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Those of us who have given serious thought to the manner in which decisions influencing education are made in society have considerable concern for the apparent isolation of educators from the political process. One has only to examine the history of federal actions on financial aid to education to realize that educators have spoken with a good deal less impact and unanimity in the political arena than have such experienced political-pressure groups as the Chamber of Commerce or the National Association of Manufacturers. This isolationism stems not so much from a lack of knowledge or conviction but from the belief that the process of education is somehow apolitical. The commitment of educators (and society in general) to this view of education is carried so far as to pretend that school board elections and finance referenda are nonpartisan--despite good evidence to the contrary.

In this issue, writers for Administrative Leadership attempt to dispel some of the prevailing assumptions concerning educational decision making and to promote a less naive view of government on the part of educators. There is little doubt but what the new Minnesota legislation concerning collective negotiations for school personnel has demonstrated the importance of the political process

for education. What may not be clear is the fact, pointed out by Professors Davis and Smythe, that local decisions will now begin to arise from effective bargaining in a process analogous to those by which legislative decisions are made. Thus, while many educators may lament the enactment of such a legal measure, they will not be able to remain aloof from the local political process of collective negotiations.

As educators become involved in the process of collective determination of local educational policy, they may be sensitized to the broader political issues discussed by Professors Bowles and Scribner and Williams. The political process, as defined by David Easton, concerns itself with "the authoritative allocation of values for a society."¹ Because education deals with the allocation of roles to students, with considerable authority and finality, it is a political activity. For this reason, and for the practical problems of resource allocation, educators can no longer leave the political arena to the "political men" and to bargaining of interest groups. Those who profess commitment to education must plead its case in the political process and must replace dependencies and philosophical argument with negotiation, political pressure and deeper insights into the social processes of government.

W^m. Ammentorp

¹David Easton, A Framework For Political Analysis, Prentice Hall, 1965. p. 50.

THE SUPERINTENDENT AS MEDIATOR:
AN ESSAY ON THE STRAITS AND
ARROWS OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE

B. DEAN BOWLES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

One need not stand long on the windswept cannon ramparts of Hamlet's Kronborg castle at Helsingor and ponder the remains of a similar fortress across the whitecapped waters of the Kattegat at Halsingborg to understand why the kings of Denmark and Sweden struggled for control of this narrows. Logic dictated that he who controlled the narrows influenced the commercial, military, and political history of much of Scandinavia, northern, and eastern Europe. Kronborg, Helsingor and Halsingborg are not unique geo-political phenomenon in the course of history.

The chronicles and annals of history speak vividly of the economic, strategic, military, and political importance of geographic straits and narrows, for the dreams and aspirations of kings and princes, emperors and presidents rose and fell on their ability to command and control straits and narrows. Straits and narrows have been

equally critical in the formulation of public policy, particularly educational policy, for the political forces which stand astride them will largely determine the course of public education. Moreover, with recent federal activity in the formulation of educational policy, reorganization of the U.S. Office of Education, ferment in the states over the goals, policies, and directions of public education, conflict within school districts as a result of drives toward collective bargaining, and confrontation by militant Negro civil rights organizations within large cities--with all this, there is substantial evidence for concluding that new forces stand astride the straits and narrows of the policy formulation process in public education.

The implication is clearly manifest. If new and emergent forces do stand astride the straits and narrows, then schoolmen must adopt unfamiliar roles and adapt to new functions in the policy-making process.

What constitutes the "straits and narrows" of political influence in the policy formulation process? The traditional role and function of the successful superintendent has been explicated in dozens of textbooks and expressed in myriads of monographs and articles on school administration and educational policy formulation. More specifically, the role and function of the superintendent has been described as that of "catalyst," "statesman," "coordinator," "organizer," "appraiser," and "mediator." Furthermore, administrative "leadership" frequently found definition in these terms.

What is wrong with this conceptualization of the role of the superintendent in the policy-making process? Nothing at all, and it offers an extremely accurate portrayal of the role and function of the superintendent in policy-making, if one assumes that the superintendent does, in fact, stand astride the straits and narrows of political influence in the policy formulation process. History offers substantial proof that the superintendent has been strategically located at the locus of accommodation and that his role could best be defined and prescribed as "mediator." However, the evidence of recent events suggests that the superintendent is not necessarily astride the straits and narrows of political accommodation and influence, and, therefore, the traditional role descriptions and prescriptions are not only incorrect and professionally hazardous but dysfunctional for the process of policy formulation in education.

The traditional role of "mediator" is illustrated in Figure 1. Political influence resided with the superintendent because he was strategically located at the locus of accommodation where he could mediate the policy thrusts and demands by both the board and teachers as well as those initiated by himself.

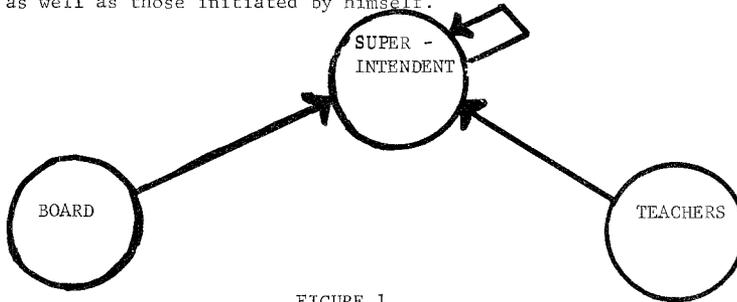


FIGURE 1.

As in social systems, leadership and influence tend to gravitate toward the place in the system which acts as a bridge or point of transfer between two distinct--and potentially hostile--sub-systems. Social influence, then, is retained at the point of transfer by circumstances and an ability to bring about an accommodation which is perceived as satisfying by each of the accommodated parties. Failure to accommodate the various parties successfully will cause instability in the system and will result in a search for a more propitious locus of accommodation, a new system of decision-making, and a new stability will evolve.

Similarly, the political influence of the superintendent in the policy-making process has resided in his skill and leadership in mediating the demands of both board and teachers. He has not been without resources in this role. For example, the superintendent has possessed an almost absolute monopoly of expertise. He has commanded a position in the bureaucratic structure of the school system which gave him access to virtually all information critical to the policy-making process. Finally, he has been the fortunate beneficiary of operating in an organizational ethos--partly self-created--which demanded that he be simultaneously "secretary of the board" and delegated representative of the public and their representatives, on the one hand (board members view the superintendency as management and a logical, legal, and professional extension of themselves); and on the other hand, a super-professional and master-teacher (teachers have sometimes seen the superintendent as one of them, a co-professional, distinguished only by experience, license, and burdens of administrative responsibility). Armed with a variety of political

resources, but particularly with receptive, favorable access to both sub-systems, the superintendent has successfully mediated between board and teachers, and, by virtue of this success, has become the locus of accommodation within the political system. Hence, the superintendent has been influential because he has stood astride the straits and narrows of policy formulation in our school systems.

The successful exercise of influence in the mediation role has depended upon a stability and balance in the political system and policy-making process which would allow the superintendent to become the locus of accommodation. However, shifts and changes in the pattern of policy initiation, command of information and expertise, and in the social and political ethos fundamentally alters the locus of accommodation and, hence, the decision-making process in any given political system. Therefore, the exercise of influence over the policy-making process which the superintendent had by virtue of standing astride the straits and narrows in his role as mediator may be difficult or even impossible. Indeed, without the opportunity to accommodate differences between policy demands of boards and teachers, the mediator is more of a political isolate than an influential leader in policy formulation.

Recent history will testify that conditions have changed which are and will continue to alter the role of the superintendent in the process of policy formulation. For example, superintendents no longer possess a monopoly of expertise; teachers individually or collectively through their state and local organizations as well as lay interests often possess

an equivalent or superior expertise to the superintendent. He no longer has access and control of virtually all information related to the policy-making process; teachers no longer find it necessary to "go through the chain of command" but demand and get direct access to the board, and their increasing "political action" provides them an access with influential persons and organizations outside the bureaucratic structure of the school system. Finally, the harmonious ethos in which the superintendent formerly operated is no longer functional for his role as mediator; increasing division and specialization of labor, substantial organizational and social distance, and discovery of a unique "teaching" profession distinct from "administration"-- all these have caused a separate professional identity and encouraged the initiation of different educational policies by teachers. In short, a schism has developed between teachers and administrators which allows the superintendent neither the trust nor the access to the teachers' sub-system in order to become an effective mediator and locus of accommodation within the political, policy-making system. Hence, whereas formerly the superintendent had stood astride the straits and narrows, he now must look forward to the prospect of political isolation in his role as mediator. Short of that dim prospect, he may adopt a new role and adapt to new functions in the policy-making process.

The current and evolving role of the superintendent is illustrated in Figure 2. Political influence will increasingly rest with the local board of education in the policy formulation process for the same reason

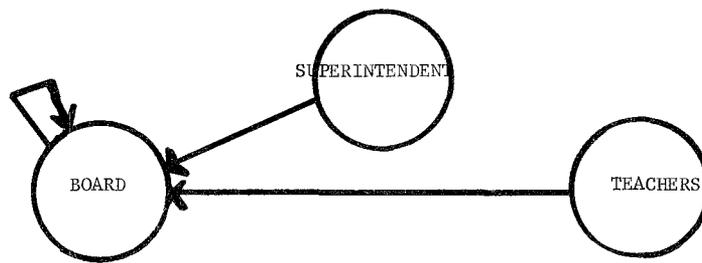


FIGURE 2.

it has formerly resided with the superintendent, namely: the board is becoming strategically located astride the straits and narrows at the locus of accommodation where they will mediate the policy thrusts and demands of both superintendent and teachers.

The logical extension of the above argument is that school boards will become more vital to the policy-making process. In the past the local school board has been rather inconsequential in the process of policy formulation for two reasons: (1) it was not the locus of political accommodation as the textbooks led one into believing; and (2) it had neither the resources nor the will to initiate meaningful public policy demands. Nevertheless, there are several implications for school boards in this new role. First, with the influence which is concomitant with the locus of accommodation will rest the responsibility of the mediator in maintaining the social and political stability of the institution. Second, with the increasing responsibility school board members must by necessity become not only more representative of the heterogeneous and complex communities which they represent but also more responsive to the multiple and varied demands emanating from both within and without the

institution (one of the characteristics of the new reality are new and persistent policy thrusts from outside the school system). Third, if the school board--as distinct from the administration--is to become an effective initiator of substantive policy, then it must be equipped with its own small secretariat or staff for that purpose. Finally, the school boards will have to be given the fiscal autonomy (no more fiscally dependent districts, statutory tax limits, and budget referendums) commensurate with their charge. In short, school boards must prepare themselves for an active rather than a passive role in the policy formulation processes in the public schools.

The role and function of teachers in the policy-making process will change, too. Rather than having their demands quietly moderated by the superintendent acting as mediator at the locus of accommodation, teachers will find their policy thrusts more visible, and thus open to the light of total examination, scrutiny, and criticism in the public arena. Furthermore, if teachers expect to be successful in the policy-making process, they must develop in several directions. First, because teachers will no longer benefit from the mediating influence of the superintendent, they will need to develop programs of systematic, responsible political action both at and away from the bargaining table. Second, teachers will have to assume a coordinate policy formulation function with policy concerns beyond immediate "bread and butter" issues distinct from that of the superintendent and his administration. Third, although "sanctions" and "strikes" are effective political resources, teachers must surely recognize that

other means of confrontation will need to be developed when public sympathy wanes or when public policy and welfare demands more functional conflict. Fourth, in order to fulfill the needs for political action, a coordinate policy formulation role, and functional confrontation, teachers must commit their own resources (e.g., dues, assessments) and hire or develop their own staff of specialists and experts. Hence, teachers will by necessity evolve their own administration--ostensibly responsible to them, not a governing board--in order to effectively participate in the process of policy formulation in education when the superintendent no longer fulfills these various functions for them.

The superintendent who pursues the role of mediator in the absence of a political system which finds it functional will doubtlessly not only be frustrated and disheartened but also ineffective. However, for the superintendent who can effectively adopt a new role and adapt to new administrative functions, the newly found political isolation will be splendid indeed.

What might a superintendent expect who found himself no longer astride the straits and narrows but instead in splendid isolation? First, although considerable influence over the decision-making process is sacrificed because of a shift in the locus of accommodation, significant political restraints are removed. Specifically, the restraint which is removed is the necessity to mediate, to arbitrate, to accommodate--a restraint inherent in the commanding of the straits and narrows of political

influence. The mediation role demands that the superintendent avoid building coalitions or seeking allies with any of the parties to be accommodated and that he refrain from initiating policies which might alienate either or both parties. In short, the need to maintain stability in the process of policy formulation inhibits the mediator from embarking upon policy thrusts which depart significantly from the strongly held norms of either party to the accommodation.

Second, the mediation role thus induces a conservatism, a hesitancy, a restraint toward change and innovation, change and innovation which is necessary for the achievement of educational goals but perilous for maintaining one's precarious position at the locus of accommodation. With the restraint removed superintendents will be in a position to move ahead toward new frontiers of change, innovation, and general educational leadership--a function significantly absent from the traditional role.

Third, splendid isolation should make it unnecessary that superintendents arrive at their positions through the tortuous and indentured route of recruitment which characterizes the existing pattern, namely: teacher department head assistant principal principal (small school) principal (large school) central office (small district) central office (large district) superintendent (small district) superintendent (large district). The current route of recruitment is necessitated by the mediation role whereby the superintendent must maintain the "super-professional" and "master teacher" image. Although this route would not be obviated, the way would be open for the systematic career development and education of professional administrators.

Fourth, the new role isolated from the locus of accommodation would require that the superintendent develop new and different political resources for the support of his policy thrusts. For example, he will more clearly ally himself with a working majority of the board rather than endorse a position of impotent neutrality; he will become more sensitive to the structure of influence outside the immediate school policy arena and increasingly build coalitions and invoke their support for his policy initiatives. Briefly, the new role will be aggressive and blatantly political in his initiation and pursuit of educational policy objectives.

When the superintendent has stood astride the straits and narrows of educational formulation, the process has been political--make no mistake about that, but it has been a politics of consensus with the superintendent at the locus of accommodation in bringing about the consensus. By being the mediator at the locus of accommodation, the superintendent has maximized his political influence in bringing about consensus, but he has simultaneously and correspondingly reduced his influence as change agent and educational leader. The new role which the superintendent must play is equally political, but it will be a politics of conflict, an adversary process with the locus of accommodation removed to boards of education. Without the burdensome restraints of the mediator, and with the responsibilities of an adversary, he will minimize his influence in the process of accommodation, but will predictably increase his political influence as an educational leader and change agent.

THE 1967 MINNESOTA
TEACHER NEGOTIATIONS LAW

Cyrus F. Smythe
Industrial Relations Center

and

Donald E. Davis
Department of Educational Administration
University of Minnesota

Public policy can assist or hinder the resolution of differences between employer and employees. Legislation should provide a method of resolving employee representation disputes, establish a duty for the parties to bargain with each other, and designate an agency to resolve: (1) questions concerning representation issues, (2) claims by the parties of illegal practices, (3) problems concerning the scope of negotiations, and (4) impasses. This legislation may thereby help to establish a framework within which the issues between the parties tend to be substantive rather than procedural. The Act¹ passed by the 1967 Minnesota Legislature to assist in the resolution of teacher-administrator-school board issues appears to fall short of establishing such a framework. The Act does not need to be a "copy" of the public policy in either the private sector² or the

¹Chapter 633, 1967 Session Laws of the State of Minnesota.

²Wagner Act, 49 Stat. 449 (1935).

public sector.³ Also, the assumption that the special considerations and environment of the public school systems require unique legislation is legitimate. However, the Act fails because it does not recognize that issue resolution in either the public or private sectors is facilitated where the substantive issues between the parties can be clearly defined and kept free of differences over procedures.

The Minnesota Statute has as its purpose:

RELATING TO THE TEACHING PROFESSION, RECOGNIZING THE RIGHT OF TEACHERS TO JOIN ORGANIZATIONS OF THEIR CHOOSING, PROMOTING COOPERATION BETWEEN SCHOOL BOARDS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROFESSION, AND ESTABLISHING PROCEDURES FOR THE PARTICIPATION BY MEMBERS OF THE PROFESSION IN THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES AFFECTING TEACHING.⁴

The Act, however, rather than "promoting cooperation between" may very well increase conflict "between." The intent of this article is not to analyze the causes for exclusion of teachers from the provisions of the 1965 Minnesota law covering public employees. However, it does appear that the same coalition which promoted the self interest behind the 1967 teacher negotiation law was also responsible for the exclusion of teachers under the 1965 public employees bargaining law.

³See for example: Executive Order 10988, President Kennedy, 1962 and legislation passed by the legislature of Minnesota and other states to deal with public employee-employer relations.

⁴1967 Minnesota Statute, preamble, Chapter 633

The primary concern here is to evaluate the potential of the 1967 Act for providing workable procedures to reduce conflict in teacher-school board relationships. Effective public school administration requires stability in relations between teachers and school boards. Public policy can be of substantial assistance by providing definitive guidance to the parties and by establishing a vehicle for the continuing interpretation and application of legislative intent so that the parties can concentrate on the real issues they face and not waste their energy and time on procedural or interpretative questions concerning the legislation itself.

Recognition of Teacher Organizations

Historically, more conflict has taken place in employee-employer relations over the question of employee representation than any other issue. Public policy designed to delimit organizational conflicts and promote stability in relations between employees and employers should specify clear and equitable procedures for determining employee representation disputes. The 1967 Minnesota Act does not provide such clear cut procedures and appears to establish conditions for conflict rather than stability.

The Act calls for a teachers' negotiating council of five members and stipulates "when more than one teacher organization has as members teachers employed in the district, the board shall grant recognition to a committee of five teachers selected by these

organizations on a proportionate basis determined by membership."⁵ These proportions are to be determined, "...as nearly as practicable...as the total membership of teachers' organizations to be represented on the council."⁶

These provisions ignore the concept of majority rule which is a guiding principle in American society, as well as the firmly established rule in resolving organizational-representational disputes in both the public and private sectors of the economy.⁷ By specifying proportionate representation based on organizational membership (such membership to be verified by an officer of the organization), the Act encourages competing organizations to contest the verified membership of the other organizations. Some school boards may have significant difficulties in establishing procedures for verifying organizational membership, and the difficulties can be compounded if teacher organizations will not voluntarily open their membership roles for verification.

The state courts may well have to become an integral part of the representation determination process since Subdivision 2 of Section 8 of the Act states: "Only those duties of the school board as expressly stated...are hereby conferred..."⁸ This statement implies that school boards may not develop procedures to

⁵1967 Minnesota Statute, Section 4. Subdivision 3.

⁶Ibid.

⁷See federal and state legislation regulating employee-employer relations.

⁸Minnesota Statute, Section 8. Subdivision 2.

resolve the recognition issue beyond the signature of organization officers. The California teacher bargaining law, which has the same fundamental defect, has required court decision to clarify this specific problem. A decision of the California Appellate Court dated September 25, 1967, indicates that other procedures, such as elections to determine teachers' council membership, may not be held under the provisions of the California law.⁹

Utilization of membership roles for determining proportional representation on the teachers' council is in some cases impractical. Many teachers hold membership in more than one organization. A recent ruling of the Minnesota Attorney General (September 22, 1967) indicates that dual or multiple memberships shall be counted. Thus a teacher who belongs to two or more organizations for different purposes may be effectively disenfranchised. Also, teacher organizations may be encouraged to establish "paper organizations" to achieve stronger representation on the Council. Further, those teachers who belong to no organization seemingly are without bargaining representation under the Act.

The teachers' council framework, with the difficult pragmatic conditions it creates, appears to have been adopted to serve purposes other than establishing realistic conditions for teacher-school board negotiations. The concept of the teachers' council

⁹Berkeley Teachers Association, et al., v. Berkeley Federation of Teachers, Am. Fed. of Teachers, AFL-CIO, California Court of Appeals, 1st District, 1967.

was originated and heavily supported by the Minnesota Education Association. An analysis of teacher organization membership in Minnesota indicates that in a vast majority of school districts the only local teacher organization is an MEA affiliate. In the larger districts of Minnesota, however, which employ most of the teachers, the Minnesota Federation of Teachers has strong local affiliates often equaling or exceeding the local MEA affiliate in membership.

The basis for MEA rejection of a law calling for exclusive recognition seems to be, therefore, that such a law would have resulted in exclusive recognition of MEA affiliates in the majority of school districts, but exclusive recognition of MFT affiliates in some of the significant urban districts employing most of the state's teachers. The council concept, then, was supported by the MEA to maintain some representation in the major school districts of the state. The sacrifice of a realistic negotiation law appears to be a heavy price to pay for retaining such a role.

This bill was also supported by the Minnesota School Boards Association, but for another reason. In the view of the School Boards Association, the existence of strong teacher organizations possessing exclusive bargaining rights was undesirable. The teachers' council provided conditions in which the effective strength of teacher organizations could be divided, thus producing what was perceived to be a more favorable bargaining condition for school boards. This divide-and-conquer strategy violates one of

the basic criteria of effective employee-employer relations. The deliberate creation of a condition which promotes conflict between employee organizations usually produces an undesirable setting for meaningful conflict resolution. Experience in the private and other public sectors of the economy indicates that collective bargaining has a better chance of success in resolving conflict when a single organizationally-secure group of employees exists. A secure organization, led by a reasonably secure elected representative, usually can manifest greater flexibility in its dealings than an organization too caught up with its own survival to negotiate meaningfully.

The Minnesota Act, while ostensibly adopted to provide a conflict-resolving setting for teacher-school board relations, may tend to create in some school systems conditions which will make substantive issue resolution difficult.

DUTY TO "MEET AND CONFER"

The law indicates that boards of education must "meet and confer in an effort to reach agreement" on matters relating to "conditions of professional service," but boards are merely required to "meet and confer" on other matters. The definition in the law states: "conditions of professional services means economic aspects relating to terms of employment but does not mean educational policies of the district."¹⁰ This attempt to distinguish

¹⁰1967 Minnesota Statute, Section 2. Subdivision 5.

between matters which are appropriate for agreement fails to grasp the purpose of the negotiation process and may be unworkable in practice. If some boards attempt to apply such an arbitrary distinction, they may very well invoke an arbitrary attitude on the part of some teacher groups--a normal human reaction. In addition, it may often be difficult to distinguish the educational policies which have economic aspects from those which do not. Finally, under a threat of a strike or other punitive action by a teacher group, a number of school boards are likely to broaden the scope of subjects to avoid such overt use of organizational power.

WHAT IS AN AGREEMENT?

The law is difficult to understand with respect to the form in which such agreements shall be stated. The law reads: "When agreement is reached concerning conditions of professional services the board shall implement the agreement in the form of a resolution or by direction to any administrative officer as may be appropriate."¹¹ A more preferable procedure for some teacher-administrator-board relationship would be to allow a written, signed agreement. Then all parties, including the public, would have a more complete understanding of the scope and content of an agreement. By providing such flexibility for the parties, the potential for dispute about the terms of agreement might be reduced.

¹¹1967 Minnesota Statute, Section 5.

PROCEDURAL ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTIES

An integral part of the federal and state legislation regulating collective employee-employer relations in the private and public sectors is the establishment or designation of a permanent agency to provide continuing interpretation and application of such legislation. The purpose of the agency is to provide a viable environment of procedures for the parties in order to facilitate dispute settlement. The agencies issue rulings on such questions as appropriate representatives, scope of bargaining, and the fairness of the parties' dealings with each other. Such guidance often saves the parties from deadlock on questions which are less important than the substantive issues they must resolve. The 1967 Minnesota Act fails to provide such a service. This failure may well mean that some school relationships will result in lengthy disputes over issues which are not relevant to the significant problem areas which need to be solved. If those individuals who supported the 1967 Act acted on the assumption that delaying the consideration of the real issues between school boards and teachers would be in the interest of either party, such individuals are deluding themselves.

IMPASSE RESOLUTION

The Minnesota Act in Section 7 provides an impasse resolution procedure. The essence of the procedure is the formation of a combination mediation-fact-finding committee. Unfortunately, the

procedure does not, as do the procedures in the private and other public sectors, provide for mediation by permanent agencies staffed by individuals experienced and skilled in assisting parties settle differences. In addition, the neutral member of the Minnesota Act's adjustment panel is first to attempt to mediate differences, and, if unsuccessful in this effort, is to proceed to find facts and render an opinion concerning issue resolution. Such a process places the neutral in a difficult position. For in his mediation attempt he is more than likely to commit himself to a degree on the issues between the parties so as to have rendered himself ineffective as an objective recommender of solutions. The requirements of the mediation process on an individual usually cause him to have compromised his position to a degree which leaves him a poor chance of success in the role of judge.

CONCLUSIONS

The Minnesota 1967 Statute providing for employee-employer relations in the state's school systems appears to have been aimed primarily at achieving other ends than the provision of a framework which will be a viable environment for issue resolution between school boards and school teachers. To that extent the Act is an unfortunate statute for the public, the school boards, and the teachers.

T H E P O L I T I C A L D I M E N S I O N
O F T H E C R I S I S I N
U R B A N E D U C A T I O N

JAY D. SCRIBNER

and

RICHARD C. WILLIAMS¹

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

What is wrong with urban school districts? This question haunts the minds of those who read of militant minority groups, of teachers engaged in illegal strikes, and of school boards demanding more financial support to alleviate intolerable conditions and provide new solutions for the complex problems of urban schools.

¹Both authors are currently involved in studies at UCLA that pertain to the political dimension of the urban environment. Williams' research focuses on the characteristics of teacher organizations and the recent surge of teacher militancy in urban areas. Scribner's studies concern the development of a political framework for analyzing the decision-making activities of local school boards.

Could it be, as some have charged, that urban districts employ an inordinate number of incompetent administrators, or that the entrenched bureaucracy is wasteful of public monies, or that large cities spawn lawlessness? Is there possibly something grossly different between the administrative structure of small and large school districts that may account for this problem? There are, no doubt, instances when the dysfunction of the urban school district is in part attributable to one or more of these conditions. It is the position of this paper, however, that these conditions provide but a fraction of the reasons for the urban dilemma and that an examination of the political dimension of the urban school district can provide additional, perhaps more insightful reasons for the crisis.

Some Political Parameters

In what way do urban districts differ from smaller districts in terms of the political environment? If this is a fruitful question, how

does one go about conceptualizing the immense political parameters of the problem? First, let us begin with a few selected factors that appear to influence the political climate of large school districts, and draw a distinct differentiation between the problems of urban and smaller school systems.

Factors associated with the urban environment. The urban center has typically held an attraction often filled with false hopes for low income families migrating from the rural areas of this country. Many migrants to the city arrive unemployed and, due to the industrial nature of the urban environment, many have found themselves to be unemployable and in need of some vocational or technical education. What we find as a consequence in many large urban centers are "marginal families"--families lacking the basic needs of individuals and the will to remain intact.

Another factor associated with urban areas are the large and politically potent minority groups. These groups generally are located in easily defined areas within the city and represent racial, ethnic, religious, as well as economic differences. They are cohesive and increasingly demanding full representation in the decision-making activities of the community.

Moreover, large city school districts tend to include not only the very poor, but also the very affluent with their high achievement needs. It is within these very diverse and uneven conditions that unrest occurs and values and demands become polarized. The crisis, therefore, stems from the scores of vocal minorities seeking their share of the scarce

resources and making their demands heard by local, state and national decision-makers.

Other factors associated with the school district itself. The enormous size of large city school districts tends to magnify the conflicts already existing in these large bureaucracies. This is especially evident in the communication network of the bureaucracy, but even more significant is the extent to which individuals are deprived participation in decision-making activities. Large bureaucracies also make it difficult for local interest in the groups to accept the slow and cumbersome manner in which their expectations are recognized, dealt with, and acted upon. Furthermore, the large city school district supports a large teaching force that has recently taken on a new image within the educational community. Teachers can and do use collective methods for obtaining concessions. Here again we have another party displeased with the effects of the urban condition and the large urban school district.

Finally, the governing body of the large city school district should be mentioned since it is this unit that has become the target of a wide range of intense demands from individuals and pressure groups in the body politic. Members of large city school boards encompass a wide diversity of beliefs, and tend to have them reinforced through the strong support they receive from their constituency and their proximity to the minority group or segment of the community that elected them. Unlike many smaller communities the city school board member is usually elected or appointed to represent in a specified district or ward rather than

on a city-wide basis. This simple fact, and the ease with which the school member can identify with the basic interests and desires that unite him with his constituents, may be the single best predictor for his response to a given issue confronting the entire school board and school district.

What we have done thus far is briefly summarize a few selected factors that help differentiate between large urban districts and smaller districts in terms of their political environment. In answer to our first question, therefore, we settled on the following six factors that influence the political climate of a large school district:

1. The low income of many of the families and the attractiveness of the urban center to "marginal families."
2. The existence of large and politically potent minority groups.
3. The existence of a large teaching force that can and does use collective methods for obtaining concessions.
4. The diverse conditions that exist within a large school district, i.e. the very affluent sections and the very poor.
5. The members of the school boards in large districts encompass a wide diversity of beliefs often because they are selected on a district rather than citywide basis.
6. Enormous size of bureaucracy decreases effective communication.

With these six factors in mind, let us now direct our attention toward a way to view the crisis in urban education.

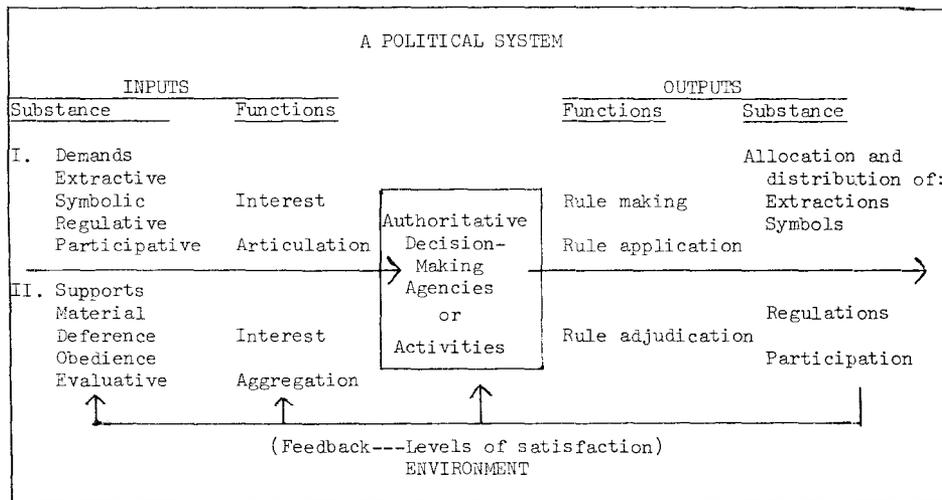
The School System As a Political System²

While political scientists disagree on the precise language, there is some consensus in their broad definition of political systems. They all associate the political system with the presence of legitimate force to enforce the laws of a society. The basic assumption of this paper is that a local school system, regardless of whether it is urban, suburban or rural, is indeed a political system--a quasi-municipality--regulated by a legal code, upheld by the same authority that legitimizes all other forms of government. Our definition of a legally formed "public" school system, then, might read like this: A school system consists of the structures and processes through which rules or policies related to the objectives of the system are authoritatively determined for society as a whole. Like all other governments, school government may be assumed to be the process by which rules of behavior are set up and enforced to realize the interests of groups (e.g., the parents, the profession, the community, etc.) and the rights of individuals (e.g., those participants in the political activities of the school district).

We have focused initially on the political aspects of the concept "political system." Now we should turn to the latter part of the concept--the notion of "system." A broad definition of a system would include the solar system, the circulatory system, and economic system or, of course, a political system. Like any system of activity, the school system as a political system will have certain basic characteristics. First, it is made up of some individuals who engage in certain

²The notion of a school system as a political system was first developed in Jay D. Scribner, "A Functional-Systems Analysis of School Board Performance," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, School of Education, 1966); and Scribner, "A Functional Systems Framework for Analyzing School Board Action," Educational Administration Quarterly, Winter 1966. Two dissertations by Walter T. Homitz and Walter B. Pentz were completed at UCLA, Spring 1967, in which the investigators applied specific aspects of the framework to junior college districts. Another dissertation underway is applying this framework to the large urban school district of Los Angeles, California and is being conducted by Kenneth Tye.

activities; it constitutes an identifiable whole which means that it has boundaries and that the different activities of the system are to some degree integrated and coordinated; it possesses constituent units which are interdependent, so that each part affects and is affected by all other parts; and whenever disruptions occur the interdependence of all elements within the boundaries of the system tend to react in a way that enables the system to persist through time and to adapt to changes both in the surrounding society and within the system itself. It may be useful to discuss the concepts of political systems in terms of the schematic illustration shown below:



Each of the terms shown in the diagram are defined below. The following concepts³ are not inclusive of all those characterizing a political system, but they do represent a set of terms which have been found useful for research, as well as discussion purposes related to this general consideration of the school system as a political system.

- I. Inputs (those political activities that keep the system going)
- A. Demands..... (overt expressions of expectations, needs, wants, desires to be satisfied by the system.)
 - 1. Extractive..... (demands for goods and services in areas such as curriculum, personnel, business, etc.)
 - 2. Symbolic..... (demands for public display, such as ceremonial occasions, meetings, open houses, dedications, etc.)
 - 3. Regulative..... (demands for the governing of behavior of members of the school organization. Duty schedules, working hours, teaching assignments and the like)
 - 4. Participative.. (demands for taking part in the decision-making activities of a specified decision-making agency)
 - B. Supports..... (overt expressions that contribute to the promotion of goals, institutional ideas, policies, decisions or persons included in the system)
 - 1. Material..... (support in the form of finances from taxes, contributions, endowments, gifts or donations, qualified personnel to fill organizational positions, etc.)
 - 2. Obedience..... (support in the form of the willingness of members of the system to conform to the rules and regulations established through legal codes, policies, etc.)

³Such a set of concepts is derived from the works of Easton, Almond, Mitchell and Scribner. See for example, David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), and A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1965). Gabriel Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1966), and Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman, The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton University Press, 1960). William C. Mitchell, The American Polity (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962); and Scribner, op. cit.

3. Deference...(support in the form of activities of persons honoring the authority of personnel within the hierarchy of the school system and the symbolic events resulting from their authoritative decisions or policies)
 4. Evaluative..(support limited only to overt expressions connoting approval or disapproval of the system's activities)
- II. Input Functions (those effects of the activities that initiate and process inputs into the school system)
- A. Interest articulation....(the consequences of those activities that lead to the identification of interests and to subsequent transmittal of the input to the decision-making agency)
 - B. Interest aggregation.....(the consequence of those activities that lead to the consideration and consolidation of two or more demands into a single proposal for decision or policy)
- III. Authoritative Decision-making Agency (the identifiable agencies, individuals or structures that perform the activities of authoritative decision-making, the center of the governmental process, such as the school board, state legislature, superintendent, principal, teacher, etc.)
- IV. Outputs (the consequences of those governmental activities involving the translation of demands and supports into decisions or policies for individuals and groups in the environment)
- A. The effects of decisions and policies...(the overall allocations or distributions of extractions, regulations, symbols, participation)
 - B. The level of satisfaction...(the impact of the systems outputs on the environment which determines the kind of feedback in the form of subsequent demands and supports made on the system)

- V. Output Functions (the consequences of decision-making activities)
 - A. Rule making.....(the consequence of those activities involving the use of discretionary or implied authority to accomplish immediate and long-range goals)
 - B. Rule application...(the consequence of those activities leading to the application of local policies, state laws, etc.)
 - C. Rule adjudication...(the consequence of those activities leading to the settlement of a dispute or a decision based on an opinion about conflicting or contrasting demands)

In this section we have presented a set of concepts through which a systematic appraisal of the urban school system can be undertaken. Next, we will attempt a brief application of this political framework to the six aforementioned problem areas associated with the urban environment, and the urban school district.

An Analysis of the Crisis in Urban Education

The existence of a large number of low income families in the urban center influences the demands and support pattern in such a way as to put a continuing pressure on the political system. They increase the extractive demands in that they require such services as compensatory educational programs, small teacher-pupil ratios, and additional guidance and health programs. At the same time these families do not provide the concomitant material support to provide the services. The result, high extractive demands and low material support, is part of the reason why there has been increasing pressure on urban districts to secure funding from out-

side sources. The lack of response to the needs at the state level has often driven urban districts to the federal government. Thus to simply conclude, as some have, that urban districts should pay their own way as do suburban and rural areas is to ignore the political dimension of the urban school district.

A variety of participative demands have been placed on urban school districts. Large identifiable minority groups can exert intense demands on the school system to force minority participation in decision making. For example, many large districts select their school board members on a district rather than a city-wide basis. The existence of a large block of voters who wish to have someone represent them on the school board cannot be easily ignored. Also the threat of massive disobedience by whole sections of the school district can result in regulatory demands that provide an irresistible pressure on school management to alter existing rules and personnel assignments not consonant with the wishes of the dissatisfied citizens.

The leverage of massive disobedience, of course, also enhances the success of teachers in securing their demands. It is impossible to replace thousands of teachers who refuse to work until their demands are met. There is ample historical evidence that laws, however stringent, are an ineffective means to stop the use of disobedience by teachers seeking to participate in the decision process or to secure concessions.

Distinct neighborhoods differing in a wide variety of characteristics, i.e., income, race, religion, ethnic origins, diminish the ability

of school management to pass the general regulations demanded by district employees. For example, the urban school bureaucracy often demands that educational programs be standardized at each grade level. Yet it is obvious that what is applicable in a high income area may not be appropriate in a disadvantaged area. If school management decides to greatly differentiate the curriculum among the various schools, it will put additional pressure upon the district's already limited resources. Here the routine urban curriculum, often criticized by many, is a result of a need for standardization that may be inconsistent with the objectives of the public and indeed even the curriculum specialists in the urban district.

School boards, as authoritative decision-making agencies, are confronted with a large portion of the demands made on urban school districts. Their response to public demands is based largely on the attitudes, beliefs, and values acquired through a lifetime of cultural conditioning. There is a tendency for board members in large cities, where they are elected or appointed to represent a specific segment of the community, to find their support from a particular reference group. Such a group might be identified by race, ethnic background, religion or additional factors. The shared beliefs or values expressed by these groups will certainly play a role in influencing and shaping the nature of individual board member actions. Attempts will be made to maintain a sufficient level of satisfaction among constituencies even though such constituent loyalty sometimes diminishes school board effectiveness.

The resulting bureaucracy of a large urban school district suggests many limitations for the smooth flow of inputs from, and outputs to the political environment. When we think of bureaucracy we think of an efficient plan, including a division of labor, specialized tasks, coordination among activities and a degree of standardization. It is assumed that these characteristics will facilitate the achievement of specified goals. However, when we introduce the dynamic, and somewhat unpredictable political environment, into this operational framework, we encounter stress. We soon discover the importance of satisfying public demands. Well-designed communication and decision mechanisms break down under the burden of overlapping responsibilities and unresponsive district employees. Thus much of the conflict, and certainly the incidence of disruptions in schools and school district offices has resulted in part because individuals and groups have been denied access through appropriate channels to the authoritative decision-makers within the school system. In short, the articulation and aggregation functions of the political system are inadequately fulfilled.

Summary

To understand something about the origin, function, and organization of the urban school system, one must first understand the place the public school system occupies in a dynamic, interacting socio-political and economic environment. This has been the basic assumption of our theme--the political dimension of the crisis in urban education. We have identified a set of significant factors associated with the urban crisis, presented a political systems model, and provided a brief analysis of selected factors within the parameters of the political systems model. We hope through the use of such conceptual schemes, those on the "firing-line" will be better equipped to identify and observe, analyze and solve many of the complex problems of urban education. Furthermore, we feel that the future of urban education will in large part be determined by the success of school system leaders in dealing with their political environment.

T W O N E W P R O F E S S O R S

Two professors have recently joined the faculty in educational administration at the University of Minnesota. W. Ray Cross, formerly of Texas, and Charles Sederberg, a native of Minnesota, assumed academic appointments in the Department in September. Their offices are in 211 Burton Hall.

D R . W . R A Y C R O S S

Professor Cross was an elementary school teacher and principal in Fort Worth, Texas before resigning to complete his Ph. D. degree at the University of Texas. His professional preparation also includes a B.S. degree from Texas Christian and a M.E. degree from North Texas University.

A major area of interest to Professor Cross is the development of the internship program for elementary school principals. Since early September he has been traveling around the state to discuss this program with school superintendents and principals.

He hopes to get several interns placed for the 1968-69 school year. Dr. Cross has summarized some of his ideas about the internship in an article which will appear in the December issue of the Minnesota Elementary Principal.

Professor Cross, his wife Betty and their three children, reside in Roseville.

DR. CHARLES H. SEDERBERG

Professor Charles Sederberg, who holds three degrees from the University of Minnesota, was an English teacher in North St. Paul and Minnetonka before moving to Roseville in 1959. In Roseville his assignment included four years as principal of Capitol View Junior High School, two years as budget administrator, and for the past two years he served as Coordinator of Curriculum and Research. In this latest position he was responsible for employing and assigning teachers for the secondary schools in Roseville.

Major areas of interest to Professor Sederberg include school plant planning and finance. He is especially interested in directing school surveys. At present he is making a survey of the educational needs of the Anoka-Hennepin School District No. 11. Also, he is a member of a task force which is studying the organization and administration of the Cincinnati, Ohio Public Schools.

Dr. Sederberg, his wife and two sons, reside in Falcon Heights.

The lot of educational leaders in 1967 is not a happy one. Teachers refuse to work in schools where salaries and working conditions do not meet their expectations. Students boycott schools, question the legitimacy of demands made on them by school officials and impede the smooth process of recruitment in the chemical industry. At the same time, many voices demand that educators put their house in order and that education continue to provide services which meet ever larger proportions of society's needs.

To meet these assaults, the administrator hastily arms himself with tactical weapons gleaned from the arsenals of labor conciliation and student personnel handbooks. With his loins so girded, he confronts the wave of social change armed about as effectively as the policeman on the ghetto corner who has in hand a copy of the latest riot control law.

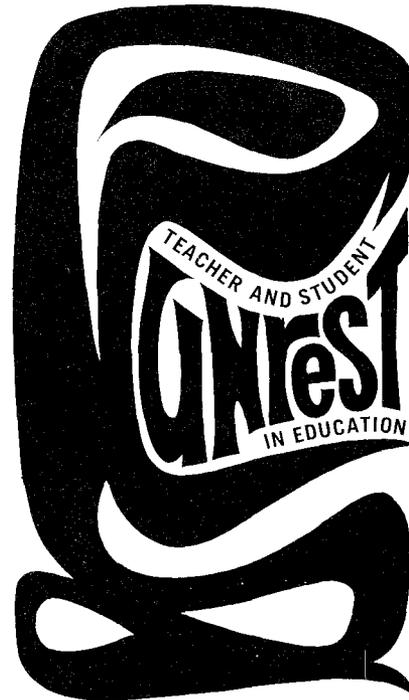
Schoolmen's Day, 1967, offers more than palliatives designed to maintain the status quo of the educational system. In an impressive array of social commentators including, Martin Mayer, Myron Lieberman, Donald K. Smith, and Edgar Friedenber, there has been assembled the expertise capable of looking beyond the manifestations of education's unrest to possible causes. The exchange of ideas among these men and their explanation of the restlessness of students and teachers promises to be lively and informative for those interested in the crises confronting educational leadership today.

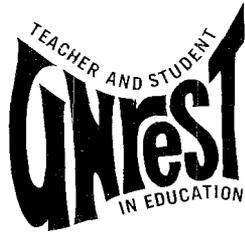
SCHOOLMEN'S DAY

NOVEMBER 30, 1967

HOLIDAY INN CENTRAL
1313 Nicollet Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Sponsored by the
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
and the STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION





PROGRAM

TOPIC: TEACHER AND STUDENT UNREST IN EDUCATION

8:30 Registration and Coffee
9:00 MORNING SESSION Arcade Ballroom,
Lower Level

Presiding:

JOHN B. DAVIS, JR.
Superintendent of Schools,
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Greetings:

DUANE J. MATTHEIS
Commissioner of Education

9:30 "What Have You Done for Us Lately"
MARTIN MAYER, Author
New York City

10:30 "School Administration Faces
Teacher Militancy"
MYRON LIEBERMAN, Author
Director of Educational Research
and Development
Rhode Island College

11:30 Questions

12:00 LUNCHEON Hall of Flags, Lobby Level

Presiding:

STANLEY B. KEGLER, Associate Dean
College of Education,
University of Minnesota

"Inquiry and Dissent"

DONALD K. SMITH,
Associate Vice President
University of Minnesota

2:00 AFTERNOON SESSION
Arcade Ballroom, Lower Level.

Presiding:

WILLIAM M. AMMENTORP,
Assistant Professor
Department of Educational
Administration
College of Education,
University of Minnesota

"What Generations Owe Each Other"

EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG, Author
Professor, New York State University
Buffalo, New York

Panel of Students from Metropolitan
High Schools

"The fact is that education does improve, slowly, discontinuously, over long periods of time...The process is cumulative...It builds on teaching method, on the piecemeal discovery of specific procedures which reveal the world to the child in such a way that he can successfully employ his own powers of learning."

The Schools: Martin Mayer

"In brief, the teacher organizations are rapidly escalating the local, state and national resources being devoted to negotiations. Unless there is a comparable effort by school management—also, at local, state and national level—the outcome will be disastrous for it. Indeed, an across-the-board effort by school management to organize for collective negotiations is absolutely essential at the present time."

From an article in
the American School Board Journal:
Myron Lieberman

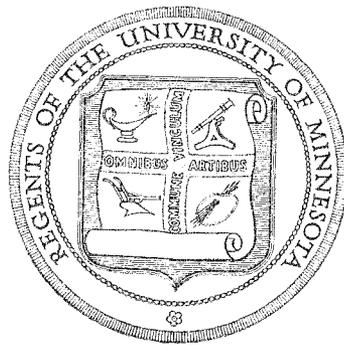
"Our students are saying that they want possession of an art of discovering more honest, more meaningful, more satisfying relationships with other human beings. They want to know how to escape from the masks of concealment, suspicion, and hostility which infect their engagements with elders and peers."

From a speech at Rochester, Minnesota, 1967:
Donald K. Smith

"Nevertheless, both hippies and rioters have succeeded this year in challenging the hegemony of the uptight way of life, and the adequacy of the legal norms from which it derives its right to use force and violence. That their direct and sometimes unlawful social action is alarming to the general public is undeniable, that it may occasion more repressive legislation, and elicit more severe violence from the authorities is probable, and tragic."

From an article in the *Nation:*
Edgar Z. Friedenberg

*Administrative
Leadership*



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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Number 2

EDITORIAL - - WINTER, 1968

This issue of Administrative Leadership reports on Schoolmen's Day, 1967, an annual conference of Minnesota school administrators sponsored by the Department of Educational Administration of the University of Minnesota and by the Minnesota State Department of Education. The tradition of Schoolmen's Day has been to introduce school people to new ideas in education and to stimulate thought with respect to innovative educational designs and goals. The controversies generated by the topic of Schoolmen's Day, 1967, "Teacher and Student Unrest," indicate that this tradition has once again been well served.

The schools of the mid 1960's are no longer havens where rest from the storms of society can be sought. They are very much in the mainstream of current social change and are being asked to accommodate new, and relatively threatening, expectations on the parts of teachers and students. The once docile teacher is now asking for professional recognition and, as Lieberman suggests, is prepared to demand that formal arrangements be made for participation in decision-making. The student is raising the embarrassing question, "Is the school relevant in today's times?" and has developed an alternative to the middle-class culture of the school which increasingly answers "No!" to this query.

Education currently serves many ends in society; it is a path for mobility and a reinforcer of the status quo as well as a place where intellectual and social issues are subject to serious analysis. To become relevant for today's social order, education must devote greater resources to the end of enrichment of youthful lives and be less defensive of prevailing social ideologies. The students depicted by Edgar Friedenberg may be the "far out" of 1967 but can also portend a general condition which would come about in the near future if the schools do not change. Young people and teachers are asking the schools to practice the values they have long extolled and are quick to recognize and criticize hypocrisy.

Schoolmen's Day, 1967 should continue to be the topic of discussion among Minnesota educators for as long a time as is necessary to understand the issues being raised and to develop strategies for the school to accommodate those who teach and learn. The following articles make it clear that ignoring and suppressing the concerns of those who live and work in the school has led to serious misunderstanding and to a teaching-learning environment of questionable utility for some students. My admonition is for the reader of this issue of Administrative Leadership to take Messrs. Friedenberg, Lieberman, Mayer, and Smith seriously, for their speeches ask the substantive questions for the schools of today.

W. Commentary

W H A T H A V E Y O U D O N E
F O R U S L A T E L Y ?

MARTIN MAYER

AUTHOR
NEW YORK CITY

*T*he title, "What Have You Done For Us Lately," was chosen because it would let me say anything I wanted. For the benefit of those of you who are very young, the story comes from Alben Barkley, Vice President of the United States, who used to tell it while electioneering. In Kentucky somebody got up and said "What have you ever done for us?" Barkley replied, "Well, that dam on the river over there! You people wouldn't have any electricity if it hadn't been for what I've done in Washington. How about the blanket factory, do you think the Army needs all the blankets the Army buys from the factory? Look what I have done for you." The guy shook his head and said "What have you done for us lately?"

I want to read you a couple of quotes that seem to describe some of the situations fairly well. One of them begins, "The most fundamental principle observed in the present school system is the maintenance unchanged

of a rigidly proscribed mechanical system fully adapted to the needs neither of the children or of the community. School board and superintendent, as well as principal, teachers and pupils, are victims of a system for which no one is primarily responsible." The other quote: "In nearly every city there has been growing up in the last ten years an elaborate public school machinery tightly managed and directed by those whom it supports. Nominally it is controlled by the taxpayers in the district but in reality by associations of persons who live as professionals upon the public school system." These quotes are from 1913 and 1880--that is what they thought of you back in the old days. Incidentally, the article is a very good one. It is by David Tyack who is a professor of the history of education, in the current issue of the American Quarterly; and it is entitled "Bureaucracy and the Common School, the Example of Portland, Oregon 1851 to 1913." There is value in getting a degree of historical background on some of these things. It isn't just a joke because the root problems have been with us a long time.

The problem that was mentioned in 1880 is that the system cares more about itself than about anything else. This is a fact of life and there is not very much that can be done about it at any given time. It is not peculiar to education. All professionals are guardians of a mystery, and they are going to cherish that mystery. They are going to try to persevere it. They are not going to permit major system changes if they can avoid it, partly because they are not sure they can learn any other mystery. They had enough trouble learning one.

Then you are confronted with the terrible problem -- How do you police professional performance? Generally speaking the social devices for controlling professional performance are feeble in education, in law, in medicine. It is a worse problem in education than elsewhere because of the immense social importance of the subject. Current community and teacher unrest both relate to developments in the politics of policing professional performance.

So far as teacher unrest is concerned, obviously the thing that interests all of you is unionism. The fundamental strength in any union, and especially a teachers' union, is still the grievance situation, and this will be true for a long time. The immense uncontrolled power of the principal and the superintendent over the amenities of life for working people in the classrooms is something which has been a scandal for years. There were all sorts of little nagging and niggling ways in which the administration could affect the psychological climate of your work; you played ball or you found your work was that much more painful. There were no grievance procedures in American education. If you were in a school with a wrong principal, about the only thing you could do was move. Teachers did move and they still do and a lot of them quit.

As I have observed it in New York and Detroit, the strength of the union is still its assurance of grievance machinery in schools. Such machinery is a kind of security that tenure alone doesn't give, and this is why you are going to have unionism. The automobile union would fall apart tomorrow, too, if it weren't for grievance procedures. That's basically what unionism is about.

Increasingly, however, the union's antagonist in New York has become the community and not the school system; this was certainly true in the strike. The enemy as perceived by most of the teachers I talked to was the community; as reflected most obviously in the black power type but also in many others. Parents were getting in the way and were saying all sorts of things they shouldn't be saying. As a result, the damage done by the strike is enormous --it will be a long time before school-community relations at the parent-teacher level return to civilization in certain districts of the city. It's a very serious problem in planning the decentralization of the school system, which must come.

The superintendency as we have known it in this country is probably dead. It rested upon the fact that every lay board is the servant of the professional staff. Always is, must be, inevitably. The lay board can't run the schools, the staff has to run them. Every so often the lay board kicks up its heels, every so often you get an election and some extreme change, but somebody still has to run the schools and there is nobody to do it, except the professional staff. So the essence of the situation has been that the community votes on monetary appropriations and elects a board to choose a superintendent and otherwise the decisions are made by the professional staff which tells the lay board what it thinks.

But the most important decision is that of how the money is going to be allocated and now this decision is going to be made in a large part with the cooperation of the union. Cooperation may be the wrong word. Therefore, the union is in policy-making from the beginning, because the union is in on the question of how much money comes into the system and who gets it.

New York City is going bankrupt from over-expenditure on its public schools over the last half dozen years. We spend \$1,100 each child. I would doubt very strongly that any of you here work in a community that spends \$1,100 a child. It certainly is very unusual. A good part of the community unrest about the New York City schools traces quite simply to the enormous drain the schools make on the resources of the people of the City at a time of massive crisis in other public services. People feel that with a municipal budget which is now nearly five billion dollars a year, more than a quarter of it going to the schools, we should get better service out of all our governmental operations than we are.

The coming years will see a growing and reasonable demand, pushed to some extent by resentment of the union for increasing productivity by the staffs of the schools. There is a speech by James Coleman in the current issue of the magazine "The Public Interest," in which Coleman, who did the report for the Office of Education a year ago, suggests that large chunks of the public school system, especially in the slums, be turned over to private industry. He suggests actually subcontracting minor school systems as the Job Corps operations were subcontracted, and letting private parties run schools competitively, pay their own salaries and develop their own programs, and let's see how they do. It is not, frankly, a wholly unappealing idea. I don't see how anybody expects to do it, but the idea is going to be thrown at you increasingly during the next half dozen years. I think it has its value.

I have been opposed to the National Assessment project, fundamentally; because it is a non-competitive model. One of the nice things about decen-

tralization in the big city is that it makes possible a competitive model. I think if we can set up some kind of model whereby performances can be compared, we have something of value over a period of time--it's a marvelous stimulant for people to feel their performance is being compared with the performance of others. Even subcontracts to profit-making companies might be better than what we've got now in Harlem and the South Bronx and New York.

A word about the class-size issue--the power of the teacher in the classroom depends on how many other humans beings there are in the room, which means that the issue is quite independent of educational significance. If you're one teacher with 30 kids, your effective control over the class is substantially less than one teacher with 16: you're less comfortable and in a way your importance is less. The teacher's union demand for smaller classes is thus a status demand, not a quality demand. Some of the most interesting work in the slums in the last ten years has been done in Leicestershire in England--and it's being done in classes of 40. Every one of you in this room would rather have your own child in a class of 30 with teacher A, than in a class of 6 with a large range of teachers B. This is an area in which teachers and community are going to collide, head-on. Some way has to be found to give increased productivity to the community which is paying the bill, and you are not going to get increasing productivity out of teachers by decreasing class sizes. There may, however, be a way out: the Scheuer Amendment has put federal support behind the training of neighborhood people in "human-service" occupations. These new jobs are not the old teacher aide jobs of wiping the blackboards and cleaning the floor because the janitor didn't come around; they are, in part, instructional jobs--or they should be.

There is an enormous untapped resource, particularly in the Negro community, of especially valuable talent which is needed in the schools and in the hospitals and the Welfare Department to improve the quality of the service given by these institutions. Right now, the most promising route to increased productivity seems to be by the assignment of trained "paraprofessionals" to help the teachers.

The superintendent in the future is going to be more a mediator between the public and the staff than he has been in the past. This has always been part of the classic definition of the job, but now, really, the opportunity to give an order is going to be very substantially diminished. There is going to be less chance, too, to tell the public through the board, "That's all right, we know what's best." Now, assuming that there is such a thing as power, there is going to be a diminution over the next generation, a substantial one, in the power of the school system center. I think that this is all for the good and that it represents a very substantial opportunity for the exercise of leadership.

The most obvious place where leadership is necessary is in the development and adoption of new materials and methods. You can get kids interested in all sorts of things which aren't "relevant." What we need are materials which are internally coherent and truly progressive in the sense of the child's proud feeling that he is getting somewhere. If he feels he is getting somewhere he doesn't concern himself that much about how the getting there relates to what he is going to be doing on the job market. With many children, it is useful to connect education to an immediate money-making purpose; but for most kids, it really isn't necessary. What they are watch-

ing on television doesn't have any relation to what they are going to do on the job market.

I want to talk to you for a few minutes about the McGeorge Bundy Report in New York. It is a major development. It is going to produce a huge fight at some length in New York City, and then the ideas in it will spread. The report was done by six people who were asked to recommend to Mayor Lindsay a scheme for decentralizing the New York City schools, and you need a little history to understand it. The New York city schools are financed about 70 per cent out of the city budget voted by the city council and the Board of Estimate; there is no school district which taxes itself. Most of the rest of the money comes from the state, a few odd million--70 million dollars from the federal government. The city is very sadly up against it financially. Lindsay last Spring went to the State Legislature, went to Rockefeller and said "I have to have more money," and he really did; and one of the ways it seemed possible to give Lindsay more money was to break the New York city school system into five separate counties for purposes of valuation of real estate on the State aid formula. Three counties would then qualify for extra aid, and about \$108 million a year of additional money could be made available by the state without giving anything extra to anybody else. The State Legislature did not enjoy giving \$108 million to the city and nothing to anybody else, and they insisted that if the city were going to get money this way, then the city would have to do something to justify the revaluations. The Legislature turned over to the Mayor of the city the job of preparing a plan to decentralize the New York City schools in a way that might be used to justify the change in the aid formula.

Lindsay went to the Ford Foundation and asked for a plan. I have reason to know that in May when they started work, the people connected with this Report just didn't know beans about the New York City school system--but by the time the report came out in November, it was a very respectable piece of work, very much worth your reading.

The Committee recommended that the City be broken into anywhere from 30 to 60 largely independent districts. Each district would have authority to hire teachers and principals and District Superintendent, authority to allocate the funds assigned to the district by some central body, authority to contract for outside help, to develop its own curriculum to establish its own standards (within the limits of state law) for promotion and tenure. Each district would be run by parents through an eleven-man Board, six members of the Board to be elected by a fairly complicated procedure; the other five to be appointed by the Mayor. There are problems with the report; many things are not clear. But the target--to make the school accountable to the community--is perfectly clear.

The word accountability, which is the word that is used in the New York Negro slums, is a very important item to remember. The community has the right to be calling to account for the performance of the schools, the professional staff who are working in the schools. What is envisaged by the authors of the Bundy Report--though not clearly stated in the document--is a situation where the local Board will hire the District Superintendent on a three-year contract and will then turn over all personnel decisions to him so that there will be, in fact, professional control over the personnel situation. I suspect this is what would happen in the great majority of districts under this scheme; and it is, of course, what should happen.

Last year our old local Board for the first time was given a role in the choosing of principals and I must say as chairman I didn't want it. I said that I wanted the District Superintendent to choose the principals. I wanted them to be his people, I wanted him to be solely responsible for making good choices--and if the principals turned out to be no good, I wanted to fire him. I think this is the only way that you can operate an organization of this sort--by making the District Superintendent responsible for the professional leadership within the school--really responsible for it. I would also like to see principals given a chance to recruit teachers for their own schools, so that the principal could be held accountable to a degree for the performance of what would be his people. Then I want to give the teachers as free a hand as possible. There is a technical obligation in the city schools to make sure, not that children are happy, and not that they're being brought up to be good citizens, but that they can function when they get out of school. This is what the parents insist upon, and this is what society insists upon, and everything else must go. If the technical demand means that you work with films and programmed instruction without teachers, if it means regimentation, if it means absolutely free play--any of these tactics is fine. I don't care what the devices are, I can see arguments for many devices. The one thing I cannot see is saying, "Look how underprivileged and deprived these kids are. How can you expect them to learn?" No. Every teacher and principal and superintendent is being paid to assure simply, that these kids will be able to function when they get out of school.

We have the Charles Reading Report which I hope you have read--it is an indictment of educational research and educators such as I never saw before because it's mild-mannered. What it says is that there is a generation of statistical evidence that look-say is no good and that the evidence has been warped and dishonestly presented in order to make look-say look good. Certainly, after the experiences we have been having in the slums with these kinds, to continue with this approach to reading this point in the game is a scandal. If it were a leak in the sewers it would be in the newspaper every day. But the reporting on education is so bad that people don't know about leaks in schools.

We can see in every slum neighborhood that we are losing the kids at ages 9 and 10. I don't know anybody who has spent a lot of time looking at slum schools, who doesn't put his finger on the age period between 9 and 11 as the point where you lose them. What response do we get? Head Start. Of course, the popularity of Head Start is that it says nothing is seriously wrong with the system--just with the kids. But the kids who come out of Head Start are by third grade not distinguishable from the kids who didn't have it, because in fact the system of early childhood education does not work in the slums. I think Head Start is a good idea, a very good idea, but it does not solve our problem.

So you have to change your schools to solve our problem. One of the awful things that has been happening to us is that we are beginning to accept the situation. The world is honeycombed with excuses. The definition of leadership is to know the situation but not accept it. We need a belief that the thing can be changed by human effort, and we need the kind of strength

in people that enables them to say we tried something and it failed, so we will now try something else. Nobody expects you to solve these problems between now and next Tuesday and nobody expects that you are going to win every time you fight. What we do ask is that if you got only 15% of your kids on grade level last year, let's try for 25 this year and 35 next year. Let's operate on problems as though we believe they can be solved, rather than waiting for somebody to push a button which will enable us to plug kids' toes into a computer and shake them until the computer gives them everything we think they ought to know. That's not going to happen. But you might be surprised to learn how much can be accomplished by plain hard work, done piece by piece.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION FACES
TEACHER MILITANCY

MYRON LIEBERMAN

RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

*M*y topic this morning is "School Administration Faces Teacher Militancy." I propose to discuss this topic in the context of collective negotiations by teachers. At the outset, it might be helpful to define "collective negotiations." I mean by this a procedure whereby the representatives of the teachers and the representatives of the school boards meet at reasonable times and places and make offers and counter-offers in good faith concerning terms and conditions of employment, with neither side being required to make any concessions or to accept any offer by the other side. This definition will be assumed throughout my discussion.

Certainly, the spread of collective negotiations appears to be one of the most fundamental changes in school administration in our times. In some states, the negotiations movement is gaining momentum as a result of legislation. In others, it is developing in the absence of legislation. And in still other states, collective negotiations are emerging very rapidly despite the presence of legislation designed to discourage collective negotiations between teachers and school boards. In any case, the negotiations movement is gaining a great deal of momentum.

A recent study which was conducted for the National School Boards Association indicated that by 1972, about 80% of the teachers in this country would be in states that had some type of negotiations statute. This does not mean that the teachers in every school district in those states would be negotiating with their school boards; even in private employment, not every group of employees legally entitled to bargaining rights actually exercises them. However, there will be negotiations in many states that do not have a negotiations statute. Bearing in mind that 1962 was, for the

most practical purposes, the beginning of the teacher negotiation movement, we will have seen a very fundamental change in school administration in about a decade.

What are the causes of this rapid change? Prior to 1962, the terms and conditions of employment for teachers were virtually always determined unilaterally by school boards. Consultation and discussion with teacher organizations were not the typical pattern. And even when consultations took place, the local teacher organization seldom had a significant impact on the terms and conditions of employment. In this connection, I cannot emphasize too strongly the distinction between negotiating and conferring or consulting. This distinction will become very important to you under the Minnesota statute. You can confer and consult with people without necessarily making offers and counter-offers in good faith concerning terms and conditions of employment. Now most school boards are not legally obligated to negotiate in good faith with the teachers. Nevertheless, although this is the case now, within another five years, it may not be the typical pattern. The typical pattern is likely to be that terms and conditions of employment will be negotiated bilaterally between representatives of the school board and those of the teachers.

No one event or series of events is solely responsible for the emergence of collective negotiations in public education, but I do want to refer briefly to one event that has probably had the greatest impact. In June 1961, the teachers in New York City voted overwhelmingly in favor of a collective bargaining election to choose a bargaining agent. And in December 1961, an election was conducted to determine what organization, if any, the New York City teachers wanted to represent them. As you know, the winning organization was the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), Local 2 of the AFI. Upon winning this election in December, 1961, the UFT negotiated a comprehensive written agreement with the New York City Board of Education.

This election and subsequent negotiated agreement had a catalytic effect that was really national in scope. Prior to 1962, the NEA and the AFT had been trying since the formation of the AFT to gain the allegiance of the nation's teachers. Over the years, the NEA had had about a 10-to-one margin over the AFT. However, in New York City, the NEA had opposed the collective bargaining election. When the election was set, the NEA tried at the last minute to put together an organization to win the election. The effort was unsuccessful and the Association affiliate in New York City lost the election. The election statistics were crucially important. At the time of the election, the AFT local had only 5,000 members but received 20,045 votes. The Association affiliate claimed a membership of over 30,000 but received only 9,770 votes. In other words, the organization with by far the fewer members nevertheless received a really decisive majority in a secret ballot election.

The wide disparity between the membership and election support was very significant. AFT leaders in other communities interpreted the New York City results as evidence that if there were a secret ballot election in their district, their locals would be chosen as the bargaining agent. AFT leadership was more sophisticated than Association leadership on this matter.

In elections, AFT leaders did not ask the teachers to join the AFT. The teachers were asked to support the AFT in the election, the strategy being to enroll them as members after the election had been won. So looking at this disparity, AFT leaders elsewhere said - "Well, if the AFT can win an election in New York City with a minority, we can in our school district." Consequently, AFT leaders all over the country began to ask for secret ballot elections by which teachers could choose an organization as their exclusive representative in negotiations with the school board.

This development confronted the NEA and its state and local affiliates with a series of dilemmas, some of which remain unresolved at this time. The NEA had opposed collective bargaining but it was obvious that the association had to offer some alternative to collective bargaining. So in 1962, the NEA came out for "professional negotiations," a procedure allegedly distinguished from collective bargaining by not being tied to labor precedents and by a broader scope of negotiation than was conventionally associated with collective bargaining. The NEA espousal of professional negotiation was confused and erratic, but it nevertheless greatly accelerated the trend toward collective negotiations by teachers.

Perhaps I use the phrase "collective negotiations" because use of "collective bargaining" suggest advocacy of the AFT position and use of "professional negotiations" suggest support for the NEA position. If you go to Michigan or Massachusetts or Rhode Island, the superintendents will tell you there is no difference between "collective bargaining" and "professional negotiation." Regardless, I want to use the phrase "collective negotiations" simply to avoid prejudging the question as to whether there is any significant difference between these two procedures.

Beginning in 1962 the strategy of the NEA and its affiliates was to get the Association point of view embodied in state legislation. The association position tended to be that administrators and teachers should be in the same negotiating unit and be represented by the same organization. Of course, this is contrary to the AFT position. The Association also asserted there should be no limit to the scope of negotiation, and that "educational channels" should regulate collective negotiations between teacher and school boards.

Consider what has happened since 1962. In 1962 Wisconsin was the first state to pass a law providing some type of negotiating rights for teachers. This law was opposed by the Wisconsin Education Association and supported by the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers. It applies to all public employees. Then in 1965 California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Washington enacted some type of negotiation law. In 1966, Rhode Island enacted a statute providing for negotiation rights for teachers, and in 1967, Minnesota, Nebraska, and New York enacted statutes in this area.

The basic cause for the spread of collective negotiations by teachers is the fact that teachers have had very weak local organizations. Historically, teachers have put their organizational efforts into action at the state level. When they wanted a higher salary, they tried to get a higher

state minimum salary law. When they wanted a duty-free lunch period, they would try to get a right-to-eat law passed, etc. The emergence of collective negotiations reflects the breakdown of this one-sided emphasis on the state organization. Obviously, there are many communities where the teachers could get a duty-free lunch period if they had a strong local organization. There is no point to waiting until the state mandates a duty-free lunch period for everyone if a strong local organization could achieve this at the local level.

In the past, school administrators played a significant role in recruiting members in local, state and national associations. The NEA's own research shows that it has relied to a significant extent upon administrative support in recruiting members. The negotiating context presents a different situation. Is a school board or a school administrator going to encourage teachers to join a local, state, and national association that is fighting the local administration tooth and nail at the local level for higher salaries, and other benefits? I think not.

This is why collective negotiations has important implications for the state associations. The state associations have relied upon administrative support in recruitment. Such support was readily available as long as the local associations were not negotiating organizations. In reality, the emergence of negotiations has posed a threat to some of the state associations. In fact, one of the significant differences from state to state lies in the different ways that state associations have reacted to the problem. Some of them have decided that the only way to beat the AFT is to "out-union the union." This has been the reaction in such states as Massachusetts, Michigan, and Rhode Island. In other states, the fear of losing administrative support for recruitment has led to a different strategy. In any case, teachers are finally developing strong local as well as strong state organizations.

Another factor is that other public employees are getting bargaining rights. The teachers see this, and it puts pressure on teacher leaders to achieve the same rights for teachers.

Still another extremely important factor, of course, is organizational rivalry. When either an NEA or AFT affiliate negotiates a good agreement, that agreement is immediately disseminated all over the country. I have negotiated for school boards in Rhode Island and New York, and it is very common to run into clauses that were originally negotiated in Michigan or Massachusetts. Thus every unique negotiating success is immediately disseminated nationally; by the same token, any failure is immediately disseminated by the rival organization. Negotiations at the local level have become matters of more than local concern. You certainly are going to be faced with this, because the organizational situation in Minnesota is one of intense organizational rivalry.

Let me turn now to the lawyers full employment bill, which some of you know as the Minnesota negotiations statute. I have already, on a number of occasions, expressed the view that this statute is not good for teachers.

I won't go into all the reasons for this view but I would like to discuss the statute today primarily from the standpoint of administrators.

First, I don't buy the theory that if the statute is bad for teachers, it must be good for administrators or vice versa. This is a poor law from virtually any point of view.

Why is it not good for administrators? The law requires a school board or a subcommittee thereof to meet and confer with the negotiating council. According to the law, the school board itself, or a subcommittee thereof is required to negotiate. Unfortunately the worst mistakes and the most trouble comes when school boards try to do the negotiating. School boards have no experience in this area, and they are not elected for their negotiation expertise. In community after community, the results of school board negotiating have just been disastrous.

Speaking practically, the school board delegates the teaching, the accounting, the cooking in the school cafeteria, the bus driving, etc. There isn't any reason why school boards shouldn't delegate the negotiating. But you now have a law that seems to require that the school board do the negotiating. Of course, board members who negotiate are not likely to be very effective. In other states, board members who have negotiated have frequently capitulated at three in the morning or thereabouts. They just give up and say, "Well, give it to them, let's get out of here," and then you, the administrators, may suffer for years afterwards.

Another serious weakness is that the law requires that the negotiating councils to represent everybody below the rank of superintendents. How can administrators supervise employees who represent the administrators concerning administrative terms and conditions of employment? Suppose the teachers are coming late to school. The principal must enforce the policies of the school board concerning punctuality. How effectively will the principal do this if the very people that he has to administer are the ones that represent him in negotiations?

Another basic weakness in the law is that it provides for proportional representation instead of exclusive recognition of a majority organization. This is not only bad for teachers; it is bad for administrators, because it is very difficult to reach agreement if rival organizations have members on the teacher negotiating team. One organization will always hold out against accepting anything because it will want to accuse the other one of giving in too easily; the teachers on the council will usually be jockeying for organizational advantage. Clearly, experience with negotiating councils in other states and in other fields of employment would indicate that you are going to have some very frustrating days ahead with the councils.

One of the problems you will eventually have to face is who should do the negotiating for the board. My suggestion is that the first thing to do is to delegate the job of negotiating to an experienced person. Over and over again, one sees school boards or school administrators who want to negotiate despite their inexperience. Then they get into trouble and hire

someone to get them out of trouble. It seems that many people in school administration think that it is wise to hire somebody to get you out of trouble but it's not wise to hire someone to keep you out of trouble.

To illustrate, the teachers may make a proposal concerning the number of specialists to be hired. The proposal may be for so many psychologists, so many guidance counselors, and so many of this and so many of that. You may feel this is an administrative matter, so that the teachers may propose that you agree to an adequate number of specialists as a goal. This proposal seems acceptable; you are not bound by it, so you go ahead and agree to it. What many school administrators do not realize is that by putting this clause in the agreement, they establish a case for the negotiability of the item. Inclusion of the clause weakens their argument that the number of specialists is not a negotiable item. School administrators and school boards are falling into this kind of trap all over the country.

If you are going to delegate the task of negotiating, to whom should the task be delegated? Ideally, superintendents in medium to large districts would have administrative subordinates who are trained in negotiations but, to be candid about it, the institutions that train school administrators have lagged behind in this area. To my knowledge, not one has ever provided adequate training on collective negotiations by school administrators. Using school board lawyers inexperienced in employment relations has not been very successful either. The need, basically, is for personnel who know employment relations. It is much safer to place a person who knows collective negotiations and employment relations into the educational context than it is to place an educator who doesn't know anything about collective bargaining into the bargaining context. My suggestion is that regardless of your personnel situation at the beginning, you will want members of your staff to become knowledgeable and expert as soon as possible, so that within a year or two you are no longer dependent upon outside help. The first round of negotiations should be an educational experience, but don't learn the hard way that a superintendent can lose his job as a result of negotiating mistakes.

Another basic issue is what should be your attitude toward teacher organizations, even though in Minnesota you are supposed to deal with a negotiating council. Eventually, councils will be replaced by teacher organizations. In fact, one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Minnesota law is that it does not give teachers the right to be represented by an organization; it is difficult to understand how the MEA or any state organization of teachers could advocate a law that deprives teachers of the right to be represented by anybody they wish. Nevertheless, that is the case in Minnesota at this time. Eventually, this will change, and you will have to negotiate with teacher organizations; in fact, as you know, current decisions concerning participation in the councils are made organizationally.

Let me turn next to administrative reactions to negotiations. Or is all-out resistance. Administrators ask, "How can they do this to me? I work my fingers to the bone for the teachers, and now they are organized and are demanding negotiation right!" This is a common reaction, and it has a connotation of failure on the part of the administrator. Practically,

it is an immature reaction. It is a posture in line with the view that the best union organizers are the superintendents. A posture of all-out resistance will often do more to organize a militant teacher organization than anything else that might be done. Regardless, an attitude of all-out resistance is not an appropriate role from the standpoint of public policy for a school board or a school administrator.

Another attitude is to embrace and support the organization. This is a hangover from the pre-negotiation era, when the local organization was not a negotiating organization, and represented no threat or potential threat to the administration. The organizational function was not to negotiate and it was not necessary for the administration to oppose it. Like all-out resistance, this attitude will soon be rejected by knowledgeable administrators. You may be interested to know that in federal employment, a federal administrator cannot legally encourage doctors to join the American Medical Association. A federal hospital administrator cannot do this. The rationale is that in order to provide effective representation, the organization that represents employees must be an employee initiative. It is not the employer's job to encourage membership or support for such an organization, and it is not the employer's job to discourage these things. They are matters for the employees themselves to determine, without help or hindrance from the employer. Stay away from it - it's not your problem.

What approach might administrators take to teacher organizations? I think the proper approach is simply a businesslike one. The teachers have the right to choose their representative. Whether you happen to agree with or like their choice, you should get on with the job of negotiating or be stuck, at least for a limited time, with whatever representative the teachers have chosen. To start telling teacher "You should have chosen somebody else" or to start resisting their choice of representative will be a self-defeating proposition, in the long run.

Obviously, there are different administrative approaches to negotiations. When you negotiate with teachers it's not like selling your house in New Jersey and moving to California. Negotiations are not a one-shot proposition, so that the parties don't ever see each other after the agreement. You negotiate an agreement, but after the agreement is negotiated, the parties still have to live with each other. Later, they will have to negotiate another agreement. This is something you must take into account in deciding what your posture is going to be toward the representative of the teachers. Because the relationship is an ongoing and relatively permanent, you should be more careful about interfering with the teacher choice of taking unfair advantage of short run opportunities.

The existence of rival organizations is one of the most difficult problems that administrators face in a negotiating context. Last month I was in New Jersey at their state school board convention. During my visit, I was told that every teacher strike in New Jersey has occurred in a school district where there were rival teacher organizations. Each organization feels a need to be more militant than the other; to prove its militancy organizations may decide to go on strike. Sooner or later, you will realize

the ineffectiveness of proportional representation when there are rival organizations. It really will make life miserable for you in the long run. When you have rival organizations, it is extremely difficult to negotiate effectively, because the organization leaders may feel that proving their militancy is more important than reaching an agreement. I have had leaders of teacher organizations tell me quite sincerely that under certain circumstances they would rather have a not-so-good agreement which the organization fought for than a good agreement that was handed to it on a platter. Sometimes the organization needs a fight for organizational reasons. This will be one of your most difficult problems wherever there are rival teacher organizations.

I want to turn next to two of the most basic problems that you will deal with in a negotiating conference. One is what to do about grievance procedures culminating in binding arbitration. Grievance procedures are extremely important and are probably the most important influence of negotiations at the school level. When you get a negotiated agreement with a grievance procedure that culminates in binding arbitration by an impartial third party, then in effect the teacher organization begins to monitor the performance of the administration. Suppose that you were trying to discharge a teacher under a grievance procedure that said teachers could only be discharged for just cause. When you discharge someone under such a clause the organization is going to ask some very embarrassing question. Was this teacher evaluated? Was he shown the evaluation? Was he given a reasonable time to remedy his deficiencies? If you can't show these things, and if the organization has negotiated a good agreement, then your right to discharge or to discipline teachers is going to be limited to the negotiated procedure. None of us really likes to have somebody evaluate our work, but if somebody is doing so, we usually do a better job. Certainly the TV teacher does a better job because he is so visible.

Grievance arbitration must be distinguished from arbitration of contract terms. Arbitration when the teachers want so much money and you don't want to give them that much, or the teachers want more sick leave than the school board is willing to grant would illustrate arbitration of contract terms. Arbitration over the meaning or interpretation of an agreement is a much different issue. The position of the teachers will be that if they have an agreement with the school board, the board should not be able to take away what's in the agreement by the way the board interprets or applies it. This is an idea you would all normally accept. When you make a contract to sell your home, you don't give the other fellow the unilateral right to interpret the contract if there is an important disagreement over its terms.

One of the important issues here is the definition of grievance. "Grievance" should be defined generally as a violation of the agreement, and the arbitrator's role should be limited to deciding whether or not the administration violated the agreement (and the remedy; if there should be one). Usually a clause providing for binding arbitration of grievances will also say that the arbitrator can't add or subtract from the agreement, and that his sole function will be limited to ruling whether the administration has violated the agreement and making an appropriate remedy if he decides

that there was a violation. By agreeing to binding arbitration of grievances, the administration is not really conceding anything that it hasn't conceded in the agreement, except the unilateral right to interpret or apply an agreement that it has made.

The Minnesota teachers, like teachers elsewhere, will seek grievance arbitration in these agreements, and you will come under rapidly accelerating pressure to include such clauses in agreements with your teachers. I have known school boards and school administrators to argue that grievance arbitration is an improper delegation of authority. School administrators sometimes say this even though they have construction contracts that provide for binding arbitration of controversies arising over the construction contract. Let me suggest that you don't use the argument about improper delegation as a rationalization rather than a reason to avoid grievance arbitration.

One last point relates to the future of organizations of administrators. Let me start with the impact of negotiations on organizations of administrators. In my mind, there is no question that within three years or so the NEA and the AFT will merge. This merger will introduce an altogether new ball game. The average school administrator in this country has no conception of the enormous resources that the teacher organizations are devoting to negotiations. This year, the Michigan Education Association has \$275,000 in its budget just for legal fees connected with negotiations - not legal fees in general, just legal fees related to negotiations. That is more than twice as much as the previous total budget of the Michigan School Boards Association.

The NEA is spending millions of dollars for negotiations services. This presents a real problem when you are negotiating for a school board. Let me illustrate. I have negotiated in a situation where in the teachers emphasized that an adjacent community had just reached an agreement that was \$400 higher than what we thought was our best offer. The teachers did not tell us that in this next adjacent community, there were six more days in the school year and a longer school day; so that on an hourly basis, our offer was actually better than the offer of the adjacent school system. My point is that when you negotiate for a school board, you often have to rely on the data supplied by the teacher organization. Knowledge is power. You are going to be severely disadvantaged if you consistently rely on their knowledge. It isn't that the teacher organizations are going to provide misinformation. However, they may not develop or disseminate certain kinds of data important to the board's position. One of the things that I discovered this summer is that many state school board organizations are paper organizations. School board organizations are going to have to increase their resources devoted to negotiations, and this brings me to the future of organizations of administrators.

In order to prepare for negotiations, superintendents, central office staff, principals, and school boards have to have certain data. In many cases, the same data is needed by all these groups. Clearly, it isn't going to make sense for all of these groups to have separate organizations

developing such data. For this reason, I expect the emergence of some kind of administrative consortium, whereby superintendents, central office staff, and principals may join with the school boards in just some consortium. In Michigan, the principals have already voted to secede from the Michigan Education Association and to affiliate with the Michigan Congress of School Administrators. The Congress of School Administrators includes the school board. The change is going to require many difficult adjustments but it will have to be made.

In conclusion, a few words about the role of the superintendent. Thus far, superintendents have been let down by their organizations as well as by institutions of higher education. If you look at the AASA statement on negotiations (School Administrators View Professional Negotiation), you may notice that there are no names on this AASA publication. I think the reason is because the AASA received its help on this publication from NEA. When superintendents recognize that they are not impartial third parties, when they recognize that they are employed to be the chief manager and executive officer of the school system, their role will then be clarified and strengthened.

Look at the realities of the situation. A board cannot negotiate. In systems of any size, the boards must delegate the job negotiating. Boards can't do this without providing others the latitude to negotiate; if board negotiators must always say, "We have to go back to the board to decide this," the teachers are going to insist upon negotiating with the board. The teachers will say that if the board negotiators are not authorized to negotiate, negotiations are a waste of time. If the teachers' negotiations are sitting across from a superintendent who says "I have to take this back to the board," the teachers may start putting out flyers to the effect that the school has the highest paid messenger boys in the whole city. In other words, the pressure of negotiations is going to force school boards to delegate a great deal more authority to the superintendent so that he or his representatives can negotiate effectively, otherwise the teachers will challenge board representatives who go to the negotiating table without adequate authority.

As the teacher organizations get stronger, the teachers will realize that they must rely on the people that they choose to represent them. As this happens, superintendents will feel less disturbed at clear recognition of their managerial role. The superintendents, as well as other administrators, will see clearly that the teacher representative have the primary task of articulating and advancing teacher interests. The superintendent's job is to represent the board.

In the long run, negotiations are going to strengthen those superintendents who are willing to confront the realities of the situation and do what has to be done. Certainly, I regard my presence here this morning as another indication that superintendents in Minnesota are recognizing the problem and are going to take appropriate action to meet it.

I N Q U I R Y A N D D I S S E N T

DONALD K. SMITH

ASSOCIATE VICE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

A certain gloom hangs over the land. About two weeks ago I heard Walter Lippman responding to student questioners on an offering of the Public Television Laboratory, and when asked if he recalled a more troubled time, the pundit surprised me slightly by saying "no". Since he has lived through two world wars, a Korean police action, and the great depression, the judgment is unsettling.

I'm not certain that much credence need be given such judgments. At best they reflect more the pundit's consultation with his own nervous system than his application of any publicly discriminable index of trouble. Nevertheless, I take it that Lippman's uneasiness mirrors a national uneasiness. The uneasiness is variously phrased according to the perception of the Cassandra speaking. It takes the form of such questions as: Is our civilization so incapable of bringing the blessings of the good life to its own people as to have forfeited any claim to world leadership other than the claims of material and military power? Have we set loose a technological revolution so ill-planned as to corrupt the lives of those it was intended to enrich? Do we stand now, like the Athens of Pericles, at the zenith of our strength and ambition, but unable to manage our own passions, whether personal or civic, with wisdom commensurate to their power?

The questions are too dark, too apocalyptic, and too absolute in their implication to give a just accounting of either the national condition, the condition of Americans generally, or the condition of America in the world. But the fact that they are stated, are stated so often and by so many, invites the rhetoric of alarm, the assertion of causes, the passion for reform so characteristic of the last few years.

The critic, (and his numbers are legion), finds the root cause of national malaise in some aspect of the scene that his vocation or experience has taught him to perceive, and which is related to some nostrum he currently advocates. Thus, to an educator, the problem of the nation is likely to be translated into a shortcoming, or unfinished promise in our educational system. And the cure for our ills may take a form as specific as teaching Johnny how to read, or a form as generalized as a call for radical destruction of the whole of the current educational establishment so that some undefined Phoenix can rise from the ashes, through unspecified processes.

I have circled through these ambiguous observations about national alarm, and national oversupply of proposals for reform, as the basis for certain warnings about the remainder of my talk. First, I do want to make certain observations today about current frustrations in our civilization which seem to be related to unfulfilled possibilities in our educational system. In making these observations, however, I am not offering the claim of having discovered what it is that really ails us. It is possible that what ails us most at the present time is preoccupation with the discovery of ailments. But my own nose for trouble, like that of any teacher, inevitably looks toward aspects of American behavior which might reflect shortcomings in our educational system.

Second, I shall be relating the troubles to which I point to certain broad proposals about the design of curriculum and instruction in our educational institutions. These proposals, however militantly couched, do not reflect a conviction that the American educational establishment is so seriously flawed that it can be saved only by revolution. My experience with students wouldn't really support such pessimism. I find the current crop better educated, by any standard, than their predecessors, serious in their search for the formation of personal powers constitutive of their own humanity, and equally serious in their search for the competence which will enable them to

find vocation in a complex world. The articulate ones among them are full of cries for educational reform, and not too respectful of the hard won accomplishments of their elders. But this is largely because they have accepted as an article of faith the formative power of a proper education. They really believe that man is, at the heart of his nature, a learning being, most fulfilling of his own nature as he acquires the skills, attitudes, and habits underlying a lifetime of learning. They really believe in teaching and learning. What they want most from their teachers is a passion equal to their own for the unfulfilled possibilities of man.

II

Our students have their goals, however awkwardly stated, and they have their frustrations, however gracelessly expressed. And it seems to me we can learn something of the problems of our civilization by listening carefully, with the third ear of sympathy, to the things they may be trying to tell us about the problem of living in the twentieth century.

In the last few years I have been meeting each year with a small group of University freshmen, rather highly selected for ability and motivation to be sure, under circumstances which permit me to listen at some length to their statements of aspiration and discontent. Behind their dramatic forays into large scale proposals for educational reform, it seems to me I hear over and over again three major themes. The first theme is their frustration with the problem of institutional change. They sense, and quite correctly, I believe, that in an age of revolutionary technological and intellectual change, our traditional public institutions should be changing also; that changes should be occurring in the structure and functioning of our educational institutions, our civic, state, and federal political structures, our churches. They believe that we should be inventing new societal structures about as rapidly as we are inventing new production techniques. And they are dismayed by the awesome grip of tradition, of past practice, on these societal arrangements. They are frustrated that change in institutional arrangements seems not to occur in proportion to the revolutionary nature of the age, and fond of proclaiming, in an excess of adolescent sentimentality, their own powerlessness to produce change.

The second theme I believe I hear is concern for the quality of their relationships with other people. Our students are saying, or seem to me to be saying, that they want to know how to discover more honest, more satisfying relationships with their neighbors; how to escape from the masks of concealment, suspicion, hostility, and fear which seem to infect their relationships with peers and elders; how to find what it is that can lie creatively between man and man, the truth of which is not the possession of this person or that, but which is created in the act of engagement, which is experienced rather than objectified, which is known to the heart as much as to the mind.

A third concern is voiced by only an occasional student, usually in a tentative and awkward manner. A few students still wonder if education should not somehow enforce their capacity and taste for privacy, provide an art of living with oneself. The idea of isolation has never stimulated the imagination of more than a small minority of students, but I would not be surprised to see the minority grow, and become more insistent in asking about the relevance of formal education to this human purpose. The logical reflex of our populous, busy, complicated world is almost certainly some yearning for the uses of solitude.

As I speculate these concerns of students, it seems to me that they do mark a proper diagnosis of what may be man's most pressing problems in the modern world. In other contexts we have all been persuaded, probably before John Gardner pronounced the words, that America needs to become a self-renewing society, conscious that rapid and accelerating change is to characterize life, and of the fact that our social institutions will change in the presence of such pressures, either as a result of our own volition, or in spite of our anguished outcries. It is not, therefore, irrelevant to this age that our students seek power to initiate and participate in changes which they think inevitable and necessary. Moreover, in other contexts, who among us has not sensed the aridity of the part relationships, the bureaucratic transactions which occupy so much of our time with our fellow human beings. And who has not sensed that our complex world, dominated by such part relationships, requires a level of skill in building meaningful relationships never before demanded of man? And requires also a strength for solitude claimed in the midst of clamor. My students' problems are my problems also, which may be why I hear them saying the things I think they are saying. And our joint problems,

it seems to me, call for some reflection about the nature and structure of formal education.

My own reflections have been stimulated by certain observations about the functions of education made by Sir Eric Ashby, the Master of Clare College, Cambridge University. Last spring, I applied a line of reasoning stimulated by Sir Eric's notions to the problems of teaching, speaking, and writing, and if any of you heard or read this earlier talk, I apologize for the repetition of several of its theses. However, Professor Hooker implied that I had been invited to this meeting at least indirectly because of what I had said on the earlier occasion, and that I shouldn't labor with the invention of strange new ideas, when I had some strange old ones lying about.

Sir Eric, in a seminar at the University of Minnesota given a year ago last summer, made the almost offhand comment that educational institutions had only two things to teach: the first, an orthodoxy, or body of traditional wisdom accumulated and organized by the various academic disciplines and professions; the second, an art of dissent, or the effective method of questioning tradition, and transforming, or recreating it. In these two terms, orthodoxy and dissent, he captured the ancient dialectic between tradition and innovation, between man's past and his future, between that which seems to be known and that remaining to be discovered.

For my own purposes, I usually translate Sir Eric Ashby's twin terms into the labels "tradition" and the "art of inquiry". Thus I can relieve him of any responsibility for the uses I make of his formulation, and at the same time divest my own comments of the purely topical shadows of Viet Nam, urban chaos, and campus riots which now tend to cluster about the term "dissent". My translation, however, blurs the muscular imagery of the original terms, and I think it useful to be reminded that behind the respectable academic conception of tradition lies all of the orthodoxies that ever gripped men's fancies and all of the history of their perishability. And behind the equally pleasant notion of an art of inquiry stands the often angry and contorted face of dissent.

Let me ask then, that for the next few minutes, you join with me in assuming that the terms tradition and inquiry are an apt synopsis of the matter dialectic which should be fed by our educational system. And let me move quickly to an application of this construct to certain of our current educational perplexities.

I think it to be the case, although not unequivocally so, that the dialectic of tradition and inquiry is translated in current educational practice into a conflict between the sciences and the humanities, with science and technology wielding the sword of inquiry, while the humanities, the studies of language, literature, history, and the documentary social sciences tend to the shield of tradition.

In one sense, this is C. P. Snow's thesis of the two cultures, revisited. But Snow, you will recall, saw his two cultures divided by disparities in knowledge--a moat to be bridged by trading off Hamlet for Newton's second law of thermodynamics. And I am suggesting that the gulf runs deeper than particular bodies of information or expertise. It involves the fundamental posture, attitude, teleology, or life style which separates instruction in the sciences and technology from instruction in the humanities and social studies. One half of our modern house of intellect, the half occupied by the sciences, idealizes the art of inquiry, the values of discovery, innovation, and transformation. The other half gives a careful ear to the ancient muse of tragedy, thinks often of Sisyphus pushing his rock up the hill, observes that things have changed for the worse as often as for the better, and finds Job, Oedipus, St. Francis, or Bobby Dylan more believable than Prometheus.

In one sense, this gives our educational enterprise a surface symmetry. We seem to give our students a balanced education by loading the scales with three Shakespearean sonnets for each new discovery concerning the genetic code; recovering a medieval text for every moon shot; spending an hour with American history for every hour with computer science. If the sword of inquiry threatens to dislocate the traditional world, we will blunt its thrust by louder cries of devotion to Beethoven, Moliere, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the founding fathers, tales of the Spanish-American War, and memorials to the League of Nations. But the symmetry, the balance, seems to me on inspection to become a thorough delusion; the dialectic is sterile, and our students are disarmed.

The dialectic is sterile because, as of the moment, the hard sciences have relatively little to offer about the conduct of such tasks as institution building, the development of creative interpersonal relations, or the uses of solitude. And the tradition offered by artistic and humanistic studies may expand the social and effective life of individual scientists, without offering

anything more than the most vapid sort of intellectual tantrums about the hard questions raised by the explosion of scientific and technological know-how. The truth is that the wisdom of the humanistic tradition, however, valuable, neither has nor can stem the thrust of scientific inquiry, and neither has nor can bring peace to this troubled world. The former task can be accomplished, if it needs accomplishing, only by the development of a tradition within the sciences which looks into the history of this form of human enterprise, and poses for philosophic examination and relevant response the political and value issues generated by the enterprise. And the solution to the latter problem will require the generation in mankind of skills not now available in the creation of international organizations--an art of inquiry into the tasks of institution building. Our present educational disposition involves a pattern of instruction able to set in motion technological innovations which dislocate our traditional social structures and interpersonal relations, but unable to innovate the new social structures, or manage the new patterns of interpersonal relations required by the dislocation.

V.

This, of course, is the point at which I link the aspirations and discontents of our students to the shortcomings of the instruction made available to them. You will recall that some minutes ago I observed that students seem to me to aspire to an art of creating new forms of societal organization, an art of creating more meaningful interpersonal relations, and an art of managing solitude creatively. These are, in part at least, the arts of inquiry appropriate to man's social and humanistic enterprise. But they are also the arts that go largely, though not wholly untaught in our humanistic and social science curriculum.

To the extent that we teach students about societal institutions, we are likely to concentrate on descriptive studies of past and present societal arrangements. There are other possibilities to be sure. Students might learn more about the function of symbols in the construction, management, and reformation of institutions. They might, through verbal games, learn of the way in which role specialization, expectations, and the operations of planning documents and feed back communications establish the identity of organizations

and the security of their members. And they might practice the behaviors mutually needed by a group of people who really want rapid modification of institutional structure in the light of new goals and demands. But this art of inquiry into institution building goes largely untaught.

To the extent that we teach students about interpersonal communication, we are likely to concentrate, with limited success, on the traditional rules of correct or polite public usage, or the performance of tasks of expository or persuasive writing or speaking. We teach how to use language to get on in the world the way it is now organized. There are other possibilities to be sure. We might teach students about creative uses of language by two people who wish genuine dialogue with one another, who want to find the symbols they can use in common as evocative of shared experience, or want to understand the symbols that mark the gulf in values, temperament or purpose which separate them. Such a study would require search for the form of statements which foster interpersonal inquiry and discovery rather than the traditional statements of instruction, command, or rejoinder. It would require practice in the tasks of dialogue to the end that an intention to treat others as people, not objects, would be supported by a language appropriate to the intention. But this art of inquiry goes largely untaught.

We do better, I believe, with instruction in the creative uses of solitude, I have observed skillful teaching of literature as an art of self-discovery; and I have seen the teacher of creative writing, or music, or painting, or theatre, or dance, who gave life to the internal world of students. But such teaching, as we all know, is butter on the solid bread of a useful education; the least thing one would think of for the disadvantage (although I think it might be the first); and much too hard to justify for the academic curriculum. So the arts, the art of inquiry into oneself, go partly untaught, and often badly taught, and often taught to only a few.

And thus, or so it seems to me, we send our students forward with aspiration for inquiry and creation but little knowledge or skill in the art of creating. And thus our students begin to act out their inquiries in strange, awkward, and often destructive ways. They urge reconstruction of organizations by the substitution of participatory democracy for bureaucratic specialization--even though any sociologist could tell them that their maneuvering will delay rather than promote the invention of new societal arrangements.

They proclaim their vision of a community of love an expanding human consciousness by consigning everyone over 30 years of age to the seventh level of senescence, by idealizing confrontation over communication, and by invoking folk music, Hindu Matras, erotic poetry, and hallucinogens as substitutes for the ordinary arts of dialogue. They grab peers and elders symbolically by the coat lapels and demand a "dialogue" with all the prudence of a gardener pulling up a chrysanthemum by the roots and ordering it to grow. They theorize about government, education, and life with the naivete of a Prince Kropotkin caught between Freud and the atomic bomb. And yet one must ask, if he is a teacher, what is really so surprising about the awkwardness of inquiries undertaken by the untaught and the self-taught? President Wilson commented last year on the remarkable noise levels achieved by relatively small numbers of students, and suggested that those of us who profess recall Job's cry, "Teach me, and I will hold my tongue". We might paraphrase this: "Teach me an art of inquiry into the tasks of institution building, an art of inquiry into the truths that lie between man and man, and an art of inquiry into the reaches of my own mind, and I will exchange that art for my self-taught search."

I think it possible that this is the cry our students want to make to us. They deserve an audience. They will never know the comforts of a society whose traditions will endure through their lifetime. They sense, and quite accurately, that they stand on flowing earth, that their world moves, whether they will it or not, beneath their feet. And they seek an art of inquiry which will enable them to live with and shape that motion. We owe them the response professional teachers must always make to these needing instruction.

W H A T G E N E R A T I O N S O W E
E A C H O T H E R

EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG

NEW YORK STATE UNIVERSITY
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

"...society which has no purpose of its own, other than to assure domestic tranquility by suitable medications, will have no use for adolescence and will fear them for they will be among the first to complain as they crunch away at their benzedrine, that tranquilizers make you swear. It will set up programs of guidance which are likely to be described as therapeutic but whose apparent function is to keep young minds and hearts in custody until they are without passion."¹

*I*n focusing on the two generations, mine which I equate with that of the audience, and that of the young people who are on the panel --I may say at my request and suggestion--I plan to be considering not merely what we owe each other, but also the contribution that each is making, and what some of the hang-ups are. The quotations from The Vanishing Adolescent, although I would still very much subscribe to them, are

¹Friedenberg, Edgar Z. The Vanishing Adolescent, Beacon Press: Boston, 1964.

some eight years old and in the meanwhile one very prominent thing which none of us can ignore, although we may respond with either celebration or terror, is that a good many of the adolescents whom I had spoken of as vanishing have turned out to be very much alive. Benzadrine, as you know, is largely an obsolete drug and did not point to the direction of the future. Very few people whose judgment I respect have any use for "speed" which would be its successor, and pot is something quite different. But I should make it clear at the outset, hardly anything I have to say will be concerned with the "average" adolescent even now. I don't believe that one should attempt to analyze a confrontation in primarily numerical terms. Indeed, I think even the president of the World Bank would agree that this can be an extremely misleading exercise on the basis of many years of experience. I am going to try to indicate first what I regard as the best of the young people and those who are the cause of most concern to persons who deal with them professionally, are offering to us what it seems to me as educators, if we are to claim any legitimacy, we owe to them, not in return but because of the nature of our mutual being and why I think it unlikely that the transaction will be completed.

The first of these major contributions is something quite new as I see it to American society, and that is a new non-empirical norm of expressiveness and moral action. By non-empirical norm I mean one which does not justify itself in terms of its effectiveness, which is not action oriented, and one which is not to be argued with or denied on grounds of practicality. Now this, if you stop to think about it, is what causes such dreadful animosity on the part of the old left toward what is called the new left and even more towards the kinds of young people who for want of another and less mature term are called "hippies." This is the kind of thing that happens at recruitment visitations for Dow Chemical or the CIA. Even those who are in sympathy

with the kids say, "How dreadful!" "Imprisoning a Dow recruiter loses them some support. It is the worst way of going about what they are trying to do. It only makes people angrier." Whereas the kids would respond that that isn't the point. They would say, "We are not essentially social activists. We are trying to express something, a moral attitude, a comment about our plight as we see it in the world. This is not an argument. It is a shriek."

When I heard Vice President Smith making what I think was an epigram about feeling that one was caught between Sigmund Freud and the atomic bomb, I couldn't help but feel that perhaps he was illustrating the importance of the shriek as over and against the more rational intellectualized approach. The bomb is not a fantasy. Neither is General Hershey a fantasy. None of these are aspects of a young person's environment which can be reduced by analysis or by raising therapeutically-oriented questions about why they should be so disturbed about the possibility which becomes more like a probability--with draft calls being raised now to some 30,000 or nearly double next month--of being sent to Vietnam to kill other people until one is killed oneself. These are not phenomena to be incorporated into an explanation of world views. That isn't the first thing to be done about them.

The first thing to be done about them is to recognize that for young people they are realities and for older people they are not in quite the same sense realities. Obviously, if an atomic bomb were to fall at this very moment, right here in Hennepin County, it wouldn't do me by some 23 years as much damage as it would do them. There are real reasons for expressive behavior, expressive behavior simply because the intellectual approach, although certainly necessary takes the form of a cut-off, too. It assumes an on-going social structure, which is exactly what is in question. It assumes that we may sit down and reason together, that we have misunderstandings, rather than severe conflicts of interest.

I have come to realize lately that one reason that adolescents and adults fear each other is because in fact they are very damaging to each other. That is to say that the fear is based on reality and to speak of it in terms that imply that mutual understanding would result is in a sense to neglect the actual confrontation implied in our very social role. But what is striking about this is that a small minority is concerned to bear witness and to communicate with whoever can hear, what their experience in what will, indeed, for many be the last years of their lives, and in a social system on whose endurance they have no confidence, what this has meant in their life.

A second and related contribution of the newer generation to ours has been a new attitude towards sexuality. Now this is not as new as the non-empirical norm of behavior which is more expressive because being impractical is not even a sin in America. It is worse, a form of insanity or aberration. But there have been times in the past, there have been groups, who were concerned with sexual honesty, with more complete kinds of self-expression and with self-expression which was not as linear, not as narrative, which attempted to accomplish much more experience in a single moment. It is here that the psychedelic drugs find their attractiveness, and it is because this is the function, that is, the function of increasing, like a wide-angle lens increases a camera's range, the amount of meaning, of feeling--both, of cognition not just sensation--that can be achieved in a particular experience. Now the growth in the use of marijuana is a part of the expression of this factor of seeking what is a more expanded, if not truer, sensuality.

It isn't all as unintellectual as that and it isn't all as unsystematic as that. There are writers who have considerable influence on the young, not in the sense of raising them up in the way that they should go, but in the sense of validating a position and awareness about society, and about themselves and their place in it, that they could not have formulated as easily without them. Among these I would

cite particularly Norman O. Brown and Marshall McLuhan. If you know their work you will realize that although their approaches are very different and although Brown is considerably more scholarly in his original style, both are concerned with the totality of expression. Brown's more formal, older work, is called Life Against Death and a newer one is Love's Body. I would recommend both of them. Brown and McLuhan are people who are concerned with the mechanism of repression in a way that is rather the converse of Freud. Freud views repression as a costly but necessary, in terms of civilization, device for permitting people to build institutions and operate together. He advances the argument that this would be necessary in any society. Brown may not directly question this, but certainly, he is aware that repression is necessary and appears plausible to us primarily because of the kind of society that we have. He does see the Freudian position as representing perhaps the highest form of apologetics for capitalism that has yet been invented. He would propose a society where there could be a great deal more opportunity for feeling, for self--not just self-expression--but actually for communication with others, and for a more creative use of solitude.

Now in some of the language that has come to be used by the sort of young people I am speaking of, you find expressions that make this position quite clear. For example, I am thinking of the phrase "a beautiful person" when it is applied to someone who comes no closer to the norm than Allen Ginsberg, but as close to the Dionysian norm as Allen Ginsberg does come. Much of this language is expressed in the music which I am going to let speak for me. Another phase of this opportunity for feeling is expressed in a fidelity of response, even in temporary relationships. Now this last phrase is quite important because this is one of the things that disturbs a great many of our generation about what they see young people as doing. There seems to be a widespread feeling, despite what seems to be a great deal of contrary evidence, that the western type mononuclear family is the only

one or the only proper substrate for the development of tenderness and depth of commitment, and it is assumed that relationships which have been known to be transitory are therefore superficial or promiscuous, or both. Many of the young people I am talking about would hold that to be the most destructive kind of nonsense. In fact, you may find it possible to love another person most deeply precisely because the norms of the society do not encourage or indeed forestall the development of a permanent responsibility for what either you or the other individual may become. I suspect in spite of all the puffing and panting and deeply sociological and psychological approaches that are made to what some people, presumably heterosexuals, call the problem of homosexuality, that one thing which is working for it in this society is that at least two young men who love each other do not have by the mere fact of doing so to answer the provocative question "do you still love me when I am 64?" This is really well worth the attention of our generation both in the subtle musical idiom and the moral significance of the question that it poses, but there is now certainly a growing, though again I would say not a majority of awareness, that there may be just as much humanity in what from a middle-class view would be called a doomed relationship, although all human relationships are ultimately obviously that.

A third contribution--that is, after the non-empirical commitment and the commitment to sensuality--seems to me to be an entirely new attitude toward authority. This is a gift that a good many of you may possibly regard as of dubious value, as indeed, it is. It is also among the things that people of my generation understand least about the most turned-on youth because we still tend to speak of them as rebellious or as revolutionary, or as in some way delinquent.

I might say as an aside that the question of violence and university authorities getting upset about the violence of their students seems to be a paradox which even Aesop or Grimm could hardly have imagined. Not only does it take a great deal of sensitivity to become

alarmed at the degree of violence that students have shown on American campuses but to become alarmed at that violence while passing over the napalm requires something beyond sensitivity, something perhaps more like schizophrenia.

At any rate, there is the assumption that what one is dealing with are rebels against the existing system, rebels attacking or confronting it. I believe Vice President Smith referred to Prometheus as being somehow more admirable or more restrained in his response to social reality of his times. I think Prometheus is a very good figure to compare to the young people and their attitudes. If you remember, he brought the gift of fire. This was a serious abrogation of the existing arrangement, and he didn't have quite the metal, the stamina of Rap Brown to carry it off. He was tied down and thereafter dealt with by having vulture come every afternoon, very punctually indeed, to gnaw at his liver. Prometheus' attitude was not so much that of a rebel as of a person who had experienced in his own vitals the limitations of ornithology as a science to be brought to bear on the human predicament.

It seems to me quite comparable, the kids that I know, if I may borrow a phrase from my friend, Mike Rossman, who is one of the original FFM students at Berkeley, the phrase that he uses in his relationship to the adult authority system is a "perpendicular relationship." He is a mathematician and what he is doing there is deliberately avoiding the image of confrontation. It isn't a 180 degree head-on thing.

One can speak of a rebel against a monarch but a rebel against a monarch is ordinarily not an enemy of the institution of monarchy. He is a person who is resentful that a bad king is abusing it. One can speak of a revolutionary against a monarchical system but a revolutionary also envisages an alternative to the system that he speaks of. This is where some of the old folks keep coming up with the idea that these kids must somehow be dupes of communists. One of the hardest things to get

across to people is that the kinds of young people I am talking about have no more use for communism than they do for our system because they regard it as too much like our system. They believe those in a communist youth organization to be of the same kinds of uptight little men who under different circumstances might be content to be scout-masters or school principals. The kids I am talking about feel about authority the way I used to feel back in the days of railroad travel about or through Nebraska. It didn't seem to be doing any good and it seemed as if you would never get out of it. Ultimately, of course, you did. But I don't think that their hopes are quite as sanguine as ours could have been under those simple geographical circumstances.

Now there is their contribution to us. What does our generation owe them? Well, conventionally it seems to me very easy to state. This is at least the one thought of my talk--it will not last long--but I think most of you would agree with--continuity, "cultural continuity," the transmission of what we call the cultural heritage. The wisdom which I am trying to put in italics or quotes is that I do think that we are wiser than younger people, though we are, generally speaking, less intelligent, less flexible. But, nobody, it seems to me, who is much younger than we are can really have any idea how awful things can be. At least not of their own experience, and this ought to have made us of some use to young people in helping them to understand a little better what gets turned on, whether by them or us, may not possibly get turned off again.

The discharge of these happy functions that are attributed to us is very much impeded by the actual conflict of interest that I spoke of because people of my generation in society in which we now live are, in fact, the enemies of the young. I don't mean by that we don't understand them or that obviously there are role situations so that we trample on each other. I am not trying to be subtle. I am not trying to blame anybody. I am talking about some very concrete things that

are actually happening. There isn't anybody over the effective age of 26 or legal age of 35 or however it works out to be in the law, there isn't anybody probably, there are some I can see, but there is not over a quarter of the people sitting out there on whom any secret committees of old men whose names are not revealed to the press can sit and decide what they are going to do with the next three years and possibly the last three years of their lives, which is what a draft board does. There isn't anybody else in America that is subject to a secret tribunal at call. Did it ever occur to you what a paradox it is that the names of these people are not even public? Yet you talk about a generation gap as possibly being the result of misunderstanding. This is a lethal form of confrontation and one which General Hershey did indeed say would be enforced by the punishment of those who dared even to protest against its existence.

Well, now, how much does it take to create an actual conflict of interest? Furthermore, I understand that you spent a good part of the morning listening to two of my most respected colleagues give what I am sure were very able presentations about what is certainly the most serious issues confronting educators today. That is education of the so-called underprivileged, and by underprivileged most Americans at this point mean Negroes, and historically there are good reasons for meaning that. I don't by any word that I speak mean to belittle the importance of this issue. That's not the point. All the same, I suspect that one reason that the educational establishment has taken so eagerly to the acknowledgement of its own culpability, great though that is, and to the making plans for the reform of intercity schools and so on, is among other and more noble reasons, which I do not deny, the fact that this gives the opportunity to roll your own Vietnam in a sense. Again, it is a way of operating on other people, bringing them up to our level in terms of our standards and every effort to make it more than that

seems to get pretty well beaten down in Congress. I am thinking, for example, of the recent devastation of the OEO's program and particularly those aspects of it which would have switched control or a measure of it to the poor themselves and I would call to your attention that as of now at least the formal disabilities of adolescents are greater than the formal disabilities of Negroes. Now that doesn't mean that adolescents are worse off because adolescence ultimately passes, but nevertheless, in terms of the issue I am speaking of, that is whether there are realities behind the generational conflict.

We are speaking, when we speak of adolescents, of a group of people who are now the only people in the United States who do not enjoy the full protection of due process in the courts or at least a stated right. The recent decision in Arizona vs. Galt that the Wall Street Journal reported was causing a great deal of havoc and disaffection among the juvenile court judges who don't know any law, has gone a little way to redress the balance where what is at issue is an accusation of conduct that would in fact be a violation of the criminal code, but most of the legal disabilities that adolescents are subject to are not as specific as that. I am talking about the things that Arizona vs. Galt decision does not affect. For example, it varies from state to state but in California, you do not have to have a search warrant to search an adolescent, a minor, or his car. A policeman can stop him and do that. You are now, since Arizona vs. Galt, under the obligation to provide him with counsel if you ever hope to prosecute him in a court, otherwise you are courting a mistrial. But if you don't envision every going to court, if you are not going to make it that serious, then the kid has no rights against you virtually at all--not the right to cross-examine accusers, not even the right to insist that some misconduct at least be

imputed before constraint be applied. You can get kids up as "potential" delinquents or, as the California law has one part of this, leading or tending to lead a lewd, immoral, or dissolute life. The last time I saw a report of this it was spelled d-e-s-o-l-u-t-e which I thought was a step in the right direction. No one of you has to put up with that. At least you have to go ahead and lead a lewd, immoral, and dissolute life in some specific terms before an indictment can be returned.

A juvenile court is not a court of equity. It is not, it's a court of chancery; it is not a criminal court at all. It starts with the legal presumption that its intervention is on behalf of the minor and for that reason you see no safeguard has been built in since it was assumed to be merciful. As this has worked out it seems quite clear that whether or not it is merciful, depending on the circumstances and the jurisdiction, it certainly doesn't increase your chances of justice. It does create the sole remaining category, that all humans must fall into at one time, the category of sub-citizens in the United States who are subject to a specific legal disability. So that, too, it seems to me, makes the confrontation a serious matter. That is, there are real issues and to some extent what we do in trying to prove our address, our approach to these young people who cry for greater understanding is a little bit comparable to what happens when you replace harsh slave owners, Simon Legree types, with enlightened slave owners. There is still the problem of the peculiar institution itself, and the reluctance of those who most obviously profit by it to abandon it in favor of something that would make interaction more possible and more profitable.

I would say the conflict is real, but then finally there are some hang-ups even granting that it is real, I mean even saying that that would set limits in the degree of accommodation. There are some things

about the adult culture that aside from the conflict of interest make communication very difficult. In the first place there is the fact that dissent as the phrase is now used has to encompass two major social groups, two major groups of young people. At this stage in history these two groups are really moving in opposite directions. At least they are like people who are going east for a little while but one is bound to turn south and the other north. This is the combination in dissent of what I have been calling political activists and hippie groups.

This becomes specifically a difficult issue with reference to present racial relations and as Jerry Farber wrote in the Los Angeles Free Press, which is probably still the best of the so-called underground newspapers, in an article called "The Student as Nigger," he quoted hippies as saying, "All right, we are the new niggers." What is implied by that is again that the deprivation under the social system is relatively similar.

I have already said that I thought they were comparable but in another way they are really not very similar. The younger Negro leaders are not in this bag. Some of the SDS kids who have been trying to organize draft resistance in places like Newark found out a long time ago--you can't do it. For many Negro young men the Army, even with Vietnam, appears as, and is regarded as, an opportunity. Also, although I think rioting and looting has been much overemphasized, certainly with reference to the amount of violence that has been done by Negroes in them as distinct from that by police and guardsmen, one pattern which does seem to me to be recurring is that there is quite a bit of looting and that what is taken is commodities deemed to be of value in the middle class. Now whatever else hippies do, they do not covet whiskey and TV sets whether you pay for them or steal them. I am not

now talking about the morality of appropriating these things. I am talking about what it is you want when you complain. The hippie kids would like to be free of the system if they could survive without it. At the same time the political activists, including especially Negro political activists, want what the system offers, although on more decent terms and more equitable terms than the system offers it. That's a very basic conflict, I think, a real fundamental conflict of values.

That's as much talking as I want to do about it but I've brought along some samples of what Vice President Smith I think called folk music, this is really folk-rock that I want to play for you. I'll have to select from among what I've got here--I hope that you can be listening certainly to pay attention to the words, but you won't get them all the first time--the words are important. It isn't the music or the words, it's the music and the words. I've got some that I think are quite beautiful, some that I think are nearly excellent. I haven't brought along any trash--I'd like to start with what is perhaps musically the most sophisticated example that I have--this is a high school pep song by the Mothers of Invention, "Status Back, Baby!"

It should be noted that Professor Friedenbergs speech continued after the presentation of this particular song with more comments, more folk-rock music, and finally the reacting of the panel of high school students.

E P I L O G U E

*A*ny list of major educational events in Minnesota in 1967 would doubtlessly include Schoolmen's Day. Few of the persons present will soon forget the exposure to the challenging views of Mayer, Lieberman, Smith, and Friedenbergl. Many others responded to the rebroadcast on KUOM. Some have disagreed with the speakers, even questioning the value of programs of this type. They argue that speakers who give comfort to those who dissent or question middle-class values create rather than explain pupil and teacher unrest in the public schools. Others have praised the program, pointing out that it concerned a serious and growing problem. They have observed that persons with "far out" views who point out the edges of the road help us to find its middle. Thus it is maintained that a university serves its purpose best when it contributes to a public dialogue on major educational and social problems.

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These four articles are the "spoken word." The speeches are abridged and were transcribed from tapes. This point is emphasized especially because the four participants in Schoolmen's Day are all professional writers. Naturally, the presentations here are not examples of their writing skills; the spoken word is a different medium than linear print.

Clifford P. Hooker

Chairman, Planning Committee
for Schoolmen's Day

1968 AASA C O N V E N T I O N

The Minnesota Luncheon at the national convention of AASA was held in the Ozone Room of the Hotel Dennis. Fred Bettner, president of the Minnesota Association of School Administrators, presided. Dean Robert J. Keller, College of Education, spoke on "A Global View of Teacher Education." The luncheon is sponsored each year by the Department of Educational Administration and the Minnesota Association of School Administrators.

The Minnesota Headquarters Suite was located at the Traymore Hotel. This facility was sponsored by the Department of Educational Administration and the Minnesota College of Education Alumni Association. Six professors from the Department and 14 graduate students welcomed visitors to the suite.

R E S E A R C H T R A I N E E S S O U G H T

The Department of Educational Administration is seeking a small number of highly qualified students as trainees in educational research. Applications are being considered for fellowships available beginning Summer, 1968. Full-time doctoral study is supported by funds made available by the U. S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research and by the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory. Persons with strong backgrounds in mathematics, social science and education are encouraged to apply for admission to the Research Training Program no later than April 1, 1968. Further information can be obtained by writing Mr. William Ammentorp, College of Education, 211 Burton Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 55455.

*Administrative
Leadership*



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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Number 3

E D I T O R I A L - - -

S P R I N G

I S S U E

1 9 6 8

The study of elementary and secondary education in Minnesota has been completed and presented to the public. The Domian Report (Education 1967) analyses present practice and suggests the tasks and problems which lie ahead if Minnesota is to continue to keep pace with educational needs. The facts and figures of the Report treat these problems at length and suggest priorities for public policy makers. This issue of Administrative Leadership recognizes the importance of Education 1967 and pays its author, Otto Domian tribute for work well done. At the same time, Administrative Leadership considers some implications of the Domian Report which are not at first apparent in its text.

The essential proposition of Education 1967 is that structures and provisions for educational government suitable for a rural society can no longer meet the needs of a changing, urban population. Changes, often considerable in scope, are necessary in school district organization, sources of fiscal support and skills of teachers and administrators; in almost every dimension, education must examine its practices and remedy their shortcomings. However, change is not only a matter of gathering facts to promote ready agreement among the people of Minnesota. Many interests and beliefs relating to education must be examined and brought to consensus if the work begun by Education 1967 is to bear fruit.

The articles included in this issue are intended to illuminate some of the problems facing Minnesota citizens and educators. The form of opposition to the conclusions of the Report are presented, some financial issues considered and some special recommendations to Minnesota administrators treated. Each of these efforts, in a small way, contributes to the important work done by Otto Domian in Education 1967.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Wm. J. Jumentorp". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent initial "W".

T H E D O M I A N R E P O R T - - -

F I C T I O N A N D F A C T

by

VAN D. MUELLER

Many thousand words have been written and spoken about Education - 1967, a statewide study of Minnesota elementary and secondary education, frequently referred to as the "Domian Report." Unfortunately, much of the commentary has been based on emotional reaction to the study's recommendations and has contributed little to a rational study and consideration of the problems confronting public elementary and secondary education in Minnesota. Time-worn clichés and rationalizations have been and are being used to support inadequate educational programs. Educators and lay-citizens are being stimulated to question study recommendations without considering the study findings. Editorials and other commentaries are being written by persons either unfamiliar with the facts reported in the study report or unwilling to relate recommendations to the appropriate supporting findings. The purpose of this article is to expose a few of the "straw men" which are being built to challenge the recommendations and which rather uniformly ignore the facts and findings pertinent to the conduct and report of the study.

ISSUE NUMBER ONE -- The study report is being challenged to a considerable degree, not on substantive content, but by challenging the credibility of the persons responsible for its conduct and the process under which it was conducted. It has been stated that none of the consultants except Dr. Domian were Minnesota school board members, superintendents of schools, teachers, etc., that lay and educational practitioner experience from Minnesotans was not involved in the conduct of the study and the formulation of its recommendations.

Fact: While it is indeed true that five nationally recognized consultants were involved in working with staff members of the study (a total of 146.5 man days) the actual data gathering and analysis, and formulation of study recommendations were directed by Dr. Domian. The study staff consisted of ten (10) former teachers, principals, and school superintendents from Minnesota schools. In addition to this involvement the opinions and judgments of the following Minnesota citizens were obtained regarding present conditions and future directions for Minnesota education:

- (1) 448 school district superintendents
- (2) 41 county superintendents
- (3) 438 school board chairmen
- (4) 1,368 elementary and secondary school principals
- (5) 21 directors of area vocational-technical schools
- (6) 4,268 elementary, secondary, and vocational school teachers

In addition to this level of involvement of Minnesota citizenry, thousands of additional persons were presented opportunities to participate

in discussions through group meetings held throughout the state. (See page 5 of Education 1967 for listing of groups and meetings.)

Conclusion

Seldom, if ever, has any consideration of a problem of statewide magnitude resulted in a higher level of involvement of all parties concerned. The report was not developed by nor does it represent only the opinions of Dr. Domain and the out-of-state consultants. Constructive criticism of the report, its findings and recommendations, cannot be supported by accusations of lack of involvement.

ISSUE NUMBER TWO: The recommendations of the report are also being challenged because they "appear to be based on the theoretical minimums and maximums developed by the use of statistics only."

Fact: Indeed the initial 362 pages of the study report are comprised of the only complete documentary evidence available concerned with the organization, program, and financing of Minnesota elementary and secondary schools. The recommendations of the report are based on these facts. Careful reading of the detailed description of the current status of school program, finance, and organization should indicate that these data are not stated in terms of minimums and maximums but are simply descriptions of what currently exists in Minnesota schools. It does support the argument it would seem that we do indeed have in Minnesota both "minimum" and "maximum" educational opportunities available to our young people and these inequities in opportunities indeed exist in fact and not in theory. The singularly significant "theory"

conceived and discussed in the report is related to the goal of the study: "the provision of equitable and comprehensive educational opportunities for all children in Minnesota." (p. 427, Education - 1967.)

Conclusion

The recommendations of the report are based on the voluminous collection of facts concerning the present status of education in Minnesota. The facts are indeed reported in statistical fashion. How else does one report factual data? That Minnesota does not have "a general and uniform system of public schools" is a fact, not a theory.

ISSUE NUMBER THREE -- Practices of other states are often used in the report to compare with practices used in Minnesota.

Fact: The study report not only describes education in Minnesota but also evaluates existing programs and practices. The evaluation in the report does include comparisons with neighboring states, the nation as a whole, and practices reported in the literature. Major comparisons are limited to eleven Midwest states selected because of their geographical proximity and similarity of economic and educational conditions. While each state in this nation and each school district in this nation and each school district in Minnesota is different in its composition, it is well to recognize that there exists much commonality in individual and educational need irrespective of the geography involved. Indeed the facts reported in Chapter 5 of the study report document the very mobile nature of our population both within and among the various states.

Conclusion

A strength of the study would seem to be its recognition of the fact that the educational programs and opportunities afforded Minnesota children and youth must prepare them to live and participate in a wider society. In addition it would seem to be most appropriate to carefully analyze the practices of others, glean from them what is appropriate, and minimize the "reinvention of the wheel."

ISSUE NUMBER FOUR -- Without doubt the most controversial section of the report recommendations is in the school reorganization area. It is suggested that the report recommendations are too ambitious, that a secondary school program (grades 7-12) of at least 80-course offerings is not desirable, that decentralization of large school districts is the more immediate problem, and that the report recommendation that a minimum of 1,500 pupils, grades 1-12, is requisite for sound educational programming is based only on statistics.

Facts: The report indicates that Minnesota ranks fifth in the nation in the number of school districts. It would seem that other states have indeed been able to implement "ambitious" programs designed to strengthen the local school district. The report also describes the major deterrents to improved district organization (pp. 306-307 Education 1967.) The forces described are unique in the fact that considerations other than the education of our children and youth are paramount in preventing orderly change. These forces of vested interests, village rivalries, economic issues, and non-supportive legislation are receiving considerable attention at the same time discussion of education program is almost totally ignored.

Careful study of the facts relating to the size of the 452 high school districts in Minnesota reveals that only 27 Minnesota school districts have secondary school enrollments greater than 2,500. The quality of teachers as measured by training levels and assignments, breadth and depth of educational program, and attention to individual educational needs of pupils indicated that while decentralization may represent a problem for one Minnesota city school system, it is not the major organizational problem.

Conclusion

The reasons for the study recommendations on reorganization are spelled out in the report. Simply stated, the facts reported in the study indicate that comprehensive programs to serve the unique educational needs of each child are now available only in the larger schools in the state. The relationship between comprehensive educational program and size is documented in great detail in the report. If these facts can be discussed and studied in the absence of pleas to emotion and vested interests, the barriers to equality of educational opportunity can be removed to the considerable benefit of Minnesota young people.

CONCLUSION

Education 1967 represents a valuable collection and analysis of facts concerning the current status of elementary and secondary education in Minnesota. It also reports many recommendations to alleviate the inequities in educational opportunities which currently exist. The recommendations are based, not on ivory-tower theories of what educational programs are required for 2000 A.D., but on the current status and availability of educational programs, teachers, facilities, and financing. The use of "process" measures to estimate the "product" is supported by over 50 years of competent and respected research and study (See Chapter 5, "Cost and Character of Education" in Public School Finance, Mort, Reusser and Polley, McGraw-Hill, 1960, or Cost and Quality in Education by Harold F. Clark, Syracuse University Press, 1962.)

The use of the data and recommendations from this comprehensive study of education in Minnesota provides a considerable test for Minnesota educators and lay-citizens alike: first, it will provide a very real test of our ability to use facts and process based on logic to arrive at difficult decisions; secondly, it will provide a real measure of the value we place on the theory of providing an equal educational opportunity to all children; and finally, it will determine whether or not Minnesota will maintain a leadership position in education during the last third of this century.

T O W A R D A N U N D E R S T A N D I N G O F
E D U C A T I O N 1 9 6 7

by

DONALD E. DAVIS

In June 1967 the Minnesota State Department of Education contracted with the Educational Research and Development Council of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area to provide for dissemination and discussion of Education 1967. This article describes the activities of the Minnesota School Study which were undertaken to contribute to "public understanding" of the study.

Education 1967, a state-wide study of public elementary and secondary education in Minnesota, was begun in June 1966 by the Bureau of Field Studies and Surveys, University of Minnesota. This study was funded by the State Department of Education with funds from Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Public Law 89-10). Title V funds accrued to Minnesota for the purpose of strengthening the State Department of Education. Operating with the assistance of a very active Title V Advisory Committee, the Department and the State Board of Education determined that a comprehensive state-wide study was required in order to determine best how departmental services should be improved.

Education 1967 also documented issues in Minnesota elementary and secondary education of fundamental interest and concern to all segments of the society. The study contains far reaching recommendations concerning educational program, school district organization and the financing of public schools in Minnesota. Because any action on these recommendations would have impact on every community in the state, it was determined by the State Board of Education that the widest possible public understanding of the study and its implications were called for. It was to this end that the Minnesota School Study was initiated.

The first goal of the dissemination and discussion effort was to provide to every Minnesotan an opportunity to become well acquainted with the findings and recommendations of Education 1967. In an effort to achieve this goal, the staff of the Minnesota School Study established and carried out a variety of activities designed to provide maximum exposure of Education 1967 through several media. The following description outlines the approaches utilized:

1. The Metropolitan Educational Research and Development Council established an agreement with the six other Educational Research and Development Councils to provide a state-wide network for carrying out the dissemination. It must be observed that the existence and cooperation of these research and development councils serving the entire state are primary reasons for the success of the dissemination effort to date.
2. A one-hour television program was produced through the facilities of KCTA-TV. This program was simultaneously broadcast

by all educational television stations serving Minnesota on January 15, 1968. In addition, the first half-hour of this program was reproduced in two ways: a television tape which was then made available to all television media free of charge and a 16mm film. A copy of this film was made available to each ERDC for loan to any interested group studying Education 1967.

3. A 24-page digest of the full study (440 pages) was prepared containing the major findings and recommendations. Ten thousand copies of this digest were distributed through a wide variety of educational groups.
4. Since the major interest of community groups lies in the interpretation of Education 1967 as it pertains to their own community, a Discussion Guide was prepared. This guide provides the opportunity for local groups to collect data on their own schools and to compare conditions to those reported in Education 1967 for the state as a whole. Fifty thousand copies of the Discussion Guide have been distributed through cooperating organizations.
5. The most direct effort in contributing to public discussion has been the 60 public meetings organized by cooperating agencies in all parts of the state. Nearly all of these meetings have been attended by citizens from a large number of communities and have provided a face-to-face opportunity to discuss the meaning of Education 1967. The twenty-thousand

persons who have attended these meetings certainly attest to the great interest generated by Education 1967.

The activities described above were developed to provide the opportunity for every Minnesotan to become aware of the implications of Education 1967 for public education in Minnesota. While it is unlikely that every citizen will come to better understand the study through these direct efforts, there is evidence that hundreds of other public meetings are taking place using materials prepared by the Minnesota School Study. To whatever degree wise-decisions are the result of adequate understanding of issues, then Education 1967 and the dissemination and discussion which have followed it will contribute towards a better education for the children of Minnesota.

T A X E X E M P T I O N A N D
P U B L I C P O L I C Y

by

CHARLES S. SEDERBERG

The exemption of real and personal property from taxation is a matter of increasing concern. Removal of property from tax rolls to exempt classification erodes the base of support for education and other services of local government. The scope of this inquiry is limited to the following classes of property which have tax exempt status under Minnesota law:

- (1) Public school property
- (2) Private and church school property
- (3) Academies, colleges, universities, and seminaries of learning
- (4) Public property used for public purposes
- (5) Churches and church property
- (6) Public hospitals
- (7) Institutions of purely public charity
- (8) Public burying grounds.

Each Minnesota County is required to assess and report the value of exempt property within its boundaries every six years. The most recent data for the State come from the 1962 assessment. A comparison of 1962 figures with similar figures for 1956 indicates a trend that has significant implications for school districts and other units of local government that rely on the property tax as a source of revenue. The data presented in Table I

TABLE I

TRUE AND FULL VALUE OF TAX EXEMPT PROPERTY
IN MINNESOTA FOR THE YEARS 1956 and 1962

Classification of Exempt Property	T r u e a n d F u l l V a l u e		Percent of Change
	1956	1962	
Public Schools	\$249,255,594	\$361,152,086	+ 44.9
Private and Church Schools	39,923,568	57,238,741	+ 43.4
Academies, Colleges Universities	103,454,546	148,896,261	+ 43.9
Public Property for Public Uses	305,740,467	430,682,881	+ 40.9
Churches and Church Property	168,414,321	228,059,199	+ 35.4
Public Hospitals	63,173,450	110,631,402	+ 75.1
Charitable Institutions	17,799,069	22,926,098	+ 28.8
Public Burying Grounds	11,232,407	12,367,031	+ 10.1
TOTAL	\$962,815,295	\$1,371,953,699	+ 42.5

indicate that the total full and true value of tax exempt property increased 42.5 percent from \$962,815,295 in 1956 to \$1,371,953,699 in 1962. In terms of tax base, these figures represent assessed valuations of \$379,399,852 and \$541,054,959 respectively with an increase of 42.6 percent. (See Table 2.)

TABLE II

ASSESSED VALUES OF TAXABLE AND EXEMPT PROPERTY
IN MINNESOTA FOR THE YEARS 1956 AND 1962

Type of Property	Assessed Value		Percent of Change
	1956	1962	
Taxable Property	\$2,067,945,440	\$2,305,193,364	+ 11.5
Exempt Property	379,399,852	541,054,959	+ 42.6

These figures acquire significance when they are compared with the increase in assessed valuation for taxable property during the same period. The assessed value of taxable property in Minnesota rose from \$2,067,945,400

in 1956 to \$2,305,193,364 in 1962 for a gain of 11.5 percent. The rate of increase for taxable property approximates only one fourth of the rate of increase for exempt property. Part of the rate differential can be attributed to the relative size of the actual numbers involved, but the trend has significance for the support of local governments. In 1956 exempt property constituted 15.5 of the total assessed value of property in the State. In 1962 this proportion had risen to 19 percent. If this trend continues, the ability of local government to support public services will be progressively diminished. The experience of the central cities had followed the pattern of the state as a whole. However, the trend may acquire additional significance in urban centers as social changes create needs for increased educational and other public services.

The trend identified in these data obtained from official sources points toward a dilemma in public policy. In the face of increased demands for public services, the trend to remove property from the tax rolls decreases the ability of local government to provide those services. This dilemma consists of a variety of issues which call for dichotomous decisions in a field marked with gradations of social values. The inherent logic of exempt classification for tax supported institutions is seldom questioned. Why should society open accounts that it can credit and debit only to itself? Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the construction of schools, public buildings and other governmental facilities removes a substantial portion of otherwise accessible

resources from tax rolls. If public policy permits the trend to continue, it may be necessary for State government to develop "overburden" formulas for school districts and units of local government which free substantial proportions of their tax bases to exempt classifications.

When exempt property is not in the public domain the policy questions become more complex. Tax exemption for the property of churches, private schools, public charities and cemetery associations is a form of government subsidy. Holders of exempt property enjoy fire protection, snow removal, police safety and other direct governmental services at public expense. The property is further subsidized to the extent that it bears no share in costs of the indirect benefits of education and social welfare which are assessed to property under private ownership. The proponents of present tax exemption policies contend that society shares in the benefits which accrue from the existence and prosperity of tax exempt institutions. Therefore, it is argued, exempt institutions are entitled to the subsidy as indirect payment for the services they render to society.

The question of tax exemption for property outside the public domain becomes more acute when it involves property not directly connected with the institutions' primary goals. There is a strong tradition behind the policy of exempting houses of worship, education buildings and other facilities essential to the operation of an exempt institution. However, another issue arises when churches or educational institutions seek tax exempt status for property which produces income or other indirect support for the operation

of the exempt organization. The private entrepreneur who competes with an operation which enjoys tax-exempt status operates under a handicap to the extent of the tax exemption subsidy.

In conclusion, the information presented is indicative of a dilemma in public policy. The trend to remove property from tax rolls decreases the ability of local government to provide public services at a time when the demand for services is increasing. Further research is needed to provide more precise information on the types of property which is gaining exempt status and the manner in which it is being utilized. Policy issues merit further discussion to generate ways in which it is politically possible to reverse the trend or to offset its implications.

A COUNCIL OF ASSOCIATIONS
FOR MINNESOTA SCHOOL
ADMINISTRATORS

by

CLIFFORD P. HOOKER*

The loose amalgamation of associations of educators in Minnesota and the nation is being tested by pressures from within. As each association searches for a new definition of its goals, and as forms and procedures are developed for their realization, the pressure on the parent organization increases. While all educators share some common goals, there is a conflict--or at least a difference--of interests within education. These conflicts, or differences, have been magnified by recent developments and especially as teachers have demanded a stronger role in decision-making within the school organization. A realignment of associations and possibly the creation of more sub-specialties within education, may result from these developments.

*Art Gessner, Robert Mayer, and Ralph Reeder contributed to the preparation of this paper.

The purpose of this paper is to assist the school superintendents in their search for associational affiliation. Some attention is given here to the historical developments contributing to the problems confronting the membership of MASA. This is followed by a brief treatment of the characteristics of a profession and the goals to be served by associations. The paper closes with a discussion of alternatives which would seem to be available to MASA.

Historical Perspective

The history of the National Education Association and the Minnesota Education Association reveals that both of these organizations were founded by school administrators, college presidents, and professors. For nearly a century this group provided the leadership which nurtured these organizations into effective professional associations.

This dominance of administrators in the leadership positions of these associations was a reflection of the climate which prevailed in school organizations. Paternalism and unilateral decision-making were common fare which were offered in most graduate classes in school administration and practiced in the schools. Teachers lacked the strength to seriously challenge this power structure which was sanctioned by the form of the professional associations and often written in the statutes.

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a new era in teaching which was soon to have an impact on educational associations. Some of the elements of change were inherent in the total society and others reflected the training and aspirations of persons entering teaching. Factors contributing to this new role of teachers and their associations include:

1. Large increases in the number and percent of men in teaching. Men teachers normally demand a stronger voice in the governance of education than women and as heads of households men often have fairly significant economic needs.
2. A marked increase in the level of education possessed by teachers. As teachers obtain levels of preparation which equal or exceed that held by the administrators, they are inclined to question "the right to rule" of principals and superintendents. They often feel that power and authority must be earned through superior qualifications rather than conferred by the board of education.
3. More frustrated teachers, especially in large school districts, because of big classes, poor facilities, pupil unrest, and faulty communications. The teachers despaired in the ability of administrators and school boards to solve their problems so they turned to their organization for assistance.
4. Increases in school enrollments resulting in a shortage of teachers. Highly trained persons in short supply have considerable economic bargaining strength through collective action.

5. Continued inflation coupled with an abundant economy. Teachers have observed that other employees in the private sector of the economy have made important economic gains which often far exceed the increases in the cost of living. Teachers want to be a part of our great affluence.

Teacher organizations are pursuing two avenues simultaneously in their search for solutions to problems which beset them. Local associations have become negotiating units while the state associations have pressed for legislation to strengthen the negotiating process. Both actions have been fairly successful as viewed by the teachers.

Recent salary increases have been greater than in past years as school boards have been required by law to "meet and confer" and make an effort to reach an agreement about salaries and working conditions. Significantly, superintendents of schools are excluded from membership on the negotiations council in Minnesota. The 1967 law regards the superintendent as a representative of the board of education in the negotiating process.

This legislation, coupled with the greater aggressiveness of teachers, has made administrators question the nature of their affiliation with the Minnesota Education Association. Have the differences in goals of the MASA and MEA increased in recent years, and if so, is it possible for the two organizations to function as a family of professions? Before attempting to answer these questions, it is necessary to examine the present relationship between the MEA and the MASA.

THE STATUS OF MINNESOTA ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
WITH THE MINNESOTA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The Constitution of the Minnesota Association of School Administrators, Article I reads: "The name of this organization shall be the MASA, a section of the Minnesota Education Association." The last clause is pertinent. A section status is assumed by the Constitution of MASA. This status has meaning only in relation to the conventions of MEA. If MEA accepts MASA into section status it agrees to set up meeting arrangements during the MEA convention and perhaps to allocate some funds for expenses of the meeting. The section status does not give voting nor other representation in the parent organization.

For a number of years the working relationships between MEA and MASA have been very close. It has not been uncommon for officials of the MEA to refer to MASA and the other organized groups as departments. Likewise, MASA officers have, at times, stated that MASA was a department of MEA. The statements were based upon assumptions which came out of the close liaison which existed between the two organizations. For example, MEA provides duplicating, mailing, clerical and filing assistance to MASA as required on a cost basis.

Some time ago the question was raised as to the formal, if not the legal, status of these organizations with regard to MEA. That is, did the

MEA charter, by-laws, rules or regulations give recognition in any significant way to MASA, for instance? When a search of the records was made, it was found that the relationships which existed were informal, unwritten and probably not significant from a legal point of view. This led to the creation of a committee representing MEA, MASA, and the other organizations whose purpose was to study and recommend department status for MASA and the associations of the secondary principals and the elementary principals. A description of the purpose of the report, taken from a release by MEA follows:

The MEA has been concerned for some time that all groups within the profession have an effective voice in determining the association's program and determining the course that the organized profession takes in Minnesota. The Delegate Assembly in January, 1967, took the following action:

Implementation of MEA's belief in a comprehensive professional education association at the local, state, and national levels that includes classroom teachers, principals and superintendents is made difficult by the undefined relationship which exists between the MEA and its five major departments. We, therefore, recommend that the MEA Delegate Assembly authorize the Board of Directors to launch a study of the structure and function of the MEA's major departments and their appropriate role in the MEA. Such study should include: (1) The role of the departments in the policy-making function of the MEA; (2) Services to which each department should be entitled; (3) Relationships of the departments within the local association; (4) Provisions for financing the programs of the departments.

The results of this study along with appropriate recommendations should be brought to the 1968 Delegate Assembly for its consideration and action.

These quotations from constitutions and news releases demonstrate the nature of the "loose amalgamation" referred to in the opening paragraph of this paper. There is little wonder that confusion reigns where order is required! These ambiguous statements about departments of the MEA should be clarified.

Before moving ahead to the alternatives available to MASA, some useful purpose might be served by examining the nature of a profession and the goals normally formed by a professional association. This activity should equip us better for a study of the alternatives.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Many authors have attempted to identify and describe essential elements in a profession, and most educators have been required to memorize these elements at some point in a graduate course in school administration. The list of elements varies in length depending on the degree of refinement which the author prefers. However, the elements common in most of the literature include:

1. A prolonged and specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge.
2. A code of ethics governing professional practice.
3. A professional association of members.

The temptation to expand elements one and two above is very great indeed, but it is the third element which is germane to the subject of this paper. Before proceeding, however, it should be observed that all special interest groups are not necessarily professional in character. Professional associations are distinguishable by the degree to which they seek to meet the goals outlined below.

Association Goals

The force which binds individuals within an association is the recognition that some problems which the members encounter cannot be solved by individual action, and conversely, some opportunities for professional growth reside in collective rather than individual effort. The total efforts of association members working together with some degree of cooperation is required.

1. Colleagueship. One major goal of a professional society is to provide an opportunity for its members to associate, for the sole pleasure of mixing with their fellows and of no longer feeling lost in the midst of adversaries. A sense of professional colleagueship, or what is sometimes called professional consciousness, is influenced and reinforced by working together within the association.

2. Research. Some problems besetting public education, and school administrators in particular, can be studied best within a formal association. The association can be viewed as a conscious effort by its members to commit more energy in the study of these problems in the expectation that practice will be influenced by the results.
3. Exchange of Information. In addition to the pleasure of mixing with their fellows, the members of an association exchange information. This comparison of experiences sheds light on the failures and successes of practices which results in an upgrading of their performance in general.
4. Inservice Education. An association provides a mechanism for the continued professional development of its members. Persons who have knowledge of the best practices can share their expertise with members of an association at meetings, workshops, and seminars. With the current acceleration in the rate of change in education as well as technology, one could argue that the major functions of a professional body are educative in nature. Formal programs provide training for younger members. Officers and members learn about human relations, public speaking, and organizational skills.

5. Public Relations. The public image of a profession is in part individual and part collective. Some associations openly operate as direct pressure groups in the formation of public policy. The objective of organized medicine to restrict government-sponsored health programs is an example.
6. Control of Entry Into the Profession. The associational aim of maintaining occupational competence is not only promoted through formal education and informal socialization, there is also the process of certification to pursue the occupation--the control of entry through proper credentials. While the State Board of Education in Minnesota retains major control over this function for educators, it does solicit recommendations from professional associations and otherwise involves such groups in the determination of standards for certification.
7. Economic. The establishment of an appropriate monetary reward system is another association goal, which in turn is dependent on the development of public confidence and acceptability. Factory workers and the private professions have long recognized the economic strength of collective action and now most associations of public employees develop economic goals for their members.
8. External Goals. Most of the above associational goals could be identified as efforts to improve the quality of service or the conditions of employment. Many associations, however, support

social causes which have little or no relation to the primary purpose for their existence. For example, educators have worked for general public acceptance of the idea of equalization of educational opportunity, regardless of race, color, creed, place of residence, or economic condition. Also, educators have encouraged international cooperation in education, civil rights, and separation of church and state, proper perspective or philosophical viewpoint of children and their welfare in changing conditions.

ALTERNATIVES

Establishing a rationale for a decision requires an identification of the important variables to be considered in reviewing each of the alternatives. The preceding section provides a framework or model which MASA might use for this purpose. It will be used in discussing only one of the alternatives. If the reader finds it to be of value, he might repeat the process, on his own, with other alternatives.

A COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

The MASA, MASSP, MESPA, and MASBO could agree to a federation or council of associations. This council would be similar to the Michigan Congress of School Administrator Associations which was formed in 1967.

The existing organizations could retain their identity within this larger association with departmental or divisional status afforded to all groups which satisfy mutually acceptable criteria.

The extent to which a council of associations would satisfy the goals of professional societies is examined below.

1. Professional collegueship or consciousness. It is expected that the existing MASA would continue to meet and maintain all "opportunities of position or status in the larger society." This goal of "mixing with their fellows and no longer feeling lost in the midst of their adversaries" could be maintained through MASA and enhanced as members of the total combination became acquainted. The belief, or possible reality, that some members of the different existing associations are now adversaries should tend to disappear as the effects of recent negotiations legislation appear. The organizations considered here are well established and enjoy high regard. MASA members would have increased opportunities for professional contact through committees and other working relationships in the enlarged association.
2. Research. Since the passing of E. C. Churchill there has been little evidence of research by MASA. The record of the other associations on this goal is probably no more impressive. The need for research and its value in binding an organization must be

acknowledged. It might best be accomplished in an association that is able to provide full-time leadership.

3. Exchange of Information. The exchange of information that exists could continue and additional exchange leading to improved mutual understanding could occur between associations through sharing common experiences.
4. Inservice Education. A Council of associations could improve the quality of conferences and workshops. MASA meetings and workshops tend to be somewhat narrow due to the homogeneity of its members. This specialization could be maintained for each existing association and it could also be broadened with the opportunities made available by increased resources. The combined group might make arrangements in cooperation with colleges and universities for specific courses or programs designed to meet ever-changing needs.
5. Public Relations. The advantage would seem to be with the better staffed organization. There are no apparent disadvantages allied with the combination but much improvement could be made for each group through full-time leadership.
6. Control of Entry Into the Profession. The MASA and other associations now serve in a consulting role to the State Board of Education on matters pertaining to certification. If members of the several associations wish to accept leadership and exercise influence in determining standards for the certification of educational administrators, however, there could be advantage in combined effort.

7. Economic. Administrator organizations must now realize that no parent education organization or other group can or will bargain for or represent administrators at the bargaining table. Some teacher organizations are, in fact, suggesting that the necessity of administrators is overemphasized. Mutual trust between administrator organizations might be difficult in view of past practices of some school boards and superintendents in reviewing and settling principals' salaries. There is, however, good reason to believe that principals as well as superintendents will soon recognize that they represent management at the bargaining table and in the settlement of grievances.
8. External Goals. MASA has little reason to take pride in its work in supporting worthy social causes outside of education itself. This can probably be said of the other suggested associations as well. External goals should be considered and they could have a binding effect on an association.

There are many other contingencies that cannot be covered in synthesizing and analyzing through the medium of a model. Of considerable significance is the availability and/or willingness of the suggested associations to associate.

Both MESPA (membership of about 800 and a present potential of about 1200) and MASSP (similar membership and present potential of about 1000) have considerable present and future potential in terms of numbers. Their

dues structure show concern for their associations. The MESPA's dues were \$12 per member and recently raised to \$20. MASSP members presently pay dues of \$15 and a mail poll vote and board action will probably change their dues to \$65 for members with salaries of over \$10,000, \$45 with salaries between \$8,000 and \$9,999, \$30 with salaries of less than \$8,000 and for those members on college faculties, the state department of education, etc. A full-time executive secretary is planned by MASSP if the proposed dues are affirmed.

AMERICAN MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION

Another alternative available to the school superintendent would be to transfer their membership from MEA and MASA to the American Management Association. Since most superintendents are not familiar with the form or goals of this organization, an effort is made here to describe this association in some detail. This section ends with an assessment of the appropriateness of this organization as an alternative to MASA.

Objectives

- To inform the manager of new methods for solving the specialized problems of his operation and to educate him in the use of these methods
- To prepare the manager for new developments
- To aid the manager in defining his role in the organization
- To give the manager the knowledge and stimulation he needs to plan his own innovations

Methods of Management Training

- Workshop Seminars Small groups of operating executives or administrators explore a specific management area through intensive, guided discussion.
- Orientation Seminars Major emphasis is placed on the practical application of successful management practices. Speakers are practicing executives.
- Courses Over 50 courses are offered. These courses are designed to offer instruction in a specific body of tested and accepted principles, methods, and techniques. Courses vary in length from one to four weeks.
- Conferences Conferences provide a quick summary of current management thinking in a general subject area.
- Periodicals Four regular periodicals are devoted to new management developments.
- Publications Reports, studies, books and special training materials are published regularly.

Organization of the A.M.A.

The American Management Association has 11 operating divisions. Each division publishes management reports, bulletins, and research studies and sponsors an extensive program of conferences, seminars, and in some instances, training courses. Members enroll in divisions according to their professional needs. The three divisions which might be of interest to school superintendents are:

1. Administrative Services Division. This division covers a wide field of subjects in the areas of administrative management, data, and information systems.
2. General Management Division. Problems of top-level planning and control are considered by this division.

3. Personnel Division. This division is concerned with personnel practices, employee relations, collective bargaining, all phases of training, management development, compensation and how best to utilize the company's human resources.

A.M.A. also provides a Management Information Service. The association has a trained staff of specialists and library facilities. The Management Information Service does not operate in a consulting capacity. It provides background information for making sound decisions rather than prescribing solutions. This service is available free of charge to all individuals and company members.

The Executive Compensation Service is composed of seven reports. This service provides an annual report on the compensation of top and middle management, technical, administrative, sales and supervisory personnel. Other studies describe supplementary methods of compensating executives.

An additional service, "In-Company Training Programs," is a fully prepared course for the training of in-company supervisors in "The Basic Principles of Supervisory Management." The program includes filmed presentation programed instruction texts.

Membership

Company Membership -- Annual dues are \$350. Six persons are enrolled, each in a major division of his choice and each in a division of supplementary interest. The company president is enrolled in the General Management Division.

Individual Membership Each member is in two divisions. Annual dues are \$60. Enrollment is available in additional divisions at \$30 per division.

Membership includes the use of the Management Information Service; issues of Management Reports, Bulletins, Research Studies, The Management Review, Management News, The Manager's Letter and Personnel. Preferred rates are offered to the membership on all other services.

Membership in the American Management Association might well be advantageous to the administrator and his school system. It could be a valuable source for individual professional improvement. Membership in this organization, however, would not accomplish the cohesiveness of purpose that is necessary if school superintendents wish to work in an organized fashion toward the realization of common goals.

CONTINUE MASA BUT WITHOUT INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP IN MEA

As shown earlier in this report, there has been some confusion in the past about the relationship of MASA to MEA. Both associations have often assumed that the MASA is a department of MEA. This confusion grew in part from the extent of cooperation between the two associations. Many services of MEA have always been available to MASA members, and school superintendents once were strong recruiters for the MEA. Most superintendents were members of both associations.

Now we know that there is nothing in the constitution of either association which requires affiliation with the other. Therefore, the MASA could announce its intent to operate as an independent association and encourage its members not to join MEA. This action might be combined with a dues increase of at least the amount now paid annually to MEA. The additional income would make it possible for MASA to provide all of the services now

received from MEA. Any further increase in dues could be applied toward activities designed to better satisfy the goals of professional associations as identified in an earlier section of this report.

COMBINATION OF MASA AND MSBA

A joining of MASA with MSBA (Minnesota School Boards Association) is another alternative that must not be overlooked. This combination has been a topic of discussion among administrators as well as school board members. Although this alternative deserves the same serious consideration provided any other alternative, a repeat of the use of the model in this paper seems unnecessary. The model is suggested and, hopefully, will aid in examining any alternative but the reader need not be led through further examinations.

Approval of all parties to the combination under consideration is assumed in the model and this may or may not be the case. Would the MSBA, in this case, accept the MASA? Or would they, too, be accused of "administrator domination"? On the other hand, would the superintendents lose identity and be dominated by the MSBA?

Another dimension, previously unmentioned, is that of a comparison of existing relationships, benefits, and/or goals under present alignment of MSBA and MASA with a projection of the same variables in a combined organization. Superintendents are presently included in the functions sponsored by MSBA and are the recipients of all of its services. They do not have a vote and cannot serve on the Board of Directors, but they can and do discuss issues with board members who have these privileges. Legislative programs

of the two organizations have been quite similar and the management of MSBA is shared between school board members and superintendents under the existing arrangement.

IN CLOSING

The membership of the Minnesota Association of School Administrators is confronted with the necessity for making a choice among alternatives. Unfortunately, none of the alternatives include a guarantee of success. There are dangers and uncertainties inherent in any course of action or no action. Likewise, challenges and rewards are within the reach of MASA. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the members of MASA to study the alternatives carefully and make a choice based on the best available evidence.

The evidence presented here leads to the conclusion that a Council of Associations for Administrators offers the greatest promise of goal attainment for persons responsible for managing the schools. Through the pooling of resources the Minnesota Association of School Administrators, the Minnesota Association of Secondary School Principals, the Minnesota Elementary School Principals Association, and the Minnesota Association of School Business Officials could form a united association committed to the pursuit of the eight goals outlined above. While some principals may have reservations about joining an association closely identified with the management of schools, recent experiences in collective negotiations should dispel any feeling that everyone with a certificate is a "teacher." Certainly, persons responsible for employing, assigning, evaluating, promoting, and dismissing teachers are administrators. Such are the major elements of personnel administration.

POSTSCRIPT

This article by Clifford P. Hooker, Chairman, Department of Educational Administration, University of Minnesota, is an extension of the work done by a Special Committee on the Relation of MASA to Other Educational Organizations. Members on this committee were superintendents Lorne Ward (Albert Lea), Jerome Webster (Windom), H.E. Frisby (Ivanhoe), L. E. Wermager (Fergus Falls), Howard Jenson (Columbia Heights), George J. Greenawalt (Hopkins), L. V. Rasmussen (Duluth), George W. Karvonen (Littlefork), and ex officio members William J. Nigg (Mankato), Fred Bettner (Park Rapids and President of MASA), and Ralph Reeder (Executive Secretary of MASA). Others contributing data contained in the paper include Art Gessner and Robert Mayer, research assistants for ERDC.

The recommendation for a Council of Associations for Administrators is the viewpoint of the author and does not represent the official posture of the MASA Special Committee. MASA is still in the process of weighing alternatives. The Association membership will be involved in further discussions.