

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE MICHIGAN
FEDERATION OF TEACHERS: AN ANALYSIS
OF ACTIVITIES AND STRUCTURE

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
DAVID H. ROAT

1968

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

**Professionalisation and the Michigan Federation
of Teachers: An Analysis of Activities and
Structure**

presented by

David Harold Reat

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Education

Frank H. Blackington
Major professor

Date June 10, 1968

4007

~~100-80-21~~

234 JTK

RECEIVED

JUN 2 1995

ABSTRACT

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE MICHIGAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS: AN ANALYSIS OF ACTIVITIES AND STRUCTURE

by David H. Roat

The major purpose is to investigate and evaluate the activities of the Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT). Central to the evaluation is an attempt to assess the extent to which the MFT concerns itself with those issues central to the improvement of the teaching occupation.

In an attempt to establish those categories central to the improvement of occupations, teaching was examined from the perspective of occupational status. Three general criteria central to the ranking of occupational status, economic factors, prestige, and social power, were applied to teaching. It was concluded that prestige and income as status factors were closely related to an occupation's social power, and that teachers have failed to see occupational status as basically a power problem. Teachers have failed to organize politically to push for occupational authority, control of training, or increased compensation.

The professional model and the professionalization process were examined from a sociological perspective. Interpreted as a group effort to raise occupational status, the professional model was found to offer a program of

occupational organization that incorporated those criteria central to the improvement of occupational status.

Categories central to the analysis of professionalization in the MFT were formulated as follows. (1) Political agitation aimed at elimination of substandard certification, higher standards, and attempts to gain occupational control over certification. (2) Political agitation for higher accrediting standards and practitioner control of accrediting. (3) Agitation for teacher autonomy. (4) Political agitation for improving the welfare of teachers. (5) Support and initiation of programs designed to advance public education. (6) Efforts to establish a legally supported organizationally enforced ethical code.

The history of the MFT from 1934 to 1967 was examined, followed by an analysis of professionalization in the Federation.

The study concluded that the MFT is a professionalizing organization in the following areas. (1) The MFT record reveals an understanding of the use of political power as a means of achieving organizational goals. The Federation has approached teacher problems on a statewide basis, seeking legislation to enable the effective use of organizational power on the local level. (2) The MFT has systematically avoided programs that threaten teacher autonomy. It has displayed a legislative program aimed at extending and guaranteeing teacher autonomy. (3) The

MFT has pursued programs aimed at improving the present welfare and status of teaching as an occupation. (4) The MFT has used its energies to support programs aimed at improvement and reform of public education.

It was concluded that in the following areas the MFT has failed to display professionalization in its activities and structure. (1) The MFT, in spite of consistent efforts to maintain existing certification standards, has failed to display programs directed toward eventual occupational control over certification. (2) The MFT displays historically little concern for securing higher accrediting standards for training institutions or for the establishment of a practitioner controlled accrediting association.

(3) The MFT has directed little attention to the formation of a code of ethics. With the exception of its exclusion of administrators, there are no meaningful membership restrictions. Structurally, the MFT is organized too loosely to enforce policy decisions or discipline locals on issues central to any statewide power approach to teacher problems. (4) The MFT has failed to focus attention upon specific aspects of the service ideal as they relate to the individual client. The MFT provides few educational services and engages in no research geared to improving classroom operations where they directly affect the student.

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE MICHIGAN
FEDERATION OF TEACHERS: AN ANALYSIS
OF ACTIVITIES AND STRUCTURE

By

David H. Roat

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Secondary Education
and Curriculum

1968

G 50056
1/15/69

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sincere thanks are extended to Dr. Frank H. Blackington for his encouragement and thoughtful criticism, to Dr. Ann G. Olmsted, and to other members of the doctoral committee, Dr. J. Geoffrey Moore and Dr. Charles A. Blackman.

A special thanks to my patient wife, Shirley, and to my understanding parents, Jack and Anne Muir, who have made so many things possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	11
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER	6
Prestige as a Criterion of Occupational Status.	7
Income as a Criterion of Occupational Status.	18
Social Power as a Criterion of Occupational Status	21
Conclusion	33
III. PROFESSIONALIZATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHING.	36
The Professional Model	36
Professionalization	47
The Professional Model and the Teaching Occupation	52
Problems in Professionalization	62
Summary: Categories for the Evaluation of Professionalization in Teacher Organizations	71
IV. AN ANALYSIS OF PROFESSIONALIZATION IN THE MFT 1934-1967	76
Control of Entry	77
Teacher Autonomy	87
Teacher Welfare	112
The Service Ideal.	120
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	142
Suggestions for Further Study.	149
APPENDIX	151
BIBLIOGRAPHY	170

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education in the United States is largely a function of state and local government. This fact emphasizes the need for strong teacher organizations at the state and local level, associations responsive enough to be able to speak for teachers.

There is a surprising absence of studies on the structure and activities of state educational organizations. This is unfortunate as the importance of teacher action on the state level is likely to increase. There has been a definite trend in the direction of state rather than local determination of certification, minimum salaries, tenure, retirement, and all aspects of the educational enterprise. This transition means that strong state teacher organizations are more important than ever before. Lieberman noted that with the exception of two surveys conducted by the National Education Association in 1947-1948 and again in 1951-1952, studies of the operations and activities of state associations were scarce and out of date.

To this writer's knowledge, there has been no research done exclusively on state affiliates of the

American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Examinations of the AFT have centered upon the national organization almost exclusively, with little attention paid to state activities. Many of these investigations have been highly critical, condemning the AFT for too much attention to teacher welfare and the protection of incompetent teachers. Traditionally, the AFT has been criticized for its relationship with organized labor.¹

Teachers have refused to join the AFT and its affiliates for numerous reasons. It has been charged that as public employees, teachers should not affiliate with any segment of the population on the grounds that such affiliation would compromise teachers in their daily work. It is said that teachers cannot have it both ways. They cannot have professional status and the respect that goes with it, and at the same time demand the right to act like a union. The strike, associated with labor affiliation, has been deemed unprofessional by many educators who claim that the distinctive character of a profession is its primacy of concern with client welfare. The professional, it is claimed, cannot withhold his services without violating professional ethics and public trust.²

¹Myron Lieberman, Education as a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1956), p. 275.

²Paul Woodring, "The New York Teachers Strike," Saturday Review, May 19, 1962, p. 52; Margaret E. Jenkins, "American Teachers, Their Rights and Responsibilities," PTA, September, 1962, pp. 2-3.

It is the purpose of this study to investigate and evaluate the activities of one AFT state organization, The Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT). Hopefully, the results of this study will contribute to a broader understanding of union goals and activities. Central to the study will be an attempt to assess the extent to which the MFT has concerned itself with those issues central to the improvement of the occupation. Whether those anti-professional charges traditionally leveled against the AFT as a teachers' organization are valid on the state level, and whether they are valid at all, in fact, must necessarily play a part in this study. Hence, central to the investigation is the establishment of the criteria to be used in the evaluation.

In Chapter II, the concept of occupational status is examined. Few things are as important to a person as the status of his occupation. People tend to identify themselves according to their occupation, which has become the main basis for ascribing status to people. It has more and more come to be assumed that the occupational label is a fair index of ones' intelligence, ability, and acceptability. The influence of occupational status on practitioners of an occupation is both pervasive and fundamental, for it affects who will enter an occupation as well as what specializations they will seek. Through an investigation of the occupational status of teaching and those attributes which

determine and affect occupational status in general, the problems central to occupational advancement can be clarified. This is important, for the majority of teachers have ignored certain ideas and practices because they were supposedly associated with lower status occupations. This same majority has been guilty of accepting uncritically other practices because they have been associated with high status occupations. It becomes important to any evaluation of an occupational association that those factors which are, in fact, central to its improvement are clarified, examined, and utilized.³

The widespread attempts of groups, like teachers, to professionalize their occupation illustrates the importance of occupational status. The concern of the teaching occupation to professionalize itself may be regarded as a group effort to raise status. In Chapter III the concept of profession is examined. It is assumed that the professional model offers the best standard for the improvement of the teaching occupation and that the further professionalization of education would be desirable for public education as well. A model of the profession and the professionalization process, based upon sociological literature, is explicated. Those categories which ought to be of central concern to a professionalizing association are developed. These criteria will form the basis for the evaluation of

³Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 31.

the MFT. Also in Chapter III, those conditions in education and society in general which necessitate qualified application of the professionalization model in the evaluation of the MFT are noted.

In Chapter IV the categories of professionalization provide the basis for an analysis of MFT activities from 1934 to 1967.

In Chapter V the analysis of professionalization in the MFT is summarized and concluded.

CHAPTER II

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND THE PUBLIC
SCHOOL TEACHER

The studies of occupational status in the United States have been too meager to allow any broad generalizations about the occupational status of the public school teacher.¹ There is not only a lack of specific information on teaching, but also a lack of comparable information on other occupations. For these reasons the approach taken here cannot attempt to reach definite conclusions regarding the occupational status of the school teacher. An attempt will be made to examine public school teaching in terms of its relationship to a number of isolated key factors central to the determination of occupational status.

Teaching, like every occupational group, is concerned with improving its relative status. Through analysis of the present relation of teaching to the major status variables, it will be possible to establish those areas within the occupational structure of teaching which must be dealt with by organizations representing teachers if the general improvement of occupational status is to occur.

¹Ronald G. Corwin, A Sociology of Education (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), pp. 217-218.

Occupational status for the purpose of this investigation will be defined as the social location of an occupation within a system of human relationships. Gross distinguishes three criteria used to rank occupational status: economic factors, power, and prestige.²

For purposes of examination, these general criteria will be considered separately. However, it must be kept in mind that these criteria are closely inter-related. Economic position is often connected to power, and enough wealth may be able to buy prestige. As this brief examination will show, high rank in one area does not imply an equally high rank in another. Furthermore, there is no accepted technique for weighing these different components of occupational status. Thus there is much room for reasonable disagreement concerning the relative influence of the different factors that determine occupational status.

Prestige as a Criterion of Occupational Status

Prestige is a major component in the status accorded an occupation. Prestige is an attitudinal phenomenon, and has been defined as the ranking of an occupation in terms

²Edward Gross, Work and Society (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1958), pp. 99-101. The general framework for examining the occupational status of the teacher and the criteria used are based on categories explicated in Chapter Four, "The Occupational Status and Authority System." The differentiation follows that of Max Weber, and is used by Gross basically as suggested by S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix in "Social Status and Social Structure: A Re-Examination of Data and Interpretations: I." The British Journal of Sociology, II (1951), 150-168.

of the amount of deference and honor people in society accord to it.³ Key factors in the determination of occupational prestige include the non-occupational factors of kinship and family affiliation and ethnicity. Occupational factors include the industry in which the occupation is practiced, sex composition of the occupation, and occupational stereotypes.⁴

Non-occupational Factors

Ethnicity and race, while they confer status in their own right, are of greatest significance because they have the ability to depress other status determinants. Unless a man is white, his status is severely limited. Available research on the race composition of the public school teaching force does not seem to imply that the occupation as a whole suffers from over identification with a minority group. In 1960 only around 10 per cent of the total public school teaching force were non-white. While in the South 22 per cent of the public school teachers were non-white, elsewhere in the nation only four per cent were non-white.⁵

Kinship and family affiliation undoubtedly play a role in the over-all occupational status, for they may confer an increment of status in themselves. One is born with ancestors and with them accrue certain advantages or

³Gross, p. 102.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Myron Lieberman and Michael H. Moskow, Collective Negotiations for Teachers (Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1966), p. 23.

disadvantages and responsibilities. It is difficult to generalize from the studies that deal with social class origins of teachers, for such data is not extensive. Those studies that do exist deal with a given population of teachers and are not definitive. An analysis of social class origins of teachers in Detroit and Texas, for example, failed to provide any conclusive results. The occupational grouping of fathers of the teachers studied in Detroit revealed less than 40 per cent were in the professional and white collar group while slightly over 40 per cent were in the skilled and unskilled labor group. The Texas study found that teachers in that state came from predominantly middle and upper-middle class homes.⁶

Recent studies seem to indicate that teachers are coming more and more from lower income groups, though the proportion from unskilled laboring families is still below the proportion of such workers in the population.⁷

It cannot be inferred that teaching is a low status occupation merely because many teachers are from the lower and lower-middle classes. Although studies on social class in the United States vary in the number of social classes they posit and the criteria they use for

⁶Lindly J. Stiles, ed., The Teachers' Role in American Society (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 13-41.

⁷Martin Mayer, The Schools (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 19; Patricia Sexton, Education and Income (New York: The Viking Press, 1961), p. 229.

determining class position, they usually have a social class breakdown that puts the majority of the population in the lower classes. It follows that an occupational group as large as teachers would be forced to recruit some of its members from the lower classes. However, it is still difficult to reconcile the belief that public school teaching is a high prestige occupation with the almost complete absence of teachers from above the middle class in American society.⁸

Leading sociologists have concluded that teaching is viewed by many as a major avenue for social advancement, rising one out of the social class into which he was born. This conclusion is congruent with the Warner study, regarded as the most authoritative on status systems in the United States. In a study of three communities in various sections of the country, it was concluded that the majority of teachers were regarded as belonging to the middle class at the time they were teaching. The general pattern of results from this study support the thesis that teachers are recruited largely from the top of the lower half of the population (in terms of the social class hierarchy devised by the Warner group) and that teachers are frequently socially mobile individuals who have moved upward a notch in the status hierarchy.⁹

⁸Lieberman, pp. 465-466.

⁹W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 100.

The result seems to be that a great many of these socially mobile people who are attracted to teaching become confused as to whether others will react to them as members of the class from which they come or toward which they see themselves moving. This uncertainty is exhibited in a number of ways.

In terms of class orientation Sims has found that in certain vital matters teachers have a class outlook similar to that of upper income groups and quite unlike that of urban labor. A comparison of teachers' attitudes with those of other occupational groups reveals that teachers are 71 per cent "conservative." At the other extreme, only 4 per cent of teachers were found to have "radical" attitudes.¹⁰

This uncertainty concerning status is in part due to, and also contributes to the lack of any clear-cut theory of lay-professional relations as well as any consistent attitude toward intraoccupational relations. This situation has been used to explain in part the willingness of teachers to allow the community to define the role of the teacher.¹¹

¹⁰V. M. Sims, "Social Class Affiliation of a Group of Public School Teachers," School Review, September, 1951, p. 59.

¹¹Lieberman, pp. 467-469.

Occupational Factors

A significant occupational factor in the prestige of an occupation involves the industry in which the occupation is practiced. In England, high status has been attached to land ownership. Due to the supply of land in the United States, this has not been a factor. Rather prestige has been associated with involvement in heavy industries such as shipping, steel, railroads, and the great producing firms. There has been little prestige attached to contra-band activities or those associated with them such as brewing.¹²

Government service in the United States has traditionally lacked prestige. This is in part due to the Jeffersonian tradition which saw little or no special training or talent needed for government positions. Civil service employment in the United States compared to France or England, also lacks prestige.¹³

In general, there has been little status attached to intellectual and artistic pursuits in the United States.¹⁴ A number of explanations may be offered for this situation. In part it may be due to the egalitarian Jacksonian tradition, the materialistic interests of the country, and more recently the growing disillusionment of many with the braintrusters typically associated with the New Deal.

¹²Gross, p. 108.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

This fact can also be attributed in part to the lack of any common intellectual or artistic tradition in this country.

While there appears to be no research that would indicate that the prestige of teachers is definitely lowered by its being public in nature, it is worth noting that in general, public service does lack the prestige of private employment. The degree to which this condition is based upon the traditionally lower pay of public servants is also open to future questioning.

In 1965, women made up 65.5 per cent of the total teaching force.¹⁵ This fact is a major barrier to the prestige of the public school teaching occupation. Until there is a cultural revolution concerning the role of women in society or until male teachers become more numerous, the prestige of public school teaching will suffer.¹⁶

Caplow summarizes the general condition of occupations in which women dominate quite well. First, such an occupation is one in which employment is short term and in which the gain in skill through continuous experience is slight. Due to the attitudes which deny authority to women, such occupations are those which do not involve the subordination of men to women. It is also a

¹⁵Lieberman and Moskow, p. 24.

¹⁶Lieberman, p. 242.

characteristic of womens' occupations that they cannot be monopolized. Even if these occupations require substantial training, such as education, in the absence of qualified personnel, untrained people are substituted. Well organized occupations have been able to prevent the entry of women. Much of teachings' unorganizability is due to the majority of women who, because of their discontinuity of employment, their indifference or even open hostility to improved occupational standards, hinder the development of strong educational leadership. The fact that teaching in the public schools is regarded as a womans' occupation undoubtedly not only affects income level but also the social power associated with teaching.¹⁷

Another indicator of the general prestige of teaching is the stereotype offered in popular literature. While such examinations must be qualified, they do offer one measure of what people think about teachers. Studies conducted into the image of the teacher as presented in American literature and the Broadway theater do not present flattering portrayals. An analysis of the characterization of American teachers in Broadway plays, 1920-1950, found that 68 per cent of teachers were represented as maladjusted, 37 per cent as suffering financial problems and 33 per cent as sexually frustrated.¹⁸ Examinations of the

¹⁷Caplow, pp. 245-246.

¹⁸Michael Belok and Fred Dowling, "The Teacher Image and Teacher Shortage," Phi Delta Kappan, XLII (March, 1961), 255-256.

teacher image in American literature reveal similar results. Male teachers are seen as solitary, effeminate, and impractical. Women were seen as sexless. While teachers are often described as having admirable qualities of character or personality, they are pictured as passively resigned people, regarded with pity and/or condescension and ridicule.¹⁹ Even the most qualified generalizations from such studies point to the need for teacher organizations to direct their energies toward improvement of the mass media image of the teacher. Such stereotypes are difficult to reconcile with any favorable concept of teacher prestige.

Methodological Problems

While a poll can determine the rank prestige of an occupation in relation to others, there are numerous problems involved in the ranking of occupations. One is the great number of occupations. The Dictionary of Occupational Titles lists over 35,000. Attempts to solve this situation by grouping similar occupations is questionable in any investigation designed to rank all occupations. In addition, one is faced with the problem of how occupations ought to be grouped. Should teachers on all grade levels be classified together? Another problem is that paper and

¹⁹Edna Lue Furness, "The Image of the High School Teacher in American Literature," Educational Forum, XXIV (May, 1960), 457-464.

pencil answers may not correspond to peoples' actual behavior.

One of the problems, Lieberman concluded in his study of the various occupational scales, is the tendency of each occupational group to overrate its own status. Studies from selected social classes must also be viewed carefully, with care taken not to generalize more than the actual study population warrants. One research report, sampling the attitude of students toward teaching as a career for men, concluded that men teachers were associated with wisdom, intelligence, and cultural activities. In comparison to other occupations, teaching was seen to rank in many ways above engineering, sales managers, and personnel directors. Careful generalizations must be drawn from research such as exemplified by this study. It represents a highly selective sample and raises the issue of just how many of the students replied in a manner they felt they ought to have replied.²⁰

There is a great deal of inconsistency in the attitudes people have with respect to the status of teachers. Terrien found that over 95 per cent of respondents classified teaching as a profession. When these same subjects were asked where teaching ought to rank on a list of

²⁰ Donald D. O'Dowd and David C. Beardslee, "The Student Image of the School Teacher," Phi Delta Kappan, XLII (March, 1961), 250-254.

twelve vocations in terms of salary, less than 33 per cent chose the professional classification.²¹

Reviewing significant studies on the social status of teachers, Groff concluded that there was a great deal of difficulty fitting teachers into widely accepted social status scales. This fuzziness was attributed to the professional label. Teachers seem to be regarded as middle class professionals because of their training and widely verbalized commitment to social purpose, yet all ranked near the bottom of accepted professions in terms of prestige.²²

Apparently teaching, in terms of the prestige factor, ranks somewhere between the highest and lowest occupations.²³ Major drawbacks to prestige center upon the abnormally high percentage of women who make up the teaching force, and the fact that teaching appears to attract a great many people who enter the occupation as a means of movement into the middle class. Both of these factors are unlikely to change until the occupation itself is able to exert some measure of control over entry into teaching.

²¹Frederic W. Terrien, "Who Thinks What About Educators," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (September, 1953), 115.

²²Patrick J. Groff, "The Social Status of Teachers," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVI (September, 1962), 20-25.

²³National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, IX (September 1, 1947), 3-13.

Income as a Criterion of
Occupational Status

Economic factors are a major category in the determination of occupational status. Whether one is employed or owns his own business as well as the source and size of income are all important factors. Generally speaking, the greater the wealth associated with an occupation the higher its status. Income is of added significance in that money can be converted into prestige and power.

Ideally it would be desirable to compare the economic status of the teaching occupation with other occupational groups. This, however, is not possible due either to the lack of data on certain aspects of teacher welfare or the lack of data from comparable time periods. This same problem exists for data on other occupational groups. Because of this factor, the discussion will focus on teacher compensation and problems associated with income advancement.

From a salary standpoint, teachers have increased their relative economic status in the 1960's. Instructional salaries since 1958 have increased slightly faster than the national average for all employed persons in the United States.²⁴

²⁴Research Division, National Education Association, Economic Status of Teachers in 1964-1965 (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1965).

However, as salary levels rise in teaching, so does resistance to poor teachers, across the board raises, and tenure. The public cannot see any relationship between tenure and child welfare. Rather they view tenure as a move to provide security, not improved or more effective teaching. This results in an increasing unwillingness to pay teachers.²⁵

Tales of inadequate teaching have resulted in demands that something be done to discriminate among teachers. Most groups, including teachers, argue that superior teaching ought to be rewarded and lament the fact that the only route for a teacher to improve financially in education is to go into administration. The issue of merit pay, however, is a confused one.²⁶

A major problem is the inability to define what good teaching is; a second problem concerns the issue of who will do the evaluating. Teachers are opposed to being evaluated by administrators, who they claim would tend to keep merit advances at a minimum in order to save the school district money. In addition, teachers claim across the board raises are the only way of achieving tax funds for salaries and that tenure is essential to good teaching.

²⁵James M. Cass, "How Citizens Look at Teacher Tenure," School and Society, LXXXVIII (October 8, 1960), 347.

²⁶Jean Dresden Grambs, Schools, Scholars and Society, Foundations of Education Series (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 151-152.

In spite of these problems, and the fact that many people are willing to become teachers even when they could make more money in another occupation, it must be recognized that in a society which places a high value on monetary rewards teaching cannot become a high occupation while financial rewards are low. An automotive worker who can afford a better home, auto, and clothes is not likely to accord a higher status to teachers than to auto workers.

The fact that many teachers engage in "moonlighting" by accepting employment in low status occupations also helps lower the status of teachers as a group.

Relative to the amount of training required, the standard of living which teaching provides still remains low. For seventeen occupations which required a bachelors' degree or higher for admission to practice, the average earnings in 1958 were \$8,516.00 for those with four years of college. For all public school teachers with four years of college the average earnings were \$3,827.00.²⁷

Many believe that teachers will get higher salaries if they first raise their status. While status and compensation are interdependent to some extent, higher status usually follows rather than precedes higher compensation.²⁸

²⁷T. M. Stinnett, The Profession of Teaching, The Library of Education (Washington, D. C.: The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1962), pp. 56-57.

²⁸Lieberman, p. 470.

Occupational pay is frequently a power phenomenon. This power expresses itself in various ways. A service in high demand or one that has an emergency character to it is in a position to demand more money than those whose services can be postponed. The power of a practitioner to control his income depends on the rarity of the service and his market position. These factors are affected by the nature of the training period as well as the degree of control over entry the occupation has.

A major cause for the differences in income that teachers often fail to recognize is that society, like any person in it, will pay as little for an activity or service as possible. Therefore the reward for an occupation depends, at least in part, on what society can be required to pay. It is for this reason that pay is frequently a power phenomenon.²⁹ Improvement of teacher status by raising compensation can be accomplished only if teachers focus more of their energies on this issue from a broad occupation-wide approach.

Social Power as a Criterion of Occupational Status

The third general criterion of social status is social power. In a broad sense, power refers to the ability to control behavior. High status occupations are those whose practitioners control the behavior of others,

²⁹Gross, p. 121.

low status occupations are those whose practitioners are controlled more by others. More specifically, occupational power refers to the organized and sustained social influence or control exerted by groups or occupations on the actions of others in such a way that they are capable of making the decisions and actions of others different from what they would have been without the intervention of the power holders.³⁰

Four specific occupational status factors are related to the criterion of power: authority of the occupation, the amount or length of training involved in preparing for occupational practice, the nature of the knowledge which the occupation manages, and the amount of freedom granted in the practice of the occupation.

Occupational Authority

Because in general status rank is related to power, those occupations which give the member a legitimate right to exercise power tend to have high status. When a person's power is institutionally recognized, when the legitimacy of his exercise of power is acknowledged by those whom the power-holder influences, we speak of authority.³¹

Although authority and rank are clearly related, it is difficult to measure the relationship. To some extent

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

the number of persons controlled is a crude measure, however, this device breaks down at a number of points, particularly in the case of teachers. While teachers control a great many people, those people (students) do not themselves hold an influential place in the society. Thus the administrator, who controls teachers, is seen as having greater status in part because of his authority over adults.

It must be emphasized that it is institutionalized power (authority) which is a status factor, not sheer power or force. Probably one reason why labor leaders are not accorded greater prestige by the larger society is because to many their power is not recognized as legitimate. Teachers face a similar problem. Not only does the larger society question their right to certain powers, but teachers themselves doubt the legitimacy of exercising greater control over educational matters.

Many educators are of the opinion that because teaching is a public occupation, educators should not control school boards. Because everyone is concerned and affected by the public schools, everyone should have a voice. Thus school boards, which control local education, ought to represent the public, not teachers. Because the teacher is a public employee, local selection of texts, marking systems, and curriculum are also justified.

One indicator of the failure of teachers to collectively push for greater control of educational decisions and recognition of the legitimacy of such rights by the public is administrator and teacher concern for public relations. The unwillingness to make changes until public approval is secured undermines the chance for the growth of educational leadership and the expansion of occupational authority. Constant deference to the public implies that the public ought to decide issues. When lay groups determine matters of central occupational concern it is only a matter of time before major educational blunders are made.³²

This situation is in part responsible for the fact that teachers are looked on by the public as strictly local employees, living off local tax payers. Many teachers as well as the public seem committed to the proposition that in educational matters, one man's opinion is as good as another's. Parental interference in the classroom and legislative decisions on education made without consulting educators are regarded as legitimate by both teachers and public alike.³³

³²Lieberman, Education as a Profession. In Chapter Four, pp. 56-75, "Public and Professional Decisions," the author documents the tendency of schools of education, as well as teachers and administrators, to defer to the public in educational matters.

³³P. D. Darland, "Teacher as an Expert: Establishing the Image," Journal of Secondary Education, XXXVII (November, 1962), 434-440.

The fact that teachers are publically employed should not be a major factor in the control of essentially occupational decisions. Lieberman argues that because teachers are publically employed ought to make the public more concerned with making sure they are getting the full benefit of the teachers' skills.³⁴

Kind and Amount of Preparation

The confusion over authority of the teacher has direct bearing on the three other factors in the determination of occupational social power. The amount of preparation demanded by an occupation becomes an increasingly important factor in occupational status as business and education both become more bureaucratized. Occupations in a position to control entry through an increase in the amount and kind of training can keep the prestige and power of the occupation high by attempting to monopolize the service it provides. When the numbers who supply a service are kept low, their economic position is also likely to rise.

The teacher used to be one of the few educated people in the community. The rise of the general educational level in the country as well as the increase in specialists has hurt the teachers' status. There is also evidence to indicate that teachers are losing much of their function

³⁴Lieberman, p. 110.

to the mass media which often assumes the position of expertise in dealing with social problems.³⁵

The distinctiveness of school teaching has also been depressed by the influx of teachers into public school teaching. The number of teachers has increased four times faster than the general population and the increase in demand has in part been responsible for restraining pressures for higher entrance standards. Partly as a result of the relative ease of achieving certification, one of three trained to teach never does and only two in five trained to teach are teaching at one time. Because of the turnover, the ten year cost of teacher training is equal to the ten year cost of medical education.³⁶

Recruiting more teachers may not be the answer to the teacher shortage. It obviously will not increase the authority of the occupation. More specifically, under the present conditions, it will not improve public regard for the preparation teachers undergo. The present image of teacher preparation is a direct factor in the social power associated with teaching.

There is much public confusion over the teaching act. Is the ability to teach something one is born with or is it learned? Is it an act which requires certain inherent attributes or a skill which must be studied and whose

³⁵Corwin, pp. 225-226.

³⁶Ibid., p. 237.

operations are subject to experimental verification?
 Part of the controversy over teacher education is a result of the fact that teaching is connected with those things that the public fears: the space race, the lack of trained scientists, drop outs and social unrest to name but a few. Lacking a method for analyzing the causes for the failure of schools, teacher preparation is blamed.

Nature of Occupational Knowledge
Managed

Closely tied to the amount of preparation and equally important among those factors affecting the social power of an occupation is the kind of knowledge associated with it. The greater the extent to which an occupation involves the organization, intermediation, and management of symbols as opposed to people or things, the greater the status and authority of the occupation is likely to be.³⁷

Because it is often accepted that everyone ought to have a say in running the schools, and because of the backwardness of educational science, lay interference in educational matters and disregard for educational theory undermines both the status of teacher preparation and the symbolic value of that preparation. While teaching is regarded as indispensable it would be difficult to find a university where the school of education was given priority over other professional schools.

³⁷Gross, p. 126.

There is little support given to the idea that there is enough knowledge in education to make what the teacher knows a major advance over lay judgment. One danger of such a condition in a relatively undeveloped profession is the blind acceptance by practitioners of a low level of technique. Fearing attack and criticism from lay agencies, there develops a tendency to rely on routine and conservative procedures. Lay interference poses a major block to experiment and the improvement of existing practices.³⁸

Recent attacks by conservative critics such as Max Rafferty, Admiral Rickover, and James Koerner, picture educators as poorly educated, rather stupid, power hungry radicals, more interested in keeping their job secure than making education significant. Researchers in the allied fields of psychology, anthropology, and sociology claim educators ought to make use of their findings yet seldom are they willing to work with schools.

A widely respected critic of public education, Robert Maynard Hutchins, has held that all there is to teaching can be learned through a good liberal education and a practical teaching experience. Thus teachers cannot claim any expertise, as their education is or ought to be merely the same as anyone ought to have.³⁹

³⁸Lieberman, p. 113.

³⁹Robert Maynard Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 56.

The attacks on teacher education are advanced on several fronts. Many critics demand more courses in general education for the prospective teacher. It is charged that too little work is done in major fields of preparation. The claim is made that there is too much work done in "Education." Methods courses are criticised as lacking intellectual content and student teaching as an attempt to judge the competency of the prospective teacher, is branded as a failure.

From the educators' standpoint, a major study of existing teacher preparation programs has revealed that a prospective teacher averages around 45 semester hours in general education, 25 to 43 hours in his major field of study, and only 23 to 34 hours in professional education courses.⁴⁰ In addition, general education requirements in most professional schools are moving away from specialized pre-professional courses. The major reason seems to be inability among proponents of general education to agree on what it is and what content is essential to achieve it.⁴¹

If the charge that education courses lack intellectual content were true, it can still be argued that they form a part of teacher preparation which still ought to be provided. Often critics fail to distinguish between general methods, which are intellectually oriented, and techniques

⁴⁰Stinnett, p. 207.

⁴¹Lieberman, p. 189.

or particularized "tricks of the trade." While many programs of practice teaching deserve criticism, it seems unrealistic to argue that the concept of a student teaching experience is itself useless.

It is true that the content of teacher preparation courses is varied and lacks a unified theme as subject core. What is often overlooked is the fact that this problem can largely be attributed to the underdeveloped state of the social sciences, which provide limited basis for the building of educational theory and knowledge.

The problems of power and authority in the occupation are further illustrated by the certification controversy. There exist no state wide, let alone nationally, recognized means of certifying teachers. A teacher must only graduate from an accredited teacher education program or have passed certain academic and professional courses. The problem centers around the issues as to what constitutes the proper training for teaching and how we can assess competence for teaching. In spite of these problems, it is difficult to expect the American people to regard teaching as a high-status occupation when teachers have stood so long for certification requirements which are so little above the lay levels of education.

Attempts at unifying accrediting standards, undertaken by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education as a means of upgrading teacher

education, have been beset by charges from academics and the public that they are under represented.

Critics also claim that demands or efforts made in the name of occupational autonomy are really a cloak for private gain. If control of entry were left to educators, charge the critics, all but a few would be excluded so that a selected few could reap financial rewards. Power is not used to maintain high standards for quality teachers but only for interests of the establishment which the critics charge is committed to low intellectual standards. Enormous power is attributed to the interlocking professional education agencies, the National Education Association, United States Office of Education, and various accrediting agencies and schools of education. These groups, it is claimed, exclude the academic community, lay public, and anyone outside the educationalist fraternity from their rightful voice.⁴²

Occupational Freedom

The extent to which an occupation offers the practitioner an opportunity to dispose of his time as he sees fit is directly related to the prestige and social power of an occupation. Freedom is a direct factor in occupational status. The more an individual is tied to a job by

⁴²James D. Koerner, "Teachers Get the Worst Education," Saturday Evening Post, June 1, 1963, pp. 8-10. Russell Kirk, education editor for the National Review, frequently takes this line in discussing public education.

given hours and the greater the standardization of work, the lower the status of an occupation is likely to be.⁴³ This factor goes a long way in explaining the status attached to owning one's own business and also much of the status attached to the college professor.

The freedom allowed and accorded teachers is directly related to their lack of ability (power) to control the occupation. This situation has grown more acute in recent years as increased enrollments and bureaucratization have resulted in mass produced education which severely limits the ability of teachers as individuals to shape and control their work environment. Increasing demands on the schools for more and more services such as sex education and vocational education, tied to an increasing detachment of the teacher from the community in which he teaches, largely as a result of increased mobility, has resulted in teacher alienation.⁴⁴ As despair grows over these conditions, so does awareness and anger that the public is unwilling to grant the authority and funds necessary to allow teachers to accept responsibility for the outcome of public education. This situation also helps explain the increased militancy displayed by teachers in recent years.

⁴³Gross, p. 123.

⁴⁴James Cass and Max Birnbaum, "What Makes Teachers Militant," Saturday Review, January, 1968, pp. 54-56.

Conclusion

Power supports the fundamental social order and the social organization within it. Power stands behind every association and sustains its structure. There is no organization or no order without social power.⁴⁵

Prestige and income, as status factors are closely related to and determined by the amount of power an occupation exerts. As noted, the prestige of teaching suffers from an over-identification with women practitioners. The reasons that stimulate entry to the occupation further limit its esteem. The income associated with teaching also detracts from it being accorded superior status in a materialistically oriented society.

The discussion of occupational authority pointed out the unwillingness of teachers generally to push for greater authority due to a number of conceptions concerning public education. At the same time, it was shown that teaching is in a confused state in terms of those occupational conditions usually associated with the advancement of occupational authority. Teacher preparation is not sufficient in length nor distinctiveness to be granted public respect. The type of knowledge associated with education is publically criticised by teacher and layman alike. Much of this confusion stems from the lack of

⁴⁵Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," American Sociological Review, XV (December, 1950), 735.

unified standards concerning certification and/or accreditation. Finally, teachers as a group lack the responsibility and freedom in their practice associated with occupations of authority and high status.

Teachers have traditionally, as a group, generally assumed that status was something to be earned through social service. Pressure and the use of social power have usually been regarded as not applicable in public education. An analysis of occupational status reveals much of this argument to be unrealistic.

Income is a status factor, and status normally follows higher compensation.⁴⁶ The number and type of persons associated with an occupation also affects income. Teaching, however, is not likely to attract higher quality personnel as long as teaching standards are low and confused. Furthermore there is unlikely to be any increase in educational standards as long as the public controls teacher training institutions and is granted by educators a legitimate right to a majority voice in on-the-job decisions.

Any meaningful improvement in the occupational status of teaching requires the utilization of political power by teacher organizations. Such power must be directed to improving the length and kind of occupational training, the

⁴⁶Lieberman, p. 470.

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

income accorded teachers, and the responsibility and freedom of the individual teacher in actual teaching and educational decisions.

The drive for professional status by the teaching occupation may be interpreted as a group effort to improve occupational status. The professional model incorporates those occupational concerns concluded to be central to the improvement of the occupational status of teaching. Just as many educators have failed to realize the crucial role of power in occupational status, so have they often failed to fully comprehend the full implications of professionalization for teaching. In Chapter III profession and the professionalization process are examined in terms of their relevance for teaching.

CHAPTER III

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHING

The Professional Model

To most sociologists, the concept profession refers to the descriptive attributes of a model of occupational organization. In this context, a number of ideal characteristics are identified with the professional model.

Professional Knowledge

Professions are those vocations which have gained a legal monopoly over the application of knowledge to the solution of social problems. Professions are generally regarded as possessing a high degree of general and systematic knowledge. Skill alone does not encompass the type of knowledge attributed to the professions, for many occupations involve high level skills. Professional skills follow from knowledge that has been organized into and derives from a body of theory. From certain abstract propositions the professions derive the general terms and classes which comprise its focus of concern. Theory provides the base from which the practitioner rationalizes his actions in specific situations.

Preparation for the profession involves considerable theoretical training, unlike non-professional occupations. Because professional training is intellectual as well as practical, it involves a long period of formal education, usually achieved in an academic setting, in association with a university.

Because of the orientation of professions, there is a great deal of concern for theory construction through research built around service related problems. This emphasis upon research and a scientific approach identifies the professions with rationality as opposed to tradition. This critical attitude encouraged by professions results in an intellectually stimulating milieu generally absent in non-professional occupations.¹

Extensive education in the systematic theory of a discipline gives to the profession a knowledge of which the general public is relatively ignorant. This ignorance on the part of the public results in the unique authority of the professions. The highly technical and intellectual base of professional knowledge does not allow the practitioner or client to view the professional service as a business proposition. The client has neither the theoretical knowledge to appraise his needs nor those alternatives which would best meet them. The professional dictates what

¹Ernest Greenwood, "The Elements of Professionalization," in Professionalization, ed. by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 9-19.

is good and bad, and the client has no choice but to accede to that judgment. It is because of this client subordination to professional judgment and the unique knowledge monopoly of the professional that the professions do not advertise. To do so would imply that the public is capable of evaluating professional competence.

A profession strives to convince the community to sanction its authority within certain areas, and to confer upon it a number of powers and privileges. Collectively the professions presume to tell society what is good or right in some aspect of life. Medicine, for example, defines not only medical practice but also health and disease. Professions are granted a mandate to define what is the proper conduct of others toward their work, and a license to carry out activities which others may not. Implied in this relationship is a moral mandate which allows the professions to deviate from social norms as found, for example, in the right to privileged communication granted some professions in client relations.²

The professions are granted immunity from community evaluations of their technical skill also. It is difficult to define success or failure in the professionals' work. The colleague group believes it alone understands technical

²Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958), pp. 78-79.

contingencies and that it alone should have the right to say when a mistake has been made.

Community acceptance of professional authority is an important aspect of the professions. If an occupation does not achieve this sanction, strictest adherence to the characteristics of the professional model will not bring about professional status.

Professional Controls

The broad community sanction granted the professions results in a second major characteristic of professional occupations. A profession has legal control over membership, including control of the licensing standards, and a code of ethics sanctioned by law.

The profession gains control over its training usually by establishing an accrediting association. Through this procedure the profession can regulate the curriculum. The profession acquires control over admission into the profession by convincing the public that no one be allowed professional recognition who has not been graduated from an accredited institution. The profession also persuades the community to institute a licensing system in its behalf for screening those qualified to practice the professional skill. An examination before a board of inquiry made up of professional people may be an additional requirement. Licensing systems have the support of police power and legal punishment follows for those who

practice without a license. While many non-professional occupations involve licensing, punishment for imposters is less severe than for similar violations in professional occupations.

The monopoly enjoyed by the professions, if unregulated, could lead to abuse. Charges for services rendered could be set too high, undue restriction of entry could create a scarcity. If abuse were frequent, the public would undoubtedly revoke the profession's monopoly. The successful claim to professional status is not solely governed by exclusive claims to particular technical and intellectual skills. The professional's model is distinguished by adherence to a set of moral norms. Not only do these norms dictate that the practitioner do high quality work but that he adhere to a service ideal. Devotion to the client's welfare rather than profit guide the professional's decisions. The norm of selflessness is probably acted upon in the professions more than in other occupations. Part of this may be the result of a self-selective system. Because the belief that professions offer opportunity for service is widespread, they undoubtedly attract service motivated people. In addition, because the client is particularly vulnerable, if he did not believe that the service ideal were operative he would be forced to approach the professional as he would a businessman, demanding certain services and results. It is the service

ideal which forms the basis for the moral claim to professional status.³

Almost every profession has an ethical code which compels ethical behavior on the part of its members. The formal code is written and usually administered at the time of admission to practice. It is through the ethical code that the profession's commitment to service becomes public and confidence of the community is maintained. Formal professional associations are responsible for enforcing the standards embodied in the code. While self-regulative codes are typical in many occupations, the professional code is usually more explicit, clarified of ambiguity, and more public service oriented.⁴

While ethical codes vary among the professions, there are certain essentials which are common. These common components are organized in terms of client-professional and colleague-colleague relations. These characteristics are identified with the concept professionalism, which refers to the ideology associated with the professions and with those occupations whose members aspire to professional status.⁵

³Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (September, 1964), 140.

⁴Greenwood, p. 15.

⁵Vollmer and Mills, p. viii.

With reference to client relations, the standards and guides that make up professional ethical codes stress the importance of impersonal relations. The practitioner is to deal with the client only in terms of his range of competence as a professional. Closely associated with this standard is the concept of emotional neutrality. Personal relations are appropriate only outside professional-client relations. Service must be provided when needed irrespective of socio-economic or racial factors. The professional must be prepared to render quality service to anyone at anytime. Underlying these standards is the ideal of service to the public, bolstered by a belief in the indispensability of the occupation and a conviction that the work done benefits both the public and the practitioner.⁶

Underlying the norms governing colleguel relationships is the conviction that the practitioner must do what he can to maintain professional standards of work. This involves honoring the technical competence of all formally qualified colleagues and avoiding public criticism of colleagues. Implied also is the need to avoid too much or too little work if it lowers standards. There is great stress placed on recognizing the limited competence of one's own speciality and the necessity of honoring the claims of other specialities through referral. All of

⁶Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Free Press, 1958), pp. 283-332.

these standards are essential to the maintenance of the technical service ideal.⁷

In addition to those characteristics of professional codes, there are major attitudinal components associated with the professions. The professional organizations and associations and informal collegueal groupings form the major reference groups for the professional. It is here that the practitioner looks for professional ideas and evaluations of his work. This attitude is closely tied to the belief of the professional in self-regulation; that the persons best qualified to pass judgment on his work are colleagues.

Professional and professional aspiring groups have a strong commitment to the idea of autonomy and the conviction that practitioners ought to be able to make their own decisions without external pressures from clients, non-members of the profession, or employing organizations. Professionals tend to view their work as a calling, one which they would continue to follow even if there were fewer extrinsic rewards available.⁸

The role of professional associations in maintaining and promoting essential professional characteristics cannot be over stressed. The high prestige attached to professions

⁷Wilensky, p. 141.

⁸Richard H. Hall, "The Components of Professionalization" (unpublished paper), pp. 4-5.

is essentially the result of two factors. One is the level of public confidence in the technical competence and good faith of the professional occupation. This is primarily a result of the fact that secondly, nearly all functions have been drawn into a system of interlocking institutions over which the occupation has a large measure of effective control.⁹

A professional organization differs in ideal type from a trade union in that it is not so much an interest group as it is an agency for facilitating the development of its professional field, serving as the guardian of technical and ethical standards of its personnel. The criteria for membership to professional associations constitute an important symbol of the respect awarded to it.¹⁰

To a large extent, what determines whether a person will conduct himself in a professional manner or not is whether the occupational group is organized to insure a high level of service regardless of the individual motivations for entering the occupation or rendering service. Professional associations have the mechanisms for enforcing ethical and high quality service.¹¹

The entire recruiting process for professional occupations is controlled by the professional group.

⁹Hughes, p. 72.

¹⁰Talcott Parsons, "Some Problems Confronting Sociology As a Profession," American Sociological Review, XXIV (August, 1959), 558.

¹¹Lieberman, pp. 221-222.

This is an essential factor in the strength of the profession, for the ability of an occupation to control recruitment plays a large part in determining occupational rewards and eventually, occupational status. Most occupations have little control over who enters into practice.¹²

Evaluation of the practitioner's merit is controlled by colleagues. This is accomplished informally through consultations and referrals. Formally, merit is rewarded through the various complex of professional associations by means of honorific titles, memberships in institutes, or formal elective offices. While the professional is rewarded on the basis of skill and personality factors, it is assumed that all practitioners are qualified and non-interchangeable. A professional's work is regarded as distinctly individual, a product or creation of his unique personality. Salary is viewed as intended to provide subsistence, and is generally regarded as unrelated to the value of the work which is being performed.¹³

Seniority as well is controlled by formal and informal actions of colleagues through professional associations. This is largely in the hands of senior colleagues who control the distribution of prestige tokens. A major reason why there is a small drop out factor in the professions is the fact that strong associations are able to

¹²Caplow, pp. 102-106.

¹³Ibid., p. 110.

secure advantages for their members in an orderly fashion, thus making the practitioner less willing to change occupations.¹⁴

The unique nature of occupational controls exerted through professional associations work in several ways to produce rather amazing adherence among practitioners to professional norms and roles. Because of the long period of training there is a great deal of rule internalization, to the extent that rules usually become habit. This results in greater self-identification with the occupational group, since rules cease to be seen as imposed from the outside and instead are regarded as representing the individual's own motives. The greater the individual identifies with the agency which imposes rules, the less his resistance to them. In the professions, this identification is almost complete.¹⁵

The professional form of control has another advantage. The rules which are applied are uniform and relatively unchanging. This condition results in less resistance from practitioners who see the authority as impersonal. Another factor contributing to easier observance is the wide range of applicability. Since the agencies which control professional behavior are unified, it is easier for practitioners to follow the rules than in

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 107-109.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 120.

other occupations where outsiders exert control or even the controlling influence on behavior.

The monopoly granted the professions and the form of integrated control exerted by occupational associations results in a sense of community among practitioners. The sense of identity which socialization into the occupation provides also helps bind the members together. There is a strong agreement among members on role definitions and major values. Within the area of communal action there exists a common language only partially understood by the outsider. The community has relatively full power over its members and limits are reasonably clear. Finally, the members themselves produce the next generation in the sense that they select, train, and send recruits through the socialization process.¹⁶

Professionalization

Sociologists regard the term profession as an ideal type of occupational organization which does not exist in reality but which provides a model of the form of occupational organization that would result if an occupational group became completely professionalized.¹⁷

A fruitful approach for sociologists, and educators, is to attempt to understand the circumstances in which the

¹⁶William J. Goode, "Community Within a Community: The Professions," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 194.

¹⁷Vollmer and Mills, pp. vii-viii.

people of an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people. What are the steps by which they attempt to bring about identification with the value model? As an activity approaches professional status there are important internal structural changes and changes in the practitioner's relation to the larger society. This dynamic process whereby occupations change in certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a profession is professionalization.¹⁸

There are two components involved in the movement toward the model of profession. One is attitudinal. This involves a movement among members of an occupation toward the values or ideology associated with professionalism. The second component is structural, and refers to the efforts of occupations to exclude the unqualified, gain a legal right to monopoly, and enforce and define proper rules of professional conduct.

In a descriptive sense, movement toward the attributes which comprise the professional model are judged to be professionalizing in nature. A question which has been raised by sociologists is whether there is an invariant progression of events along which those occupations which are generally regarded as most professional have traveled. Harold Wilensky, in an extensive study of the structural history of eighteen occupations, concluded that there is

¹⁸Ibid.

a typical sequence of events in the professionalization process.¹⁹

The first step is the creation of a full time occupation. This involves the performance of functions which may have been previously performed as well as new functions which can be viewed as evolving from the wider social needs. While hospitals have always been managed, it was the development of the modern hospital which created hospital administration as an occupation.²⁰

The second step is the establishment of a training school. If the training schools do not begin with universities, they eventually seek contact. There is a steady push for the development of a standardized course of study, academic degrees and research programs to broaden the knowledge base. Higher standards, longer training, and more expense result in earlier commitment from recruits. Of the six established professions studied, Wilensky found that university training schools preceeded the appearance of national professional associations. It was the training schools, through their efforts at linking knowledge to practice, providing the rationale for exclusive jurisdiction, that usually promoted effective professional associations.²¹

¹⁹Wilensky, p. 142.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 144.

The third step is the foundation of a professional association. The foundation of the association is often accompanied by a change in the occupational title in order to reduce identification with a less professional occupation. Professional associations engage in redefining the occupations functions upward, passing on their less technical and less rewarding tasks to aids or assistants. Attempts at redefining the area of competence also result in gradual restriction of entry to those who are willing to go through the prescribed training.²²

Often a conflict develops between the home guard, who have gone through less professional training, and those committed to the new training and a more cosmopolitan view of professional work. Those with the strongest professional dedication tend to be the most mobile, willing to go wherever working conditions are best.²³

External conflict also develops as competition with neighboring occupations for exclusive competence grows. This is a particular problem in human-relations fields, like teaching, when only tenuous claims to exclusiveness are possible. This is due to the relatively underdeveloped sciences and also to the fact that since the problems dealt with are part of everyday living, the general public does not recognize the need for special competence.²⁴

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 145.

²⁴Ibid.

There is persistent political agitation from the professional association in the form of attempts to secure licensing laws and protection from competing occupations. When the area of competence is not clear, legal protection of the title is sought. Where definition of the area of competence is clear, performance of the act by someone outside the group is made a crime.²⁵

Fifth, and finally, formation of a code of ethics takes place in an attempt to formalize rules regarding the unqualified, the unscrupulous, rules to emphasize the service ideal, and rules to protect clients. This development usually occurs at the end of the professionalization process.²⁶

This formulation of the professionalization process is similar to Caplow's who alters the sequence to some extent. He suggests the formation of a professional association occurs first, then a change of occupational title, the development of a code of ethics, and finally the development of training facilities.²⁷ Wilensky's study seems to have more evidence to support it. Both formulations, however, seem to capture the essentials of the professionalization process as far as structural characteristics are concerned.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Theodore Caplow, "Sequential Steps in Professionalization," in Vollmer and Mills, eds., Professionalization, pp. 20-21.

The Professional Model and the
Teaching Occupation

The Knowledge Issue

An important characteristic which is implied by these formulations is the presence of a body of knowledge from which the practitioner can rationalize his work. This body of knowledge is both abstract and theoretical and unavailable to the lay population. In light of the professional model, it is impossible to deny the crucial importance of a complex knowledge base to the professionalization process. It is beyond the scope of this study to delve into the issues involved in whether there is a body of knowledge unique to education. It has been noted that much of the confusion in educational authority is due to the unwillingness of the lay public to recognize teaching as a field involving any specialized knowledge.

The position taken in this study is that while educators may lack the knowledge base available to the doctor or engineer, the skills and knowledge available do represent a major advance over lay levels of judgment. The present situation places certification of teachers in the hands of the state, allowing teachers themselves no corporate responsibility for their competence or professional commitment. Not only must teachers follow state dictates in occupational matters, they are also closely supervised by local lay boards of education in their work

environment. Often their professional responsibility to students conflicts with lay determination of educational policies. Nowhere is freedom of experiment more necessary or freedom from outside authority more essential than in the teacher's determination of his professional duty.²⁸

Pragmatically speaking, to deny recognition of the teacher's skills and knowledge lowers the quality of education. One result of the present situation is that it has the tendency of frightening the educator into blind acceptance of low levels of technique. Fearing lay evaluation and criticism, there is an unwillingness to engage in experimentation even when current practices are recognized as inefficient. Despite disagreements over the nature of the teachers' expert authority, there are certain things that we can definitely say should be decided by educators if they are professional, and thus certain structural conditions in the occupation which occupational association should address itself to if it is to be judged a professionalizing organization.²⁹

Social Power

It was concluded in the Chapter I discussion of Occupational status that the major factor in the status of occupations revolved around the criterion of social

²⁸A. M. Carr-Sanders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 478-480.

²⁹Lieberman, pp. 91-113.

power. The length and kind of training as well as on the job freedom were seen as crucial variables in the amount of authority associated with a given occupation.

Teachers have been unwilling to exert political pressure in part because of a misconception of the basis of occupational status, in part because teachers cannot themselves agree on what power they ought legitimately be granted by the larger society. This deference to lay decision making has seemed to promote the myth that teaching is something about which everyone knows. Teacher and lay confusion over the act of teaching have carried over into teacher preparation. There is little respect for the knowledge with which teaching deals, and little prestige attached to teacher training. Education courses and colleges are attacked while low standards allow more people to qualify for teaching, depressing further the status of the occupation.

Control of Entry

Both the model of profession and Wilensky's examination of professionalization reveal the crucial importance of control of entry. For the most part, regulation of the professions has been left to the states. Professional control over entry and exit have been achieved through Professional control over the state boards which license (certify) the various professions. The state boards are generally composed of practitioners of the profession.

This allows the profession to adjust standards of training to fit new developments without lay interference. The established professions also control the selection of state board members. Teachers have limited representation on the boards which license teachers. Lieberman found that only two states required members of state boards to be educators and no states where teachers were provided a legal voice in the selection of board members. A number of states expressly forbid teacher membership on such boards.³⁰

From a professional view, the diffusion of authority that exists in teacher certification is undesirable for it allows local conditions and pressures to undermine standards when low salaries make qualified teachers scarce. Across the country the diffusion of authority has resulted in a multiplicity of certification requirements and numerous certificates. This situation undermines the concept of a community of equals as a professional force in education and tends to split segments of the teaching force which ought to be united.³¹

The minimum requirements in educational certification are considerably less than in other professions. There is a higher percentage of practitioners in the established professions with training beyond the minimum requirements, and

³⁰Ibid., pp. 92-95.

³¹Ibid., p. 153.

there are fewer practitioners in the established professions who have less than the minimum requirements. It is primarily the amount of training relative to other occupations that determines the status of an occupation. Contradictory certification standards, diffused authority, and the existence of temporary certification undermine the efforts of teachers to upgrade their relative professional status.

The wide variation in certification requirements, even if the training period is the same length, is a major problem. The implication is that there is no body of common knowledge in education. One solution may be the establishment of examinations as a basis for certification. While there are many sincere objections and problems in state wide teacher examinations, such exams conducted by a central authority controlled by the profession, with the power to insist upon definite standards of achievement, could force the improvement of teacher training and the public attitude toward it.³²

It is probable that a strong certification system would eventually render accreditation unnecessary. An examination system which could measure the practical ability of a teacher would render the need for accrediting powers unnecessary as a means of upgrading standards and keeping incompetents out. Schools which failed to offer quality training would be forced to revise their programs

³²Ibid., pp. 146-151.

or face the loss of students. The trend, however, is toward the certification of anyone who has been recommended by an educational institution. The absence of examinations for teacher certification seems to call for greater efforts in the direction of evaluation of teacher training institutions themselves.

The major problem in education accrediting is the question of who should do it. Each type of control has its abuses: lay, practitioner, institutional, or governmental. History seems to warrant the statement that upgrading of requirements is unlikely as long as accreditation is dominated by teacher training institutions. Higher requirements would mean greater expenditures to weak schools and any long term stabilization of teacher training would probably result in a number of schools being forced out of existence.

Accreditation by professional associations tends to be more exacting than any other form. Since practitioners are adversely affected by poorly trained people, they are more willing to demand high standards regardless of the institutional expense involved. It is too much to expect that an accrediting agency controlled by the schools themselves would be willing to put its own members out of business.

Major problems in certification and accreditation controversies center around the inability of educators to

develop means of measuring teaching ability. Much of the hostility to efforts by The National Council for Accreditation of Teachers of Education (NCATE) noted in the discussion of occupational status centers on this issue. Failing to find any body of knowledge unique to education, many critics view NCATE's attempts at upgrading standards as evidence of the menace posed by the educational establishment. Representing a joint council of various groups, NCATE is far from the practitioner controlled association, typically associated with established professions.

There has been a tendency toward lay control of state boards which control teacher certification and accreditation. While there is wisdom in preventing state boards to be dominated by college teachers or administrators who may be employed by the very schools they are required to examine, this is no excuse for excluding teaching members of the occupation from such positions. Experience of other professions shows that the dangers of unintelligent lay control usually outweigh the dangers of practitioner control.

Wilensky claims that legal protection is not an integral part of any national history of professionalism, arguing that state licensure laws usually come toward the end of the process and that they are not unique aspects of professional development. Even egg-graders and well-diggers are licensed in some states.³³ This does not seem

³³Wilensky, p. 145.

to apply in education due to several distinctive aspects of public school teaching.

Fee taking professions are capable of achieving professional prestige more independently than teachers. The layman cannot shop around for new teachers as he does for a new doctor. The teacher's salary is set for the entire group, not on an individual basis, and depends upon the community evaluation of all teachers as a group. Because it is so difficult to evaluate the competence of an individual teacher, status as well as compensation afforded the teacher is probably more closely tied to the occupational group as a whole than is the case with other professions. These factors make the legal protection of professionally instituted standards a necessity for teacher groups.

Autonomy

An important factor in occupational status is the degree of freedom accorded the practitioner on the job. From a professional standpoint, this involves the demand of autonomy based upon expertise. Public school teachers are not usually regarded as possessing a great deal of on the job freedom. The issue of teacher autonomy has grown more critical as schools increase in size and bureaucratic organization.

An occupational association seeking professional status for teachers could be expected to demand autonomy

for teachers in the selection of textbooks and teaching materials. Texts and materials are the teacher's tools. Their selection and evaluation requires training and experience. Such autonomy does not require that every teacher choose his own text, but merely that he has an equal voice among his colleagues in the way material selections are made.

An equally important professional concern in education is teacher selection of subjects and the course of study. It is difficult to argue for teacher selection of texts without teacher control over the curriculum. The power to decide what materials will be used is the power to decide what subjects will be taught.³⁴

Local school boards as well as state legislatures which sometimes establish required courses are often hostile to demands from teachers for control of educational decisions. It is unrealistic to assume the public will grant broad powers to any occupation without any guarantee that the public welfare will be protected. Much of the fear of granting teachers greater authority is based upon the charge that demands for professional autonomy are a cloak for private advantage.

Ethics

For the professions, a code of ethics well formulated, interpreted and enforced by the professional group serves

³⁴Lieberman, p. 99.

notice to the public of the occupation's commitment to service. It offers a guide to the public for understanding professional conduct, serving to define practitioner and client relations and unscrupulous conduct. In addition to identifying and clarifying professional obligations, rights, and privileges, such codes provide a basis for excluding the incompetent and for defending the unjustly attacked professional.

Lieberman suggests that a good code must be clear enough to be applied to specific cases, must avoid establishing unreasonable standards of behavior for practitioners, and must not assume agreement on professional policy where none exists. Furthermore, a good code carefully distinguishes clearly unethical behavior from merely undesirable behavior since disciplinary action must follow violation if the code is to be meaningful. A good code will be careful to clarify those areas where practitioners are likely to come under unjustified lay criticism, and will be complete in the sense that it does not neglect any important ethical problem.³⁵

Unless codes are enforced, they are practically useless. Since enforcement of codes can result in suspension of a person from practice, it is essential they meet the criteria of good laws similar to the Lieberman criteria. Because teachers are publically employed salaried employees,

³⁵Ibid., pp. 417-418.

any code capable of enforcement will necessarily involve legal sanction. Since the professionalization process involves securing a monopoly over a social service, activities in behalf of securing occupational control of practitioner discipline in the form of legal support for ethical codes is an important aspect of the total professionalization process.

Problems in Professionalization

It might be argued that an evaluation of professionalization in an occupational organization should be measured closely against the professional model. For example, failure by the MFT to demand absolute control over entry and exit might be regarded, in terms of the model, as unprofessional behavior. Or, the failure of the MFT to show a pattern of involvement in professionalization as developed by Wilensky might be taken as evidence that Michigan teachers will not achieve full professional status. It must be recognized that the professional model is an ideal type. It would be unrealistic to assume that every occupation will follow the professionalization progression described by Wilensky or that an occupation can achieve the ideal attributes represented by the model of profession. Some of these obstacles must be noted before a clear understanding of the necessary limits of this study can be appreciated.

The established professions do not measure up to an ideal professional model in many respects. Medicine and law, for example, do not hold a monopoly on knowledge or function. Research scientists often possess more knowledge than doctors. Osteopaths and chiropractors utilize medical knowledge supposedly the legal monopoly of medicine (M.D.s). Bankers are capable of drawing up wills and accountants carry on detailed tax work.

Too much is often made of the scientific basis for systematic and technical knowledge associated with professions. While there is general social consensus on science as a source of knowledge, it must be remembered that the authority of science is obtained from that consensus. Thus because opinion supports the authority of religion, the ministry is also granted professional status. In addition, the legal profession is based upon knowledge only slightly modified by empirical research.³⁶

Aspiring professions, like teaching, face threats to exclusive jurisdiction because of the nature and structure of the knowledge base. The optimal base for professional knowledge is knowledge which is neither too broad nor too narrow. If the knowledge is too precise and can be learned as a set of rules it may well be programed on

³⁶Howard S. Becker, "The Nature of a Profession," in Education For the Professions, ed. by Nelson B. Henry, The Sixty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 27-46.

a computer. If the knowledge is broad, or based on a vocabulary familiar to everyone such as is the case with much of the social sciences from which teaching draws its knowledge, then demands to exclusiveness will be hard to uphold. Ideally, knowledge for a profession is a combination of intellectual and practical knowing some of which is explicitly learned and some of which is implied through observation and practice. This combination makes long training necessary and helps convince the public of the mystery in the occupation.³⁷

The rising education level of the general population also poses a threat to professionalization. As the general population becomes more sophisticated, actually sharing in some professional knowledge, the mysteries of the profession lose some of their enchantment.³⁸ This is particularly true in education where more and more people have the equivalent of the teacher's education.

There are a number of factors which undermine the ideal of professional autonomy even in the established professions. Because the fee-taking professional is dependent upon the layman for income, he is often unable to resist client control which often is based on non-professional norms. One of the problems facing the teacher is not so much the fact that his clients are in a

³⁷Wilensky, pp. 148-150.

³⁸Ibid.

position to undermine his autonomy, but the fact that his clients (children) lack status in the larger community. His clients are involuntary and must be with other teachers. Because students lack power in the larger society, there is little prestige attached to even the teacher who works successfully with them.

A greater threat to the established profession and professionally oriented groups are complex organizations. Bureaucracies and professions offer two different models for the organization of complex tasks. The profession instills in each worker basic skills and the norms which govern his application of skills. Each practitioner works independently of others and is controlled by the surveillance of colleagues. The bureaucratic model divides tasks into separate parts, training workers to perform certain segmented tasks. Since norms and standards are not internalized, supervision is needed to interpret how the work is to be done and to coordinate the various workers. The bureaucratic worker, lacking the training to view the overall goals or the adequacy of means to achieve them, cannot be held responsible for the organizations' success or failure. The professional, trained to deal with a total process, not only expects to be held responsible for his activities but also expects freedom to utilize whatever means necessary to achieve results. Bureaucracies tend to sacrifice the autonomy of the individual so that his

speciality can be fit into the organization. In addition, the organization imposes its own rules, restricting the individual's choice of means. The professional brings norms and standards to the organization which are often in conflict with operating procedures. While bureaucratic authority is associated with a position, not knowledge, professional authority is based upon competence. Professional training is also likely to instill values which place the professional's orientation outside the organization, making him less willing to respond to organizational rewards.³⁹

Teaching is marked by increasing bureaucratic organization. Teachers, because of the low pride and self esteem attached to teaching, often do not develop the professional commitment in training necessary to resist bureaucratic demands. Teachers confront the additional problem of being forced to buck traditional authority vested in lay control and its administrative representatives.

While current professionalization difficulties in education would seem to center in the kind and quality of training, it is well to note that studies show that the supposed socialization into the professional community associated with professional training may not be as

³⁹W. Richard Scott, "Professionals in Bureaucracies--Areas of Conflict," in Vollmer and Mills, eds., Professionalization, pp. 265-275.

extensive as the model indicates. Lortie's study of law school graduates reveals criticism which points out that often professional socialization fails to occur during training, and that the young lawyer's concept of law is often entirely based upon his first job.⁴⁰ Becker and Greer's study of medical students also reveals student discontent with the structure of medical training.⁴¹

The increasing employment of professionals in organizations also threatens the ideal of self-regulation. Friedson and Rhea, investigating colleague control of doctors in bureaucratic organizations, concluded there is little procedure in the medical community for colleague regulation. Doctors were often unaware of the activities of their colleagues because of the structure of the work. It was concluded that administrative regulation filled a vacuum engendered by the peculiarities of the professional system of self-regulation.⁴²

An additional threat to the established professions and to the professionalization of teaching, associated in part with bureaucracy, is specialization. Segmentation

⁴⁰Dan C. Lortie, "Professional Socialization," in Vollmer and Mills, eds., Professionalization, pp. 98-101.

⁴¹Howard S. Becker and Blanche Greer, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School," American Sociological Review, XXIII (February, 1958), 50-56.

⁴²Elliot Friedson and Buford Rhea, "Processes of Control in a Company of Equals," Social Problems, XI (Fall, 1963), 119-130.

within the professions is a direct threat to the ideal of the profession as a community of equals. In medicine it has resulted in divergent views of the core task, conflicting methodologies and techniques, and even different images of the client-practitioner relationship. Varying associations have sprung up to serve the differing interests, each developing their own ideologies and collegueships. The unified front presented the public in the form of ethics and certification standards represent the interests of those segments within medicine temporarily in power.⁴³ In education, segmentation as exemplified by different forms of certification represents a block to the establishment of a unified occupation.

Autonomy for salaried professionals and aspiring professionals seems to depend upon the degree to which the organization itself is infused with professionalism. A professional organization is one in which the members of one or more professional groups play the central role in the achievement of organizational objectives. Professional employees are responsible for defining, implementing, and enforcing standards. There are clearly marked boundaries between administrative tasks and professional ones. Professional organizations are exemplified by general hospitals, good colleges and universities, and scientific

⁴³Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, "Professional Associations and the Process of Segmentation," in Vollmer and Mills, eds., Professionalization, pp. 185-195.

institutes. Public schools, at present, do not meet this description. The public schools represent the type of organization in which employees are clearly subordinated to an administrative framework of elaborate rules and routine supervisory controls in which it is difficult to define professional responsibility. To what extent this situation can be changed remains to be seen.⁴⁴

Another factor which affects the chance for organizational autonomy is the scarcity of the service offered by the occupation as measured by attractive outside job offers. Teaching, with the exception of certain scientific subjects, has no leverage. The training of a vast majority of teachers does not prepare them for any specific service desired by the public outside the classroom.⁴⁵

It might be argued that bureaucratization and specialization destroys professionalism. A more fruitful approach is to realize that just as bureaucracy invades the professions, so do the professions invade bureaucracy. Adherence to the traditional model of a profession must not be so rigid as to disregard the prospect that this confrontation may well lead to new forms of professionalism and new forms of control.

Teaching offers a preview of the mixed form of professionalism which may evolve. Teachers face powerful lay

⁴⁴Richard Scott, "Reactions to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly, X (June, 1965), 51-68.

⁴⁵Wilensky, p. 147.

boards who appoint supervisors often from lay ranks. These groups have been the dominant voices. The pre-existing power structure is an important barrier to full professionalization and will play a major role in the mixed forms of organization that teachers seeking professional status may have to adopt.

The crucial questions concern how much weight professionals and laymen carry in decisions regarding certification, accreditation, standards of performance, and promotion. If teaching can acquire a firm base of training, it may acquire considerable autonomy, for professional training provides a source of role orientation which allows the practitioner to rise above workplace indoctrination.

Professionalization is in large part a struggle for prestige and income. Laymen and administrators present a major barrier to teacher aspirations. Teaching is faced by an organizational context which threatens the autonomy and service ideal. It is an overcrowded occupation of low rank where work is supervised often by laymen without professional sympathy. At present it rests on a knowledge base which may be too general and vague for the achievement of the complete autonomy and exclusive jurisdiction associated with the professional model.

Undoubtedly the occupation of teaching in the future will combine elements of both the bureaucratic and professional model. For this reason, it becomes dangerous to

to judge the activities of an occupational association too harshly by the ideal professional model. While it is presently an open question as to what professional form public school teaching will take, an examination of the concept of profession and professionalization has clarified those aspects of the occupational structure which must be addressed by the occupation through its associations if movement toward greater professional status is to occur.

Summary: Categories for the Evaluation
of Professionalization in Teacher
Organizations

Three criteria have been identified as determinants of occupational status: prestige, economic factors, and social power. The prestige of public school teaching is precarious for several reasons. Because teaching as an occupation lacks control over entry and exit it attracts many recruits who regard it not as an opportunity for service but as a means of maintaining or advancing individual status with minimum risk. Prestige also suffers because of an abnormally high number of women teachers who because of low standards are able to find insurance in teaching. Neither of these barriers to greater prestige can be solved until the occupation succeeds in organizing in a manner that will enable it to limit entry. Limiting the number and quality of applicants is obviously what

moves to control certification and accrediting standards will accomplish.

The economic rewards of teaching are unlikely to increase rapidly enough to advance the status of the occupation as long as there are no uniform high standards which can serve to convince the public that teachers as a group are highly competent. Without high standards, teacher salaries will probably continue to be depressed by the influx of unqualified or partially trained teachers.

While it is an over-simplification to argue that teachers must earn public support, it is undoubtedly true that more professional compensation will be in part dependent upon the degree to which the occupation can demonstrate its ability to police its own members, protecting the public from incompetents and the unqualified.

The status of teaching has suffered from the fact that, occupationally, teachers have not recognized the key role of political power as an underlying key to status and professional standing. Until educational organizations concern themselves with the control of the structural conditions which determine occupational autonomy, prestige, and economic rewards, as exemplified by the professional model, gains in occupational status will continue to be local and minor.

The professional model has been described as a combination of structural and attitudinal aspects. While

there is not always a direct correlation between these aspects even in the established professions, they are normally closely associated.

Members of a professionalizing organization can be expected to exhibit the following attitudes:

1. The use of the organization as a major reference, both formally and in informal colleague groupings, for ideas and judgment concerning the practitioner in his work.
2. A belief in service to the public and in the indispensability of the occupation to both public and practitioner alike.
3. Belief in self-regulation and colleague control.
4. A sense of calling to the field and dedication to the work.
5. A belief in the right of the practitioner to make his own decisions without pressures from non-members of the occupation or employing organizations.

These attitudes can in part be expected to reveal themselves in organizational concerns directed toward securing control of the structural aspects of the professional model. A professionalizing organization will reveal involvement in the following activities:

1. Political agitation directed toward securing higher certification standards and the elimination of sub-standard certification. Efforts

- aimed at gaining occupational control over administration of certification agencies.
2. Political agitation aimed at securing higher accrediting standards for training institutions, with emphasis on practitioner representation and eventual control of such agencies.
 3. Political agitation aimed at securing for the occupation mechanisms whereby autonomy in the work environment can be advanced, including provisions for equal treatment of all qualified practitioners and procedures preventing arbitrary dismissal.
 4. Political agitation directed toward improvement of the welfare and status of practitioners. High salaries, better retirement programs,
 5. Political agitation directed toward creating conditions conducive to the fulfillment of the service ideal. Support and initiation of programs designed to improve the quality of public education, its public support, and its availability to all citizens.
 6. Agitation and activity aimed at the creation of a legally supported ethical code, covering both internal (colleague) and external (clients and public) relations, designed to be enforced by the organization itself.

In Chapter IV, these categories will provide the framework for an evaluation of the Michigan Federation of Teachers as a professionalizing organization.

CHAPTER IV

AN ANALYSIS OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

IN THE MFT 1934-1967

The purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which the MFT has concerned itself with those activities central to the improvement of the teaching occupation. The concept of occupational status was explored as a means of clarifying those issues crucial to the general improvement of occupations. The drive for professional status by teachers, it was suggested, can be seen as a group effort to raise occupational status. The professional model was found to represent an ideal model for high occupational status.

The professional model is an ideal type of occupational organization which provides a model form of occupational organization that would result if any occupational group became completely professionalized. Discussion of the MFT as "professional" or "unprofessional" have been avoided for this reason.

A more fruitful approach in light of the present conditions of the teaching occupation is to ask how professionalizing is a teacher organization. Professionalization, as the process whereby occupations change in certain

characteristics in the direction of a profession, offers a significant means of analyzing the extent to which MFT activities are directed toward the improvement of the teaching occupation.

In Chapter III crucial structural characteristics were summarized as the specifiable criteria of professionalization in the MFT. The central problem is to determine to what extent MFT behavior is professionalizing and whether the organization is engaged in those processes which are crucial to the attainment of greater professional status.

Control of Entry

Certification

Control of entry has been identified as a major characteristic of the professions. The professions generally control membership through legal control of a state board responsible for licensing practitioners. The establishment and maintenance of high standards is perhaps the key factor in the prestige normally associated with professions, since the amount of training relative to other occupations plays a large part in an occupation's status.

The prestige of an occupation depends in part upon the kind of people associated with it. Because there exist no uniform high standards in education, teaching is

identified as a security occupation largely populated by women. The lack of high standards and over-identification of teaching with women lowers the occupational status by lowering the prestige and also the economic rewards associated with teaching.

Political action directed toward securing higher certification standards and the maintenance of high minimum qualifications for entry into teaching is one important measure of the extent to which the MFT is a professionalizing organization. Equally important for full professionalization in terms of the model are efforts to secure occupational control over those political bodies responsible for establishing and enforcing teacher certification standards.

The Federation had long maintained the position that higher standards were the solution to teacher shortage. In 1945, commending the Advisory Committee on Teacher Certification for its refusal to issue temporary certificates to high school graduates in rural areas, the Federation asserted that the teacher supply would continue on a hit or miss basis as long as the state distributed aid without making legislative provisions that would compel districts to meet reasonable salary requirements and other necessary educational standards. Again, in 1948, the State Convention urged equitable enforcement of certification standards and insisted upon careful scrutiny of all

requests for emergency certificates. In 1950, the Federation condemned the practices of several superintendents in Oakland County who admitted to hiring teachers with sub-standard certificates when qualified personnel were available, reaffirming its concern with reducing the number of sub-standard certificates issued. In 1952, the MFT recommended to the State Advisory Committee of Teacher Education and Certification the elimination of all county limited certificates after 1954.¹

The MFT challenged the right of the appointed Committee to Review Certification Procedures in 1949, questioning the status of such a board which had no teachers among its members. Federation representatives asserted the primary problem was one of finding ways to discontinue issuance of certificates for those with less than four years training. It was urged that districts employing such teachers, at sub-standard wages, should receive reduced state aid. The need for establishing some form of certification for administrators was noted, and attention called to the fact that many administrators passing judgment on certified teachers lacked special training or experience.²

¹Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Eighteenth Annual Convention," 1952. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

²"MFT Raises Problems on Certification," Michigan Teacher, VIII (December, 1949), 1.

In 1951, the Federation continued to tie its concerns with certification to the School Aid Law. A measure was reintroduced to penalize districts which employed teachers with less than four years training at sub-standard salaries in an amount proportionate to the extent the average salary paid the emergency certified teacher was less than the average salary paid qualified teachers employed in the same districts.³

Carrying out this stand for uniform enforcement of certification standards, the Federation condemned actions of the State Board of Education in 1959 which shelved its proposed three year program to eliminate temporary certification. The presence of provisionally certified teachers was unhealthy and unwarranted, charged the MFT. In 1961 the Federation worked for the defeat of two bills before the Legislature which it was charged would have smashed holes in certification standards for teachers. One of these bills proposed the elimination of professional education requirements from the community college certificate. The other would have undermined the special certificate statute by granting on a year to year basis special certificates to any holder of a B.A. deemed satisfactory by any superintendent. Such a bill would, in effect, claimed the MFT, reduce the State Board of Education to a rubber stamp.⁴

³Michigan Federation of Teachers, Legislative Program 1951. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

⁴"Hope Springs Eternal," Michigan Teacher, XVIII (September, 1959), 4.

The Federation joined with the MEA in opposing a bill before the 1965 Legislature which would have weakened the certification code. The bill would have excluded certification requirements for private school institutions, allowing uncertified teachers in grades one through eight. This bill, an outgrowth of the Amish situation, was successfully defeated.⁵

The MFT record reveals a great deal of organizational activity in the area of teacher certification. The main efforts of the MFT have historically been directed toward securing strict enforcement of existing certification standards. The Federation has vigorously opposed all legislation aimed at certifying any applicant with less than four years training. From its founding the Federation has attempted to secure enforcement of certification standards through legislation aimed at making state aid dependent upon local district adherence to state certification requirements. It has opposed programs that would have allowed retired teachers to return to the classroom on the grounds that they might be unqualified. At the other extreme, the MFT has also opposed teaching intern programs, arguing that they place unqualified people in classrooms at the expense of children as well as qualified teachers.

The record, however, reveals little serious Federation concern with upgrading of teacher certification

⁵"Federation Hits Proposed Certification Exceptions," Michigan Teacher, XXII (April, 1965), 1.

standards. While recommendations have periodically been made to the State Board of Education suggesting that certain programs be included in teacher education programs, there has been little consistent organizational concern with the reform of teacher education or with extending the training period.

While there have been efforts to secure teacher representation on certification review commissions and the election of state officials sympathetic to teacher interests, the MFT has exhibited no organizational concerns either in concrete cases or in terms of long range strategy that could definitely be interpreted as efforts to secure teacher control over certification agencies.

There may be several explanations for the failure of the MFT to seek control of certification agencies or to maintain consistently any program directed toward upgrading or lengthening of teacher training. The MFT exhibits a strong commitment to a grass-roots concept of democracy. Elements in the Federation undoubtedly believe that the state as an agent of the public is the legitimate authority in educational matters and that within this framework it is the duty of teacher organizations as special interest groups to work through political channels to influence public policy. This attitude weakens the professionalization process, for it conflicts with the professional claim to authority--knowledge.

Another possible explanation of MFT failure to display leadership in the area of certification is that the MFT knows full well that attempts to secure legal monopoly over entry into teaching would end in failure without the political power to bring it about. Strategically there is something to be said for utilizing those sources of political power available to influence the decisions within the existing certification structure.

The MFT is a realistic organization and one of limited resources. In terms of priorities, it has not regarded teacher control of entry, higher standards, or a longer training period as meaningful goals in light of the obvious inability of the state to secure uniform enforcement of minimum standards.

Accreditation

Control of entry by the professions has in many instances been achieved through a practitioner controlled accrediting association. Securing community support, such associations have been able to gain legal sanctions that prohibit admission to practice of anyone who has not graduated from an accredited institution.

While strong certification standards would make accrediting in education unnecessary, current practice is toward the certification of anyone recommended by a teacher training institution. Without strong certification

standards, education needs some system for the evaluation of the training schools themselves.

Because teachers are publically employed, and because evaluation on an individual basis is so difficult, the status of teachers is closely tied to the occupation as a whole. There is a definite need for occupation-wide standards legally supported by the state if teachers are to attain professional status.

A study of MFT history does not reveal organizational concern or political activity aimed at securing higher standards for training institutions or practitioner control of the existing accrediting agencies. MFT efforts at shaping and directing structural aspects affecting the occupation have been relatively minor, as noted in the discussion of certification.

The MFT record reveals that what efforts have been made in the area of control of entry have been directed toward minimum certification standards. Quite possibly, this situation is due to the fact that certification standards and the procedures whereby they are established are closer to the actual political process, visably sensitive to political pressure and closer to the legislative influence that the MFT is able to generate.

Professional Ethics

The professions are characterized by their control over the ethical and technical standards of practitioners.

This important aspect of professional control contributes to a uniform socialization of new members and a sense of identity on the part of the individual with the professional organization.

Because professional associations control training, prestige distribution, advancement, and ethical standards, the profession forms a community in which there is strong agreement on major values and role definitions. It is the professional community which promotes and instills in individual members those attitudes associated with professions' belief in the service ideal, self regulation, a sense of calling, and individual autonomy. Activities in behalf of securing legal sanction for an ethical code designed to be enforced by the organization itself is a significant factor in the assessment of professionalization in the MFT.

The Federation has displayed little concern with either the formulation of an organizational code or legislative action directed toward the legal imposition of a code upon teachers. In terms of its own organization, the MFT does not limit membership to teachers. There are only two qualifications on membership. No policy making school administrator may join the MFT, nor any member of a subversive organization.

While the failure of the MFT to act in the area of professional ethics is a serious matter, it may well be

that teaching can never achieve the degree of control over practitioner behavior characterized by the professional model.

One problem is the ambiguous knowledge base and the corresponding inability to define in specific cases what constitutes unprofessional behavior for teachers. Possibly an even greater threat is the setting and particular characteristics of public school teaching.

Teachers are publically employed and control of entry is determined by state law. There is no one exclusive organization which speaks for teachers. While the MFT could enact an ethical code and high membership standards, such a code would not be enforceable. The MFT does not have the legal power to control who school districts hire nor the legal right to dismiss them. In competition for teacher allegiance with the MEA, high membership standards at present might only serve to hinder MFT growth. While the MEA has had for some time an ethical code, it is ambiguous and little more than a paper symbol of professional aspirations.

Legal sanction for teacher ethical codes on the state level is necessary if such codes are to have any effect. While neither the MEA nor the MFT separately nor collectively at present could gain the needed legislative support necessary to institute a code similar to those of other professional groups, the failure of the

Federation to concern itself with ethics is undoubtedly a significantly non-professionalizing policy.

Teacher Autonomy

A distinguishing characteristic of professions is the autonomy associated with professional practitioners. Freedom in the work environment is a major factor in the social power associated with an occupation and hence plays a significant role in the determination of occupational status. Professional autonomy rests upon claims to knowledge of which the public is relatively ignorant.

Greater teacher control in educational decision making at the local level faces several grave problems. A major factor is the lack of expertise associated with the educator's knowledge. The social sciences, from which teaching draws much of its knowledge, lack a secret language and deal so closely with everyday problems that claims to expertise are hard to justify to an entrenched lay power structure.

Teacher autonomy is threatened by the bureaucratic organization of the public schools. Teachers have not traditionally played a central role in the definition, implementation, or enforcement of school objectives. Teachers are clearly subordinated to an administrative framework in which professional responsibility is difficult to define.

Practitioner autonomy has been a major organizational interest of the MFT. It was concern for teacher autonomy, in the form of efforts to secure enactment of a State Tenure Law, that led directly to the formation of the MFT.

In November, 1934, Ann Arbor, Kalamazoo, Detroit, and Grand Rapids local affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers met in conference to discuss tenure. The conference endorsed a resolution which called for a tenure law for Michigan teachers. On January 19, 1935, this same group met in Ann Arbor, founding the Michigan Federation of Teachers as an affiliate of the Michigan Federation of Labor.⁶

The state organization established at this meeting was composed of a President, Secretary, and an Executive Board, made up of the presidents of the locals. The meeting was addressed by the President of the American Federation of Teachers, whose words foreshadowed the future direction of the Michigan Federation of Teachers. President Lowery emphasized the need for a definite state program of political action including a legislative program embodying tax reform, tenure, and academic freedom. The conference closed with the group going on record as favoring

⁶Michigan Federation of Teachers, Minutes of Joint Luncheon Meeting of AFT Locals of the State of Michigan, January 19, 1935. (Typewritten.) Wayne State University Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

inheritance, income, and gift taxes instead of the sales tax as a means of financing the state government.⁷

The state organization of the MFT provided for the establishment of several committees. The Executive Board, composed of local presidents, was to serve as the Executive Committee, responsible for legislation, organization, and academic freedom. In addition, Pension, Progressive Education, Salary, and Tenure Committees were formed.⁸

One of the first acts of the MFT was to formulate a tenure law for introduction into the 1935 Michigan Legislature. The MFT worked closely with the Michigan Federation of Labor to introduce this legislation. Locals of the MFT affiliated with local labor councils were entitled to one vote at the state labor convention. The MFT urged locals to affiliate with labor, and at the 1935 Labor Convention succeeded in gaining labor support for a state teacher tenure bill. In addition, the MFT delegates to the Labor Convention introduced a resolution calling for labor representation on the University of Michigan Board of Regents and a resolution calling for the recognition of full citizenship rights for teachers.

The Legislative Committee, in addition to serving as a clearing house for information on conditions in the member

⁷Ibid.

⁸Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report of the Meeting of the State Federation of Teachers, October 13, 1935. (Typewritten.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

locals, instigated a number of studies in 1935. The Michigan Federation of Labor was contacted and urged to secure the aid of its locals in Battle Creek for teachers there who, because of their opposition to a proposed fifteen mill limitation on local tax sources supported by the local board of education, found their teaching positions threatened. An investigation of the Republican candidate for the State Superintendent of Public Instruction revealed that in his district of Hamtramck, teachers had been forced to contribute to his campaign fund. In addition to being forced to join the Michigan Education Association, teachers there were penalized \$50.00 for not living in the city, and in the elementary grades were forced to teach double classes of forty each. The results of the investigation were forwarded to the State Democratic Committee.⁹

Of major concern to the MFT during its first year was the establishment of a mechanism for the organization of new locals. MFT leaders recognized from the beginning that teachers would be hard to organize. Because of teachers belief in "professionalism," it was admitted that affiliation with labor would be regarded as initially highly undesirable by the majority of teachers. In addition, the strong opposition of boards of education to the

⁹Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report of the Meeting of the State Federation of Teachers, March 16, 1935. (Typewritten.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

American Federation of Teachers made it essential, even when it was possible to organize a local, to keep it under cover until strong enough to face the opposition openly. Newly formed locals were urged to go to the local union groups, even before affiliating with them, for aid and advice. The American Federation of Teachers was contacted for aides to help speakers who had been recruited from the local affiliates to assist with MFT organization. These speakers worked closely with the Executive Board in establishing techniques for organization. It was decided that the Detroit local would send organizers to communities in the metropolitan Detroit area, while the Ann Arbor local would direct organizing efforts in East Lansing and Wyandotte.¹⁰

The major accomplishment of the MFT during its first year of operation was the introduction of the Tenure Bill, the first piece of legislation of its kind ever introduced in the state. The failure of the tenure drive resulted in the realization that most teachers were unaware of the issues involved. The Federation requested that each local set up a committee to study tenure, report developments to the locals and to aid in the formation of a new tenure bill.

¹⁰Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report of the Meeting of State Federation of Teachers, February 2, 1935. (Typewritten.) Minutes of the Joint Meeting, Cabinet and Legislature Council, March 2, 1935. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

Officials' comments concerning tenure began to be documented for future political campaigns by the state organization.¹¹

Drained financially by the tenure drive, the Federation continued to urge the locals to align themselves politically with labor. Locals in Flint and Bay City, working with the area and state Federation of Labor groups, campaigned for the election of pro-labor school board members. Kalamazoo teachers, with the support of labor, succeeded in defeating a fifteen mill tax limitation amendment.¹²

It was decided at the time the Michigan Federation of Teachers was organized, that affiliation of local American Federation of Teacher locals with the Michigan Education Association (MEA) would be maintained, and that the Federation would attempt to work with and through the Association to attain its goals. The 1935 Federation tenure bill received the endorsement of the Association's Legislative Committee. It was out of events that arose in the process of preparing a new tenure bill for the 1937 legislative session that the Michigan Federation of Teachers discontinued affiliation with the MEA.

The Federation prepared a bill which provided for the establishment of a Tenure Board of five members; two

¹¹Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report of State Federation of Teachers Meeting, February 20, 1936. (Typewritten.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

¹²Ibid.

teachers, two school board members, and one layman unassociated with either, to be appointed by the governor. In attempting to secure MEA support, the Federation was confronted with an Association's bill it found totally unacceptable. Under the definition of certified teacher in the MEA Bill, classroom teachers could be kept off the Tenure Commission and administrators be appointed to those positions which originally called for certified teachers in the Federation's proposal. There was strong Federation objection to the MEA three year proposed teacher probation. The Federation favored a two year probation. The MEA bill did not give the teacher the option of a public hearing, nor did it provide for the continued pay of a teacher during hearings which could take up to 150 days to complete. Finally the MFT charged that the MEA Bill did not specifically clarify legitimate grounds for dismissal. Failure to agree on a common bill was largely responsible for the 1936 decision of the MFT to discontinue affiliation with the MEA.¹³

The MFT sponsored tenure bill in 1935 had been opposed in the House Education Committee. At that time the MFT requested and obtained a public hearing on the measure which resulted in much publicity and education on the need for tenure. The MFT moved again in 1937,

¹³Michigan Federation of Teachers, Minutes of Meeting October 17, 1936. (Typewritten.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

with the cooperation of other groups. At the regular session of the legislature, ammendments were incorporated which crippled the bill and Governor Murphy was advised that it was unacceptable. After meeting with the Governor, he agreed to include tenure in his call for the 1937 special session. Murphy appointed a committee of interested organizations to draft a bill agreeable to all. The MFT President, Arthur Elder, was appointed chairman. In the special session, the bill was enacted largely as it had been introduced. The MFT rejected the bill, however, for at the last moment a local option clause was attached to the bill at the insistance of small town opposition and administrators who convinced many legislators that tenure was neither needed nor wanted. While the bill was enacted, it was for many years meaningless for MFT locals lacked the strength to campaign and win local adoption of tenure.¹⁴

In 1937, the MFT worked for several pieces of legislation which failed to be enacted. With the support of the Michigan Federation of Labor, a drive to obtain the repeal of the noxious loyalty oaths for public employees was undertaken. The MFT argued that such oaths, in actuality, were attempts to control the thoughts as well as the activities of teachers. Such oaths not only reflected on the Americanism of teachers but were used as

¹⁴"A History of the Teacher Tenure Act in Michigan," Michigan Teacher, III (January, 1944), 2.

excuses for unwarranted dismissal. This drive failed to end in legislative action as did MFT attempts to extend the franchise in school elections.¹⁵

In 1941 two amendments weakened the Tenure Law. The first involved the age at which tenure teachers might be put on a year to year contract basis. The MFT opposed this amendment on the grounds that it failed to guarantee that pension rights would be protected. The Federation urged that mandatory retirement ought to be handled in the Retirement Fund Law rather than in the Tenure Law. The second amendment made coverage of principals and superintendents optional with the adopting districts. The MFT opposed, arguing that since principals were not policy makers, they deserved protection as much as the classroom teacher. The MFT-MEA split was furthered as a result of MEA failure to oppose these amendments before the hearings held by the Senate Committee on Education.¹⁶

The Michigan Federation of Teachers continued its efforts in 1945-1946 to strengthen the Tenure Law. The MFT argued that those districts most in need of tenure to secure the rights of teachers were those, under the

¹⁵Michigan Federation of Teachers, A Message to Michigan Teachers, 1937. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

¹⁶"A History of the Tenure Act," Michigan Teacher, 2.

provisions of the 1937 law, least likely to locally adopt tenure.¹⁷

In a 1949 meeting with the Governor, MFT representatives pointed out that by failure of the legislature to grant funds for the operation of the Tenure Commission, the Tenure Law was, in effect, being sabotaged. The State Aid Law, lacking guarantees that any of the funds would be used for teacher salaries, was blamed for the shortage of teachers in the state and the employment of over 7,000 temporarily certified teachers in Michigan. Failure to insist on certification standards in the Aid Law would result in the continued deterioration of school services. As a result of such conferences with the MFT, MEA, and other interested groups, the Governor appointed a Citizen's Committee on Education Legislation to reconsider several amendments to the State Aid Law. The Committee defeated proposals that would have granted more money to ten month districts, established a \$2400.00 minimum salary, and provided penalties for districts employing non-degree teachers. The MFT noted bitterly that all MEA members of the Committee voted against these measures.¹⁸

¹⁷Michigan Federation of Teachers, Legislative Program 1945-1946. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

¹⁸Michigan Federation of Teachers, Communication to All Locals, May 9, 1949. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

In spite of these setbacks, the MFT introduced legislation in 1949 and 1950 that proposed extending the coverage of the Teacher Tenure Act, making tenure mandatory in all districts with more than fifteen teachers.

In 1958 the MFT legal council successfully cleared three teachers before the State Tenure Commission. One of these cases had been in process for eleven years. In addition, two Frazer teachers were given contracts to which they were legally entitled in a hearing before the Tenure Commission. A Circuit Court decision in 1958 also enhanced the Federation's position. In 1956 the Garden City school board had questioned the jurisdiction of the Labor Mediation Board, called in by the MFT local, to enter disputes concerning teacher's salaries and conditions of employment. The 1958 decision ruled that teachers had the right to seek mediation through the State Labor Mediation Board when negotiations were deadlocked. This decision, though appealed and not upheld by the Supreme Court until 1962, provided teachers with much needed leverage in dealing with local boards.¹⁹

The MFT, like the AFT, has long been on record as opposed to merit rating for teachers. Much of this opposition stems from the traditional administrator-teacher relationship in public school teaching. In 1947

¹⁹"Year of Decision," Michigan Teacher, XVII (September, 1958), 1.

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

the Federation opposed the Master Teacher Concept, publicized by the MEA on the grounds that it was an attempt to retain the parental role of the administrator. Charging that all children have the right to quality teaching, the MFT argued that all teachers should be Master Teachers and that any attempts to grade teachers results in dissention and weakening of teacher morale. The Federation reaffirmed its commitment to a single salary schedule based upon training and experience. It was charged that no objective criteria had been developed for rating teachers, and that the administrators who would make such decisions were neither subject to any standards of performance themselves nor did they possess any qualifications for conducting such activities. Not without warrant, the Federation maintained that such programs in the past had often been used by school districts as a means of economizing. Elusive standards, arbitrarily set by administrators offering promises of higher pay to the few teachers who could meet them, the Federation claimed, would only breed jealousy and mistrust among the teaching profession. The real task, said the Federation, is to secure professional certification standards to which all personnel must adhere. School districts must then assume the responsibility of providing basic professional salary schedules for teachers who are qualified. Such schedules must be objective,

non-discriminatory, and attainable by all members of the staff.²⁰

MFT efforts to extend and broaden tenure protection were dealt a blow in 1962 as a result of the passage of Senate Bill 1303. This Bill in effect denied probationary teachers adequate legal protection, for it denied the right of such a teacher to demand a hearing before the school board and required no reason be given in the teacher's notice of dismissal. This Bill amended the Tenure Act which had required fairness of notice in charges against all teachers and provided the teacher with a right to demand a hearing in all districts where Tenure had been approved by the voters. The MFT condemned these amendments, charging that all teachers should have a right to know the specific reasons for dismissal and have adequate legal procedures if the charges were deemed unfair. In addition, the Bill increased the number of Tenure Commissioners without increasing expense money, and put a limit of \$5,000.00 on the Commission's annual expense. The MFT charged that this action would curtail drastically the activities of the Commission.²¹

Noting that all teachers must be citizens to be certified, the Federation condemned in 1963 the new State

²⁰"The Master Teacher Plan," Michigan Teacher, VI (December, 1947), 2.

²¹"MFT President Blasts Phoney Senate Bill 1303," Michigan Teacher, XX (April, 1962), 1.

Constitution's provision which prohibited teachers from public office by either election or appointment. This, charged the Federation, was direct obstruction to the right of a teacher to exercise the rights of citizenship.²²

The MFT from its inception had upheld the right of every teacher to envoke and enjoy all the rights of citizenship. The inculcation of good citizenship, a primary objective of every teacher, the Federation long maintained, was best effected by example. Decisions affecting education are made continually in the political field on the local, state and national levels. It is essential, resolved the 1963 State Convention, to the validity of these decisions that teachers be involved in their formation and promotion as well as execution. It is the right and responsibility of teachers to engage in political action. Noting that this role had not been actively promoted by the majority of educational organizations, the MFT reasserted its promotion and defense of teacher engagement in political activities as individuals and in groups. Local school boards were asked to recognize this right as well as the important role teachers should play in improving local education through the establishment of

²²Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report of the Human Relations Committee, 1963. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

liberal leave policies and released time for teachers who participated in community affairs.²³

Noting the growing popularity of Citizens Committees with school authorities and the fact that many of them failed to include qualified teachers among their membership, the MFT demanded that all such committees include teachers in their membership. Where local authorities refused to include teachers on such committees, local affiliates of the MFT were urged to form their own citizen committees in order that unprofessional and sub-standard practices could be exposed and corrected.²⁴

In other action tied to the autonomy issue, the 1963 Convention, taking a firm stand on the practice of assigning teachers extra duties, called for all duties of a non-professional nature to be performed by persons other than qualified teachers. The assumption of extra duties of a professional nature, the Federation argued, are a matter of voluntary individual choice. If it were necessary that extra duties not directly connected to the teacher's primary responsibility of preparation and performance of effective classroom experiences be undertaken by teachers, compensation for such tasks must be on a professional level.

²³Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Twenty-Ninth Annual Convention," 1963. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

²⁴Ibid.

The MFT opposed in 1963 the STEP program administered by Michigan State University. The MFT disapproved of the STEP practice of staffing classrooms with only partially trained teachers, not regularly or fully certified. Such a practice, charged the Federation, deprives students of the right to be taught by competent instructors and is a violation of equal educational opportunity. Such programs, it was claimed, serve as a wedge for the employment of unqualified personnel at lower salaries at the expense of the skilled. In 1964 the Michigan State University Intern Program was opposed for the same reasons.²⁵

A significant piece of legislation forwarded by the Federation in 1963 was the request that a state law be enacted to provide a process of arbitration in teacher disputes with local boards of education. Noting that teachers were forbidden by law to strike and that negotiations were the only possible path in the pursuit by teachers of legitimate educational needs, the Federation pointed out that such negotiations were meaningless when power resided on one side only.²⁶

In 1965 the MFT pushed again for an amendment to the Tenure Act provisions for Probationary Teachers. The Federation maintained that since all teachers must be certified before teaching in the public schools that

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

such certification establishes their educational qualifications. The present Tenure Act, in creating a probationary period of two years during which a district could discharge a teacher without reason or just cause, completely ignores this fact, charged the Federation. Qualified teachers are given no protection against discriminatory dismissal. The amendment proposed would have provided for appeals by probationary teachers from actions by school boards which violated the Teacher Tenure Act.

When the legislative reapportionment case decision was handed down in 1964, a two-fold program had been launched by the MFT. First, the drafting of proposed collective bargaining legislation was begun. Secondly, the Federation began a campaign for the election of liberal legislators.

For many years the MFT had advocated collective bargaining as a mechanism by which teachers could improve their economic and professional status. The MFT worked in cooperation with the Public Employees Legislative Committee, Michigan AFL-CIO, and the liberal legislators elected in 1964 for the passage of Public Act 379, which amended the Labor Mediation Act making it lawful for public employees to organize and to select an exclusive negotiating agent. These groups also worked for the passage of House Bills 1953 and 1954, which guaranteed public employees the right to organize and negotiate, with the right of securing aid

from the Labor Mediation Board in impasse situations. Finally, the legislative package included Public Act 282 which required public employers to negotiate with their employees.²⁷

The MFT had long regarded teacher problems, especially collective bargaining, as part of a total situation facing all public employees. Special delight was taken by MFT representatives that the final legislation passed bore little resemblance to the MEA's professional negotiations bill. The Federation charged that the MEA had long opposed collective bargaining, the use of labor mediation services, and strikes. Their position seems to be, reported the Federation, that teachers are special and should be treated differently from other public employees and that teacher interests would be better served by administrators serving as their bargaining representatives. While the MFT held that teachers were an integral part of society, they refused to picture teacher problems as separate or distinctly unique.²⁸

Highland Park held the first election under the 1965 laws. The Highland Park Federation of Teachers was elected sole bargaining agent on September 29, 1965. By the end of

²⁷"MFT or MEA Who'll Work For You?" Michigan Teacher (September, 1966), 2.

²⁸Henry B. Linne, "Philosophy of Negotiation--AFT's Position," Michigan Teacher, XXII (February-March, 1965), 2.

that year seventeen elections had been held. The MFT won thirteen, the MEA four.

Intensive Federation activity followed the enactment of collective bargaining legislation. Through the Cooperative Organization program instituted by the AFT, the MFT was provided with financial aid which enabled the hiring of four organizers and one administrative assistant. This three year program contained a built-in phasing out factor based on the premise that growth of MFT membership due to the program would enable the state organization to assume the entire responsibility for the program. In 1966-1967 the Cooperative Organization budget was \$53,197.00.²⁹

By September of 1966, fifteen MFT locals had contracts under the new collective bargaining law. Five strikes had been held. The MFT pointed with pride to the fact that these contracts established maximum class sizes, teacher selection of all staff members to serve on school committees, and an agreement that prohibited school boards or administrators from making changes in school policies without negotiation with teachers.³⁰

The MFT noted what it called the failure of the MEA to adequately support its districts in negotiations during the first year under the new laws. Many MEA districts

²⁹Dick Hixon, "General Discussion of Co-Org," Michigan Teacher, XXV (May, 1966), 2.

³⁰"New AFT Contracts Give Real Power to Teachers," Michigan Teacher (September, 1966), 1.

found themselves alone in drafting demands and conducting collective bargaining with local boards. In some districts, MEA model contracts found their way into the superintendent's office up to two weeks before local teacher leaders were sent copies. It was MFT policy to provide personnel to work with all locals in the drafting of demands.

Wherever militant action was necessary, additional aid in the formulation of strategy and strike plans was given.³¹

As of May, 1966, the Federation claimed to have won twenty-one collective bargaining elections to the MEA's twenty-three. The MFT successfully defeated MEA attempts to change the bargaining agent in six districts. As of May, 1966, the MFT consisted of 62 local affiliates and had increased its membership to 12,000 from 10,854 in 1965. By way of contrast, MEA teacher membership in 1966 stood at 63,428.³²

It has been the Federation's policy to assist each local, upon request, in the attainment of desirable salaries and teaching conditions. The MFT makes available data from state, national and local sources, and gives leadership in the practical use of this information as well as that compiled by the local itself. Much of this aid is aimed at establishing reasonable conditions

³¹"Who'll Work For You?" Michigan Teacher, 2.

³²Michigan Education Association, "A Chronology of Michigan Education and of the Michigan Education Association 1817-1966," 1967.

regarding class size, instructional materials, hours, facilities, and the improvement of salary schedules.

A significant portion of the MFT budget is reserved for defense purposes. Twenty cents of the \$2.50 monthly dues established at the 1966 Convention were earmarked for the Defense Fund. This separate fund exists to provide financial support and assistance in tenure cases, civil suits connected with the protection of the non-tenured teacher's contract, and for negotiating purposes. This fund is administered by the Federation's Administrative Board. Because tenure conditions and proceedings calling for civil suits in connection with contracts are imposed upon members, the MFT assumes the major financial responsibility in these cases. In extraordinary circumstances the Constitution allows the Administrative Board to supplement the Defense Fund with other monies.³³

Under the present Tenure Law the school board, at the option of the teacher, must provide a hearing to take place not less than thirty nor more than forty-five days after the filing of charges. The school board must then render a decision in writing within fifteen days after the hearing. The teacher then has the right to appeal this decision of the school board to the State Tenure Commission.

³³Michigan Federation of Teachers, Proposed Policy Concerning MFT Defense Fund Disbursement for Teachers Institute held at Haven Hill, December 10, 1965.

The teacher or the school board may appeal the Commission's decision to the State Supreme Court.³⁴

The MFT furnishes assistance and legal council to any member upon written request from the local involved. By approved policy the local must share that portion of the expenses incurred that its membership bears to the state membership. In such cases the MFT demands exclusive rights in the handling of the case.

In collective bargaining campaigns, loans are made available by the Federation to locals. These loans are subject to several conditions. The MFT must first have been consulted as to the advisability of initiating such campaigns. Any local must, as an eligibility factor, demonstrate affiliation with and participation in its respective county labor body and the Michigan State AFL-CIO.³⁵

In actual contract negotiations, each local is assigned a representative from the MFT to assist in the formation of contract terms. The MFT retains the services of a law firm and where necessary an attorney is made available.

³⁴Michigan Federation of Teachers, Procedures Under Tenure. In report prepared for Teachers Institute, December 10, 1965.

³⁵Michigan Federation of Teachers, Policy on MFT Assistance to Locals in Collective Bargaining Campaigns, March 21, 1964. (Mimeographed.)

A major function of the Federation has been the initiation and coordination of a legislative program. From this perspective, the MFT seeks to inform individual members and locals on current and prospective legislative actions. Members are kept informed through The Michigan Teacher, the Federation's official publication. Legislative bulletins are issued periodically along with the "Fed News," which attempts to keep up with developments in the different locals.

The Federation conducts each fall five teacher institutes. Semi-annual conferences are held at Haven Hill, near Pontiac, dealing with important organizational concerns. The 1965 conference dealt with political activity by teachers. Numerous workshops are held on an irregular basis. Each fall school finance workshops are conducted.

Practitioner autonomy has been a major organizational concern of the MFT. The Federation has worked since 1934 for the establishment of a state-wide mandatory tenure law. It has been the MFT's position that every teacher, by evidence of his full certification, is a qualified expert. Hence the Federation has worked for the establishment of a tenure law that would insure every qualified teacher a right to the specification of charges against him in dismissal notices, and the right to a public hearing of such charges. The burden of proof lies with the school district, not the teacher. The MFT has struggled to secure

teacher representation on the Tenure Commission and adequate funds for the Commission's operations.

Critics have made the claim that the AFT protects incompetent teachers. Much of this criticism undoubtedly stems from the fact that teachers often turn to the Federation for aid when charged with incompetence. The MFT is generous in defense of its members. It provides legal council and assumes the major financial burden in defense cases. A teacher's incompetence is the issue in a hearing and the MFT, by backing its membership in cases wherever there is a questionable doubt, is not only defending the teacher but also the occupation's reputation. Militant defense of practitioners in the face of lay criticism is a major characteristic of the professions. To act otherwise, to shy away from a challenge to teacher competence, would be non-professionalizing.

As in the case of tenure, the MFT has pursued a policy in all matters based upon equal competence of certified teachers. The MFT has attempted to secure elimination on both the state and local levels of discrimination in teacher placement, hiring, salaries, and promotion based upon age, race, sex, or religious faith. The MFT has opposed merit pay proposals as destructive to the principle of equal competence. The MFT maintains that training standards must be set high enough and enforced, to insure qualified teachers, and that salaries must be based upon standards that are attainable by all qualified personnel.

The MFT has attempted to legislate in numerous cases provisions to increase teacher autonomy. It violently opposed loyalty oaths for teachers in the 1930's and 1940's, charging they not only reflected upon the character of individual teachers but were attempts to control professional thought and actions. It has attempted to secure the elimination of required non-professional duties for teachers. Local school boards have been urged to provide liberal released time for teacher participation in professional and civic affairs. Local districts have been censured by the MFT for setting up Citizen Committees without teacher representation and where teacher membership on such committees has been refused the Federation has aided local teachers in the formation of their own committees in order to secure a professional voice in local issues.

The MFT has tried to secure professional standards at the state level. Attempts have been made to attach curriculum qualifications, maximum class size, and teacher loads to the State Aid Bill since 1941.

The most significant success in the advancement of teacher autonomy was the Federation's effort in behalf of collective bargaining. The Federation played a significant role in drafting and securing passage of the 1965 legislation which granted teachers the right to bargain collectively with local school districts.

It has been the MFT's position that teachers needed to be given legal powers before meaningful bargaining could proceed with school boards on an equal basis. MFT contracts under the new legislation reveal many significant gains in the recognition by local school boards of the teacher's right to a say in policy making decisions. The first failure to negotiate a contract under the new laws occurred in North Dearborn Heights. Part of the failure was due to the MFT local's refusal to rescind demands made for teacher control of texts and curriculum decisions. As in this and other matters, the MFT has held fast to the promise that employee benefits are not granted by employers but are taken by employees.

Teacher Welfare

Improvement of practitioner welfare was seen to be a characteristic of professional organizations. Professionalization, as a drive for occupational status, is also a move for higher income. Critics of AFT activities overlook the fact that improvement of individual welfare is a prime aspect of professional activity and a key factor in occupational status. The history of professionalization reveals an active political concern by professional occupational organizations with improvement of the economic rewards associated with the occupation.

From its founding, the MFT has displayed a genuine concern for the improvement of teacher welfare. Prior to

the 1936 state elections, candidates had been approached for their views on education. Governor-elect Murphey who had promised his support for a state retirement fund for teachers if elected, was approached by the MFT in 1936. Up until that time, the retirement fund was supported entirely by teachers. The MFT with its own representatives and in cooperation with the Michigan Federation of Labor, assured of the governor's support, introduced a bill which was enacted into law. The bill provided that the state contribute \$325,000.00 annually, and a proportionate share to the separate Detroit teachers fund. The teachers were to contribute 3 per cent of salary up to ninety dollars. The minimum annuity established was \$600.00, the maximum \$1,200.00.³⁶

In 1944 the state organization supported the establishment of definite standards to improve the condition of teachers. A minimum state salary of \$2,000.00 was proposed for public school teachers. It was advocated that a district, in order to receive state aid, must submit salary schedules to the Department of Public Instruction. Many districts lacked any orderly salary schedules for teachers. In addition, state aid was to be made dependent upon an actual average class size of thirty pupils for a five hour day. Finally the Federation

³⁶"A Look at the Retirement Record," Michigan Teacher, VIII (December, 1949), 1.

opposed any difference in pay to teachers on the basis of sex, race, or marital status.³⁷

In 1949 MFT representatives met with the appointed Commission on Public School Retirement Systems, outlining the Federation's position. It was pointed out that adequate financial support called for matching year to year state contributions to teacher retirement funds. It was necessary claimed the MFT, for the state to provide for the meeting of state obligations for prior service. An amendment was recommended to allow teachers with ten years' service to remain in the retirement fund system, applying such funds if desired, toward a reduced pension at retirement age. In addition, the protection of non-tenured teacher's pension was urged. The Federation asked that when a certified teacher was denied a hearing or appeal that the district discriminating be required to pay twice the normal contribution of that teacher into the pension fund during the period of the teacher's unemployment.³⁸

The MFT in its 1950 Convention called, for the first time, for the adoption of a single state-wide salary schedule, providing \$3,000.00 minimum salary with annual increments of \$200.00. The Federation also succeeded in

³⁷Michigan Federation of Teachers, Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Council, December 9, 1944. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

³⁸"MFT Outlines Retirement Program," Michigan Teacher, VIII (December, 1949), 1.

having introduced before the 1950 legislature a bill abolishing lunch period duty for teachers.

In 1951 the Federation again attempted to secure passage of extended tenure coverage to all districts employing twenty-five or more teachers, as well as the full legislative appropriation for the administration of the Tenure Commission. Legislation was also proposed to advance a three point MFT retirement program. First, the Federation wanted provision incorporated into the Retirement Law to provide for reciprocity between all publicly supported funds in Michigan and also between Michigan and other states, including provision for the obtaining of service credit under social security. Second, vesting of employee and employer retirement contributions in the employee who leaves after fifteen years or more, and third, protection of the qualified teacher against arbitrary dismissal in non-tenured districts with two or more years service. This protection would take the form of requiring the district which did not provide the teacher a means of appealing his dismissal to pay both contributions to the retirement fund until the teacher found a job offering comparable retirement protection. The MFT also advocated raising the sales tax diversion support for public schools from the then current 44.77

to 48.05 per cent, to include support for the state's share of the School Employees Retirement Fund.³⁹

Reintroduced also in 1951 was the Federations' legislation to transform the State Aid Bill into one that would raise educational standards and stimulate local responsibility for education. Legislation requiring a pupil-teacher ratio of thirty to one was introduced as well as a bill proposing a minimum salary for all qualified teachers of \$3,000.00. Separately introduced was a bill calling for the establishment of salary schedules by all districts to be filed with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, based only on training and experience.⁴⁰

The MFT attacked in 1951 a proposed amendment to the Employees Retirement Fund Act which would have allowed retired teachers to earn up to \$600.00 annually substituting without affecting their retirement status. The Federation challenged the proposed amendment on the grounds it did not provide for the protection of students from teachers who may be incompetent. In addition, the proposed payment fee of \$10.00 a day to such people was seen as a threat to the salary standards of regular teachers. The fact that the Bill was even introduced,

³⁹Michigan Federation of Teachers, Communication to all Locals, January 4, 1951. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

⁴⁰Ibid.

charged the Federation, was evidence that the present pension was too low for retired teachers. If so, promoters of such bills ought to work with the MFT for increased retirement allowances as a solution to the problem. The MFT favored increasing the base for determining retirement allowances from \$3,600.00 to \$4,800.00. The MFT also advocated increasing the retirement pay for teachers who retired prior to 1945, many of whom faced hardships on \$300.00 to \$400.00 pensions.⁴¹

In 1951 the MFT established what was to become an annual event. Workshops in school finance were instituted to aid local members in gaining an understanding of those factors involved in sound school operations. A panel of experts was established to aid the locals in budget study.⁴²

The Federation continued to call in the early fifties for a single state salary schedule. Additional measures advocated to meet the teacher shortage, included a call for mandatory tenure, higher salaries, and more democratic relations between teaching staffs and school administrators.

The 1961 legislative program of the MFT contained a number of measures directly related to teacher welfare.

⁴¹Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Seventeenth Annual Convention," 1951. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

⁴²Michigan Federation of Teachers, Communication to All Locals, January 29, 1951. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

Supported were bills to: raise the minimum retirement from \$1200.00 to \$1800.00; require school boards to allow teachers a forty-five minute lunch period; increase the State Tenure Commission allowance from \$5.00 to \$30.00 a day while hearing cases, and a bill that would have allowed local districts to provide insurance coverage for employees. An amendment to the School Code was sought to require school districts to institute a minimum salary schedule of \$4800.00 to \$9600.00 in ten years.

In 1962 the Federation again introduced a duty free lunch hour measure for all teachers and a minimum salary proposal. As in the past, both of these measures failed.⁴³

As of June, 1964, reserves credited to the pension fund totaled only 17 per cent of the reserves necessary for adequate funding of the Michigan public school employees retirement system. Noting that the funds to be paid during 1965-1967 would seriously deplete the necessary reserves, thereby endangering the state commitment to retirement benefits, the Federation supported a bill which would have provided 10½ per cent of the aggregate compensation to school board employees for the fiscal year 1965-1966 and 12½ per cent for 1966-1967. This rate claimed the Federation would be sufficient to maintain an adequate reserve.⁴⁴

⁴³"MFT Sets Goals to Strengthen Union," Michigan Teacher, XX (March, 1962), 4.

⁴⁴"Michigan Federation Outlines New Programs for State Legislation," Michigan Teacher, XXII (February-March, 1965), 2-3.

The Federation proposed that such financing of the pension fund would enable a minimum retirement allowance of \$2400.00 to be paid teachers with thirty years service. In final form, this bill granted \$1800.00. In addition, it was requested a cost of living factor be incorporated into the Retirement Law. Finally the Federation favored an amendment which would have required retirement policies of school boards be applied in a uniform manner to all teachers.⁴⁵

To summarize, the MFT has displayed a genuine effort to upgrade the status and welfare of practitioners through legislative action. In 1936 the Federation secured Legislative adoption of a State Retirement Fund for teachers. It has fought mandatory retirement for teachers and the exclusion of non-policy making administrators from retirement benefits.

The Federation has introduced legislation to provide retirement reciprocity between local districts and between Michigan and other states. It has supported the introduction of a cost-of-living factor into the retirement system, and higher base salaries for the determination of pensions. The Federation has attempted to aid retired teachers by introducing legislation aimed at increasing pensions and providing a means whereby the retired could earn income without becoming ineligible for retirement benefits.

⁴⁵Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Thirty-First Annual Convention," 1965.

Since 1936 the Federation has attempted to secure legislative earmarking of funds for teachers' salaries in the State Aid Bill. The Federation has argued that little of the money granted by the state ever finds its way into teachers' salaries. In 1937 the MFT proposed for the first time a state-wide minimum teachers' salary. The Federation sought throughout its early history a state requirement that every district establish an orderly salary schedule for teachers, and opposed local school boards who followed unsound salary schedules or discriminated against qualified personnel. In 1951 the Federation proposed legislation for the first time to provide a state-wide minimum and maximum salary schedule.

MFT activity in tenure and collective bargaining, it must be remembered, are programs closely related to welfare. Because of the close connection between teacher welfare, autonomy, and public service, it is difficult to separate activities in any of these areas from one another. While MFT activities in Teacher Tenure advanced teacher autonomy, they also advanced teacher welfare and status. This interrelatedness of issues is well illustrated in the following discussion of the service ideal.

The Service Ideal

Because the professions are committed to public service, professional organizations are associated with leadership in the advancement and support of programs

designed to further the realization of the service ideal. A professional organization differs in ideal type from a trade union in that it is not so much an interest group as it is an agency for facilitating the development of its field in the public interest.

It is difficult to measure the extent to which any program advanced by an organization is motivated by public service orientation. This is particularly true in education when efforts in behalf of the professional field--certification standards, class size, tenure--are also beneficial to public education. The MFT has a long record of legislative efforts to improve the quality and support of public education.

In 1936 the MFT began its long battle against the procedure for allocation of state aid. Charging that increased state aid was not reflected in teacher's salaries, the Federation went on record as supporting a system of state aid which would be allocated on the basis of the ability of a local community to support its schools. Such a plan, the Federation argued, must require that school districts meet minimum requirements relating to teaching load, salaries paid teachers, enrichment of the curriculum, and adult education. These requirements, the Federation argued, must be set by state law. Under the present system, it was charged, many school districts were using

state aid to reduce local debts rather than to improve the character of education and the welfare of teachers.⁴⁶

In the late thirties and early forties, the MFT directed much of its efforts toward reform of the state tax system. The Michigan Constitution had been ammended in the early thirties to limit, without a referendum, the total amount of taxes that could be assessed against property for all purposes to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of assessed valuation (15 mills). In 1941 the MFT put forth a ten point tax reform program. (1) The repeal of the 15 mill limitation. (2) The adoption of a corporate income tax. (3) Revision of the inheritance tax law. (4) Enactment of a gift tax. (5) Revision of intangibles tax law or substitution of a personal income tax. (6) The gradual reduction and elimination of the sales tax. (7) The establishment of a bureau of revenue. (8) Improved assessment practices. (9) Support or elimination of overlapping units of government in the state. (10) The incorporation of standards in laws providing state funds for local communities. These standards would provide fund distributions based upon compliance of local districts with state established class sizes, salaries paid teachers, length of school year, type and cost of school program maintained, and local assessment practices. In addition, the MFT

⁴⁶Michigan Federation of Teachers, Minutes of the Meeting of the State Federation of Teachers, April 25, 1936. (Typewritten.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Arthur Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File.

sought to have the receipt of state funds tied to the application of the Teacher Tenure Act to ensure security in service to competent teachers.⁴⁷

During 1941 the MFT co-sponsored the introduction of a corporate income tax bill, gift tax bill, and a bill to provide for the reduction of the sales tax from 3 to 2 per cent. In part as a result of these efforts, in 1941 a state centralized bureau of revenue was established as well as re-organization of the state tax commission.⁴⁸

In 1944 the MFT approved legislation calling for the establishment of a County School Reorganization Committee and the creation of fourth class school districts. In addition, the MFT Executive Committee favored requiring a school levy of 6½ mills of assessed valuation as a prerequisite for state aid.

Effort continued in 1945 to secure incorporation of standards into the state aid distribution system. Many districts able to support a reasonable school program had decreased local support and in spite of increased state aid were characterized by large classes, underpaid teachers, and shortened terms. The MFT introduced, as it had in four previous legislative sessions, minimum salary legislation. Such schedules, the Federation argued, encourage

⁴⁷Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention," 1942. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

⁴⁸Ibid.

continuity of service and provided incentives for competent teachers. The Federation blamed low salaries as in part responsible for the fact that approximately 4500 war emergency certificates which had been issued to teachers with inadequate training were still in effect as of 1945. Many school districts not only disregarded salary schedules of any kind but discriminated against married women teachers and paid higher salaries to less experienced teachers at the expense of teachers older in service during times of teacher shortage.⁴⁹

The Federation argued that since the purpose of state aid was primarily to equalize educational opportunity for children in districts unable to otherwise provide adequate facilities, the formula for distribution should provide more generously for those communities which on the basis of honest assessment had low taxable wealth per pupil.

During the depression, the Michigan Legislature had passed an amendment to the school law which gave school boards the discretionary right to refuse the use of school buildings for educational or civic purposes. The MFT charged this power had been abused and used in many instances to throttle free discussion. Farmer's groups, civic discussion groups, women's groups, committees and

⁴⁹Michigan Federation of Teachers. "Officers Reports, Twelfth Annual Convention," 1946. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

labor unions from all parts of the state, said the Federation, had been denied the use of school buildings. The MFT argued that the school must remain a civic center in the community and worked actively for the repeal of this amendment.

The Federation continued to push in 1945 for the fundamental revision of Michigan tax setup on the basis of ability to pay. While labor groups have traditionally supported adequate state aid for schools, the MFT warned that labor support could not be expected indefinitely for educational expenditures that were financed in major part by taxes on consumption. The tax system had been complicated by the adoption of the Fifteen Mill Tax Limitation Amendment. Many wealthy local communities, which had elected to come under the amendment, had shown, the Federation argued, an inability to function within the limitation. The MFT noted the growing tendencies in such communities to make excessive demands on the state for funds to support local services.⁵⁰

In 1946 the MFT went on record as supporting federal aid to education. Noting that state and local taxes so far devised had been inadequate to support school systems which met minimum educational standards, the Federation argued that federal aid was a necessity if all children

⁵⁰Michigan Federation of Teachers, Legislative Program 1945-1946. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

in all states were to receive a minimum acceptable education. The MFT joined the American Federation of Teachers in supporting a proposed Federal Aid Bill. The bill provided for distribution of funds on the basis of need so that equalization of opportunity between states could be realized. The bill provided for further funds to be distributed for specific services, and also a third fund for educational assistance to the needy, regardless of their place of residence. The Federation distributed publicity to all locals on this measure and urged the contact of Congressmen and Senators in its support.⁵¹

The state financial problem grew more accute in the late forties and drew increasing attention from the MFT. In 1932, due to the depression, local governments were limited in taxing power by the Fifteen Mill Tax Limitation Amendment voted into the Constitution. At the same time, the legislature had passed an emergency 3 per cent general retail sales tax. The state then withdrew from the property tax field except for sales tax on utility properties. During the forties the market value of property increased but assessments lagged, contrary to the state Constitution requirements. This reduced further the tax rate power. Population increased and increasing costs put local governments and schools in a bad financial position. In 1946, in the face of local frustrations, the

⁵¹Ibid.

Sales Tax Diversion Amendment was passed. This amendment required the state legislature each year to appropriate for school purposes for the ensuing year an amount equal to 44.77 per cent of the sales tax of the immediately preceding year. The MFT opposed this amendment, as it had the Fifteen Mill Limitation Amendment, because it was seen as restricting local educational responsibility as well as state government responsibility. In addition, the amendment failed to provide safeguards for distribution of the funds. As predicted, in 1947 the legislature began the policy, in the face of strong opposition from the MFT, of deducting its appropriation for the retirement fund from the amount due the schools in sales tax revenue.⁵²

The MFT pointed out that while the average tax rate in Michigan districts in 1946 was \$8.00 per \$1000.00 assessed valuation, many districts were assessing at \$12.00 to \$14.00 per \$1000.00 assessed valuation while others only assessed the \$4.00 minimum. The MFT urged that districts must be forced to maintain local responsibility by state requirements of higher tax rates. The State Aid Bill made no provisions for cost differences in areas around the state. The MFT argued that each consideration must be incorporated into the Aid Bill. In addition, the Federation continued its demands that salaries, class size, class load, and salary schedule be

⁵²"State Finances Unsettled," Michigan Teacher, XI (March, 1953), 1.

incorporated into the state aid law. Because of its failure to incorporate such standards, the MFT opposed the 1948 School Aid Bill.⁵³

Although the State Supreme Court twice declared unconstitutional the deduction of the state's payment of the school retirement fund from the sales tax diversion money, the legislature continued this practice. Through this process, over a three year period, the legislature deprived school districts of approximately \$27.00 per child in rightful state aid. The MFT joined in support of the governor's 1950 call of a corporate profit tax to help eliminate the financial stress on public schools.⁵⁴

Noting that state university and college governing boards held closed meetings and that the state system of higher education provided no means whereby the higher education services could be integrated, the 1950 MFT Convention supported Governor Williams' intent to appoint a committee to examine all phases of the conduct and administration of higher education in the state. The MFT also went on record supporting a call for reapportionment of the state legislature in accord with constitutional provisions.

⁵³"What's Wrong With the State Aid Law," Michigan Teacher, VI (December, 1947), 2.

⁵⁴Letter, Governor G. Mennen Williams to Jessie I. Baxter, October 9, 1950. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

In 1951 legislative action, the MFT joined with local and state labor groups in supporting the enactment of fair employment practice legislation to prevent discrimination in employment. The Federation also supported a minimum wage law, noting that many workers were paid less than \$.75 an hour and did not receive time and a half for over-time.⁵⁵

The heart of the state finance problems in the fifties was the issue of aid to the public schools. Until March of 1952, the state was able to meet its obligations by using reserves accumulated to the credit of school districts. In March, August, and September, state aid payment to the schools and other units of local government were delayed because the available cash balance was too low to permit payment. The governor requested a corporate profit tax as a means of balancing the budget. The legislation failed. The legislature also failed to make provisions for additional state school aid required under the terms of the Sales Tax Diversion Amendment adopted in November of 1946, and reaffirmed in 1948. While an increase in the corporate privilege franchise fee was enacted in 1951, it was insufficient to close the gap between revenue and expenditure.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Seventeenth Annual Convention," 1951. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

⁵⁶Robert M. Steadman, "Aid to Schools," Michigan Teacher, VII (November, 1952), 1.

A report of the Citizens Tax Study Committee to the legislature recommended deducting retirement funds for teachers from the state aid appropriation, a practice twice declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court. The committee also recommended a fixed per-pupil state aid formula, implying that too much state money was going to the schools. In 1952 the legislature adopted four revenue bills which were signed by the governor. He vetoes three others; two which would have taken money from the schools, all three which would have taken away funds from local government.⁵⁷

The MFT worked diligently against attempts to limit or cut back aid to schools in the early and mid-fifties. While recognizing that the state finance problem was deep rooted, the Federation felt it could be corrected. The MFT recommended school legislation which would have reorganized school districts and, improved the accountability for state funds used locally. The MFT advocated a complete overhaul of the patch work state tax system composed of twenty-nine different taxes. Suggested was less state dependence on sales and excise tax with more emphasis on taxes which did not do hardship to those least able to pay. Local governments, it was pointed out time and again, must be freed from taxing limitations and encouraged to follow better assessment practices.⁵⁸

⁵⁷"State Finances Unsettled," Michigan Teacher, VII (March, 1953), 2.

⁵⁸Ibid.

In 1961 the Federation took an active role in supporting candidates for the Constitutional Convention it felt would improve state educational efforts. The MFT favored the term of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction remaining an elective position. It went on record as favoring that the constitutional earmarking of funds for education be eliminated from the new constitution only if all other constitutional earmarking of funds were eliminated and the legislature given full authority to budget all state resources. The Federation joined the AFL-CIO in supporting candidates pledged to the following programs. (1) The redistricting of the state legislature to provide equal representation for all citizens. (2) The retention and strengthening of the then present Constitution's Bill of Rights. (3) The retention of the initiative and referendum provisions of the existing Constitution. (4) The retention of a system of elected judiciary.⁵⁹

The MFT established in 1961 a set of requirements it felt must be required in any federal aid to education program. These requirements were presented to Michigan Congressmen and sent to members of Congress active in support of federal aid to education. Recognizing the need for aid to augment extended state and local efforts, the Federation pledged its support for federal programs which

⁵⁹"Urge Affiliates to Push Labor's Con-Con Stand," Michigan Teacher, XX (September, 1961), 2.

(1) Provided funds for unique problems of federally distressed areas. (2) Contained provisions for including salaries and school construction and provided safeguards to assure that allocated funds would be extended both to salaries and construction without neglect to either. (3) Provided higher education opportunities for qualified students without the neglect of K-12 programs. (4) Took into account actual need, property valuation behind each student, and the degree of local support in the distribution of funds for both instructional salaries and school construction. (5) Placed a major emphasis upon means of providing adequate instructional materials and equipment. (6) Required present levels of state and local support be maintained.⁶⁰

The MFT introduced in 1962 its own formula for state aid. The MFT proposed state aid formula eliminated distressed aid and tuition payments which had been made in addition to allowances under the existing formula. The proposal was based on a plus and minus factor in two areas: the ability of a district to support education, as represented by the state equalized valuation per member, and secondly, effort of a district, as represented by the total school tax levied in the district. The formula used 15 mills and \$15,000.00 state equalized valuation, \$165.00

⁶⁰"MFT Lists Seven Requirements for Federal Aid Program," Michigan Teacher, XIX (April, 1961), 4.

aid per pupil, as its base figures. The formula incorporated a factor of plus or minus \$5.00 per pupil per \$1000.00 state equalized valuation, depending on whether the district's valuation was above or below the base of \$15,000.00 to take into account the ability factor. The effort factor was to be recognized by adding \$2.00 per pupil more for each mill levied by the district above the base figure of 15 mills and deducting \$2.00 per pupil for each mill under the 15 mill base figure. The plan was widely publicised by the MFT, for it incorporated factors the Federation had long sought in the state aid formula. It penalized those rich districts which failed to support education and also provided for the distribution of funds on the basis of need.⁶¹

In 1962-1963 the MFT developed a strong organizational stand on civil rights. Locals were urged to adopt the statement of the Michigan Department of Public Instruction calling for fair treatment of minority groups in textbooks. Locals were requested to examine civic and American problems texts for omissions of materials on minority groups. Locals were also recommended to establish courses in American problems where none existed, and seek the employment of Negro teachers in their school districts. The MFT pledged in 1962 to see that all certified teachers

⁶¹"MFT State Aid Plan Needs Push," Michigan Teacher. XX (March, 1962), 2.

were placed and employed without regard to race, creed, or color.⁶²

In 1962 the Human Relations Committee of the Michigan Federation of Teachers was directed to compile and maintain up to date listings of all organizations active in advancing human relations who could assist in co-ordinating programs. The committee was also directed to function as a service agency to locals in helping them organize local human relations committees, establish local human relations libraries, organize workshops for the promotion of better relations, and aid locals in the exposure and protest of discrimination in texts.⁶³

The 1962 State Convention called on the controlling boards of public universities and colleges to eliminate discrimination on campuses in the selection and assignment of faculty and in all housing sanctioned by colleges and universities. It was requested that such institutions apply the Fair Employment Practices Act in student employment and placement. The establishment of regulations to bind college and university administrations to programs designed to end discrimination was deemed a necessity.⁶⁴

⁶²Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report of The Human Relations Committee, 1963. (Mimeographed.) Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

Also in 1961, the MFT called for the creation of a State Civil Rights Commission to be granted jurisdiction in the fields of employment, housing, education, and public accommodation.⁶⁵

Noting that education is enhanced by bringing many different groups into contact with children, the 1963 Convention urged that schools must move to close the gap between principles taught and those followed in school hiring. The Federation demanded fair employment practices in all appointments to the staff of any school district and enjoined locals to protest discriminatory staff policies and to press for school board public acceptance of fair employment practice principles.⁶⁶

In 1963 the MFT went on record as favoring the adoption of a statewide open housing law. On the national scene, noting that the House Un-American Activities Committee had never uncovered any truly subversive activity not already known to established government agencies and that the only purpose served by such a committee was to cast suspicion and guilt upon those with unpopular beliefs, the MFT called for its abolition. Reaffirming the right of peaceful dissent, the Convention condemned Birmingham, Alabama officials' threat of dismissal against teachers who had protested discrimination there in the public schools.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

In 1963 actions closer to the physical classroom, the MFT condemned all forms of discrimination in school records. Noting that many educational institutions require students to divulge race, religion, as well as parents occupation, the Federation contended that there was no justifiable need for this information on school placement forms. All locals were called to examine forms used in their districts and to take the necessary steps to guarantee lawful privacy of the students. The Federation also called for the recognition of the right of teachers and students of non-Christian faiths to observe, without penalty, holy days and called for provisions in all personnel policies to provide these rights,⁶⁷

Finally in the Civil Rights field, the Federation supported measures authorizing the legislature to grant financial support to local agencies devoted to alleviating conditions which were responsible for the plight of migrant children.

In other 1963 actions, the MFT raised a number of objections to the new Michigan Constitution in addition to the already noted opposition to the exclusion of teachers from public office. The MFT opposed the retention, in effect, of the 15 mill limitation. It opposed the inclusion of higher education funds in the two cent sales tax diversion, itself long inadequate to meet just the

⁶⁷Ibid.

needs of the public schools. The removal of the Superintendent of Public Instruction from an elected position to an appointed one was seen as a move to defuse responsibility for public education. In addition, the Federation charged the new Constitution exposed tenure proceedings to the danger of increased complexity in the appeal process and possible further delay and expense to teachers.⁶⁸

The legislative program in the area of school aid was again headed by requests that the legislature adopt a program of educational aid based upon an ability to pay formula. The MFT also requested legislation granting school districts the right to levy taxes from sources other than real estate for school operation, and that such taxes not require a referendum vote for enactment. In addition, legislation granting the school district of Detroit the right to hold special elections for school taxes was proposed. Finally, the duty free lunch period bill for teachers was again introduced.⁶⁹

In 1964 the Federation condemned the practice whereby school districts publicized pupil-teacher ratios based on all certified personnel. The inclusion of administrative assistants, principals, supervisors, librarians, and

⁶⁸"MFT Con-Con Stand," Michigan Teacher, XX (March, 1963), 1.

⁶⁹Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Twenty-Ninth Annual Convention," 1963. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

visiting teachers in such figures was charged to be misleading to the public as to actual class size. Boards of education were requested to show figures revealing actual class sizes to the public. Noting the alarming rise in school drop-outs, locals were directed to establish councils to study this problem in their districts.⁷⁰

In 1965 the Federation outlined a program of fiscal reform, convinced that no adequate state aid program was possible without some degree of reform. The major proposal was for the removal of the Constitutional prohibition of the graduated income tax. Long on record as opposed to the sales tax, the Federation favored a complete overhaul of the tax structure to make it flexible and sufficient enough to meet present and future finance needs.

The Federation went on record in 1965 supporting legislation enabling the State Board of Education to accept federal funds and recommended increase in appropriations for educational research by the State Department with local school districts. Also sought in 1965 was a law requiring boards of education to assume financial responsibility for the personal property of teachers while on school grounds.⁷¹

⁷⁰Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Thirtieth Annual Convention," 1964. Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File.

⁷¹"Michigan Federation Outlines New Programs for State Legislation," Michigan Teacher, XXII (February-March, 1965), 2-3.

The MFT has a long record of legislative efforts directed toward improving the quality and public support of public education. From 1936 onward the Federation has kept a close watch on educational finance. It has for over thirty years opposed taxes on consumption as a means of financing education, favoring instead taxes based upon an ability to pay principle. It has opposed the 15 mill limitation on local taxing powers as well as the Sales Tax Diversion Amendment on the grounds that both of these policies restricted state and local responsibility for education and provided no safeguard for the distribution of funds. The Federation has long advocated to the legislature the need for incorporating standards into the State Aid Law that would insure aid to schools on the basis of need and legal support. In addition, the Federation has consistently sought to include in the Aid Bill standards recognizing local efforts in curriculum enrichment and adult education.

The Federation has sought higher state required minimum millage levies by local districts, better assessment practices, and closer supervision of state funds used at local levels. The Federation has politically supported, since 1945, federal aid to education as a means of relieving burdens on local and state finances.

The MFT has been a leader in the area of civil rights. Affiliated locals have been active since 1962

in agitating for fair treatment of minority groups in texts, and for the establishing of American problems courses. The Federation has established relations with interested groups and held numerous workshops on race relations and and civil rights. Discrimination in higher education has been directly attacked by MFT officials. MFT locals have actively worked for public statements from local school boards concerning civil rights and have campaigned for the hiring of Negro teachers.

The commitment to the service ideal as exemplified by the professional model involves a dual concern. First, the service ideal embodies a concern for the social context and purpose of an occupation. The MFT reveals an understanding and acceptance of this role as protector and leader of the educational enterprise. The second implication of the service ideal is concern for the individual or client to be served; a concern for the improvement and protection of his welfare within the area of professional competence. While the MFT has worked on both state and local levels for greater practitioner autonomy in the classroom, it has engaged in few programs and little research to affect the quality of this relationship. The MFT does not provide subject matter services to its members. It has not acted in any organizational way in behalf of specific school programs or curriculum innovations. An examination of the MFT's official publication,

the Michigan Teacher, reveals little discussion of educational issues or curricular developments as they pertain to specialized teaching areas.

A professional organization is concerned with developing its field in the public interest. For education this involves not only a concentration on matters which affect all teachers and public education as a social institution but also a concern with improved services and their quality for the individual client (student). The MFT weakness in this latter aspect of the public service ideal may be due to the lack of funds more than to any other factor. Whatever the cause, the MFT must give greater concern to this issue as an aspect of the professionalization process.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Major power strategies in the teacher drive for professional status are direct sanctions, collective bargaining, and political pressure group tactics at the state and local level. The MFT has developed and used relatively effectively all these approaches.

Professional lobbies at the state level have been proven more effective for other occupations in the drive for professional controls than have the methods of direct action, which run the risk of inviting government interference. The MFT has recognized and followed for some time a long range strategy aimed at greater emphasis upon seeking improvements at the state level. It has militantly avoided any strategy which would explicitly or implicitly weaken the professional autonomy of teachers, and has chosen to create organizational pressure on school boards through the attainment of legislation as exemplified by collective bargaining rights for teachers.

The MFT has displayed an awareness of the role of political power in the drive for professional status. Unlike other organizations, rarely has the MFT been misled in its activities by powerless tactics which emphasize

"education of the public" or "docile acceptance of the dedicated teacher's role" as solutions to educational problems. It has attempted to combine a strong political program on both the state and local level.

The MFT is clearly a classroom teachers' organization, directed completely to the teachers' needs in relation to his students. It is committed to its membership as evidenced in the democratic formulation of all organizational policies.

The AFT has been criticized because of its affiliation with labor. Undoubtedly, the strong Federation commitment to political action as a means of social and educational improvement originated in part from the labor example and labor aid in formulation of programs. Without early labor support, the MFT would never have succeeded in its drive for the first Tenure Act or the Teachers Retirement Fund. More recently, it was only as a result of a unified effort with other public employees unions that collective bargaining rights were attained.

It is often charged that as public employees, affiliation with labor compromises teachers in their work. There is no reason why AFL-CIO affiliation should be any more compromising to teachers than their religious, political, or social club affiliations. The AFT-MFT is autonomous in its relation to the AFL-CIO, as are all member unions. Affiliation has enabled the MFT to secure

state-wide labor support for its objectives. Such support is not automatic, however, any more than MFT support for labor's objectives is automatic.

Those aspects of the MFT as an organization which are decidedly professionalizing may be summarized as follows.

(1) The MFT record reveals an understanding of the use of political power as a means of achieving organizational goals. The Federation has approached teacher problems on a state-wide basis, seeking legislation to enable the effective use of organizational power on the local level.

(2) The MFT has systematically avoided any programs that threaten teacher autonomy. It has displayed a legislation program aimed at extending and guaranteeing teacher autonomy.

(3) The MFT has pursued programs aimed at improving the welfare and status of teachers as an occupational group.

(4) The MFT has used its energies to support programs aimed at improvement and reform of public education, improved financing of education, federal aid to education, and civil rights.

While labor affiliation has made a contribution and given direction to the MFT's professional stance on the use of power and strategy and its strong record in the

promotion of teacher autonomy and welfare, there are certain aspects of its labor affiliation which may also explain its professionalizing deficiencies.

The MFT organizational structure follows closely that of labor. Each local is autonomous and has its own constitution and officers. Each local sends a representative to the Executive Council of the MFT. It has been the AFT's philosophy that strong organizations are most important at the local level where key decisions affecting the schools and working conditions occur. There is no requirement that AFT locals belong to state organizations. Member locals are not bound by the state organizations' policies, nor are there even any provisions that locals must follow AFT policies. These conditions greatly hamper unified efforts at the state level, and pose increasing problems for unified policy in strike or other forms of pressure on local districts. For the past several years, attempts have been made by officials at State MFT Conventions and the AFT Conventions to remedy this situation.

The AFT has been urged to require state affiliation and payment of state dues by all local affiliates. MFT officials have sought amendments to the AFT Constitution that would result in the expulsion of any local which failed to join state organizations or adhere to state policies. Failures in these efforts are evidenced by the current rebellion of MFT factions against state policies and programs.

A strong state organization is necessary if unified efforts in behalf of professional advancement are to continue. MFT adherence to the democratic principles of traditional unionism may well damage present gains as well as future efforts to build a strong state organization.

The MFT continues to operate on the assumption that the interests of teachers coincide with the interests of other unions in the AFL-CIO, and in particular with other public employees unions. This questionable assumption explains in part the MFT's failure to develop a perspective on teacher problems or any long range programs in the area of control of entry. The MFT does not appear to regard the model of the established professions as a particularly relevant one for teachers. It is ironic that the MFT fails to see that continued success in its immediate efforts to improve teacher autonomy and welfare will, in the long run, depend upon the ability of teachers as an occupation to control entry and regulate their collective behavior.

Those aspects of the MFT as an occupational organization which are nonprofessionalizing may be summarized as follows:

- (1) The MFT, in spite of consistent efforts to maintain existing certification standards, has failed to display any program, long range or immediate, directed

toward eventual occupational control over certification.

(2) The MFT displays historically little concern for securing higher accrediting standards for training institutions or for the establishment of a practitioner controlled accrediting association.

(3) The MFT has directed little attention toward the issue of an occupational code of ethics. With the exception of its ban on administrators, the MFT excludes few from membership. Structurally, the MFT is organized too loosely to enforce policy decisions or to generate state-wide discipline among locals on issues central to its state-wide power approach to teacher problems.

(4) The MFT has failed to focus attention upon specific aspects of the service ideal as they relate to the individual client. The MFT provides few educational services and engages in no research geared to improving classroom operations where they directly affect the student.

The issue of the professionalization process is a complex one. The professions involve a range of inter-related characteristics both structural and attitudinal. It is difficult to generalize and label the MFT a professionalizing organization. It is just as difficult to call it non-professionalizing.

While this study has hopefully revealed many arguments traditionally raised against teachers' unions to be

irrelevant to the analysis of professionalization in the MFT, it has uncovered other serious objections.

The MFT appears to be a professionalizing organization as far as it goes. It has historically fought for teachers autonomy, welfare, and quality public education while the major teacher organization remained relatively silent.

The MFT reveals a sophisticated understanding and strategic use of political power at the state level to advance its objectives. If the MFT is to make full use of this power to advance the professionalization of education, however, it must tighten its structure and authority. It must abandon its one dimensional approach to the improvement of teacher status and give increasing attention to those issues central to the structure of the occupation.

The ultimate professionalization of public school teaching is largely dependent upon organizations like the MFT becoming aware of the central issues which hinder the development of professional status. The MFT possesses the knowledge and political experience to potentially successfully attack these issues. Whether the MFT possesses the leadership or the organizational vitality to forge a new direction will determine, to a significant extent, the future status of Michigan's public school teachers.

Suggestions for Further Study

The MFT, with the inception of collective bargaining, faces in many ways challenges strikingly different from those historically revealed in this study. An investigation of the forces and issues forging new relationships in MFT organization and programs since 1965 is a needed and would be a worthwhile study.

The investigation of professionalization in the MFT suggests a number of related studies which profitably warrant attention. A comparative study of the MFT and the MEA would enable an analysis of the differing concepts of profession and professionalization only partially implied by this study. There is much indication, for example, that each organization has traditionally focused almost exclusively upon only one aspect of the professional model. Further analysis is needed to determine why the MEA has ignored, for the most part, the larger social and political aspects of professionalization, and why the MFT has largely overlooked the client oriented aspects of professionalization.

This study has only touched in an indirect way upon the significant role played by state departments of education and colleges of education in teacher activities on behalf of professionalization. There is little research in either area in relation to (1) how their general policies have affected the professionalization process,

and (2) whether their policies have consciously supported or been indifferent to the professionalization of public school teachers. Departments of education and colleges of education need to be carefully investigated before a clear understanding of the unique problems still facing teacher professionalization can be fully understood.

Professionalization, as a force in contemporary society is at least matched by bureaucracy and bureaucratic forms of organization as a major force in occupational organization. More research is needed to determine the actual effect of bureaucratization upon school operation, actual teaching practices, and teacher drive for professional status.

APPENDIX

STRUCTURE OF THE MFT

The Constitution of the Michigan Federation of Teachers provides that no discrimination will be shown toward individual members or applicants for membership because of race, creed, religious faith, political activities or belief, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Facist, Nazi or Communist, will be admitted to membership. The only other limit to membership in the MFT concerns administrators. Administrators, other than superintendents and assistant superintendents, who are not eligible for membership in a local having jurisdiction can be granted membership at large upon written approval from the local providing he does not have authority in the school district to settle grievances. Such a member cannot hold office in or be elected to any policy committee of the MFT.¹

The MFT lists five objectives in the Constitution. (1) The encouragement and promotion of democratic educational practices so that every child can realize his fullest potential physically, mentally, socially, and spiritually. (2) The raising of the standards of the

¹Michigan Federation of Teachers, Constitution Art. III, sec. 3B-sec. 7 (Constitution and By-Laws Corrected as of May 6, 1967).

teaching profession and securement for all educational workers of conditions conducive to the performance of their best services. (3) Assistance in the organization of new locals. (4) The provision of service to locals and assistance in improvement of their organization. (5) The bringing of AFT locals in Michigan into a relationship of mutual assistance and cooperation with each other and with organized labor.²

The MFT is governed by an Administrative Board and an Executive Council. The Administrative Board is composed of the executive officers--president, executive vice-president, executive secretary, recording secretary, and treasurer plus ten vice presidents. The Administrative Board carries on Federation business between meetings of the Executive Council and has complete control over the employment of personnel and disbursement of funds. The Board advises the President on all committee appointments, and directs efforts at furthering MFT legislation and organizational efforts. No candidate for the Administrative Board can be a member of a competing organization (MEA-NEA). All MFT officers are elected every two years.³

The Executive Council is composed of members of the Administrative Board plus one representative selected by each member of an affiliated local in good standing. The

²MFT Constitution, Art. II, secs. 1-5.

³MFT Constitution, Art. IV, secs. 1-6; Art. V, secs. 1-6.

Executive Council is responsible for the execution of organizational policies subject to the instructions of the regularly called Convention. It also reviews the actions of the Administrative Board. Six meetings a year are required, but the Executive Council usually meets once a month.⁴

The MFT is organized to be responsive to its membership. The annual Convention, held each year in May, actually determines all policies. Decisions of the Convention are by a majority of votes cast, and a referendum can be conducted on Constitutional Amendments during local meetings if requested by three or more locals. Locals are permitted three delegates for the first 25 members, one additional for each 25 members up to 500, and one additional Convention delegate for each complete unit of 100 members above 500.⁵

The President is a key figure in the MFT. Even though subject to election every two years, for some time he was the organization's only full time representative. The President presides at all meetings of the Administrative Board and Executive Council, and appoints all chairmen of standing committees. He represents or appoints

⁴MFT Constitution, Art. VI, secs. 1-6.

⁵MFT Constitution, Art. VII, secs. 1-5.

representatives for all labor body meetings with which the MFT works.⁶

The Executive Vice-President is specifically assigned the responsibility for the operation of the standing committees along the lines requested by the previous Convention.⁷

The Recording Secretary is responsible for compiling and distributing to all locals minutes of the Executive Council Meetings, while the Executive Secretary handles the presidential correspondence and maintains minutes of Administrative Board meetings. The Treasurer is responsible for maintaining up to date records of the membership of all locals, handles the dispersement of all funds, and reports monthly to the Executive Council the financial position of the MFT.

Each of the eleven vice-presidents is assigned the chairmanship of one of the standing MFT committees. In addition, each is assigned jurisdictional areas. It is their responsibility to use the facilities of the State Federation in aiding existing locals in their jurisdiction as well as to assist in the organization of new locals.

The Federation maintains a Publicity Committee and an Editorial Board. The latter publishes the Michigan Teacher and is responsible for seeing that the paper

⁶MFT Constitution, By-Laws Art. VII, sec. 1.

⁷MFT Constitution By-Laws Art, VII, sec. 5.

conforms to the policies of the MFT. Other standing Committees are the Insurance Committee, Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties Committee, and the Convention and Institute Committee. The Human Relations Committee exists to organize, and cooperate with other organizations where possible, programs promoting better human relations. This committee also recommends legislation to the Federation in this field, particularly in the Civil Rights area.⁸

The Organizational Committee works closely with the executive officers and AFT representatives to increase local membership. The Tenure and Grievance Committee handles all cases from the locals in this area. The Negotiations Committee assists and advises locals during periods of negotiation and conducts finance workshops annually.⁹

Two very important committees in the Federation are the Legislative Committee and the Committee on Political Education (COPE). The Legislative Committee works with State and National Legislative representatives in formulating MFT policies and sees locals are informed and play an active role in supporting these measures. COPE is the heart of the MFT political organization, and it works closely with the Michigan AFL-CIO, central labor body COPE.¹⁰

⁸MFT Constitution By-Laws Art. VIII, secs. 4, 5, 8-11.

⁹MFT Constitution By-Laws Art. VIII, secs. 3, 6, 7.

¹⁰MFT Constitution By-Laws Art. IX, secs. 1-2.

COPE is responsible for setting up a file of MFT members by precincts. It encourages qualified Federation members to run for precinct delegates and other political offices. It works closely with locals in school board elections making recommendations to the Executive Council on the endorsement of political candidates, implementing the decrees of the Executive Council in these areas.

The MFT vice-president in charge of COPE is responsible directly to the president and the Administrative Board for the supervision of the program, which functions in all parts of the state where there are AFT locals or members affiliated with the MFT. The vice-president appoints three sets of sub-coordinators, one for each Congressional District, State Senate District, and State House of Representatives District.¹¹

Each Congressional District Committee is composed of MFT local delegates and all State Senate and House of Representative coordinators whose districts are wholly or partly in that Congressional District. The Congressional District coordinators are responsible for keeping the MFT vice-president in charge of COPE informed of political developments in their districts. The MFT office is kept informed of people in these districts willing to serve in appointive educational positions in government. Falling

¹¹Michigan Federation of Teachers, Policies for the MFT COPE, adopted by the Administrative Board, August 1, 1964.

into this category are such positions as the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tenure Commission, community college boards, university board of governors, curriculum committees, study committees and the presidents of universities. The MFT office is also kept informed of possible candidates for elective educational positions--the State Board of Education, and the governing boards of the University of Michigan, Michigan State University and Wayne University. Congressional candidate endorsements and support of those endorsed is a major function of this group as well as endorsement and support of national legislation of interest to the MFT.¹²

The State Senate District Committees are composed of House of Representatives District Coordinators and volunteer MFT members who are residents of the district. The State House of Representatives District Committees are composed of all MFT member residents of the district.¹³

The State Senate District and House of Representatives Coordinators assist directly the Congressional District Coordinators in bringing pertinent political issues to the attention of their districts. Representing their districts on the Congressional District Committees, they are able to keep the Congressional Coordinators

¹²Michigan Federation of Teachers, Committee on Political Education Structure, Responsibilities, and Functions, Communication to Locals, December, 1965.

¹³Ibid.

informed of political developments in their jurisdictions. These state legislative committees are responsible for seeking out every AFT-MFT member in their districts who will help advance the MFT legislative program. They engage in seeking qualified candidates for the state legislature who will help advance Federation education objectives. The legislative district coordinators work closely with the AFL-CIO COPE organization in attempting to secure labor endorsement for candidates who will advance MFT objectives in education.¹⁴

Much of the activity of these coordinators is directed toward securing unified efforts among the locals. Up to date lists are kept of MFT members who will contact legislators and congressmen in support of MFT legislation. Efforts are made to obtain AFL-CIO endorsement and support for good school board candidates, and channels of communication are kept open with legislators to inform them of the MFT position on legislation.¹⁵

A good illustration of MFT as a political force in action is the opposition generated during the 1967 legislative session to prevent passage of House Bill 3254 (Swallow Bill) which contained amendments to Public Law 379. This bill incorporated among other things, a mandatory injunction in strike or strike threat situations,

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

a sweeping ban against bargaining agents which assert the right to strike against government, and the denial of the right of college and university teachers to bargain. The bill would have eroded greatly collective bargaining gains made as a result of the passage of Public Law 379 in 1965.

Each local was instructed to select an individual committee to be responsible for information to and reaction from local members. MFT vice-presidents were made available to serve on various committees. Locals were instructed to contact local service clubs, non-partisan civic groups, and public employees. Local labor delegates were urged to apply pressure through county and local AFL-CIO meetings. The MFT established a Speakers Bureau for use by locals in presenting MFT views. The MFT office stressed the need for securing broad support if opposition to the bill were to be successful. Every member was urged to contact his respective State Senator and Representative making known his opposition to any amendment to weaken Public Act 379.¹⁶

On the state level, the MFT Publicity Committee sent out publicity releases to radio and television, university and college members, local papers, and mailed publicity about the campaign to outstate areas. Working in conjunction with the state AFL-CIO, the Michigan COPE supplied

¹⁶Michigan Federation of Teachers, Minutes of Executive Council Meeting, February 10, 1968.

funds and outstate support from local unions. The MFT joined the Committee of Concerned Unions composed in part of fire fighters, teamsters, the building services, Michigan Nurses Association, social workers, and police in applying unified pressure on legislators. Efforts to defeat the Swallow Bill were successful, however MFT representatives fully expect similar bills to be introduced in the future.¹⁷

Relationship of MFT to State and
Area AFL-CIO

State area AFL-CIO Councils include the coordination of activities of affiliated local unions in the areas of political action and legislation, public relations, strikes, and organizations. Area councils may be an organization of locals in one city or may include locals in several counties. All MFT locals are urged by the AFT and MFT to join their area labor council. Committed to a broadly based approach to political action in education, AFT-MFT policy is firmly committed to organized labor. As members of local labor councils, MFT local representatives are in a position to make the Federation's voice heard at labor meetings and possibly win labor's support for pro-MFT legislation and/or candidates, as well as support of Federation policies on the local school district level.

¹⁷Michigan Federation of Teachers, Bulletin to Local Officers from Henry Linne, February 20, 1968.

There is no automatic support for MFT policies or programs. At best, one could argue that affiliation with labor groups gives the MFT locals a foot in the door and a chance to be heard.¹⁸

The State Labor Organization includes all locals. The member MFT locals send elected representatives to a state convention held every two years where an Executive Board is elected to run the state AFL-CIO Council between conventions. As in the area councils, MFT representatives are in a position at these conventions to gain state wide labor support for MFT legislative positions.¹⁹

The State AFL Council provides a number of services to locals. The legislative office provides the voting record of legislators and information on legislation. Speakers are provided locals on various topics, advisement on the establishment and running of committees, staff and service for institutes, and regular information on labor developments across the state. Both state and area organizations are financed through the payment of a per-capita tax paid by each affiliated organization on its membership. While the State AFL-CIO Council provides tremendous potential support for MFT programs, it cannot be overstressed that in actuality the state labor

¹⁸Michigan Federation of Teachers, Relationship of State and Area AFL-CIO Councils. In report prepared for Teachers Institutes, December 10, 1965.

¹⁹Ibid.

organization, like the MFT, is a grass roots, highly democratic organization. To win support, any member must talk fast and effectively. The MFT, because teachers are not generally regarded as "labor," may well have to talk faster and more convincingly than others.²⁰

Organizational Problems

MFT dues, are collected on a per-capita basis. Up to May, 1966, they averaged \$2.00 per month per member. A Constitutional Amendment in May of 1966 established dues at \$2.50 per month for the first 300 members in a local. In spite of this increase, the MFT financial situation has become increasingly critical as a result of collective bargaining campaigns and the support of five local strikes in 1966 and fifteen in 1967. In 1965-1966 the MFT carried a deficit of \$12,600.00 into 1967. As of December 31, 1967, the MFT deficit amounted to \$20,789.00. The magnitude of this problem is illustrated by the fact that the total MFT operating budget for 1966-1967 totaled only \$159,323.00.²¹

A closer examination of the factors leading to this situation is necessary for a deeper understanding of the MFT operation. Prior to 1964, the purpose and concentration of the MFT staff was directed toward increasing

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report to MFT and Local AFT Leaders from Henry Linne, Part I, February 5, 1968, pp. 2-3.

membership in existing locals and in securing the reaffiliation of locals in Detroit, Grand Rapids, Highland Park, Van Dyke, and Flint. Additional organizing efforts were directed toward establishing locals in twenty-four previously unorganized school districts.²²

In the fall of 1964, the AFT proposed the Cooperative Organization Programs (Co-Org). A series of meetings resulted in the decision to strengthen the state organization and work toward the enactment of a state collective bargaining law for public employees.

The MFT began the 1965-1966 school year with the intention of moving slowly toward collective bargaining elections, assuming that due to the MEA's objection to collective bargaining it would attempt to amend the Public Employment Relations Act in the 1966 legislative session. The MEA decision to move ahead with collective bargaining caught the MFT unprepared. By December of 1965, it became impossible for the MFT staff of four to cope with the volume of collective bargaining elections. Two additional organizers were hired. Another major emphasis in 1965-1966 was assistance to victorious locals in drafting demands and assisting local teams in bargaining. It was assumed that the organization that secured the best and most enforceable contracts would attract teachers in future years. The frenzied pace of elections and

²²Ibid.

bargaining drained local and state treasuries and forced the MFT into its first deficit.²³

The additional dues voted in the 1966 convention were to finance an active program for a period of three years to arrive at a stronger position throughout the state so that when a merger became possible with the MEA Department of Classroom Teachers, the MFT would be in a strong enough position to effectively determine the character of the merger.²⁴

Partially as a result of its financial difficulties, the MFT is currently faced with the prospect of open rebellion from the separate factions composed of MFT affiliates.

The "Macomb Caucus," composed of representatives from seven locals located in the northeastern metropolitan Detroit area, sent a communication in December of 1967 to Charles Cogen, AFT President, requesting an investigation of the MFT operating procedures. The letter closed with the statement that "The future withholding of per capita dues to the Michigan Federation will be dependent upon the conclusion and implementation of recommendations that may result from this investigation."²⁵

²³Ibid., 4.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., 1.

The complaints contained in this letter centered around several broad issues. A major area of contention concerned Detroit's Federation of Teacher Representation on the MFT Administrative Board. Specifically, opposition was expressed to a constitutional change which guaranteed representation on the Administrative Board for any local with an average fully-paid membership of 500 or more. It was felt that this provision gave the Detroit local too much control in directing the policies of the Federation. A further issue which made this situation more disturbing to the Macomb group was the fact that the Detroit local, due to an agreement which provided negotiated reduced dues for locals which maintained their own office and staff, was not paying full per capita dues into the Michigan Federation. The MFT was also charged with financial mismanagement and insolvency, failure to develop a statewide master plan for collective bargaining, unilateral decision making, and failure to engage in organizing of new AFT locals.²⁶

The MFT organization has also been attacked by the Taylor local. The Taylor local, containing 491 members, cited discrepancy in dues paid by locals, disproportionate representation at MFT Conventions, skewed representation on both Administrative Board and Executive Council of the

²⁶Ibid.

MFT in favor of minority locals (locals not bargaining agents in their districts), and budgeting problems as major weaknesses in the state organization.²⁷

All of these issues raised by the two local rebel groups center around the amount and ratio of financial support and control of the state organization.

As of 1967, all locals paid \$2.50 dues on the first 300 members. Locals above 300 may be granted subsidy according to MFT policy if approved by the Executive Council. If all locals were to pay equal dues, Detroit would pay approximately 55 per cent of the Federation income. The issue in the controversy about the difference in dues paid by locals reflect the need for more money by the locals and resentment of smaller locals of the larger locals ability to secure a larger percentage of dues left at the local level.

The representation controversy centers around the conflict between large and small locals and collective bargaining agents and non-collective bargaining agents.

Another major issue concerns the agency shop. Those locals who are the bargaining agent in their districts want the Federation to support the agency shop, which allows the recognized agent to collect dues from non-members it serves in securing a contract in the form of an agent's fee. The MFT has failed to take a definite

²⁷Ibid.

stand on this issue, realizing if agency shops become standard, minority locals would have a difficult time running a contest election with prospects of winning. In addition, such a policy would make it difficult to organize new locals.

These problems threaten the 1968-1969 organizational objectives of the Michigan Federation. Such organizational objectives, however, are only a means to furthering MFT educational objectives. Officials of the Federation realize that achievement of legislative and bargaining goals require effective mobilization and organization of teachers in a political power base to force action, to secure consideration, and favorable resolution of educational issues.

Among those larger goals still being sought by the Federation are more adequate and equitable financing of state aid, including a restructuring of the sources and methods of educational finance. The Federation also is seeking a cost of living factor in retirement benefits, adequate funding or retirement service credit, and increase in retirement benefits. Still on the MFT legislative program is the reorganization of school districts and the restructuring of local districts incorporating factors such as more efficient size, better comprehensive programs, better local support, and better local administration. For the teacher, reduced class size and better working

full credit for prior teaching experience, and the removal of limitations on outside earnings for retired teachers.

The series of strikes from 1965 through 1967 has tended to unify the opposition to teachers. Teacher organizations face a tremendous battle in the years ahead from state and local government leaders, school boards, and school administrators. Many of the issues which threaten the ability of the Michigan Federation to meet this challenge are problems which have been with state federations and the AFT for some time. It is ironic, however, that some of the most threatening problems have arisen from the new relationships posed by the educators' most prized and promising weapon in the fight for educational power, collective bargaining.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Becker, Howard S. "The Nature of a Profession." Education for the Professions. Edited by Nelson B. Henry. The Sixty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Bucher, Rue and Strauss, Anselm. "Professional Associations and the Process of Segmentation." Professionalization. Edited by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.
- Caplow, Theodore. "Sequential Steps in Professionalization." Professionalization. Edited by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.
- . The Sociology of Work. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.
- Carr-Sanders, A. M., and Wilson, P. A. The Professions. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933.
- Corwin, Ronald G. A Sociology of Education. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1965.
- Grambs, Jean Dresden. Schools, Scholars, and Society. Foundation of Education Series. New York: Prentice Hall, 1965.
- Greenwood, Ernest. "The Elements of Professionalization." Professionalization. Edited by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.
- Gross, Edward. Work and Society. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1958.
- Hughes, Everett C. Men and Their Work. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958.
- Hutchins, Robert Maynard. The Higher Learning In America. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1936.

Lieberman, Myron. Education as a Profession. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1956.

_____, and Moskow, Michael H. Collective Negotiations for Teachers. Chicago: Ranc McNally Company, 1966.

Lortie, Dan C. "Professional Socialization." Professionalization. Edited by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.

Mayer, Martin. The Schools. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961.

Research Division, National Education Association. Economic Status of Teachers in 1964-1965. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1965.

Scott, Richard W. "Professionals in Bureaucracies--Areas of Conflict." Professionalization. Edited by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.

Sexton, Patricia. Education and Income. New York: The Viking Press, 1961.

Stiles, Lindly J., ed. The Teachers' Role in American Society. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

Stinnett, T. M. The Profession of Teaching. The Library of Education. Washington D. C.: The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1962.

Vollmer, Howard M., and Mills, Donald L., eds. Professionalization. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.

Warrner, Lloyd W.; Havighurst, Robert J.; and Loeb, Martin B. Who Shall Be Educated. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

Wilensky, Harold L., and Lebeaux, Charles N. Industrial Society and Social Welfare. New York: Free Press, 1958.

Articles and Periodicals

- Becker, Howard S., and Greer, Blanche. "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School." American Sociological Review, XXIII (February, 1958), 50-56.
- Belok, Michael, and Dowling, Fred. "The Teacher Image and Teacher Shortage." Phi Delta Kappan, LIII (March, 1961), 255-256.
- Bierstedt, Robert. "An Analysis of Social Power." American Sociological Review, XV (December, 1950), 735.
- Cass, James M. "How Citizens Look at Teacher Tenure." School and Society, LXXXVIII (October 8, 1960), 347.
- _____, and Birnbaum, Max. "What Makes Teachers Militant." Saturday Review, January, 1968, pp. 54-56.
- "Clinton Fair Assists MFT on Legislation." Michigan Teacher (September, 1958), 1.
- Darland, P. D. "Teacher as an Expert: Establishing the Image." Journal of Secondary Education, XXXVII (November, 1962), 434-440.
- "Federation Hits Proposed Certification Exceptions." Michigan Teacher, XXII (April, 1965), 1.
- Freidson, Eliot, and Rhea, Buford. "Processes of Control in a Company of Equals." Social Problems, XI (Fall, 1963), 119-130.
- Furness, Edna Lue. "The Image of the High School Teacher in American Literature." Educational Forum, XXIV (May, 1960), 457-464.
- Goode, William J. "Community Within a Community: The Professions." American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 194.
- Groff, Patrick J. "The Social Status of Teachers." American Journal of Sociology, XXXVI (September, 1962), 20-25.
- "A History of the Teacher Tenure Act in Michigan." Michigan Teacher, III (January, 1944), 2.
- Hixon, Dick. "General Discussion of Co-Org." Michigan Teacher, XXV (May, 1966), 2.

"Hope Springs Eternal." Michigan Teacher, XVIII
(September, 1959), 4.

Jenkins, Margeret E. "American Teachers, Their Rights
and Responsibilities." PTA, September, 1962,
pp. 2-3.

Koerner, James D. "Teachers Get the Worst Education."
Saturday Evening Post, June 1, 1963, pp. 8-10.

Linne, Henry B. "Philosophy of Negotiation--AFT's
Position." Michigan Teacher, XXII (February-March,
1965), 2.

"A Look at the Retirement Record." Michigan Teacher,
VIII (December, 1949), 1.

"The Master Teacher Plan." Michigan Teacher, VI (December,
1947), 2.

"MFT Con-Con Stand." Michigan Teacher, XX (March, 1963),
1.

Michigan Education Association. "A Chronology of Michigan
Education and the Michigan Education Association
1817-1966," 1967.

"Michigan Federation Outlines New Programs for State
Legislation." Michigan Teacher, XXII (February-
March, 1965), 2-3.

"MFT Lists Seven Requirements for Federal Aid Program."
Michigan Teacher, XIX (April, 1961), 4.

"MFT or MEA Who'll Work For You?" Michigan Teacher
(September, 1966), 2.

"MFT Outlines Retirement Program." Michigan Teacher,
VIII (December, 1949), 1.

"MFT President Blasts Phoney Senate Bill 1303." Michigan
Teacher, XX (April, 1962), 1.

"MFT Raises Problems on Certification." Michigan Teacher,
VIII (December, 1944), 1.

"MFT Sets Goals to Strengthen Union." Michigan Teacher,
XX (March, 1962), 4.

"MFT State Aid Plan Needs Push." Michigan Teacher, XX
(March, 1962), 2.

National Opinion Research Center. "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation." Opinion News, IX (September 1, 1947), 3-13.

"New AFT Contracts Give Real Power to Teachers." Michigan Teacher (September, 1966), 1.

O'Dowd, Donald D., and Beardslee, David C. "The Student Image of the School Teacher." Phi Delta Kappan, XLII (March, 1961), 250-254.

Parsons, Talcott. "Some Problems Confronting Sociology as a Profession." American Sociological Review, XXIV (August, 1959), 558.

Scott, Richard. "Reactions to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organization." Administrative Science Quarterly, X (June, 1965), 51-68.

Sims, V. M. "Social Class Affiliation of a Group of Public School Teachers." School Review (September, 1951), 59-61.

"State Finances Unsettled." Michigan Teacher, VII (March, 1953), 2.

Steadman, Robert M. "Aid to Schools." Michigan Teacher, VII (November, 1952), 1.

Terrien, Frederic W. "Who Thinks What About Educators?" American Journal of Sociology, LXI (September, 1953), 115.

"Urge Affiliates to Push Labor's Con-Con Stand." Michigan Teacher, XX (September, 1961), 2.

"What's Wrong With the State Aid Law." Michigan Teacher, VI (December, 1947), 2.

Wilensky, Harold L. "The Professionalization of Everyone?" The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (September, 1964), 137-158.

Woodring, Paul. "The New York Teachers Strike." Saturday Review, May 19, 1962, p. 52.

"Year of Decision." Michigan Teacher, XVII (September, 1958), 1.

Unpublished Material

Hall, Richard H. "The Components of Professionalization."
Unpublished paper.

Michigan Federation of Teachers. Bulletin to Local
Officers from Henry Linne, February 20, 1968.

_____. Committee on Political Education Structure,
Responsibilities and Functions. Communication to
Locals, December, 1965.

Michigan Federation of Teachers Constitution and By-Laws.

Michigan Federation of Teachers. Minutes of Executive
Council Meeting, February 10, 1968.

_____. "Minutes Thirty-first Annual Convention," 1965.

_____. Policies for the MFT COPE. Adopted by the Ad-
ministrative Board, August 1, 1964.

_____. Policy ofn MFT Assistance to Locals in Collective
Bargaining Campaigns. March 21, 1964. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Procedures Under Tenure. Report prepared for
Teachers Institute held at Haven Hill, December 10,
1965. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Proposed Policy Concerning MFT Defense Fund
Disbursement. Prepared for Teachers Institute held
at Haven Hill, December 10, 1965. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Relationships to State and Area AFL-CIO Councils.
Prepared for Teachers Institute held at Haven Hill,
December 10, 1965. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Report to MFT and Local AFT Leaders from Henry
Linne, Part I, February 5, 1968.

Wayne State University. Labor History Archives, Arthur
Elder, Detroit Federation of Teachers File. Michigan
Federation of Teachers, A Message to Michigan Teachers,
1937. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers. Minutes of the
Meeting, October 17, 1936. (Typewritten.)

_____. Minutes of Joint Luncheon Meeting of AFT Locals
of the State of Michigan, January 19, 1935. (Type-
written.)

_____. Minutes of the Meeting of the State Federation of Teachers, April 25, 1936. (Typewritten.)

_____. Report of the Meeting of the State Federation of Teachers, February 2, 1935. (Typewritten.)

_____. Report of the Meeting of the State Federation of Teachers, March 16, 1935. (Typewritten.)

_____. Report of the Meeting of the State Federation of Teachers, October 13, 1935. (Typewritten.)

_____. Report of the State Federation of Teachers Meeting, February 29, 1936. (Typewritten.)

Wayne State University. Labor History Archives, Michigan Federation of Teachers File. Michigan Federation of Teachers, Communication to All Locals, May 9, 1949. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, Communication to All Locals, January 4, 1951. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, Communication to All Locals, January 20, 1951. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Letter, Governor G. Mennen Williams to Jessie I. Baxter, October 9, 1950.

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, Legislative Program 1945-1946. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, Legislative Program 1951. (Mimeographed.)

_____. "Michigan Federation of Teachers, Minutes Eighteenth Annual Convention," 1952.

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention," 1942.

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Council, December 9, 1944. (Mimeographed.)

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Seventeenth Annual Convention," 1951.

_____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes Thirtieth Annual Convention," 1964.

- _____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Minutes
Twenty-ninth Annual Convention," 1963.
- _____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, "Officers Reports,
Twelfth Annual Convention," 1946.
- _____. Michigan Federation of Teachers, Report of the
Human Relations Committee, 1963. (Mimeographed.)

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293104061167