as defined by test scores has made the schools "defen-

sive, not better." Schools are not mistaken in discerning a threat in the burgeoning misuse of evaluation. As House points out, public critics of the schools whose major expectation was saving money were strongly in favor of a scientific management approach which would convert "the real questions of educational practice into questions of efficiency. While efficiency may be relevant as a goal sometimes, it is certainly a perversion of the educational process to take it as the overriding consideration." The nature of the conflict lies, in part, in the transformation of evaluation from a means of assessing the success of educational programs to an end in itself, with the programs designed to ensure the success of the evaluations.



Ernest House

Possible Futures

Several of the conference speakers explored the future implications of existing conflicts in expectations of schooling. In the seminar on "The Teacher Caught in Conflict," Martin Haberman presented a profoundly pessimistic and provocative scenario for the foreseeable future of public education. He made the following contentions, some of which were hotly disputed by members of the seminar group but all of which warrant serious consideration.

- High-quality elementary and secondary public education has a lower priority in the public's mind than as many as a dozen other social issues, including jobs, health, energy, inflation, and crime.
- The public has lowered expectations of what schooling can accomplish as a process for reaching social goals.
- Schooling is becoming limited to preparation for a job, neglecting other student needs.
- Educational quality is becoming less rather than more equal as higher-income schools improve at a faster rate than poor schools.
- The public attitude toward youth is increasingly negative, with emphasis on control rather than motivation of young people.
- Adult education will be the growth sector of American education in the immediate future.

Whether or not one accepts these contentions, they underscore the fact that public attitudes toward education can no longer be assumed to be positive,

stable, or necessarily in harmony with the goals and attitudes of the teaching profession

In outlining these trends for consideration by seminar participants, Haberman urged the organized teaching profession to "take a more realistic view of the total setting in which schooling of the future will operate." This view includes, in Haberman's estimation, the realization that "schools have moved from institutions of primary effect to ones of secondary impact. People of all ages now learn more from the media, their jobs, and their life experiences than they learn in formal schooling. As the accountability movement, the back-to-basics movement, and other trends continue to narrow the purposes for schooling, increasing numbers of people will learn more things of value outside the schools."



Martin Haberman

Susan Futterman, a teacher who is now with the American Broadcasting Company, spoke informally to and with participants at one of the general sessions about the real and perceived conflicts between schools and television as they compete for the attention of young people. Speaking as a teacher, she urged the participants to accept television as "part of the lighting of households" - a fact of life with potent and lasting impact - and to consider how we can use it wisely. Specifically, she recommended efforts to help children make judgments about TV messages and not be passive receivers. "We have to help kids to understand that what's on TV isn't necessarily what is or what needs to be." She suggested that we remind children they can move around and do other activities when TV programs do not demand their full attention. She also felt that children should be asked about the programs they watch to give them mental and verbal exercise. They should be forced to make independent choices about what they watch, and be educated to make those choices by exposure to a wide range of information and discussion of family values. Citing efforts to improve programming, Futterman also criticized some of the messages children receive from television. For example, the expectation of immediate gratification may interfere with classroom performance when students are frustrated by anything less than immediate progress in reading or other subjects. Futterman's presentation intended to defuse the conflict between schooling and television by giving teaching participants in the conference constructive approaches to making TV complement rather

than compete with the aims of education .

One seminar presentation which brought home graphically to participants the possible end results of unresolved conflicts in expectations of schooling was the discussion of control of education by the courts and legislatures. In their seminar on "The Struggle for Control Agencies in Conflict," leaders Patrick Duffy and David Girard explored the increasing intrusion of the courts into educational matters and argued persuasively that high litigation costs, the limited wisdom of the courts on educational issues, inadequate representation of teacher interests, and the long-range disadvantages of the adversary positions adopted in legal proceedings all mitigate against any use of the courts to settle educational issues except as a last resort. They believe the issue of legislative control leaves much less to choice. As Duffy and Girard put it, "The major issue for education is, after all, not whether legislatures in fact have the means by which to control education, rather the issue is, to what extent will they exercise that control?" They attributed the recent trend toward legislative action to the failure of education to meet the social and academic expectations for it. While allowing that the expectations may be unrealistic, they see external (or legislative) efforts to make education meet expectations as an inevitable consequence of the perceived failure of internal efforts. This development is significant for teachers for two major reasons: (a) The



Patrick Duffy



David Girard

legislative process is a composite of varying and often conflicting expectations frequently having little to do with good education (b). The involvement of teachers in the creation of legislation that affects their profession in vital ways is usually minimal. In Duffy and Girard's view, "It is difficult to tell if external control of education by courts and legislatures is a mere transitory phenomenon or . . . a more fundamental force of permanence. Given the current trend toward an internal educational model increasingly adversarial in nature (Collective bargaining has taken the major policy issues out of board rooms and placed them, on negotiating tables), it seems reasonable to presume that the change will be permanent."

Owen Peagler treated another aspect of the conference theme of expectations in conflict and its relationship to accountability in the seminar on "Serving Different Student Needs." He cited a number of demonstrable effects of conflicts which have developed "during the pursuit of a multiplicity of goals for each student"

- School finance alternatives are being explored and tested in court. The voucher system appeals to some parents who perceive it as returning to them some measure of control and accountability lost through collective bargaining, impotent school boards, and bureaucratization of the educational system
- Tests are used increasingly "to create artificial but objective checkpoints on the performance of students" with the danger that the goal will "overshadow the implementation"

- High priority is placed on basic education and on skill-oriented curriculum. Expectations of schooling have been altered by the economic factors of inflation, decreased enrollments, and citizen resistance to higher taxes. "The movement for basic education will prevail as long as inadequate budgets require a forced choice"

(Martin Haberman applied a different interpretation to the back-to-basics movement but similarly related it to the conflict between expectations and reality. "Back-to-the-basics is merely the simplistic way in which the public is communicating this disenchantment with the noble, broad, but unachievable goals attributed to schools.")

- Minimum requirements for the high school diploma are emerging as "the latest accountability mode." School systems are being asked to "provide performances, not services alone"



Owen Peagler

- Declining enrollments will result in a changed student population with parents' expectations for student assessment remaining relatively constant. Conflicts among the expectations of teachers, students, and parents inevitably will emerge.
- Society is expanding unrealistically the scope of its expectations relating to the role of the school system. It is shifting responsibility for support and services to children from the community and the family to the school setting while continuing to hold schools responsible for the educational performance of their clients.

The trend toward emphasizing performance outcomes instead of services provided to children is a fallacy deeply rooted in the accountability movement. It will, in Peagler's view, become "a genuine threat to raising funds and community support for providing educational services" unless teachers make an effective effort to involve parents and citizens in decision making on school programs and curricula. Peagler, by implication, assumes that the decision-making process is now in the hands of teachers, an assumption which the accountability movement has seriously undermined. To resolve successfully the existing conflicts in expectations of schooling it is first necessary to reorient control over schooling to provide far greater teacher authority than is now the case.

Wendell Rivers' description of the state of schooling at the end of the last century provides a sobering warning against many of the accountability trends in



Willard McGuire
Vice-President, NEA

schooling today. "Toward the end of the nineteenth century a public school system existed in this country which consistently came under criticism for its system of constricting rules and bureaucracy and its emphasis upon uniformity and conformity in the behavior of its students and personnel. Human and cultural differences among the student populations were largely ignored as a result of highly standardized curricula and teaching methods." Is this state of affairs in education almost a hundred years ago very different from the state education will be in if the accountability movement continues to expand unimpeded? The accountability movement, in Broudy's words, is a "bandwagon so plausible that we ought to suspect it", yet the public looks increasingly to accountability legislation, assessment, and management systems to bring schooling into line with conflicting expectations. NEA Vice-President Willard McGuire said in his opening remarks, "We in the teaching profession should be front-line rebels because there is a well-known and documented history of confining and limiting the actions and decisions made by teachers."

Constructive Uses of Conflict

Robert Coles, in his keynote address, advocated constructive use of conflict in the simplest sense. Urging that schools should connect the teaching of even the basics to the "everyday moral and ethical dilemmas that all of us struggle with as citizens" of a society in conflict, he said that our goal should be to be more conflicted rather than less. He responded to a participant's question about the possibility of censor-

ship by saying that we should accept the consequences of our actions without flinching from community reaction. Many of the teachers listening reflected on the serious implications for teachers of conflict of conscience with public expectations of schooling.

Other conference speakers sought to find benefits for teachers as well as society in constructive uses of conflict.

The seminar on "Research and Development," led by William Tikunoff and Beatrice Ward, provided a constructive approach to the problems stemming from lack of teacher involvement in and control of R&D programs and decisions. Tikunoff and Ward proposed an interactive model for individual teachers in the research process, from the initial idea through conduct, development, and dissemination of the final product. The benefits, in their estimation, would be multiple: the real problems facing teachers would be tackled, the results would be applicable to the classroom, the context in which the research is carried on would be recognizable to other teachers and the results compatible with their own instructional settings, the research would use valid situation-specific data instead of students' achievement test scores as the "ultimate indicators" of the outcomes of teaching and learning, and it would draw on the perspectives of both participants and nonparticipants in the study. Teachers involved in R&D, if "worked with" rather than "worked on," would be able to increase other teachers' understanding of the research and their ability to capitalize on its product. Their own insights and analytical skills would be increased.

enhancing their effectiveness in the classroom, and the present isolation of teachers in their classrooms from the rest of their profession would be reduced. The final result of the research would have far greater prospect of real value to teachers in all other classrooms.

Having acknowledged the inherent conflicts in expectations or tensions existing in most current research and development, Tikunoff and Ward and the participants in their seminar were able to derive from that conflict a proposal for an interactive model for research and development that they believe could make a substantial contribution to schooling.

Owen Peagler pointed to the silver lining in some major areas of conflict in education in his seminar on

"Serving Different Student Needs." He discussed declining enrollments as an opportunity for school districts to reconsider their positions on student entry levels. He suggested that unneeded facilities be sold or put to use serving the elderly or as alternative schools. And he counseled against waste or RIF's (reductions in force) of experienced and capable teachers in favor of utilizing them to serve students identified as educationally disadvantaged or with special needs. Among the requirements of these students are smaller classes and individualized and specific programs. Peagler said that declining enrollments, while unwelcome, represent "a genuine opportunity to redirect an available resource to an identified target population."

It was noted previously that Owen Peagler cited



Beatrice A. Ward



William Tikunoff

minimum requirements for the high school diploma as "the latest accountability mode" for students, parents, community, and employers. He suggested that these requirements represent an enormous challenge to the public schools and that the inherent conflicts over what standards should be set, how performance should be measured, and how to provide remedial help for students falling short of set standards offer "a genuine opportunity" for school persons to educate their community and be willing to be educated by their community on common goals, standards, and values" for education.

Making what he felt was a realistic assessment of teachers' prospects for gaining jurisdiction over their own preparation and certification, Martin Haberman was pessimistic about their being able to wrest control of preservice education from colleges and universities in most states or of program accreditation and licensure machinery from state department bureaucracies. He contended, however, that in-service education can be the means for new approaches to professional development, including different kinds of teacher centers and a variety of educational experiences. Whereas at present, Haberman feels, teachers' only control over in-service education is as "consumers," in the future organized teachers will play a more "decisive, controlling role through legislation, contracts, and organization policy decisions." But he warned against an extreme outcome of this trend: pressure to meet exclusively the needs of classroom practitioners for coping with immediate problems and to ignore the long-term need for learning theories and

practices crucial to professionalization. This outcome, Haberman said, "is a foolproof method for giving up the options of becoming a profession and relegating teaching to the status of a municipal craft union." His approach to constructive use of conflict is for teachers to adopt a realistic view of the environment in which education now operates. They can then concentrate on goals with some promise of success rather than deplete their resources and credibility in conflicts that defy resolution.

Broudy qualified his advocacy of constructive use of conflict by cautioning against accommodating "by compromise or superficial consensus conflicts caused by internal incoherence of the goals and misconstructions of the reality of schooling." Conflicts in expectations of schooling can, Broudy believes, be constructive "if they are used to confront all parties concerned—teachers, taxpayers, administrators, and legislators—with the cost of mindless ad hoc meddling with the school curriculum. . . . We can carry on an efficient and rewarding program of instruction if we do not have to pay for a host of non-instructional functions out of the instructional budget." But the conflicts must first be identified so that expectations of schooling can be attuned to present and future realities.

Favorable Resolution of Conflict

In addition to exploring the many facets of conflicts in expectations of schooling, the National Accountability Conference leaders offered recommendations for resolving conflict for the benefit of both teachers and education.

Wendell Rivers advocated an intellectual alliance of educators with parents, businessmen, scientists, and trade unions to work toward the goal of developing "in the children of today the cognitive and affective skills that the adults of tomorrow will need to survive in the accelerated pace of the future."

Anticipating the future was the crux of Martin Haberman's recommendations to teachers. He sees a danger for teachers in clinging to the status quo; they may remain permanently in the position of responding to and counteracting external pressures. There is risk in disrupting the status quo; on the other hand, because it requires taking initiatives which may be in conflict with current political arrangements and professional practices. Haberman chided teacher organizations "too busy surviving to deal with survival issues," and said that teachers must prepare themselves to cope with a variety of roles and settings and an uncertain set of future contingencies. As an example, they should recognize that the profession can be practiced in places other than schools. He cited the view that in order for teaching to be a genuine profession, teachers must be prepared to "move easily and horizontally within many human service careers from classrooms, to counseling sites, to storefront social action agencies, to senior citizen homes, to the

current oversupply of teachers could be alleviated" if teachers could "diversify and begin to expand their developing human service opportunities."²

Owen Peagler saw the "general tendency of teachers to look outside their profession for leadership and direction" as hampering imperative initiatives for meeting special student needs. Teachers must have confidence in their capacity to solve their own problems and influence educational policy before they can exercise educational leadership in an effective partnership with the community. He cited potential aberration of the goal of competency testing as an area where classroom teachers are essential to provide "direction and brakes where appropriate."

Duffy and Girard further developed the concept of partnership, offering co-determination as an approach to reversing the trend toward an increasingly adversarial model of educational decision making. Arguing that decisions on such issues as budget priorities, class size, curriculum content, and educational philosophy cannot be determined by the separate interests of employers and employees, they urged consideration of plans being adopted in Europe giving employees a share or voice in management as a fresh approach to educational control. They stressed that co-determination is not "a euphemism for meet-and-confer [but] a specific labor law approach which can functionally alter the structure of school boards."

² Howsam, Robert B., and others. *Educating a Profession*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1976. p. 137.

Their view is that shared management of education is inevitable. The major question now is "whether that strategy will be primarily exercised internally among segments of the educational community or externally exercised with courts and legislatures as principal architects of educational policy, leaving educators as dutiful and divided civil servants."

Wells Foshay also strongly urged teachers to provide leadership in educational discourse. He reminded them that "the temptation to follow the public lead, or the apparent public lead, in this field is very strong indeed. By so doing we achieve peace in the short run. The difficulty with these short-run solutions, of course, lies in their long-run consequences."

Ernest House argued that in order for teachers to make a significant contribution to educational discourse they must first reestablish professional authority. He stressed in his analysis of the effects of the accountability movement that "the attempt to reduce practical knowledge of teaching to technical rules of procedure which are 'verified' by pseudoscientific techniques has resulted in a great lessening of the teacher's professional authority. Everyone now feels justified in telling the teacher how to teach." To counteract this trend, in his opinion, teachers must come together to reflect on the problems they face (including serious discussion of the impact of evaluation on teaching) and arrive at a consensus about what is basic to good education in terms of both curriculum and practice. To many the accountability movement is a product of diminished confi-

dence in the efficiency of public education, which can be explained in large measure by a failure of its constituencies to agree on a defensible and feasible set of expectations for schooling. Wendell Rivers suggested a single governing criterion for defining reasonable and realistic expectations: The definition of needs to be met by schooling should be limited "at the point of your capacity to deliver."

Harry Broudy expressed the same thesis in another way. Fundamental to any successful effort to resolve conflicts in expectations of schooling, he said, is understanding that "there are some outcomes the schools might produce with more money or more time or reduced class size, but probably not the elimination of crime, poverty, and the demoralization of our institutions. . . . We can learn perhaps that the American schools are not bankrupt, that there are some things they can do well . . . a few things they can do superbly, and some they can't do at all."

2. A Summary of Concerns Identified by Conference Participants

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Using the information generated in their preceding seminar sessions, the National Accountability Conference action groups began their work by identifying concerns raised in the seminars or by the participants' own experiences and observations. Then came the process of sifting through the concerns identified to decide on an order of priority, to examine the reasons underlying each concern, and to explore possible resources for effective action. Because many of the issues were noted by more than one group, whether in the same or in different words, this section of the report will discuss them from the standpoint of the conference as a whole.

One theme emerged from the cumulative efforts of the action groups as being of paramount importance to teachers and underlies many of the concerns expressed: teacher control of education. Teacher participation in the decision-making processes that affect the schools, the need to develop teacher positions of decisions now imposed on schools which have direct impact on practice, and approaches to increasing teacher involvement in decision making and control over all aspects of schooling were discussed by most of the groups.

Effective participation in the decision-making process requires, in the view of conference participants, a comprehensive definition of the respective roles and responsibilities of groups in the educational hierarchy—teachers, school administrators, school boards, state boards and departments of education, higher education institutions, the federal government—in order to determine the scope of each group's

authority. It is also necessary to define the appropriate role of schools, to develop balanced curricula, and to make expectations correspond with schooling's valid functions. Teachers must become involved in the entire spectrum of education, from the formulation of public policy through the development and implementation of programs.

Concern was expressed that each group other than teachers involved in decision making exerts considerable power over issues related to teaching without an understanding of the issues. Policies destructive to teaching inevitably result. Management systems are a prime example. Among the concerns raised about management systems were the complete separation of decision making from implementation and the role, if any, teachers should take in decision making and planning—how much control and responsibility teachers should accept. Participants suggested that development of a model for teacher involvement in decision making would be useful.

The tendency of management systems to become ends instead of means and thus self-perpetuating was discussed in terms of the consequent need for constant redefinition of criteria and goals and for monitoring the federal and state bureaucracies. Rules and regulations devised for the expenditure of federal funds often constitute de facto management systems. Participants made the distinction that management systems fail to make—between teaching by objectives and management by objectives.

The issues of control over entrance to the teaching profession, preservice and in-service training, accredi-

tation, and licensure were all of considerable concern. Interest centered on how to upgrade requirements for entering the profession, how to assure proportionate representation of teachers in decision making on professional standards, and the need to work toward public acceptance of autonomous standards and practices boards controlled by teachers.

Teacher involvement in standards for preservice and in-service education was considered essential to ensure that training meets practitioners' needs. Substantial teacher participation in the operation of teacher centers was viewed as one of the ways to make in-service training of greater value.

On the issue of research and development, conferees pressed for teacher involvement in making as well as in implementing decisions to ensure that research will be directed at teachers' real problems and therefore be of real use.

Concern was expressed about the effect of collective bargaining on the teacher's role in decision making and on teachers' ability to adopt either an advocate or an adversary role as appropriate. On the question of the compatibility of collective bargaining with professional development, participants said they should function together rather than at cross-purposes.



Discussions relating to the increasing role of the courts and legislatures in decisions that shape schooling and affect teachers centered on ways for teachers to head off interference and increase their own involvement in the decision-making process.

A number of significant decisions affecting teaching have been imposed either through a process exclusive of teacher control or by external circumstances. While advocating efforts to gain a greater teacher role in such decision making, conference participants saw the immediate need for teachers to develop strong, unified positions on the issues and to press for their acceptance. A specific major concern, for instance, is the increasing use and abuse of standardized testing coupled with a basic lack of public understanding of the limitations of testing. The fact that standardized testing may be tied to teacher evaluation and funding allocations further demonstrates its potential for misuse. Participants agreed that such testing is time-consuming and of little use in the classroom, in part because the results become available too late. They emphasized the need for teachers to share what they know about the legitimate use of testing and to work to develop alternative forms of evaluation.

The issue of teacher evaluation prompted the following questions: Who should do the evaluation using what procedures? How will the evaluation be used? What will be the role of peers in evaluation? Participants strongly supported making quality of service the prime evaluative criterion applied to teachers as well as to school programs.

The impact of shifts in educational funding is being widely felt, and conferees expressed concern about the following trends: the destructiveness of efforts to tie funding to teacher and program evaluation, the erosion of "local" control over education due to the myriad strings attached to the expenditure of state and federal government moneys; the implications for schooling in court decisions in New Jersey and California requiring equalization of funding among localities, and the effect of declining enrollments.

Some critical questions were raised regarding the spreading interest in establishing minimum high school requirements and new exit options. Should there be minimum requirements? How should they be measured and administered? Teachers have a stake in the answers to these questions.

Many of the concerns of participants revolved around ways to gain control of the important factors and decisions affecting their profession. Co-determination and how to achieve it was explored by some, including a discussion of obstacles to and pitfalls of that approach as well as its advantages. Co-determination would involve liaison with other agencies such as state boards and offices of education, school boards and administrations, higher education, and the federal education office. Some participants expressed reservations, based on past disillusionment with "meet-and-confer" joint management ventures.

The "missing management component" of teaching the public what schools are doing, could be doing, and cannot do was addressed in several groups. The

need to establish better communication with the public in order to correct misinformation, to present teacher positions in an effective manner, and to restore diminished public confidence in schools was seen as essential. Of equal importance is the need to improve communication and leadership development within the teaching profession. Teachers need to build their own self-image, share their expertise, inform themselves, and develop unified positions on issues important to the profession.

Conference participants saw, finally, the lack of political action at all levels as an impediment to the

goals of the profession. Teachers fail to deal with the reality of political needs in making responsible educational decisions. They must gain an understanding of the internal processes of agencies they work with or whose work affects them and learn how to use that knowledge. They must become directly involved in all phases of the legislative process—and act instead of react in this as well as many other important areas.

3. Proposed Action

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On the last day of this three-day conference each of the action groups met to distill its concerns and priorities in the area of accountability into a single proposal and plan of action for presentation to NEA Executive Director Terry Herndon. This section of the report presents those proposals and action plans and Mr. Herndon's responses to them.³



Terry Herndon
Executive Director, NEA

Seminar I. Conflicts in Assessment/Evaluation Programs

Resource Leader:

Ernest House, Associate Professor
Center for Instruction and Curriculum Evaluation
University of Illinois

Action/Group Leaders:

Mary Kay Kosa, NEA Director from Michigan
Bernard McKenna, NEA/IPD Staff

This group's proposal, presented by Mary Kay Kosa, has two aspects. The first is educating the public as to "Why we are good teachers, why we like teaching, what it's all about. We have to know who we are, and after we decide that, we have to communicate us to our public." Stressing the importance of the NEA contribution, she made the point that "much of what's happening to teachers in instruction and professional development was begun at the federal level and continues to be pushed down through the states to local associations by the federal agencies."

The group's specific proposal relative to assessment concerns is for the NEA to take an important role in developing criteria and procedures for evaluating student learning—toward replacement of standardized tests with acceptable and desirable alternatives.

³ Some of the action group proposals summarized here include material not presented orally at the meeting but submitted in written form. Mr. Herndon's responses have been excerpted from the transcript of the concluding conference session.



Mary Kay Kosa



Bernard McKenna

The NEA role would include developing guidelines for the establishment of criteria and procedures; assisting with in-service training in cooperation with state associations; setting up teacher panels to establish procedures; identifying acceptable alternative models; and training UniServers in IPD concerns. The NEA should also apply to the assessment issue its "great capacity for using the nationwide media." Its Communications and Publishing units should be as creative and as innovative as possible to produce "impact type programs" with specific goals. State and local associations would need to follow through on those creative media procedures.

The group also felt that legal or political action is extremely important in the area of assessment and requires an authoritative program and regular inter-

action at local, state, and national levels among public school educators.

"We are saying that we are in control of the profession . . . the shapers of our own destiny."

Mr. Herndon's Response: The observation that many of the problems for teachers and for state affiliates initiate with the federal government is an important point. Many state departments of education are nearly federal bureaus, and the notion that the states are administering public education has become a fantasy. We at NEA have been trying to identify the federal sources of money that are stimulating these problems so that we can deal with those sources. We have found that there are not good data available about what is happening with federal dollars and what impact they are having.

Regarding standardized tests, I reiterate the position that standardized tests are being so widely misused that we ought to stop them altogether. They are not useful to teachers as they are presently being utilized, and the harm they are doing vastly exceeds the good they might do. On the other hand, I don't like the way a lot of teachers and affiliates are responding to standardized tests. I think many of us are about two-thirds co-opted as we try to work within the systems that are being promulgated, by the state departments and the federal government. We try to work with them on the margin, we look for ways to make them better. I state without equivocation that trying to evaluate what is happening in schools with standardized tests is foolishness, a waste of money, and will not produce anything constructive.

On using the national media - I don't think anybody at NEA really quarrels with that. But when we start translating these aspirations into dues, people start getting cold feet and back away.

Now, about the political action matter, I think you're right. The roots of the accountability problem are in politics and, therefore, the solution is in politics. Education has become sufficiently expensive that it is no longer as popular as it once was to simply

allocate dollars to education on the assumption that we will be a better society and a better nation for it. In this political environment we find educational administrators at the local and state levels beginning to talk in a language more appropriate to business and commercial enterprises--cost-benefit analysis, cost-effectiveness analysis, input/output ratios. They want to quantify certain dimensions of human behavior and social institutions. The politicians pick up on that because politicians never want to raise taxes. They are conservative when it comes to appropriating dollars, and such language provides them a new way to elude their responsibility to appropriate those dollars.

We need to look at politics as a matter of public education. We need to create a political environment where a politician who wants to spend more money on education can be popular with the voting constituency because the cause is popular with the voting constituency. If we can involve ourselves in our communities and in community education programs so that schooling is once again a popular political issue, all we have to do is find pro-education candidates and expose them to a public that demands support for education from their politicians.

Seminar II. The Teacher: Caught in Conflict

Resource Leader:

Martin Haberman, Dean

Division of Urban Outreach, University of Wisconsin System

Action Group Leaders:

Carl W Harner, President

Florida Teaching Profession-NEA

Andrew Griffin, NEA IPD Staff



Carl W Harner



Andrew Griffin

Carl Harner presented this group's proposal based on the concern that although K-12 teachers comprise 80-85% of the teaching profession across the country and "possess a vast amount of expertise in the practical art of teaching, they are denied or lack the power to set the standards for licensure in the teaching profession." The group proposed (a) that the united profession must gain representation on state standards and licensure boards proportionate to the number of K-12 teachers in a state, and (b) that within states, preservice and in-service education must be designed and based upon needs identified by the K-12 teachers. To accomplish the goal of developing autonomous standards and practices boards they recommended a strategy following this sequence (a) control of in-service education, (b) control of certification, (c) control of licensing, (d) control of preservice education, (e) autonomous standards, licensing, and practices board. Controlling in-service education was chosen as the initial goal because state associations start from a position of power by virtue of the number of teachers involved in in-service education and their intimate knowledge of programs

Implementation of the group's proposal would involve strategy and training sessions for securing state legislation, the targeting of five states that seek to strengthen existing standards and practices laws and zeroing in on these, and over a period of time, possibly within the next fiscal year, targeting ten states that will work to secure legislation within two legislative sessions.

The group's second priority was teacher evaluation and the necessity to eliminate any form of standardized testing as a means of such evaluation, to involve teachers in the development of evaluative criteria and process, and to restrict evaluation to its use solely as a means of improving instruction.

Mr. Herndon's Response: The committee suggests that the autonomous standards and practices boards ought to be among the highest priorities in this organization. I'm not sure I can agree with that. It is my guess that if we would sample the NEA membership today and ask them to rank a number of things—their job security, their economic status, the size of classes, the availability of money, the creation of autonomous licensure boards—we would find that licensure boards, as important as they may be to those who spend time thinking about them, do not have high status. That suggests to me that the basic challenge is leadership and not appropriations. It is not a matter of bringing together teacher representatives to legislate licensure boards as priorities but for those representatives to cause them to be priorities among the people who pay the dues.

In that setting I would make a few additional observations. One, we have taken far too limited a view of these autonomous teacher licensure panels. It is a mistake for us to persist in discussing licensure as a function that can be separated from both preservice and in-service education, and I think it is a mistake for us to separate preservice and in-service education from the educational research programs being carried on by the various institutions. We ought to be striving for teacher panels that have simultaneous jurisdiction over all these functions. It may be that in some states we ought to target the institutions rather than the state. If as an experimental alternative we were to gear in on those institutions, we could put panels of practicing teachers in an authoritative role in the operation of colleges of education. They ought to be looking at the preservice education programs of these institutions and the recommendations for licensing, at follow-up responsibilities for assisting teachers once they are licensed and employed, and then at the research functions so that the limited dollars available for research are spent to find answers to questions teachers are asking.

You also observe that NEA must gain representation on these panels proportionate to teacher population. My preference would be a more direct statement that the teachers should control the panel. I would observe, however, that the execution of that plan places the major burden on the state affiliates, with NEA in a secondary, supporting role. No state can import lobbyists to deal with the state legislature.

Seminar III: Management Systems: A Paradox in Expectation

Resource Leader

Arthur Wells Foshay, Professor Emeritus
Teachers College, Columbia University

Action Group Leaders

Reginald Washington, NEA Director from New York
Richard Mallory, NEA IPD Staff

The concern of this action group, as outlined by Reginald Washington, dealt with making management systems more responsive to the teacher as instructor. To accomplish this, the group recommended defining the role of teachers in the decision-making process for management systems in terms of program responsibility at the classroom level, support

services needed, and instructional objectives to be formulated and carried out

Acknowledging that management systems may be necessary in terms of administrative, managerial, and accounting responsibilities and processes to support classroom instruction, the participants in the group maintained that teachers must be knowledgeable and aware enough to deal with management systems that infringe on their responsibilities and the classroom environment. An acceptable management system must include the teacher as the significant decision maker. In addition, teachers must be included in monitoring state and federal programs to ensure that the maximum dollar benefits reach the classroom and the children. A third objective is that the prime evaluative criteria for school programs must be the



Reginald Washington



Richard Mallory

quality of total services provided to students, not the evaluation of individual performance in selected or generalized areas.

The group recommended that the NEA take a positive and active position on the formulation and implementation of management systems rather than the costly negative approach. Specifically, the Association should identify effective educational management systems—systems that allow teacher involvement and professional responsibility in relation to instruction and evaluation—and develop for its affiliates criteria by which to evaluate existing management systems.

Also, NEA IPD leadership training programs should be developed and integrated with state and local activities to help leaders and teachers deal with management systems that do not provide for teacher involvement.

Mr. Herndon's Response I am in general agreement with the report of this panel. If anything, my feelings are a great deal stronger. I don't think many management systems that have their genesis in production enterprises have any relevance to the operation of essentially social institutions like schools. Given the strength of my feelings, I would have some reservation about the committee's criticism of our essentially negative posture. I'm not self-conscious about saying I'm against it. Once you decide to positively participate in trying to remold and extrapolate from the private production experience that which is relevant to the school you are already halfway co-opted since you are using the very

assumptions that you reject. There may be some systems we don't want to be so negative about, but don't apologize for a defensive posture if you're defending against evil.

One other trap I think we have to avoid falling into is a tendency for state and national organizations of teachers to begin operating like state departments of education, curriculum coordinators of large school districts, research institutions, and all the other people who are striving to find the one best answer that can be imposed on every classroom, every school building, every local school district. Once we decide we are going to find a better answer than the other people, we are in the mode of finding the one best answer that is going to be imposed. Whether that answer comes from the U.S. Office of Education or from a committee of the National Education Association, we are denying alternatives to the individual teacher. I think our position ought to be the transference of power from people removed from the instructional process to those involved in the instructional process. The development of criteria and guidelines provided these are very general, provided they take the form of advice to state leaders and local leaders, and provided high on that list is a system that gives individual teachers room to move, to think, to decide, and to effectively carry out their decisions—is a good idea. But if you are talking about just another set that gets imposed on a teacher to make that teacher's life more inflexible, more rigid, then I'm against it, even if it comes from NEA.

**Seminar IV. Conflicts That Arise from Serving
Different Student Needs**

Resource Leaders

Owen Peagler

Dean of Continuing Education

Pace University, New York

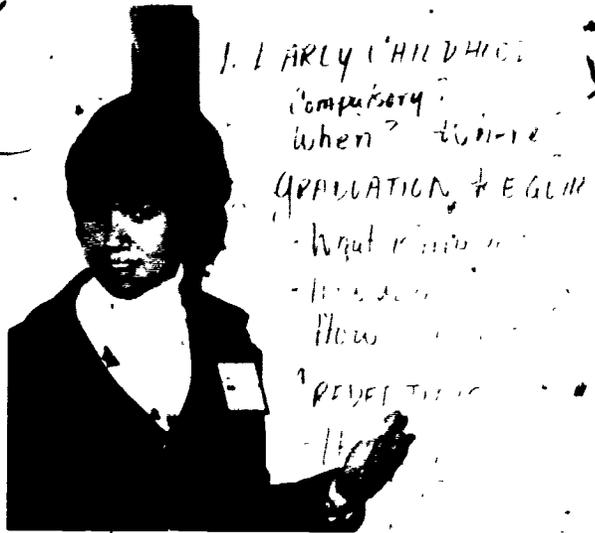
Mary Lou Armiger, Associate Director of Instruction
New Jersey Education Association

Action Group Leaders

Ed Foglia, NEA Director from California

Carmel Sandoval, NEA IPD Staff

The deliberations of this group, presented by Ed Foglia, centered on the objective of "enhancing the teacher's image with himself and with the public, providing a voice for the teacher in the decision-making process, and building community support for the instructional program." The group determined that the best way to accomplish this goal is to make IPD a top-level priority in state, local, and national organizations, equal with other top-level priorities in the NEA budget. This increased emphasis should take the form of a campaign to create awareness about the role of the school, to retrain NEA staff organizers to in turn train members in the process of generating consensus on educational issues locally and how to make that consensus work within the community and the educational system. Other useful functions the NEA could perform would be creation of a national data retrieval system so teachers will have an open



Mary Lou Armiger



Ed Foglia



Carmel Sandoval

forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences in facilities and instruction. On meeting different student needs, the group concluded that there are students who have needs no program can remedy. The united profession should, therefore, lead the way in reassessing existing programs and in initiating more suitable replacements for those that do not meet student needs.

Mr. Herndon's Response I quarrel with the implication that collective bargaining and instructional concerns are mutually exclusive. But I agree absolutely with our responsibility to improve instruction for children.

The thing that makes our organization different from others that talk about improving instruction is that we believe the key to doing that is the teacher. Teachers are not the problem, teachers are the solution. In that framework I have a simple prescription that ought to guide the overall activity of our organization. It is geared to improving the instruction of students and is not limited to that staff division at NEA and those committees that wear the label "IPD."

Step one is getting decision-making authority for practicing teachers. That's essentially a legislative or collective bargaining function. If we start looking at the need to tear down either of those capacities for the sake of instructional improvement, I think we have defied one of the premises on which instructional improvement must be based.

Secondly, we have to be sure there are adequate financial sources to enable teachers to carry out the decisions they have made, to perform as well as they

would like and do what they believe needs to be done. Getting that money, again, is essentially a legislative and or political operation. If we start looking at our legislative and political programs as a source of money for some vague definition of IPD, we are again defying one of the premises that is essential to the improvement of instruction.

The last step is the one we typically are referring to when we talk about the IPD function in our organization providing teachers with the information and the skill they need to make quality decisions (assuming they have the decision-making power and the fiscal ability to implement their decisions). This is our primary deficiency at the present time, but there is little point in our shifting dollars to giving information and increased levels of skill and expertise if nothing happens with the decisions in the first place. So we cannot run at that last objective by impairing our ability in the other areas.

To accomplish this last objective we must make some discriminating judgments about how we can categorize our members in terms of pedagogical needs and interests and then produce the material to support them in their roles as teachers. As much as I would like to say we'll start doing that next week, it is a major new undertaking. We have never endeavored to do it. We are not going to do it by reshuffling a few nickels and dimes out of what we are doing now. We are going to have to make a commitment as a group of leaders and this leadership group might be a good place to start to raise a significant new quantity of dollars for that undertaking.



Patricia Isom and Donald Carothers

Seminar V. Research and Development: A Resource in the Resolution of Conflict

Resource Leaders

Beatrice A. Ward, Deputy Director

William Tikunoff, Director, Application of Research to Teaching

Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development

Action Group Leaders

Patricia Isom, Co-Chairperson

NEA Minority Affairs Committee

Don Carothers, NEA IPD Staff

The primary problem identified by this group, Patricia Isom reported, is that educational research is ending with the teacher rather than beginning with the teacher as it should. A major objective, then, is to increase teacher involvement in all phases of research and development.

The group talked in terms of an interactive model, with stress on individual classroom teachers as part of the research team (as opposed to resource teachers or curriculum planners). Specific action would include local associations working with their school districts to apply for teacher center funding. The teacher center design would have a research element and mandated criteria for teacher involvement. Locals should also negotiate language into their contracts specifying direct involvement of classroom teachers in all educational research which would affect the teachers.

In addition, the group proposed greater use of NEA's Instructional Needs Assessment program, local and state association assistance to teachers in finding other sources of research (or problem-solving help), teacher training for involvement in an interactive model research program, and a greater cooperative relationship with local universities in the development of graduate studies and dissertations.

The NEA could be a resource for monitoring and disseminating examples of successful interactive research models and providing results of research to teachers in readily understandable terms and a readily available format (e.g., the NIE IPD project to establish an information retrieval system for in-service resources). Further, the group would like to see the NEA adopt a resolution on the role of teachers in research and development and work to see that classroom teacher involvement is mandated in all federally funded research projects and programs.

Mr. Herndon's Response I think the directions are all solid, even though some of them are very complex in the doing.

All the ideas could be expanded. We have never taken a very systematic approach to this whole thing we call teaching. If we had, we might have better

answers to some of the problems. There has never been the development of technical materials in the teaching learning business that we call education, and that might be a productive area for some of those NIE dollars, particularly in terms of identification of the forms of learning disability.

Regarding mandated teacher involvement, I have thought many times that if we could get into rules and regulations that any local school district applying for federal dollars would need to get the local teacher bargaining agent to sign off on that application, we would have solved the problem.

At the present time teachers have a lot of questions about how people learn and how teachers intervene in the learning process to do that which we call teaching. There are many questions. Very few research dollars are being spent to answer those questions. On the other side of it, the institutional people—professors, professional researchers, state superintendents of public instruction, local administrators, etc.—have many questions about how to administer educational institutions, and the research dollars are being spent to find answers to these questions. We need a better integration of the use of research dollars with teachers' problems.

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Seminar VI. The Struggle for Control: Agencies in Conflict

Resource Leaders

Patrick Duffy, Lecturer in Education Law
School of Education, University of California,
Berkeley

David W. Girard, Assistant Professor of Education
University of California, Santa Barbara

Action Group Leaders

Min Koblitz, NEA Director from New York
Roger Gray, Executive Director
Colorado Springs Teachers Association

The conclusions of this group were presented by
Min Koblitz. They focused on the inordinate con-

centration of educational policy and decision making
in the courts and the legislative process and advanced
co-determination as a long-range educational goal
worthy of study, scrutiny, planning, and continual
evaluation

The group saw the NEA role as follows: to support
the goal of autonomous state professional standards
and practices boards, to offer workshops for teachers
to further their legal knowledge and thus minimize
legal encounters, to improve internal communications
through (a) retrieval systems for classroom instructional
resources and (b) legal education retrieval
systems to make local, state, and national staffs and
teachers less dependent on lawyers; to offer staff
development and information packets for members
on instructional and professional purposes toward



Min Koblitz



Roger Gray

development and control of standards and professional practices, to provide an IPD Help-Mobile which would travel throughout the states offering classroom teachers information on the latest instructional and professional materials and on NEA progress in governance matters.

The group also called for increasing, through internal communications, teachers' awareness of the agencies that affect educational activities to help "transfer the power to the people in the classroom" and as a result not only improve teacher morale but limit agency control over teachers.

Mr. Herndon's Response: The courts and the legislatures do control public education. Perhaps the united teaching profession should. You have framed a fundamental question about the legal environment in which we work. I think you have posed a question that will never be answered, it only sets a direction. That the courts and legislatures control public education is a fact and it is well-embedded in the constitutional fabric of our society. That's not going to be soon, or perhaps ever, changed.

We are here because we want to reshape things, we want to cause these institutions to do things differently than they might if we didn't exist, and so there we have our reality. The constitutional authority is vested and we exist so that we can mold the way that constitutional authority is used. Achieving control is an operational premise that we work from.

We need better internal communications—I agree with that—but I've thought that in the area of Instruction and Professional Development, we (and I

use "we" in an expanded sense to include such groups as the Standing Committee on Instruction and Professional Development) have never been very effective in discriminating between teachers' concerns and the leaders' concerns. In our organization, at the national level as well as the state, we have always had to deal with finite resources and infinite problems, and that causes us invariably to gravitate toward dealing only with those questions of broad educational policy that impact everybody. The members of our instructional commissions and the members of our boards of directors may find that satisfying, but I submit to you that it will do nothing to alleviate the demand from our members that we do more in instruction, because that's just not what they're talking about. I guess I don't disagree with your contention that we need better systems to communicate with our members on their instructional concerns, but I do disagree with the linkage you made—that if we do more in our publications on the issues we're presently talking about, we will have alleviated that concern. If we talk to the teachers about the issues we talk about in these conferences, we are not going to be responding to their assertion, "We want more help in instruction."

4. Remarks

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The conference reported here was an attempt to look at the origins and complexities of the accountability movement and to build toward a comprehensive Association program to counter its destructive elements. The essential premise of the conference was that a variety of conflicts about purposes, programs, instructional strategies, and other matters related to teaching and learning exist and have proved harmful to the schools. As this report reflects, many substantive, organizational, and procedural conflicts were identified and rigorously examined.

- There is conflict about the nature and usefulness of conflict itself. There is much of it surrounding the schools. Some people see its very enormity as debilitating, while others look on it as an unexplored opportunity for improvement.
- There is conflict about the purposes of schools. Some think schools serve youth best by merely passing on the proved wisdom of mankind, while others believe the schools fail unless they also act as agents of change.
- There is conflict about what teaching is. Some see it as subject to training procedures, rules, and regulations, similar to those that surround other kinds of "occupations." Others look on teaching as a profession, albeit one that still suffers from a lack of the trappings that go with at least the senior professions.⁴
- There is conflict about the ways in which school problems are solved. Those who view teaching as an "occupation" see the most effective resolution of problems coming from external sources

(courts, legislatures, school boards, arbitrators), while those who view teaching as a senior profession believe that such external sources are hampering the delivery of quality service and that educators should create mechanisms to solve problems within the profession.

- There continues to be conflict about the definition of "equality." Does equality mean giving the same amount of resources to each child or giving each child the opportunity to achieve quality no matter how unequal the distribution of resources?
- There is conflict about how schooling should be conducted. Many educators, including some teachers, see greater systemization through MBO, PPBES, and the like as improving the quality of instruction. Others view such procedures as mechanistic and harmful to teaching and learning.
- There is conflict about how teaching and learning should be assessed. Some people believe the current practice of measuring by standardized

⁴Following the conference, one participant registered in writing to her local, state, and national associations strong objection to some conference leaders' references to teaching as a craft. "At the recent National Conference on Accountability I was disturbed by the numerous reference made to the teaching profession as the 'teaching craft.' I feel this is demeaning to those of us who take a serious view of teaching. We do not view ourselves or our fellow teachers as tradesmen. For many years we have worked to bring the image of the professional teacher before the public." She suggested that leaders "refrain from using this term before it becomes widespread and does irreparable damage" to that image. The statement was supported unanimously by her local executive board.

tests can result in higher standards; at least as they might relate to a set of basic goals. The opposing view is that such evaluation procedures narrow and ultimately defeating of the major purposes of education.

It is more than likely that individual conferees' positions have remained unchanged after these deliberations, but an announced intention of the conference was to help them understand contrasting viewpoints so that they can engage in argument armed with better information. It would be difficult to say that there were significant numbers of participants on either side of the conflicts. Those familiar with NEA practices and policies on the concerns discussed know that the Association has taken a strong stand on most of them. And though the participants in the National

Accountability Conference were and are for the most part NEA leaders and the shapers of those practices and policies, there are significant shades of difference in thinking among the leaders. A forum such as this is valuable so that differences can be better understood and acted on.

The teacher concerns expressed at the National Accountability Conference reflect both a sense of frustration and a sense of purpose. The accountability movement has underscored for teachers the limits to their control over their own profession. It has also stimulated them to search for new ways to gain or regain control and has unified the profession in its determination to define its own role and play it to the fullest.

The Nature of Conflict*

ROBERT COLES

*Research Psychiatrist to the University Health Services
Harvard University*

One example of how children relate to their families and to political authority, or how they perceive our political, economic, and social system, is used to illuminate some of the problems teachers and others face in coming to terms with the complexities of American society.

In 1965 the 10-year-old son of a wealthy Florida grower and employer of migrant workers had, unbeknownst to his parents, become friendly with the migrant children. These friendships became known to the boy's family through the school the boy attended. During a class exercise he expressed concern about the poor treatment given to migrant workers by the growers in the area. This surprised the teacher, who tried to dissuade the boy from his unorthodox views. When she was unsuccessful, she reported the matter to the principal, who contacted the boy's parents. (In counties like this one in Florida a few people have a great deal of power, and there are those of us in the professions who, talking about accountability, have to learn who one is accountable to politically, economically, and socially.)

The boy's father raised the issue with him and the

boy reiterated his concern about the extremely poor living conditions of the migrant workers on his father's land and the land of other growers. His father replied that the migrants were free to leave and make whatever they wanted to of their lives. The boy tried these arguments out on the migrant children, and they were understandably skeptical. He continued to visit them. Later, in another class exercise, he made an even stronger and more vivid statement of his concern about migrant labor conditions, saying that the growers of Florida had "blood on their hands." Again the school intervened. The principal urged the parents to have the boy see the school psychologist, who in turn referred them to their son's pediatrician. The boy was asked not to visit the migrant children any more. But he did resume the proscribed visits, so he was taken to a psychiatrist whom he saw until the problem had been "resolved." The boy learned to "cope" - to cope with his conscience and to cope with the institutions of society.

As a follow-up, it is noted that the boy was a college student during the 1976 presidential election and worked for a Republican candidate who, as a movie actor, had played a role in a film about the plight of migrant farm workers, but had second thoughts about it later.

This example is used to confront us with some important issues. It is suggested that we should rid ourselves of our obsession with resolving conflict and easing anguish through a variety of panaceas and begin to realize how important it is to sacrifice, to struggle, to be in conflict in the middle of a society.

* Address delivered at the opening general session of the National Accountability Conference.

that itself is in conflict, to know pain and even know it for others and be moved to struggle on behalf of others

Children learn in many schools to stop asking why things are as they are rather than as they should be, to repress their instinctive sense of social justice. But schools should encourage moral conflict, not suppress it. They should be places where thoughtful individual views can be expressed, developed, and shared. The teaching of all subjects can be enhanced by relating them to the real ethical and moral dilemmas facing all of us as citizens. Schools should be shaped more closely to the lives of those who are being educated so that children from every background are asked in schools the questions they themselves want answered. Serious social, political, economic, and racial issues in this country ought to be taught. The interest of children in knowing the answers to important ethical questions should not be underestimated.

The Futures of Children: Educational Goals in Conflict*

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The roots of compulsory education are traced to the Protestant Reformation, and John Calvin is cited as the most direct influence historically on the establishment of compulsory schooling in this country. The Calvinists' primary purpose in instituting compulsory education was to instill obedience to government and to lessen dissent. It is not surprising, therefore, that as late as the end of the nineteenth century public schools were widely known (and criticized for) emphasizing conformity by both students and staff. They were run according to restrictive rules, with extremely standardized curricula and teaching methods which ignored both the individual and the cultural differences among students.

The Progressive movement at the beginning of the twentieth century resulted in significant changes in the goals for public education. Centralization of urban school systems was one response to the influx of immigrants into the cities as the schools were given a major role in assimilating the newcomers into American culture and society. The Progressive Era produced a specific set of educational goals which

*Address delivered at the second general session

continue to influence the design of curriculum, the training of teachers, and many other determinants of schooling today. According to these goals, the schools aspire to enable our students (a) to adjust themselves to their environment, (b) to meet the immediate needs of earning a living, maintaining good health, and achieving contentment in life; and (c) to bring about the objectives of the society in which they live. While few would quarrel with these as worthy goals for education, careful examination raises serious questions as to whether their implementation is practicable given the political, social, and economic realities of today.

Psychologists have stated that intelligence is the ability to adjust, or adapt to one's environment. The doctrine of adjustment is the major theme in American educational theory, based in part upon a common misinterpretation of John Dewey. Dewey proposed that the goal of education should be to adjust young people to their environment, but many of his adherents ignored his corollary that the environment should first be improved.

A major source of conflict in the doctrine of adjustment is the fact that the student can be educated only in the context of the environment which exists while he/she is in school. That environment may be considerably different by the time the student must adjust out of school. Alvin Toffler, in *Future Shock*, suggests that instead of adjustment the goal of education should be to "increase the individual's 'cope-ability'—the speed and economy with which he can adapt to continual change." We must improve our

own ability to predict the cognitive and affective skills that future adults will need in a changing environment and begin training children in those skills.

The feasibility of using the educational system as a tool for improving society lies in whether the system is suitable in structure, function, and philosophy. The lack of individualization, rigid classroom structure, grading regimentation, and the authoritarian roles assigned to teachers and administrators which continue to characterize schooling are unlikely to produce agents of change. The most schools can hope to achieve as they are presently constituted is to adapt the present generation to changes which have already occurred.

The goals of education must be refined, and expanded to truly reflect the futures of children. To achieve this teachers must form alliances with parents, businessmen, scientists, trade unions, and others to define the future of society and develop educational goals which are no longer in conflict with the reality of the future our children must be prepared to face.

The Conflict in Programs*

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Although realistically there is no direct correspondence between school programs and life outcomes, once the schools tacitly accept the correlation, they are trapped into producing the outcomes desired regardless of whether they are feasible or within the schools' power to produce.

Three factors affect the schools' capacity to produce the life outcomes expected by different publics: (a) the success routes of a culture, (b) the differences among the various uses of schooling, and (c) the differences in types of teaching.

Varying success routes in our culture have produced a dichotomy in school programs: general studies for background and the development of mind and character, and specialized professional study, mainly for the elite, and vocational preparation for the disadvantaged. Career education, basic skills, and moral education are three recent approaches to improving the lot of the disadvantaged, but each promises more than it can deliver. Career education trains young people to hold new jobs, but it cannot create jobs for them to find. The back-to-basics

movement ignores factors which bear on performance in basic skills. Moral education is flawed by the fact that the public is deeply divided as to what morals should be inculcated and how, and even more important, by the fact that while school programs can reinforce community morality, they cannot replace it. No school program can take the place of societal pressures, and equalization cannot occur in education programs designed to be appropriate for all children. Further, it is difficult either to measure the impact of school programs on life outcomes since that impact may be oblique or long delayed, or to predict the impact of a given program on an individual child.

The use factor produces conflict in that school "input" is seldom acknowledged or recalled unless the skills are in constant use. Experience is given credit for providing more useful resources than schooling. The value of schooling is recognized in an area of specialization, but outside that area much of schooling's value lies in association and interpretation, which are difficult to measure. The public knows little about how school programs translate into use in life, it is more prone to notice the areas in which schools have not prepared or cannot prepare their clients for life.

The three dominant styles of teaching required by school programs are didactics (systematic instruction emphasizing mechanical and objective techniques), heuristics (instruction emphasizing learning by discovery, with moral reasoning and critical thinking as its objectives), and philetics (emphasizing for teaching purposes a satisfying relationship between

*Address delivered at the fourth general session

teacher and students) Few teachers can excel at more than one of these styles. Yet many school programs that require a specific style of teaching (for instance, the basics require skill in didactics, mainstreaming requires philetics, moral education requires heuristics) presuppose that the teacher is a master of the other styles as well.

Conflict can have constructive outcomes if it leads to a realistic assessment of what schools can accomplish. Cultural pluralism can be achieved if there is a unifying theme to relate the variations to each other and to society as a whole. Superior general education can be achieved if attention and resources are not diverted to transient innovations or non-instructional purposes. Occupational training with value and diversity can be provided, if it is not substituted for a general education. The end result will be enlightenment without which a free democratic society cannot survive.

Conflict in Evaluation*

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The contemporary accountability movement has been much influenced by the posture of the federal government—particularly the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—on the evaluation of federally funded programs for education.

With the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Congress for the first time required that educational programs under federal aegis be responsible to the recipients, in this case, parents of disadvantaged children. The key to the scheme's success was to be the publicizing of educational achievement.

At the same time *program planning-budgeting-evaluation systems* (PPBES) were introduced into federal agencies by President Lyndon Johnson. Evaluation plans under these systems were quite different from those proposed in the education act. While the latter were seen as a political tool for poor parents, the PPBES approach was economic, the assumption being that one could define a "production function," that is, precisely define the relative effectiveness of a set of "inputs" in reaching specific "outputs" (objectives). Professional school personnel

*Resource Paper prepared for Seminar I, "Conflicts in Assessment Evaluation Programs."

objected to this form of evaluation on the basis that it would lead to federal prescription of curriculum and waste of resources. But it moved forward, and Title I became the first large-scale social program to be subjected to formal evaluation requirements.

To implement the plan a new office - Assistant Secretary for Program Evaluation - was created in HEW and staffed by a PPBES expert from the Defense Department and other proponents of such systems. Faced with the reports of the Coleman study, which questioned the effectiveness of school, the Evaluation office mounted the TEMPO study, conducted by a division of General Electric, to establish the relationship between "inputs" and "outputs." The IFMPO study was followed by several others, including "a planned variation study" of the effects of Head Start (one in 1968 and another in 1969) and the massive Belmont Project. The 1968 study indicated that the programs evaluated had not much benefited their target audiences (disadvantaged students), the results of the 1969 study have never been made public, and the Belmont Project collapsed without ever producing useful data. A single case study by the American Institute of Research showed that Title I had been successful, but the defenders of the input-output policy argued that the social services were not properly organized to answer their questions of effectiveness and efficiency. They evidently did not raise the question of whether their evaluation model adopted from business and industry was appropriate for evaluating the success of social enterprises such as schools. They seemed not to have understood that it is

difficult if not impossible to apply "stable production functions" to human beings as compared to automobiles or fighter planes.

Its chief proponent found the input-output model rational and transferable and, quoting the Defense Department PPBES expert, explained that the local school systems lacked incentive, resources, know-how, and motivation to overcome complacency, were without nerve to take risks, and were burdened with complacent staffs and conflicting demands.

State accountability systems have been based essentially on the same concepts of efficiency and productivity. Michigan's is a prime example. Common objectives were designed and tests were developed to measure the objectives. Four hundred possible mathematics objectives were identified initially, but it was necessary to reduce these to 35 in order to keep the testing within manageable limits. And even though state department of education officials argued that there was consensus on the objectives, much of the reduction was based on arbitrary decisions. The idea that it is easy to gain broad consensus on a limited number of objectives when so many possibilities exist is unfeasible. The problems with the tests were even more serious. Many school practitioners agree the tests are not good indicators of school learning, and there is much evidence on their side.

The input-output model and the behavioral objectives approach were influenced by and are not unlike the scientific management movement that flourished in America early in this century. Its proponents argued that the one best method for doing

56 a particular job could be determined scientifically. Time-motion studies and functional foremanship (teaching workers their duties so that each would perform as few functions as possible in order to effect extreme specialization) were some of the major characteristics of this movement.

Another development closely related to the input-output model is standardized testing, which about 1910 became popular as a measure of efficiency. By 1918 educational measurement was a burgeoning business. The American Educational Research Association, closely associated with testing, was established in 1915. And public critics of the schools, anxious to save money, became strong supporters of the scientific management movement, which is said to have almost permanently transformed educational administration. Administrators became business managers, and large group instruction, the platoon system, and other classroom efficiency measures were adopted. Only educators such as John Dewey, Bagley, and the strong teacher organizations criticized the model.

Systems analysis and behavioral objectives promised to substitute specific techniques derived from science and professional expertise in teaching. This

was a false promise, simple techniques cannot substitute for full-fledged professional knowledge acquired over many years.

The challenge is to arrive at evaluation approaches which are complementary to professional expertise and which sharpen classroom practice rather than threaten to replace it. There are several that could be elaborated on, but specifying conditions under which evaluation might improve education seems more appropriate. There must be open discourse among practitioners on the actual problems they confront. The results of practice-oriented research and evaluation should become, not technical rules to be imposed by higher authority, but material for discussion and possible internalization and implementation. The attempt to reduce practical knowledge of teaching to rules of procedure verifiable by pseudo-scientific techniques has resulted in a lessening of teachers' professional authority. To reestablish this authority groups of teachers must collectively and rationally discuss their problems and arrive at consensus. This means exposing real classroom problems to colleagues—a procedure infrequently made possible for teachers to carry out—and entails self-understanding. Proper evaluation would encourage this process.

Teachers Caught in Conflict*

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There seem to be six social changes which will directly affect the teaching profession in the future. trends we may wish to support or to prevent

- 1 Elementary and secondary schooling will be a lower priority for the American people than inflation, jobs, energy, health, crime, housing, environment, transportation, and opportunities for the elderly
- 2 People will lower their expectations about the economic and social values of investing in public education. Schooling will no longer be viewed as the solution to most societal problems.
- 3 School goals will be narrowed to emphasize basic education and career education
- 4 Disparities between schools serving the poor and schools serving others will increase. Students in higher socioeconomic strata will not only learn more but stay longer in better schools
- 5 Anti-youth feelings will grow. Controlling rather than expanding youth opportunities will be paramount
- 6 Adult and continuing education opportunities will expand at the expense of public elementary and secondary education

* Resource paper prepared for Seminar II "The Teacher Caught in Conflict"

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In viewing changes in schooling some attention should be paid to five main processes by which educational programs are modified. *New efforts* is the most common approach. Reading improvement is the best example of simply accepting an existing goal and trying to be more effective at achieving it. Starting *new agencies* is a second procedure. Head Start being a notable example. *New orientations*, such as providing expanded opportunities for women, is a third example of a change process which demonstrates how value shifts can affect organizations. *New technology* is a change process constantly mentioned but less frequently implemented. Finally, *unplanned-for events* are the greatest sources of significant change. The energy crisis, for instance, will have a greater impact on schooling than any consciously-planned-for change.

On the basis of the foregoing trends and change processes, several predictions can be made for teacher education, accreditation, licensure, and accountability.

Teacher education on the preservice level will continue to be controlled by universities working through state departments. Master's degree students will decline in traditional programs. The organized profession will play a more decisive role in in-service education, with greater involvement of classroom teachers who will actually control programs. There will be more negotiated contracts between school boards and teacher groups which legitimize teachers' authority over in-service work. More states will enact specific legislation recognizing teachers' rights in in-

service education. Teacher organizations, in the process of wresting control of in-service education away from universities, will also deprofessionalize and transform the content into training that is related to immediate problems in situation-specific programs. In-service education will become similar to industrial training in a particular plant.

Accreditation of teacher education will be a less vital issue for higher education than in the past because additional funds will not be forthcoming to schools of education that might claim they need more university resources to meet some organizational standard. There will be only a minor decrease in the number of institutions that prepare teachers, most of these will be small liberal arts colleges. Classroom teachers' involvement in accreditation will increase but will not result in control of the process.

Classroom teachers will become increasingly concerned with licensure issues. The need to keep down the numbers of new teachers, to have a voice in setting licensing requirements, and to respond to questions of accountability are all part of this concern. Public disenchantment with collective teacher action (which frequently takes the form of strikes) will work against teachers' gaining control of the licensing bureaucracy in most states. The public is unlikely to trust teachers to police themselves. Standardized tests for licensing will become widespread and even gain some support among teachers who see it as a way of keeping down the number of new teachers. Ultimately, the same groups (i.e., universities, state departments, legislatures) that now control teacher licensure will prevail.

The accountability movement will gain momentum. Teachers and other school personnel will take standardized tests, and students will take more of them more frequently. There will be direct connections made between students' scores and assessment of teachers' effectiveness. After our long history of using test scores as a basis for getting bond issues passed and for convincing the public that special or additional programs are worth extra funding, it will be impossible to "unconvince" the public that standardized tests are suddenly invalid. Similarly, after decades in which teachers have administered standardized instruments to students, any effort to stop using similar tests on teachers will smack of hypocrisy.

Schools have moved from institutions of primary to secondary import. People of all ages now recognize that they learn more from media and their work and life experiences than in formal education. This recognition will result in less financial support, more concern with accountability (testing), and a marked narrowing of school purposes.

The responses of the organized profession to these trends will undoubtedly be interesting. To the extent that these responses are perceived as being in the public interest and for the benefit of students, they will also strengthen the profession.

Management Systems—The Fix We're In*

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The emergence of management systems reflects some misconceptions concerning the nature of education, and certain failings on the part of educators. In one sense, management systems are a maladaptive response to these failings.

The principal difficulty with management systems is that they remove decision making from the point of action. Such removal has the effect of making the decisions less responsive to local conditions than they otherwise would be. They demoralize the local administrator and teachers, turning them into bureaucratic functionaries. The decisions become more and more coarse-grained as they move away from the site of their application, and in the case of education, they ultimately have a destructive effect on quality. The faults for such systems being in place in a number of states lie in part with school people. We should recognize and remedy the faults. Chief among them is *vagueness of purpose*. For two generations or more school people have stated their goals as mere window dressing, intended to keep the public at bay. Powerful members of the public, seeing through this stratagem, are stating our purposes for us. Being

amateurs at education, they state these purposes in the narrowest, most rudimentary terms.

Moreover, we have implied that the principal purpose of education is to get people jobs. As long as jobs were plentiful, we got by with this ploy. We didn't seem to realize that it is the economy that produces jobs, not the schools. Now that the economy has faltered, we're being held to our promise, and goals set by the public are thus simplistic and in some ways dehumanizing. The methods that have worked with other large-scale enterprises (i.e., management systems) are being applied crudely to education.

Such a move has benefits as well as limitations. For the first time, we in education are being forced to speak plainly about our purposes. At a time when the cost of education has escalated and teachers are being paid decently, we have to be accountable, in plain language, for what we do.

Sometimes we in education talk like time-serving rip-off artists. Sometimes we talk like devious politicians. Sometimes we talk like spiritual leaders. We are at our best in the latter mode. At our best, we take education idealistically and seriously. Education we know (and we ought to say so insistently) seeks ultimately to better the human condition, which has several kinds of development that we seek to foster: intellectual, social, emotional, physical, aesthetic, and spiritual. We take the purposes of school broadly, not narrowly. In addition to teaching the three R's, we seek to teach intellectual functioning, good character, and citizenship and to provide the grounds for a valid private life. That's what we mean when we say,

* Resource paper prepared for Seminar III "Management Systems: A Paradox in Expectation"

60 vaguely, to the public. "Yes, but there's more to it than the three R's."

We're in a fix because we have abandoned educational leadership to others. Always there have been school systems and educational leaders who have managed to speak to the public of the ideals of a good education. Always they have found that the public can be led to want such ideals for their schools. But there have never been many such schools. If we hope the general public will raise its sights concerning what the schools might do and be, we have to express the ideals we feel with force, specificity, and clarity. We can do this in much larger measure than one might think. Tools exist for the measurement of many of the "intangibles" of subtle thinking and of social and personal attitudes. Our task is to awaken the majority of the public to a view of life, and therefore of education, that transcends mere survival.

The temptation to follow the public rather than to lead it is strong. The convenient approach to determining acceptable goals for education is to conduct an opinion survey on the goals, arrange them in order of popularity, and act accordingly. That may be good retailing or good politics, but it is not educational leadership.

We should be offering leadership, in educational discourse. To do this, we need to learn to talk plainly and candidly to one another, to avoid jargon, and to talk about what is important, not merely about what is popular.

The last forceful statements of the goals of education were those of the Educational Policies Commission in the 1940's—*Education for All American Youth* and *Education for All American Children*. These statements have their faults, but they also have a strength that is notably missing from subsequent, rather poor or obscure pronouncements. We professionals seem to have lost confidence in such statements, and the public has taken the problem away from us in the form of management systems.

To illustrate the kind of statement (not necessarily the specific content) we should be making, first let us answer the broad question, "What is education for?" *Education intends to provide people with legitimate grounds for self-respect.* What is mastered in education should be socially legitimate and also privately or personally valid, and the clients of education should come to understand themselves as fully human beings and be able to conduct realistic self-assessment. "Fully human" refers to aspects of the

human condition in addition to the intellectual, social, emotional, physical, aesthetic, and moral or spiritual. Leave any of these out of educational planning, and the effect on students is to reduce their humanity. The main criticism of management systems is that they fail to deal normatively with any of the aspects of the human condition beyond the intellectual and are therefore, in principle, dehumanizing.

Next, let us consider what is basic about the curriculum. There are four "basics": intellectual functioning, or coping skills; citizenship, or the feeling of affiliation and power in society; character, or the ability to tell right from wrong; and development of

inner resources, or a valid private life. Again, the management systems currently proposed leave out the last three and are potentially subversive.

What are we to say and do about the development of management systems? We should respond positively, accepting the challenge they offer to make the goals of education — what people ought to expect of it — clear to the public. We need to educate the public, and ourselves, concerning what education ought to be about, and what it could be about. Management systems offer an opportunity to reduce the mystery of what we do. We should grasp it.

Conflicts Which Arise When Teaching Students With Special Needs*

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Declining enrollments generate opportunities to reassess school district responses to student entry levels. A district can vacate, sell, or reorder the use of a facility, but it should not waste the professional talent of experienced staff during a period of necessary financial cuts in response to declining enrollments. The aggregate capabilities of many of these teachers are needed to serve populations defined as educationally disadvantaged or with special needs. Among these special needs are smaller classes, individualized programs, and specifically prescribed programs.

There are six ways in which conflicts have the potential of providing new approaches to solving some contemporary educational problems:

1. Priority on basic skills in the face of funding cuts
2. Minimum requirements for a high school diploma
3. Use of alternative funding systems (voucher system)
4. Competency measures
5. Teacher experience related to student population

*Resource paper prepared for Seminar IV "Conflicts That Arise from Serving Different Student Needs."

6. Increased scope of classroom and school responsibilities

1. Parents have placed a high priority on basic education and on skill-oriented curriculum. Inflation, decreased enrollment, and citizen resistance to higher taxes, likely to continue in the foreseeable future, exert pressure on the schools to eliminate "frills." The movement for basic education will prevail as long as inadequate budgets require a forced choice. This also is a function of the accountability trend and the emphasis of federal resources on cognitive gains of educationally disadvantaged children. During the current economic recession, it is natural for parents to expect the schools to concentrate on academic and vocational "skills" for the future security of their children. The schools can respond by a program of parent education, meaningful parent involvement, and objectives articulated in terms of community goals.

2. Minimum requirements for a high school diploma are evolving as the latest accountability mode for students, parents, community, and employers. No one seems to be able to agree on how to determine if a diploma is worth the investment. Competency tests are biased and unreliable, performance models are subjective, and after even the most effectively designed and administered tests and performances occurred, could we afford the necessary "remediation" to bring students to standard?

One way to view this trend without emotional change is to consider the diploma to be a driver's

license, with minimum standards. Post-secondary certificates and college diplomas now provide the opportunity to exhibit advanced attainment, where formerly that was limited to the high school diploma and associated honors at graduation.

3. School finance alternatives are being explored and tested in order to generate local concerns and conflicts. The combination of alternative funding methods and the accountability movement may ultimately be the voucher system.

As community members and parents become increasingly less in control of the quality of education delivered to their children, they will seek other means to exercise their prerogative. Vouchers accomplish that control for lower- and middle-income families as does private school for upper-income parents.

Parent involvement is meant to exercise some of the lost control, but parents have only developed the structures (for example, parent advisory councils) and need training to effectuate the changes they want. Vouchers offer the realignment in control and accountability to parents.

4. Measures of competence are designed as tests, usually criterion-referenced tests, to create artificial but objective checkpoints on the performance of students. As minimum standards of quality proliferate nationally, the numbers of these measures will increase. What will the measurements indicate? How many tests can be coordinated and overlapped? Can reading be checked at the same time social studies is assessed? Can demonstration of consumer skills and mathematics be combined? We need to guard against

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spending too much instructional time on testing.

We need to guard against having the goal overshadow the implementation. For example, from the practice of individualization we learned that either there was a three-ring circus in a class of 48 children or there was a canned attempt at individualized instruction through commercially programmed learning packages designed for the imaginary teacher created in the advertising departments of large educational publishing companies. Children lost opportunities to create, to think, and to write. Teachers lost the chance to have time to teach, providing instead a series of sequential pre- and posttest ditto sheets. The same aberration of the goal can happen to competency testing. Classroom teachers need to provide direction and brakes where appropriate.

5. Declining enrollments and consequent local activity create a situation which places teachers with a changed student population. Successful teachers develop procedures and student expectations, from experience. They find the level of success declining due to the changing "mix" of students. Teachers may tend to blame the students for their lack of success in the classroom and the students will perceive the teachers' frustration as lack of interest and support. Parents will demand maximum student achievement regardless of the change in the student population. A further decline in enrollment will exacerbate the conflict. If teacher attitudes prevail, more students will drop out causing further need to reduce the number of teaching positions. Should the student-

oriented approach prevail, achievement levels will improve, dropouts will decrease, and the number of teaching positions will be less affected. If parental attitudes prevail, home-school communication and cooperation will deteriorate.

Staff development programs should include procedures for assessing students' needs, including individual assessments. These efforts should not be undertaken as rationale for lowering standards but with the specific goal of improving instruction for a changing student population. The staff development programs must involve parents in planning and implementation.

6 There is a trend to increase the scope of classroom and school responsibilities. The school is expected to be a center for coordinating and delivering support services to the community and the family. Redefinition of the role of the school is occurring. Teachers observe other services eroding the school day and taking time for which they are held accountable. Without affirmative efforts on the part of educators to increase the role of parents in planning school programs, the problem of different expectations will continue.

School children with special needs each night return to parents with special needs in neighborhoods with special needs. The parents and the community cannot "promote" children to other parents or another community or "drop them out" to another family or refuse to teach them because they feel unqualified. How can we best utilize the family and the community and ourselves to serve children with special needs?

Research and Development: A Resource in the Resolution of Conflict*

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The purpose of this paper is to provide a forum for discussion of the beliefs and expectations that professional educators hold regarding research and development as resources for improving teaching and learning. In particular, it centers on the perspectives of the "expert" in education, the classroom teacher. Building from this explication and refinement of beliefs and expectations, a strategy for carrying out research and development (R&D) is presented, the requisites of which propose to increase the likelihood that R&D will improve teaching and learning experiences and environments.

In order to provide a base from which to proceed, a brief definition of research and development is presented and a list of beliefs regarding R&D are proposed.

Research is seen as the means whereby we undertake scientific inquiry into the phenomena of education. More specifically, it is a procedure process

*Resource paper prepared for Seminar V, "Research and Development: A Resource in the Resolution of Conflict"

through which we gain understanding of (a) the perspectives of those individuals who engage in teaching and learning, (b) the process of teaching and learning, and (c) the context within which teaching and learning occur.

Development involves creating, modifying, inserting into the educational context those processes and materials that apply what we know and understand about teaching and learning.

Several beliefs regarding educational R&D are suggested. The most fundamental is

- The field of education needs R&D because society changes. This, in turn, leads to changes in the students whom education serves and in the social context in which schools operate. In order to respond to these changes, R&D is necessary.

Among the additional presumptions underlying this belief are:

- R&D can provide answers to questions. These questions may be asked by teachers and parents as well as by theorists (i.e., the "researchers" themselves).
- R&D can provide solutions to problems that occur within the teaching-learning context and perhaps within the larger society also.
- R&D can result in changes that can be used in the classroom.

However, these expectations may not be justified because the R&D knowledge base in its present form (a) may not be as useful as we might wish, and (b) may focus on and/or identify the wrong problems.

In order to be useful, R&D must meet five criteria:

- 1 R&D must be conducted in order to solve problems
- 2 R&D outcomes must be generalizable.
- 3 The yield from R&D must be tied to things other than achievement scores
4. The information that serves as the basis for R&D efforts must consider multiple perspectives
5. The yield from R&D must be applicable in the classroom.

A key to the usefulness of educational research and development is involvement of the teacher in a "worked with" as contrasted to a "worked on" role. In a worked-with role, the teacher assumes a stance that is equal and complementary to the researcher and teacher-trainer. In filling this role, the teacher might:

- a. Determine the questions and problems to be the focus of a research and/or development effort
- b. Provide the natural setting for R&D
- c. Develop and "try out" data-collection procedures in order to ensure that the information obtained is, in fact, providing knowledge about the "thing" that was to be studied
- d. Analyze and interpret data from the perspective of the individual who is responsible for teaching and learning.

In order for teachers to participate in R&D on an active, equal basis, from the initiation of the research problems through the reporting of findings and development of appropriate training procedures/processes, all participants in R&D must change. Each participant is seen as providing unique contributions

to R&D. For example, the teacher provides knowledge of teaching and learning within the complex setting of the classroom. The trainer provides knowledge of applicability and transfer of teaching-learning processes and outcomes from one setting to another. The researcher provides knowledge and skill in scientific inquiry.

To facilitate the instigation of educational R&D that involves teachers, trainers, and researchers in a collaborative effort from the inception of a problem statement to the dissemination of R&D yield, an interactive R&D strategy is proposed. The essential elements of interactive R&D include (a) participants, (b) process, (c) yield in terms of knowledge processes and products, and (d) yield in terms of "disseminability" of R&D outcomes.

Three participants—teacher, trainer, and researcher—are essential. At the process level, essential elements include collaboration, willingness and readiness to assume roles of other participants, accommodation to the solution of problems, and emergent leadership.

Knowledge yield from interactive R&D will take the form of solutions to problems and answers to questions. R&D procedures, knowledge about teaching and learning, and teacher training strategies and processes also will result. The dissemination yield, therefore, will include ways to apply and transfer the knowledge yield to similar classrooms.

The implications of interactive R&D will depend upon the answers to three questions:

1. Does interactive educational R&D have the potential to resolve educational problems?
2. Should, can, the interactive strategy be used widely in educational R&D? Only for certain types of efforts? Not at all?
3. Is it possible to effect the changes (attitudinal and skill) that are necessary for interactive R&D to become operable?

Control of Education by the Courts*

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Litigation in education is surveyed, pointing out the extent to which issues reaching the courts from schools in the past were largely social issues peripheral to education, that is, arising from mores and life styles, still reach the courts and consume inordinate amounts of time and money.

Continuing the survey through the sixties, the effects of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the broadening scope of judicial policy making in education are traced. The extent to which education has abandoned its destiny to federal and state court decisions is emphasized.

Court cases are cited to illustrate the time and cost involved in bringing cases all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Though the victories or defeats are significant, the question is raised why educators were unable or unwilling to decide the issues without recourse to the courts.

Dealing with judicial competency in matters educational, it is suggested that a reasonable and prudent judge is not necessarily a reasonable and prudent educator. Many law cases in education are examples of subjective judgment based on the

personal experience of judges. Teachers who make a trek to the courts with tales of arbitrary and capricious administrators should hesitate before approaching a quixotic forum where they may find the same traits. Contradictory opinions in the courts frequently leave educators in a state of bewilderment.

On the issue of teacher interests in school litigation the fact is stressed that there are many cases teachers are not party to, yet they must live with the outcomes, notably in the area of control or curriculum.

While teachers have had singular victories in the courts, they must stop and ponder the advisability of introducing the adversarial atmosphere of the courtroom into education. This could result in the polarization of interpersonal relationships in education.

Because of the enormous costs of litigation in many districts, it is suggested that teachers consider these costs as directly related to their paychecks. It is recommended strongly that recourse to courts be replaced by internal administrative remedies. Conciliation and arbitration models are preferable to the intimidating atmosphere of courtrooms. Teachers should not abdicate their destiny to lawyers.

*First part of a two-part resource paper prepared for Seminar VI, "The Struggle for Control: Agencies in Conflict."

Control of Education by Legislatures*

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The proliferation of laws governing education can be illustrated by the fact that the California Education Code comprised fifty pages a hundred years ago, while today California educators are governed by eight volumes of school statutory provisions. Add to these the other codes that affect education, e.g., business, penal, vehicle, government, administrative, agriculture, and health statutes relating to the administration of schools.

The price tag for the proliferation of laws is confusion—with ambiguities, contradictions, and preemptions as the chief ingredients of unintelligibility—and consequent inefficiency. Legalese in legislative drafting is a sufficiently common cause of concern in all walks of life to merit condemnation by the President.

The proliferation of federal and state laws in education highlights the impossibility of teachers becoming informed or staying abreast of laws on many aspects of education. The result is a reliance on wordy translations or secondary sources sometimes lacking in accurate interpretation. The result can often be that educators forego commendable practices because of the trouble involved in complying with statutorily mandated prerequisites.

Ideally, education should be apolitical. Given the wins, losses, and fickle nature of legislation, it is becoming increasingly clear that a continuing dependence on legislation will not benefit education or politics. Professional educators are ultimately better equipped than legislators, lawyers, or judges to solve the problems of education.

It is recognized that collective bargaining has taken the major policy issues out of board rooms and placed them on negotiating tables. But the ultimate ideal for educators should be co-determination. Co-determination is of European lineage, and in private industry it involves placing employee representatives on corporate boards of directors. Educational decision making on such matters as budget priorities, class size, curriculum content, and even educational philosophy cannot be sorted out according to the separate interests of employers and employees.

The American public is ready for a fresh approach to educational control offered by a less adversarial approach to the governance of education.

Shared management of education in our pluralistic society is historically inevitable. The question now is whether that sharing will be primarily exercised internally between segments of the educational community or externally exercised, with courts and legislatures as principal architects of educational policy, leaving educators as dutiful and divided civil servants.

*Second part of a two-part resource paper prepared for Seminar VI, "The Struggle for Control: Agencies in Conflict."

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