

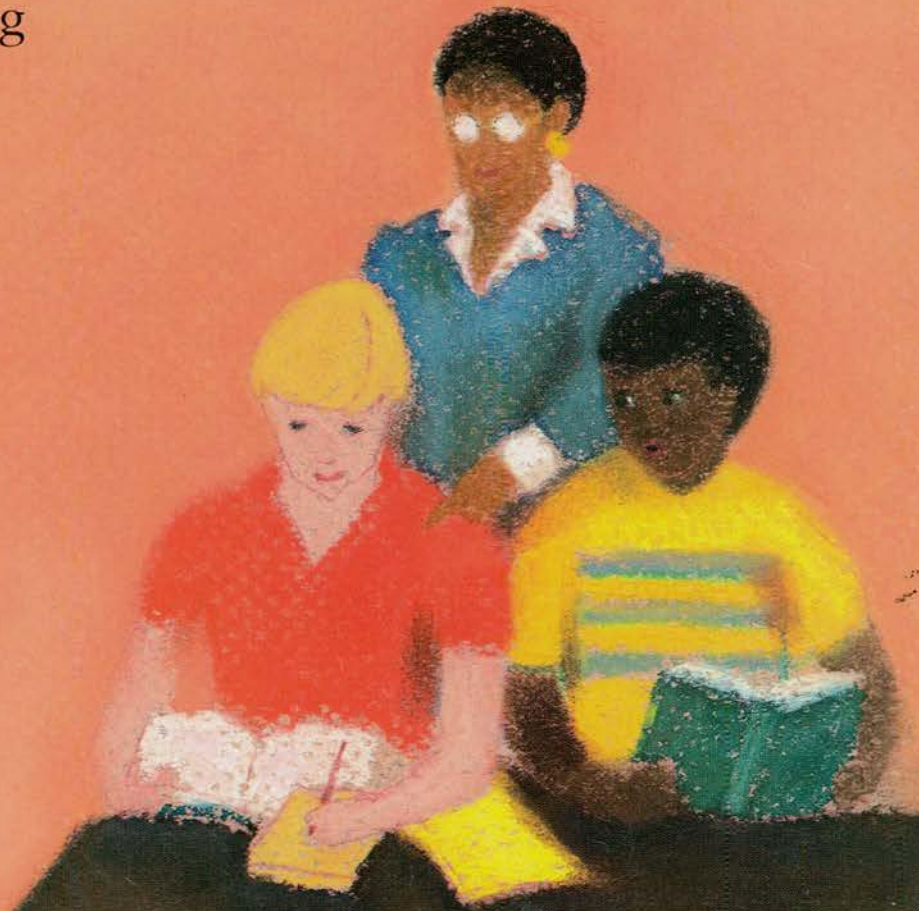
AMERICAN **Educator**

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
WINTER 1988

“**T**he backlash to professionalizing teaching has already begun. Interpreted by some as a power grab and by others as a ploy to soak the public purse, critics of professionalism are questioning the value of vesting greater authority in teachers. What the critics fail to understand is that the major reason for seeking to create a profession of teaching is that it will increase the probability that all students will be well educated because they are well taught—that professionalism seeks to heighten accountability by investing in knowledge and its responsible use.”

Accountability and Teacher Professionalism

By Linda Darling-Hammond



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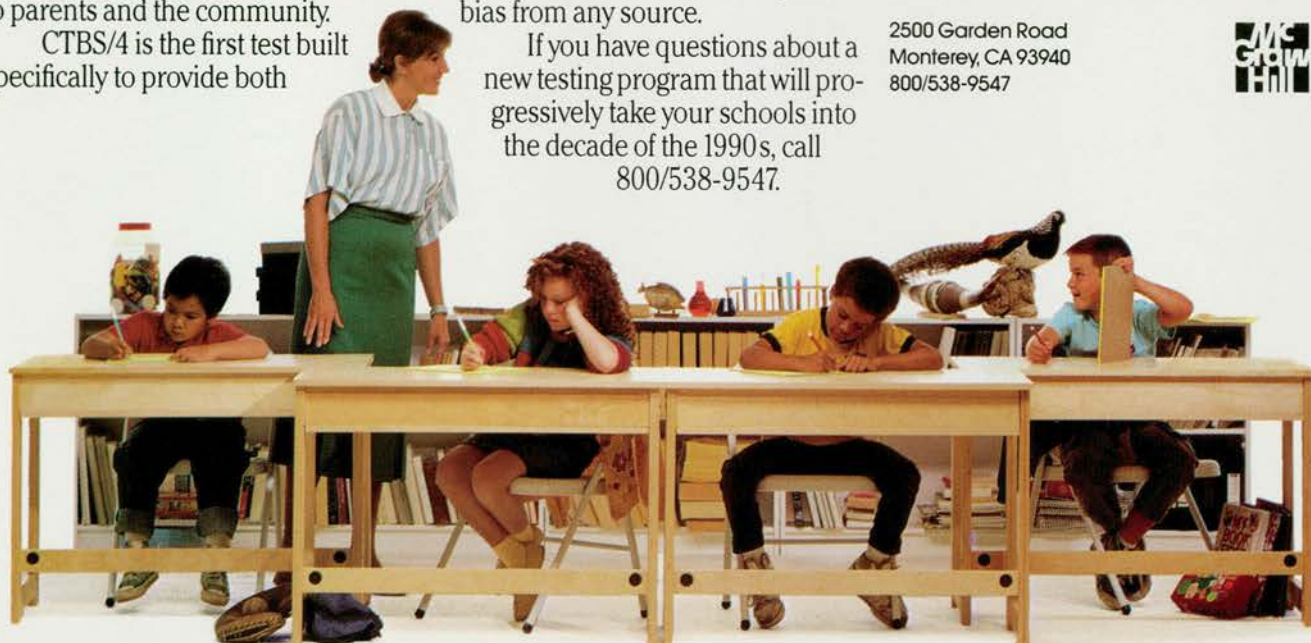
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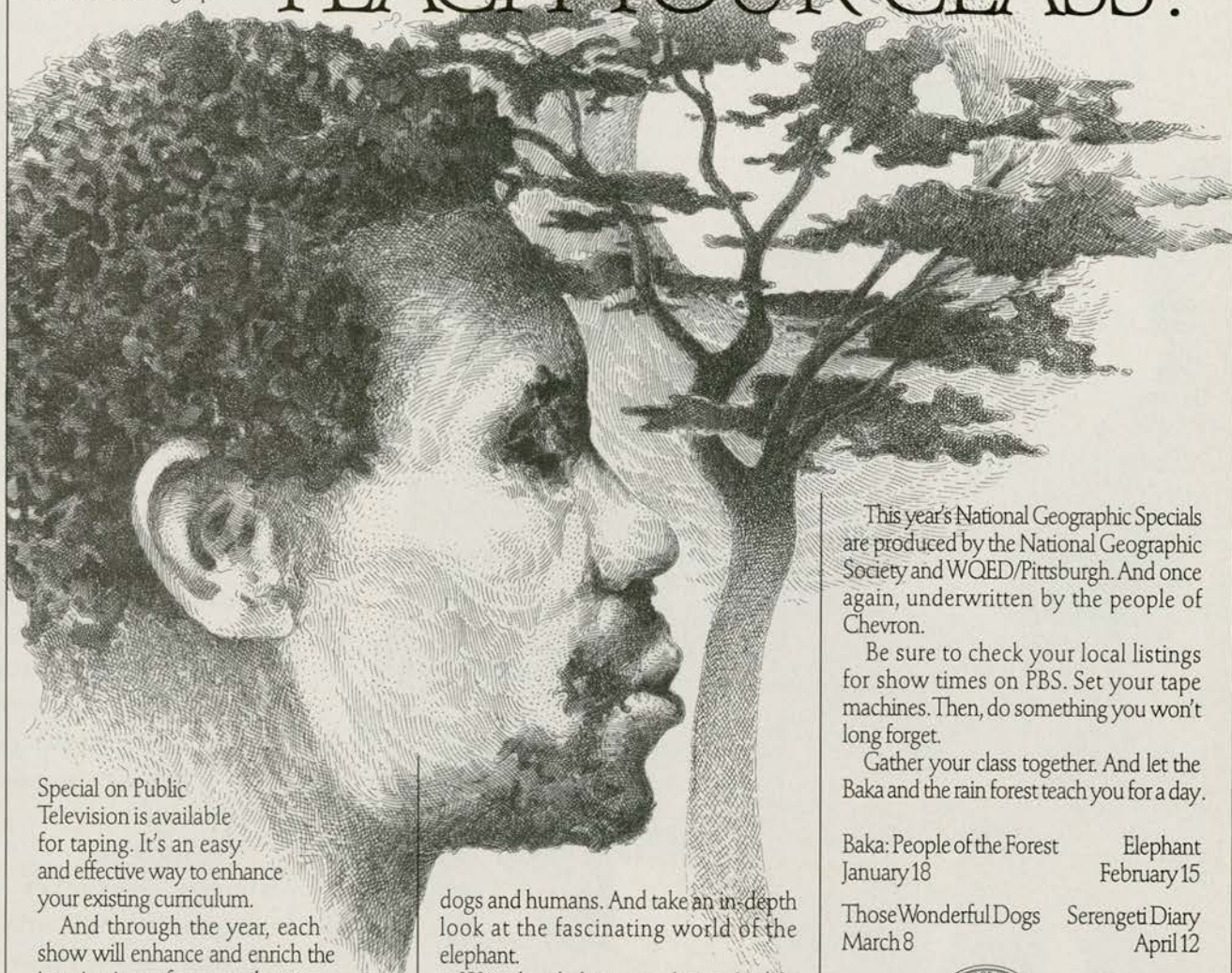
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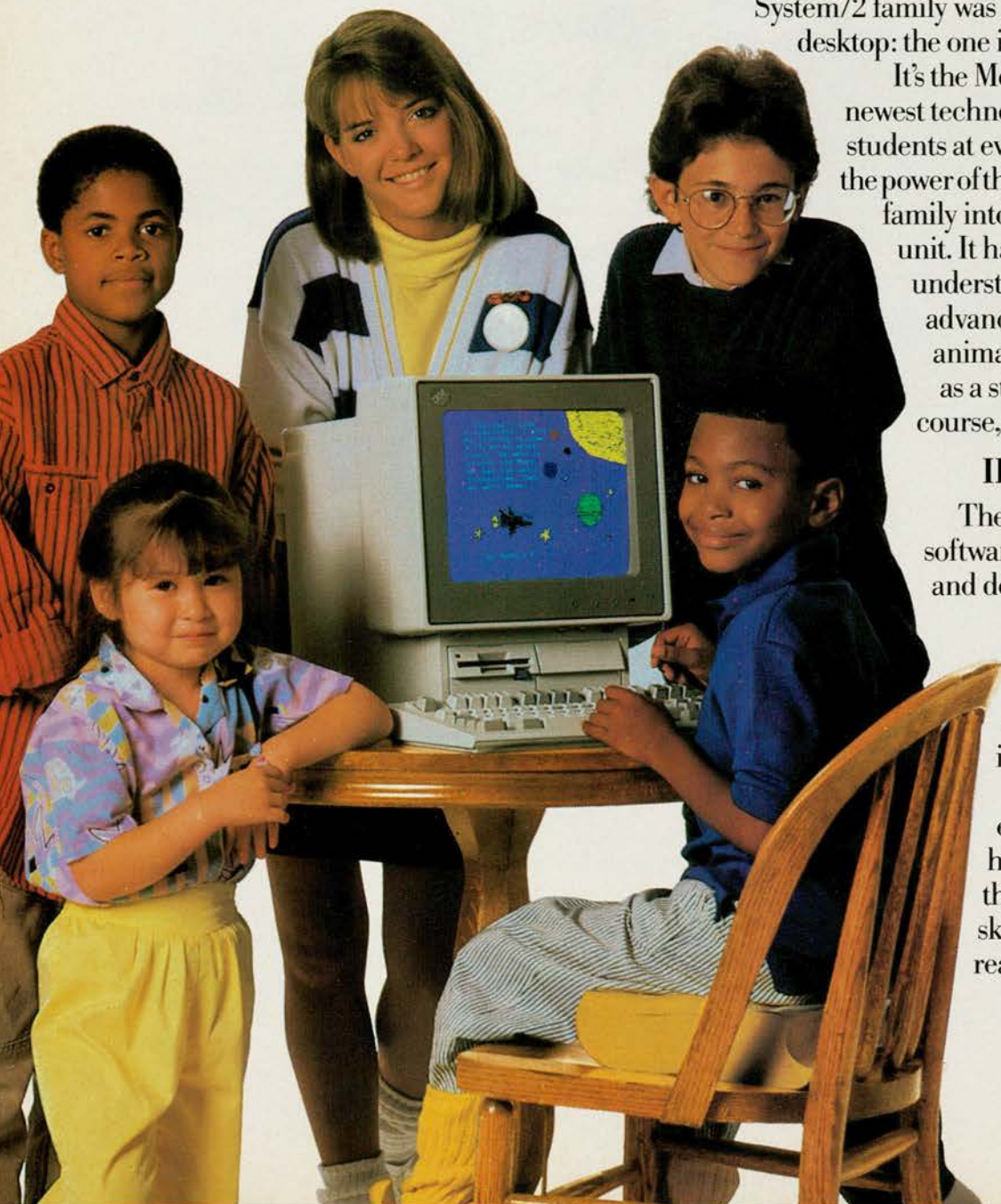
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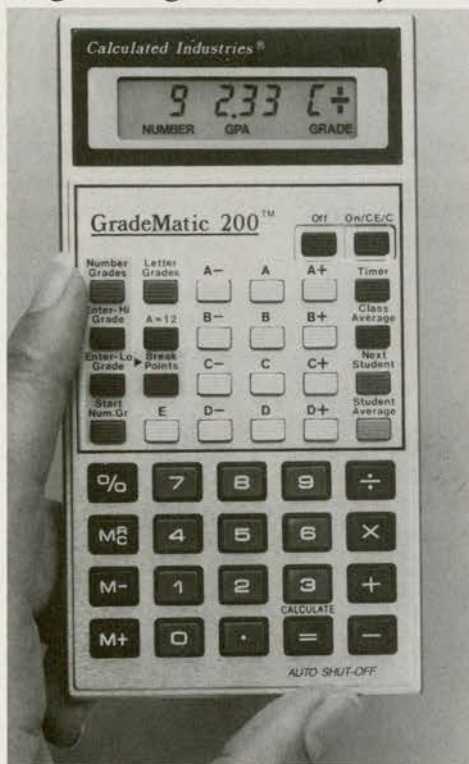
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Elizabeth McPike
editor

Ruth Wattenberg
associate editor

Mary Power Boyd
associate editor

Wanda Bailey
secretary

Andrew Bornstein
design consultant

Cover illustrated by Susan Davis

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Advertising Sales Representative
Peter Li, Inc.
2451 E. River Rd.
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513-294-5785

William M. Doran, Michael O'Callaghan,
Frank Guttman
Peter Li, Inc.
1220 Broadway
New York, NY 10001
212-947-2300

West
Jo-Ann McDevitt
Peter Li, Inc.
2169 Francisco Blvd., East, Suite A4
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415-457-4333

Southwest and Midwest
Thomas H. Bachmann, Patricia O'Connor,
Geoff Welch
Peter Li, Inc.
913 West Van Buren, Suite North 7B
Chicago, IL 60607
312-942-0063

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ACCOUNTABILITY AND TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM

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GRAPEVINE: A HIGH-TECH VOYAGE THROUGH THE 'THIRTIES

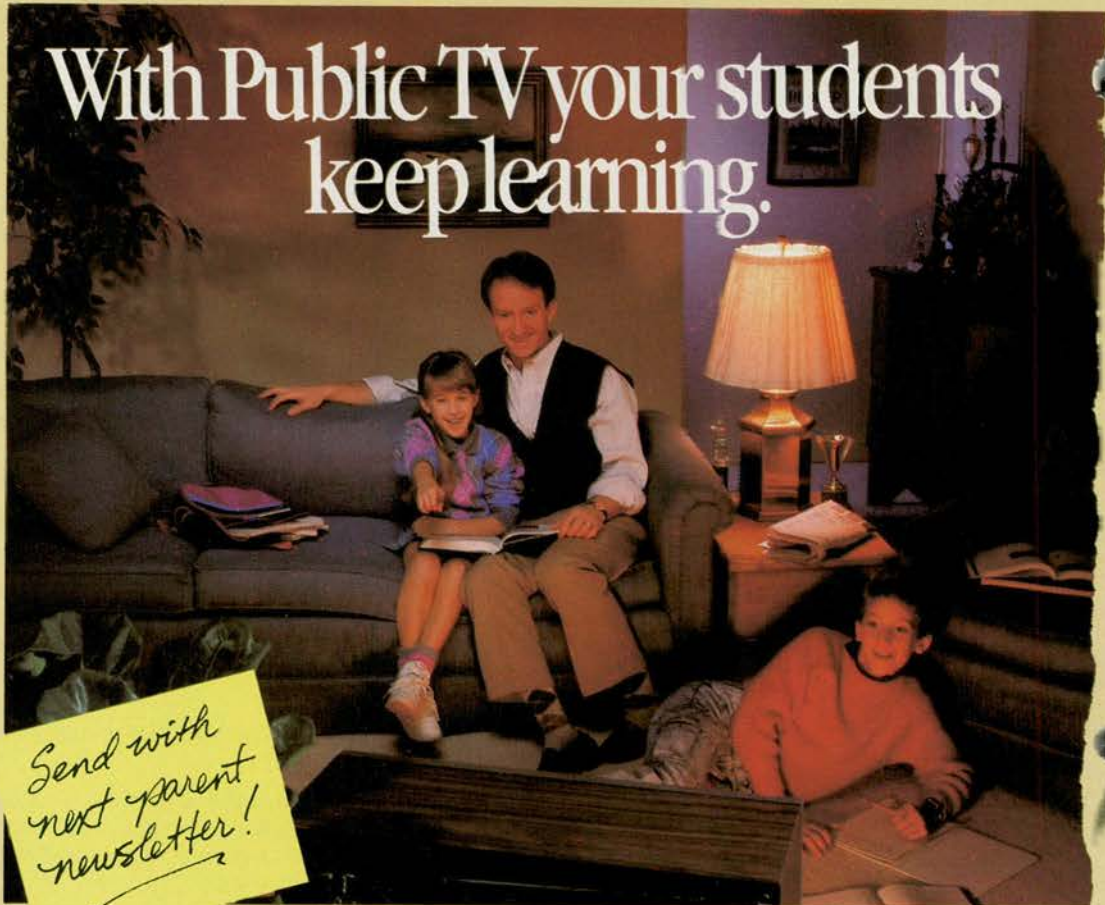
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A new generation of interactive media makes it possible for teachers and students to "visit" the Grapes of Wrath era. Here the creators of the new product, a teacher and a school librarian, tell what led them to their creation and how it will facilitate and enrich teaching.



With Public TV your students keep learning.



Send the next page home today to show them how.

Now it's easy to keep your students learning — even after the school day ends. Just make copies of the next page, which lists a selection of upcoming Public TV programs, and send it home to your kids' parents.

Why? Because educational programs on Public TV bring your influence home. They show your students — and their parents — that learning doesn't have to stop when the bell rings.

The programs on the next page show how Public TV can reinforce and enhance the lessons you teach in the classroom — from social studies to science, from math to language arts, from the fascinating diversity of different cultures to the basic skills of problem-solving. When your students watch Public TV at home, they build on the work they do in school. And they enjoy it!

Send the next page home today — and mark any programs of special interest. You'll teach your students the most important lesson of all: that learning doesn't end with the school day.



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From December to February, help your children learn with these Public TV programs.

Dear Parents:

We all know how much our children love television! That's why this winter, I recommend programs on Public TV like the ones listed here. They're examples of programs that are worth watching because they help children keep learning after the school day ends.

If you can watch *with* your child, that's even better. Your interest will make a big difference in how much your child learns. And who knows, you may learn something new, too!

Please keep this page where you can refer to it often—and be on the lookout for these programs. The schedules can change, so check the local TV listings to find out exactly when they're on.

And thanks for helping us teach "our" children!

Upcoming Specials

- **"Dinosaurs" (January)**, a special program in the series **Infinite Voyage**, examines our changing views of the "Thunder Lizards," including speculations about whether they were lizards at all—and that their descendants are still living today!
- **Wonderworks**, the weekly series of classic family programs, presents a special 3-part miniseries, **"The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe" (mid-late January)**. Based on the enduring books of C. S. Lewis, it follows the adventures of four children in the magical land of Narnia. **"Words by Heart" (early February)** honors Black History Month with a touching drama about a black family's battle against prejudice in the early 1900's. Also watch for **"Anne of Green Gables,"** the award-winning miniseries on the adventurous childhood of orphan Anne Shirley. (CC)
- **National Geographic Specials (mid-January and mid-February)**. In January, **"Baka: People of the Forest"** explores an African tribe of Pygmies that adheres to a traditional lifestyle. In February, **"Elephant"** examines man's centuries-long relationship with the world's largest land animal. (CC)

New Series

- **Long Ago & Far Away (premiering late January)** is a new weekly series hosted by James Earl Jones that brings the wonders of storytelling to children of all ages. The series showcases the world's finest adaptations of classic stories and fables, as well as newer stories of timeless appeal. (CC)

Old Favorites

- **DeGrassi Junior High (beginning early December)** is a weekly series that follows a cast of young schoolmates as they negotiate the trials, tribulations, and triumphs of adolescence. The series deals realistically with the issues today's kids face every day. (CC)
- **Newton's Apple (beginning early January)** is an entertaining weekly science series that explores scientific phenomena in everyday life—from how aspirin works to the physics of sailboats. Do you know if stars really twinkle? You'll find out on Newton's Apple! (CC)
- **Square One TV (weekly)**, is broadcast every weekday to encourage elementary school children's interest in math while developing problem-solving skills—in an energetic and appealing format! The popular "Mathnet" segments follow two mathematician/detectives as they solve complex crimes. (CC)

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting has prepared a special booklet called **TV Tips for Parents**, with suggestions on how you can help children get the most out of television. For your copy, send a self-addressed stamped business envelope (45¢ postage please) to: **TV Tips for Parents**, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, PO Box 33039, Washington, DC 20033.



CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

ACCOUNTABILITY AND TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM

BY LINDA DARLING-HAMMOND

In the "second wave" of this decade's education reform movement, many educational policy makers and practitioners began to reach consensus that school improvement requires knowledgeable teachers charged with greater responsibility and authority for decision making. Led by the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy (1986), the National Governors Association (1986), and the Education Commission of the States (1986), among others, blue-ribbon panels called one after another for the "professionalization" of teaching as a means of solving shortages and raising school quality.¹

Though policy makers' renewed interest in teachers as a vehicle for education reform is but a few years old, the backlash to professionalizing teaching has already begun. Interpreted by some as a power grab and by others as a ploy to soak the public purse, critics of professionalism are questioning the value of vesting greater authority in teachers.² Misinterpreting professionalization as mainly a quest for money, status, and autonomy, opponents worry that "empowered" teachers will be unaccountable. They fail to understand that the major reason for seeking to create a profession of teaching is that it will increase the probability that all students will be well educated because they are well taught—that professionalism seeks to heighten accountability by investing in knowledge and its responsible use. It is essential that current efforts to place more authority in the hands of teachers be grounded firmly in a professional structure for teaching created both



Linda Darling-Hammond is director of the Rand Corporation's Education and Human Resources Program. In 1987, she was a recipient of the AFT's QuEST Citation Award, given in recognition of her "outstanding contributions to education." Portions of this article are based on a paper commissioned as part of the Professional Practice Schools Project, sponsored by the American Federation of Teachers and supported by a grant from the Exxon Education Foundation. That paper will appear in the Fall 1989 issue of Teachers College Record.

within and outside the schoolhouse walls. This article seeks to examine how professional accountability can be accomplished and how it can improve education as the conditions for truly professional practice are secured.

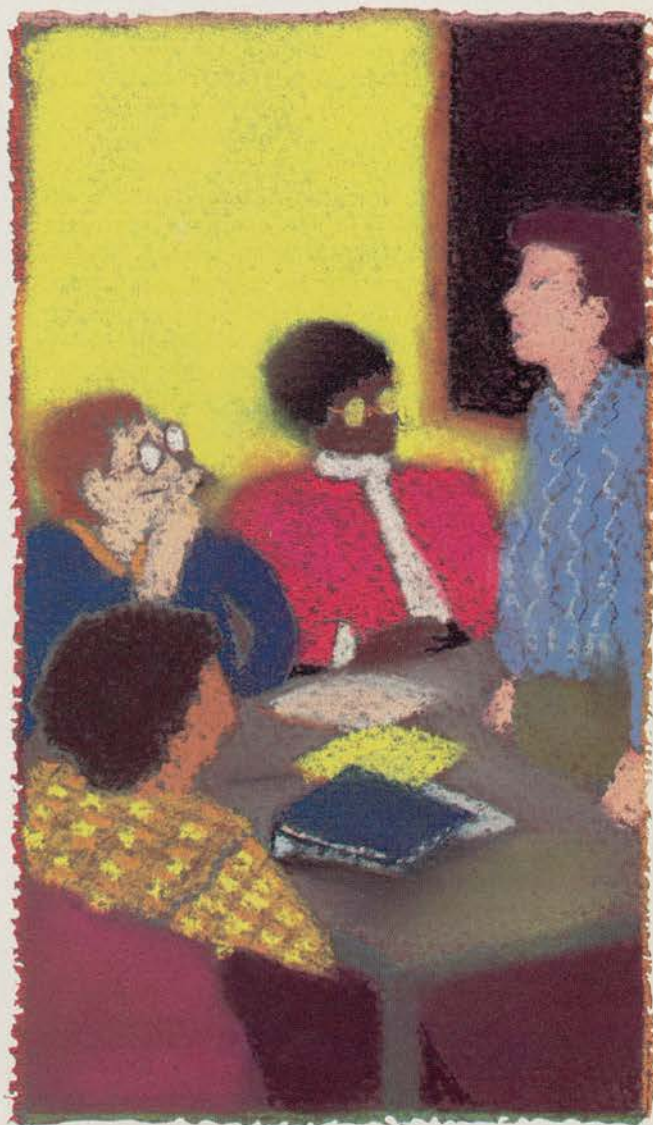
Before describing the nature of a professional model, we need to first examine the structure and limitations of other current systems of accountability in education.

MODELS OF ACCOUNTABILITY

Social transactions in our society are managed in a variety of ways, ultimately subject to democratic control. Through legislative bodies, the populace can decide whether an activity should be a subject of governmental regulation and where that regulation should begin or end. When the public has decided not to legislate, control of an activity may revert in whole or in part to professional bodies, courts, or private individuals in their roles as clients, consumers, or citizens.

In any of these instances, accountability mechanisms are chosen to safeguard the public interest. These include at least the following:

- political accountability—elected officials must stand for reelection at regular intervals so that citizens can judge the representativeness of their views and the responsiveness of their decisions;
- legal accountability—courts must entertain complaints about violations of laws enacted by representatives of the public and of citizens' constitutionally granted rights that may be threatened either by private action or by legislative action;
- bureaucratic accountability—agencies of government promulgate rules and regulations intended to assure citizens that public functions will be carried out in pursuit of public goals voiced through democratic or legal processes;
- market accountability—governments may choose to allow clients or consumers to choose what services best meet their needs; to preserve the utility of this form of accountability, government regulations seek to pre-



ILLUSTRATED BY SUSAN DAVIS

vent monopolies, protect freedom of choice, and require that service providers give truthful information; and

- professional accountability—governments may create professional bodies and structures to ensure competence and appropriate practice in occupations that serve the public and may delegate certain decisions about occupational membership, standards, and practices to these bodies.

All of these accountability mechanisms have their strengths and weaknesses, and each is more or less appropriate to certain types of activities. Political mechanisms can support the public establishment of general policy directions in areas subject to direct government control. Legal mechanisms are most useful when rights or proscriptions are clearly definable and when establishing the facts is all that is needed to trigger a remedy. Bureaucratic mechanisms are most appropriate when a standard set of practices or procedures can be easily linked to behavioral rules that will produce the desired outcomes. Market mechanisms are helpful when consumer preferences vary widely, when the state does not have a direct interest in controlling choice, and when government control would be counterproductive to innovation. Professional mechanisms are most important when safeguards for consumer choice are necessary to serve the public interest, but the technology of the work is uniquely determined by individual client needs and a complex and changing base of knowledge.

There are, of course, incentives in any of these systems for individuals to shirk their missions or for organizational inadequacies to impair performance. (Public servants may use their position for private gain; courts may become overloaded; bureaucrats may fail to follow regulations; professionals may overlook incompetence; markets may break down due to regulatory or economic failures.) These problems can, presumably, be addressed by efforts to make the systems work more perfectly, often by overlaying another accountability mechanism against the first as a check and balance, e.g., enacting an ethics in government law that adds legal accountability vehicles to the electoral process for governing the actions of public officials.

Even when they function perfectly, however, any given mode of accountability has intrinsic limits that must be weighed in the choice of which to use under varying circumstances. Electoral accountability does not allow citizens to judge each specific action of officials; nor does it necessarily secure the constitutional rights or preferences of citizens whose views and interests are in the minority. Legal accountability cannot be used in all cases: The reach of courts is limited to that which can be legislated; not all citizens have access to courts, and they are buffered from public opinion. Bureaucratic accountability does not guarantee results, it concerns itself with procedures; it is effective only when procedures are known to produce the desired outcomes and when compliance is easily measured and secured. Professional accountability does not always take public preferences into account; it responds to an authority outside the direct reach of citizens and may satisfy its purposes while ignoring competing public goals. Market accountability does not ensure citizens' access to services and relies on the spontaneous emer-

In the bureaucratic model, teachers are viewed as functionaries rather than as well-trained and highly-skilled professionals.



gence of a variety of services to allow choice to operate as a safety valve for poor service provision.

Because of these intrinsic limits, no single form of accountability operates alone in any major area of public life. Hybrid forms are developed to provide checks and balances and to more carefully target tools for safeguarding the public interest toward the particular matters they can best address. The choices of accountability tools—and the balance among different forms of accountability—are constantly shifting as problems emerge, as social goals change, and as new circumstances arise.

ACCOUNTABILITY IN EDUCATION

In education, it is easy to see that legal and bureaucratic forms of accountability have expanded their reach over the past twenty years, while electoral accountability has waxed and waned (with local and state school boards operating with reduced authority in some instances, and the purviews of elected and appointed officials shifting in many states). Market accountability is more often discussed as a possibly useful vehicle, but still rarely used, except in a few districts that offer magnet schools or other schools of choice. Professional accountability is gaining in prominence as an idea for strengthening teaching quality, but it is yet poorly defined and partially at odds with other forms of accountability currently in use.

BUREAUCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

Bureaucratic organization and management of schools has increased since the early part of this century, when “scientific management” principles were first introduced into urban schools in an effort to standardize and rationalize the process of schooling. The view underlying this approach to managing schools is as follows: Schools are agents of government that can be administered by hierarchical decision making and controls. Policies are made at the top of the system and handed down to administrators who translate them into rules and procedures. Teachers follow the rules and procedures (class schedules, curricula, textbooks, rules for promotion and assignment of students, etc.), and students are processed according to them.

This approach is intended to foster equal and uniform treatment of clients, standardization of products or services, and to prevent arbitrary or capricious decision making. It works reasonably well when goals are agreed upon and clearly definable, when procedures for meeting the goals can be specified, when the procedures are straightforward and feasible to implement, and when following these procedures is known to produce the desired outcomes in all cases. Bureaucratic accountability ensures that rules will be promulgated and compliance with these rules will be monitored. The promise that bureaucratic accountability makes is that violators of the rules will be apprehended, and consequences will be administered for noncompliance.

When bureaucratic forms are applied to the management of teaching, they rely on a number of assumptions:

- that students are sufficiently standardized that they will respond in identical and predictable ways to the “treatments” devised by policy makers and their principal agents;
- that sufficient knowledge of which treatments should be prescribed is both available and generalizable to all educational circumstances;
- that this knowledge can be translated into standardized rules for practice; these can be operationalized through regulations and reporting and inspection systems; and
- that administrators and teachers can and will faithfully implement the prescriptions for practice thus devised and transmitted to schools.

The circular bottom-line assumption is that this process, if efficiently administered, will produce the outcomes that the system desires. If the outcomes are not satisfactory, the final assumption is that the prescriptions are not yet sufficiently detailed or the process of implementation is not sufficiently exact. Thus, the solutions to educational problems always lie in more precise specification of educational or management processes.

In the bureaucratic model, teachers are viewed as functionaries rather than as well-trained and highly skilled professionals. Little investment is made in teacher preparation, induction, or professional development. Little credence is given to licensing or knowledge acquisition. Little time is afforded for joint planning or collegial consultation about problems of practice. Because practices are prescribed outside the school setting, there is no need and little use for professional knowledge and judgment. Thus, novice teachers assume the same responsibilities as thirty-year veterans. Separated into egg-crate classrooms and isolated by packed teaching schedules, teachers rarely work or talk together about teaching practices. A rationale for these activities is absent from the bureaucratic perspective on teaching work.

In the bureaucratic conception of teaching, teachers do not need to be highly knowledgeable about learning theory and pedagogy, cognitive science and child development, curriculum and assessment; they do not need to be highly skilled, because they do not, presumably, make the major decisions about these matters. Curriculum planning is done by administrators and specialists; teachers are to implement a curriculum planned for them. Inspection of teachers’ work is conducted by hierarchical superiors, whose job it is to make sure that the teacher is implementing the curriculum and procedures of the district. Teachers do not plan or evaluate their own work; they merely perform it.

Accountability is achieved by inspections and reporting systems intended to ensure that the rules and procedures are being followed. Teachers are held accountable for implementing curricular and testing policies, grading policies, assignment and promotion rules, and myriad other educational prescriptions, whether or not these “treatments” are appropriate in particular instances for particular students. As a consequence, teachers cannot be held accountable for meeting the needs of their students; they can only be held accountable for following standard operating procedures. The standard for accountability is compliance rather than effectiveness.

This logic has been extended to its furthest reach in the school policies of the last fifteen years. Since the early 1970s, state governments and district central offices have exerted more and more control over the form, substance, and conduct of schooling, producing reform packages that are both teacher-proof and student-proof. For example, in one of the nation's largest city school districts, teachers are supplied with a K-12 standardized curriculum outlining the scope and sequence for instruction in each subject in each grade, complete with a pacing schedule showing how much time teachers should spend on each topic and lesson plans for each day of the school year. Grading standards are also prescribed, showing how much weight teachers should give to each type of assignment (also prescribed) and how they should calculate grades. Promotion standards are determined by standardized tests developed to match the curriculum. The assumption is that marching the students through these procedures is all that is necessary to ensure learning.

The problem with the bureaucratic solution to the accountability dilemma in education is that effective teaching is not routine, students are not passive, and questions of practice are not simple, predictable, or standardized. By its very nature, bureaucratic management is incapable of providing appropriate education for students who do not fit the mold upon which all of the prescriptions for practice are based.

PUBLIC VS. CLIENT ACCOUNTABILITY

At present, I think it is fair to say that the use of legal and bureaucratic accountability mechanisms in education far outweighs the use of other forms, and that these mechanisms have overextended their reach for actually promoting positive practices and responsiveness to public and client needs. This statement should not be glossed over too lightly, though, for public and client needs are not identical, and positive practices are defined in the eye of the beholder. Indeed, there is a special tension in public education between the goals held by governments for public schools and the goals held by the clients of schools, for which different forms of accountability are needed. Because the needs, interests, and preferences of individual students and parents do not always converge with the needs, interests, and preferences of state or local governments, the question of accountability in education must always be prefaced by the questions "to whom?" and "for what?"

Individual consumers (parents and students) often hold different social, economic, and political goals than does the state government, and they very often disagree about how to pursue even the commonly held goals. Furthermore, child-oriented definitions of student "needs" rarely match state definitions, since the former are unique to the individual child and the latter are promulgated for all children in a state, or for specified groups of children.

Thus, accountability for accomplishing state goals is a very different concept from accountability for accomplishing clients' goals. Indeed, accountability for meeting the needs of individual students is often in conflict—or at least in tension—with accountability for securing the public's preferences for education. Teachers and

public school officials are the arbiters of these tensions. They strive to achieve a balance between meeting the state's goals and the needs of individual students. This requires a great deal of skill, sensitivity, and judgment, since the dilemmas posed by these two sets of goals are complex, idiosyncratic, and ever changing.

Increasingly, though, attempts to provide public accountability have sought to standardize school and classroom procedures in the hopes of finding "one best system" by which all students may be educated. Ironically, these prescriptive policies, created in the name of public accountability, have begun to reduce schools' responsiveness to the needs of students and the desires of parents. In the cause of uniform treatment and in the absence of schooling alternatives, large numbers of students "fall through the cracks" when rules, routines, and standardized procedures prevent teachers from meeting their individual needs. Those who can afford to do so leave for private schools. Those who cannot are frequently alienated and ill served.

We can no longer believe that one best system will be found that can be codified and packaged for rote administration by teachers. We now know that effective teaching techniques vary for students with different learning styles, at different stages of cognitive and psychological development, for different subject areas, and for different instructional goals. We know that students will differ in their approaches to learning. Consequently, we can no longer pretend that it is sufficient to treat students as raw materials and teachers as factory workers. If students are to be well taught, it will not be by virtue of bureaucratic mandate but by virtue of highly trained, well-supported professionals who can use their knowledge and judgment to make sound decisions appropriate to the unique needs of children.

A PROFESSIONAL MODEL

Professionalism depends on the affirmation of three principles in the conduct and governance of an occupation:

1. Knowledge is the basis for permission to practice and for decisions that are made with respect to the unique needs of clients;
2. The practitioner pledges his first concern to the welfare of the client; and
3. The profession assumes collective responsibility for the definition, transmittal, and enforcement of professional standards of practice and ethics.

These principles outline a view of practice that is *client oriented* and *knowledge based*. They also suggest an approach to accountability that is based on practitioners' competence and effectiveness rather than on the pursuit of organizational procedures and rules. Professional *prerogatives* to make decisions are accompanied by professional *obligations* to do so in a responsible manner.

Professionals are obligated to do whatever is best for the client, not what is easiest, most expedient, or even what the client him/herself might want. They are also obligated to base a decision about what is best for the client on available knowledge—not just that knowledge acquired from personal experience but also that clinical

Professional authority does not mean legitimizing the idiosyncratic or whimsical preferences of individual classroom teachers.

and research knowledge acquired by the occupation as a whole and represented in professional journals, certification standards, and specialty training. Finally, professionals are required to take into account the unique needs of individual clients in fashioning their judgments about what strategies or treatments are appropriate.

These are fine goals, but how are they operationalized to result in something that might be called professional accountability? In policy terms, these requirements suggest greater regulation of teachers—ensuring their competence through more rigorous preparation, certification, selection, and evaluation—in exchange for the deregulation of teaching—fewer rules prescribing what is to be taught, when, and how. This is, in essence, the bargain that all professions make with society: For occupations that require discretion and judgment in meeting the unique needs of clients, the profession guarantees the competence of members in exchange for the privilege of professional control over work structure and standards of practice.

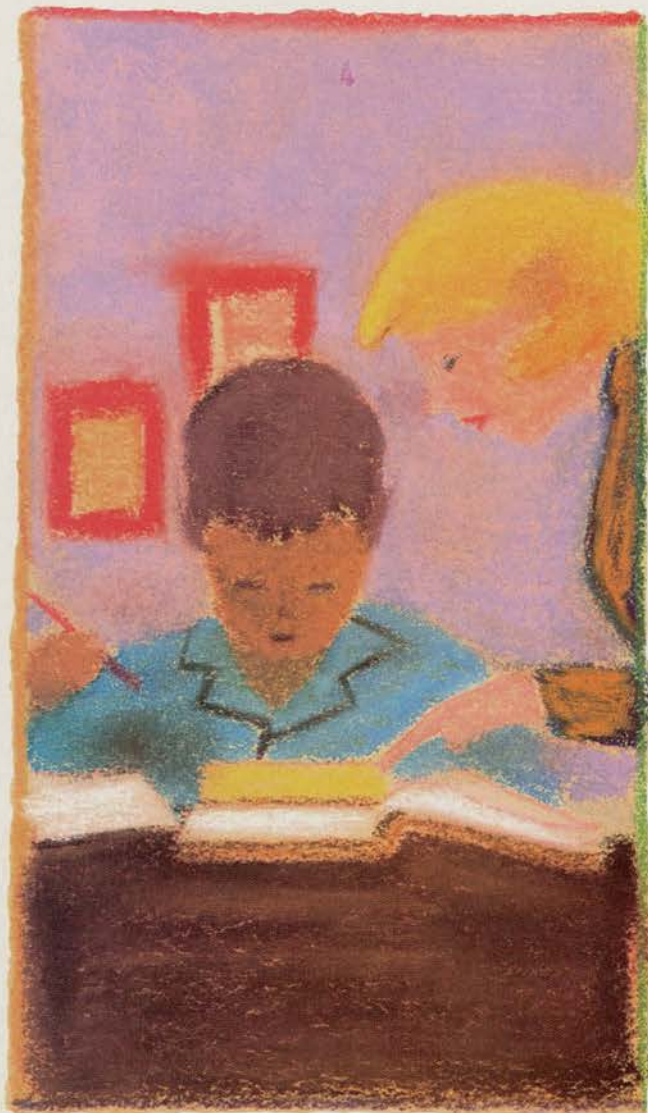
It is important to note, too, that professional authority does not mean legitimizing the idiosyncratic or whimsical preferences of individual classroom teachers. Indeed, in other public service occupations, autonomy is the problem that professionalism is meant to address. It is precisely because practitioners operate autonomously that safeguards to protect the public interest are necessary. In occupations that have become professionalized, these safeguards have taken the form of screens to membership in the profession and ongoing peer review of practice. Collective autonomy from external regulation is achieved by the assumption of collective responsibility. Responsible self-governance requires, in turn, structures and vehicles by which the profession can define and transmit its knowledge base, control membership in the occupation, evaluate and refine its practices, and enforce norms of ethical practice.

In theory, teacher professionalism promises a more potent form of accountability for meeting students' needs than that which courts and bureaucracies can concoct. It promises competence, an expanding knowledge base, concern for client welfare, and vehicles for enforcing these claims. Of course, in education as in other public service occupations, professionalism operates alongside other tools for accountability.

The goals of professional accountability are to protect the public by ensuring that (1) all individuals permitted to practice in certain capacities are adequately prepared to do so responsibly; (2) where knowledge about practice exists, it will be used, and where certainty about practice does not exist, practitioners will individually and collectively seek to discover the most responsible course of action; and (3) as the first two points suggest, practitioners will pledge their first and primary commitment to the welfare of the client.

Professions seek to accomplish these goals by creating structures and processes by which standards of professional practice and norms of professional conduct are defined, transmitted, and enforced. Professional bodies, such as professional standards boards and accrediting agencies, are the primary vehicles for articulating and enforcing standards. Training and socialization processes, such as preparation programs,

(Continued on page 38)



RANDOLPH, RUSTIN, AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

BY JERVIS ANDERSON

In this twenty-fifth anniversary year of the 1963 March on Washington, the American Educator is pleased to highlight the role in the March of two civil rights leaders with whom the AFT and the AFL-CIO have had a special relationship: A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin. Randolph was the founder and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—the first large, predominantly black union and the first such to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. Rustin, a chief organizer of the 1963 March, led the bail-bond fundraising effort when United Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker was jailed for leading New York City teachers on a 1967 strike. He could always be found on UFT picket lines; fought for and defended quality, integrated education even when it was unfashionable; actively helped the UFT to win the nation's first union contract for public school paraprofessionals; and was awarded the UFT's John Dewey Award in 1968. Rustin was also a champion of human rights abroad, whether for blacks in South Africa, workers behind the Iron Curtain, boat people fleeing Southeast Asia, or Jews denied their rights in the

Soviet Union and the Arab World. Following Rustin's death in 1987, the AFT this past summer renamed its annual human rights award the Bayard Rustin Human Rights Award.

To support a variety of civil rights, human rights, and trade union activities that continue his work, the Bayard Rustin Fund has been established. Tax-deductible contributions may be sent to: The Bayard Rustin Fund, 260 Park Avenue South, N.Y., N.Y., 10010.

—Editor

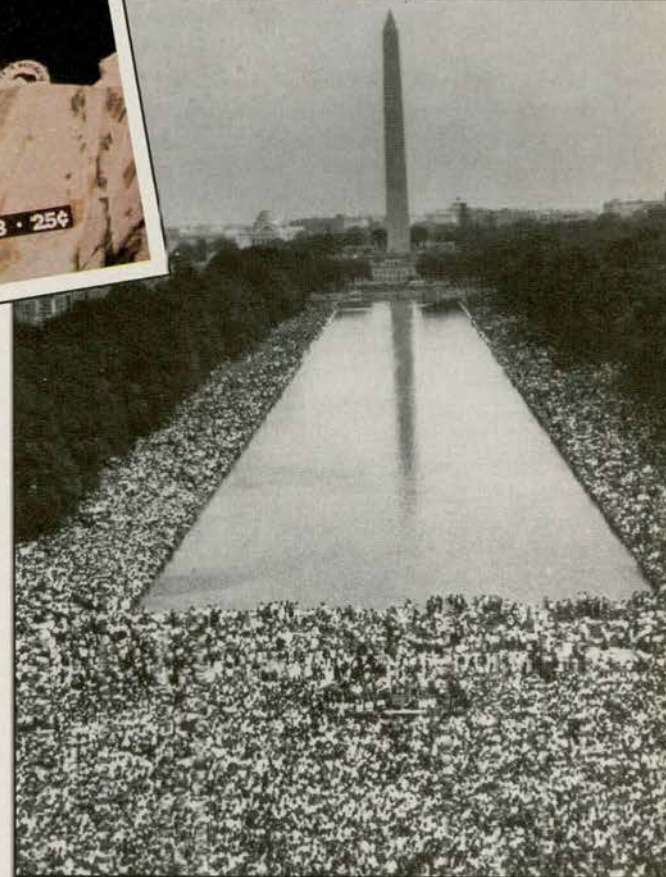
IN MY fifty years as a social and human rights activist," Bayard Rustin wrote not long before his death in 1987, "I have met and worked with some of the leading figures in the struggle for justice But the man who most closely touched my life, whose ideas and work helped shape my destiny, was Asa Philip Randolph." Years earlier, Randolph had paid his own generous tribute to the most distinguished of his political protégés—praising Rustin as "innovative, creative, and a person of dreams and integrity." That Rustin was himself widely recognized for some of the qualities he admired in Randolph may be seen as a sign of the infectious influence Randolph had upon the younger man.

Their mutual admiration society began late in 1939, when Rustin, a twenty-seven-year-old student at the City College of New York, met the fifty-year-old leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for the first time. As a wavering member of the Young Communist League at C.C.N.Y., Rustin had been told by a classmate that the communists were no more devoted to the cause of black progress than an anti-communist like A. Philip Randolph was; and, wishing to conduct his own inquiry into the matter, Rustin had gone to see Randolph at the Brotherhood's headquarters, on 125th Street in Harlem.

Jervis Anderson has been a staff writer for The New Yorker since 1968. He is the author of A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait and This Was Harlem: A Cultural Portrait, 1900-1950. His writings have also appeared in Commentary, The New Republic, New York Review of Books, The New York Times Book Review, and other publications. He is a fellow of the American Society of Historians. This article was first printed in a memorial journal honoring A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin. © A. Philip Randolph Institute, 1988.



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WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Clockwise from left: A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, the organizers of the 1963 March on Washington, featured on the cover of Life magazine; Rustin recruits passersby to the cause from the balcony of the March's national headquarters in New York City; More than two hundred thousand marchers filled the Washington, D.C., Mall.

Not only was Rustin impressed by the interview, he was also—like many before him, and after—captivated by aspects of Randolph's personal manner; for, despite Randolph's toughness and tenacity as a labor and political activist, the well-dressed Floridian was a southern gentleman of unsurpassing dignity and graciousness. "When I walked into his office," Rustin reported later, "this man of great dignity and inner beauty stood up, came out from behind his desk, met me in the middle of the room, shook hands, offered me a seat—and I was nothing but a nobody."

Rustin, who was barely able to support himself at C.C.N.Y.—mainly by singing part-time with Josh White and Leadbelly—could hardly have been as well dressed as Randolph always was. Beyond that discrepancy, however, they had more than a little in common. Both were tall, handsome, and articulate black men. In his younger years, Randolph had also studied at the City College of New York. Rustin, like most young idealists at the time, was still attracted to the Marxist-Leninist movement; but he would soon transform himself into the democratic socialist that Randolph was—from the first day he listened to Eugene Debs. At Rustin's age and earlier, Randolph had also been a militant left-wing intellectual, the most radical black journalist in the United States. Like Rustin, he was also a pacifist, having been arrested and jailed for his anti-war activities in 1918. Both men were products of deeply religious families. Rustin, a devout Quaker from Pennsylvania, had been raised partly in the African Methodist Episcopal Church—the same denomination in which Randolph, son of a preacher, had been raised.

THE FIRST meeting between A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin was a fateful one, for it linked them into a political relationship that—despite two unpleasant and trying moments—lasted the remaining years of their lives. In Randolph, Rustin had discovered one of his most influential mentors (the other being A.J. Muste, the revered pacifist leader). In Rustin, Randolph had encountered a young intellectual who would become the most prominent and faithful advocate of his particular approaches to the struggle for black political and economic progress.

When Rustin next paid a visit to Randolph, in the early months of 1941, he had dropped out of City College and had quit the Young Communist League. He had come to offer his services to the cause in which Randolph was then most actively engaged—the March on Washington Movement, conceived by Randolph and designed to pressure the federal government into outlawing racial discrimination in the nation's defense factories.

While the munitions industry boomed, enabling millions of white Americans to recover from the Great Depression, blacks were turned away in droves from the gates of defense plants. And this intolerable state of affairs had caused Randolph and a number of other black leaders to make repeated calls upon officials of the federal administration. It was when all such appeals had failed that Randolph had announced the formation of a March on Washington Movement—for which Bayard Rustin had come to enlist as a youth organizer. Describing preparations for the March, a contemporary jour-

nalist wrote: "Some \$50,000 was laid on the line. Union members sparked committees, hired buses and trains, undertook the formidable logistic planning required to move the equivalent of an army division. . . . No mightier pressure had ever been brought to bear in the political history of the American Negro."

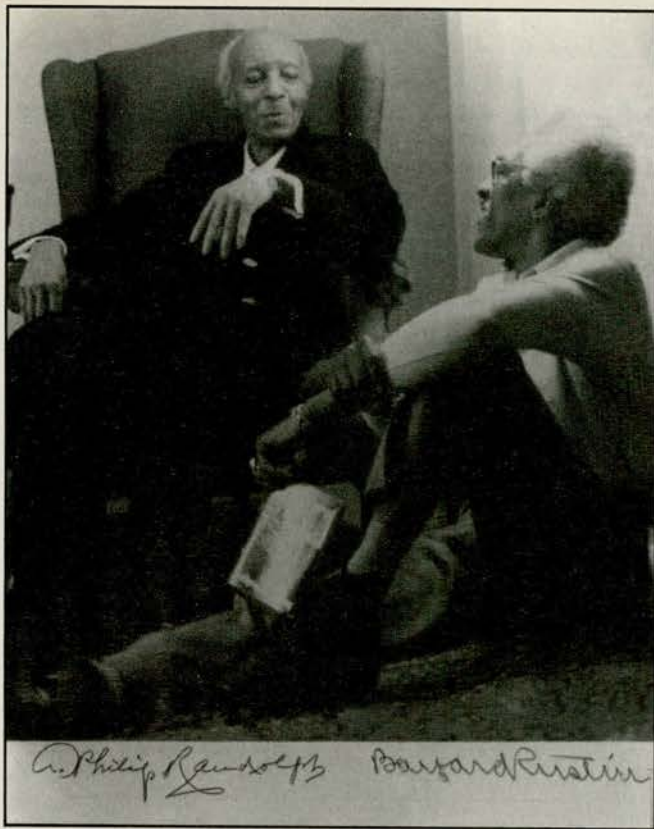
Understandably alarmed by such a development, President Roosevelt summoned Randolph to the White House and demanded that plans for the mobilization be scrapped. It would be dangerous, he said, to bring tens of thousands of demonstrators to Washington; people might get killed. The president had not reckoned with the determination and tenacity of the mass leader—a man who had fought the powerful Pullman Company from 1925 to 1937, before he won the Porters the right to be represented by a union of their own choosing. In calm and elegant tones, Randolph made it clear that he was prepared to dissolve his March organization, but only if and when the president issued an Executive Order banning the exclusion of blacks from the nation's war industry. If it was all a cool and calculated bluff, then it is a secret that Randolph took with him to his grave.

When Roosevelt recovered from his astonishment at this piece of effrontery—this gun that had been shoved at the head of the nation's commander-in-chief—he merely sighed and called in his aides. They were to proceed, he told them, with the drafting of an Executive Order, outlawing discrimination in all areas of government employment and establishing a Fair Employment Practices Committee. Only when the Order was signed and issued, in June of 1941, did Randolph disband the troops he had been massing for a descent upon the Nation's Capital.

It was the most daring and innovative of all the non-violent tactics that had yet been employed in the history of the black struggle, and Randolph was immediately hailed as the number one black leader in the United States. Even so eminent a black leader as W.E.B. DuBois was moved to describe Randolph's achievement as "the most astonishing in our later leadership."

But not all in the black community were so impressed with Randolph's accomplishment—certainly not the youth organizers of his March movement. Led by Bayard Rustin (who felt let down by the man for whom he had a growing admiration), the young organizers denounced Randolph's decision to cancel the March and demanded, in a public statement, that it be rescheduled within ninety days. In a public statement of his own, Randolph explained that obtaining an Executive Order had been the specific objective of the March Movement; since, in his meeting at the White House, he had made the issuing of an Order a condition for his cancelling the March, he was honor-bound to keep his word to the president. Then, aiming words at the young militant rebels who had denounced him, Randolph added: "The purpose of the March . . . was not to serve as an agency to create a continuous state of sullen unrest and blind resentment among Negroes. . . . Such a strategy would have promptly and rightly been branded as a lamentable specie of infantile leftism and an appeal to sheer *prima donna* dramatics and heroics."

That was one of the only two unpleasant episodes that marked his long relationship with Bayard Rustin. Ordinarily, either episode might have been sufficient to



IRENE FERTIG, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

A. Philip Randolph (left) and Bayard Rustin in 1978.

Appearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Randolph thundered: "I personally will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for a democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy . . . I personally pledge myself to openly counsel and abet youth, both white and Negro, to quarantine any Jim Crow system." When Senator Wayne Morse pointed out from his seat on the committee that "the doctrine of treason would be applied" to anyone counseling resistance to military service, Randolph replied: "I would be willing to face that doctrine on the theory and on the grounds that we are serving a higher law than the law that applies the act of treason to us." Returning to Harlem, Randolph mounted a soap-box on 125th Street and addressed a gathering of draft-age blacks. "I'm prepared," he told them, "to oppose a Jim Crow army till I rot in jail."

Under the pressure of all that public agitation, President Truman—not wishing to endanger his chances for re-election—issued an Executive Order banning racial segregation in the military "as rapidly as possible."

Once again, as he had done in 1941, Randolph called off his public quarrel with Washington and moved to dissolve the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience. Once again, his decision was challenged by Bayard Rustin and a group of young radicals in the League—all of whom had been spoiling for a militant confrontation with the federal government. Ignoring Randolph's order to disband the League, they held a press conference and announced their intention to carry on the campaign of civil disobedience. Their effort collapsed in a few months, however, since, as Rustin discovered, "without Randolph we didn't have the strength to carry on or the clout to raise money." The young militants dispersed; and Rustin, "feeling rotten" over his defiance of Randolph, avoided "the Chief" for more than two years. "When I finally got up the courage to walk into his office," Rustin said later, "he was, as usual, standing at his desk, with arms outstretched, waiting to greet me. 'Bayard,' he said, 'Where have you been? You know I have needed you.' Such character! He never said a word about what I had done to him."

Bayard Rustin was never more needed by Randolph than in 1963. Perhaps the need was mutual, for Rustin—now a prominent and nationally recognized activist—was, like his old mentor, spoiling for another confrontation with the federal government. Randolph's unfulfilled dream of a March on Washington and Rustin's onetime passion for the enterprise had reasserted themselves.

During one of their conversations in Harlem, both men (Randolph was then seventy-four and Rustin, fifty-one) expressed admiration for the street demonstrations that Dr. King was leading in the South, particularly the one in Birmingham. They also shared the view, however, that while the southern movement was vital and necessary, it was much too narrow in scope: It needed to be complemented by a great national manifestation of solidarity—one that would dramatize the political and economic demands that were central to the entire protest movement. Nothing, they agreed, would be so suitable to the purpose as a massive March on Washington; and Randolph asked Rustin to prepare a blueprint for such an event.

With Norman Hill [then program director for the

terminate their association, but it was an extraordinary trait of Randolph's character to overlook personal differences in favor of maintaining useful and promising political alliances. He was surely experienced and insightful enough to have discerned in the young and impatient Rustin abilities that were remarkably suited to the strategies of mass action in which he believed.

THE SECOND bit of unpleasantness, in 1948, stemmed from Rustin's role in another of Randolph's mass campaigns, the fight to end racial segregation in the Armed Forces. As leader of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation, Randolph invited Rustin to be its executive director. And while Rustin organized brilliantly behind the scenes—an excellence that marked his entire public career—Randolph and his chief lieutenant, Grant Reynolds, were the aggressive public spokesmen for the cause.

Congress of Racial Equality] and Tom Kahn [then Rustin's assistant on the March], Rustin drew up a memorandum and presented it to Randolph. And after the black elder statesman had convened a meeting of other major civil rights leaders, and had obtained their endorsement of the idea, it was agreed that Randolph, who had conceived the strategy, should be the national director of the March. The question of an organizer was less easily settled. But, overruling objections raised by certain of the civil rights chieftains, Randolph insisted on appointing Rustin to be his principal organizer—unable as he was to imagine anyone more capable than Rustin to engineer and mastermind a massive invasion of Washington.

The March was eventually scheduled for August 28. Cleveland Robinson performed yeoman services as treasurer. And, in less than two months of planning, Rustin and an inter-racial team of volunteers—including Norman Hill, Tom Kahn, and Rachele Horowitz [now director of the AFT's political action department]—and organized the largest and broadest coalition of forces that had ever been assembled in support of a protest event in the United States.

LIKE PRESIDENT Roosevelt before him, President Kennedy was alarmed by news of the planned invasion. He feared an outbreak of violence, a feeling he shared with almost all of those—in Washington and elsewhere—who deplored the idea of so big a March. Nor was he alone in fearing a congressional backlash against civil rights legislation he had recently proposed. As Roosevelt had done in 1941, Kennedy invited the major civil rights leaders to the White House and called their attention to the potential dangers of the planned demonstration. Referring to the civil rights message he had sent to Capitol Hill, the president said, "We want success in Congress not just a big show at the Capitol. Some of those people are looking for an excuse to be against us. I don't want to give any of them a chance to say, 'Yes, I'm for the bill, but I'm damned if I will vote for it at the point of a gun.' It seemed to me a great mistake to announce a March on Washington before the bill was even in committee. The only effect is to create an atmosphere of intimidation, and this may give some members of Congress an out."

After other members of the civil rights delegation had had their say, Randolph replied to Kennedy: "Mr. Presi-

1963: THE AFT AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Delegates to the 1963 AFT convention at the Americana Hotel in New York City opened their annual human rights luncheon by honoring teachers who had been staffing the AFT Freedom Schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia, later adopted a resolution in support of the March on Washington, and ended by boarding a series of four buses, hired by the United Federation of Teachers (AFT's New York City affiliate) for the trip to Washington, D.C.

AFT involvement in the civil rights movement had been longstanding and growing. In 1934 and 1938, the AFT convention changed its official hotel because black delegates were denied entry, forced to use freight elevators, barred from the main dining room, or otherwise mistreated. In 1940, the full edition of the *American Teacher* was devoted to civil rights issues. "Friends-of-the-court" briefs on behalf of school desegregation had been filed by the AFT at least as early as 1950; and in 1956, after earlier resolving that no formally segregated local could remain in the union, AFT revoked the charters of eight southern locals, with a membership of seven thousand (the whole AFT membership at the time was only fifty thousand).



AFT president Albert Shanker (then an AFT national representative), Beverly Megel, and then-president of the AFT Carl Megel pose on the Mall.

But 1963 had been a particularly energetic year. Before the convention, the organization's "big-city" locals had met in Chicago and drawn up detailed guidelines for promoting quality, integrated education, arguing that AFT locals were "especially well qualified [and had] a special responsibility for speeding integration in their localities." The *American Teacher* had devoted most of its March issue to the question of civil rights, running articles on housing segregation, the progress of southern school integration, and, reprinted from *Negro Digest*, a piece on education and black social mobility.

Perhaps most dramatic was the AFT's involvement in organizing and staffing Freedom Schools in the South. When Prince Edward County, Virginia, shut down its schools rather than integrate, most of the white students quickly transferred into a private white academy, leaving fifteen hundred black students without schools. That summer, fifty volunteers, most from the UFT but some from Philadelphia and elsewhere, moved to Prince Edward and opened up Freedom Schools in churches and barns. Seven hundred children were served, including, as the *New York Times-Chicago Tribune* news

dent, the Negroes are already in the streets. It is very likely impossible to get them off. If they are bound to be in the streets in any case, is it not better that they be led by organizations dedicated to civil rights and disciplined by struggle rather than leave them to other leaders who care neither about civil rights nor about non-violence? If the civil rights leadership were to call the Negroes off the streets, it is problematic whether they would come."

This time, unlike 1941, there would be no turning back. Randolph and Rustin would be going ahead with a March on which they had first set their hearts twenty-two years earlier. On the night of August 27, hundreds of trains, buses, and automobiles began rolling out from towns and cities across America; airplanes were later to take off from the more distant points in the nation. They were all bound for a great rendezvous in Washington.

Early on the morning of August 28, Washington seemed much too quiet a place for the event that was soon to unfold. Most offices would remain closed for the day, and no saloons would be open. According to one observer, at 8:30 "the streets had the abandoned look of a Sunday morning." From the armada of public and

private vehicles making their way to the city, only a trickle had begun to arrive. An hour later, Rustin, viewing the sparse crowd that had gathered on the grounds of the Washington Monument, feared that his great organizing effort had failed. He need not have feared, however. By mid-day, as the caravans continued to roll in, more than one hundred thousand demonstrators were massed around the Washington Monument; and by 2 P.M., after the concourse had moved on to the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial, more than two hundred thousand had gathered for the program of speeches. "It was," said a reporter for the *Times*, "the greatest assembly for a redress of grievances that Washington had ever seen." The gathering represented a cross-section of American life and the best of the nation's conscience.

APPROPRIATELY, A. Philip Randolph, the father of that grand event, delivered the first of the major speeches. "Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers," he said. "We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organiza-
(Continued on page 44)

service wrote, "children [who are] eleven years old . . . who have never been inside a classroom." In addition, the UFT and AFT sent twenty thousand books to the schools in Prince Edward and to Freedom Schools in Mississippi. And, to defray the costs incurred by the volunteers, the UFT paid a weekly stipend for room and board and the AFT contributed \$15 per week to each, a sum that was, says former AFT president Carl Megel, "not very much even then," but nonetheless a strain on the 82,000-member organization's tiny budget. The strain was well worth it, Megel recalls, because it "demonstrated our concern for the education of all children."

The March was a crescendo to the flurry of union activity. Sol Levine, who ended up organizing the UFT contingent to the March after Abe Levine (not related) fell sick, said the March and civil rights were a "priority" for the union, then only twenty-five thousand members. "Our programs matched. We identified so closely with it. We had been fighting for equal educational opportunity."

WHEN SOL Levine took over the March preparations, he didn't expect it to be very difficult.



Ted Bleeker, now editor-in-chief of the New York Teacher, was among the scores of AFT marchers.

But the response was enormous, even though, as Levine says, "This was the summer and we had no good mailing lists. It was mainly done word of mouth using the same structure of district reps and building contacts that we were using to build the union. I never expected so many people. They wanted to bring their kids, too, to be part of this event.

"I had to get more buses. But none were available in New York City or anywhere in New York. I called to Connecticut, New Jersey, all over the area, and finally got some in Pennsylvania."

The delegation was headed by

AFT president Carl Megel and UFT president Charles Cogen, then involved in tense negotiations for a successor contract to the first-ever UFT contract won just a year before. Two other busfulls of AFT members came to the March from the Midwest, carrying members from Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Gary, and other cities.

Levine calls the UFT's participation in the March "the greatest thing that we had been involved in until that point." Excitement spurred by the March fueled a continuing involvement in civil rights activities, and in the following year, UFT members gave their support to a controversial student boycott called by Bayard Rustin to signal parental support for school integration.

The AFT's involvement also continued. The Freedom Schools continued, money was raised, and volunteers were dispatched to help in southern voter registration drives. In 1965, money was raised to purchase \$40,000 worth of station wagons for use in the registration campaigns. The car keys were turned over to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. at the now-famous march for voting rights in Selma, Alabama, by Charles Cogen, by then the president of the AFT, and by Albert Shanker, then president of UFT. □

RATIONAL NUMBERS

TOWARD GRADING AND SCORING
THAT HELP RATHER THAN HARM LEARNING

BY GRANT WIGGINS

THE MOST tangible signs of value in schools, the “coin of the realm”—the grades and scores we give on students’ tests and papers—remain untouched by the work of reform under way around us. Perhaps that should not surprise us. Anthropologists know that often the most important and revealing behaviors in a culture are the least noticed, so much are they a part of the habits and rhythms of life. Yet, a key contributor to a school’s success is the ability of its teachers to provide de-mystified, useful, and justifiable feedback to students and external authorities about academic performance.

Grades represent a school’s standard. When the criteria behind them are vague, or when they vary from teacher to teacher, there will be confusion among both teachers and students about what the school’s standards are. The school will be, in fact, without a standard. When standards are unclear or conflicting, it’s hard to motivate students; they are left wondering exactly what they must do to improve. And teachers—who may differ in what grade they would give to the same quality of work—are left open to charges of arbitrariness and are therefore more inclined to give tests with clear right and wrong answers (even though such tests may not test what’s most important for a student to know). Unclear criteria render the transcript meaningless to the outsider who can only wonder what Mr. Smith’s “A” means and whether it is any different from Mrs. Jones’s “B”; this in turn fuels calls for more standardized testing so that the outside world will know what and whether students

are learning.

Grading policy is almost never discussed in schools. Yet, if we took it seriously—and made it a subject for schoolwide discussion—it could be a lever for establishing a schoolwide standard to which students and teachers could aspire *and* a tool for motivating students to reach that standard. If we are to use grades as a lever and a motivator, we have to answer three somewhat overlapping questions: How can we de-mystify grading criteria thus making them much more clear to students and outsiders? How can we design our tests so that they test what’s important and can be judged fairly? How can we design the scoring so that it motivates students to learn?

My aim in this article is to make grading a more central topic of teacher discourse and to suggest ways—some provocative—to accomplish these three goals.

DE-MYSTIFYING GRADING CRITERIA

Ordinarily, we teachers believe that the grades we give are rooted in self-evident features of a student’s work. But our criteria are often less obvious to the student. As have all teachers, I have had those long and exasperating (but necessary) conversations with students who want to know why I took five points off here and argue, “Gee, didn’t Bob get a ‘B’ and I get a ‘C+’ for basically the same answer?” For many students, grading criteria are regarded not as apt tools for judging performance but as arbitrary and mysterious, a function of teacher taste, not a representation of inherent and tangible standards of quality work. To some extent, their doubt is justified. Who among us has not at one time tinkered with our gradebooks to ensure that a final grade reflected our deeper, if inchoate, judgments about

Grant Wiggins is a consultant on education issues. He was formerly the director of research for the Coalition of Essential Schools where he was responsible for developing ideas related to curriculum, teaching, and assessment.



a student's performance? Moreover, students see that even teachers next door to each other, teaching different sections of the same course, employ different standards. And, with so little clarity about criteria and no real concern for consistency, it becomes possible for one teacher to "pass" a student not because he has reached any formal standard, but because, say, he is more dutiful and friendlier than his counterparts. Such erratic grading further fuels the students' convictions that grades are not based on any objective criteria.

For most teachers, grading is a private affair. This is largely because teaching is a private affair, a habit that is rationalized as part of our autonomy. We have traditionally not shared our ideas and values on grading. I think this is because we fear—correctly—revealing the possible inadequacies in our own grades and the messiness and disagreements that may result if we all make our criteria public. A few years ago at one suburban Massachusetts high school, a proposal was made to condition the diploma on a student's ability to read and fully understand the op-ed pages of the *Boston Globe*. Half the community was outraged by this "low" standard and half by its difficulty. Even within the school itself, dealing publicly with grades will entail disagreement and, therefore, much extra effort and time: Teachers—some of whom may differ as much as the Massachusetts citizens—will have to work through their disagreements and agree upon shared standards and then meet regularly to compare and adjust their grading criteria.

There is also the matter of school conditions, which themselves conspire against thoughtful assessment. Crushing student loads and time constraints in testing and reporting schedules provide little possibility or incentive for teachers to design more authentic, labor-intensive forms of assessment.

WHAT WILL be gained from this troublesome inquiry and arguing among teachers about standards? First of all, with no common criteria for grading student work and with no clear indication to students about what they can do to improve, our schools are literally without standards. Secondly, and closely related, as grading has become taboo for discussion, we teachers have developed—as happens with taboo subjects—blind spots and often somewhat eccentric grading schemes. We will overcome these problems only when we can talk openly on the subject and develop shared professional standards.

Thirdly, without clear standards and criteria, those who must assess job and college applicants must turn to other, outside, measurements; thus, the drive for more standardized testing is fueled. This claim is grounded in educational history: If the grades that teachers gave were more trustworthy and useful indicators of authentic intellectual achievement, calls for standardized testing would diminish, as would reliance on their crude data. The proliferation of standardized tests began early in this century as a result of increasing doubts about teachers' grading policies. The impetus for more "scientific" testing grew out of a simple 1912 experiment that cast serious doubt on teachers' grading policies.¹ They sent the same English paper to two hundred teachers

and asked them to grade it, giving only the student's age. The large range of grades—a 35-point spread—was explained by critics as the inevitable result of using an essay and vague criteria. When the researchers sent around a student's geometry test, the range of grades was even greater: from 32 to 85. The outcry over that discrepancy led many in the schools to join those outside in calling for more "efficient" schools and "objective" measures of achievement.² We now know the story's unhappy ending: the explosive growth of standardized testing, which is stealing time from instruction and driving the curriculum, often in unhealthy, unproductive directions.

Of course, just getting rid of standardized tests won't result in raised standards. That will result only from our collective effort to formulate and apply a schoolwide standard.

What Do We Want to Test and How Can We Make It Clear?

What we choose to emphasize in our assigning of points is our de facto standard. It signifies what we really value, irrespective of what we profess to value. In the simple act of taking points off we reveal what we think is important. Is accurate but thoughtless recall, mere familiarity, worth more points than evidence of thoughtful understanding flawed by minor errors? How essential is the "form" of student work as opposed to its intellectual "content"? Do neatness, spelling, and grammatical errors count a lot or a little? Is a particular student error important or merely easily noticed and counted? Is the task being tested essential or just contrived to yield an "objective" score?

In my experience, these questions are often unasked as teachers develop their tests. Richard Stiggins, the director of the Northwest Regional Educational Lab, which has worked with scores of teachers on grading issues, has observed that "Many teachers lack a clear sense of their expectations about student performance and lean on nonexistent or vague criteria inadequately communicated to students."³ Many grades reflect overattention to the superficial aspects of work such as vocabulary, recall of formulas, or simple identifications. Moreover, the arbitrary time limits of most tests skew our perception of student ability. Many tests end up testing for language facility and speed of recall, not ability or deeper understanding in the discipline.

Too often we speak of complex, desired abilities as essential, but our testing and grading policies ignore them—especially where intellectual habits and attitudes are concerned. If "analytic thinking" matters, the test should assess and reward it. If the ability to communicate and listen effectively in a discussion matters, assess it. If the ability to collaborate with others matters, a major "test" should require it and the grade should be related to it. Realistically, if I don't test and grade it, the student knows that it is not *really* important.

HOW WE can construct such tests and how we can judge them fairly will be taken up in the next section. But whatever and however we test, the criteria

An 'A' or a 'D' in English 3 tells no one anything about what kind of work was done.

simple task. Peter Elbow proposes a simple, elegant device: a "grading card" that can help a faculty—or teachers in a given department or even a single teacher—come to agreement on what achievements students will be graded on.

Name: _____	Pass <input type="checkbox"/>	Fail <input type="checkbox"/>
(weak)(strong)		
1. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	memory of course information	
2. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	understanding of central ideas	
3. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	creative use of subject matter	
4. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	effectiveness of writing	
5. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	effectiveness of speaking	
6. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	conscientiousness	
7. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	improvement over semester	

Here is a grading grid with a conceivable set of factors [from which teachers could choose]. Any teacher could use as few or as many factors as he thought proper. Perhaps one teacher thinks the first factor is the only proper one. Fine. But let him admit it . . . Probably most teachers will have two or three factors they feel are crucial. . . . There would be no need to assume that all factors utilized had equal weight. . . . The crucial conclusion is obvious: There is no need to have only one factor in a grade.⁴

A department or faculty that wanted a "standard" grading card could work toward a consensus by moving from a long list of possible criteria to a shorter list such as this one. Second, having decided upon the criteria, we must make them clear to all. In this case, the grading card—and its multifaceted grading scheme—could then be made public to students and others. As Elbow points out, the transcript could easily accommodate each teacher's or department's criteria, making it the colleges' or employers' task to weigh the different elements of the students' multidimensional performance. In fact, the grading card could even make use of the categories and ranges of response used by most of the college recommendation forms that teachers fill out.

Another way to generate teacher consensus about the meaning behind our schools' grades is to peg them to the graduation standard. Can we agree on what that standard is? Can we then tell students what the relationship is between a ninth grader's "A" and what's expected of a graduating senior. More importantly, how can we help students develop greater perspective and insight into diploma standards while they proceed with their current work?

One idea: Teachers and departments could (occasionally) give two grades on a paper: a grade based on the course's standards and a grade based on the school's or department's *exit-level* standards. Thus, a student who received an "A" on a paper as a freshman might get a "C" on it in terms of "ultimate" (graduation) standards. Or, as one of the schools in the Coalition of Essential Schools, St. Andrews-Sewanee in Sewannec, Tennessee, now does it, all juniors are required to pass—trying as many times as it takes—a "Junior Essay" set at exit-level standards. (All faculty grade the papers, on a 1-4 grading system, overseen by the English Depart-



on which we grade must be absolutely clear to the students so they know exactly what they're aiming for. (The criteria should also be clear to outsiders justifiably concerned with how both the schools and individual students are performing.)

Let's not delude ourselves. An "A" or a "D" in English 3 tells no one anything about what kind of work was done. Nor does the mere grade or a quick evaluative comment tell a student specifically what she must do to improve. I know of one teacher who was asked by a student at the end of the year what her constant written comment of "vaggiooh" meant on his papers (she had repeatedly written "vague" in the margin!)—our judgments can mean so little to students.

To achieve this clarity, we must first decide among ourselves exactly what it is we want to grade, not a

ment; each teacher reads eight to nine papers with each paper read by two different scorers.)

A GRADE is usable by students only if the criteria behind it are explicit and put in *descriptive* terms. Thus the first step in making students understand teacher expectations is to translate vague intellectual goals into models of actual exemplary work, the performance of which can be tied to *descriptive* standards. At Alverno College in Milwaukee, long a pioneer in competency-based learning, the criteria used in assessing are not only known in advance, they are available for sale in the bookstore. The curriculum, in addition to being directed according to traditional disciplines, is divided according to eight "competencies" (communication, analysis, valuing in a decision context, aesthetic responsiveness, etc.). Each competency has eight "levels" of ability cast in descriptive terms, with the criteria for the top four levels usually tied to subject-matter content and tasks. Below is an excerpt from the form used by assessors to test a student's speaking ability, one component of the "communication" competency. (The "L" refers to "levels of mastery.")

- | | L1 | L2 | L3 | L4 |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. SPEAKING ON ONE'S FEET | | | | |
| L1 Speaks for <i>at least one minute</i> before an actual or imagined audience | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
| L2 Speaks on her feet (not reading or reciting) for a <i>recognizable portion</i> of the presentation | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| L3 Speaks on her feet for <i>most of</i> the presentation | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| L4 Gives <i>consistent impression</i> of speaking with audience | | | | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. REACHING AUDIENCE THROUGH ESTABLISHING OF CONTEXT | | | | |
| L1 Clarifies for audience at the start the basic elements of framework and purpose (<i>What am I telling whom under what conditions and why?</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
| L3 Makes explicit relationships among various sources of ideas (own experience, instructors, research, authors . . .) | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 3. REACHING AUDIENCE through VERBAL EXPRESSION (showing awareness of audience through word choice and style) | | | | |
| L1 Only <i>occasionally</i> uses words or expressions that show awareness of audience's degree of knowledge, values, need for clarity, right to an opinion. . . | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
| L2 <i>Generally</i> uses words . . . | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| L3 <i>Consistently</i> uses words . . . | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| L4 Uses words or expressions that show <i>refined</i> awareness of audience . . . | | | | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Note how the key underlined descriptive terms provide the student with practical guidance beyond merely providing a rationale for a grade: The student is in a much better position to improve because the "grade" is placed in context, on a continuum, and tied to specific behaviors that a student can work to produce.

Note also how greater clarity is achieved when the grade is "unpacked." Why should we give only one grade to a student's work? If we had to give a set of grades, covering a range of important criteria, we would be forced to spell out our criteria and specify the relative weight of each criterion used.

Consider these criteria for assessing writing developed by the Northwest Regional Educational Lab. Their clarity and descriptiveness, as with those from Alverno, allow students to continually "practice" the criteria in order to advance:

Three sets of factors to be separately assessed: Ideas, Organization, Wording: 1-4 grading system for each factor. (The criteria for "ideas" only is given below):

4 paper: A 4 paper offers sound ideas that indicate the writer has given careful consideration to both sides of the argument. The stand taken may be strongly expressed but it is clearly the result of careful thinking rather than mere impulse. Occasionally, the ideas expressed will be highly original or will be presented in an insightful or entertaining manner.

3 paper: A 3 paper resembles a 4; the ideas are simply not as sound or as striking. There is some evidence that the writer has given thoughtful consideration to his/her arguments, but the paper as a whole is less insightful or persuasive and more emotional. The ideas are *clearly* presented, but there is little evidence of originality.

2 paper: A 2 paper offers little or no evidence of careful judgment. Ideas may seem arbitrary or whimsical. Clarity may be a problem. Often, the paper will offer little more than one idea restated repeatedly. . . . There is no effort to persuade the reader through choice of ideas or effectiveness of presentation.

1 paper: In a 1 paper, clarity may be such a problem that the reader can scarcely discern the writer's viewpoint. Often the ideas merely restate the question. Sometimes the writer will appear to take two sides at once. There is no evidence that the writer has given real thought to the presentation.⁵

HOW TO TEST WHAT IS IMPORTANT

If we are going to specify in our grading criteria that subtle, higher-order thinking will be rewarded, we need to design assessments that do a better job than most of ours now do of seeking and evoking it in students. One very rich kind of test—one that assesses not just a student's knowledge but his mastery of it; her ability to use newly acquired skills and knowledge in context—is the performance-based assessment.⁶ The student is required not merely to recall bits of knowledge but to take up an authentic task, one that captures in a feasible way the dilemmas and difficulties of that subject matter. For example, in a composition class, a student would be asked to write a composition; in science to conduct an experiment; in math to solve a problem. His work would then be judged as a whole and/or according to a set of clearly defined criteria that get to the heart of the task.

For example, on NAEP's performance-based science

In authentic performance learning, students 'practice' the same essential 'test' and its elements repeatedly.



test, students are asked to perform laboratory tasks. On one such test, students are

“given a sample of three different materials and an open box. The samples differ in size, shape, and weight. The students are asked to determine whether the box would weigh the most (and least) if it were completely filled with material A, B, or C. [There are] a variety of possible approaches.”⁷

The scoring system, like that used with the writing test, rates the student's work on a few “primary” traits—for example, their ability to control for separate variables—and/or holistically, not merely by counting easily seen errors. It's worth noting that the state of Connecticut, the Advanced Placement tests, and a growing number of other standardized test users are all now incorporating performance-based assessments into their tests.

Too often, students are tested and graded on their ability to recall and use each idea or skill once. But in authentic performance learning, students “practice” the same essential “test” and its elements repeatedly. The teacher is thus able to judge a student's developing sophistication. “Teaching to the test” is a dirty phrase only when the test lacks integrity as a genuine intellectual challenge and when teachers have had no hand in developing the test's design or scoring. In all genuine

learning, the student is continually confronted with the “tests” and challenges at the heart of the activity or discipline: All coaches happily teach to the “test” of performance.

Here are three examples of assessments that probe student accomplishments much more deeply than the norm—thus allowing us to reward the high-level thinking that most of us are now more inclined to exhort than to grade.

- At the heart of portfolio-based assessment—a kind of performance assessment long used in art, more recently in writing, and now appearing in other fields—is a shift toward identifying the presence or absence of student *habits*, not merely noting whether their answers are correct. Habits, of course, are only discernible over time and in different contexts. Was the right answer due to a lucky guess or thoughtless recall? Did a wrong fact hide otherwise thoughtful understanding? Does the overall product suggest emerging competence despite technical errors?

At Central Park East Secondary School, a member of the Coalition of Essential Schools, seventh- and eighth-grade students are required to keep a portfolio of the work they believe best illustrates their accomplishments in mathematics.⁸ On a regular basis, the students simulate going to a fifteen-minute job interview with their portfolio. The teacher (or other examiner) asks questions of the student about their work and qualifications in mathematics. The students must explain their work and comment on their strengths and weaknesses as mathematicians.

- One aim of teaching is to help students internalize the standards we have set. But rarely do our tests reward students' increasing ability to assess themselves. At Alverno College, student self-assessment is a *central* part of assessment. Indeed, in their eight-level system of grading, the ability to do competent self-assessment of one's work is often the first requirement. Thus, an early task in the “communication” requirement described above requires a student to videotape and analyze a five-minute speech. The first assessment depends on the ability to give an adequate self-criticism using the criteria, not a fully adequate speech.⁹

More generally, on all Alverno gradesheets and transcripts, for each course and its components, there is a place for the student's self-assessment as well as that of the teacher.

- An excerpt from one of the British Assessment of Performance science test experiments (upon which many of the NAEP items were based) shows how one might have a reliable, orally given exam during a laboratory, using prompts to assess the student's deeper understandings of an experiment's purpose and value:

The discussion ended . . . with a question always put in the same words which attempted to find out whether a pupil had become aware of possible flaws in his approach or seen other ways of carrying out the investigation:

If you could do this experiment again using the same things that you have here, would you do it in the same way or change some things that you did to make the experiment better?

(Continued on page 45)

HARNESSING LABOR'S HERITAGE

BY STUART B. KAUFMAN

SAMUEL GOMPERS, the American Federation of Labor's first president, was also its first archivist. He was an inveterate collector of the AFL's written record because he saw the labor movement's material demands as contributing to a goal of larger historical importance. "I do not value the labor movement only for its ability to give higher wages, better clothes, and better homes," he explained near the end of his life,

—its ultimate goal is to be found in the progressively evolving life possibilities of those who work. There are such wonderful possibilities in the life of each man and woman! No human being is unimportant. My inspiration comes in opening opportunities that all alike may be free to live life to the fullest.

Stuart B. Kaufman is the director of the George Meany Memorial Archives and a labor historian at the University of Maryland, where he is a member of the AFT. His books include Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848-1896 (1973), Challenge and Change: The History of the Tobacco Workers International Union (1986), and A Vision of Unity: The History of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union (1986). He is the editor of the Samuel Gompers Papers project, which is producing a comprehensive microfilm edition and a selected twelve-volume printed edition of the papers of the first president of the AFL; two volumes of the printed edition have been published to date.

This belief fueled both Gompers' efforts to build up the AFL and his desire to chronicle its contribution to history. One could appreciate Gompers' dismay, then, when during 1895—the one year he was not president of the AFL between 1886 and 1924—he watched helplessly as the federation's new secretary discarded years of files and material Gompers had diligently squirreled away. The new man, Gompers later commented ruefully,

held what Henry Ford later declared, that history is bunk, and cared nothing for historical material. The Federation was to him just an organization, whereas to me, it was the dearest product of a life's work.

More than half a century later, Gompers' successors have built upon his legacy. Despite occasional episodes of discarding records, the tendency over the years has been to save. Decades of records and dust accumulated together in the cellar and attic of the AFL and its successor organizations and in the cabinets and closets of their offices and departments. In an organization whose leaders instinctively saw their history and traditions embodied in this rising mountain of paper, however, a new approach to the historical record gradually took hold.

In 1981, the AFL-CIO established the George Meany Memorial Archives in a subcellar of its headquarters building. For the next six years, several professional archivists gathered together many of the disparate records of the organization. By 1987, they had established the first stages of a modern records management system

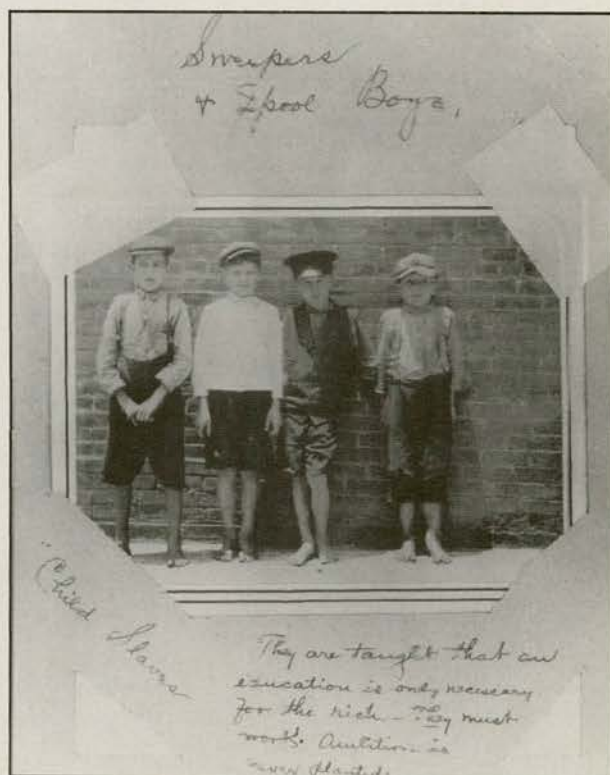


Can You Identify George Meany?

On August 12, 1939, the New York State Federation of Labor kicked off its convention with a massive parade of over one hundred thousand marchers in New York City. Joining state federation president George Meany (far left) on the reviewing stand are (left to right) New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, AFL President William Green, and Thomas J. Lyons, president of the New York City Central Labor Council. Six weeks later, Meany was elected secretary-treasurer of the AFL. This image is featured with other photographs, memorabilia, original documents, and oil paintings in the permanent exhibit, "George Meany: Builder of Labor's House," which traces the life and career of the AFL-CIO's first president.

Sweepers and Spool Boys

The Meany Archives holds over fifty thousand historical and contemporary photographs. The collection includes the expected labor-related subjects, as well as images of general interest, and is heavily used by researchers. This photo of "Sweepers & Spool Boys" is from one of three snapshot albums compiled by an AFL organizer during a 1914 textile strike.



LABOR'S HERITAGE:

THE QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF THE GEORGE MEANY MEMORIAL ARCHIVES

THE EDITORS of *Labor's Heritage* want to present a common people's history to complement traditional textbook treatments of America's past. A scholarly based, nonpartisan history magazine, *Labor's Heritage* gives writers in a variety of professions access to a wider audience among labor union members, teachers, students, and the general reading public. Historians share their latest research; archivists write about the insights and angles to be found in their labor collections; museum curators conduct written and photographic tours through labor exhibits that many would never have a chance to see in person; musicians, artists, and folklorists share their insights into the world of work. The articles in *Labor's Heritage* are lavishly illustrated with photographs, graphics, reproductions of documents, and other material.

The first issue suggests the broad range of *Labor's Heritage*. One article, based on extensive interviews and research, reconstructs life in the Bloomington, Illinois, railroad yards over generations in



which the railroad shops dominated the industry of the town. While this article ranges through much of the twentieth century, a second looks back at the New Orleans docks between 1880 and the turn of the century, reconstructing the surprising racial solidarity among workers in an era when Jim Crow segregation was the norm throughout the South. A third piece explores the complexity of the career of the labor artist, Ben Shahn, including reproductions of some of his lesser-known works. Another re-creates the frustrations and determination of a generation of women workers who held jobs

in the defense industry during World War II; it follows them into peacetime as they fought to maintain their jobs and to receive equal treatment. Finally, the archivists at the Western Historical Collections at the University of Colorado at Boulder report on the rich body of labor records they have been gathering. Articles already planned for subsequent issues deal with such diverse topics as newsboys in the 1930s, iron molders in post-World War I Worcester, Massachusetts, the Smithsonian Institution's exhibit on "Symbols and Images of Labor," and the bloody crackdown by Ford's goon squad at the Dallas Ford plant just prior to World War II.

Teachers are a special readership for *Labor's Heritage* and are eligible for a reduced subscription rate as indicated on the mail-in subscription form. The editors of *Labor's Heritage* can think of no group for whom a broad familiarity with labor's traditions would be more valuable. They hope to convey these traditions through straightforward articles that open a fascinating window to the past in all its richness and complexity.

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designed to assure the flow of older records out of the AFL-CIO's offices and into the archives and to identify and preserve those records with long-term value. Many offices within the AFL-CIO were beginning to find that they had easier access to their older records in the archives than they had when they handled the storage of records themselves.

Thorough modernization of the archives awaited the opening of the spectacular new state-of-the-art George Meany Memorial Archives building on the forty-seven-acre campus of the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in the Washington suburb of Silver Spring, Maryland, on August 17, 1987. The new facility started with an inheritance of eight thousand cubic foot boxes filled with records (the equivalent of about two thousand file cabinets), as well as over fifty thousand photographs and

graphics, assorted films, and memorabilia. In short order, the significance of the records, combined with a modern facility and professional staff, was enabling the Meany Archives to begin serving as a center for labor scholarship.

This is a comprehensive archives by modern standards. The archives' five floors of stacks store records under controlled temperature, humidity, and security conditions. Its archivists and graduate students work together to evaluate, process, and inventory the records, soon to be aided by a computer system driven by advanced archival software. "Retention and disposal" schedules established in consultation with each AFL-CIO department allow the archives to make records available to researchers after a prudent period of time, on the average about twenty years. And when

2		Income. 1886-87		3		Expenditure 1886-87	
Dec	11	Balance in hand	160 52	160 52			
Jan	15	Brooklyn Prog. Medical H. C. F.	5 00				
	31	Cyclopedia Trade Union	5 00				
Feb	3	Geo. Hervegh Assn.	5 00				
	11	Journeymen Bakers Natl. U.	5 00				
	12	United Umbrella & Walling Co. B'n. U.	5 00				
		Broth. & Carpenters & Joiners, Old P. C.	112 5 00				
	19	Lib. Boatmen's Union C. F.	5 00				
		United Silk Ribbon Traders	5 00	160 52			
				320 52			
Dec	11	E. M. Pflieger Extra Service			27	16 00	
		Ohio State Journal Adv. & Hand bills			28	4 50	
		1/2 Daily Times			29	2 50	
		C. Bull. Rent Night Session			30	1 50	
	16	Postage Stamps			31	5 00	
	24	Seal & Electrotype			32	3 00	
	28	Books & 1000 Envelopes			33	2 80	
	30	Stove for office			34	8 50	
		Coal & Wood			35	70	
Jan	7	1500 Letter Heads			36	6 00	
	6	Rubber Spring Clamp			37	1 50	
	31	Coal			38	50	
		1 Ream Cyclostyle paper			39	1 00	
		1 Bottle Copying Ink			40	30	
		2 Files			41	10	
		2 Letter Pads			42	40	
Feb	9	4 Receipt Books			43	50	
		1 Index			44	30	
		1 Ink			45	20	
	10	Coal			46	35	
	11	Damisch & Goldman 100 Chartes			47	25 00	
		1 Embosming Seal			48	4 00	
		5 Fac Simile Signatures B. C.			49	9 87	
		1 Inkling Pad			50	40	
	12	Wood for Shelving			51	1 00	
		Gas for Office			52	1 00	
	21	Chas. Bucher for Fixtures			53	1 70	
	23	Coal			54	30	
	28	Postage Stamps			55	5 00	
		Letter Box & Key			56	40	
		President's Salary 1/2			57	25 00	
					58	119 62	

The AFL's First Ledger

In his Seventy Years of Life and Labor, Samuel Gompers recalls furnishing the first office of the AFL: "One essential I had to buy during the first fall was a stove and pipe, which cost \$8.50," and "We invested one dollar in pine wood and cuttings

out of which to construct real files." Today the federation's modern accounting records—paper and computer tape—sit alongside this slender ledger from 1886-1890 on the shelves of the George Meany Memorial Archives.

researchers do visit the archives, they find both a large reading room and several meeting rooms that offer attractive settings for research and for scholarly conferences.

Researchers bring a wide variety of interests to the archives. Topics of visiting scholars in recent months have ranged from American labor's influence on General MacArthur's reorganization of the Japanese national health insurance during the American occupation of Japan from 1947 to 1949, to labor's reaction to federal immigration policy and immigrants from 1886 to 1985, to the leadership of the United Textile Workers general strike in 1934. Representatives of national and international unions, as well as of locals and of central bodies, regularly come to the archives to investigate aspects of their history. A random selection in recent months includes the Knoxville-Oak Ridge Area Central Labor Council, Stone & Marble Masons Local 2, the Seafarers' International Union, and the National Association of Letter Carriers.

IN ADDITION to enhancing the access of legitimate researchers to the AFL-CIO's historical records, the Meany Archives is also helping to lay the groundwork for an even broader effort to save the records of the labor movement and make them available for posterity. While the Meany Archives does not have sufficient space to hold the records of the AFL-CIO's affiliates, it serves as a liaison in aiding affiliates find a home for their records in other archives that are seriously interested in labor collections. It has helped recently, for instance, in establishing the historical records of the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers at the University of Maryland and the Granite Cutters International Association of America at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. What is more, through the labor archivists' roundtable of the Society of American Archivists, the Meany Archives' staff is working with the national network of labor archivists in other ways that are of direct benefit to the AFL-CIO's affiliates. For example, various labor archivists have experience in helping local unions improve their handling of records. The Meany Archives is now collaborating with these archivists, as well as with records specialists of several AFL-CIO international affiliates, to develop a records manual for local unions.

If this appears to represent something of a renaissance of interest in labor's history, there are broader developments behind it. Quite a few national and international unions have reached either their hundredth or their fiftieth anniversaries, reflecting two historic periods of concentrated union organizing in the 1880s and 1890s and in the 1930s. Their efforts to prepare written histories and otherwise mark the occasion have frequently drawn their attention to the need to professionally preserve their older records. At the same time the social turmoil of America in the 1960s created an unusual interest by a new generation of historians in the social fabric of the United States. Their drive to take historical research beyond its traditional focus on leaders and elites, to understand the nation "from the bottom up," has increasingly drawn attention to the records of labor at the local, as well as national, level. Among the more dramatic responses of archivists to this scholarly

interest have been the efforts of many historical societies to expand their holdings of records of the common people and the ambitious statewide surveys conducted by archivists in Ohio, Connecticut, and New York to locate labor records and see to their preservation.

ONE OF THE most far-reaching aspects of the Meany Archives resulted from its designation as a "living memorial" to George Meany. While the archives was clearly a living institution providing important services to the AFL-CIO and its affiliates as well as to the world of scholarship itself, the archives staff wanted to more directly address Meany's parting charge—"Yours is a good labor movement. Now go out and make it better." The situating of the archives on a campus dedicated to labor leadership training suggested where the archives might take the initiative.

For years, union activists have complained that many members and leaders, not to mention most of the general public, know very little about the traditions that make unions something more than just another series of organizations to join, that make them, in a word, a movement. The example of Samuel Gompers is suggestive of the personal energy that can be engaged when labor leaders see their work in clearer historical perspective. Did the labor movement need the equivalent of a National Geographic Society of its own to find attractive and appealing ways to explore and transmit labor's traditions? Would success promote improved leadership, not to mention a more committed membership and a public more receptive and sympathetic to the movement's concerns? Could the archives develop ways of disseminating labor's heritage to a mass national audience within and outside the movement?

In the last year, the archives has forayed into this arena. Its most ambitious effort has been the launching of *Labor's Heritage*, a beautifully illustrated quarterly subscription magazine. (See sidebar.) The response to this publication has been overwhelming, suggesting that there indeed was a vacuum waiting to be filled. With this project fully under way, the archives has been looking into other avenues.

For instance, thousands of trade union leaders who come to the center each year for training have visited the archives' museum areas. There is an intimate rear lounge with cases devoted to each of the former presidents of the AFL, CIO, and AFL-CIO, along with a timeline and photographic display on the history of the movement. Posters from a cross-section of labor campaigns adorn the archives' small auditorium. The major exhibit is in a large area adjacent to the front lobby, depicting George Meany's life and the labor movement of his period. It is a story of human dimensions that repays reflection. Here one finds original and facsimile documents representing some of the benchmark labor events of the Meany years, such as the handwritten note of October 1955 from a unity meeting between the AFL and the CIO, recording the unanimous decision to create "a single trade union center in America through the process of merger . . ." One of this exhibit's more personal aspects is a video monitor that allows the viewer to select from three two-minute tapes in which Meany offers an introspective look at his experience and

<p>EXECUTIVE BOARD</p> <p>CHAS. B. STILLMAN, PRES. GEORGE BYPE, VICE-PRES. JOHN J. MCCARTHY, SEC. F. G. STECKER, FIN. SEC. & TREAS. F. W. PLAPP, TRUSTEE W. T. MCCOY, TRUSTEE A. L. McDERMOTT, TRUSTEE C. E. LINERBERGER, DEL.-C. F. L. J. A. MEADE, DEL.-C. F. L. E. T. TAYLOR, DEL.-C. F. L.</p>			<p>THE</p> <p>CHICAGO FEDERATION OF MEN TEACHERS</p> <p>CHARTERED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AFFILIATED WITH THE ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR AFFILIATED WITH THE CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR</p>		
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<p>CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, April 18, 1916</p>					
<p>Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor Washington, D. C.</p>					
<p>Dear Sir and Brother:</p>					
<p>I am enclosing an application for a charter, or certificate of affiliation, on behalf of The Teachers' International Union of America, which was organized April 15, 1916, at a convention held in Chicago. Authorized delegates from four unions were present, and the New York City and Scranton organizations sent strong assurances of cooperation, though they were unable to send representatives. The Oklahoma City union has in the past given repeated promises of cooperation.</p>					
<p>President Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor knows that the time is ripe for the organization of the teachers in large districts of this state; and we have reason to believe that conditions elsewhere are favorable.</p>					
<p>I will also enclose a copy of our Constitution, adopted by the Convention last Saturday. We aimed to keep it in complete harmony with the spirit of the American Federation of Labor.</p>					
<p>Our application is approved by your organizer, John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, who has been in touch with our movement from the beginning.</p>					
<p>Fraternally yours, <i>Chas. B. Stillman</i> International President</p>					

his philosophy. In recalling Hitler's rise to power in the last week of January 1933 and the crackdown on unions and other groups in German society, Meany explains:

From that time on I became very much of an Internationalist. We could no longer ignore things that were happening in the world, that if people lost their freedom somewhere, in some part of the world, it was a potential threat to freedom in the United States.

The archives' exhibits in general clearly affect visitors, evoking their interest as well as their pride. Since the Meany Archives is intended as a national institution, the staff is now evaluating ways to make visual materials available for exhibits in community institutions, including union halls and public schools and libraries. Another idea the staff is examining involves a pilot project using retirees to share their trade-union career experiences with students. Initially the archives is training retirees as docents to take small groups of students through the archives' museum and work areas. As with other archives' programs, the

AFT Granted Charter in 1916

Although the archives of the AFT are collected by Wayne State University in Detroit, the Meany Archives holds documents reflecting the interaction between the union and the federation. The original charter application submitted by Charles Stillman lists the founding local unions of the AFT as the Chicago Teachers' Federation, the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, the Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, and the School Teachers' Association, #14837, of Gary, Indiana, and requests that the name of the new union be "The Teachers' International Union of America." Stillman and Gompers subsequently corresponded concerning articles of the proposed constitution dealing with revenue and amendments and the jurisdiction of the new union, after which the AFL granted a charter to the American Federation of Teachers on May 9, 1916.

<p>WESTERN UNION</p> <p>DAY LETTER</p>			<p>Form 2589</p>
<p>GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT</p>	<p>NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT</p>	<p>BELVIDERE BROOKS, VICE-PRESIDENT</p>	
RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK	
<p>SEND the following Day Letter, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to</p>			
<p>Washington, D.C. May 9, 1916</p>			
<p>Mr. Charles B. Stillman 166 West Washington St. Chicago, Ill.</p>			
<p>Letter May sixth and application for charter received. It affords me more than ordinary gratification to advise you that charter will be issued to American Federation of Teachers by American Federation of Labor on this date, May nine, nineteen hundred sixteen. Permit me to take advantage of this opportunity of sending a message of greeting and good will for a thorough organization of teachers of America, that the American Federation of Teachers may be set on the road of practical, beneficial work in the interest of the teachers, of the pupils in the schools and of the people of our common country.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> Samuel Gompers President, American Federation of Labor </p>			
<p>(Charge to A.F. of L.)</p>			

intention will be to find ways to give a nationwide scope to this activity once the format is tested in the archives' own "laboratory."

WHAT THE AFL-CIO's large commitment to the new Meany Archives should signal is that the labor movement takes the preservation and dissemination of its heritage very seriously and has drawn together the physical and professional resources to get the job done. Symbolic of this is the agreement the archives helped to arrange between AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and U.S. Secretary of Labor Ann McLaughlin in February 1988. For years, the Department of Labor's library, one of the foremost repositories of the history of the American labor movement in the world, had been suffering from a lack of sufficient resources to care for the valuable material in its possession. With over a half-million books and pamphlets in its collection, it held many one-of-a-kind items that were deteriorating or being lost as space and staff for the library declined. In a historic agreement, the department agreed to the establishment at the Meany Archives of a U.S. Department of Labor Collection, to which the department's rarer books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other material would be removed for safekeeping and preservation.

The project is now well under way and will result in salvaging a long-endangered treasure-trove of the movement's history. Even a casual pass through the area in the Meany Archives where staff members are arranging and describing the first sixty boxes of material from the library reveals the fascinating array of history the collection represents. There is a secret circular from about the 1880s explaining the signs and symbols of the Knights of Labor. A pamphlet from the National Maritime Union of America reveals the extent of the labor spy network that was operating within the union on behalf of employers in 1949. And a 1911 edition of Miss Virginia Penny's book, *500 Employments Adapted to Women, Married and Single*, suggests that

a teacher should well understand the springs of human action. Add to these, ability to discriminate, perfect command of temper, unwearied perseverance, patience that never flags, and tact for imparting knowledge, and you have the desiderata for a most excellent teacher.

If the archives appears to have taken up its mission with a religious-like fervor, it is because the archives does serve in a way as a temple. It is a place not only for tracing where the movement has been but for coming to an understanding of what has been most constant and good in its traditions and how these make this a better world. In so doing, it knits together the generations of labor leadership, making it easier to see the common lines that link individuals like Gompers—a Jewish immigrant cigarmaker of Dutch and English descent—and George Meany—an Irish-American plumber from the Bronx. For it would not be difficult to attribute to Gompers George Meany's parting statement on the greater purpose of the movement, stenciled on the archives' lobby wall:

The basic goal of labor will not change. It is—as it has always been and I am sure always will be—to better the standards of life for all who work for wages and seek decency and justice and dignity for all Americans. □



On the Home Front

This World War II photograph, dated May 1942, carries with it the original Office of War Information caption that captures the grim determination of the early war production workplace: "She can't forget Pearl Harbor, and she is determined that Hitler and Hirohito shall have cause to remember it. Mrs. Evelyn J. W. Cacola, Pearl Harbor widow, drills rivet holes in the belly gun door of a U.S. bomber, soon to storm over Axis land, sowing death to the aggressors."

GRAPEVINE

A High-Tech Voyage Through the 'Thirties

BY ROBERT CAMPBELL AND PATRICIA HANLON

Assigned to prepare a presentation on the Dust Bowl, your student sits facing two machines, a Macintosh computer and a videodisc player. He pulls up the Grapevine program on the Macintosh and learns from a diagram that Expo (meaning Exposition) is a good place to get his bearings. With a click of the mouse he's there and finds there are essays on thirty-one topics, from agriculture to violence. He chooses migrant workers and finds he has a further choice of "sound," "images," "issues," "links," and more. He chooses "issues" with a click and brings up a seven hundred-word essay, plus supplementary comments by his teacher, introducing him to the world of the migrant.

Curious about the powerful photographs of migrant workers mentioned in the essay, and seeing the name of photographer Dorothea Lange, he asks the computer to search for more information on her. Up comes a short biography. If he likes, he can click a "button" and display her photograph on the video monitor. From here, he can return to the essay, read another essay on photography in the 30s, browse through dozens of Lange's haunting photographs, see follow-up photographs of the same people years later, watch a documentary on another Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographer, or take dozens of other paths. The student might call up background information on a photograph—when and where was it taken? Who are these people?—or ask for more facts on the FSA.

He discovers the FSA also managed camps for agricultural workers and asks to hear a statement from a former camp manager. He then dips into the weekly reports of Tom Collins, another camp manager (who was also John Steinbeck's guide to the camps he researched for *The Grapes of Wrath*), looks at a photograph of Collins, and notices that the photographer was Dorothea Lange—only the first of numerous fascinating links he'll make while traveling through Grapevine. Before leaving the terminal, he has read excerpts from several books, watched part of a film documentary on the Dust Bowl, studied a map of the paths taken by the Okies and others to California, and noted three books from the computer's annotated bibliography that he hopes to check out of the school library. He also makes a note to come back and hear Studs Terkel's interviews of Depression-era farmers and dig out a magazine article on the current lives of the migration's survivors. Several days later, after completing his research, he returns to Grapevine and

assembles a sequence of materials, both sound and image, into a documentary that he will present to his class.

The creation of two San Francisco teachers, Grapevine is one of several early prototypes of a new medium called "interactive multimedia" and sometimes "hypermedia." The medium combines the memory and connective power of the computer, the high-quality display capability of the videodisc, and an unprecedented potential for interactivity. Can it really help teachers and students? Here, a report from and a conversation with the creators.

* * *

WE BEGAN what became "the Grapevine project" with no such thought in mind, neither the name nor a long-term effort. It was merely a cooperative attempt by a high school English teacher (Pat) and a school librarian (Bob) to facilitate the kind of in-depth teaching and active learning that we both favor. Pat's sophomore class was studying John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. To begin, Pat asked her students to spend an hour in the library exploring the 1930s, to ask older relatives about their memories or impressions of that time, and to bring back to class something that moved or fascinated them. They returned with Dorothea Lange photographs, Woody Guthrie songs, Studs Terkel interviews, and vivid anecdotes from their grandparents. One student brought back Bill Ganzel's *Dust Bowl Descent*, a wonderful book that answers the question: What ever became of those Dust Bowl refugees whose unforgettable faces haunt the photographs of Dorothea Lange, Russell Lee, Arthur Rothstein, Walker Evans, and the other photographers who chronicled them for the Farm Security Administration?

Pat's class discussed how each discovery connected to the other, to *The Grapes of Wrath*, and to life today. Pat suggested students view a documentary by KQED (our local PBS affiliate) on the Vietnamese fishermen who are settling in coastal northern California and look for parallels with the thirties. Sure enough, the students saw a resemblance between the attitudes of some Californians toward the Okies in the 1930s, as expressed in Stein-

Patricia Hanlon is an English teacher at Lowell high school in San Francisco. Robert Campbell recently retired from Lowell after thirty-six years as a librarian in the California public schools.

beck's novel, and sentiment against the emigre fishermen fifty years later.

Having made discoveries and having found productive connections, we wanted to preserve them, not begin with a blank slate again *next* semester. We wanted to collect more of these rich materials and insights and share them more effectively. The next group of students would of course make new finds, but they would gain nothing from the work of these present students and would, like their predecessors, pass nothing on themselves except to the teacher. What did such a system say about how we perceived the value of their work?

Having collected a roomful of pictures and posters, books and slides and fruit box labels and audiotape, we wanted to record the nature of the interesting connections amongst them. The card catalog alone was not adequate to locate these things, and neither 3 by 5 cards nor annotated bibliographies could do justice to the complex relationships. Material in libraries is not routinely cataloged in depth or linked in the intricate ways we needed. When we learned, for example, that the library card catalog had no Dust Bowl heading, we could add such a card. But when students found three relevant chapters in the book *Unknown California*, including Gerald Haslam's "The Okies Forty Years Later," we could not expect the card catalog to start flagging all the buried treasures in all the books.

THERE WERE other frustrations to our traditional approach, as well. We discovered a 1937 *Life* magazine with paintings of the Dust Bowl; but passing it around the room was not efficient. By the time it reached the last person, only a few minutes were left for discussion, and most students had seen only one painting. Theoretically, we could turn the photos into overhead slides. We could keep borrowing the KQED documentary. We could continue to schedule projectors and screens or VCR carts to show films or docu-

mentaries in which only a moment here or there is relevant. We could try to edit together our own audiovisual presentations, but, as all teachers know, this can be accomplished with all the dispatch of a medieval monk illuminating a manuscript.

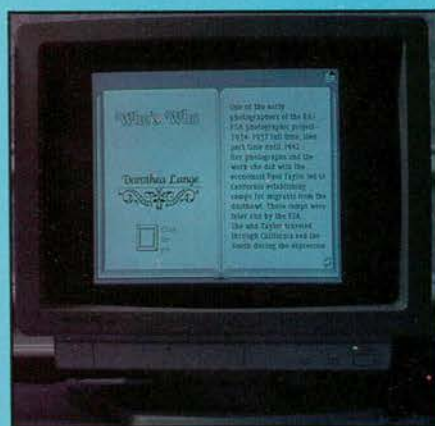
And what of keeping on top of all the material? *The Grapes of Wrath* is about the Dust Bowl, sharecroppers, good and bad farming practice, government camps, the desperate plight of migrant workers like the Joads. But it is also about our economic system, the mood of a decade, about folklore and music, labor unions, prejudice, brotherhood and weather, superstition and politics—and it points to yet more topics. How can any teacher be master of so much information, so many thorny issues? (And, of course, most teachers are responsible for teaching more than one book.) Where can she or he, even in collaboration with a librarian, find the time to assemble large collections of teaching materials in many media and make them accessible to students—even supposing that multiple circulating copies are available?

Fortuitously, as we were grappling with these difficulties, designers at Apple Computer were searching out real-world problems for which their newest computer technology—not at that time commercially available—might be a solution. When Kristina Hooper of Apple came to our school to brainstorm with a group of teachers, there was a synergistic "click." In June 1985 we began, with her support, to work on the answer to the question: Could computer-driven technology help us out?

Now, after two years of afterhours and weekend work and nearly a year and a half of full-time effort [in June 1987 Pat took a year's sabbatical, and Bob retired after thirty-six years in education], we have completed Grapevine, and we think the answer is "yes." We believe that interactive multimedia—the technology that fuels Grapevine—will allow teachers and students to find and

Grapevine allows a student to follow his curiosity as it leads him through different media and even when it takes him to otherwise hard-to-find sources.

This student began his Grapevine voyage with an essay on the Depression. At the close of the essay, the student was shown photographs of four people with whom he could continue his travels: John Steinbeck, an up-and-coming novelist; Dorothea Lange, a government photographer known for her evocative Depression-era photos; Bernard Zakheim, a mural artist; or Tom Collins, manager of a government-sponsored camp for migratory workers.



Here, after the student has chosen Dorothea Lange, the computer displays a thumbnail biography of her prepared by Hanlon and Campbell, (shown here, to make it larger, on a video monitor). For a photo of Lange, the student just clicks the button.



The Lange photo, this one from the book Photographs of a Lifetime, is selected by the computer from an archive of hundreds of photos stored on the videodisc.

gain access to materials easily and connect what's relevant, resolving a variety of persistent problems now faced by teachers.

What is interactive multimedia? What is Grapevine? Will they help you to teach and your students to learn? We will briefly describe Grapevine, comment on the possible future of the new medium, and then answer some down-to-earth questions from the editor. But we also want to insert right here an admission of enthusiastic bias. We believe this innovation can revitalize learning and refresh our teaching. We have no doubt that soon people will be learning everything from skiing techniques to sonnets to astrophysics by means of interactive multimedia.

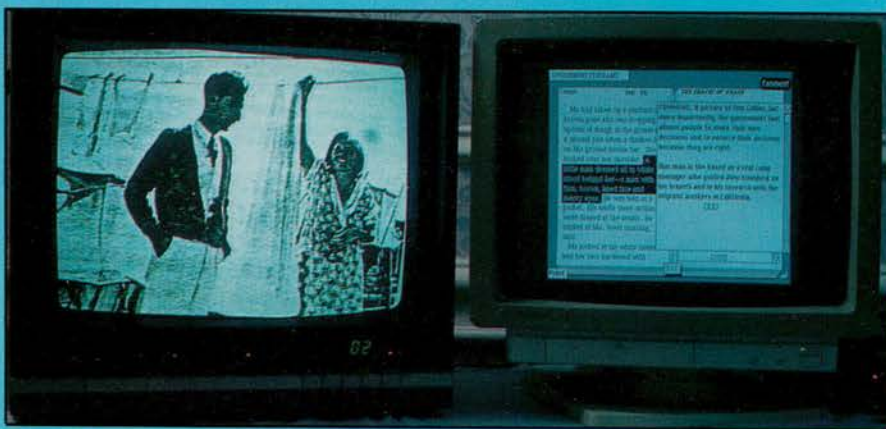
GRAPEVINE IS a multimedia "library in a box" centered on *The Grapes of Wrath* and the many issues it touches upon. It places at your fingertips—inside a Macintosh computer and a videodisc player—a wealth of material that would ordinarily take weeks or months of research to unearth: whole files of photographs by Dorothea Lange and the other FSA photographers. Newsreel footage of Neville Chamberlain, Hitler, Dust-Bowl devastation, political conventions, and much more. Excerpts from soap operas and radio comedy programs. Scenes, costumes, stories, and colorful posters from the Federal Theatre Program. The voice of Franklin Roosevelt giving his first fireside chat. Dozens of quotations from *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Factories in the Field*, and 189 other works, with many links provided between them. Reproductions of murals and other art of the period. Charts, maps, and timelines. Letters from Steinbeck. The program does not attempt to be exhaustive; it is designed to transport the user to a critical and interesting period in history and to reveal to him many facets of it for further exploration. It makes use of the serendipity that led us and the students to interesting byways, but it preserves the richest "links"

so students need not depend on serendipity to discover them the next time.

The Grapevine databank includes more than just primary sources. We've organized the material according to thirty-four topics, like migrant labor, agriculture, the Depression, and photography. For each one, we've written a seven- to eight-hundred-word essay introducing the topic to the students. We've written issues cards—computerese for a single computer screen—which pose to the students one or more critical questions about each topic, and activities cards that direct students to certain lines of investigation. There are also games and short biographies about key Depression-era figures. There are suggestions for dozens of projects, discussions, and research activities. The "Bibliography" section includes an annotated entry on each of the 190 works on Grapevine. "Quotations" includes quotes and sources from scores of people on dozens of selected topics.

Grapevine also includes a category called "Stories" from which students can call up any one of dozens of narratives on specific topics that we preassembled from the raw material on Grapevine. These preassembled stories include not only documents, news footage, and book excerpts but also suggested student activities and even quizzes. These stories include accounts of the rise and fall of the Federal Theatre Project, a North Dakota farm girl's memories of her Dust Bowl experience, Franklin Roosevelt's leadership style, the search for an American Utopia, the work of the New Deal alphabet agencies, and the use of alien labor in California. Watching one of these preassembled stories is something like watching a documentary; but it allows, even encourages, interactivity: The user is free to leave the designated path, browse at will, and return when ready. A teacher can also preassemble her own stories on topics she wants to illuminate for her class.

Do we have any apprehensions about the future of



The student then browses through dozens of Lange's Depression photos, collected on Grapevine from a number of different sources, and chooses to study this one on the left more closely. Curious about the photo, he asks the computer for back-

ground on it and . . . up comes this comment on the right, explaining that the man in the photo is Tom Collins, the migrant-camp manager on whom John Steinbeck based one of his Grapes of Wrath characters.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL CAMPBELL

multimedia? As confirmed worrywarts, of course we do. Here are a few of our concerns: that producers of multimedia might underestimate the creativity, intelligence, and energy of teachers and market easy but bland programs; that teachers, overwhelmed by the preponderance of bad or trivial software, may not take the trouble to discover those that are superb; that users, finding that computers used with media do one thing well, such as producing decorative handouts, may settle for that (which would be like using your VCR as a digital clock and nothing more); and that the cost and trouble of getting access to copyrighted sound and images will limit the media available to what is in the public domain. Perhaps ways will be found to make the whole universe of media available for education while still giving the creators fair compensation. Moreover, multimedia will not reach its potential if it is distributed as stingily as "AV" was in the fifties and sixties or if adequate resources for training are not provided. It will succeed only if it helps, not burdens, teachers from the outset.

We don't regard multimedia as the cavalry on its way to save the beleaguered public schools. But while it's no magic bullet, its potential to help is enormous. Wouldn't it be refreshing if the high technology that is transforming industry, banking, most of the professions, and warfare had something to offer education, too? And wouldn't it be surprising if it didn't?

Editor: Now for a few questions. This is unquestionably an impressive package of materials. Is the efficient assemblage of these materials the main advantage that Grapevine offers?

A. While Grapevine does contain enough material to constitute a respectable database, it is more than that.

Thanks to the technology of interactive multimedia, Grapevine contains unique "authoring" tools that make possible an unprecedented level of interactivity, "connectivity"—whose meaning will become clearer as we discuss what Grapevine can do—and custom tailoring to meet the special needs of a given class, teacher, or student.

The authoring tools allow the user to manipulate the program's content and even alter the program. Both teachers and students can—with unprecedented ease—add new material: a new question for a game, a student's own remarks about a book, a new biographic profile, a new topic, and new "links," which give you immediate access from one document to a related one. For example, if a student discovers that Pare Lorentz—who filmed the Dust Bowl documentary "The Plow that Broke the Plains"—was greatly admired by John Steinbeck and that Steinbeck wanted to learn filmmaking from him, the student could connect these pieces of information. With several easy keystrokes, the student could insert a clearly identified "hot spot" on the computer screen that introduces the Lorentz documentary. The next user would just have to touch the "hot spot" to move directly to a short comment on Steinbeck's regard for the filmmaker. Another tool, called *Sequencemaker*, lets both teachers and students create their own documentaries that can be presented to the whole class, to a small working group, or saved on Grapevine for viewing by future classes.

Until now, the student, like everybody else, has been on the receiving end of a steady inundation of sophisticated communications that use song and dance, lights, action, color, humor, and drama, often for no higher purpose than to sell carbonated beverages. As experi-



Under the heading "Depression," students can dig through hundreds of documents, both original and teacher designed. This card—computerese for a single video screen—is a mock-up of a 1930s newspaper front page, created by Pat and Bob to provide students with a short journalistic overview of a few issues. For more background on any of the three headlined topics, students just touch the headline.



After hitting the "economic plight" headline, the student can browse through dozens of relevant documents such as this one on average 1933 wages in different occupations.

enced users of multimedia, the students themselves will become more sophisticated and critical consumers of the high-tech communications that so pervade our culture.

Q. Switching gears for a moment, could you give the more technological among us more detail about the specs of these machines?

A. These things change almost day to day. Memory capacity goes up; costs come down—though still not low enough. Certainly the machines will become more compact and easier to hook up than they are now. Anyway, the student sits down to two machines. The computer is a Macintosh Plus or SE connected to a memory storage box called a hard disk with at least twenty million bytes of space, the equivalent of about two dozen 3½" floppy disks, each of which could hold all the letters you wrote last year, even if you write a lot of letters.

The other piece of equipment is a videodisc player (a Pioneer LD-V4200) that plays 12" laser discs. Each of its two sides can hold up to fifty-four thousand still images, color or black and white, or half an hour of "full video motion." The videodisc and computer images are displayed on monitor screens and, with special devices, can be projected onto a large screen for viewing by the whole class.

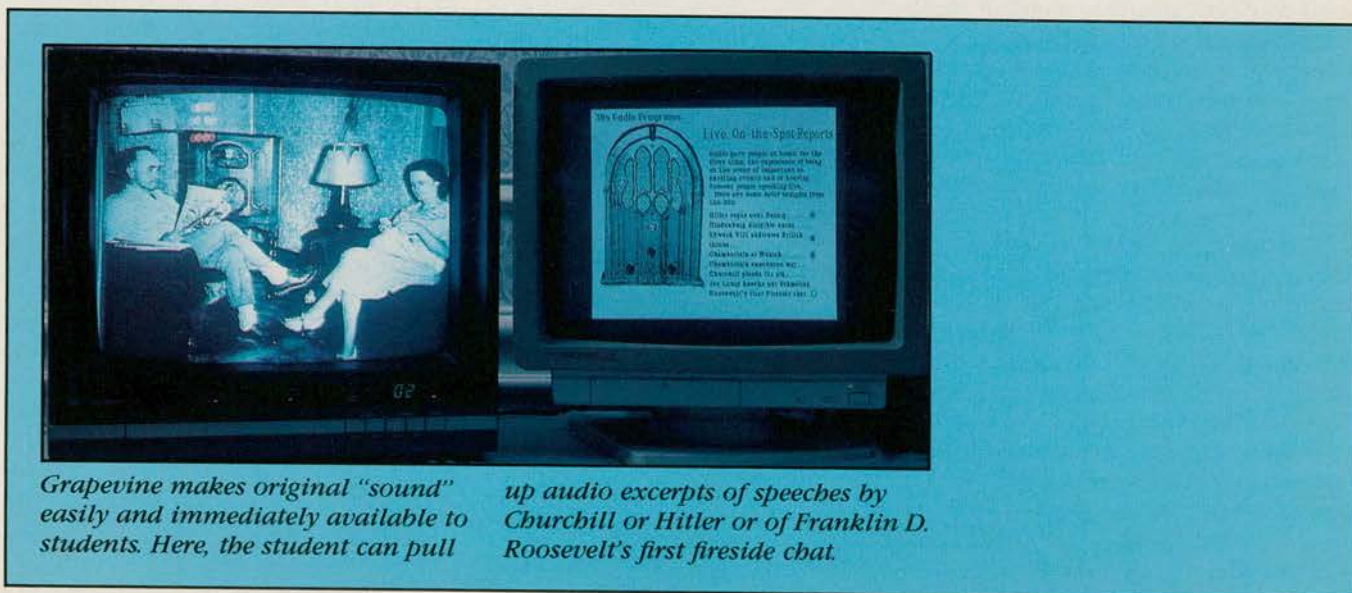
Q. How does the student make use of all this material? Or is it the teacher that's making use of it?

A. Both teacher and student are using it, and in any number of ways. Grapevine does not dictate a style of teaching or learning; it can be employed in different ways depending on the teacher's preference. Let us give you a few examples.

At its simplest, Grapevine facilitates what teachers and students already do. As mentioned before, we'll no longer have to pass around that *Life* magazine or continually borrow the KQED tape; a whole variety of useful, interesting materials are immediately available with Grapevine.

Beyond easing these logistical problems, Grapevine makes new, rich activities possible. Pat, for example, has always wanted to stimulate a discussion on propaganda by having her students compare a set of early FSA photographs dramatizing the era's miserable conditions with a set of their later photos showing successful New Deal programs and well-fed people. With Grapevine, such an activity is possible with minimal fuss—all the photos will be right there, easy to see and study. Another example: How can we make available to current students the information gathered by previous students? In their book reports, for example, students have uncovered a wealth of information that could direct new students to useful sources. But a teacher has no feasible vehicle for disseminating this knowledge short of typing all the reports on a ditto master and passing them out to all the students. But then the students will feel burdened, feeling they have to read all the reports. And it still won't help a student locate the kernel of information that he or she wants. Now relevant material from student work can be put into Grapevine, and, with just a keystroke or two, students will be able to gain access to the information that they need. Book reports are notorious with students as onerous busywork, but when their thoughtful book review is destined to become part of a shared bibliography, the task takes on new meaning.

The possibilities are unlimited. The student could be asked, as suggested in the opening vignette, to prepare a video presentation for the class on some aspect of the '30s. A small group of students could be assigned to do some research with the goal of creating a whole new topic area, or a student could add new material to a game (thus helping to prevent the game from going stale, which can happen so quickly with traditional computer games). For example, the "Who Was Who in the Thirties" game now contains clues for guessing the names of seventy-five people. The student could research another figure and add an item to the guessing game with just a keystroke. The teachers can add their most effective teaching activities, which can be used or adapted by others using Grapevine.



Grapevine makes original "sound" easily and immediately available to students. Here, the student can pull

up audio excerpts of speeches by Churchill or Hitler or of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first fireside chat.

Q. You talked earlier about how this medium eases students' research. But isn't it healthy for a student to learn the research process?

A. Yes, it is, provided you don't define it as merely enduring the frustrations that stem from inadequate indexing, from tracking down books that are unavailable because they're lost, at the bindery, overdue, or "on reserve"; or from being unable to borrow materials because they are in the Reference Section. For the less-motivated student, these obstacles can keep him from ever reaching the enjoyable, thoughtful part of the process. What is important about research is not learning the format of a catalog card (which takes only minutes when you're looking for something interesting and forever if you're not) but discovering, understanding, and making use of the relationships and connections among the materials.

And research won't be eliminated. The student will still have to search the "database," browse through a variety of material, and ascertain what's most relevant to his research topic. After reading passages from a certain book, he may decide to track down the entire book. With Grapevine, he gets an interesting head start, which can propel him through the more logistically difficult and mundane digging that may have to be done later. The students can also be asked to do primary research: to locate new materials to add to Grapevine.

Q. You've talked about allowing students to add material, their own preassembled stories, book reviews, new primary materials. How can the teacher preserve the integrity of the program with all of this manipulation going on?

A. The teacher would retain a master copy of the program. At the end of each semester, he or she can choose what to keep permanently and what to erase. We suggest having the class serve as a review board and recommend what should stay and go.

Q. You've mentioned that students might develop video or multimedia presentations for the class. Does this take the place of writing a paper, and if so, isn't that unwise, given that our students need to develop their writing skills?

A. Writing means organizing one's material, composing it, explaining, elaborating, and developing one's ideas. You have to do all of this in order to prepare a videotape presentation, too.

Q. Is Grapevine available to teachers now?

A. No. It is a prototype; only one copy exists. We're looking for a publisher to spruce up our hand-crafted graphics and formatting, to secure the many copyright clearances needed, and to make it widely available. We would like to see it on the market in 1989, the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *The Grapes of Wrath*. We should note also that the multimedia tools we used to create Grapevine make it possible for other teachers—with time and creativity but no particular computer background—to build their own multimedia programs on other topics. □

ACCOUNTABILITY AND TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM

(Continued from page 13)

supervised internships, and continuing education requirements, are the primary vehicles for transmitting standards. Norms of responsibility for the welfare of clients are buttressed by peer control over preparation and entry and by peer review of practice. These require a certain convergence of knowledge, view, and purpose among those who set and enforce standards, those who train practitioners, and those who practice.

PREPARATION FOR RESPONSIBLE PRACTICE

The first of the goals listed above—that *all* individuals permitted to practice are adequately prepared—is crucial to attaining the conditions for and benefits of professionalism. So long as anyone who is not fully prepared is admitted to an occupation where autonomous practice can jeopardize the safety of clients, the public's trust is violated. So long as no floor is enforced on the level of knowledge needed to teach, a professional culture in schools cannot long be maintained, for some practitioners will be granted control and autonomy who are not prepared to exercise it responsibly.

Teacher education programs must reflect a rich and powerful conception of the elements of teaching knowledge. Serious and intensive induction of new teachers is necessary before they are allowed to teach without supervision. And testing, licensure, and hiring practices must demonstrate a commitment to the principle that those permitted to teach are in fact prepared to do so. This is a key issue in teaching, where forty-six states maintain emergency licensure procedures and twenty-three have recently sanctioned a double standard for entry by adopting alternative certification provisions that minimize the training needed to teach.³ State officials create these loopholes to ensure an adequate supply of teachers, but by allowing less-prepared entrants to assume full teaching responsibilities, they fundamentally undermine the presumption that all professionals will share common knowledge and commitments.

Lowering of standards is avoided in occupations where members of the profession control standards for entry. The key issue here is who will regulate what aspects of the educational system. A fundamental part of the answer is whom the public will deem best qualified to make these decisions. The *quid pro quo* for shared decision making is meaningful standard setting within the profession.

Until the content of standards—questions concerning teacher education programs, induction of new teachers, and testing, licensure, and hiring decisions—becomes the subject of debate and transformation by members of the profession, standards will serve only short-term political goals. In the long term, professional standards must demonstrate to educators and the public that they, in fact, produce improvements in the quality of education. This will necessitate greater attention in the coming years to matters of policy substance in addition to form. It is at this juncture that the involvement of the profession is critical, for state policy can constrain but not construct the conditions under which

So long as anyone who is not fully prepared is admitted to an occupation where autonomous practice can jeopardize the safety of clients, the public's trust is violated.

knowledge about teaching is produced, transmitted, and employed on behalf of those students who are its ultimate beneficiaries.

STRUCTURING PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE WITHIN THE SCHOOL

Defining the knowledge base and ensuring that only adequately prepared individuals are admitted to the profession, while critical to all that follows, are nevertheless only the first steps in securing the conditions necessary for genuine professional practice and accountability. The next step takes us inside the school itself to an examination of the structures that allow well-prepared teachers to apply, refine, expand, and uphold standards of practice.

The basic task here is to create a professional culture within schools that will seek, transmit, and use knowledge as a basis for teaching decisions, that will support inquiry and consultation, and that will maintain a primary concern for student welfare.

The goal that professionals will continually seek to discover what is the most responsible course of action suggests that ongoing professional development and norms of inquiry are extremely important. But knowledge is constantly expanding, problems of practice are complex, and ethical dilemmas result from conflict between legitimate goals. Thus, this requirement cannot be satisfied by prescriptions for practice or unchanging rules of conduct. Instead, the transmission of these norms must be accomplished by socialization to a professional standard that incorporates continual learning, reflection, and concern with the multiple effects of one's actions on others as fundamental aspects of the professional role.

While appropriate practice cannot be reduced to rules and lodged in concrete, there must be means for encouraging its pursuit even where the correct course of action is not a routine judgment. Though standardized practice is inadequate, we cannot accept the notion that *any* practice is appropriate. What is sought cannot be achieved through either more precise legislation of practice nor by total discretion for individual teachers. Instead, we are seeking to vest in members of the profession a common set of understandings about what is known *and* a common commitment to test and move beyond that knowledge for the good of individual students and the collective advancement of professional understanding.

The conditions necessary for the support of appropriate practice point to several features of school structure as particularly important:

1. the extent to which the organization of instruction fosters *responsibility for individual students*, i.e., client-oriented accountability;
2. the extent to which the school structure fosters the *use of professional knowledge* beyond that represented in the experiences of individual teachers;
3. the extent to which the school structure supports continual *self-evaluation and review of practice*.

Client-oriented accountability requires that teachers primarily teach *students* rather than teach *courses*, that they attend more to learning than to covering a curriculum. If teachers are to be responsible for students and for learning, they must have sufficient opportunities to come to know students' minds, learning styles, and psychological dispositions, and they must be able to focus on student needs and progress as the benchmark for their activities. This seems obvious, but it is rendered improbable, if not impossible, as schools are now structured. The current structure ensures that specific courses and curricula will be offered and students will pass through them, usually encountering different teachers from grade to grade and course to course, succeeding or failing as they may. This system does not offer accountability for student learning, only for the processing of students.

Client accountability suggests at least two implications for the organization of schooling: (1) that teachers will stay with students for longer periods of time (hours in the day and even years in the course of a school career) so that they may come to know what students' needs are, and (2) that school problem solving will be organized around the individual and collective needs of students rather than around program definitions, grades, tracks, and labels.

Use of professional knowledge poses other requirements: that decision making be conducted on the basis of available professionwide knowledge, not on the basis of individual proclivity or opinion, even collective opinion. When most schools do not even stock professional journals in their libraries, the challenge implied by this requirement is profound. In addition to shared time and expectations of consultation and collective decision making, vehicles must be found for teachers to have access to the knowledge bases relevant to their work and to the particular, immediate problems of teaching practice they face. Linkages to universities and access to professional development opportunities go part way toward solving this problem, but more is needed. Schools may need to create their own research teams to examine and augment available knowledge if practice is to be thus grounded.

Research in the school setting serves an important function for the development of knowledge, but it poses dangers as well. Experimentation can harm students if it is conducted without care and appropriate safeguards. Too much innovation for its own sake can result in faddism and lack of a coherent philosophy over time and across classrooms in a school. Thus, school-based research or experimentation must also be subject to careful faculty deliberation as to its necessity, desirability, and likely effects on children; to monitoring

while in progress; and to the informed consent of parents.

Finally, ongoing review of practice is central to the operation of professional organizations. This evaluative function serves the joint purposes of monitoring organizational activities and establishing a continuous dialogue about problems of practice among the practitioners themselves. The very distant analog in school systems is program evaluation, an activity generally conducted by central office researchers who report findings to government sponsors and school board members. Teachers are neither the major producers nor consumers of such information. Hence, neither they nor their students are the major beneficiaries of such evaluation results.

Teachers must wrestle with and take responsibility for resolving immediate, concrete problems of teaching practice if teaching lore is ever to be transformed into meaningful professional standards. One could envision many methods for achieving this. Standing committees such as those used in hospitals could meet regularly to review practices in various subject areas or grade levels or to examine other functional areas: academic progress; grading policies; student and teacher assignments to particular courses, programs, or teams; development of student responsibility; organization of instruction; and so on. Or more flexible approaches might be tried. Ad hoc committees might be formed to examine particular problems, both as they are manifested in the school and as they have been addressed by research. Faculty meetings could be used to investigate curricular strategies and other matters within and across departments or grade levels. What is critical is that teachers have both time to pursue these evaluations as part of their role (rather than as "released" or extracurricular time) and authority to make changes based on their collective discoveries.

The ability of school structures to support this framework for professional practice—client-oriented accountability, the use of professional knowledge, and ongoing review of practice—in turn depends on at least two conditions: First, teacher isolation must be overcome so that opportunities to discuss problems of practice can be frequent and regular. Second, teacher involvement in evaluation of practice and in decision making about policies and practices must permeate the school culture.

Overcoming teacher isolation. The conditions for responsible practice obviously must include structures that promote inquiry and consultation among the faculty. Teacher isolation promotes idiosyncratic practice and works against the development and transmission of shared knowledge. Changing the egg-crate classroom structure and the groupings of students and teachers that maintain isolation will require major changes in teaching arrangements to promote team efforts and legitimize shared time. Many possibilities for reorganizing instruction can be considered. The vision of teaching work as it is implemented in American schools is one where the teacher's job is to instruct large groups of students for most of the working day. The other tasks of teaching—preparation, planning, curriculum development, tutoring those in need of additional help, con-

sulting with other professionals, seeking answers to student or classroom problems, working with parents—are deemed so unimportant that little or no time is made available for these activities. With the exception of most teachers' daily "prep period," usually spent filling out forms and trying to get access to the Xerox machine, teachers have virtually no planned time to consult with their colleagues.

One twenty-year high school teacher vividly described the extent of teacher isolation when he remarked: "I have taught twenty thousand classes; I have been evaluated thirty times; but I have never seen another teacher teach." This kind of teacher isolation stands in the way of developing professional standards of practice because there is no basis on which to develop consensus or to explore alternatives.

Other countries, including Japan, China, and West Germany, structure teaching much differently.⁴ A typical high school teacher might teach standard-sized groups of students approximately fifteen hours out of a forty to forty-five hour school week. The remainder of that time is used for preparation and joint curriculum planning, tutoring of individuals or small groups, and consultations with parents, students, and colleagues. The time spent in large-group instruction is more profitably used because it can be more appropriately structured to fit the needs of students and goals of instruction; instruction is better prepared; and particular problems or special student needs can be individually addressed in the remaining time available. Students need not fall inexorably behind in this system. Teachers need not suffer the frustrations that come from the schedule constraints that preclude dealing with important teaching matters as they arise.

Under conditions such as these, teachers can work collegially to design programs, to shape appropriate learning experiences for students, and to develop shared standards of professional practice. They can evaluate their work and make the decisions that are needed to continually improve schooling. There are many ways such restructuring can be accomplished if we are willing to abandon preconceptions of how schools ought to look and work. These range from team-teaching arrangements with joint planning time for teachers to core curriculum arrangements that reduce the absolute number of students each teacher must come to know while maintaining overall teacher/pupil ratios. Varying class formats and uses of teacher and student time are possible when teaching responsibilities are shared and emphasis is placed on personalizing teacher-student relationships rather than processing students through fragmented courses and grade levels. Ted Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools has created a number of productive teaching arrangements within existing per-pupil resource limits.⁵ Many others are possible.

Involvement in professional decision making. Much of the discussion above has centered on teacher responsibility for professional practice. However, where there is no responsibility for shaping practice, there can be no accountability for appropriate practice, only for following standard operating procedures. It does little good to diagnose problems if there are no means available then to correct them.

'I have taught twenty thousand classes; I have been evaluated thirty times; but I have never seen another teacher teach.'

Teacher involvement in school decision making is currently a relatively haphazard occurrence. Although in some school districts teachers participate on committees responsible for textbook selection, curriculum development, and staff development, in others these decisions are made primarily by administrators or school board members. In only a very few schools or districts do teachers have an effective voice in decisions that structure teaching work: decisions about class scheduling, course requirements, student placements, program development, or teacher assignments. In even fewer do teachers have any input into personnel decisions concerning the hiring, evaluation, and tenure of either teachers or administrators.

Lack of voice in these matters means that teachers are often expected to practice their profession under conditions that may be administratively convenient but not especially conducive to effective teaching. It is important that peer review be considered in this broader context of teacher collaboration in decision making and problem solving. The substitution or supplementation of principals by teachers in traditional evaluation processes in and of itself will do little to change the overall role of teachers in professional decision making. It is the degree to which teachers assume collective responsibility for instructional quality that determines professionalism. Such involvement must be pervasive if it is to produce a professional conception of teaching.

The effective schools literature has confirmed the value of faculty decision making. This research indicates that participatory school management by teachers and principals, based on collaborative planning, collegial problem solving, and constant intellectual sharing, produces both student learning gains and increased teacher satisfaction and retention.⁶ Clearly, these schools also feature principals who are effective leaders, and studies show that such principals create conditions in which teacher leadership, peer support and assistance, and participation in decision making are encouraged.

One other point is worth making here: These evaluative and decision-making functions should be engaged in by all of the teachers within the school, including the novices in training: Some (though not all) proposals for "teacher leadership" envision only a small cadre of teachers who partake of decision-making authority, while everyone else goes on about their isolated work. The trickle-down theory of expertise does not presume a professional standard for all teachers; professional accountability does. Teachers will learn to weigh and balance considerations, to inquire, consult, and make collaborative decisions, to use and develop teaching knowledge to the extent that they are expected to do so. Socialization into these norms of inquiry and collaboration must be part of the daily life of all teachers if they are to begin to permeate the profession.

SAFEGUARDS FOR PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Even with all of the professional accountability mechanisms described above, there are dangers that the needs of some students will not be diagnosed or fully met, that the concerns or preferences of parents will be inadequately attended to, that the continual juggling of multiple and competing goals will occasionally lose sight of some while seeking to secure others. Members of a profession, while setting their own standards, cannot seal themselves off too tightly from public scrutiny or from their clientele. When they do, they endanger their rights to self-governance, as other professions have discovered in recent years.

A number of means for providing safeguards and voice for clients and the public will have to be considered and re-shaped to encourage professional practice and effective learning:

- hierarchical regulation, which expresses the contract made between a state or district and its populace;
- personnel evaluation, which establishes avenues for ensuring faculty competence;
- participation and review procedures for parents, which create clear and meaningful avenues for expression of parent views and concerns; and
- reporting vehicles, which transmit the accomplishments of students in the school to parents and the general public.

Standard practices in each of these areas are inadequate to provide genuine accountability. In many cases, standard practice also undermines professional practice. New contracts must be forged with states, districts, teacher associations, parents, and the public. A full exploration of the content of these new contracts is beyond the scope of this paper. The nature of the terrain is sketched briefly below.

The problems associated with hierarchical regulation of teaching have been articulated earlier. In school bureaucracies, authority for decisions and responsibility for practice are widely separated, usually by many layers of hierarchy. Boards and central administrators make decisions while teachers, principals, and students are responsible for carrying them out. It is for this reason that accountability for results is hard to achieve. When the desired outcomes of hierarchically imposed policies are not realized, policy makers blame the school people responsible for implementation; practitioners blame their inability to devise or pursue better solutions on the constraints of policy. No one can be fully accountable for the results of practice when authority and responsibility are dispersed.

Yet, policy makers have a responsibility to ensure fairness in the delivery of educational services; and district officials are liable for the actions of schools residing within their jurisdictions. Not all regulations can be dispensed with in the cause of professional practice. A heuristic is needed for sorting those regulations that must be observed from those that must be renegotiated or waived. As a first step, it is useful to divide responsibilities into those that must be centrally administered and those, that, by their nature, cannot be effectively administered in a hierarchical fashion.

Wise offers a useful distinction between *equity* and

productivity concerns.⁷ The former generally must be resolved by higher units of governance, since they "arise out of the conflicting interests of majorities and minorities and of the powerful and powerless. Because local institutions are apparently the captives of majoritarian politics, they intentionally and unintentionally discriminate. Consequently, we must rely upon the policy-making system to solve problems of inequity in the operating educational system." On the other hand, productivity questions cannot be solved by regulation, since the appropriate use of teaching knowledge is highly individualized, while policies are necessarily uniform and standardized. Thus, policy decisions about methods of teaching and schooling processes cannot ever meet the demands of varying school and student circumstances. These require renegotiation for the accommodation of professional practice.

Personnel evaluation, by this rubric, falls in the domain of professional determination. This could lead to its substantial improvement or to its avoidance and demise. This is a critical function of a profession, as the first promise a profession makes is oversight of competence to practice. The shortcomings of traditional evaluation practices and the outlines of more productive professional practices are described in detail elsewhere.⁸ In brief, these entail increased peer involvement in design and implementation of evaluation and separation of the processes for encouraging professional learning from those for making personnel decisions. All of this is more easily said than done, however, and the resolution of issues regarding collective bargaining relationships, appropriate roles for administrators and teachers, and political turf battles will require courage and leadership from teachers.

Professional practice must be guided, to the extent possible, by knowledge, even where that conflicts with client preferences. On the other hand, best practice is never absolute or fully informed by research; it is a matter of judgment and frequently unique to the individual child, about whom the parent has substantial knowledge. The multiple goals of schooling will often stand in tension to one another. Parents must have a voice in determining the balance among goals as they are compelled by the state to entrust their children to schools. Thus, parent voice must be secured in a fashion that few schools have yet managed.

Parent voice can be fostered by (1) school structures for shared governance, (2) accessible review and appeals processes, and (3) parent involvement in decision making about individual children. Structures for shared governance, such as school-community councils, can provide a vehicle for the shared interests of the parent community to find legitimized and regular expression in the school context. Perhaps the most proactive form of shared governance among parents, teachers, and administrators is seen in Salt Lake City, where decision-making turf that is the joint domain of parents and faculty (e.g., the school schedule, discipline policies, and curricular emphases) is delegated to councils for determination by consensus and parity vote.⁹

Mechanisms for review and appeal of specific concerns by a neutral third party supplement the shared governance mechanism by providing a clear avenue for the resolution of individual problems. These mecha-

This work is not easy and will not be accomplished quickly.

nisms also provide information and external review for the school as a whole. Finally, the expectation that parents will be included in discussions of important decisions concerning their children prevents the insulation of the professional decision-making process from exposure to the real-world circumstances and concerns of families and communities.

The issue that most ties knots in discussions of accountability is the question of how individual and school expectations and accomplishments can be transmitted in an educationally productive manner to parents, students, and the public at large. Because school goals are numerous, diffuse, and difficult to quantify, simple statements of objectives and results can never completely capture what schools do or what their students accomplish. The counterproductive outcomes for instruction of mindlessly adopting simple performance measures, such as averages of student achievement test scores, have been well documented.¹⁰

Yet reporting vehicles serve an important accountability function by giving information to parents and policy makers about school practices and student progress. The press for such information is increasing and cannot be avoided. Untangling this knotty problem is well beyond the scope of this paper, other than to note that promising efforts are currently under way to devise more educationally productive means for reporting what schools and their students do.¹¹

A COUNSEL OF PATIENCE

A professional model for teaching seeks to support practices that are client oriented and knowledge based. It starts from the premise that parents, when they are compelled to send their children to a public school, have a right to expect that they will be under the care of competent people who are committed to using the best knowledge available to meet the individual needs of that child. This is a different form of accountability from that promised by legal and bureaucratic mechanisms, which ensure that when goals have been established, rules will be promulgated and enforced.

Professional accountability assumes that, since teaching work is too complex to be hierarchically prescribed and controlled, it must be structured so that practitioners can make responsible decisions, both individually and collectively. Accountability is provided by rigorous training and careful selection, serious and sustained internships for beginners, meaningful evaluation, opportunities for professional learning, and ongoing review of practice. By such means, professionals learn from each other, norms are established and transmitted, problems are exposed and tackled, parents' concerns are heard, and students' needs are better met.

In such a system, parents can expect that no teacher will be hired who has not had adequate training in how to teach, no teacher will be permitted to practice without supervision until he/she has mastered the professional knowledge base and its application, no teacher will be granted tenure who has not fully demonstrated his/her competence, and no decision about students will be made without adequate knowledge of good practice in light of students' needs. Establishing professional norms of operation by the vehicles outlined above also creates a basis for parent input along with standards and methods for redress of unsuitable practice that do not exist in a bureaucratic system of school administration.

This work is not easy and will not be accomplished quickly. As Clark and Meloy have noted:

We counsel patience in the development of and experimentation with new organizational forms. We have been patient and forgiving of our extant form. Remember that new forms will also be ideal forms. Do not press them immediately to their point of absurdity. Bureaucracy as an ideal form became tempered by adjectival distinctions—bounded, contingent, situational. New forms need to be granted the same exceptions as they are proposed and tested. No one seriously imagines a utopian alternative to bureaucracy. But realistic alternatives can be formed that consistently trade off control for freedom, the organization for the individual. And they can be built upon the principle of the consent of the governed.¹²

This, in sum, is the challenge we face in transforming teaching into a true profession. □

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

(Continued from page 19)

tions. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom." He continued, "Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace are, in fact, supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than enforcing racial democracy. The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle but a new beginning not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life."

Randolph was followed to the microphone by leaders of the religious-labor-civil rights coalition that the March had brought together. Among the speakers were the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake of the National Council of Churches; Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers; John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Joachim Prinz of the American Jewish Congress; Matthew Ahmann of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney Young of the National Urban League. James Farmer, of the Congress of Racial Equality—who had been arrested while leading a demonstration in the South—sent a message from his jail cell in Plaquemine, Louisiana.

No one, of course, followed—or *could* follow—the last and supreme oratorical performance of the day, that of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. In one of the memorable speeches of our century, he justified Randolph's judgment of him as "the moral leader of the nation."

When the benediction had been said and the scores of thousands began to disperse—singing, as they went, "We Shall Overcome"—the architect of the March shared a poignant moment with the protégé who had engineered it so brilliantly. It had been the most glorious day of Randolph's life, and, seeing him standing at a far end of the emptying platform, Bayard Rustin walked over and rested an arm on the old man's shoulder. "I could see he was tired," Rustin later said, "and when I looked into his eyes, tears were streaming down his cheeks. It is the one time I can recall that he could not hold back his feelings."

As the *Washington Post* reported the following day, the March had stirred the conscience not only of this nation but also of the world. Contrary to the most pessimistic of forecasts, it had stirred most members of Congress as well. Writing ten years later, Bayard Rustin underscored some of the results when he said, "The March marked the zenith of mass protest as a vehicle for social change. Within a year, the nation had ratified a constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax, and Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act. In another year, the Voting Rights Act was passed."

In his study of the original March on Washington Movement, published in 1959, the historian Herbert Garfinkel observed, "It is to the leadership of Dr. King and Mr. Wilkins that the future of the Negro protest belongs, but it is from Mr. Randolph that a great deal of their tactical conception of the struggle has stemmed." That was particularly true of Dr. King's conception of the

struggle.

It was also the tactical example and inspiration of Randolph's 1963 March that broadened the modern civil rights movement and infused it with a national energy it had never had before. And it was in acknowledgment of that fact that Andrew Young spoke some years ago at one of the annual conferences of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The then Congressman Young said:

We could not have had a successful civil rights movement without Mr. Randolph. For it was Mr. Randolph and Bayard Rustin who turned the civil rights movement around right at its most crucial point—after the Birmingham demonstrations. We were then a predominantly black movement in the South. Even with the leadership of Martin Luther King, we had gone just about as far as we could have gone.

We would never have become a national movement had Bayard Rustin and Mr. Randolph not organized the March on Washington and gotten the support of a broad spectrum of the liberal forces in the country. It was the March that transformed what had been a Southern movement into a national movement.

All of that reflects the extraordinary contribution to history by a man who was poor in almost all else but intellect, social vision, personal dignity, and the common decencies of spirit. Altogether, he had a great heart. Anyone who spent some time in his company, whose feelings he truly touched, became a wiser and better person than before. He lived simply and humbly, more so than many others who shared—or failed to match—his status as an important historical figure. His personal vanities were few, and they were chiefly sartorial and literary. To the end of his days, he dressed with an unflinching tastefulness. He clearly esteemed the elegance of appearance and manner—not only his own but that of others as well. The generosity of his feeling for people and the strength of his attachment to progressive social causes were rivalled only by his affection for books and affirmative ideas. That was instantly recognized by anyone who ever shared a leisurely conversation with him or happened to browse through his small and beloved library—dominated by volumes in history and politics (and religion). When, infrequently, he referred to his financial position, he liked to say—with a joyous and self-mocking chuckle—that he had "never owned a quarter" in his life. After allowance is made for the proper liberties of metaphor, what he said was true. When he died in 1979, at the age of ninety, the New York State Tax Examiner assessed his personal fortune at \$500. He had been living by himself in a small apartment in the Chelsea district of Manhattan—part of a large housing complex built by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. His modest tenancy in that complex may have been a secret even to David Dubinsky, a leader of the I.L.G.W.U. and one of Randolph's colleagues in the high councils of organized labor. He was a childless widower. Bayard Rustin became not only his most faithful and courageous political protégé but also a kind of son. Bayard built an institute in the old man's name, advocated his philosophy of a black-labor coalition, and took good personal care of him in his declining years. At a memorial service for Randolph in 1979, Rustin said: "While leaving precious little in worldly goods, he left us the wealth of his wisdom, acquired in his pursuit of truth." □

RATIONAL NUMBERS

(Continued from page 25)

- Rating
- 2 shows awareness of variables which were not controlled, procedures which turned out to be ineffective, the need to repeat measurements, or criticizes other factors which are central, not peripheral
 - 1 shows awareness of alternative procedures but unaware of particular deficiencies of those used (does not have very good reasons for suggesting changes)
 - 0 uncritical of procedures used, can suggest neither deficiencies nor alternative approaches

A further rating was made of the pupil's general approach to the investigation, using evidence gathered throughout the work:

- 2 evidence of real interest in investigation, looking carefully and intently at what happens, actions [are] deliberate and thoughtful
- 1 willing to carry out investigation but no sign of great enthusiasm or special interest
- 0 carries out only the minimum necessary, may look bored, uninterested or frightened

But it's not only the form of assessment that matters. It's the conditions under which the test is given. Consider, for example, this essay question for the AP literature sample test booklet:

The meaning of some literary works is often enhanced by sustained allusion to myths, the Bible, or other works of literature. Select a literary work that makes use of such a sustained reference. Then write a well-organized essay in which you explain the allusion that predominates and analyze how it enhances the work's meaning. [Though the student may select the book, suggested works include *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Billy Budd*, *Song of Solomon*, etc.]

It would be an excellent question that truly assessed a student's understanding of the course material—except the student is expected to write the essay in forty-five minutes, without access to the books in question. (Some of the written parts of the last NAEP writing test were even worse, giving the student just eight minutes to write a short essay.) If we are trying to assess a student's analytic abilities, we would do better to provide him either with the question in advance or test him on how well he revises the essay after re-reading the text. We are so used to such contrivances we ignore how inauthentic and potentially misleading such an exercise really is. The drive for efficiency and "reliable" scoring leads to these kinds of time constraints and to lower-order questions.*

* *Even Ravitch and Finn, the sponsors of the NAEP History and Literature test, complain in their book "What Do Our Seventeen-Year-Olds Know?" (Harper and Row, 1987) about the NAEP test: "We too would prefer an essay examination that determined the depth of students' understanding . . . we hope that testing agencies will soon develop additional ways to assess knowledge and not rely so exclusively on multiple-choice questions, whose defects we make clear (p. 21-22)."*

Eliciting 'Objective' Grades on 'Subjective' Tests

All higher-order and performance-based assessments require the use of judgment; there's no way around it. Is it possible to employ that judgment in a way that is fair and clear to students, that does not leave teachers vulnerable to charges of arbitrariness, and that provides meaningful information to outsiders? Is it possible to train ourselves so that different teachers in the same school (or even in different schools) will apply the same criteria and award the same grade to a piece of student work—so that the standard will indeed be shared schoolwide?

Though our standardized testing manufacturers often act as though it's not so, adequately reliable ways of assessing knowledge have existed for decades and are used on a wide scale in other countries. But such assessment requires, again, taking the time to be clear and public about criteria. Human judges, when adequately trained to assess actual student performance in context, display a high degree of interrater reliability. In Connecticut's recent performance-based foreign language test, for example, two (trained) judges using a 1-4 scoring system agreed on a student's score 85 percent of the time.¹⁰ A similar system has been effectively used by the Advanced Placement tests for years. The issue is not whether the "testing technology" exists to permit fair grading of rich, authentic tests but whether we will invest the time and money it takes to administer them.

AT THE SCHOOL level, I recommend three strategies that should enable faculties to apply standards fairly and consistently across classes. First, on important tests we should require multiple readers, as do the Connecticut test and the AP, all thesis committees, and most credentialing and grant committees. Peter Elbow has noted that inconsistencies among teachers can be further diminished if the various readers are assigned to judge work with specific, agreed-upon essential traits in mind and not just holistically.¹¹ To do this, of course, the faculty must identify those traits/criteria that are most essential in a task *before* the assignment or test is given. Second, we should heed the advice found in an old British research study of essay-exam reading that reveals that grading reliability can be greatly increased if the student submits two or more papers instead of just one.¹²

Third, we should work and argue together until we've formulated standards we genuinely share. We can engage the veteran and exemplary teachers in each department to serve on oversight committees charged with ensuring that each teacher's testing and grading system is fair, accommodates the widest feasible range of learning styles, and meets schoolwide standards. In Great Britain and Australia (and in Vermont's proposed portfolio-based assessment), teachers play a crucial role in large-scale assessment. Test items are chosen by the teacher (within bounds from an available item pool), then administered and scored by them, with guidance from trained assessors. Consistency is achieved by bringing teachers together for a process called "group moderation." At this meeting, each teacher compares the grades he or she has given to students with those

given by colleagues from other schools who used the same test items (and those given by national assessors). Any large-scale discrepancy must be discussed and resolved. The new British report on national assessment describes it this way:

Teachers could bring to a group meeting two sets of results for each profile component. The first would be their own ratings; the second would be the results from national tests. Both would be expressed as a distribution of their pupil groups over the levels of the national assessment scheme (1-10). A first task of a moderation group would be to examine how well the patterns of the two matched for each group of pupils [comparing percentages of students assigned to each level]. . . the meeting could then go on to explore discrepancies in the pattern of particular schools or groups, using samples of pupils' work and knowledge of the circumstances of schools.¹³

This process can be easily adapted to the school level: Each department in a school—or even in a district—could require that there be some standard test items, and a department meeting could be organized to compare the general grading patterns (percentage of “A’s” and “B’s” given, etc.) on those items to ensure greater standardization. The required departmental final (or section of a final) exam now developed in some schools for many-sectioned courses such as Algebra I or U.S. History could serve the same purpose. A similar idea—commonly practiced by judges of writing assessments—would have the faculty do a practice assessment of a sample test and compare their answers with those of the test maker to ensure reliability. Similarly, faculty could engage in regular inservice on the blind reading and grading of papers according to an agreed-upon set of standards.

SCORING FOR MOTIVATION

How can we help students reach the high standards we set for them? Clarity about our standards and authentic tests that provide regular practice and evaluative feedback are both a considerable help. But we also need to consider how our grading system can serve as a stronger motivator. Too often a set of grades represents a self-fulfilling prophecy to students (as when teachers say, “Oh, he’s a ‘C’ student”). A great motivator is knowing that you can get a good mark, but only if you work very hard. In our classes, is it impossible for a diligent but less-able student to achieve a high grade? Is such a grade easily achieved by the bright student who doesn’t apply himself? Either way, a “yes” indicates that our incentives are not functioning as well as they could.

Tests should be designed to help *all* students become masterful. When we track students or grade them on a bell curve, we discourage them from this goal. Tracking makes it possible for students to earn higher grades than they otherwise would for accomplishing less essential or even trivial tasks. As the very word “track” implies, the school is institutionalizing sets of standards that never converge. Students in the lower tracks are not taught or assessed in a way that enables them to close the gap between their current competence and adequate standards.

The bell-shaped curve is a statistical construct deliberately designed to provide a spread of scores. A power-

ful negative message is then sent to the *relatively* weaker students that they cannot expect to improve their grades. As Benjamin Bloom et al. have said: “We proceed . . . as though only a minority of our students should be able to learn what we have to teach.”¹⁴ Moreover, with the bell curve, teachers are induced to rank students, not to closely examine their overall ability and potential as reflected over time in their performances. Often teachers believe that the bell curve is the best way to ensure high standards. But we can ensure standards with criterion-referenced tests as long as the criteria themselves represent a high standard.

Below are three ideas for altering our typical scoring systems to enable and encourage *all* students to meet a common and high standard.

Award Degree-of-Difficulty Points

Under this model, the student would earn final grades by amassing scores earned through a variety of activities, some harder, some easier. The teachers would judge, in advance, the difficulty of each task and assign to it a greater or lesser number of difficulty points. Students would be allowed a degree of choice in developing their testing “program” and could boost their scores by choosing more difficult tasks. The model here: All divers in competitive diving must perform a series of required dives. In addition, they must select several from a menu of optional dives of varying difficulties. More-able students could be *required* to tackle the harder tasks; and to even things out, they might have some of their more difficult tasks graded on the usual scale. The transcript could reflect the fact that a lower grade might be a function of a higher degree of difficulty in work undertaken. (Such a plan also makes it more possible for teachers to do the “same” work with students in heterogeneous classes.)

Use a Multi-level, ‘Sliding’ Grading System

Imagine a three-level system that encourages the less able by initially rewarding effort and progress to a large extent. “Mastery” (judged as pure achievement) might count for only one-third of their grade at this first level; effort and progress over the course of the year would determine the other two-thirds. In the middle level, the ratio of mastery/effort/progress might be 50 percent/25 percent/25 percent; and in the third level, the grade might be 80 percent/10 percent/10 percent or higher, depending upon the course or the faculty’s standards. The students’ grades in the gradebook could be followed by a Roman numeral, indicating the level of the grading as a way to help colleges and employers read the transcript and judge students more fairly and effectively.

Teachers and departments could then devise tests and assignments that offered either different tasks for students on each level or judged the same tasks according to different criteria. And students could be given the option of choosing which level they want to be assessed on. (Central Park East is now using a teaching, testing, and grading system using two levels: “competent” and “advanced.” All syllabi lay out the performance standards for each level in every course.)

This is the opposite of tracking: Students are expected or explicitly required to move up. I call this the City Softball League grading plan: Let the "C" league students initially compete on a less-competitive level. But build in required movement upward to the next level: Once you have earned a certain GPA at a lower level—just as the top two teams in the "C" league must move up to the "B" league in the next year—you move up to the middle and top levels where more "objective" mastery is required. Perhaps by a certain time in one's career, one is moved up irrespective of preference or prior performance.

Give All Students the 'Same' Demanding Work But Set Different Expectations

A variant of the City Softball League model, I call this the "Tee-ball" approach to learning: just as pre-Little Leaguers now learn to play baseball by hitting off a batting tee (since good pitching overwhelms them), we could expose less-able students to the most difficult questions while not holding them to the highest standards of performance. This way they learn what "real" work is like while being treated fairly. Instead of falling further behind their more-able peers (and then typically being given the less-engaging coursework, Oakes 1985), all students would know the kind of work required of all serious students.

For example, younger or less-able students might be given a difficult essay assignment but be judged on fewer or less demanding criteria, such as "thoroughness of research" or "creative arguing." The operant metaphor: Provide slower students with training wheels; don't condemn them to unendingly ride a tricycle.

A simple example of how this can be done: Encourage or require all teachers to work from the AP or College Board "Green Book" course guidelines and tests regardless of the ability level of their students. Then, teachers would supply the necessary materials—for example, books on the same subject written at different grade levels—and grade students according to differentiated criteria based on a careful assessment of students' need and ability levels (with the understanding that the levels of difficulty might very well increase, as proposed in the above plans).

The implication of all of this is that we need to dramatically rethink what we mean by "fairness" to students. We do not ask 110-pound wrestlers to wrestle heavyweights; we do not allow Varsity teams to compete against JV teams unless we are assured of rough equality in ability or physical size; chess, bridge, tennis, and other individual sports use a ranking system to enable individuals to be matched fairly in competition. At the heart of these stipulations is the belief that improvement only occurs when competitors are matched fairly evenly, confronted with a clear, high standard, and surrounded by an ethic of excellence.¹⁶

Fair instruction and assessment designed to help the student make progress is an attempt to do two things: 1) ensure that *everyone* is learning to play the "same" game so that everyone can improve at it and 2) use an equitable judging system that will group players fairly, enabling them to gain from the kind of assessment and

The operant metaphor: Provide slower students with training wheels; don't condemn them to unendingly ride a tricycle.



competition that properly balances *challenge* and *possible success*.

THE GIVING of grades is the unrelenting, unpleasant but vital matter of employing standards. To be a professional is to share and uphold standards. But if grading is only a private affair, done for accountability, the opportunity to develop and apply these shared standards is lost. The dilemma is clear: Testing that serves learning as well as providing accountability requires a commitment to the time-consuming, argumentative process of agreeing on a set of standards. The temptation will therefore always exist to treat testing as separate from teaching—as something to be gotten over with as quickly and effortlessly as possible. But genuine learning results from self-correction. Education requires that feedback to students in the form of grades and comments be central to instruction.

While teachers themselves can do some things on

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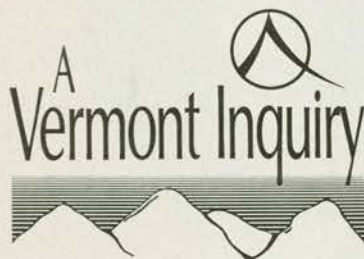


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their own to clarify their standards and improve their tests and scoring, a teacher's commitment to change is not enough. The typical organization and economics of schools inhibit any serious change in testing or grading policy. Few schools are set up to give teachers the time and assistance they need for careful, reliable assessment that motivates students. Grades usually come due the day after exams, and most teachers have 120 papers or more to grade. Most schools deny teachers the support staff and adequate free time necessary to develop more authentic tests or to provide the feedback that helps make such tests so worthwhile. Exam and grade reporting schedules thus tend to serve the needs of bureaucracy, not instruction.

When we make grading more central in our schools, it won't be just students who benefit. When we establish clear academic standards in our schools, we will be able to reclaim from outside test makers the job of setting standards and designing assessments. Doing so will take us several critical steps toward finally making teaching a legitimate profession. □

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