

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

REFORMATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION: A GENEALOGY OF THE  
OKLAHOMA COMMISSION FOR TEACHER PREPARATION AS A  
REGULATORY STANDARDS BOARD

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Norman, Oklahoma  
2006

UMI Number: 3237525



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UMI Microform 3237525

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REGULATORY STANDARDS BOARD

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

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## Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Steven, my first, and best, teacher; to my mom, Stephanie, for her love and faith; to my sister, Carole Ann, for solid, down-to-earth advice at crucial personal and professional junctures and to my brother-in-law, Richard, for being an all-around nice guy. Thanks to my brother, Ron, who first taught me the value of being able to propose and defend and to my sister, Sherry, for her playfulness of spirit. Each contributed in their own way to the completion of this study.

Copious amounts of gratitude to Dean Joan K. Smith, for her generous advice and support throughout the years of matriculation. Her skilled guidance was instrumental to the completion of the study, although any errors or shortcomings are strictly my own. Thanks, also, to my committee members for the many opportunities afforded me during graduate school.

I would also like to acknowledge the participants of this study, most of whom preferred to remain anonymous. Their participation reflects a deep appreciation for academic inquiry and a commitment to educational quality in Oklahoma. Many thanks to Barbara Ware who opened the door of opportunity. Thanks, too, to layman John Rex who lived a life of service to education and who served as one of many muses during the composition of this narrative.

Above all, I would like to thank my two daughters who made many sacrifices along the path: Stephanie, who is the essence of authenticity, and Ann, who is the model of resilience and good humor. This study is for them.

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## Abstract

In 1995, the Oklahoma legislature established the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation (OCTP) to improve education by upgrading standards for teachers. By 2000, forty-three states maintained similar independent, semi-independent, or advisory standards boards designed to oversee various aspects of professionalism, including licensure and certification of teacher candidates, professional development of in-service teachers, and oversight of teacher preparation programs. The first part of this study analyzes the historical conditions that led to similar uses of regulatory boards of educators to professionalize teaching. The issues surrounding OCTP as a professionalizing board have been contextualized using Foucault's method of genealogy. Early nineteenth to late twentieth century commissioned reports and task force findings were "unearthed" and examined for evidence of the previous utilization of teacher's boards comparable to regulatory boards for other fields such as medicine (AMA) and law (ABA).

Utilizing public and private archives, media reports, state and federal reports, literature of professional organizations and oral history interviews, the second portion of the paper presents the case—the *Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation*—the analysis of which points to how Bledstien's notion of professionalism became manifest in Oklahoma. An instrumental case study design was applied to investigate how twentieth century notions of professionalism contributed to the establishment and initial implementation of OCTP.

Unlike medicine and law that used boards of peers to maintain standards for the field, education experienced persistent issues that consistently inhibited the development



of teaching as a profession. Since the late nineteenth century, professional factiousness lowered the status of education, resulting in attrition and difficulties in recruitment. With recurring teacher shortages, standards were frequently lowered and professionalizing issues of accreditation, licensure and certification were negatively affected. To arrest the downward cycle of status and quality, the consistent solution on the part of those arguing for greater teacher regulation, and those arguing for more professional autonomy, was the establishment of a governing board comprised of representatives from the field.

The pattern of responses by contemporary case study participants revealed historical consistency in professional factionalism, the relationship between accreditation, licensure and certification standards and teacher supply, and issues of self-governance versus regulation.

# Reformation of the Teaching Profession: A Genealogy of the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation as a Regulatory Standards Board

## Chapter I

### **PROLOGUE**

If a professional, by definition, maintains “an exclusive body of systematic and expert knowledge” which is applied with a high degree of autonomy for the good of the community and the client, then the recent establishment of independent or teacher standards boards represents an unprecedented trend in contemporary reform circles to improve society, through schools, by professionalizing teaching. Currently forty-three states have independent, semi-independent, or advisory standards boards designed to oversee various aspects of professionalism in teaching, including licensure and certification of teacher candidates, professional development of in-service teachers, and oversight of teacher preparation programs.<sup>1</sup>

Through the passage of a series of bills in the 1990s, the Oklahoma legislature mirrored larger, national trends to step up standards in teacher licensure, certification, academic preparation, and professional development by establishing the *Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation*. The establishment of this board renders the governing structure of education in Oklahoma relatively unique. There are only two such educational governing bodies in the nation that are considered independent standards boards. Although teaching “is an occupation that left its guild status” in the late middle

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, Joan K. *Understanding Teaching as a Public Profession: Applying the Values of Democracy, Civil Society and Public Participation—A History of the American Professions*. (Paper presented at AERA Division K, April 16, 2004): p. 2-3. Board, John C. *A Report on the Status of Professional Boards of Teaching in the United States [revised]* (National Education Association, March 2003): p. 4.

ages, Oklahoma and other states have struggled with considering teaching a true profession with respect to other professions such as medicine or law.<sup>2</sup>

In light of the recent trend to professionalize teaching through teacher standards boards, this study is concerned with the following primary question: how was teacher professionalism being manifested in the contemporary climate of education reform in Oklahoma? It is from this question that all other questions will emerge. An investigation into how teacher professionalism operated in Oklahoma will shed light on one domain of schooling that has the potential for affecting student outcomes.

### **A Genealogy of Teaching**

The reformation of the teacher through professional preparation, licensure and certification and professional development, has been part of the educational landscape in the U.S. since the inception of a universal, publicly supported school system. Because “we lack a comprehensive history of . . . the teaching profession,” it is important to inform the field by ferreting out the antecedents of teacher reformation efforts, particularly as expressed in national commissions and reports of various educational eras.<sup>3</sup>

Simply determining antecedents is problematic. Some histories use a sequential trajectory to address the perceived educational challenges of the day. Nineteenth century historians, for example, maintained such a linear perception of history which unfolds along a trajectory. Breisach writes, “. . . the link between past, present, and future [that

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<sup>2</sup> A 2002 NEA sponsored survey indicates that Oklahoma and Hawaii are the only two independent standards boards. (See John Board, note 1, above): p. 6. However, teaching in these states does not reach the status of profession because of the inability of the boards to “adjudicate allegations brought against licensees and the authority to revoke, suspend, or reinstate a practitioner’s license.” (Board, John. *Lessons Learned from Becoming an Independent Standards Board*. Paper delivered to the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification at the Red Lion Hotel on Fifth Avenue, Seattle Washington, June 8, 2003): p. 6. Smith, Joan. (2004, see note 1, above): p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Lynn, Kenneth. 1965. *The Professions in America*. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston): p. x.

makes history] into an activity necessary for human life, is experienced in daily life by everybody. There we observe how the expectations for the future turn first into the realities of the present and then become the memories of the past . . . “ Looking backwards from the future, Breisach suggests that historic events are as links in a chain. These historians “convinced most scholars that everything must be understood in terms of development,” or as a progression of events leading to a succession of improved conditions.<sup>4</sup>

Noted historian Michel Foucault repudiated this idea that history always be represented as sequence of events, with a beginning, middle and end. He asserted that history can be “misconceived as ‘an attempt to capture the exact essence of things;’” that history, such as some religious investigations, can be “flawed if ‘conducted as a search for origins in the sense of essential beginnings.’” For some historical questions, the idea is “not to connect events in order to discern causes” or to determine essences. Instead, certain historical questions *require* a denial of origins. However, this denial of origins or refusal to trace causes is not to reject history out of hand. Prado notes that “The proffered alternative to [linear, sequential or causal] history is genealogy, which ‘opposes itself to the search for origins.’” The “heart of the concept is that there are not essences to be discovered behind historical developments” but instead there are ancestral forms of ideas, concepts, and issues to be archaeologically uncovered or unearthed.<sup>5</sup>

Rather than determining essences, genealogy examines “dissenting opinions and theories” in general, and “local beliefs and understandings” in particular, to investigate

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<sup>4</sup> Breisach, Ernst. 1983. *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, Modern*. (Chicago, University Press): p. 1 – 2.

<sup>5</sup> Prado, C. G. 1995. *Starting with Foucault: An Introduction to Genealogy*. (Boulder: Westview Press): p. 33, 35, 37, 40. See also Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge & the Discourse on Language*. (Pantheon Books, New York): p. 3 – 17.

the “historical roots” of an issue or event. As Foucault states, genealogy does not trace a line from a “lasting foundation” from which all other activity emerge. Instead, it is the “rebuilding of foundations.” When looking at history genealogically, one is lead to “the emergence of a whole [new] field of questions.” Although new, some of the questions remain quite “familiar.”<sup>6</sup> In order to look at the emergence or transformation of new foundations it will be necessary to uncover what has been said previously about teacher professionalism. As Prado notes, genealogy ““operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments”” to archaeologically exhume and map “. . . disciplines with their accepted concepts, legitimized subjects . . . and preferred strategies, that yield justified truth claims” about the discipline or the profession. Therefore, the historical questions then become ‘what are these ancestors, in what forms have they appeared, and what family traits or likenesses do they share?’<sup>7</sup>

A study of contemporary standards boards interested in the reformation of the teaching profession requires an understanding of the ancestral forms and subsequent family traits of teacher professionalism. Also required is an examination of the tradition of American professionalism itself, alongside an investigation of teacher reform efforts, as independent standards boards are embedded within a broader culture of professionalism. American professionalism is distinct from European traditions in that our brand of professionalism was created out of the idea of a democratic, as opposed to class-based, political structure. Equality of opportunity for prestige and vertical

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<sup>6</sup> See a discussion of the requirements of genealogy in Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge & the Discourse on Language*. (Pantheon Books, New York): p. 3 – 17; See also Dreyfus, Hubert and Rabinow, Paul. 1983. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Sussex, The Harvester Press): p. 118 – 125.

<sup>7</sup> For full definition of professionalism as the conceptual framework for this paper, see Bledstein, Burton J. 1978. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (W.W. Norton and Co.: New York). Prado, C.G. 1995. *Starting with Foucault: An Introduction to Genealogy*. (Westview Press: Boulder): p. 34-36.

movement, through persistent study in an abstract and esoteric body of scientific knowledge, has been the foundation of American professionalism. According to our democratic traditions, “The culture of professionalism released the creative energies of the free person who was usually accountable only to himself and his personal interpretation of the ethical standards of his profession” in order to serve humanity—the ultimate end and “highest ideal.”<sup>8</sup>

Just as Foucault used genealogy to discern the antecedents of sexuality and mental illness in order to shed light on contemporary perceptions of sexuality and the treatment of the mentally ill, this study will examine the historical antecedents through which earlier forms of teacher professionalism emerged. For the purposes of this study, genealogical analysis of political mechanisms and reform efforts pertinent to the shaping of the teacher, paralleled with analysis of the professional, will facilitate understanding of contemporary perceptions, and consequent reformations, of the teacher as professional in Oklahoma.<sup>9</sup>

In order to determine historical antecedents of teacher reform, genealogy requires “archives, chronicles, diaries, journals, logbooks, memoirs, official records, and registries that are the historian’s raw material.”<sup>10</sup> Genealogy also uses narratives and other written sources that have interpreted teacher professionalism in the past. Consequently, this study of the genealogy of the teacher as a professional will present findings in two parts. The first and largest part will focus on historical material to set the context and trace the

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<sup>8</sup> Bledstien, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (W.W. Norton and Co., New York): 92.

<sup>9</sup> See Dreyfus and Rabinow (note 6, above) for a discussion on how genealogy traces issues out of their social contexts; For a discussion on the tenets of professionalism, see subhead “Roots of American Professionalism” this paper or see Bledstien, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (W.W. Norton and Co., New York).

<sup>10</sup> Prado, C.G. 1995. (See note 14, above): p. 40.

forms of teacher professionalism by examining major state and national commissioned reports, starting with those of Horace Mann in the early nineteenth century, and ending with the *Goals 2000* report generated out of the Clinton administration. Inquiry into some of the historical antecedents or genealogical forms as they pertained to the professional teacher will unearth some of the dominate discourse regarding socially embedded goals for schools and subsequently for teaching.

The last portion of the paper will present the case—the *Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation* (OCTP)—the analysis of which will point to how teacher professionalism developed in the contemporary climate of educational reform. Throughout will be peppered Bledstein’s conceptualization of the “Culture of Professionalism” which frames American professions as scientifically-based, embodying the concepts and values of independence, democratic self-governance, and cultivated reason for participation in an open society.<sup>11</sup>

### **The Roots of American Professionalism**

Americans have historically been characterized by their entrepreneurial and pioneering spirit. However, as middle class attitudes took hold in our society, the distinctly American idea of the self-made man transformed from rugged frontiersman to autonomous professional by 1840. Professionalism became a democratic state of being in that social mobility was possible for any who might have the requisite ambition. According to Bledstein and Hatch, higher learning was one important way the individual might leverage themselves to professional status. The public conferred respect and trust

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<sup>11</sup> Bledstien, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (Norton and Co., New York).

in the authority of the professional with superior theoretical knowledge and technical skill acquired through professional preparation.

What made the professional a large part of American democracy, was that he did not “exclusively pursue self-interest,” but was “at some level involve[d with] moral commitment of service to the public that [went] beyond the test of the market or the desire for personal profit.”<sup>12</sup> Professionals became highly respected members of their communities for the impact their expert services could have on the quality of life for individual clients and entire communities. Because the professional “embraced an ethic of service which taught that dedication to a client’s interest took precedence over personal profit,” he was ethically bound only to his professional peers and “his personal interpretation of the ethical standards of his profession.”<sup>13</sup>

While the professional “resisted all corporate encroachments and regulations upon his independence, whether from government bureaucrats, university trustees, business administrators, public laymen, or even his own professional associations,” he nevertheless worked closely with his colleagues to limit access into esteemed domains. By establishing entrance criteria into preparation institutions and by setting standards for professional conduct, members themselves maintained exclusive control over the supply of licensed and certified practitioners. Controlling the gates to the profession served the interests of all practitioners who could then command the salaries of the most laudable.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Note: the pronoun ‘he’ is used throughout to denote the historical debarring of women from professional spheres. Bledstein, Burton J. 1976 (see notes, above): p. 4, 87 - 90; Hatch, Nathan O. (ed.) 1988. *The Professions in American History*. (University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana): p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Hatch, Nathan O. (ed.) 1988. *The Professions in America*. (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame): p. 2. Bledstein, Burton J. 1976 *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York): 92.

<sup>14</sup> Bledstein, Burton J. 1978. (see notes, above): p. 92. Hatch, Nathan O. editor. 1988 *The Professions in American History*. University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame): p. 2.



However, the American Medical Association (AMA) and the American Bar Association (ABA), as well as other voluntary professional boards vested in quality, “worked for more stringent preparation and higher standards in licensing in order to protect the public from incompetence and quackery.” Nevertheless, history shows that professional reforms in American democracy “served to enhance the status, opportunities, public recognition, and interests of special occupations by means of creating permanent civil-service positions.” The development of standard setting bodies or professional governing boards was instrumental to this end.<sup>15</sup>

### **Carnegie and the Genesis of Professional Governing Boards**

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT) has been instrumental in facilitating agreement on standards for practitioners and in determining selection criteria and the theoretical and clinical content for preparation of professional candidates. Additionally, the Foundation has been influential in generating the public support required to regulate the professions and procure the bestowal of respect by the public. The early development of the professions of law and medicine were particularly influenced by the findings of Carnegie Foundation reports.

#### *Medicine*

Headed by astronomer Henry S. Pritchett who was “interested in problems of higher education in the United States, including preparation for the professions,” Carnegie hired educator Abraham Flexner in 1908 to conduct a study of all medical schools in the United States and Canada.<sup>16</sup> In his introduction to *Medical Education: A*

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<sup>15</sup> Bledstein, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York): p. 96 – 97.

<sup>16</sup> Rosenberg, Charles E., editor. 1983. *The Structure of American Medical Practice 1875 – 1941*. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia): p. 63.

*Comparative Study* (1925), Flexner addressed the primary debate between medicine as an art and medicine as a science. He wrote, “If medicine is classified as an art, in contradiction to a science, the practitioner is encouraged to proceed with a clear conscience on superficial or empirical lines; if, on the other hand, he is acutely conscious of a responsibility to scientific spirit and scientific method, he will almost inevitably endeavor to clarify his conceptions and to proceed more systematically in the accumulation of data, the framing of hypotheses and checking up of results.”

Generally speaking, Mid-Victorian professionals were considered to have the ability, through their preparation as scientists, to grasp “the concept behind a functional activity, allowing him both to perceive and to predict those inconspicuous or unseen variables which determined an entire system of developments.” Flexner encouraged the “scientific status” of the medical profession and proposed that no distinction should be made between the practitioner and the researcher. International comparisons of occupations are common in our history, and Flexner seems to have considered the practice of medicine in Germany. He quoted a German in observing the relationship professional physicians enjoy with their clients, saying, ““Our patients . . . obeyed us gladly. Our [scientific] zeal led them to respect and trust us. It never occurred to them to inquire whether this zeal was in the interest of treatment or in the interest of science,”” The quote exemplifies the faith placed in science by German professionals and their clients. The interests of treatment and the interests of science seemed to merge in the minds of the citizenry. The use of the quote exemplifies the kind of professional values advocated by Flexner.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Flexner, Abraham. 1910. *Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin No. 4*. (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the

Flexner's report followed on the heels of a felt need among physicians to assemble the numerous state and county societies, as well as societies devoted to specializations within the field of medicine. Since 1806 when the New York Legislature established a State Medical Society, which in 1839 began to evolve into a national society, a democratically based professional organization presented a united front of authority for medicine. Any local disputes were to be settled at the national level.<sup>18</sup> The merger of societies facilitated the perpetuation of medicine as a "learned profession" with the free flow of information among its members through "medical societies, medical journals and medical libraries." The American Medical Association was consequently established in 1848 in order to convene the disparate agencies under one body and to "initiate reforms to correct the deplorable condition of medical education which prevailed." James Howard Means indicated that the establishment of the AMA was a significant event for physicians as professionals in that it was the beginning of organized medicine. Such a national board was to be "democratic in character, patterned somewhat after the nation itself," as all "medical societies and schools of medicine in the country were invited to send delegates."<sup>19</sup>

The Carnegie report indicated that the scientific zeal of the researcher/practitioner in the treatment of patients was to be augmented by technical competence in the lab or clinic. The advancement of medicine as a science, as opposed to an empirical or metaphysical craft, was to manifest, primarily, in medical education. In his study of the

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Advancement of Teaching): p. 5 - 8. Bledstein, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.): p. 88.

<sup>18</sup> Reed, 1921. *Training for the Public Profession of Law: Historical Development and Principal Contemporary Problems of Legal Education in the United State with some Account of Conditions in England and Canada*. (D.B. Updike, The Merrymount Press, Boston, MA ): p. 209.

<sup>19</sup> James Howard Means in Lynn, Kenneth S. (ed.) 1965. *The Professions in America*. (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston): p. 50 – 51.

condition of medicine in Canada and the U.S., Flexner focused primarily on the education of candidates. Consequently, one of the primary functions of the AMA was to influence the recruitment of quality candidates while placing limits on those who may be considered, and further, to influence the theoretical and practical training of the pre-service candidate, which includes the pedagogic competence of instructors.

Raising standards for medical schools has been a primary function of the AMA since 1900. “Efforts to upgrade medical education and to develop higher standards for entrance into the profession had been made since the 1870s. The basic problem, however, had been lack of agreement on what the standards should be. Furthermore, effective action required the development of public support for the position that demanded standards and legal regulation were necessary to serve the public interest in the practice of medicine.”<sup>20</sup>

Such acceptance of the professional as *autonomous expert* or *authority figure* legitimated other functions of the AMA. For example, on the agenda of the board was the prevention of “well-known abuses in the marketplace.” Specifically, “physicians campaigned for the sole privilege both to authorize admissions into hospitals and to write prescriptions for drugs. But the physician now made himself and his fees central to the administration of all legitimate medical services, including the most pedestrian and routine.”<sup>21</sup> Flexner’s report facilitated the kind of public interest necessary to regulate the clinical, university, and proprietary schools and colleges of medicine in existence at that time. The previous establishment of the AMA facilitated the regulation by doctors of

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<sup>20</sup> Rosenberg, Charles E., editor. 1983. *The Structure of American Medical Practice 1875 – 1941*. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia): p. 61.

<sup>21</sup> Bledstein, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. New York): p. 97.

medical services thereby controlling or limiting supply in the face of demand. The report was instrumental in solidifying public opinion in terms of professional standards for the benefit of society and was influential in establishing the AMA as a self-regulating governing body.

### *Law*

Law, with the development of case study as the preferred method for preparation, was also founded on science. The American Bar Association (ABA), established in 1848 as the national voluntary board for that field, sought to ensure that the public was serviced by ethical professionals. The ABA was formed to advance “the science of jurisprudence.”<sup>22</sup>

Basing the profession on science, in order to remedy ethical problems embedded within the profession, spurred reform of the legal profession in the United States. Addressing the general corruption and steady decline in the reputation of law, efforts to reform the profession through preparation institutions were to be central to the ethical practice of lawyers.

Prior to the Civil War the traditional system of a “graded” profession took from England educating men separately as “barristers, or counselors and attorneys, [or as] solicitors or equity practitioners and those practicing in the courts of common law.” Well-off Americans sent their sons overseas to train in the Inns of Court so that they could enjoy “the prestige of an English legal Education. . . .” However, this system deteriorated in pre-eminence following the Civil War. Reed wrote in his Carnegie report,

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<sup>22</sup> American Bar Association. “Profile of the American Bar Association.” August 2006. Retrieved online <http://www.abanet.org/media/profile.html>.

“The corruption in national, state, and local politics after the Civil War was almost beyond belief. These were years of Credit Mobilier, carpet-baggery and Tweed.”<sup>23</sup>

The decentralization of law during the “sixty years following the Revolution” contributed significantly to the corruption referred to by Reed. Courts within sparsely populated communities were in the habit, for practical reasons, of allowing each court, within various jurisdictions to admit lawyers to its own particular bar. “Decentralization sprang from the necessity of making the machinery of admissions physically accessible to applicants, especially in large or sparsely settled states. . . .” It became “a courtesy among judges, and of convenience for all concerned, to recognize admissions in one court as good for all. Later, as the movement for lowering educational standards gained strength, the idea came to have a value simply for this purpose.” Ultimately, however, this trend contributed to the eventual decline of the profession after the Civil War.<sup>24</sup>

While there was general public momentum to address political corruption during the early progressive era, it was lawyers, themselves, who took “the lead in reforming lawyers. . . . A special sense of professional responsibility was aroused among the more respectable practitioners of the day. To regain their lost leadership in public life, selected groups came together ‘to maintain the honor and dignity of the profession’ as their primary object, . . .”<sup>25</sup>

The primary way of regaining professional dignity was through educational reform. Long after the Inns of Court were closed to Americans, a bifurcation in the

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<sup>23</sup> Reed, Alfred Zantizinger. 1921. *Training for the Public Profession of the Law: Historical Development and Principal Contemporary Problems of Legal Education in the United States, with Some Account of Conditions in England and Candada* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Bulletin no. 15): p. 80 – 81 and 206.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, (see note 23, above): p. 68 – 71.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, (see note 23, above): p. 206.

system of preparing lawyers belied democratic rhetoric of social mobility that any “average man may belong to [a middle class] state of being” if only he applied himself. Full time law school was the primary method of educating professional lawyers. These schools were highly competitive and prohibitively expensive for many. While such a system captured the interest and envy of a class-based Europe, a large underclass of candidates was automatically “debarred . . . not because their capacity [was] inferior to that of the general run of students who do attend, but because they [sprang] from an economically less favored class in the community.” There was a large population of ambitious men [many probably supported themselves by teaching while attending law school] who gained entrance to new clerkship schools in order to move up the occupational ladder. Fortunately for this underprivileged class, the “New schools were started for their especial benefit.” The more common availability of electricity additionally prepared the way for night school, which was intended to open legal education to individuals heretofore debarred because of social class.<sup>26</sup>

The opening of the new night schools resulted in an apprenticeship type of training and the continued social stratification of the profession of law. Full time institutions, which generally existed in well-populated urban areas, limited entrance into the profession by putting into place stringent entrance requirements and by requiring earnest dedication to the full time study of law. While full time law schools were to “serve the community by turning out well-educated lawyers,” the part-time, apprentice institutions, found in more rural areas, prepared less prestigious law clerks—more like assistants. The creation of night schools did not mend the social stratification of the profession.

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<sup>26</sup> Reed, Alfred Zantizinger. 1921. (see note 23, above): p. 55 – 56.

While suggesting that the profession of law was too important to democracy to leave it for the upper class, Reed nonetheless protested any standardization between the institutions by writing,

The evil—the very great evil—of the present situation, as a result of which all part-time legal education now rests under a justified cloud, lies in the perpetuation of the theory of a unitary bar, whose attainments are to be tested by uniform examinations. This formula, once adequate to the needs of sparsely settled communities, has been carried over into a period when it is no longer workable. Under the notion that there is such a thing as “a” standard lawyer, radically different educational ideals are brought into conflict with one another, to their mutual injury; this in face of the fact that they actually produce radically different types of practitioners.

Such a system of training, historically, impeded the development of law as a public profession. Where state and local associations grew up around the country, “the specially trained, or the better trained, or both” naturally split off into “minority associations.” These associations—local and State bar associations—appeared initially as social clubs, designed first, for the purpose of “social intercourse,” and then for the sharing of libraries. After the Civil War, however, Northern lawyers sought a national bar. This “younger generation” of lawyers, spurred by ethical decline of their profession, formed into associations designed to scrupulously canvas candidates seeking entrance into law schools. Although the first by-laws of the ABA were adopted in 1879, by 1910 only “three percent of the total number of lawyers in the United States” were paying dues and only 9 percent of these attended the 1910 ABA annual meeting. Unlike the united front of scientific authority displayed by the medical society, the American Bar Association experienced disunion from its inception as State associations and local units were hesitant to relinquish their “special professional recognition.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Reed, Alfred Zantizinger. 1921. 1921. (see note 23, above): p. 55 & 57, 205 – 217, p. 218 at the footnote.



Additionally, “The Association so closely resembled . . . a self- perpetuating clique, and there was so little in its record to justify a claim to leadership of the American bar, that in 1887 there was launched a rival organization—the National Bar Association” which was democratically comprised of representatives from the State and local societies. Still in existence, the NBA provided a venue for professional collegiality for African-American lawyers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century who were denied admission to the ABA. The NBA later helped to usher the “War on Poverty” programs, and so is known for its professional service to disenfranchised populations.<sup>28</sup>

Further contributing to the “characteristics of separatism and arbitrary membership standards,” Reed discovered a split between “theorists” who taught in the preparation institutions, and “practitioners” who Reed accused of being “mere technicians” for whom “technique counts for vastly more than it should.” This was complicated by the tradition inherited from England “that responsibility both for legal education and for admission to the bar should be placed almost entirely upon practicing lawyers and judges, and should not be shared with universities to the extent that it is in most countries.” The “lack of organic connection with the schools” probably did not improve this split within the professional culture and probably contributed to the further struggle for status not suffered by the medical profession with its attendant teaching hospitals.<sup>29</sup>

In its striving for exclusivity and limiting entrance into the profession, Reed found at the time of his writing that the field of law, as a whole, remained “a loose conglomerate rather than an integration of local, state, and national units. . . . [Unlike that

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<sup>28</sup> National Bar Association. <http://www.nationalbar.org/about/index.shtml#history> Retrieved online February 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Reed, Alfred Zantizinger. 1921. (see note 23, above): p. 219 & 221, 4 – 5.

of medicine, law] is a profession so disunited within itself as seriously to impair its capacity even to formulate—let alone to realize—professional ideals.” Regardless, the history of the development of the ABA as a professionalizing body has historical importance to professionalism, not only in the field of law, but in other fields striving to be recognized for authority and expertise.<sup>30</sup>

Although “Americans have sustained a veritable love-hate relationship with the role of the expert in a democratic culture,” professional environments have “offered a wide door of upward mobility and at the same time built imposing walls to legitimate vested interests and social inequality.” The preparation of professionals has created a world-renowned, efficient elite, “and at the same time served to entrench elites unresponsive to popular control.” Americans appear to “admire professionals for their dedication to public service and revile them for the extent to which such claims serve as masks for financial greed.”<sup>31</sup>

Historically, regulatory boards of the respective professional societies have been instrumental in the development of the professions such as they are in American culture. The development of libraries and other means of continuing education, and the democratic representation of practitioners have typified professional boards which oversee standards within a given profession. Serving and protecting the needs of society, raising the status of professions through standard setting apparatus, and controlling supply and demand within a climate of free-market, democratic ideology have all been functions of boards of professionals.

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<sup>30</sup> Reed, Alfred Zantizinger. 1921. (see note 23, above): p. 215 - 218

<sup>31</sup> Hatch, Nathan O. editor. 1988. *The Professions in American History*. (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame): p. 2.

## Chapter II

### **GENEALOGICAL FORMS OF TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY**

Similar to doctors and lawyers, teachers strove early to establish professional identity. Like their peers in medicine and law, nineteenth century educators maintained an ethic of service, which took precedent over personal or pecuniary reward. Principles of piety, justice, love of country, sobriety, frugality and chastity should comprise the professional ethos of teachers as defined by Massachusetts state law.

However, for the father of American education, Horace Mann, virtuous character and moral standing in the community were not sufficient to the profession. As Secretary to the first state board of education in the country, Mann determined that a philosophy of education, steeped in science and practiced as art, was essential in orienting students to their civic obligations within a new Christian nation. Classifying teaching as both an art and a science, he described it as the most difficult of both. In addition to the legislative requirements to serve as moral exemplar, the teacher should also know “all the powers and capacities of the individual.” This is to include “the principal laws of physical, mental and moral growth, . . .” The teacher should also understand the “rudiments” of feeling and thinking, as well as those of math, grammar and other academic subjects. For Mann, pedagogical skill required a thorough understanding of the “capacities” of each individual student and “a knowledge how, at any hour or moment, to select and apply, from a universe of means, the one then exactly apposite to its ever-changing condition.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Mann, Horace. 1838. *First Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth): p. 58 – 59.

The best course of action for the professional teacher would be, then, to merge art and science into a philosophy. Out of the creation of a “philosophical plan of Education” the teacher could then collect factual data and use such evidence to derive principles which would then inform classroom practice. This merging of art and science into a philosophy would depend on the cultivation in the teacher the skill of scientific observation, which then would follow practice in the art of application.<sup>33</sup>

One element in the art of application was to consist of modeling desired outcomes for students. The teacher was, naturally, to serve as moral exemplar for children. However, under a philosophical plan of education, the teacher was also to assume the roles of philosopher, scientist, and artist, in order for students themselves to manifest such desired qualities. The professional teacher was also to understand that the child, as a philosopher/scientist, was to conduct himself not as “a passive recipient, but an active, voluntary agent.”

Further, competent professionals, Mann believed, would facilitate within students the acquisition of language as a tool for scientific and philosophical thinking.<sup>34</sup> This was not to be accomplished by pouring knowledge “into a child’s mind, like fluid from one vessel to another. . .” It was also not to be done by following a teaching manual by rote. In his *First Annual Report*, Mann criticized those teachers who taught from a “daily manual . . . the power of commas; . . . of spelling words; . . . [and] rules of cadence. . . .” The correction of “erroneous results of intellectual processes” was to be among the least of the teacher’s duties, according to Mann.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Mann, Horace. 1839. *The Second Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers): p. 37

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 42 & 43.

<sup>35</sup> Mann, Horace. 1838. *First Annual Report*. (see note 32, above): p. 58, 64.

The professional teacher, instead, was to use the momentum of the “will of the learner” to leave the student wanting to learn more.<sup>36</sup> By his ninth report, Mann determined that, “The teacher who understands his subject so well as to teach without book, has, in this respect, an incalculable advantage over one who is obliged to hold a book in hand, and to consult it at every step.” A teacher who was conversant in subject matter, Mann believed, would elicit the natural curiosities of the child, crucial to the cultivation of will. He determined, if the teacher could “command the mind,” then the “work will be done.”

In addition to proficiency in subject matter, Mann advised that the art of application also include the ability to train the senses of the pupil so as to command “such fixedness of attention, and his mind to such a concentration of its energies, that nothing but the cry of ‘fire,’ or some equally perilous alarm, would be able to unloose them.” The sensorial nature of the child should always be appealed to when cultivating the intellect.<sup>37</sup>

### **Professional Quality, Equality of Opportunity and Supply and Demand**

Despite the laudatory comments by Mann and others about the vital importance of quality teachers to the successful experiment of the common school system, and by extension a civil and Christian republic, the profession continued to be plagued by a

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<sup>36</sup> Mann, Horace. 1839. *Second Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the Second Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers): p. 44 – 45.

<sup>37</sup> Mann, Horace. 1846. *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers): p. 52.

shortage of qualified candidates, a lack of adequate teacher training and a general apathy among the public.<sup>38</sup>

In addressing the shortage, Mann particularly bemoaned difficulties in recruitment. He remarked in report after report on the critical shortage of qualified candidates and teachers due to the inability of teaching to entice quality candidates. He wrote in his *First Annual Report*, “Wherever the discharge of my duties has led me through the state, with whatever intelligent men I have conversed, the conviction has been expressed with entire unanimity, that there is an extensive want of competent teachers for the common schools.”<sup>39</sup>

In his ninth report Mann appealed to the legislature to align teaching more explicitly with other successful models of American professionalism. Only then might the field be able to entice teachers for the new schools. He wrote,

If physicians, as a class, were not more liberally remunerated than schoolmasters are, we might safely assert, that the knowledge of human physiology, and the sciences of medicine and surgery, founded upon it, would be lost; that the medical profession would speedily degenerate into a company of quacks and empirics; and mankind would go back to using charms and incantations for all the diseases and the casualties, that ‘flesh is heir to.’ Were the services of the legal profession as poorly requited as those of the educational, those well defined right of property, of character of person, which are one of the distinguishing marks of civilization, would be annulled; the poor would be at the mercy of the rich, and the weak under the domination of the powerful, to a degree of which, at present, we can form no conception. On what principle, then can it be accounted for that a people of high calling itself intelligent, should reward with a far higher degree of liberality, the profession which protects that property which, perhaps may descend to children, perhaps may take to itself wings and fly away, than they reward the men who mould the character of those

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<sup>38</sup> Educational historian Willard Elsbree in *The American Teacher* (1939) characterized the value placed on teaching by quoting an early 19<sup>th</sup> century Pennsylvanian superintendent as saying that teaching was “the business of life.” (*Pennsylvania School Report, Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 1836): p. 150.

<sup>39</sup> Mann, Horace. 1838. *First Annual Report* (see note 32, above): p. 60.

children, and give them those inward possessions which moth and rust cannot corrupt, nor thieves steal?<sup>40</sup>

By his eleventh report, Mann was once again belaboring the connection between financial reward and recruitment for the legislature. He implored law makers, writing that many worthy to claim the title of “teacher” are provided by Nature. However,

. . . the misfortune is, that, when they arrive at years of discretion, and begin to survey the various fields of labor that lie open before them, they find that the noblest of them all, and the one, too, for which they have the greatest natural predilection, is neither honored by distinction nor rewarded by emolument. They see that, if they enter it, many of their colleagues and associates will be persons with whom they have no congeniality of feeling, and who occupy a far less elevated position in the social scale than that to which their own aspiration point. If they go through the whole country, and question every man, they cannot find a single Public School teacher who has acquired wealth, by the longest and the most devoted life of labor. They cannot find one who has been promoted to the presidency of a college or to a professorship in it; nor one who has been elected or appointed to fill any distinguished civil station. Hence, in most cases, the adventitious circumstances which surround the object of their preference repel them from it. Or, if they enter the profession it is only for a brief period, and for some collateral purpose; and when their temporary end is gained, they sink it still lower by their avowed or well-understood reasons for abandoning it. Such is the literal history of hundreds and of thousands, who have shone or are now shining in other walks of life, but who would have shone with beams far more creative of human happiness, had they not been struck from the sphere for which nature preadapted [sic] them.<sup>41</sup>

Even as late as 1846, Mann continued to report to the legislature the “injuriously and discreditably low” pay which teachers endured, which dissuaded candidates from entering the field. The legislature was consistently unresponsive. Many during this time remained convinced that the family had the primary responsibility for the education of the child. The idea that the state might have a stake in training teachers was somewhat foreign to many in the Massachusetts legislature and their constituencies.

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<sup>40</sup> Mann, Horace. *Ninth Annual Report*. (see note 37, above): p. 31-32.

<sup>41</sup> Mann, Horace. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the Eleventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers): p. 96.

In addition to Mann's difficulties with recruitment, teacher attrition also plagued the profession. Ellsbree (1939), Herbst (1989), Warren (1989) and others present findings that teaching during Mann's day was frequently used as a stepping stone into the more prestigious professions of medicine, law, or the clergy. Mann himself reported the tradition of men to "keep school for a few years in order to obtain the means of entering the medical [or some other] profession."<sup>42</sup> The practice of teaching while attending seminary, law or medical school was so common that some New England colleges "arranged their winter vacations so that students could take advantage of them to keep school."<sup>43</sup> Although Mann was to protest the migration of trained teachers to other professions, he also kept school while attending law school at Brown University due to his impoverishment after the early deaths of his father and older brother.<sup>44</sup>

As Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, Mann saw the detriment of this practice to the field of education and considered it to be "preposterous." He essentially called for the educator to become all professions. The teacher should conduct an "apprenticeship with a physician, that, by acquiring a knowledge of human physiology, that he might better guard and preserve the health of the school." He should study the "principles of jurisprudence and of civil polity, that he might thereby be enabled to give instruction to his pupils respecting those leading laws of the land," as a barrister might. Such caliber of teachers as Mann imagined would require "Long continued training." In the context of inertia in the teaching profession created by

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<sup>42</sup> Mann, Horace. 1846. *Ninth Annual Report*. (see note 37, above): p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> Herbst, Jurgin. 1989. *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press): p. 23.

<sup>44</sup> Mann, Horace. 1838. *First Annual Report*. (see note 32, above) p. 18.



difficulties in recruitment and attrition, Mann believed teacher training to be directly tied, through schools, to the “nation’s destiny.”<sup>45</sup>

Considering “no degree of talent and qualification” on the part of teachers to be “too great,” the Massachusetts Board called upon “public and private liberality” to assist in the founding of “an institution for the formation of teachers,” in order to remediate teachers “destitute of experience and skill.” Continuing to characterize teaching as an “art” or science to be cultivated Mann argued that the public, recognizing the need for a more “systematic preparation” of teachers, was ready to support institutions specific to this purpose.<sup>46</sup> These professional development institutions were to “impart to the pupils a more correct and thorough knowledge of the various branches required by law to be taught in our schools,” and “to teach the principles of communicating instruction, both in theory, and in practice at a model school to be connected with the main institution.”<sup>47</sup>

Although the Massachusetts state legislature would not increase salaries for teachers, with the financial backing of the enthusiastic local communities of Lexington, Barre and Bridgewater, the legislature did consent to assist in the establishment of professional preparation institutions for teachers that would include women. Subsequent reports of the Board continued to stoke the fickle attentions of legislators by reminding them that the “chief object” of the normal schools was necessarily “to educate and prepare teachers for the business of school-keeping, and gradually to elevate the character

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 10 – 12.

<sup>47</sup> Mann, Horace. 1840. *Third Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers): p. 8.

and attainments of that class of persons . . . .” The more agreeable Whigs in the legislature came to be convinced of the soliloquy, “As is the teacher, so is the school.”<sup>48</sup>

Historian Herbst reported that as normal schools continued to expand into remote communities to address the needs of common schools, a new type of higher education institution, a new brand of professional candidates and a new breed of higher educator were created. The socially conferred status of normal schools as opposed to that of liberal arts universities, the lack of academic preparedness of disenfranchised candidates seeking normal school education, and the discourse surrounding women and immigrants of that day, all unfavorably affected the development of a professional ethos for teachers and for teacher educators in the new normal schools.

In the tradition of American professions, teacher educators soon endeavored to elevate their own status by raising the status of their institutions. By the mid-1870s, the *American Normal School Association* (ANSA) called for a complete “remodeling of the whole teacher education process.” In order to reform education, the ANSA argued, it was necessary to focus more attention on the professional training of the limited number of men in education and their role in the schools. Concerned with “reputation,” and “coveted professional school status and collegiate rank,” many schoolmen strove to occupationally segregate teacher training by distancing themselves from their female counterparts. Reform meant keeping the necessary remedial training of teachers in the county normal institutions, while state normal schools were to expect higher entrance requirements in the way of graduation from high school. The “future” of a quality school system depended less on the training of classroom teachers and more with the preparation

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<sup>48</sup> Mann, Horace. 1842. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the Fifth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers);, p. 3. Herbst, Jurgen. 1989. (see note 43, above): p. 21.

of “an educational professional elite” in state normal schools which were to educate high school teachers, normal school instructors, and superintendents.<sup>49</sup>

Similar to law candidates who attended night school, social class also played a role in admission into normal schools. In reporting the demographics of the students at the Westfield State Normal School, the Massachusetts Board noted that of the 102 candidates during the winter term of 1847, sixty-two came from farming families, twenty-one were “the children of mechanics,” seven were children of widows, and three were orphans. Only four came from the families whose fathers were professionals.<sup>50</sup>

Such a socially segregated system would enable state normal schools to recruit enfranchised candidates more academically prepared for college level professional training. Similar to the tendency toward a “graded” profession in law with the separate training of barristers, counselors, and attorneys, education quickly became stratified in the pandemonium to distinguish one’s professional class. Men took training in state normal schools and occupied choice positions in urban centers, while women were relegated to rural assignments. The early stratification of teaching and teacher training institutions dialectically worked to generate embattled professional dichotomies, creating fractures in the field which would be felt for generations of teachers.<sup>51</sup>

Amidst such conditions, two developments in gate keeping promised to break the negative cyclical relationship between supply and standards of professionalism. Public demands for greater regulation of the profession sought to protect the public from the effects of inadequacy. Grassroots activism on the part of teachers provided a degree of

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>50</sup> Mann, Horace. 1848. *Eleventh Annual Report*. (see note 41, above): p. 14.

<sup>51</sup> Herbst, Jurgen. 1989. (see note above): p. 145.

self-determination and meaningful professional expression, despite public apathy and the plebeian roles classroom teachers were often relegated to.

**Gate-keeping: Decentralized Certification, Supervised Practice, and Peer Association**

Long before the establishment of the first State Board of Education, Massachusetts state law considered the school committees to be instrumental in ensuring quality teachers through examinations. For example, the law of “1826 required school committees to obtain evidence of the good moral character of all instructors, and to ascertain ‘by personal examination or otherwise, their literary qualifications and capacity for government of schools.’” Because the examination of the teacher by the school committee was considered a crucial component of the success of schools, and because school committees were often remiss in their filtering responsibilities, the words “‘or otherwise’ were intentionally omitted” in subsequent revised statutes to discourage committees from ignoring that law.

Despite laws designed to regulate teaching, Mann reported that the burden of codified requirements “upon the time of committees,” resulted in an entire or partial lapse of responsibility.<sup>52</sup> School committeemen were oftentimes too “taxed” and overburdened to properly examine candidates. Like the early days of law in which each bar conducted independent exams, the early days of teaching, too, reflected problems inherent with decentralized and unregulated gate-keeping apparatus. Elsbree provides the following illustration of a typical oral examination. He quotes:

Chairman: How old are you?  
Candidate: I was eighteen years old the 27<sup>th</sup> day of last May.  
Chairman: Where did you last attend school?  
Candidates: At the Academy of S.

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<sup>52</sup> Mann, Horace. 1838. *First Annual Report*. (see note 32, above): p. 28 & 29.

Chairman: Do you think you can make our big youngsters mind?  
Candidates: Yes, I think I can.  
Chairman: Well, I am satisfied. I guess you will do for our school. I will send over the certificate by the children tomorrow.

Where time was not an issue with the committeemen, nepotism became one.<sup>53</sup>

Another difficulty of regulation was that the selection of teachers sometimes stimulated great agitation in the town. Mann noted that “the relation between the prudential and the town committee, in regard to the employment of teachers, contains in itself an element of variance or hostility, which is oftentimes depressed, by injurious yielding and acquiescence on the part of the latter. So manifest is this tendency, and so unhappy its consequences, that very many judicious men maintain the expediency of vesting the whole power of employing teachers in the town committee.”

However it was to be achieved, a certificate was required prior to beginning school. To employ teachers without thorough examination resulting in a certificate, Mann considered “a violation of duty on the part of a teacher . . . and . . . on the part of the town committee, . . .” Mann considered that two thirds of the law was “more or less departed from,” or the examination was made “on the very eve of opening a school,” which he considered an evil.<sup>54</sup>

Mann made several recommendations to school committees to systematically guide certification procedures. He suggested that three professional qualities need to be determined by the school committees prior to certification: “the ability to impart knowledge” or pedagogical skill, the “power of managing and governing a school;” and “scholarship;” or command of subject matter. Determining subject matter knowledge or “literary qualifications” was a relatively simple matter, it seemed to Mann. What was

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<sup>53</sup> Elsbree, Willard S. 1939. *The American Teacher*. (New York: American Book Company). pp. 181-182

<sup>54</sup> Mann, Horace. 1838. *First Annual Report*. (see note 51, above): p. 29 – 32.

more difficult to discern was the “the ability to impart knowledge, and the power of managing and governing a school.” Therefore, such pedagogical skill might be determined by the extent to which teachers could demonstrate mastery of the blackboard.

This cheap, simple, and most effective piece of apparatus, the blackboard, which a few years ago, was not known in our schools, is now deemed invaluable and indispensable by all the best teachers in the State. Now can anything be more easy, in the examination of a candidate, than to inquire whether he has command of the blackboard—in which studies and in what manner he would us it?<sup>55</sup>

Additionally, he asserted that it would also be a very simple matter for the school committee to ascertain as to whether the candidate possessed a “Pronouncing Dictionary” and whether or not he [sic] was in the habit of using it.<sup>56</sup>

After his return from Europe the year of his second marriage, Mann was considerably more informed about ideal qualifications of teachers and school management. He wrote, “Let us look for a moment at the guards and securities which in [Prussians] environ this sacred calling.” What he found in the Prussian schools was a system of checkpoints in which inferior candidates were weeded out, exemplary candidates supported and encouraged. First, teachers enjoyed a great deal of emolument in the community. Mann reported, the “teacher’s profession holds such a high rank in public estimation, that none who have failed in other employments or departments of business, are encouraged to look upon school-keeping as an ultimate resource.”

Second, Prussian teachers met a checkpoint through “preliminary schools” which were designed to determine “natural qualities and adaptations for school-keeping” and cultivate in teachers “all the branches of study” including how to teach through the “most

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>56</sup> Mann, Horace. 1842. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Together with the Fifth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printer): p. 42 – 45.

brilliant recitations from day to day.” At the end of this, candidates were then tested, both orally and in writing, in such subjects as “1. Readiness in Thinking, German language, including Orthography and Composition, History, Description of the Earth, Knowledge of Nature, Thorough Bass, Calligraphy, Drawing, 2. Religion, Knowledge of the Bible, Knowledge of Nature, Mental Arithmetic, Singing, Violin Playing, and Readiness or Facility in Speaking.”

Third, Mann was impressed with the Prussian school connection with experimental or lab schools that served as professional practice sites. Here, candidates became gradually immersed into the profession through a series of initiations beginning with observation, progressing to instructing under supervision, and then to taking responsibility for a class.<sup>57</sup>

The result of this system of checks and balances in the Prussian system appeared to be the ability of teachers to “retain the attention of a class” which was the “sine qua non in teacher’s qualifications.” Mann wrote of his observations in Prussia, “Take a group of little children to a toyshop, and witness their out-bursting eagerness and delight. They need no stimulus of badges or prizes to arrest or sustain their attention; they need no quickening of their faculties with the rod or ferule. To the exclusion of food and sleep, they will push their inquiries, until shape, color, quality, use, substance both external and internal, of objects are exhausted . . . .”<sup>58</sup> Although the Massachusetts normal schools did maintain “model” or lab schools, which might have served as the equivalent of medicine’s teaching hospitals, it appears that a general apathy overtook the schools as

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<sup>57</sup> Mann, Horace. 1844. *Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board*. (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printer): p. 129 – 131.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

very little is said about them in Mann's reports, even in those that report the work of sub-committees inspecting the normal schools.

Paucity in recruitment, the grinding effects of attrition, an indifferent legislature and the disintegration of teaching through the tug for status further complicated the certification tasks of halfhearted school committees. This did not mean, however, that an abundance of teachers could not be found to fill the classrooms. Mann observed that "whenever a vacancy occurs, there is a great number of applicants to fill it." Yet "this very fact," he argued, illustrated the relationship between low pay, low standards, low status and teacher shortages. "Let the standard of qualifications be sufficiently degraded, and the next cargo of female immigrants that lands upon our shores will become competitors for a teachership [sic] in our schools" he admonished. He ultimately found development of the profession under such conditions "impossible" and determined that the policies of the system must "be organically changed."

Mann's organic solution, of course, was to open the profession to women, sought for what many considered to be their natural maternal abilities with children. Yet women were also occupationally debarred on the basis of sex. Interestingly, the subtle activism of female teachers may have played a significant role in professional association, while also placing a limit on professional participation. Mann wrote of an organization of teachers in Salem which was started by a group of more prestigious, male, urban high school teachers having the "practical foresight" of improving the qualifications of female teachers who taught in the lower grades. Believing that "increased qualifications, in the primary school teachers . . . will redound to the advancement of their own schools," male colleagues sought to professionally assemble in the spirit of guiding the lowly females.



“It was soon found,” Mann explained, “that the female teachers, owing to that modesty and reservedness [sic] so appropriate and graceful in the sex, seldom took part in the deliberations.”<sup>59</sup>

Modesty and reservedness aside, with women still disenfranchised during this period an undercurrent of professional drive to associate spurred women and other disenfranchised groups at the national level to found their own professional coalition. Similar to law’s establishment of the NBA, the National Teacher’s Association—a genealogical antecedent to the National Education Association—was finally co-established in 1857 by a black educator, along with several women teachers. Booker T. Washington spoke at these early meetings, and though co-founded by women, females could not address the floor of the NEA until 1910 at which time the organization elected its first woman as president.<sup>60</sup>

The establishment of the NTA represented a natural proclivity, even or especially among disenfranchised groups, to associate with one’s professional peers—a trend which spans the professions. Similar to law and medicine, numerous associations of educators, in addition to the NTA, arose in the early nineteenth century for the purpose of promoting Common schools and teaching.<sup>61</sup> The establishment of professional societies was,

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<sup>59</sup> Mann, Horace. 1846. *Ninth Annual Report*. (see note 57, above): p. 33 – 36.

<sup>60</sup> In reference to the effects of disenfranchisement, Tyack and Hansot write, “In the churches men preached while women filled the pews. In religious benevolent associations men generally held the paid jobs and positions of official leadership, while women taught the Sunday School classes and formed ‘auxiliary’ associations that provided logistic support. In public schools women rapidly became the majority of teachers, but men continued to run the system as school board members and superintendents.” (*Managers of Virtue*, p. 64) Additionally, Herbst Jurgen wrote, “Principal teachers, invariably men, saw them as apprentices or daughters. They wanted them to do well in that role, but they did not care to accept them as colleagues who would one day challenge them as equals and competitors.” (*And Sadly Teach*, p. 28); the history of the establishment of the NTA can be retrieved online at NEA, <http://www.nea.org/aboutnea/neatimeline.html>.

<sup>61</sup> Two examples would be the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of public schools in 1828 and the Society for the improvement of common schools in Hartford Connecticut in 1827 as listed in *The American Journal of Education*, No. V, July 1856, p. 22.

perhaps, the most democratic expression of the profession as teachers met, sometimes alongside community members, in a free exchange in the “marketplace of ideas” and to determine standards for the field.

Generally speaking, teaching did become dialectically tied to democracy, but not in the way that Mann and the Board had hoped, by creating career teachers devoted to orienting students to their civic obligations. Instead, teaching fed the idea of upward mobility and of a middle class to which anyone could belong, if they applied themselves. Ironically, while the reports maintained a rhetoric of teaching as a service to the community—a primary professional ethic and one distinctive to American democracy—teaching was used not only as a stepping stone for those entering medicine and law, it also served as a leg up for immigrants,<sup>62</sup> laborers and artisans who strove to climb the ladder of social prestige.

Despite the religious zeal with which educational reformers transformed the educational landscape and the considerable overlap of widely varied interests, there was little alignment of efforts.<sup>63</sup> Unlike medicine—and later, law—teaching did not merge professional interests of preparation or higher study, licensure and certification, and practitioner oversight under one governing body. Efforts to guide the profession under a single body of peers, similar to the ABA and the AMA, would not occur until the

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<sup>62</sup> Mann, Horace. *Fifth Annual Report*. (see note 56, above): p. 30.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Bernard wrote that the educational reform movement which contributed to the emergence of various societies and their respective publications, as well as the establishment of public schools, lyceums, and other training venues represented “the earnest and well-directed labors of many persons, acting in widely separated and isolated spheres, and ready for mutual counsel and cooperation as soon as any plan of association should be proposed.” (The American Institute of Instruction in *The American Journal of Education*, No. V, July 1856, p. 22).

establishment in 1929 of the *American Association of Teachers Colleges*, a precursor to the *National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education* (see Chapter IV).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Rippa, Alexander. 1967. *Education in a Free Society: An American History*. (New York: Van Rees Press): p. 319.

### Chapter III

#### **GENEALOGICAL FORMS OF TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Social challenges stemming from urbanization, industrialization, Darwinism, immigration, Civil War and world war wrought a desire for greater social cohesion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As communities turned to schools to address social problems, states increasingly centralized education, establishing school districts and standardizing school systems. Correspondingly, they authorized compulsory school laws and longer school terms. Child labor laws further contributed to school attendance. The multiplication of schools and longer school terms, compulsory school laws and the enforcement of child labor laws all resulted in a voracious demand for teachers during this period.

Some women teachers who could command higher wages vacated their teaching posts to take better paying clerical positions generated by industrialism. Men sought greater opportunity in industrial fields as longer school terms made it more difficult to “undertake teaching as a part-time job, and/or to combine it with other careers.” Those men who remained in education took positions among the newly emerging high school faculties and administrative elites—principals, superintendents, and university professors. Such stratification of teaching “transformed the character of decision making in education,” resulting in a strict hierarchical order to school systems.<sup>1</sup>

Despite occupational segregation and the continued disenfranchisement of women

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<sup>1</sup> Warren, Donald K. (ed.) 1989. *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*. (New York: MacMillan): p. 23 & 27. Tyack, David; Hansot, Elizabeth. 1982. *Managers of Virtue*. (New York, Basic Books): p. 6.

through the early twentieth century, journalist Joseph Mayer Rice focused criticism on teachers in a series of newspaper articles evaluating the condition of American education. The collective impact of the articles was said to generate massive educational reforms as Rice reported dilapidated school facilities, untrained teachers, outdated curriculum characterized by mind-numbing drill, and “skyrocketing enrollments,” all within the context of political corruption.<sup>2</sup>

### **The “Rice Report”**

Rice visited schools in thirty-six cities located primarily in the northeast, southeast, and the Midwest as far as Missouri. Between January and June of 1892, he studied the by-laws of schools, visited board meetings and teacher training institutions, and observed “more than twelve-hundred teachers at their work.”<sup>3</sup> While he found teachers to have many strongly positive character traits, he noted that such dispositions did not constitute “pedagogical qualifications” any more than they did “expert medical or legal qualifications.”

Rice linked teacher incompetence with the professional preparation system then in existence. Teachers were not normal school graduates, he complained, but merely attended high school or an academy without completing a program of study. In any case, normal schools were not rigorous enough as they did nothing more than “open the book to the student.” Of the trained normal graduates, Rice decried the lack of professional

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<sup>2</sup> See Vaughn-Roberson, Courtney. 1992. “Having a Purpose in Life: Western Women Teachers in the Twentieth Century.” *The Teacher’s Voice: A history of teaching in 20<sup>th</sup> Century America*, (Bristol PA, The Flamer Press); Joan K. Smith, “The Changing of the Guard: Margaret A Haley and the Rise of Democracy in the NEA,” *Texas Tech Journal of Education*. 8(Winter 1981) 5-25; and Joan K. Smith, “Social Reconstruction and the Union Movement in Chicago 1930-34,” *Illinois Schools Journal*. 65(Special Issue 1985): p. 22-32. Cremin, Lawrence. 1961. *Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education*. (New York: Vintage Books): p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Rice, Joseph Mayer. 1903. *The Public School System of the United States*. (New York: The Century Co.): p. 2.

development stating that whatever was gained in professional training at the normal school was quickly lost once in the classroom. He was critical of the normal schools for lowering entrance and graduation requirements in order to attract paying educational consumers, resulting in professional incompetence of teaching candidates.<sup>4</sup>

Rice believed the humanity of the child to be at stake when considering the lack of teacher professionalism. He quoted a New York City superintendent who said that “what the child knows and is able to do on coming to school” to be inconsequential to further learning. The supervisor related to Rice that the child should not be able to “express his own thoughts” but should recite, verbatim, pre-prepared answers to standardized questions. Rice described the mission of the school which read: “Save the Minutes.” In other words, Rice said, ““Do what you like with the child, immobilize him, automatize him, dehumanize him, but save, save the minutes.””<sup>5</sup>

Believing the teacher to be the “most important element” in the education process, Rice had four suggestions for the remedy of the sad state of teaching and thus schooling. First, the “school system must be absolutely divorced from politics in every sense of the word,” so that educational leaders may act in the best interest of the child. When schools are relieved from political pressure, then a politically disinterested superintendent might mold schools toward the ends of the child. Secondly, he deemed essential post-graduate professional development of teachers by trained school administrators. This would “strengthen” teaching through the academic pursuit of scientifically sound methods and practically applied theories. Third, he noted that testing or educational measurement further de-professionalized education. For Rice, the overuse of tests in education

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 14 -15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p 30-31.

resembled Flexner's description of "empiricist" physicians who strictly measured substances, were mechanical in their practice with clients, and lacked an underlying theory. Lastly, Rice called for the "unification" of isolated subjects and believed when scientifically derived methods "are properly applied" within a unified system, "it is possible to accomplish almost incredible results."<sup>6</sup>

### **The Rice Aftermath and the Role of Teaching in the Democracy of Higher Education**

Rice's articles reflected larger national reforms. Although he called for improved training for teachers, a national appetite for higher learning or professional development was already in search of satiation as far as the frontier. His calls for more scientific and properly applied educational methods were aligned with the already expanding nature of teacher training and the national drive to achieve professional prestige. To address demand, states ambitiously increased access to teacher preparation by establishing normal schools in remote communities.<sup>7</sup>

The national hunger for professional training was expressed in Oklahoma as communities earnestly sought to establish their own professional preparation institutions. Two years prior to Rice's research in 1892 and seventeen years prior to statehood, normal schools began to mushroom throughout Oklahoma Territory and the state. Beginning in

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<sup>6</sup> Rice, Joseph Mayer. 1903. (see note 3, above): p. 17 – 18 & 27. The professional, "In contrast to the empiricists, . . . grasped the concept behind a functional activity, allowing him both to perceive and to predict those inconspicuous or unseen variables which determined an entire system of developments" according to Bledstein. (1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.): p. 88. Rice, Joseph Mayer. 1903. (see note 3, above): p. 222 – 223. Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>7</sup> Issues of supply and demand intensified teacher preparation issues after the 1894 publication of the Committee of Ten which promoted unification of secondary subjects and the 1918 publication of the *Cardinal Principals of Secondary Education*. Such promotion of secondary education coupled with child labor laws generated an increased demand for secondary teachers that could not be met by the normal school alone.

1890 with the establishment of the Territorial Normal School, now University of Central Oklahoma at Edmond, the trend continued until just after statehood. In 1897 Langston and Northwestern at Alva were established as Normal Schools. Southwestern Normal School was created in 1901 at Weatherford. East Central at Ada, Northeastern at Tahlequah, and Southeastern at Durant were all established in 1909 as teacher training institutions.

As the educational frontier continued to expand with increased demand for common schools and institutions for higher learning, so did a new scientific frontier. These twin frontiers merged in liberal arts colleges and universities. Bledstein describes early twentieth century higher education faculty as the “new pioneers,” trailblazing discoveries to natural processes and social principles and establishing objective truths. It was faculty’s primary function to “render universal scientific standards credible to the public” thereby rendering credible the autonomous authority of the professional. University graduates were bestowed with the authority to order and explain a segment of the universe, including schools and children.<sup>8</sup>

Universities, which previously spurned the “embarrassing” task of training common school teachers, suddenly emerged out of the void to train urban secondary teachers, principals, and faculty for normal schools—more prestigious male domains within education. Such professionals, it was argued, required a strong command of liberal arts knowledge or subject matter content supposedly not offered by normal schools that were not degree granting and thought too pedagogical.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the

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<sup>8</sup> Bledstein, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co.): p. 326.

<sup>9</sup> The lack of content preparation on the part of normal schools as compared with University’s is debated in “Teacher Preparation in the United States,” unpublished paper by Joan K. Smith, Courtney Vaughn, and



second class citizenship of women lowered the status of normal school faculty who trained them. As colleges and universities increasingly took on the task of preparing males for their occupationally segregated roles, normal schools increasingly felt “the sting of class discrimination” in the stratification of academic and professional preparation.<sup>10</sup>

### **Carnegie’s “Flexner Report” for Teaching**

Although Rice identified poor teacher training as the root source for problems in public schools, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching more comprehensively addressed the reformation of professional preparation. While Rice wrote muckraking reports for the popular press, William S. Learned and William C. Bagley wrote a “technical” report targeting professional educators that was considered at that time to be the “Flexner” report for teaching. Similar to Rice’s articles, educational unification and the deteriorating effects of politics on schools and teacher training were central to *The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools*.<sup>11</sup>

The impetus for the report came by way of a request from Governor Elliot W. Major of Missouri who was prompted by a severe teacher shortage generated by the proliferation of elementary and secondary schools and the inability of teacher preparation

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Mary Francis Smith. For a summary of courses as described in John T. McManis, see *Ella Flagg Young and a Half Century of the Chicago Public Schools* (1916. Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co.): p. 230.

<sup>10</sup> Herbst, Jurgen. 1989. *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press): p. 149 – 150.

<sup>11</sup> Learned, William S. and Bagley, William C. 1920. *The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools: A Study Based Upon an Examination of Tax-Supported Normal Schools in the State of Missouri*. (The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, New York).

institutions to meet the demand.<sup>12</sup> Appealing to the Carnegie Foundation in 1914, Governor Major described the condition of the profession in Missouri. He wrote,

One of the chief problems confronting this and other states is a wholesome supply of adequately-trained and prepared teachers. . . . We have a great university and five splendid normal schools, and teachers' training courses in about 75 high schools. The question, however, is ever open as to what is the best preparation and what is the duty of the State in meeting it, and how can the State secure the greatest benefit at a minimum expense.

In response to this request, Learned and Bagley investigated teacher preparation institutions as well as the demographics of teachers, themselves. From the launch of the study in 1914 to its final publication in 1920, Learned and Bagley confirmed Gov. Major's observation of a critical shortage. They attributed the pernicious problem of supply to difficulties in recruiting quality candidates, low standards of acceptance into training programs, and the lack of standardization in teacher curriculum and in qualifications for teacher educators, all of which did nothing to lift the profession.

Describing teacher preparation systems as "elaborate hierarchical devices," the authors discovered "arbitrary distinctions between normal schools and colleges," between elementary and secondary teachers, and in rural and urban settings. Certain schools came to declare themselves trainers of elementary teachers, while others claimed dominion over the training of male secondary teachers. Further, Learned and Bagley discovered continued professional discontinuities between teachers and administrators; between teacher educators and teachers. Standards for entrance and graduation requirements,

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<sup>12</sup> Imig, David & Imig, Scott. September/October 2005. "The Learned Report on Teacher Education: A Vision Delayed." The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Retrieved online 11/2/2005 <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/general/sub.asp?key=97&subkey=1193&topkey=97> .

assigning course credit and sequencing courses all became problematized under such conditions.<sup>13</sup>

In a form which was rare among educational reformers to that point, they addressed the problem of gender as it pertained to the status of the profession and were critical of the overall lack of “professional spirit” among the socially stratified educational community. In the view of the Carnegie team, recruitment and preparation of candidates and employment of teachers should become democratized, standardized and further de-politicized by selecting those individuals who are most capable, regardless of arbitrary social standing, including marital status. Learned and Bagley proceeded to analyze the disunity within the Missouri system. From this analysis emerged a comprehensive plan for the professionalization of the field of education.<sup>14</sup>

### **Recommendations: A Call for Unified Governance**

In response to Governor Major’s request to secure the greatest number of qualified teachers at a minimum expense, the authors of the Carnegie report responded that, indeed, “Of all the phases of the teacher problem with which a state authority should be equipped to deal, that of preparation and supply is the most important.” Believing that genuine democracy depends on genuine education which prepares “keen minds,” the authors suggested that “new standards essential for genuine education” must include a “homogenous and indivisible unit” spanning twelve grades. To achieve this, all arbitrary distinctions between “training, experience, and salary” must disappear along with the stratified attribution of professional status.<sup>15</sup> American values, they wrote, should be

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<sup>13</sup> Learned, William S. and Bagley, William C. 1920. (see note 11, above): p. xviii, 51 and 40.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. xviii.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 65 & 9.

tested with recognition that professional work of the teacher be rewarded financially.<sup>16</sup>

If society could meet this challenge, a transformation of the educational hierarchy might be achieved. Teachers, “instead of taking minute orders from higher officers, would themselves assume the responsibility, in joint action, for the conduct and development of instruction—the life-long business of capable minds. In other words, education would become a *first-hand process by skilled practitioners* like any other professional service, instead of a second or third hand operation with its consequent perfunctory effects.”<sup>17</sup>

Learned and Bagley rooted the many problems of teacher preparation and supply with the governance structure of education in Missouri. On the one hand was the state superintendent who had the opportunity to be the most “widely influential within the range of a state’s educational system.” On the other hand was the problem of distinct and separate governing boards for each of the five normal schools and the single university.

Ideally, the superintendent would “study the conditions” affecting the regulation of teaching and teaching conditions. He would “eliminate the unfit, and inspire and improve the capable.” However, “in order effectively to perform such duties he must find the whole machinery for preparing these teachers reasonably responsive to his desires and policies.” While the superintendent was to bring together all the disparate parts of the educational machinery, Learned and Bagley found that he was frequently under more political pressure to attend to business interests, desires and policies than pressure to fulfill educational obligations. Local political pressure experienced by the

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<sup>16</sup> Learned and Bagley identified the “portentous” failure on the part of communities to rebound teachers wages which had fallen fifty per cent within just a few months upon entering the war, to be one of the primary causes for teacher attrition as the “unhappy spectacle of a rapidly accelerating exodus from the staffs of public schools throughout the country.” (p. 14) The shortage crisis was directly attributed to a decline in teacher quality which subsequently lay in direct proportion to the decline in public esteem of teaching as expressed through salaries and other professional inducements.

<sup>17</sup> Learned and Bagley. 1920. (see note 11, above): p. 10.

individual governing boards was no better. Learned and Bagley observed that despite a legislated requirement for political diversity of each of the separate boards, political concerns frequently took precedent over educational requirements. Members were found to be essentially unaware of their responsibilities to their respective boards and to the communities they served. Further, each Board moved “solely in its own interest,” functioning in relative lack of awareness of competing institutions. Their respective “winnings from the legislature [were] in fairly direct proportion to the political influences exerted by the president or board members.” Complicating matters with the local boards, was the high turnover in membership due to death, resignation, or renewed appointments with each elected governor. Such a splintered governance system was marked by fits and starts of reluctant, but necessary, yet completely voluntary partnership among the many boards which dissipated time and resources to the detriment of teacher supply and preparation.<sup>18</sup>

### **Ancestral Forms: A Professional Board of Executives**

Learned and Bagley came to the “unequivocal” conclusion that the system of separate boards was inefficient, ineffective, and expensive. Calling for a reorganization of educational governance, the authors identified professional preparation as the crux of educational reform and issued the following challenge to American society and Missouri citizens: “Shall the persons with whom our children are obliged to spend five to six hours daily in school, obeying their directions and absorbing their ideas, be a dull and sordid group of spiritless wage workers, or shall they be select and skilful [sic] men and women possessed of such intellectual and social power and status as we desire our children—all children—to assume?” A centralized system of educational state governance was needed

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 67, 14, 54, 45, & 49.

to “do its utmost to . . . above all, [ensure] longer training and more critical selection” of teachers.<sup>19</sup>

Because the disparate boards and state superintendent were strongly pulled by their respective political factions, Learned and Bagley had two proposals for the emancipation from political inertia and the centralization of teacher preparation. First, the office of state superintendent should be reformed. The authors considered it a “serious weakness to have a state superintendent elected by the people as a partisan.” To remedy this, they very simply recommended that the superintendent “be replaced by a skilled officer, chosen solely for his ability, [and retained] on a tenure of ‘good behaviour,’ . . .”<sup>20</sup>

Secondly, the governance structure for teacher preparation should be reorganized. Learned and Bagley advised that the five normal schools be absorbed by the single university to become satellite State Colleges of Education. Establishment of a board with “centralizing power” over all of teacher preparation institutions should then occur at the State level, being the “largest administrative unit in education affairs.” Such a consolidated system would be governed by a central “Professional Board of Executives.” This board, comprised of the presidents of each of the teacher training institutions, would naturally be “expert men in complete charge of the preparation and supply of all teachers for the state, [including] the regulation of such lateral interests as the high school training classes in their professional aspects.”<sup>21</sup>

The benefits of bringing all presidents of teacher training institutions under one board to oversee teacher preparation in the state would be manifold. First, such a system

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 56 – 57.

would transform the presidents from being “semi-political promoters,” to being “educational officers concerned solely with their individual institutions [in] carrying out a definite state policy.” Normal school faculty would no longer be afflicted with second class professional status. All “curricula would be unified and harmonized” and budgets would be equalized which would result in less competition for students among institutions, thereby retaining high standards for preparation. Teachers would be afforded the professional autonomy required to meet their charge of helping students to achieve their civic and collective obligations. Merging the university and normal schools under one governing body would “serve to seal the fast-closing breach between two groups of institutions that have stood aloof in feud-like attitude for many years.”<sup>22</sup>

The Professional Board and the State Superintendent were likened to the army and navy in their significance. To ensure an adequate supply of properly trained teachers, the Professional Board of Executives and the state superintendent together would conduct “unremitting” scientific study of the problems that affect education. To further such scientific study, the Board of Executives would be provided “a permanent ‘general staff’ committed to persistent discussion and sifting of these larger problems until the right solution should be found.”<sup>23</sup>

It appears that Learned and Bagley come very near to advocating the type of democratic self-governance in education similar to that established in medicine and law, admitting the exclusion of classroom teachers from serving on the Board of Executives. Although the Carnegie researchers promoted the autonomy of educators and saw the two branches of superintendent and higher education as expert and of equal importance, these

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 56 – 59.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

two executive bodies of professionals required yet further oversight by a “vigorous citizen’s committee” or lay governance. That is, Learned and Bagley placed “both functions under one board of representative citizens who shall harmonize their joint operation and ensure that all of the education interests . . . are supported by the state.” The lay board of men overseeing educational administrators would, hypothetically, ensure mutual collaboration. Under such a centralized yet triangulated power, political interests would cease to divide the educational community. With such a two-pronged system, the state would have “asserted its prerogative and . . . shaped its teaching staff into a corps of trained public servants, officers of the state instead of local employees. . . .” In this way, the state’s interest would not be sacrificed for the interests of a single institution or group.<sup>24</sup>

Paralleling Reed’s Carnegie report on law (1921) and Flexner’s Carnegie report on medicine (1910), Learned and Bagley’s Carnegie report on education (1920) differed in that teacher preparation institutions were seen as the “immediate instruments of the state for providing a given number of quality professional servants to discharge the main collective obligation to the next generation” of citizens. In this way, the profession was framed differently from that of medicine or law. Doctors and lawyers were to be trained to autonomously serve the individual needs of the client which was seen as ultimately necessary to the common good. The Carnegie report for education made clear—public school teachers have a mission to prepare future citizens to meet their civic obligations to the state.<sup>25</sup> Their autonomy was to be limited within their role as civil servants.

However, similar to Flexner and Reed, Learned and Bagley identified preparation as key

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 65, 64.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 20, 17, 81, 82.



to the reform of the profession. All separatism or professional standing based on arbitrary social constructs, and the disunity of a loose conglomerate of institutions were to be remedied via a governing board comprised of a corps of education professionals.

## Chapter IV

### **GENEALOGICAL FORMS OF TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM: PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS BOARDS**

The conditions which prompted Governor Major's appeal to the Carnegie Foundation afflicted not only Missouri but the nation. In response to a critical shortage of teachers, many states became part of a larger standards-raising movement after World War II. Subsequently, work conditions were improved and salaries were raised, primarily to lure teachers into the classroom, but also in order to leverage an increase in standards in teacher preparation and certification. Professional standards and working conditions were raised sufficiently that men as administrators and women as classroom teachers increasingly sought education as a career rather than a stop-gap between high school and marriage or as a stepping stone to another profession.

Against the national backdrop of professional ambition, Normal schools became departments in liberal-arts colleges, or evolved into regional and state universities thereby satisfying public demand by conferring degrees. Teachers sought to upgrade their own professional status by acquiring degrees. The rise in standards for preparation coupled with improved working conditions (via increase in salaries, tenure agreements, etc.) had an "immediate" impact on the supply of qualified teachers. Addressing the pang of the teacher shortage in the 1920s helped to create a surplus in the 1930s. The surplus, in turn, encouraged states to enforce even more stringent requirements of those who entered the classroom. As more degreed teachers were enticed into the classroom by improved conditions, states experiencing a surplus correspondingly began to require bachelor's degrees as a condition of hire. However, much of the ground gained from the 1920s to the 1940s was lost as a result of World War II and its socio-economic aftermath which,

again, drained the pool of qualified candidates and in-service teachers during the 1940s and 1950s. Similar to the situation in Missouri in the early part of the century, the issue of supply was linked to attrition as the field hemorrhaged teachers to other fields. The U.S. Office of Education figures showed that between 1940 and 1946 over one hundred thousand teachers left the field annually. Echoing Learned and Bagley, the NEA reported,

During World War II, the quality of teaching in the public schools was allowed to deteriorate to an alarming extent. Certification and preparation standards were lowered drastically. Tax rates were not kept abreast of rising prices. Teachers' salaries lagged far behind those in defense plants and industries generally, resulting in a tragic migration of teachers to other jobs. At the conclusion of the War, the situation did not right itself, as many had supposed that it would.<sup>1</sup>

Similar to the dilemma in Missouri, preparation institutions in other states could not meet demands. In 1949, professional programs were “graduating only one new qualified elementary-school teacher each year for every eight or ten positions to be filled,” because students were not electing to attend teacher’s colleges after high school graduation. Just as Learned and Bagley reported the persistently low wages following World War I, teachers’ salaries did not rebound after the World War II due to an uninformed and apathetic public.<sup>2</sup>

Facing a postwar shortage crisis, many states once again lowered their licensure and certification standards “to the point that in many states any breathing human could

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<sup>1</sup> NCTEPS. 1956. *The Professional Standards Movement in Teaching: Progress and Projection* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States): p. 12, 3 – 4 .

<sup>2</sup> NCTEPS. 1961. *Journey to Now, 1946 – 1961; the first fifteen years of the professional standards movement in teaching as reflected in keynote addresses of the executive*. (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States): p. 13; In general, the public in the later 20<sup>th</sup> century “had fallen into a deep abyss of public neglect.” Later, educational commentators would reflect that “even the thinking leadership of the United States had to be shocked into a realization of the plight of education by a stark revelation of the facts.” ( p. 2).

legally be employed as a ‘teacher.’”<sup>3</sup> Within this professional context educators turned to the reform of educational governance as a way to address the demands of the state for qualified teachers. Similar to Learned and Bagley’s earlier recommendation, unification of the educational system through the establishment of governing boards was proposed by a variety of entities during the mid to late twentieth century.

### **The “Bestor Report”**

The reform of educational governance as a way to ameliorate problems in the profession was outlined in the 1953 publication of Arthur E. Bestor’s *Educational Wastelands*, a critique which surpassed Rice in lambasting education, teachers and teacher educators. Bestor pronounced that the public, while believing in the intrinsic as well as propitious ends of education, gravely doubted teachers and teacher preparation institutions. On the heels of the Progressive Movement with its life-adjustment curriculums, and on the cusp of the launching of Sputnik and of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, Bestor was critical of the “caricature of liberal education” with the automated reproduction of “frozen fact[s].”<sup>4</sup>

He advocated that teacher candidates develop the ability to “painstakingly” and with “originality and rigor, imagination and discipline” think for themselves. Such thinking was to be measured in the degree to which students developed a “penetrating mind.” Such competence was to be cultivated via “the process of doing research” at the graduate level, the level at which all professional preparation should be conducted, according to Bestor. The end of such seeking in the way of graduate research, Bestor argued, would make an intellectually disciplined candidate rather than a mere “accredited

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<sup>3</sup> NCTEPS. 1956. (see note 1, above): p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Bestor, Arthur. 1953. *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in our Public Schools* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press): p. 18.

technician.” According to Bestor, teachers were to work toward ends prescribed by society and were not to betray their profession by lowering standards of competence in subject matter knowledge to vie with pedagogical knowledge. Bestor argued that the fiscal strength and attitudinal essence of democracy depended on the “deliberate cultivation of the power to think” on the part of students, as cultivated by the teacher prepared through graduate study.<sup>5</sup>

Bestor identified the “first step” in teaching reform as the creation of a commission which would facilitate a “unity of purpose . . . necessary for the success of any great undertaking.” Recognizing the “hundreds of thousands of different institutions” and educational organizations, Bestor determined that “somehow their work must fit together into a reasonable pattern if the intellectual training of any given student is to be continuous and cumulative from the beginning of his schooling to the end.” He wrote that a “sense of common purpose must be embodied in an organization capable of effective action. It is idle to think that scholars and scientists, divided a hundred ways by professional ties within their specialized fields, can exert a real influence upon public educational policy until they present a united front on the matter.” The disjoint between elementary and secondary education, between public schools and higher education, Bestor argued, could be mended under a single commission designed to facilitate an educational system as opposed to a “hodgepodge of schools.”<sup>6</sup>

The commission conceptualized by Bestor would be created by the representatives of the learned societies only, yet comprised of one third educators, one third “representatives of the learned world” (i.e. scholars and scientists), and one third

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 23 – 24, 182 – 185 & 21.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 122, 125 & 123.

“representatives from the general public, say a businessman, a housewife and mother, an engineer, a newspaper editor, and a government career man.” The commission would be “independent of all political and economic pressure groups, and hence of all nonprofessional associations.” The “proposed Scientific and Scholarly Commission might well take the lead by urging Congress to set up such a balanced advisory board to oversee the work of the federal office of Education.” Part of this “first step” to educational reform would be the “omission from many school codes any clear statement concerning the basic content of the public school curriculum,” resulting from pressures on the legislatures to mandate “many absurdly specific things.” Bestor’s suggestion that a unified board would divorce politics from educational policy-making, was to hinge, on democratic representation as illustrated by the work of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards.<sup>7</sup>

### **NCTEPS and the Professional Standards Movement**

Amidst dynamic growth and change in the wide field of education, the concept of a governing board comprised of an education corps designed to oversee professional standards was nowhere more manifest during the mid-twentieth century than through the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (NCTEPS), a branch of the NEA, established in 1946. The Commission was initially created out of the need of the professional community to address the severe teaching shortage of the 1940s resulting in lowered professional standards, which, in turn, affected the professional status of education as a field. It was observed that with “each downward step in standards more good teachers had left the classrooms and fewer capable students had chosen teaching as a career. In their desperation to keep the schools open, the American

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 125 – 128.

people did not seem to realize that they were making matters worse by these actions; and the organized teachers were standing idly by.”<sup>8</sup>

Similar to Learned and Bagley, Dr. Ralph W. McDonald and a few colleagues reached the conclusion that reform of educational governance was imperative to halting the decline of the profession. However, while Learned and Bagley proposed ultimate lay oversight, McDonald believed that the dire situation in education was a result of “the lassitude and neglect of the teachers themselves with respect to their own professional organization, responsibilities, and standards.” Consequently, McDonald believed that classroom teachers must “take over their own education association and make it a truly responsible professional organization.” Through a peer-review organization, standards would be preserved from the moment of recruitment of candidates into programs through the professional life of in-service educators.<sup>9</sup>

McDonald told of attending a meeting of the NEA Committee on Teacher Preparation and Certification during which he found his ideas of professional responsibility falling “on fertile ground especially among the better prepared and more highly professional classroom teachers.” In particular he remembered the “the radiance in the face” of the Dean of the College of Education at Minnesota, Wesley E. Peik, as McDonald “urged the responsibility of the organized teachers for the determination and application of professional standards for the teaching service.” McDonald ultimately found Peik to be a “great leader of American teachers, willing to help the profession take its crucial step forward.” Together with the NEA Committee on Teacher Preparation (CTP), the two men were said to set in motion the professional standards movement

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<sup>8</sup> NCTEPS. 1956. (see note 1, above): p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

resulting in the establishment of affiliate professional governing boards of teachers across the nation.<sup>10</sup>

In 1946, McDonald and Peik, with the CTP, called “The National Emergency Conference on Teacher Preparation and Supply.” The Chautauqua conference was “deliberately structured to produce professional consciousness and professional conscience.” McDonald later reflected that for the first time in the history of the country:

Highly trained primary teachers and high school teachers sat down around the table to consider common problems with scholars from the faculties of leading colleges and universities. At the conference table every person was held in equal respect and his [sic] opinions given equal consideration by all others around the table. They were earnest, intelligent leaders from all branches and levels of education in the United States. Every detail in the planning of the conference was geared to produce action.

Discussions were framed not in terms of “Should,” but with questions of “How,” and in “What manner.”<sup>11</sup>

Out of the Chautauqua conference, McDonald drafted a resolution that called for “a continuing program for the profession in matters of recruitment, selection, preparation, certification, and advancement of professional standards, including standards for institutions which prepare teachers.”<sup>12</sup> A motion to establish the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standard was subsequently introduced by Peik at the Delegate assembly in Buffalo, New York. He stated,

We have no national agency at the present time that sets up the professional standards of preparation . . . no agency which is able to be active in the development and in the promotion of professional standards which express our judgment and in which we believe. Here is one area . . . that we have neglected. It is the area in which as a profession we would speak our minds and express our judgment on the preparation of teachers

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 10 – 11.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 13.



and the standards that are to be enforced upon institutions which prepare teachers.<sup>13</sup>

The motion was voted so enthusiastically in the affirmative that McDonald considered the concept of a professional board of teachers an idea just waiting to be born.

The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards [NCTEPS or TEPS] summarily began operation under McDonald. The immediate consensus was that educators could “timidly” wait no longer “for some miracle wave of public sentiment or perhaps some disaster, to give birth to a profession of teaching.”<sup>14</sup> In light of the national decline in education and the wide variances between professional standards, salaries and working conditions, TEPS aggressively set about forming alliances or partnerships for “the study and formulation of desirable goals for the profession,” and to “develop a climate of understanding and support for the adoption and enforcement of standards agreed upon.” Through the networking efforts of TEPS, increasingly unionized, career teachers together with administrators, higher education faculty and the lay public, coordinated at unprecedented levels to systematically reverse the steep downward slide of standards exacerbated by World War II. According to TEPS literature, conferences were widely attended and the projects resulting from the meetings were largely embraced by a diversity of educational personnel and impassioned lay people. As a result of pervasive communal collaboration, the

leadership [and] statesmanship of the officers and executive secretaries of the state education associations began immediately to be felt as a mighty force in carrying the idea [of professionalism] forward. Likewise, most of the leaders of the national organizations in education and of the powerful lay allies of the teaching profession were soon joined in the movement.

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<sup>13</sup> Teacher Development Team. 1998. *Independent professional teacher standards boards: An overview of activities for establishing independent professional standards boards* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association): p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> NCTEPS. 1961. (see note 2, above): p. 15.

Within two or three years a vast organization for cooperative effort in the achievement of professional standards had come into existence.<sup>15</sup>

Controlling the entry into the profession was achieved by TEPS through influence over the accreditation of professional preparation programs and in passing state level certification laws. The vast cooperative effort set in motion by TEPS affected teacher preparation and certification.<sup>16</sup>

### **Professionalism, Accreditation and NCATE**

Accreditation of teacher preparation institutions was essential to the goal of TEPS to raise the quality and status of the teaching profession. Aside from the American Association of Teachers Colleges which evaluated each program individually, TEPS claimed there was no centralized professional accrediting body that might assist the public in knowing which programs were exemplary under scrutiny of standardized peer review. Consequently, McDonald reported that, as a representative TEPS and part of the larger networking process, “Dean Peik set about the merging of the AATC with the national organization of colleges and departments of education in the universities and the national organization of urban teacher preparing institutions. In 1948, his efforts culminated in the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.”

Under such conditions of partnership, TEPS agreed “to yield” responsibility for accreditation to AACTE. However, TEPS was intent on further alignment and partnership. In 1951, McDonald “invited key representatives of the AACTE, NCTEPS, the National Council of Chief State School Officers [NCCSSO], the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification [NASDTEC], and the National

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<sup>15</sup> NCTEPS. 1956. (see note 1, above): p. 4 & 14.

<sup>16</sup> Conant, James Bryant. 1963. *Education of American Teachers* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.): p. 17.

School Boards Association [NSBA] to meet at NEA headquarters. At this meeting and a meeting later that year, a plan for the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education [NCATE] developed and came into existence upon the official confirmation of the groups whose representatives had assembled. The Council began its work on July 1, 1954.”<sup>17</sup>

Although the creation of NCATE represented an unprecedented level of collaboration among educational personnel, tensions between administrators, faculty, and classroom teachers persisted over representation on the board. The NCATE board was comprised of the original attendees to the 1951 NCTEPS meeting—AACTE, NCTEPS, NCCSSO, NASDTEC, NSBA and NCTEPS. Most of the six members appointed to that board by TEPS were state education officials, superintendents and deans. Oftentimes these education representatives were inaccurately considered to be the voice of classroom teachers. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that teachers were customarily debarred from membership on boards. In 1956, University of Oklahoma professor of education, Myron Lieberman, cited a report of the United States Office of Education which stated that “ten states expressly exclude[d] professional educators from their state boards of education. In many other states, professional educators are excluded in varying degrees by the mandatory inclusion of personnel from other occupation groups.”<sup>18</sup>

Exclusion of practitioners from serving on governing boards was not unique to education. Similarly, Flexner discovered that doctors were initially prohibited from serving on governing boards. In the case of doctors, however, it was considered inappropriate that one physician should become subordinate to one’s peers. Flexner

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<sup>17</sup> NCTEPS. 1956. (see note 1, above): p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Lieberman, Myron. 1956. *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.): p. 97.

pointed out the cost to the medical profession of the debarring of practitioners from serving on governing boards as it resulted in a separation of knowledge and power which was “disastrous for both public and professional interest.” Boards of doctors became the norm after the publication of the Flexner report.<sup>19</sup>

In the case of teachers, subordination to professional peers serving in other domains was part of historical precedent. TEPS, with all the rhetoric of unification and collaboration, played an active role in subordinating teachers’ authority for the profession. Lieberman observed that TEPS “apparently accepts hierarchical certification along with the notion that administration requires more training than teaching. A policy statement adopted by the Commission in 1952 recommended” four years of preparation for teachers and five to six years of preparation as well as “appropriate teaching experience” for administrators.<sup>20</sup>

Lieberman also described resistance to NCATE from other accrediting agencies which were jealously protective of their local power and desired representation on the national board. After lengthy negotiations, he reported, some agencies finally issued policy statements in support of NCATE while others withdrew from participation in NCATE over the issue of representation. Finally, skeptical of the newly established organization, Professor Lieberman indicated that much “remains to be seen” in terms of acceptance of NCATE by “public school personnel, state department of education officials, and state association officials” as the operating mechanism for establishing standards of excellence in professional preparation.<sup>21</sup>

### **The “Conant Report”**

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 154 – 155.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 168 – 169.

In his 1963 reform-minded publication, *The Education of American Teachers*, President of Harvard James Bryant Conant also expressed skepticism over composition or representation of the NCATE board and of the autonomy of NCATE from TEPS control. Conant collected data on seventy-seven institutions in sixteen states and conceded that most would agree that universities and practitioners should collaborate. However, he questioned the source of authority for NCATE, a voluntary national organization in partnership with other education associations [NASDTEC, NCTEPS, AACTE]. Even though NCATE resisted accusations that they were controlled by the NEA, Conant noted that “only four members are appointed by a group not affiliated with TEPS.” In looking at funding, Conant found that a “major share of NCATE’s budget comes from TEPS.” Without any comparisons between the unified profession of medicine under the AMA or law under the ABA, Conant questioned the lack of lay participation in an organization that had such wide influence on accreditation and teacher certification.

Despite Conant’s doubts about the unified field of education, he identified two positive outcomes that might be possible under NCATE: (1) “a national body [would be able to] establish uniformly high standards” and (2) “the free movement of teachers from state to state [might be] facilitated if a respected national body attests—and if the state accepts its testimony—that graduates from out-of-state institutions have been well trained as teachers.” Further, due to the wide variance in types of certification, NCATE might be used to streamline certification if they could reign in experimentation within and among professional preparation institutions.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Conant, James Bryant. 1963 (see note 16, above): p. 16 – 18. Conant wanted to ferret out the “facts.” In looking at the membership of the NCATE board, he observed that “the TEPS Commission nominates six of

Conant conceded that most of those interviewed were “enthusiastic” about NCATE saying, “NCATE provides a valuable service to teacher education when it visits institutions, makes recommendations for improvement, and classifies them in terms of the overall quality of programs.” Nevertheless, he countered that when such a governing agency does not benefit from lay oversight, objections arise to such an authority. Notwithstanding the efforts on the part of TEPS to include a wide variety of local, state and national agencies in determining policy, Conant argued that TEPS, rather than NCATE, frequently became “the central agency in enunciating and enlisting support for certification and employment regulation.”<sup>23</sup>

#### Professionalism, Certification and the Struggle for Professional Authority

While deep fractures existed within the profession where accreditation was concerned, Conant also described the chasm between those faculty who professionally prepared teachers and faculty who prepared professionals in liberal arts colleges. Specifically, he reported observing early in his career as a chemistry professor a “battle” like none other that was grounded in neither “factual evidence” nor “theoretical speculation.” He wrote,

Early in my career as a professor of chemistry, I became aware of the hostility of the members of my profession to schools or faculties of education. I shared the views of the majority of my colleagues on the faculty of arts and sciences that there was no excuse for the existence of people who sought to teach others how to teach. I felt confident that I was an excellent teacher and I had developed my skill by experience, without benefit of professors of education. I saw no reason why others could not do likewise, including those who graduated from college with honors in chemistry and who wished to teach in high school. . . . When any issues involving benefits to the graduate school of education came before the

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NCATE’s nineteen members.” The AACTE who is in close partnership with TEPS “appoints seven members.” TEPS partners, CCSO and NASDTEC, each appoint one member.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 22 & 17.

faculty of arts and sciences, I automatically voted with those who looked with contempt on the school of education.<sup>24</sup>

However, when Conant found himself responsible as president of Harvard for all departments on campus, he attempted to generate some understanding between the two groups. He gave a speech in 1944 entitled, “Truce Among Educators” and in it he analyzed the cause of the battle that “started primarily because of the revolution of secondary education.” The “astronomical” development of high schools in the country catered to affluent children intent on going to college. The education faculty frequently pointed out to him that up to that point, arts and sciences would not have anything to do with training teachers for the common schools. And now that secondary schools have taken off, they wanted to usurp the entire enterprise. The “quarrel intensified in the 1950s because laymen entered the fray in increasing numbers and with increasing vehemence.” Conant described the increased frequency and intensity of public criticism of teachers after WWII and the launching of Sputnik, and noted that such attacks only “served to embitter the professors of education.”<sup>25</sup>

When Conant finally put to himself the question, “why are academic professors angry” at education faculty, he found that they are essentially ill-informed about the processes of teacher training. Liberal arts faculty “pride themselves” on their ability to teach their professional subjects and are insulted when education faculty propose to tell them how to teach. However, the single issue that elicited the most angst and ire among academic faculty was the opinion that “schools of education are beneficiaries of a high protective tariff wall” that circumscribes professional training and hiring practices. That

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 1-2.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 4 – 5.

is to say, it was the stark view of liberal arts faculty that education faculty would “never be hired into the higher education system without these [certification] laws.”

Conant acknowledged that the academic faculty were unwilling to “assume active responsibility toward the public elementary and secondary schools, [and] they did not welcome the responsibility for the professional preparation of teachers.” Further, they were “unwilling to tailor their academic requirements to the teaching assignments their graduates were to undertake, and as a result it often happened that teachers were not properly prepared for their subjects.”<sup>26</sup>

### **Professionalism and the Development of State Standards Boards**

Despite the hard feelings of liberal arts faculty over the unification of the profession under TEPS, professional organization continued to gain momentum.<sup>27</sup> Conant observed that the “the number of states moving toward the TEPS-supported use of NCATE to approve programs increased from eighteen to forty-three between 1957 and 1961.”<sup>28</sup> He elaborated, “In every state I visited, either a TEPS group or its equivalent has direct access to the state certification authorities. . . . One major aspect of the ‘professional standards movement’ has been this attempt to give legal participation to these NEA affiliates in controlling the gates” into the profession.

In sectional terms, “50 state commissions and hundreds of local commissions were established to coordinate local, state and national bodies” toward common goals for certification and accreditation.<sup>29</sup> The “strength and power of the organized profession”

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 8 – 11.

<sup>27</sup> NCTEPS. 1961. (see note 2, above): The unprecedented level of coordination among the “entire family of NEA departments, commissions, and divisions,” as well as comprehensive lay participation, the influence of TEPS was sorely felt by liberal arts faculty. (p. 3).

<sup>28</sup> Conant, James Bryant. 1963. (see note 16, above): p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> NCTEPS. 1956. (see note 1, above): p. 4.



and its influence on state educational policies seemed most exemplified in Indiana, where, as of 1949

professional organization of teachers has moved solidly into the area of professional standards. Under a bill sponsored by the Indiana State Teachers Association and passed by a recent session of the state legislature, the legal authority over preparation for admission to teaching is vested in a Teacher Training and Licensing Commission composed of three classroom teachers, a superintendent of schools, a college president, a university professor, and the state superintendent of schools. . . . Standards are going up fast in Indiana due to the interest and efforts of a powerful state education association.<sup>30</sup>

The long reach of TEPS was so successful in establishing such governing boards in every state and in networking various educational agencies, that others, too, noticed Indiana. Conant went so far as to address the degree to which there was a “national conspiracy” to protect the interests of professors and public school teachers.<sup>31</sup> He noted in 1963, “The Indiana Commission on Teacher Training and Licensing has extensive administrative powers that are exercised independently of the Indiana State Department of Education. For example, it has its own staff to visit colleges and universities in carrying out its own function of approving particular teacher-preparation programs.” The Indiana Commission was further empowered by the “relatively weak” position of the SDE due to the fact that the superintendent was re-elected every two years.<sup>32</sup>

Conant further observed that Indiana was not the only state to adopt TEPS inspired standards boards. He reported that of the 16 states he visited, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, and Texas had legislated TEPS advisory bodies into the educational

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<sup>30</sup> NCTEPS. 1961. (see note 2, above): p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Conant, James Bryant. 1963. (see note 16, above): p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 34; In addition the Department was not sufficiently funded to research educational problems. Further, because employment with the Indiana state department of education was not professionally prestigious, appointments often served as a “stepping stone to some other position.” Such conditions made recruitment of quality administrative or executive professionals difficult.

machinery. Additionally, the state-level TEPS commission in Wisconsin was “systematically consulted by the state department as a matter of Departmental policy. . . .”<sup>33</sup>

The concept of legislating independent professional standards boards (IPSBs) experienced such momentum that “from 1965 up to and including 1973, the professional standards board issue assumed a life of its own.” The Oregon Teacher Standards and Practices Board, established as an advisory board in 1964, became fully legislated as an independent professional standards board in 1973. However, the California Commission may represent the most successful early implementation of the concept of an independent board of professionals.<sup>34</sup>

### **Ancestral Forms: The California Commission on Teacher Preparation and Licensing**

The case of the California Commission on Teacher Preparation and Licensing represents not only the penetrating influence of TEPS, but also a confluence of efforts on the part of three other entities—the California Teacher Association, the state legislature and the governor—to upgrade teacher professionalism. This convergence was set against a backdrop of “Two contradictory trends in education,” one being the professional standards movement set in motion by TEPS; the other a strong public momentum of criticism of low academic standards following the launching of Sputnik in 1957.<sup>35</sup>

Within a political context in which teachers strove for professionalism and the public called for greater accountability, former high school teacher and California

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<sup>33</sup> Conant, James Bryant. 1963. (see note 16, above): p. 17.

<sup>34</sup> NEA. “Independent Professional Teacher Standards Boards: An overview of Activities for Establishing Independent Professional Standards Boards.” March 1998. NEA: Washington D.C.

<sup>35</sup> Lane, Kenneth S. 1979. “Professional Licensure in Teaching: A History of California’s Ryan Act of 1970. University of California Berkley.” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkley, 1979) Dissertation Abstracts (July 1980): AAT 8014771.

legislator Leo J. Ryan became frustrated with the educational bureaucracy then in existence, but was a staunch supporter of education and teachers. He became incensed at the reticence and inefficiency of the California Superintendent of Public Instruction regarding the implementation of certain laws pertaining to teachers, and at institutions for requiring candidates to student teach during a fifth year of study. Consequently, he set about developing a “cohesive platform of reform.” Utilizing the Joint Committee on Teacher Credentialing Practices, “a legislative committee that spanned both houses,” as well as the legislative consulting services of Dennis Doyle, Ryan organized a series of public hearings to explore the state’s role in ensuring adequate preparation of teachers. He stated,

The issue before this committee is quite simply the quality of California education. . . . As we all know, in the final analysis teaching is an art. It is a changing, fluid, often provisional and tentative relationship between teacher and student. It demands of the mind sensitivity and intuition which cannot be mandated by the state. . . . However, this does not relieve us of our obligation to establish standards.<sup>36</sup>

Interestingly, the hearings resulted in individual calls for an independent standards board from three separate corners of educational policy making: those involved with TEPS and the professional standards movement, those national critics of teachers, and a gubernatorial appointed commission. These entities independently concluded that the creation of such a board was essential to remedying many problems with education in the state.

The concept of an IPSB was initially suggested in Ryan’s public hearings by Joseph Brooks, the Executive Director of the California School Boards Association (CSBA). He called for the need of an independent commission which would oversee

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<sup>36</sup> Inglis, Sidney A. (n.d.) “California Develops the Ryan Reforms 1966 – 1970,” chapter in unpublished book, *A History of Policies and Forces Shaping California Teacher Credentialing*, p. 2 – 7.

“teacher education policies, standards, and implementation rules.” Apparently the influence of TEPS was not perceived in the actions of Brooks of the CSBA which functioned as an arm of the National School Boards Association, a partner to TEPS. In any case, historian and staff consultant for the Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing, Sidney Inglis, reported that the idea of an independent board did not truly take hold until Doyle established a relationship with James Koerner, former President of the Council for Basic Education. Koerner, who was highly critical of education in his 1963 publication, *The Miseducation of Teachers*, gave Doyle a design for such an independent board. In discussions with Doyle and Ryan who were researching possible solutions to problems in California education, Koerner “urged the creation of ‘some new instrumentality of control’ for teacher licensing, perhaps some kind of licensing board.” Seemingly unaware of the efforts of the TEPS alliances with professors of education, Koerner “despaired that real change in teacher education would [n]ever occur from within the ranks of professional educators.” Koerner believed the university professors to be invested in protecting their professional autonomy at the expense of school children and teachers.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to such TEPS allies as Brooks and such national critics as Koerner, the California Commission on Educational Reform, established by governor Ronald Reagan, had a hand in the eventual creation of the independent standards board in California. In

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 12 – 14. Inglis contextualized Koerner’s remark by noting the “intractable gridlock caused by the academic/non-academic distinction definitions.” He explained, “Quite possibly those strong-minded academicians who had fought so hard in the early 1960s for academic rigor in the preparation and practice of teachers did not appear to testify at these hearings for a number of potent reasons, not the least being that during the mid-to-late 1960s the nation was convulsed by college students riots and rebellions that brought into serious question long-held concepts of academic, political, and social authority in American society.”

vetoing Ryan's AB 740 that was to create the California standards board, Reagan expressed hope that the bill would

serve as a stimulus and that its veto will not serve to discourage consideration of change in an area needed badly, and I assume that by the next legislative session we will have a strong consensus around a clearly understood and well developed program of legislation—or changes in policy and procedures within present departments and boards to improve the preparation, evaluation, and certification of teachers.<sup>38</sup>

Ultimately, the proposals of the Commission on Educational Reform appointed by the governor were aligned and incorporated with Ryan's bill that was then reintroduced and signed into law by Reagan in 1970. Due to extensive and conflicting compromises made for the survival of the bill, "Koerner's original coherent design evolved into an amalgam of contradictory features representing diverse organizational influences and idiosyncrasies of individual legislators." Nevertheless, the California Commission was established and has endured for over 35 years.<sup>39</sup>

### **Characteristics and Political Lineages of Standards Boards**<sup>40</sup>

By 1975 the NEA had assisted "15 states on three standards boards issues: implementation of standards boards laws, moving from advisory board to exclusive authority for governing standards, and seeking state legislation to establish boards."

NEA historian, John C. Board, observed that while the NEA worked tirelessly since 1946 for the establishment of IPSBs in every state, TEPS did compete with other NEA

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<sup>38</sup> Under the threat of losing authority for licensing and preparation policy, the Board of Education was critical of the composition of the independent body. They warned of a conflict if authority was divided. They saw Ryan's bill as being too "prescriptive" and were critical that newly instated exams as outlined in the bill "might result in discriminatory screening of promising candidates." (Kenneth S. Lane in Inglis 33 and 42)

<sup>39</sup> Inglis, Sidney A. (n.d., see note 36, above): p. 45. Lane, Kenneth, S. (see note 35, above): in the abstract of the dissertation.

<sup>40</sup> Much of the following section on the general description of standards boards was taken and modified from: Cesar, Dana and Smith, Joan K. 2005. "The Culture of Educational Professionalism in the Twentieth Century and the Role of Independent Standards Boards." *American Educational History Journal*. Vol. 32, no. 2. 2005.

departments for fiscal support and other resources. After the mid-70s, NEA interest in the development of professional boards waned. It was not until the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, that the issue of professional standards came, once again, front and center to NEA activity. By this time, John Board states, “the professional standard board issues assumed a life of its own” and was no longer strictly a union interest. States continued the momentum toward establishing independent standards boards in an effort to address a diversity of issues in education. Only “this time . . . the focus was on ‘national’ standards and the establishment of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.”<sup>41</sup>

Historically, governing boards have differed in structure and purpose. Generally speaking, the framework for current day boards of teachers and how they differ from other educational governing bodies has been outlined by John C. Board. As summarized by Cesar and Smith, independent standards boards, professional standards boards and boards of teaching are the various terms used to cultivate the profession through teacher preparation, professional development, and certification and licensure. As of 2000, forty-three states had some type of teacher governing board. Essentially, there are eight kinds of boards which take three forms: autonomous or independent standards board, semi-autonomous boards, and advisory boards. There are six characteristics of fully independent and autonomous standards boards that distinguish them from other education governing bodies. In essence, they

- Are established by statute
- Are accountable directly to the legislature
- Are authorized to set standards for licensure
- Are authorized to set standards for preparation programs
- Have the authority to adjudicate allegation brought against licensees

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<sup>41</sup> Teacher Development Team. 1998. “Independent Professional Teacher Standards Boards: An Overview for Establishing Independent Professional Standards Boards.” (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association): p. 17.

- Have “authority to revoke, suspend or reinstate a practitioner’s license.”

Additionally, the boards may be charged by their respective legislatures to oversee character development and ethics formation within the profession through due process and grievance hearings. Finally, the boards are authorized to hire staff and administer a budget and frequently collect and disseminate data relevant to their six legislated purposes.<sup>42</sup>

IPSB composition and how they develop politically can vary from state to state and are rarely free of political influence. For example, the Oregon Education Policies Commission evolved out of grassroots activism. Outpacing the work of the national organization, the Oregon Education Association introduced legislation in 1964 establishing an advisory board of teachers which was to become a fully independent board in 1973. This is contrasted with the board in Kentucky, established in response to their Supreme Court which found the funding of Kentucky schools to be unconstitutional.<sup>43</sup>

Similarly, each board faces unique challenges before achieving organizational equilibrium. The Kentucky board is a case in point. Soon after its founding in 1990, the Kentucky Education Professional Standards Board (EPSB) realized “that its progress was hindered by its inability to function autonomously.” Susan Leib identified three areas which required formal revision in order for the Board to fully achieve its legislated mandates. First, because certain members of the Board also served other agencies, many

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<sup>42</sup> Education Commission of the States *StateNotes*. Retrieved online November 2003. <http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/40/88/4088.hem>; Sam Swofford discussed due process in his presentation at the NEA Boards of Teaching Clinic. March 1, 2004, Baltimore, Maryland. John C. Board, wrote of the six legislated purposes in his unpublished notes.

<sup>43</sup> Teacher Development Team. 1998. *Independent Teacher Standards Boards: An Overview of Activities for Establishing Independent Professional Standards Boards*. (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association): p. 38.

found “poorly defined lines of authority” a source of confusion. A shift in certification authority further added to the confusion and resulted in a “duplication of effort and miscommunication.” Second, because the teachers union submitted recommendations to the Governor for appointment, non-union teachers, school administrators, faculty and deans did not feel adequately represented on the board. These groups did not think their views “were given a fair hearing by the EPSB.” This compromised the acceptance of the board as a strong public authority. Third, there was a struggle on the part of staff to define and maintain “quality.” Leib wrote,

Quality has been defined as operating effectively and efficiently; producing clear, concise, data-supported policies and products; and, above all, being ‘user friendly.’ . . . [A] revamping of the process was not easy, numerous innovations were tried and discarded, and many tears were shed. What is paramount, however, is that neither the EPSB nor its staff, despite all the frustrations, ever wavered in its commitment to quality of service, for eventually success was achieved. This small but very significant improvement in meeting the needs of teachers and administrators across the state probably did more to improve the EPSB’s standing with the public than anything implemented before or since.

As early as 1994, the EPSB sought full autonomy and independence in order to remedy these three challenges. Finally, in 2000, Gov. Patton signed an Executive Order which was endorsed by the members of the General Assembly, and supported by various lay groups. The EPSB was given independence.<sup>44</sup>

In a 2003 presentation to the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification NEA representative John Board, defined teaching as a profession, “but only in nine states—California, Oregon, Minnesota, Iowa, Kentucky,

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<sup>44</sup> NEA. October 2002. “Kentucky’s Education Professional Standards Board: Three Lessons Learned on the Road to Autonomy.” *Establishing a State Board of Teaching: A Guide for State Associations (Revised)*. (Washington, D.C.: Teacher Quality Department): p. 39 – 41.



Georgia, Indiana, Wyoming, and North Dakota.”<sup>45</sup> These states have fully autonomous Independent Standards *and* Practices Boards. Oklahoma and Hawaii are the two states considered to have merely Independent Standards Boards. With the creation of OCTP, licensed teachers have “statutory power and duty to establish standards for teacher preparation and licensing,” but “not for the revocation of licenses.”<sup>46</sup> Thus, because the IPSB in Oklahoma is semi-independent, relying on the State Department of Education to grant and revoke licenses, teaching is not yet considered a profession. Oklahoma teachers fall short of having an authentic regulatory board as outlined by Bledstein in his discussions of the AMA and ABA.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Board, John. “Lessons learned from becoming an independent standards board.” Paper read at the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification. June 8, 2003 Seattle, WA.

<sup>46</sup> NEA. October 2002. *Establishing a State Board of Teaching: A Guide for State Associations (Revised)* “The Status of Teaching as a Profession.” (Teacher Quality Department, Washington, D.C.): p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> Cesar, Dana & Smith, Joan K. 2005. “The Culture of Educational Professionalism in the Twentieth Century and the Role of Independent Standards Boards.” Much of this section is revised and reprinted with permission. *American Educational History Journal*. Volume 32, no. 2 (Information Age Publishing, Greenwich, CT): p. 136

**SYSTEMIC REFORM, STANDARDS BOARDS AND THE EMERGENCE OF NCTAF**

The effectiveness of TEPS' professional standards movement in generating national teaching reforms is largely forgotten. In contrast, the 1983 federal report, *A Nation at Risk*, is often cited for successfully generating a watershed of national educational reforms. Although teachers have been traditionally called upon to ameliorate problems in schools, the authors of the *Risk* report, a committee appointed by President Reagan, set the importance of the teacher within a global context. By instilling a sense of fear about the inability of education to respond to global challenges, Reagan was able to draw national attention to schooling. Many contemporary policy makers and teachers may well recall the force of language in the *Risk* report:

Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. This report is concerned with only one of the many causes and dimensions of the problem, but it is the one that undergirds American prosperity, security, and civility. We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur—others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments. If an unfriendly power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war.<sup>1</sup>

The committee did not call out or distinguish any one educational constituency (e.g. colleges of education as opposed to liberal arts colleges; elementary versus

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<sup>1</sup> The National Commission on Excellence in Education. April 1983. *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. (Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402): p. 5.

secondary teachers), but leveled the entire field of American education. Pointing out the “idle” and “shoddy” nature of our public and private elementary and secondary schools and universities, their students and teachers, the report described Japan as outdoing us in auto manufacturing, South Korea as being more efficient at steel manufacturing, and Germany as selling more successfully the tools for such manufacturing.

Once again, teachers were called upon to serve as a fulcrum to leverage society, this time, into global economic preeminence, via educational excellence, and the development of a strong national identity. A cohesive citizenry with skilled intelligence would be needed to react to “complex issues, often on short notice and on the basis of conflicting or incomplete evidence.” Despite calls for cohesiveness a “crisis of public confidence” generated by the *Risk* report resulted in a shift in focus from equality of educational opportunity for minorities, girls, and the handicapped to one of educational excellence and accountability to the public. What was attained by the civil rights movement and *Brown vs. Board of Education* was overtaken by the needs of a global economy and the perceived federal responsibility “for nurturing the nation’s intellectual capital.”<sup>2</sup>

### **The Carnegie “Task Force on Teaching as a Profession” Report**

The confrontational *Risk* report prompted a flurry of rejoinders including the report of the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*. Echoing the *Risk* report and other historical reports chronicling problems in and solutions to teaching, the Task Force identified age-old issues plaguing education into the late twentieth century—inadequate teacher training, lowered standards in response to a shortage, recruiting quality candidates, stemming

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 6 – 7, 11, 17.

teacher attrition, improving work conditions for teachers including competitive salaries, and the “central role teachers play in the quality of education.”<sup>3</sup>

The report described deep divides between various factions having to do with education. The Carnegie team noted the “real danger” of “political gridlock” between the lay community and the educational community. Exacerbating the situation was a pending teacher shortage, which if “dealt with as it usually has been in the past, districts will fill the empty slots by lowering their hiring standards.” The report warned against lowering standards of entry indicating that this would further cleave the profession, exponentially increasing problems with standards, performance, and supply and demand. According to the Task Force, such pernicious issues signaled that a “fundamental redesign of the system is needed, a redesign that will make it possible for those who would reform from the outside and those who would do so from the inside to make common cause.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Ancestral Forms: A National Board of Professionals**

The Task Force, spurred by concerns about the lack of a “national market” for teachers and the importance of maintaining standards, proposed a fundamental redesign of the system with the first requirement being cultivation of professional autonomy. The team wrote, “If schools are to compete successfully with medicine, architecture, and accounting for staff, then teachers will have to have comparable authority in making the key decisions about the services they render.” Such autonomy was to be facilitated by a working environment that encouraged collegiality among teachers. Foundational changes in the structure of time and

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<sup>3</sup> Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. 1986. *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. (Washington, D.C., Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy): p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 26, 35.

space would allow for colleagues to “reflect, plan and discuss teaching innovations.” With the assistance of support staff and a collaborative administrator, “professional teachers would be free to work with students to chart courses enabling each student to attain . . . goals.” Adequate discretionary spending was said to be essential to the plan.<sup>5</sup>

However, such professional autonomy was to be balanced with a strong sense of accountability to the public and the profession. The team wrote,

Virtually every occupation regarded by the public as a true profession has codified the knowledge, the specific expertise, required by its practitioners, and has required that those who wish to practice that profession with the sanction of its members demonstrate that they have a command of the needed knowledge and the ability to apply it. That is, the leading members of the profession decide what professionals in that area need to know and be able to do. They capture that knowledge in an assessment or examination and administer that examination to people who want a certificate saying they passed the assessment.<sup>6</sup>

To facilitate the establishment of professionally sanctioned competencies and “capture” those competencies in an assessment, the Carnegie team recommended that a national board for professional teaching standards be established. This professional board of teachers would determine markets for teachers by conducting in-depth research on supply and demand. The board would also determine a code of ethics for the profession and discipline those in violation of the code. Most significantly, however, the board would determine and assess for competencies consensually determined by the profession. The assessments envisioned by the Task Force would “judge the quality of candidates’ general education, their mastery of the subjects they will teach, their knowledge of good

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<sup>5</sup> Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. May 1986. *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, The Report of the Task force on Teaching as a Profession*: p. 61 - 63

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

teaching practices in general and their mastery of the techniques required to teach specific subjects.”<sup>7</sup>

Noting other occupations that filter competent professionals through certification exams, the Task Force distinguished between licensure as bestowed by the state and certification as bestowed by the profession. While state licensure ensures the public safety, certification denotes that the holder is “fully competent to perform at a high professional standard.” The Task Force envisioned that a national board of teachers would help pre-service programs prepare for national exams thereby creating a more congruent system for improving the quality of teaching.<sup>8</sup>

While the Task Force conceived that the establishment of a standards board would ultimately ameliorate educational problems by upgrading the profession, they did not seem to fully comprehend the dramatic changes implied in the *Risk* report. They did not seem to appreciate that the very face of professionalism had already been radically remade as a result of the new global economy. It seems the *Risk* call for a cohesive citizenry with skilled intelligence, responsive to “complex issues, often on short notice and on the basis of conflicting or incomplete evidence,” represented a most immediate, pragmatic, and critical need for a shift in the professionalism of teachers in light of a new economy. The Carnegie Task Force recommendations for the creation of a new institutional culture and the replacement of bureaucratic authority with an authority

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 66

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 63

grounded in professional competence and collegiality had implications for a new brand of professionalism not yet conceived or articulated to that point.<sup>9</sup>

It has been a long-held tradition of education to respond quickly to societal changes. Yet it would take another decade and several presidential Palisades Summits before teacher reforms would address the new global context heralded by the *Risk* report. During the close of the millennium, reformers spanning ideological spectrums would determine that education needed greater national alignment and systemic restructuring, resulting in the eventual re-conceptualization of independent professional standards boards of teachers.

### **Globalization and the Establishment of National Standards**

During their travels between Australia, Great Britain, New Zealand, the United States and Wales in 1985 and 1990, Australian researchers Carter and O'Neill described an odd accord among "academics, administrators and schools people in different education systems and at many levels." As they interpreted the times,

There appeared to be a set of forces at work which could only be worked out through the radical reform, restructuring, and/or transformation of education systems at all levels, . . . [T]he transformation of schools and the reform of school systems would enable each country concerned to recapture its rightful share of the global market-place. It seemed rather bizarre to us that education, with its underlying moral imperative, was to be a major player for the exercise of market forces in realizing socio-economic goals in which the 'size of the global cake' was fixed.<sup>10</sup>

In observing this transnational pattern of reform, O'Neill noted a new fault line forming on the global educational landscape between "business and commercial interests" and "those of educators and the lay public." Representational voice in

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<sup>9</sup> The National Commission on Excellence in Education. April 1983. (see note 1, above): p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> James in Carter, David and O'Neill, Marnie (eds). 1995. *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementations*. (New York: RoutledgeFalmer): p. vii-viii.

educational reform venues persisted as an issue. There appeared to be a general angst that self-interested managers of transnational corporations might eclipse civic minded, state and local educationists in determining educational policy. There also was the concern that “In virtually all of the countries [the researchers observed,] business and commercial interests were consulted and represented in strategic forums more extensively than were those of educators and the lay public.”<sup>11</sup>

Within the context of this globally pervasive concern, President George H.W. Bush, in partnership with the National Governors Association, convened the 1989 Education Summit in Palisades, New York. Led by Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, and attended by business and education leaders, the focus of attendees was to “articulate specific national academic goals as a vital first step in ensuring that the nation’s schools prepare students for jobs in the global marketplace.” The summit resulted in six national education goals to be addressed in four phases and which were aimed at improving achievement in core subjects, particularly math and science, by the year 2000.<sup>12</sup>

By 1991 Bush unveiled the proposed legislation, *America 2000*. As reported by *Education Week*,

When President Bush stepped into the Rose Garden this month to launch the group that he hopes will spur the radical transformation of the nation’s schools, the entourage that preceded him included neither the Congressional leaders who must approve the plan nor the educators who must implement it. Instead, the President was accompanied by some of the most well-known names of the newest constituency to enter the education policy arena: big business.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Carnegie Results. Fall 2003. Vol. 1, no. 3. , Retrieved online June 2004  
<http://www.carnegie.org/results/03/pagefour.html>. See also a discussion in Hoff, David. “With 2000 Looming, Chances of Meeting National Goals Iffy.” *Education Week* 01/13/99, Vol. 18 Issue 18, p1, 4p.

<sup>13</sup> Weisman, Jonathan. *Education Week*. [cited July 31 1991]. “Educators Watch with a Wary Eye as Business Gains Policy Muscle.” Available from  
[http://www.edweek.org/ew/ew/\\_printstory.cfm?slug=10350004.h10](http://www.edweek.org/ew/ew/_printstory.cfm?slug=10350004.h10)



Because of the perceived inability of schools to restructure for student outcomes, a partnership was sought between the Bush administration and RJR Nabisco, Inc., later to become a subsidiary of Philip Morris. As described in *Education Week*, “RJR Nabisco Inc.’s ‘Next Century of Schools’ initiative is widely seen as a prototype for one of the most closely watched undertakings in American Education: The New American Schools Development Corporation.” The NASDC was to sponsor a competition for schools which were fundamentally different in design. To avoid resistance on the part of teachers, NASDC schools were sketched out to avoid “top-down management.” The group also supported “break the mold” initiatives in creatively designed schooling models. Contenders in the competition were to create schools that specifically addressed the needs of a particular demographic of students. Designs were to be implemented in three phases which included the conceptualization of a schooling model, the implementation of the design, and the wider dissemination of the successful model.<sup>14</sup>

While educators were cautiously optimistic about acquiring business as a new partner, “both the left and right [pressured] business leaders to become more aggressive in advocating a more pointed agenda.” Within this new global context, Craig Smith, editor of the Seattle-based *Corporate Philanthropy Report*, observed, “In the old days,

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<sup>14</sup> Philip Morris owns trademarks for some of the largest suppliers in the U.S. and the world including Marlboro, Kraft, Basic, Miller Lite, Virginia Slims, Parliament, L&M, Oscar Mayer, Post, Philip Morris, Maxwell House, Jacobs, Philadelphia, Merit and Nabisco as per their 2000 Annual Report to the Securities Exchange Commission, Commission file no. 1-8940. Retrieved online at <http://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/764180/000095011701000619/0000950117-01-000619-0001.txt>

<sup>14</sup> Sommerfeld, Meg. *Education Week* June 10, 1992. “RJR Nabisco, NASDC Projects Share Ideology, Money, Leaders.” Available at <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1992/06/10/38rjside.h11.html?qs=RJR+Nabisco&print=1>; United States. President George H.W. Bush, House Committee on Education and Labor. 1991. *Proposed legislation—America 2000 Excellence in Education Act message from the President of the United States transmitting transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled, “America 2000 Excellence in Education Act.”* Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO; see also Berends, Bodilly, Susan, Kirby, Nataraj. *Facing the Challenges of Whole-School Reform: New American Schools After a Decade.* Santa Monica, CA: Rand Institute. <http://www.rand.org/>

business stood for deregulation and no new taxes, . . . now they are the most powerful, politically viable force working for social change in this country.” Earnest Boyer, then president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, was quoted as saying about the new partnership, “What has struck me is that the voices of corporate America have prepared very thoughtful and, I think, balanced and enlightened statements of the nature of the problem and possible solutions. . . . They haven’t gone for the quick, clear answers.”<sup>15</sup>

With wide support for a larger federal role and the arrival of big business as a partner in educating for a global society, the conflicts over education expanded beyond the interests of educationists and managers of large corporations. Struggles for representational voice through control of funding mirrored ideological struggles between state politicians influenced by local constituencies and the federal government influenced by big business. A 1992 winter conference of the National Governor’s Association held at the White House and headed by Governor John Ashcroft of Missouri, focused on the work “of three ‘action teams’ of governors and business leaders in the areas of school readiness, the school years, and lifelong learning.” Ashcroft was quoted as saying that making education goals a focal point of the meeting was important as “There is nothing more vital to jobs in America and to the economic survival of society than a well-educated workforce.” However, the article reported that discussions became “heated” after the decision by Ashcroft to “keep a formal discussion of Mr. Bush’s economic package off the table.” The decision “backfired when the demand of a group of Democratic governors to be heard touched off a partisan confrontation that frayed

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<sup>15</sup> Smith and Boyer quoted in Weisman, Jonathan. *Education Week*. [cited July 31 1991]. “Educators Watch with a Wary Eye as Business Gains Policy Muscle.” Available from [http://www.edweek.org/ew/ew/\\_printstory.cfm?slug=10350004.h10](http://www.edweek.org/ew/ew/_printstory.cfm?slug=10350004.h10)

tempers and dominated media coverage of the event.” Then Governor of Texas, Ann Richards, was quoted as saying,

You do not come to meetings like tiffs and get some sanitized agenda. . . . We’re not going to all come up here and say, ‘Look, isn’t it great. We’ve got a budget we don’t agree on. And an education agenda that doesn’t really provide any more money for the states.’ . . . Our problem is not economic growth, our problem is decline. We can’t sit here and hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil, just because somebody’s got their nose out of joint that we have to be from different parties.

Governor Romer of Colorado “insisted that the press not be escorted from the room before ‘an alternative point of view’ could be heard” about the budget. He urged “open debate” among the governors “about the fairness of the tax structure.” At the conclusion of the conference, Governor Ashcroft expressed “embarrassment” by “Mr. Romer’s actions, ‘because we were in the White House and he countermanded the directions of the President.’”<sup>16</sup>

Ultimately, such political roils, coupled with a shift of attention to the Gulf War with Iraq, led to the failure of *America 2000*. However, the original Palisades summit is said to have set in motion a series of reforms resulting in national standards for students and teachers. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) was established, allowing national comparisons of student achievement based on test scores. After reluctant support on the part of the Bush administration, the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, as conceived in *A Nation Prepared*, also began

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<sup>16</sup> Olsen, Lynn. *Education Week*. “Partisan Politics puts its Imprint on N.G.A. Meeting” February 12, 1992. Available at [http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1992/02/12/21nga.h11.html?qs=Partisan\\_Politics\\_puts\\_its\\_Imprint\\_on\\_N\\_G\\_A\\_Meeting](http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1992/02/12/21nga.h11.html?qs=Partisan_Politics_puts_its_Imprint_on_N_G_A_Meeting)

operations paralleling the national board in medicine for the assessment of professional competence.<sup>17</sup>

A subsequent redrafting of *America 2000* under President Bill Clinton included many Bush administration and corporate reforms, excluding school choice proposals. With *Goals 2000*, Clinton reform proposals reached beyond restructuring schooling domains, as the eight goals promoted strong federal involvement in learning throughout the life of the individual. A strong health care system was to reduce low birth-weight babies and nutrition programs were to stimulate mental alertness in young children. Businesses were to facilitate school-to-work transitions, adult literacy and life-long learning. State and local education agencies were to assist parents in becoming more involved in the education of their children.<sup>18</sup>

The professional education of teachers and their ongoing development became an important piece of the legislation. Of particular interest within a new global context was the goal of establishing an ever-widening network of partnerships, specifically “among local educational agencies, institutions of higher education, parents, and local labor, business, and professional associations to provide and support programs for the professional development of educators.” The intention to network and align was not exclusive to Clinton administration goals for education. Learned and Bagley envisioned wider systemic reform among institutions for higher learning in Missouri. TEPS effectively partnered and aligned with educational interests at the national, state and local

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<sup>17</sup> Miller, Julie A. and Diegmueeller, Karen. Education Week July 31, 1991. “Bush Shift Seen on Federal Aid to Teacher Board.” Available at [http://www.edweek.org/ew/ew\\_printstory.cfm?slug=10350006.h10](http://www.edweek.org/ew/ew_printstory.cfm?slug=10350006.h10)

<sup>18</sup> United States. President William Clinton, House Committee on Education and Labor. 1993. *Proposed legislation—“Goals 2000: Educate America Act”: message from the President of the United States transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled “Goals 2000: Educate America Act.”* Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O.

levels. The Bush administration set the precedent for federally stimulated systemic reform. Clinton, however, is credited for “adopting the specific label ‘systemic reform’” thus bringing into consciousness the idea of systemic alignment and partnerships. It was not until the articulation of “systemic reform” that such reform was consciously sought on the part of educational policy analysts.<sup>19</sup>

### **The Role of NCTAF in the Development of Professional Boards of Teachers**

Amidst continued perceptions of failure in education to fulfill civic responsibilities to the nation, and within the context of ever widening networks of partnership, Linda Darling-Hammond of Teachers College, Columbia and Hugh Price of the Rockefeller Foundation called for a body that would address teacher supply and demand. By 1994, the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future (NCTAF) was convened. The Board was chaired by North Carolina Governor, James Hunt, who previously served as a task force member for the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, producer of *A Nation Prepared*. Hunt also chaired Bush’s National Educational Goals Panel, and later chaired the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, before serving as chair for NCTAF. Broad composition of the remaining members of NCTAF reflected the growing desire to align all entities working for education. Comprised of various teachers, educational administrators, legislators,

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<sup>19</sup> National Educational Goals Panel. *Data Volume for the National Educational Goals Report. Volume One: National Data*. 1995. Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O.; Cibulka, James in Carter, David and O’Neill, Marnie (eds). 1995. *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementations*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer. p. 22.; See also a discussion at <http://www.ed.gov/pubs/G2KReforming/g2ch1.html> which describes Oklahoma as being one of only two states to participate in the program at the local, as opposed to state, level under Governor Frank Keating.

business executives, and executors of educational associations, Oklahoma was specifically represented by David Boren, president of the University of Oklahoma.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to broad representation of educational constituencies on the board, NCTAF reported strong material support by a diversity of business and philanthropic partners, many with transnational economic and educational influence. NCTAF's *Doing What Matters Most* report described the distinctive role each partner played in the maintenance of the NCTAF network. The National Governors' Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures served to review policy strategies at the state level. The National Education Association worked to "strengthen teacher accountability," while the "American Federation of Teachers . . . worked to link student standards to teaching standards." The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education" worked to "redesign teacher education in light of student content standards." The Holmes Partnership, among others, worked for the development of "collaborative projects with the Commission to improve teacher recruitment and development in urban and poor rural school districts." The U.S. Department of Education, the Harvard Kennedy School, Barnett Berry, the National Conference of State Legislatures, and National Center on Education Statistics provided much needed data for the development of reforms. The Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the AT&T Foundation, the BellSouth Foundation, the Georgia Power Company, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Pew Charitable

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<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of "continued perceptions of failure in education" see Berliner, David & Biddle, Bruce. 1995. *The Manufactured Crisis: Myths, Fraud, and the Attack on America's Public Schools*. Addison-Wesley: Reading, MA; See also, Carson, C.C., Huelskamp, R.M., & Woodall, T.D. April 1992. *Perspectives on Education in America: An Annotated Briefing*. Strategic Studies Center Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, New Mexico. For a summary of the history of Carnegie's work with NCTAF, see Anne Grosso de León. *Carnegie Results* "After 20 years of Educational Reform, Progress, But Plenty of Unfinished Business." Carnegie Corporation of New York; Vol. 1/No. 3; Fall 2003; retrieved online June 2, 2006; <http://www.carnegie.org/results/03/index.html>

Trust, the Philip Morris Companies Inc., and the William R. Kenan Jr. Charitable Trust all provided funding or other practical resources for the ongoing work of NCTAF.<sup>21</sup>

Using the pooled resources of Commissioners and partners, NCTAF concluded that larger educational goals could not be achieved without restructuring the profession. While it was determined that every child was entitled to a caring, competent and qualified teacher, NCTAF found, instead, that teachers were teaching subjects for which they were not prepared, licensed or certified. They found that the children most in need of a strong academic influence had teachers who were the least qualified. They established that professional development was of poor quality and disconnected from educational goals for students. They found that states had difficulty with recruitment due to lack of adequate compensation for teachers. Working conditions for teachers were such that collegiality was stifled which further limited professional growth and contributed to the low status and short supply of teachers.

Building on the work of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy which called for the establishment of an independent board to ameliorate problems in education, NCTAF set about designing a blueprint that might be implemented via boards of professionals.<sup>22</sup> The entity highlighted state legislation in which independent boards served as the primary mechanism for addressing preparation, professional development, mentoring, licensing, pay incentives and National Board certification. Specifically, the report recognized, “The three long-time leaders—Minnesota, North Dakota, and Iowa. . .

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<sup>21</sup> Darling-Hammond, Linda. 1997. *Doing What Matters Most: Investing in Quality Teaching*. National Commission on Teaching & America’s Future: New York. p. v.

<sup>22</sup> NCTAF also built on the 1995 work of the Holmes Partnership. As reported in *No Dream Denied*, “The Commission’s report *What Matters Most: Teaching for America’s Future* built on an earlier set of reports that first drew the nation’s attention to the importance of teachers and teaching, including: the Carnegie Forum’s *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* and the Holmes Group’s *Tomorrow’s Teachers*.” (p. 10)

[as being] among the twelve states that have stated professional standards boards” that served as strict gate keepers into the profession. The report illuminated the Indiana Professional Standards Board as having

adopted a set of *interlocking standards* based on NCATE, INTASC, and National Board standards for accreditation, licensing, and professional development. These will be linked to performance-based assessments. . . . The Indiana Alliance, a network of six school-university partnerships, is working to align pre-service education with the NCATE and INTASC standards, and to stimulate professional development and assessments of teachers in schools consistent with the National Board standards.

Further, the report applauded a “new performance-based licensing and accreditation requirements” and mentoring program implemented through the board in Kentucky.<sup>23</sup>

NCTAF determined that standards boards would assist state leaders in simultaneously tackling the problem of accountability in accreditation of teachers colleges and in licensure and certification. NCTAF “proposed that professional standards boards be established in every state” as a mechanism for enforcing “high standards for entry into the profession through performance-based licensure that would test subject matter knowledge, teaching knowledge, and teaching skill.” NCTAF considered “Professional standards boards for teachers [to be] a strong voice in the chorus of change. . . . In 1996 when the [national] Commission called for independent professional standards boards in every state, there were twelve such boards in place.” According to NCTAF correspondence dated December 1996, Oklahoma was originally selected as the eighth partner state because of a long legislative history that reflected a persistent intention to achieve mandates such as those outlined by NCTAF. Due to the passage of HB 1706 in 1980, HB 1017 in 1990, SB 158 in 1991, HB 2246 in 1992, and HB 1549 in

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<sup>23</sup> Darling-Hammond, Linda. 1997. *Doing What Matters Most: Investing in Quality Teaching*. National Commission on Teaching & America’s Future: New York. pp. 4, 12, 13, 41, 48, Appendix A.



1995, NCTAF determined that Oklahoma far outranked many other states in legislative precedent for the improvement of teaching.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> National Commission on Teaching & America's Future. 2003. *No Dream Denied: A Pledge to America's Children*. NCTAF: New York p. 6, 101; NCTAF. December 1996. *Oklahoma Partners Update: A notice to the Partners*. Copied from personal files of Barbara Ware. In Koppich & NCTAF folder

**THE CASE OF OKLAHOMA: LEGISLATIVE ANCESTRY OF A PROFESSIONAL SANDARDS BOARD**

While the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation is similar in many respects to the standards boards highlighted in the NCTAF reports, there are differences in cultural context and governing practices that make it unique. An investigation into the conceptualization, implementation and evolution of OCTP through legislation will reflect the unique intent of Oklahomans to professionalize teaching according to national standards within the context of a global economy. What follows is a brief legislative description of changes in the professional landscape that led to the founding of the OCTP.

**HB 1706: A Genealogical Antecedent to OCTP**

Throughout the 1970s, when TEPS was making its work nationally known, the demands of Oklahoma’s teachers for more professional recognition met with the demands of the public for greater teacher accountability. This, in turn, spurred reform initiatives that eventually led to HB 1706—the Teacher Reform Act (1980). Oklahoma’s economy in the 1970s was characterized by an agricultural boom, an oil boom, and an oil-induced banking boom. Yet by 1979 teachers were making between \$9,675 and \$13,675. Because teachers experienced chronic state-wide indifference to their working conditions, they prepared to strike. *The Oklahoman* reported educators arriving by the busloads to a rally at the Oklahoma City fair grounds where Governor George Nigh was to speak. Carrying signs that read, “Dedication doesn’t buy groceries,” and “Put money into pupils and not potholes,” teachers heckled the governor as he defended his position

to cut taxes in the face of the demands of teachers for raising salaries. Jim Freid, Chairman of the House Common Education Committee, was reported to have promised to fight any proposal for tax cuts, stating, ““I look forward to the day when Oklahoma education has all the money it needs and the corrections department is holding bake sales to build new prisons.”” While AFT president David Renfro, advocated a \$5,000 across the board pay raise for teachers, Fried negotiated an average increase of around \$1,600 in \$200 to \$300 increments for beginning teachers.<sup>1</sup>

According to an Oklahoma Associated Press task force on education, Oklahomans in the late 1970s and early 1980s were dissatisfied with the pay scale for teachers, because it was perceived as being linked to low literacy rates and many other problems in education. Poll findings revealed that taxpayers were not unwilling “to pay for higher teachers’ salaries if they could see an improved product: better prepared students.”<sup>2</sup> An increase in teacher salaries would only come with greater student achievement which, in turn, might be possible with better prepared teachers.

Amidst practitioner discontent with work conditions and public concern over student achievement, deans of Oklahoma’s colleges of education were organizing for professional leverage. Richard Wisniewski, dean of the College of Education at the University of Oklahoma from 1974 to 1985, observed a particular lack of professional organization among the deans of the colleges of education. He recalled that in the mid-1970s,

It was readily apparent that when the deans of education got together, they did so when the head of State Department of

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<sup>1</sup> Daily Oklahoman. May 17, 1979. “Teacher Jeers Fail to Ruffle or Sway Nigh.” p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Daily Oklahoman. February 2, 1982. “Many Urge Changing State Laws to Solve Educational Problems, Poll Shows.” p. 17 retrieved online  
<http://olive.newsok.com/archive/Skins/Oklahoman/navigator.asp?skin=Oklahoman&BP=OK>

Ed[ucation, Leslie Fisher,] called them together. Those meetings were dominated by the State Department; they were essentially taking the deans through the pedestrian points in various certification codes. In other words, ‘Here are the changes we want to make in certification codes regarding special education.’ We deans would then deal with the pluses or minuses of whatever the code change would require. These were the kinds of discussions that didn’t really deal with the broad picture of teacher education, the quality of teacher education, what could be done to enhance its quality and so on. A couple of deans and I, not the entire group at first, began to meet privately and talk about how important it would be for us as deans to take the initiative in calling those meetings, inviting the SDE to participate, of course, but not to have deans being essentially servants of the State Department. We were, after all, part of the higher ed [sic] establishment and we had the rights and prerogatives of calling our own meetings. And we started to do that. That was the first step toward shaping teacher ed policy in the state.

It was within this climate that many education faculty experienced what Wisniewski described as a strong “Pavlovian response” of some to blame problems in common education on teacher education and the inability of the disorganized field of teacher education to respond effectively to broadly applied criticisms.<sup>3</sup> Any hope of reform was problematized by disavowance and conflict among the diverse institutions around the state. Each of the regional, land grant, private, and specialty colleges and universities sought to fill an important niche with their teacher preparation programs. Wisniewski described the general climate of higher education:

In every state, and this was particularly true in Oklahoma, you have, usually, a sharp cleavage between the public institutions and the private institutions. The privates are somewhat disorganized since some are parochial in nature, religiously based, and others are simply private institutions. Although in Oklahoma, virtually all of them were denominationally based. And so building trust among the deans and to try to get us all on same page—I can’t tell you the number of meetings this required. All the meetings were very cordial, but beneath the cordiality private institutions have

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<sup>3</sup> Klien, Paul F.; Wisniewski, Richard. October 1981. “Bill 1706: A Forward Step for Oklahoma.” Vol. 63, no. 2, p 115 – 117. Phi Delta Kappan.

agendas and concerns that are somewhat different from the publics. Among the publics you will always have a cleavage of the larger versus the smaller; between the so-called more prestigious and the so-called less prestigious, and so on, . . . [This is] part of the . . . posturing of higher education, because . . . [whatever else] it may be, [teacher education] is also a business.

Despite the agreement to meet regularly, deans and faculty of institutions were, to varying degrees, resistant to reform due to concerns that any changes might adversely affect enrollments. Nevertheless, many deans in Oklahoma in the mid to late 1970s concluded that reform could not be affected via the State Department of Education simply because of its highly politicized nature. It was found that what State Department officials “do or don’t do is dependent on what they think legislators and governors will or will not support.” Consequently, the department was characterized as going through “a lot of Mickey Mouse and slippage and agonizing over ‘well, should we bring this idea forward?’ ‘No, it’s not time yet, the timing is not perfect,’ . . . all that kind of discussion.”<sup>4</sup>

Through the difficult process of ferreting out a reform path, Wisniewski recalled that several deans came to the gradual realization that “there were on the House/Senate Education Committees, some legislators that were deeply interested in teachers and schools.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, a partnership was formed between the deans of the colleges of education and Representative Jim Fried who packaged much of the work of the deans into HB 1706. This bill was an important genealogical antecedent to the 1995 House Bill 1549, which established the OCTP, as the two bills shared many components.

Specifically, HB 1706 was designed to upgrade teaching by facilitating better teacher preparation and induction, by improving compensation, and by purging the field

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<sup>4</sup> Wisniewski, Richard. April 4, 2005 Interview with Dana Cesar.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

of weak members of the profession via certification tests. HB 1706 raised the bar for admission into teacher preparation institutions and required students to achieve a grade point average established by a professional standards board embedded within the OSDE.<sup>6</sup> The bill called for teachers to complete ninety hours of course work prior being licensed in the subject area they were to teach prior to graduation.

Described as the “heart of the legislation,” was the Entry-year Assistance program (later renamed the Resident Teacher Program with HB 1549). This was an induction and mentoring program in which students were to practice under the direction of an oversight committee comprised of a building administrator, a teacher, and faculty from a preparation institution who would orient the candidate to the profession. The committee was to meet three times annually for the professional benefit of the entry-year teacher. It was to establish a plan to “strengthen teaching skills and remove deficiencies.” A rubric, the “minimum criteria for effective teaching,” was developed to guide the team in inducting the novice. While the residency or mentoring component of the bill may have served as an oversight mechanism for certification purposes, many faculty who served on the committees had already made personal efforts to mentor their interns into professional maturity. However, the residency requirement was implemented only haltingly due to what some perceived as “hierarchical classifications within the profession.” In other words, reflective of the long standing professional hierarchy “Some administrators [were] not eager to share with teachers on entry-year committees the responsibility for making decisions about certification. By the same token, some teachers [were] not eager to judge

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<sup>6</sup> This standards board was referred to by several participants of the study. This board may have been established by TEPS in 1946. However, no data regarding the board could be obtained from the SDE.

the effectiveness of peers, and some teacher educators [were] concerned by the requirement that they work closely with classroom teachers in their field.”<sup>7</sup>

As radical as the residency program was to this point, many considered the testing component of the bill a more controversial requirement. Curriculum exams were to be developed for each subject area and grade level. Such exams, it was argued, would ensure that teachers were educated or prepared in the grade level subjects in which they were to teach. The National Evaluation Systems, Inc. (NES) was hired to develop what came to be called the “Oklahoma Teacher Certification Testing Program.” The criterion referenced tests were subject to scrutiny of “advisory committees from each certification area. Committee members were selected so that the various geographic regions of the state, ethnic groups, and small and large public schools, as well as colleges and universities were represented.”<sup>8</sup> Concerns grew about the validity of the tests. For example, rumors circulated that students had prior access to portions of the test. Further,

There seemed to be reluctance on the part of those who were in charge to do anything significant. There were the verbal reassurances that they were being reviewed regularly, that they were being updated. But there were just too many stories out there that it wasn’t doing what it intended to do. The whole thing began to pick up steam, if you will.”<sup>9</sup>

Despite difficulties in implementation, Oklahoma “was one of the first states to recognize the importance of the professional development of teachers with the passage of House Bill 1706 reform legislation in 1980.” Such reform was short lived, however, as “the state neglected to build upon its early work in this area.”<sup>10</sup> Critical funding shortfalls following the collapse of the oil boom, the perceived deficiencies in implementing the

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<sup>7</sup> Klien, Paul F.; Wisniewski, Richard. October 1981. (see note 3, above).

<sup>8</sup> Oklahoma State Department of Education. “Oklahoma’s Title II Preliminary Report.” October 7, 2000. Retrieved online June 2004 at: <https://www.title2.org/data/Stateplans/oklahoma.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> Participant #01112005 interview with Dana Cesar

<sup>10</sup> OCTP. “Report on Educator Preparation and Professional Development.” December 1994. p. 19

exam, and an entrenched, but fractured, and financially neglected system of higher education all contributed to the deterioration of the effectiveness of HB 1706 and to renewed educational reform efforts in the late 1980s. A decade later, concerns for student achievement and continued teacher demands for better working conditions resulted in high political tensions and radical educational restructuring.

### **HB 1017: Landmark Legislation for Education**

It is difficult to determine how directly Oklahoma was affected by Reagan's policies to cut federal spending for education. Ascertaining the degree to which a "crisis in confidence" in American education influenced public confidence in Oklahoma's teachers would be difficult, as well. However, it is clear that Oklahomans remained concerned about teacher performance, student achievement and the condition of public education throughout the 1980s. Nevertheless, educational reform initiatives during this period experienced a relative lull as Oklahomans reeled from the decline of the oil industry and the bankruptcy of Penn Square Bank, which set in motion seismic waves of economic collapse throughout the state.<sup>11</sup> Such conditions in the 1980s set the foundation for the transformational education reforms of the 1990s.

Teachers throughout the 1980s remained frustrated with a lack of support they received in the fulfillment of their duties. Some reported holding class in closets and hallways. One teacher was quoted as saying that educators in general were "tired of buying the toilet paper, chalk, and everything, and spending money out of their own pockets just to keep a job that didn't pay worth anything anyway." Late in the decade,

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<sup>11</sup> Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. 1998. *Managing the Crisis: The FDIC and RTC 1980 – 1994*. Retrieved online June 2006 <http://www.fdic.gov/bank/historical/managing/history2-03.pdf>. (Washington, D.C.): p. 527



teachers began to press Governor Henry Bellmon for a \$600 million increase in per pupil expenditures.<sup>12</sup>

However, legislators were hesitant to further fund education without proof of student achievement. One teacher recalled of that time, “. . . there was one legislator that made the point that ‘teachers aren’t teaching. Why should we give you this raise? How do we know you are teaching?’ . . . it was just that attitude that we’re just not real sure that teachers know what they’re doing or have any direction.”<sup>13</sup>

Amidst practitioner discontent and public concern over student achievement, the Oklahoma Academy for State Goals, a group of business and foundation executives, university presidents, legislators, and would-be governors, provided a forum for “open and frank discussion” among educators, national reform elites, and the public regarding funding and the educational system in Oklahoma.<sup>14</sup> One result of the 1988 Oklahoma Academy conference was the development of House Joint Resolution 1033 which created Task Force 2000, charged with investigating the condition of Oklahoma’s schools. The Task Force was further enabled by Speaker of the House of Representatives Steve Lewis’ submission of a report entitled, “Education: Challenge 2000, increasing educational funds the first year to 304 million dollars to 598 million dollars by 1995,” which further authorized Task Force 2000 to devise revenue proposals for schools.<sup>15</sup> Headed by Oklahoma Academy member and oil man George Singer, the ultimate outcome of the

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<sup>12</sup> Fuson, Leighetta S. 1992. “A Qualitative Study of Selected Teachers Participating in the 1990 Teacher Mass Demonstration Related to HB 1017.” (Ph.D. diss. University of Oklahoma, Norman): p. 58.

<sup>13</sup> Participant #01112005 interview with Dana Cesar.

<sup>14</sup> According to the 2002 report of the Academy, in attendance to the conference were key members Nancy O’Brian (Norman); Fred Wood (Norman); Doug Fox (Tulsa); Alexander Holmes, PhD (Norman); Frank Horton, PhD (Norman); Sharon Lease (Oklahoma City); Gene Rainbolt (Shawnee); Richard W. Poole, PhD (Stillwater); John Folks (Oklahoma City); Pat Henry (Lawton); Julie Conatser, Executive Director; Ginger Coker, Assistant to the Executive Director, and guest speakers Owen Bradford Butler (former Chairman & CEO, Proctor & Gamble, Cincinnati); Dr. Chester E. Finn (Washington, DC); Dr. James Popham (California); Dr. Arthur Wise (Washington, DC); Dr. J.L. Curcio (Florida); Fern O. Marx (Massachusetts); Dr. Anne Campbell (Nebraska); and Nellie Weil (Alabama).

<sup>15</sup> Fuson, Leighetta S. 1992. (see note 12, above).

investigation of the Task Force was the creation of HB 1017, “a landmark piece of legislation” that emerged out of a languishing educational and economic landscape.

Similar to *A Nation at Risk* at the federal level, HB 1017 sought to comprehensively overhaul education in Oklahoma. Such individually applied reforms as salary increases for teachers, improved teacher preparation, curriculum standards, implementation of criterion-referenced tests, new approaches to accountability for schools and students, class size reductions, a requirement to attend kindergarten, consolidation of rural districts, and restructuring finance and school improvement plans were intended to wholly revolutionize education in Oklahoma.

Described as comprehensive, HB 1017 illuminated the deep ideological fractures within Oklahoma. Singer’s two month study which resulted in a massive educational reform package seemed to turn a stone, unearthing a world rich in partisan approaches to educational improvement. Similar to previous education reformers, proponents of the bill indicated that a raise in teacher salary was essential to recruitment of quality candidates. Improved schooling was only possible through an increase in per pupil expenditures. Proponents tied HB 1017 to a revitalized economy and improvements in Oklahoma’s quality of life.<sup>16</sup> Among the more vocal opponents of the bill included Dan Brown who founded the group “STOP New Taxes” in response to the legislation. Brown’s group, which quickly grew exponentially, was spurred by the bill’s requirement to increase sales tax and corporate income tax to pay for educational reforms. Republicans balked at pouring money into what they perceived as failing institutional structures. In an editorial, *The Daily Oklahoman* called for both “Business and Education Reform.” Indicating that

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<sup>16</sup> The Oklahoma Academy. 2002 “Our Report Card: Public Policy Progress: Approaching Our Centennial.” p. 14 of 45. retrieved online 2/11/05 at <http://www.okacademy.org/Information/decade.pdf>

“helping education has become almost a fertility rite for American business,” the paper urged that “increased spending is not the answer [as] there is no relationship between school expenditures and student achievement.”<sup>17</sup>

After much political wrangling, the bill passed, but without an emergency clause. The passage of the bill without the clause was tantamount to unfunded mandates for teachers and schools. The failure of the bill in its form mobilized teachers into action on behalf of the entirety of education in Oklahoma. OEA President, Kyle Dahlem, called for a “demonstration of concern for the fact that we have no solution to the pitiful state of funding for education.”<sup>18</sup>

Leighetta Sue Fuson, in her doctoral dissertation entitled “A Qualitative Study of Selected Teachers Participating in the 1990 Teacher Mass Demonstration to HB 1017,” showed that the demonstration represented an historic shift in the professional conduct of Oklahoma teachers up to that point. Fuson’s study revealed the amazement of teachers when they found themselves part of a unified, but diverse, body of professionals remonstrating for a larger good.

The 1990 demonstration was distinctive from previous organized actions of teachers in that the event largely enjoyed the approbation of every level of educational governance, as well as the lay public. Previous struggles for professional recognition, including improved working conditions and increased salaries, have traditionally fallen along strict demographic lines. Men, for example, sought to protect their occupational status by debarring women from certain professional spheres; secondary teachers sought

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<sup>17</sup> *The Oklahoman*, “Business and Education Reform.” 1990 December 28, p. 10

<sup>18</sup> *The Oklahoman*, “OEA President Calls for a 5-Day Walk Out” Friday, April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1990 front page

to leverage authority at the expense of elementary school teachers, with the larger lay community standing in relative apathy, or in high criticism of teaching.

Fuson reported that “The 1990 demonstration was unique in that it was supported by board members and administrators across the state,” as well as by the business community and parent groups.<sup>19</sup> Educators, who previously carried out their daily duties in relative anonymity, left their classrooms to board members who substituted for teachers traveling to the Capitol for the demonstration. Where substitutes could not be found, school boards shut districts down to encourage teacher participation in the demonstration. Where teachers could not attend the demonstration in any case, “parents and business leaders went to the Capitol in their place.”<sup>20</sup> Even school children were present for the event.

Despite wide-spread support, Fuson reported that teachers struggled with the decision to participate in the demonstration. She used one *NEA Today* quote of a teacher who said, “I never in a million years anticipated that I’d have to do something like this. We are all so conservative. . . . It was one of the hardest decisions I have ever made.” As reported by Fuson, “some [teachers] risked their jobs” to be in attendance at the Capitol. Several participants reported loss of friendships or a change in community relationships due to their participation. Many in the community considered the “strike” illegal.

Fuson reported that the demonstration made an impact on the personal and professional lives of those who participated in the democratic process. Participants related feelings of excitement as they described an “aura” that hung over the Capitol complex. One reported the “feeling in the air,” amongst the signs and singing, of being

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<sup>19</sup> Fuson, Leighetta S. 1992. (see note 12, above): 6.

<sup>20</sup> *The Oklahoman*, “Some Teachers March; Others Stay in Class.” 1990 April 17, p. 7

part of “something that was right.” Another participant recalled “running in the rain for garbage sacks because I forgot my umbrella that day. We were running around there with big trash bags on our heads. I think [of] the unity and the fact that I was so much a part of it. I felt a big change was about to be made. . . . It was a good feeling.”

There was a sense of anticipation as legislators addressed the crowd, reporting how they voted. One participant recalled that OEA representatives also kept the demonstrators apprised of the ongoing debates. Finally, the votes were cast for the reintroduced bill. One teacher recalled, “While I was standing outside in the rain . . . I could hear all the shouts from the inside and we knew.”<sup>21</sup> The announcement was made on the Capitol steps and *The Oklahoman* was to later report that “Teachers rejoiced across the Capitol grounds as the news of the passage of HB 1017 reached them. Their efforts had been rewarded following a four-day demonstration and public support.”<sup>22</sup> OEA president Dahlem was quoted as saying, ““At this moment I am exhilarated. It is time to go back to school.””

Ultimately, Fuson drew several conclusions about the characteristics of the demonstrators she interviewed. First, attendees were “well educated and remained abreast of new educational theories.” Teachers who demonstrated tended to be veteran teachers having “15 years or more of teaching experience.” Second, attendance to the demonstration was not stratified according to previous professional hierarchies but included both men and women, both elementary and secondary teachers. Third, all indicated they would do it again, “if necessary.” Lastly, her participants experienced a sense of professional unity in facilitating educational change. Fuson juxtaposed the event

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<sup>21</sup> Fuson, Leighetta S. 1992. (see note 12, above): p. 37 – 38, 55, 62 – 68, & 59

<sup>22</sup> Jim Meyers of the Tulsa World (1990 April 20)

as a demonstration rather than a strike. She wrote, “In the proper context, the 1990 teacher demonstration cannot be considered a strike. . . Generally, strikes are against school boards, usually requiring or the result of a form of negotiation between the union and administrators.” She found in her study that teachers enjoyed wide support in their professional demonstration because “their educational dedication [could] not be questioned.” Teachers “projected strong passions associated with their students at home.”

Fuson concluded by reporting that HB 1017 was ultimately “implemented at a minimal level and that the extent of implementation varies by school and school district.”<sup>23</sup> Indicating that funds were channeled into government agencies other than schools, the media reported some were skeptical that the teachers and school children received much benefit at all from the ultimate passage of the bill by the voters of Oklahoma.<sup>24</sup> Despite the stated “comprehensive” nature of HB 1017, it is likely that the greatest value of the legislation is that it served as a watershed moment for teacher professionalism in Oklahoma. The flurry of reports and legislation that followed as a direct result of HB 1017 can only be described as revolutionary to that point. The passage of SB 158, the report of the External Review Team of the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, the passage of House Bills 2246 (resulting in the 1994 Report on Educator Preparation and Professional Development) and 1549, along with the national partnerships that were forged changed forever the professional landscape in Oklahoma.

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<sup>23</sup> Fuson, Leighetta S. 1992. (see note 12, above): p. 37, 72 – 73, 76 – 77, & 90.

<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, one opponent of the bill wrote to *The Oklahoman* editor, “As it turns out, House Bill 1017 was not a tax increase for schools but was for the state general fund—all \$223 million. . . . The schools received very little and few reforms were required of them. Proof? State finance director, Alexander Holmes, says if HB 1017 is repealed, all state agencies, retirement funds, salary increases, etc., will have to be cut by 7 percent.” (George Defenbaugh of Shawnee in the “Your Views” section of *The Oklahoman* July 24, 1990, p. 8)

### **SB 158: The Call for a Task Force**

Historically, teacher supply and demand has had an unavoidable and dialectical relationship with professional standards and gate keeping requirements. To increase the supply of qualified teachers for the newly established common schools, the Massachusetts state legislature passed an 1838 bill creating normal schools. Issues of a “Wholesome supply of adequately-trained” teachers spurred Gov. Major of Missouri in 1914 to write to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching for advice on the duty of the state in preparing teachers and in securing “the greatest benefit at a minimum expense.” Carnegie’s 1986 report, *A Nation Prepared*, specifically warned against widening the gates to the profession by lowering standards, as this would further cleave an already fractured profession and exponentially increase problems with standards, performance, and a continued supply of adequate teachers.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Oklahomans struggled with how to ameliorate the pang of teacher shortages. The historic response to supply shortages to widen the gates to the profession, allowing more candidates to flow into the hiring pool, was repeated as HB 1017 allowed for admittance of uncertified teachers of math, science and foreign languages. Nevertheless, further shortages were generated by HB 1017, because the mandated reduction in class sizes generated a voracious demand for teachers. Legislation throughout the 1990s continued to address shortages by allowing for entry of uncertified candidates, beginning with Senate Bill 158.

Reflecting social stratifications historically expressed as fractures in the profession, *The Daily Oklahoman* editorialized,

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<sup>25</sup> Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. May 1986. *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, The Report of the Task force on Teaching as a Profession*: p. 35.

Many readers have heard for themselves of the occasional Ivy League- or European-trained language specialist with private school or junior college teaching experience unable to change jobs and teach in our government (public) schools until they jump through state Education Department ‘hoops.’ There have been individuals holding doctoral degrees (with years of university teaching experience) who wanted to teach at the elementary or secondary level who first were subjected to ‘student teaching’ experiences with teachers half their age or experience.<sup>26</sup>

Calling on legislators to support the bill, the editor pointed out the “particularly acute” teacher shortage. Echoing James Bryant Conant’s sentiment of liberal arts faculty that schools of education “are beneficiaries of a high protective tariff wall” that circumscribes professional training and hiring practices, the *Oklahoman* editor decried, “Teachers in public and private schools taught in America for decades without teacher certification programs. . . . [I]t is past time to remove bureaucratic, turf-protecting barriers which are keeping (or discouraging) women and men of merit out of our classrooms.”<sup>27</sup>

By spring of 1991 the newspaper announced, “The likes of William Crowe and Jeane Kirkpatrick got clearance from lawmakers . . . to teach a class in Oklahoma public schools” with the passage of SB 158. The legislation was not without its deterrents. *The Daily Oklahoman* reported that “Rep. Jack Begley, D-Goodwell, produced a letter from Kenneth L. King, Dean of the College of Education at Oklahoma State University. King said SB 158 ‘presents the opportunity to jeopardize national accreditation of programs due to a disregard for national professional society guidelines.’”<sup>28</sup>

While SB 158 widened the gates to the profession, it also called for the establishment of the Task Force on Teacher Preparation to further study the conditions of teaching. The Task Force was to analyze current conditions of teacher preparation and

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<sup>26</sup> *The Daily Oklahoman*, “Certifying Merit”. March 7, 1991, Editorial, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Conant, James Bryant. 1963. *Education of American Teachers*. (New York, McGraw-Hill): p. 8 – 11; *The Daily Oklahoman*, “Certifying Merit,” March 7, 1991. p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> *The Daily Oklahoman*. “Alternative Teaching Plan Wins Approval. April 9, 1991. News, p. 7



formulate a cutting edge professional preparation system. Several months after King's comments, Rep. Don McCorkell, D-Tulsa, stood before Task Force 2000 calling for a "massive overhaul in the way Oklahoma trains its teachers." As chair of the Task Force on Teacher Preparation, McCorkell delivered findings of the group to Task Force 2000. As reported in the *Tulsa World*, he spoke of the necessity of considering the recommendations of national organizations and professional associations when training teachers. He advocated for waving requirements for national board certified teachers. He proposed that teacher preparation programs foster a stronger arts and science education and that responsibility for an outcomes-based preparation system be shifted to the State Department of Education. He called on the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education to "redesign the teacher preparation system within the next two years," and he vowed to incorporate the findings of the teacher preparation task force into legislation.<sup>29</sup>

### **OSRHE 1992 External Review**

Legislators framed the teacher as the silver bullet for educational excellence, and following SB 158 the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education (OSRHE) awaited the submission of the 1991 Teacher Preparation Task Force report so that they could embark on their own study of teacher training. In 1992 an external team of policy analysts, including university presidents, deans of colleges of education, representatives of professional associations, heads of policy institutes and school administrators, were recruited to determine recommendations for Oklahoma's system of colleges of education. The Regents, under Chancellor Hans Brisch, called the External Review project a "cornerstone activity" and framed the rationale for the project:

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<sup>29</sup> *The Tulsa World*. "Overhaul Sought for Teacher Education System." December 15, 1991. p. B11; *The Tulsa World*. "Changes in Teacher Training Urged." December 16, 1991; p. 7A.

Interest in the quality of teachers and their educational preparation has shifted from being a concern of only those within colleges of education and the common schools to a priority on the national agenda. Today's rhetoric emphasizes that a myopic view of teacher education will not allow our nation to meet the challenges of a new world order. Educators and laypeople alike have expressed concerns about the quality of the talent pool attracted into teaching. Concomitantly, the public is demanding accountability from those presently in the profession. It now appears that the nation is committed to addressing such serious problems as teacher retention and diversity within the teacher work force. As President Bush's recent trip to the East highlights, the United States is competing in a global marketplace. To succeed, those who teach and those who are taught must understand global issues, diverse cultures, and advanced technology. . . . Oklahoma's [External Review team will] address today's concerns as well as current and future needs in a timely and effective manner. The unprecedented vote to retain House Bill No. 1017 has drawn considerable attention to the quality of teacher preparation. Demonstrating their active support of House Bill No. 1017, the State Regents have extended the spirit of the legislation to higher education.<sup>30</sup>

In his discussions with an Internal Task Force which was to assist the External Review team, Chancellor Brisch placed a "premium" on creativity and innovation in working toward a cutting edge teacher preparation system. He posed the following question to the internal members: "Assume that you had no constraints to put a program together for individuals who seek a career in teaching, and you had no constraints (from the State Regents, State Department of Education, nationally, etc.), how would you conceptualize the best teacher education program?" This question immediately raised the issue of the de-professionalizing nature of regulations. The minutes of the meeting cited concerns by many including Jim Tolbert, who indicated that "the de-regulation issue should be addressed because there is also a move to de-regulate common education." Tolbert observed that recruitment of quality candidates was an issue that was closely linked to de-regulation. He observed that the low salary and a "regulating environment"

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<sup>30</sup> Meeting of the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, January 31, 1992, Agenda Item #5: Teacher Education; Subject: Status Report on the system wide review.

attracted the “wrong people” into the profession. “Tolbert added that one of the fundamental issues to be addressed is how to redesign the program to get the best . . . young people with the most potential to go into common education.” Out of the general discussion that ensued, the internal members reached general consensus that their charge by Brisch to innovate programs was hindered by the fact that “teachers are not treated as professionals and that there is very little room for creativity.”<sup>31</sup>

Ultimately, the External Team to evaluate teacher programs submitted a list of twenty-three recommendations for improvement. The following year, the list was reduced to twelve. The evaluating members of the second review “commended the presidents, vice-presidents, deans, and faculty for the ‘sincere effort to implement the recommendations’ and stated that they were ‘impressed with the progress that had taken place and with the professionalism with which the program is being applied.’” By 1995 the three year project was concluded with seven recommendations remaining.

The External Reviewers’ recommendations are significant to a genealogy of the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation in that adoption of their work was carefully incorporated into the work of the Commission as a matter of protocol.<sup>32</sup> Once again Oklahoma followed in the path of many who sought harmony at the point of alignment in teacher governance. Attempts to merge local, state and national intentions

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<sup>31</sup> OSRHE. Minutes of the Teacher Education Review Internal Task Force Meeting. April 8, 1992. 3:00 p.m. in the State Department of Education Board Room

<sup>32</sup> The 12 x 4 curriculum was a result of recommendations of the Regents’ External Review Team and is essentially early childhood, elementary education and special education’s answer to having a content area. According to an OSRHE document entitled, “Teacher Education Initiatives” dated September 10, 1999 the 12 x 4 is “12 credit hours of four core subjects—English, mathematics, sciences and social sciences.” In 1996, “the State Regents established the requirement that teacher candidates demonstrate listening and speaking skills at the novice-high level in a language other than English, as defined by the Associated Council on the Teacher of Foreign Languages.” The 1996 partnership between OCTP, OSRHE and NCTAF was simultaneous.

in the professional conduct of the classroom teacher continued through the forty-second Oklahoma legislature.

### **HB 2246: The Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation Task Force**

In 1992, Chris Piphio wrote for the *Phi Delta Kappan* about the variously interpreted and politically controversial concept of “outcomes” or “performance” based education. Describing the national scene, he reported, “The Terminology may differ—learner outcomes, performance-based or authentic assessment, portfolios of student work—but states and school districts are increasingly moving to adopt new programs that could change testing, teaching, and learning.” Irrespective of the radical shift from traditional “inputs,” such as measuring Carnegie units, specific courses or seat time, outcomes based education became contentious in the national policy arena if only because of the wide applications of the concept.<sup>33</sup>

As *Education Week* author, Lynn Olsen, clarified it, “Outcomes-based education, O.B.E. for short, is not a program, but a way of thinking about schools. In theory, proponents said, it looked like this: First, decide what students should know and be able to do when they graduate. Find ways to measure whether they are learning it. Then, free educators to help children reach the target. And reward schools and students for meeting the outcomes, instead of for time spent in class.” Olsen described the evolution of the concept from 1949 into the 1970s, when

politicians like then Gov. Lamar Alexander of Tennessee [later G.W. Bush’s Education Secretary promoting *America 2000*] began talking about a trade off. They would focus less on inputs and state regulation of education if the schools would agree to be held more accountable for results, or what students had actually learned. But these policymakers wanted students who could do more than diagram a sentence and add

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<sup>33</sup> Piphio, Chris. May 1992. “Outcomes or ‘Educabble’?” *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 73. No. 9. p. 662.

numbers. They wanted graduates who could think for a living and who could compete in a global economy.

By 1992, Oklahoma was one of thirty-four states to use some form of outcomes or performance based education.<sup>34</sup>

Oklahoma legislators looked to OBE as a way to resolve concerns not addressed by HB 1017. Perceptions of teaching corps inadequacies persisted. There was frustration with the entrenchment of an OEA-led competency review panel embedded within the State Department of Education and the perceived “ossification” of higher education was a concern. Legislators were not the only ones to have observed the “turf wars” that permeated the educational system. Teachers, teacher educators and administrators were also critical of the SDE/OEA competency review panel for pressuring individual OEA members to vote the party line in important decisions regarding programs. Some saw colleges of education as the “bigger part of the problem” because of the attitude that “We know what to do and we’re going to do it.” Others perceived the primary motivation of the State Department as that of maintaining their own “fiefdom.” Accreditation was seen as being based on political pressure as opposed to established standards. Even teachers did not escape their historical role as scapegoat. The long history of a fractured profession extended into Oklahoma culture at a time when outcomes based education tried to keep educators focused on a final goal—student learning.

Within this context, legislators considered that there must be a way to create a seamless and integrated system of educational governance that would allow for checks and balances and that would ultimately benefit the students of the state. They called for a new culture to be created to foster change and renewal, and they concluded that a new

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<sup>34</sup> Olsen, Lynn. December 15, 1993, “Who’s Afraid of O.B.E.?” *Education Week*.

“entity” would be needed to generate this new culture. The result would be “creative conflict” as opposed to turf wars, and “healthy turmoil” as opposed to entrenchment. Such a system was necessary to education as an institution for democracy.

Legislators called for two major developments in articulating the consensus that “the single most important factor affecting the quality of education is the quality of the individual teacher in the classroom.” The first development was to occur with the passage in 1992 of HB 2246. This legislation engineered the framework or basic structure of a “new outcomes based preparation system in Oklahoma.”<sup>35</sup>

Consistent with a national trend, the legislation emphasized the acquirement of a strong “in-depth knowledge” of subject matter. The law stipulated that candidates be capable of cultivating “talent and potential” in a diverse body of students and that an understanding of child and human development was an essential outcome for effective teachers. The ability to work with “parents as partners,” the capacity to maneuver within the community, and adeptness in teamwork were also required outcomes under the legislation.<sup>36</sup>

These outcomes or competencies were to be achieved in a number of ways. Staying within 124 hours, teacher candidates were to take liberal arts classes prior to entering professional preparation programs in colleges of education. New teachers were to be oriented to the profession by trained mentors from the school district and universities. Entry-level teachers were also to benefit from an atmosphere of teamwork to facilitate the specified outcomes. In addition to the mentoring component, teachers were to undergo a series of performance-based assessments. The State Board of

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<sup>35</sup> House Bill 2246. 1992. The 42<sup>nd</sup> Oklahoma Legislature, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Education was to change certification categories to align with the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards and to develop incentives for teachers to pursue NBPTS certification. Alternative certification remained as “the State Board of Education [was not to] accredit, renew the accreditation of, or otherwise approve any teacher education program of any institution of higher education in this state that has not made a commitment to, and begun to implementation of, Alternative Placement Programs in at least four areas of specialization, including mathematics, science and foreign language.”<sup>37</sup>

The second major development called for by legislators was that the new outcomes based system was to be developed by a newly created task force—The Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation. The legislation stipulated roles for both the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education and the State Board of Education as partners to the task force within this new integrated system. Specifically, the Regents were to “enable universities to design innovative and unique teacher education degree programs that meet teacher preparation outcome objectives.” This requirement represented a careful integration of the work of the 1992 report of the OSRHE External Review team. The State Board of Education, in turn, was to work “with school districts [in] identifying the outcomes expected from in-service professional development programs” and to “develop a deregulated plan” for the implementation of such programs.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, the new legislation was intended to shift school reform to teacher reform and surpass HB 1017 in its comprehensiveness. However, as national education commentator Chris Pipho put it, “Passing a law or adopting a regulation to initiate a

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

move to focus on outcomes is the easy part. Convincing the public of the need for such a change and explaining how the new ideas will affect students in the classroom will take a coherent communications strategy.”<sup>39</sup>

Communications via an interim report was to be the second development called for by legislators. As stipulated by law, the task force was comprised of a broad cross section of legislators, parents and members of educational and business communities.<sup>40</sup> The body was divided into sub-committees or “Teams,” each of which were to research and make recommendations regarding “Arts, Sciences, and Subject Matter,” “Cultivating Talent, Human Development and Teaching Skills,” recruitment, pre-service preparation and professional development of teachers, community involvement of teachers and partnering with parents.<sup>41</sup> An additional Team addressed administrator issues.

Although the task force had formal legislative mandates, participants described the underlying charge as that of being creative or analytically innovative and “dreaming about what could be.” As one participant put it, “Really, the best and brightest were brought together” to envision possibilities of the larger role education played in Oklahoma’s future. The atmosphere was described as “electric,” as participant(s)

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<sup>39</sup> Piphio, Chris. May 1992. (see note 33, above).

<sup>40</sup> The 1994 report of the Commission was credited to Rep. Don McCorkell (Chairman), Sen. Penny Williams (Vice-Chairman), Sen. Ed Long, Sen. Bernice Shedrick, Sen. Bill Gustafson, Rep. Jack Begley, Rep. James Hager, Rep. Jim Holt, Hans Brisch (Chancellor OSRHE), Sandy Garrett (Oklahoma State Superintendent of Public Instruction), Roy V. Peters (Director, Oklahoma Dept. of Vo-tech Education), Don Dale (High Plains Area Vo-Tech), Terry Almon (Stillwater National Bank), Ray Pearcey (Business Consultant), James Tolbert III (First Oklahoma Corporation), Janice Martin (Parent), Deborah Taggart (Parent), Wayne Beam (Yukon Public Schools), Dan Cockrell (Tulsa Public Schools), Kyle Dahlem (Moore Public Schools), Gayle Harlin-Fischer (Mid-Del Public Schools), Richard Logan (Mid-Del Public Schools), Silvy Kirk (Mid-Del Public Schools), George Hatfield (Purcell Public Schools), Debbie Thionnet (Holdenville Public Schools), Stephanie Hawkins (Oklahoma City Public Schools), Rita Ryan (Norman Public Schools), Mary Meritt (Stillwater Public Schools), Smith Holt (Oklahoma State University), Kenneth King (Oklahoma State University), Larry McKinney (Oklahoma Baptist University), Kathleen Tall Bear (Southeaster Oklahoma State University), Thomas Horne (Tulsa University), Janis Updike Walker (University Center at Tulsa).

<sup>41</sup> Rough drafts of the work of the committees were FAXed or otherwise transmitted to the OSRHE during the summer and fall of 1993. OCTP Team I – V Reports. OSRHE archive.



recalled a general sense of “moving away from the lock step procedures that were then in place.”<sup>42</sup> Guest speakers from around the state were brought in as task force members debated what the teacher should know and be able to do or the balance of content knowledge versus pedagogical knowledge.

Task force members went about shaping the ethos of the profession in Oklahoma, but few would realize how comprehensively their efforts would change educational governance in the state. Most did not conceive of the broad powers the new Commission was to assume, nor did many anticipate the dogged intention of legislators to carry out the stipulations of the law and subsequent report. However, a handful of politically seasoned teachers, teacher educators and policy analysts did recall the first meeting of the task force as a distinctive moment of realization. One participant in particular recalled the chair (Rep. Don McCorkell) and vice-chair (Sen. Penny Williams) of the OCTP task force, as

“definitely running that initial meeting. I’ve been part of other education reform types of things. You know, you can get a bunch of people together and throw a report together and then that’s the end of it. And I think as we went through that meeting that day up there at the Capitol there was a lot of that same feeling. [The general attitude was,] ‘Well, this is just another one of those things, just another one of those commissions. We’ll do our thing, and go to the house and that will be it.’ As Rep. McCorkell went through the charge of the Commission and I saw the determination to really do something right for education in Oklahoma, I went directly back to [individual] and told [him/her] ‘. . . this could be the thing that could really change education in Oklahoma. If they do what they say we’re going to do, that will really make a difference.’<sup>43</sup>

It was not until the 1994 dissemination of the *Report on Educator Preparation and Professional Development*, and the 1995 passage of HB 1549 designed to implement the

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<sup>42</sup> Participant #11905 interview with Dana Cesar

<sup>43</sup> Participant #42005 interview with Dana Cesar

report's recommendations, that the full import of the commission came into fuller consciousness among the broader educational establishment.<sup>44</sup>

### **HB 1549: The Creation of a New Regulatory Entity**

Rep. McCorkell, in his written introduction to the report of the task force, cautioned against condemning education or “abandoning the possibility for institutional change” because such cynicism would denigrate the democratic institution of education, thereby relegating Oklahoma’s school children to “second class” citizenship and second class status “in tomorrow’s world.” He called for an appreciation of how dramatically educational needs had changed since the early days of the republic. Echoing *A Nation at Risk*, he stated, “The learning experience of today’s children is far more diffuse, uncoordinated, and even contradictory than it was for those children [in agrarian American culture] who grew up basically as apprentices in their family.” He went on to say “Sputnik brought home the reality of military power abroad and a new surge of educational investment to maintain our technology superiority. . . . Toyota brought home the reality of economic competition, [and the] information age brought the need for broadly educated workers.” Consequently, Oklahomans needed to “rethink” educational strategies.

Similar to the national and professional reports before it, the state report of the task force insisted on relevancy of the educational system and called for nothing short of “radical change” in Oklahoma’s educational structure. It repeated calls to step up “recruitment, education, and on-going preparation of teachers [as] the centerpiece of educational reform.” McCorkell reported task force findings of the need to “to make sure

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<sup>44</sup> Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation. December 1994. “Report on Educator Preparation and Professional Development.” p. 2

that our system is flexible and dynamic so . . . talent will not be rejected, ignored, or abused, and to take those individuals and provide them with first class education, training and support. That is when our state will become a world class competitor.”<sup>45</sup>

In seeking a more seamless, integrated and responsive system, the report called for greater alignment in several areas. Congruity must be established between stated competencies and skills, assessment and licensure. Institutional plans for universities and for school districts must become aligned in order to attract and keep the most capable candidates. The task force described as imperative the encouragement of innovation and collaboration among higher education faculty and school district personnel. Professional development was to shift from a “one size fits all” approach to one more streamlined and targeted to the choice of the individual teacher. School district competencies outlined in the report were to be carried over as a “starting point” for in-service professional development. Even the school and broader community were to be aligned in that the report called for more “emphasis on the relationship between school and work” and the strengthening of this connection. It was recommended that the State Department of Education Minority Teacher Recruitment Center (MTRC) establish a partnership with the Oklahoma Higher Learning Access Program” of the State Regents. OSRHE External Review Team recommendations were to be implemented and institutions were to solicit peer review by “nationally respected education professionals” to ensure continued adherence to state and national standards.<sup>46</sup>

The publication of the report was said to have been instantly met by a “firestorm” from the OEA. Confronting the task force was difficult for OEA members because Kyle

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 5 – 6 & 8.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 12 – 14.

Dahlem, a strong member of OCTP as a task force, had previously led them to successfully demonstrate for HB 1017. In the interest of the profession as a whole, OEA members pressured task force members to take their report into the communities that would be affected by the recommendations. The Executive Committee honored the earnest requests and took the report on the road.

Again, the task force met with reactions ranging from skeptical to confrontational by teachers beleaguered with regulations and lacking support. However, one participant observed that

what people came to understand was that the Commission was not just some elitist group that was opposed to teachers, and that wanted to hurt education. Everybody on the Commission wanted to do something positive for education. But the public would not buy into teacher's salaries and benefits without substantially changing how the product was going to be delivered.

Eventually, *The Daily Oklahoman* reported the endorsement of the OEA, despite initial resistance toward testing and professional development components.<sup>47</sup>

The higher education community expressed concerns, as well. The deans of the various preparation programs were somewhat affronted by the imposition of state dictated competencies. Gradually the deans came to sanction competency based accountability as an end product because it appeared to allow them greater freedom in reaching educational goals. Faculty, in turn, balked at the possibility of the elimination of their courses which brought many of them into conflict with their deans. However, initial protests by both deans and faculty in colleges of education gradually abated, partially because of recommendations outlined by the OSRHE External Review team, which were aligned with the Commission report. Additionally, many institutions were by

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<sup>47</sup> *The Daily Oklahoman*. December 8, 1994. "OEA Endorses Tougher Training" Section: News, p. 10.

that time self-initiating reforms designed to upgrade teacher training. The College of Education at the University of Oklahoma, for example, had experienced their own internal debates over alignment of college standards with NCATE standards (which were becoming more outcomes based) and the extension of teacher preparation into graduate training with a fifth year of matriculation.<sup>48</sup>

The press received the report favorably and spotlighted the residency recommendations of the report. Comparing teachers to doctors, *The Daily Oklahoman* reported, “Oklahoma’s future classroom teachers should be required to serve a three-year residency as they prepare to become world-class instructors.”<sup>49</sup> *The Oklahoman* also indicated that, perhaps, the report represented a shift in the winds of change in Oklahoma. The paper editorialized, “The ideas—which McCorkell unveiled along with state Sen. Penny Williams, D-Tulsa, and commission executive director David Ligon—spark two seemingly contradictory reactions. First was a modest hope that these ideas might yield more than window dressing. Second, were concerns that new bureaucratic structures could emerge to oversee implementation of it.”<sup>50</sup>

The paper echoed the realization among many that the report would 1) yield more than window dressing and 2) recommendations would, in fact, be implemented by a new entity. The realizations were not contradictory, however. Rather, ensuring that the recommendations of the report were treated as more than window dressing was to depend on certain changes in the bureaucratic structure.

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<sup>48</sup> Participant #04052005 interview with Dana Cesar; OSRHE archives, Meeting minutes dated August 16, 1991 – April 29, 1992. OU College of Education archives, misc. letters, memorandums, meeting minutes pertaining to creation of the TE-PLUS program in anticipation of the NCATE review.

<sup>49</sup> *The Daily Oklahoman*. December 7, 1994. “Panel Recommends Overhaul of Teacher Training System.” Section: News. P. 15

<sup>50</sup> *The Daily Oklahoman*. December 14, 1994. “Preparing Hope.” Editorial, p. 10

If the work of the Commission as a task force was to be salvaged, some saw a necessity to shift responsibility for implementation of recommendations away from traditional authority sources—i.e. the State Department of Education. Participants of the study maintained that had recommendations been left to the SDE to implement, the work of the task force would have gone the way of untold reports that are published and promptly shelved.

After nearly a year of meetings between the SDE and OCTP to work out details of implementing the findings of the task force, it became evident that the SDE was of a mindset more aligned to the traditional inputs, such as mandating courses, than outcomes such as measuring competencies. After years of collaborative work between legislators, state department representatives, teachers, teacher educators, administrators, parents, and business leaders to reform education, many perceived resistance on the part of the state department as a conservation of the status quo. The position of the SDE is unknown, as no data in the way of oral interviews or documentary evidence could be obtained for this study. However, it became apparent that educational stakeholders in Oklahoma, at a critical juncture, became entrenched over the issue of authority for implementing task force findings.<sup>51</sup>

As a result of the momentum of an energetic task force toward reform, and out of response to a reticent state department, legislation emerged that greatly increased the powers of the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation beyond that of an advisory task force. The State Board of Education was legislatively mandated by HB 1549 to “disseminate to each local professional development committee a copy of the in-service professional development competencies included in the Report on Education Preparation

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<sup>51</sup> Participant #05062005 interview with Dana Cesar.

and Professional Development issued in December 1994 by the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation [task force].”<sup>52</sup> The SBE was legislatively mandated to adopt the general competencies and fully implement them into the system for licensure and certification, although OCTP was authorized to develop the outcomes-based test. The legislation encouraged collaboration among the entities by requiring an “accord [of] recommendations” emerging out of “due deliberation.” OCTP and SBE were mandated to solicit comments from each other, as well as from the OSRHE, prior to adopting policies. While the law shifted many responsibilities from SBE to OCTP, it further reduced the powers of the SBE by shifting authority for the Minority Teacher Recruitment Center and the Oklahoma Higher Learning Access Program from the SBE to the OSRHE.

Similar to the early twentieth century policy recommendations of Learned and Bagley that ultimate educational authority in Missouri should be comprised of lay oversight, likewise section twenty-four of the 1995 HB 1549 stipulated that the Education Oversight Board would have policing authority over the two education entities—OCTP and SBE—in their implementation of the Teacher Preparation Act. Any formal action on the part of the SBE and/or OCTP that was not consistent with proposals of the other, respectively, was to be justified in a report to the Education Oversight Board.

The state legislated partnership between SBE and OCTP continued to splinter despite the mandates of HB 1549 and many observed bitter disunity at public meetings. However, the contentious atmosphere was primarily illuminated by the media because many involved were fearful of outwardly addressing the conflict. In January of 1996,

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<sup>52</sup> House Bill 1549. 1995. The 45<sup>th</sup> Oklahoma Legislature, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session. *The Oklahoma Teacher Preparation Act*. p. 13 – 14.

*The Daily Oklahoman* reported the particular frustration of Don McCorkell, father of both the Commission and the Office of Accountability that maintained oversight of OCTP and the SDE.

A veteran state lawmaker said Sunday he plans to introduce legislation that would ‘bulldoze’ public education and build a new school system. Rep. Don McCorkell, D-Tulsa, chairman of the House Committee on Economic Development, said deregulation of schools and elimination of centralized management is at the heart of his eight-point reform package. McCorkell said that he wants to abolish the State Education Department, the state Textbook Committee and the office of state superintendent of public instruction. He said he also wants to create two agencies: an office of education regulation and an office of education services and innovation.<sup>53</sup>

Despite McCorkell’s remarks, the educational system in Oklahoma was not “bulldozed” to make way for new agencies. The article does reflect the level of frustration experienced by many during the early years of the new triangulated governance structure. Ultimately, the birth of OCTP was seen as a major reform effort in professional preparation, licensure and certification in Oklahoma.

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<sup>53</sup> *The Daily Oklahoman*. January 22, 1996. “New Education System Pushed by Lawmakers.” Section: NEWS, p. 18.



**THE CASE OF OKLAHOMA: ISSUES OF PROFESSIONALISM DURING  
EARLY IMPLEMENTATION**

Although considered an independent board, OCTP was necessarily dependent on state and national partners. As part of an early effort to adopt national standards, the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation sought to partner with the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (NCTAF). In applying for the partnership, the Commission described its distinctive systemic design.

We have maintained the premise that one portion of the education family cannot be improved without providing improvement to other members of the family. Thus, Oklahoma is committed to moving the entire reform process down parallel tracks. We have focused on the establishment, implementation, and assessment of student standards, reform of teacher preparation and assessment, reform of teacher professional development, teacher recruitment, and school deregulation simultaneously. As can be imagined, such comprehensive systemic reforms results in many 'change pains,' conflicts, contradictory legislation, policies, rules and regulations.<sup>1</sup>

Although OCTP was established before partnership with NCTAF was possible, many of the proposals of the national commission fit with the pre-existing state commission. Consequently, OCTP was able to adopt the framework of NCTAF without jeopardizing its legislated mandates or partnerships with other national entities. NCTAF's "three-legged stool of teacher quality" and five goals proved useful as a schema and provided a lexicon with which to discuss the work of this unusual new entity,

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<sup>1</sup> OCTP. October 1996. "Oklahoma Educator Preparation & Professional Development: A Plan for State Partnership." Submitted to The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future. p. 8; Oklahoma was one of the early respondents to the NCTAF invitation for membership. A meeting was held between NCTAF representatives and OCTP Executive Director Donna Payne, Assistant Vice Chancellor of the State Regents for Higher Education Debra Stuart, Assistant Superintendent Ramona Paul, and OEA Associate Executive Director Lela Odem in November of 1996. NCTAF later announced in December the selection of Oklahoma as the eighth state invited to "participate in a network" of states whose purpose is to pursue "a teacher development agenda linked to other school reforms."

OCTP, with Oklahoma's lay and professional communities.<sup>2</sup> It must be clarified that the establishment of OCTP as a codified authority in educational reform was not determined by the NCTAF partnership, but through statute.

At the state level, the Commission's very legislative origins tie it to collaborative action with the SDE, OSRHE and the State Board of Vocational and Technical Education to effect systemic change. Because the Education Oversight Board was to ensure consistency of formal action between OCTP and the SDE, this represented an additional collaborating partner at the state level. Further, the Commission was mandated by statute to report directly to the Governor and the Legislature regarding proposed changes to teacher preparation.

Commitment to state partners and the intention toward systemic reform was also reflected in the board composition of OCTP. Conceptualized as a thirty-three member task force in 1992, it was transformed to a board of twenty-four members (twenty voting and four ex-officio) in 1995. As mandated, the Board was to represent the interests of public school teachers, Career and Technical school teachers, public school superintendents, an arts and sciences faculty, teacher education faculty, a representative from the Oklahoma State Regents, a member of the State Board of Education, and an administrator from a private teacher preparation institution. The Commission was also to include lay persons including parents of school aged children and those with some educational experience and who demonstrated a commitment to improved public

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<sup>2</sup> Although the influence NCTAF provided has waned, the work of the Commission was organized in *A Strategic Action Plan for Building Oklahoma's Future: Enacting the NCTAF Recommendations*. September 1999; NCTAF. December 1996. *Oklahoma Partners Update: A notice to the Partners*. Personal files of Barbara Ware. Koppich & NCTAF folder. NCTAF partners were to (1) Get Serious about standards, for both students and teachers. (2) Reinvent teacher preparation and professional development (3) Fix teacher recruitment and put qualified teachers in every classroom. (4) Encourage and reward teacher knowledge and skill. (5) Create schools that are organized for student and teacher success.

schooling. Each of these were appointed by the Governor, the Speaker of the House, and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, respectively.<sup>3</sup>

The OCTP came into existence in 1995 and by law was to begin functioning in the summer of 1997. However, tensions emerged early as they struggled on every front. To begin with, the legislature refused to fund the new agency. Representative Don McCorkell recalled, “We had it funded through pretty brutal fighting for the two or three years it took to get it going. There was tremendous resistance.” The Commission was originally funded through the Department of Commerce. For the next several years, funding was achieved through hard fought leverage between sub-committees. In addition to difficulties with funding, OCTP struggled to gain the cooperation and support of various constituencies who resisted change, yet were instrumental to implementation. Given this political context, controversy arose on three fronts—1) implementing a competency based accreditation system for schools, colleges and departments of education (SCDEs), 2) developing congruent licensure and certification policies for teacher candidates, and 3) developing portfolios for assessment of programs.

### **Schools, Colleges and Departments of Education: The Primary Mechanism for Accreditation Reforms**

State entities and their representatives influenced, in varying degrees, policy creation for the Commission. However, because SCDEs were to be the primary *mechanism* for implementation of OCTP policies, the Oklahoma Association for Colleges of Teacher Education (OACTE) represented a crucial entity for OCTP. Through OACTE, the deans and directors were apprised of their responsibilities for implementing various codes and protocols developed irrespective of the size or type of their teacher

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<sup>3</sup>OCTP. “Relevant Rules and Legislation,” Revised July 2002.

education program. Because OCTP maintained a very small staff, they struggled to put in place the pieces that would allow them to function as a regulatory board.

Consequently, working relationships between the SCDEs and OCTP became very problematic. Add to this a regular turnover of OCTP staff, a steep learning curve for new Commissioners especially those from lay communities, and the ongoing inventive approach of the Commission as they sought organizational equilibrium, and one might appreciate the great strain under which most deans and teacher educators struggled at that time.

### **The Development of Institutional Plans**

After the passage of HB 1549 in 1995, deans and faculty began to adapt programs to a competency based model while maintaining course structures necessary for the completion of degree requirements. The state law required SCDEs to submit an institutional plan (IP) so that adherence to competency based standards could be evaluated. However, developing competency based standards within the newly triangulated governance system proved problematic. Through HB 1549, the legislature mandated competencies that were generated out of the OCTP Task Force 1994 report. The OSRHE maintained standards developed out of the 1992 External Review. The State Department of Education submitted the competencies of the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC) in November of 1995. A series of regular, ad hoc and public meetings, as well as Commission retreats, were held to consider how to articulate the various certification and degree requirements.

While state entities grappled with framing competencies, teacher accreditation at the national level was undergoing its own dramatic transformation that added a layer of

complexity to the reform picture for Oklahoma. NCATE, with which the SDE held a partnership since 1987, was gradually shifting accreditation to a performance based model.<sup>4</sup> While Oklahoma sought systemic alignment, NCATE began to release a series of standards for SCDE that were to radically remake the landscape of teacher preparation in Oklahoma. In 1995, however, the eighteen year partnership that the SDE maintained with NCATE expired. The renewal application submitted by the SDE was rejected as it continued to use inputs as accountability measures. NCATE was reluctant to invalidate the long-held partnership without mutual relinquishment on the part of the SDE. The OCTP was also not legislatively empowered to take full responsibility for accreditation until July 1, 1997. None of the three entities of the SDE, OSRHE or OCTP had precise clarity on where renewal responsibilities lie or what guidance to provide to SCDE.<sup>5</sup> Teacher preparation programs were held in limbo because the process for determining competency based accreditation standards stood at an impasse.

While accreditation remained gridlocked, Commissioners and a small OCTP staff came to realize that alignment of Oklahoma's competencies could be achieved by merging the requirements of each of the state governing entities—the OSRHE, SDE and OCTP—into one comprehensive set of standards with the institutional plan as the single reporting mechanism. To merge required reports of the three entities into one all-encompassing document would relieve the institutions, especially those smaller colleges with limited resources, of burdensome documentation, freeing them to concentrate on teaching and/or research. OCTP Executive Director, Donna Payne, set about merging the

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<sup>4</sup> NCATENews. January 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Protocol for First/Continuing/Probation Accreditation State Program Approval and NCATE Unit Accreditation for Professional Education Units in the State of Oklahoma. NCATE Format March 1997, Revised 4/00 and 3/02. No author or other identifying info.

1994 findings of OCTP as a Task Force, the OSRHE External Review recommendations, and fifteen competencies determined by SDE.<sup>6</sup>

The working draft of Payne's competencies for institutional plans, dated April 2, 1996, was presented to stakeholders for discussion in three different fonts so as to distinguish the merged contributions of each of the partnering entities. The draft claimed that while the Commission would assume statutory authority for program accreditation as of July 1, 1997, "the program approval process established by the Commission will begin with the submission of the preliminary institutional plans January 1, 1997."<sup>7</sup> The deans were made aware at that time that ultimate program approval would depend on successful presentation of a full institutional plan, as well as on-site visits to the campus, the demonstration of student success through statistical data and analysis of student portfolios. Within a shifting state and national reform climate the program review process was to proceed, beginning with the submission by SCDE of their preliminary institutional plans.

While the NCATE partnership remained in flux, the Program Accreditation Committee (PAC) moved to develop a process for review and by July 1, 1996, mechanisms were put in place for the submission of "preliminary" Teacher Preparation Institutional Plans. However, few of the institutions were capable of so quickly complying. Generally speaking, most institutions implemented reforms on a twelve to

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<sup>6</sup> In a letter to the institutions dated November 7, 1995 Sandy Garrett requested the assistance of institutions with developing competencies in light of HB 1549 which called for a competency based system. She asked that stakeholders consider the "Model Standards for Beginning Teacher Licensing and Development: A Resource for State Dialogue," prepared by the Council of Chief State School Officers' Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium."

<sup>7</sup> OCTP. April 1, 1996. "Standards for Oklahoma Approved and Accredited Teacher Education Programs and Institution Plan Format. Working Document, For Discussion Only."

twenty-four month cycle.<sup>8</sup> Institutions were suddenly given less than a year to develop and implement a competency based teacher education program and submit their preliminary plans.

In an August 1996 correspondence to the deans group, Executive Director Payne attempted to assure institutions, as she received a steady stream of calls about the deadlines for IPs. As deans strove to overcome the momentum of their bureaucracies to respond to short timelines within a new system, Payne urged those SCDEs that had not yet completed the restructuring process, to provide an explanation to reviewers of what progress has been made, to that point. She tried to assuage the anxieties of the deans saying, “The Commission understands the time frames under which you are operating; we are working with the same time lines. With your assistance and expertise, we have tried to make this initial submission as trouble free as possible.” In her early memos and letters, Payne appeared responsive to the constraints and realities of institutions, some of which were using outdated methods for data retrieval.<sup>9</sup>

By December of 1996, and perhaps out of response to the inconsistency of the plans as they were submitted, OCTP continued to tweak requirements for institutions. In a letter to the deans of colleges of education and of arts and sciences, the Commission invoked its authority to ensure subject matter competence in teachers and subsequently asked “that all programs be built around the standards of the professional learned societies and the Oklahoma Priority Academic Student Skills.” Such recasts of the plan further affected the ability of the struggling institutions to respond according to deadlines.

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<sup>8</sup> Participant #01282005 interview with Dana Cesar.

<sup>9</sup> Memorandum from Donna Payne to the Deans of Teacher Education regarding Initial Institutional Plans dated August 29, 1996. OU College of Education archives.

Commission representatives and/or staff who worked during the 1996/1997 transition recalled that even after OCTP merged state and national requirements for accreditation, the meetings with the deans were tense.

When we used to go the monthly OACTE meetings we would call it ‘the deans’ bar-b-q’ because they would bar-b-q us, and ask us really, really tough questions. Because it was a change process, some embraced the change more quickly than others. There was sometimes a sense of us versus them. [We] worked hard to move beyond that. Because [many Commissioners and/or staff had a background in higher education], we understood some of the challenges that higher ed [sic] had in making changes quickly.<sup>10</sup>

As May 1997 drew near, OCTP increasingly turned attention to NCATE standards for the framework for Oklahoma’s institutional plans.<sup>11</sup> At this point, OCTP staff again refined reporting requirements, aligning SDE, OSRHE, OCTP competencies under the new NCATE performance based standards. However, the final version of the institutional plans did not fully go into effect until 1999, one year after the establishment of the OCTP/NCATE partnership, at which time the NCATE report was used for the IP and an accreditation schedule for institutions was established.<sup>12</sup> NCATE ultimately approved the OCTP partnership later in 1998 as the national body continued to develop a performance based accreditation system well into 1999.<sup>13</sup> Institutions would not be

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<sup>10</sup> Participant # 01282005 with Dana Cesar.

<sup>11</sup> Draft Time Lines for the Completion of Teacher Preparation Tasks. 9/20/95; “Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation Standards for Oklahoma Approved and Accredited Teacher Education Programs and Institution Plan Format. Working Document, April 2, 1992.” Personal papers Barbara Ware; Memorandum dated December 13, 1996 from Dr. George Hatfield, Chairman of the Licensure and Certification Committee, Dr. Barbara Ware and Dr. Ken King, Co-Chairman of the Program Approval Committee, and Dr. Mary Meritt, Chairman of the Assessment Committee. Personal papers of Joan K. Smith.

<sup>12</sup> OCTP Memorandum to deans of teacher preparation programs, February 3, 1997. Personal papers of Joan K. Smith; Garrett, Sandy. October 7, 2000. “Oklahoma’s Title II Preliminary Report Provided to the United States Department of Education.” p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation Standards for Oklahoma Approved and Accredited Teacher Education Programs and Institution Plan Format; Working Document for Discussion Only. Dated April 2, 1996. Personal papers Joan K. Smith; NCATENEWS, January 5, 1999.



bound to join NCATE, yet requirements so identically mirrored the national standards that it would behoove any state institution to join.<sup>14</sup>

The new OCTP/NCATE partnership dramatically changed the landscape of reform in the state and was significant in that it brought Oklahoma in line with national performance standards. The new partnership gave program authority to national organizations such as the National Council for Teachers of English, the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics, the National Science Teachers Association, for determining programmatic standards for teacher education subject areas.

Institutions scheduled for accreditation visits were afforded a grace period for being held accountable for the 2000 NCATE performance based system. “State College,” which had naturally been functioning according to an input oriented accreditation system, elected to go forward with accreditation under the 2000 NCATE standards. Although the new leadership in place at “State College” originally sought to conduct their accreditation as a pilot for the new NCATE standards, they found they were unable to do so. According to the Dean, the institution had about a year and a half to bring the school current with state and national competencies and then to retrieve and document their practice according to NCATE performance standards. Ultimately, the institution could not produce the data to defend performance based accreditation. Without accreditation, “State College,” an institution that served several bordering states, would be forced to close its doors. Those witnessing the unfolding of events surrounding “State College” accreditation observed an ideological fracture in the ensuing disputation that has been evident in American education since the early nineteenth century. That is,

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<sup>14</sup> Transition Information presented by OCTP and SDE presented June 30, 1997 to OACTE. Personal papers Joan K. Smith. p. 4.

lay Commissioners who viewed their role as being one of oversight sought disciplinary action. Commissioners who were veterans of education conversely saw the entity as a professionalizing body and sought to cultivate a professional ethos by bringing “State College” in line with the more rigorous standards. Veteran educationists serving the Commission argued that accreditation could not be denied an institution on continuation, such as “State College.” The college was entitled to a probationary period, a practice not uncommon for professional schools in other fields.

Of the participants included in this study, even those most critical of the Commission regarded the body as effective in upgrading Oklahoma’s professional schools and aligning them with national standards. However, in the instance of accreditation for “State College,” the ensuing bureaucratic struggle for authority to determine the approach to accreditation resulted in the departure, out of professional protest, competent OCTP staff and a sharply felt professional disregard on the part of deans.

Deans, as a class, are essentially the CEO’s of their respective colleges, and have enjoyed a long tradition of autonomous service to institutions in which “the culture of professionalism matured.”<sup>15</sup> For one of their numbers to face institutional death as a result of a still evolving regulatory system was chilling for many. This rang especially true in light of the overemphasis on certification tests that circumnavigated the efforts of SCDE to develop skills and dispositions for a qualified corps of teachers. One participant remarked,

Program review is serious, but I don’t think the people, even my vice-president for academic affairs really understands how rigorous the

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<sup>15</sup> Bledstein, Burton J. 1976. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. (New York, Norton): p. 289.

preparation is for NCATE right now. Before, accreditation would take a few weeks and we would collect only a few data. Now due to the emphasis on outcomes, we have to collect a myriad of data and demonstrate that we've had a series of meetings and involvement. There's lots of documentation to hook up with. And it has gone from, perhaps a minimally intrusive task to one that governs everything we do. The resources and man power necessary now to prepare for accreditation—it's unbelievable. . . . These people are usually holding down multiple roles, and yet they are expected to file the same rigorous reports, in depth reports, and still teach all these different things they have to teach and do the different things they have to do. [It] simply is not going to happen. A larger institution that has more people and more resources can have someone that focuses on data collection. And even though [a program may have only a few candidates to keep records on,] you still have to have that process in place. So there is some issue here of equity and fairness. And what's really enough? . . . I think, really and truly, it's well beyond anything we need. We hear how important it is to prepare people based on outcomes, and yet the only outcome that really seems to matter is how well that they do on a test. Bottom line is 'are your candidates prepared to pass the test,' and if they are, okay. . . . If we are going to be judged on the quality of our programs by at least a minimal pass rate on state tests, then that's what's important. Let's go back to some basics and get away from some of this other stuff.

Participants of the study were quick to recognize the exemplary professional conduct and helpful attitude of many among the generations of OCTP staff and Commissioners.

However, the oscillation of support of teacher education depended on the ability of the Commission, continually under consideration for sunset, to make authoritative decisions in partnership with higher education. Because of conflicting and changing expectations, SCDEs frequently felt caught in the web. Whether teacher educators, deans and directors supported or rejected the Commission as an authority for the profession, they realized that many problems with the new system were not entirely within the control of OCTP.

### **Licensure and Certification Legislation**

One element outside the control of the Commission was that of licensure and certification. Although the Commission was to create a three part certification test based

on competencies in general and subject area knowledge and professional competence, authority for granting and revoking licenses remained with the SDE. Legislation called for greater accountability of teacher preparation programs, but it also allowed for alternative certification of lay professionals. Mutual agreement or systemic alignment between teacher testing and professional preparation was at issue.

Incongruence emerging out of the divide in licensure authority was evident from the initial determinations of state competencies. Although legislation called for entities to work in tandem, competencies for teacher testing proceeded in advance of those for teacher preparation. This is revealed in the analysis of correlation of deadlines. In anticipation of meeting the legislated deadline of January 1997 for the adoption of full competencies, the SBOE submitted for consideration in November 1995 the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC) competencies. After consultation with a variety of stakeholders, the INTASC competencies were ultimately modified to include the OCTP task force findings.<sup>16</sup> The OCTP Licensure and Certification, Assessment and Program Approval Committees completed a final review of the competencies and submitted findings for approval of the full Commission in February 1996.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the lack of uniform development, OCTP moved forward on the selection of a test developer for licensure and certification that could respond to the shifting reform climate in Oklahoma. National leaders in test development were consulted and the National Evaluation Systems of Amherst, Massachusetts was selected in 1996, over the

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<sup>16</sup> Memorandum from Sandy Garrett, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, OSDE, to Members of the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation, November 2, 1995. Subject: Update regarding the development of the licensure and certification competencies and the process being used to garner public input. Personal papers, Joan K. Smith.

<sup>17</sup> Draft Time Lines for the Completion of Teacher Preparation Tasks. 9/20/95

Educational Testing Service, as the more responsive vendor. Where ETS offered generic, off the shelf exams, the NES was able to customize a test specifically aligned with Oklahoma's unique requirements. After interviewing stakeholders, collecting input from the OCTP Bias Review Committee and Content Advisory Panel and conducting pilots to ensure validity, the NES developed one test with three parts covering the general knowledge (OGET), subject matter knowledge (OSAT), and professional knowledge (OPTE) of candidates.<sup>18</sup> With the establishment of licensure and certification tests and the partnership with the national accrediting body, OCTP was to more fully step into its role and finally function for its legislated purposes by September of 1999. Education students could now take one, or all, of the three part exam after completing ninety college credit hours at an accredited institution.<sup>19</sup> However, the Oklahoma Teacher Preparation Act also stipulated that nothing in the law should "restrict the right of the State Board of Education to issue an emergency or provisional certificate, as needed," thereby opening the door to profession to laymen who sought to teach in Oklahoma's schools.<sup>20</sup>

Debates over gate-keeping are not new to education. In the nineteenth century Horace Mann observed the "great agitation" that certification of teachers generated among the town citizenry. Certification in Oklahoma has historically revealed similar ideological discomfort, as reflected in the reports of *The Daily Oklahoman*. Following

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<sup>18</sup> By October of 1996, the NES developed the OPTE with the additional input from a Bias Review Committee and a Content Advisory Panel of OCTP. With the help of NES, OCTP continued to develop the OGET and OSAT assessments as pilots with the plan to implement the tests in the September of 1999. May OCTP Update, May 16, 97; Oklahoma's Title II Preliminary Report Provided to the United State Department of Education, October 7, 2000, Sandy Garrett, State Superintendent, Oklahoma State Department of Education, p. 4, 10.

<sup>19</sup> See HB 1549, section 8.B. The teacher preparation system was to be "fully integrated and implemented by July of 1997, and shall apply to students entering programs after September 1997. (HB 1549, section 4) However, in practical terms the Commission was not up and running until 1999.

<sup>20</sup> House Bill 1549. 1995. The 45<sup>th</sup> Oklahoma Legislature, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session. *The Oklahoma Teacher Preparation Act*. section 8.E.

the passage of SB 158 in 1991, Superintendent Garrett was reported to have congratulated the legislature on the passage of the bill which allowed for alternative certification in shortage areas. In one article, Garrett speculated that the law would upset “some colleges of education deans in Oklahoma,” saying it would “make them look at their pedagogy.” While the paper was to report congratulations to the legislature by Superintendent Garrett, it also reported the disappointment of NCATE, the teacher accreditation organization with which the SDE maintained a partnership since 1987. NCATE President Art Wise was reported to have said that with SB 158, Oklahoma had taken a “giant step backwards,” dealing a “severe blow” to Oklahoma’s school children. The paper quoted Wise as saying, “Oklahoma has passed a law allowing any college graduate with no preparation in teaching—no coursework or clinical experience, including student teaching—to be hired as a teacher.”<sup>21</sup>

Such conflicting ideological considerations of certification were written into the legislation itself. Senate Bill 158 and HB 1549 both called for greater accountability in teacher preparation programs, while admitting candidates uninitiated into the larger performance and outcomes based professional community. The statutory division of responsibility for certification, coupled with the old ideological split over how to address teacher supply, resulted in two outcomes. First, frustrations were to emerge over availability of data on the alternative certification program. Second, few would realize the grave impact alternative certification would come to have on secondary education preparation programs throughout the state.

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<sup>21</sup> *The Daily Oklahoman*, “Satellites, Choice, Better Schools,” April 19, 1991 EDITORIAL, p. 12; *The Daily Oklahoman*, “Walters Gets Alternative Teaching Bill,” April 12, 1991, NEWS, p. 15; *The Daily Oklahoman*, “Certification Rule Step Backward, Agency Say,” July 8, 1991, NEWS, p. 1

Robert Buswell, Director of the Education Oversight Board/Office of Accountability in the mid to late 1990s, expressed no small amount of frustration in his inability to acquire information about alternative candidates. In a letter of response to Donna Payne, he indicated that although state law requires institutions to provide data on their alternatively placed candidates, they were not successfully able to do so for two primary reasons. First, institutions could not distinguish regularly enrolled candidates from those who sought alternative certification. He remarked on the data acquired from institutions,

“We received records on students with unknown names, ages that would indicate that there could not have been prior work experience, unknown educational history and/or degree(s) earned, unknown requirements for completion of the APP, program requirements that appeared to be less than allowable minimums, and unknown status toward completion of the APP.

When Buswell inquired why this was so, he was told by the SCDEs that they “know so little about participants because they are told so little about participants.” It seems that once

participants have completed an application, provided proof of educational history and degree(s) earned, passed tests in the subject area(s) for which certification is desired, and had course requirements determined, they are released to fulfill those requirements wherever they pleased by attending as few or as many Oklahoma institutions of higher education as they desire.

Secondly, matters were complicated by the outdated or underutilized record keeping mechanisms for following alternative candidates. Buswell observed that some SCDEs, as well as the SDE, were processing files “by hand.” Further, he observed that standards were subjectively determined by one or two administrators at the SDE who were filtering alternative applicants. Schools, colleges and departments of education repeatedly asked the SDE for lists of alternative candidates who had been recommended for

their respective institutions. However, the SDE was not able to regularly provide such data.

Although the clear intent of legislators who drafted SB 158 and HB 1549 in the early 1990s was to allow for Oklahoma's "Angie DeBo's" to teach Oklahoma history, "David Boren's" to teach civics, and "Bill Gate's" to teach math and technology in Oklahoma's public schools, there were problems in the effectiveness of the system to filter and track candidates. SCDEs pointed to the 100 percent pass rates for alternative candidates while they struggled with rigorous state and national standards.<sup>22</sup> When queried, State Department of Education officials noted that state statute very prescriptively defined for candidates, in advance, what was required to become an alternatively certified teacher in Oklahoma. Candidates prepared in advance of application and those who completed requirements were assessed very objectively according to law.

Ultimately, Buswell was optimistic in observing "many opportunities for refinement," and recommended more objectivity be integrated into the system. In order to improve management of the program, he argued that improved communications between the SDE and the institutions was the crux of success in utilizing data for further policy considerations. He wrote,

Under current law the State Department of Education is the 'lead agency' for this program, as such, they should know which institutions program participants are attending. They should facilitate the institution's involvement in the program by providing documentation on program participants and require these institutions to maintain paperwork sufficient

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<sup>22</sup> By definition, candidates seeking alternative certification had unlimited opportunities to take exams which may inform their 100% pass rate. Conversely, teacher candidates enrolled in SCDEs were given one opportunity to pass exams before being allowed to progress in their preparation programs.



enough to establish a proper paper trail toward fulfilling program requirements.<sup>23</sup>

Buswell related the SCDEs were willing to track students without the help of the SDE if only they had some data to work with. During the period under consideration for this study, the SDE remained uncooperative in providing information on alternative candidates.

As Oklahoma continued to step up a competency and performance based teacher preparation system increasingly aligned with national standards, teacher educators and deans became concerned about the impact alternative certification would have especially on secondary programs. They began to question the practice of certifying teachers outside their field of expertise where regularly certified candidates must test in the field for which they were specifically prepared. Teacher educators were concerned how the law might negatively reflect on their institutions as candidates go unprepared into the field. Most significantly, professional educators became distressed with the impact of alternative certification laws as they observed the virtual evaporation of enrollment into secondary programs. One participant active during the early years of implementation articulated the experience of both public and private institutions when (s)he observed,

[There is] a major dichotomy in an increased amount of work and very rigid [requirements of the colleges and their regularly enrolled students]. Yet, [the back door has been left open] for alternatively certified candidates. Because of this, it is killing my secondary programs. This is one of my biggest concerns. There has been no one saying, 'Wait a minute, Why are we making all these mandates for schools of education and for the teacher candidates, but yet we are opening the door for alternative certification.' And they don't see that we are losing kids at the secondary level programs who say, 'Why do I need to go into teacher prep. [I can just take a test] and get an alternative certification.' I cannot

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<sup>23</sup> Letter from Robert Buswell to Donna Payne, January 3, 1996/7. OACTE correspondence, personal files of Joan K. Smith

understand that the Commission does not see that the programs are dying.<sup>24</sup>

Although both alternatively and regularly enrolled students take the same competency exams, the critical importance of systemic reform set in motion in the last century is illuminated in the current conflict between lowered standards of entry for secondary teachers yet increased expectations for high school students. Some suggest that teacher competence is more readily acquired and measured within the context of professional training in an accredited institution capable of cultivating a professional ethos. In evaluating programs for effectiveness, the Oklahoma Commission has allowed for competence in teacher candidates to be measured in ways other than testing. The development of student portfolios is one essential way programs are evaluated for effectiveness in preparing competent candidates. The portfolio as a tool for evaluation to balance testing similarly faced initial obstacles during the developmental phase as the Commission struggled to pilot innovations while implementing stringent regulations.

### **The “Pilot” for Portfolios**

In the April 1996 meeting between OCTP and OACTE, the deans were made aware that ultimate program approval for accreditation would depend not only on successful presentation of the full institutional plan and on-site visits to the campus, but on presenting for reviewers these student portfolios. These portfolios would demonstrate institutional effectiveness in developing teacher competence.<sup>25</sup> While the Buros Center for Teaching was contracted to oversee validity of the three part licensure and

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<sup>24</sup> Participant #02052005 interview with Dana Cesar.

<sup>25</sup> OCTP. “Standards for Oklahoma Approved and Accredited Teacher Education Programs and Institution Plan Format. Working Document, For Discussion Only.” April 1, 1996.

certification tests, so were they brought on to facilitate the development of a rubric for institutions to follow in the creation of portfolios.

Utilizing NCATE standards that called for the assessment of candidate qualification and performance, Oklahoma conceived of the portfolio as a way to assess professional educator competencies. In a series of regular and ad hoc meetings similar to those held for determination of institutional plans, OCTP as a regulatory body sought feedback from those who would implement reforms—the SCDE. In meeting with OACTE, two conflicting ideologies emerged that centered on the issue of flexibility versus standardization. In considering the use of portfolios for documentation of NCATE standards, the deans were divided. There were those who favored a standardized template for portfolios. They argued that the portfolios should be formulated out of a very prescriptive model that would minimize any doubt about documentation on the part of institutions, on the part of candidates creating the portfolios and on the part of visiting teams of NCATE evaluators. Other deans argued that portfolios should be reflective of the particular philosophy and culture of the institution and of the professional goals of the individual student. Respecting such individuality would allow for student initiative in documentation and a measure of creativity in professional expression of candidates. Debate ensued, as the ultimate format of the portfolio as an evaluative tool was crucial to state and/or national accreditation.

In developing a rubric that would reflect standards but allow for individuality, the deans and OCTP representatives came up with a two step process that was to provide feedback to institutions on the internal and external congruency in student portfolios. That is, consistency was to be maintained internally, between programs within an

institution. Standards were to be threaded throughout the academic career of the candidate. Internal or institutional missions and philosophies were to be dovetailed with external learned society standards and state mandates. Some early drafts of rubrics included congruency scores to be applied according to a four point scale the level at which portfolios reflected total congruence, partial congruence, ambiguous performance, and incongruent. The deans were insistent that the rubric not equate weak candidates with professional programs. The tool was not to be used as a summative evaluation of programs, but was designed in partnership with deans and OCTP to serve as a tool for ongoing feedback. The deans were to understand that the rubric was intended to inform their institutions about what the standards were and how their programs were doing, in a developmental sense, in meeting expectations. The rubric was to descriptively illuminate weaknesses prior to the regularly scheduled NCATE visit, so that any problems might be remedied in advance of formal evaluations.

The Buros Center for Teaching was subsequently contracted to pull the ideas of the deans and OCTP into what was hoped to be a workable rubric. However, the deans quickly became alarmed at the resulting *Oklahoma Portfolio Assessment Rubric: A Ten Step Overview*. The bulky rubric did not resemble the two-step, developmental tool for providing feedback and clearly utilized the strong evaluative language of NCATE in determining whether standards were “met” or “not met.” As one participant recalled, after all the discussion about developing the rubric as a helping tool, “It blew our minds that here was yet another assessment system.” Although the Commission insisted that the rubric was “there to help them,” deans were concerned that such a document was to be filed for view by future NCATE evaluators who might question perceived failures to

meet state standards. The rubric clearly emphasized in bold font, “MEMBERS OF THE PORTFOLIO REVIEW TEAM ARE NOT MAKING JUDGMENTS ABOUT CANDIDATE PERFORMANCE.” But with the “met/not met” language for each item in the rubric, it would have been difficult not to equate poor portfolios with program performance as the rubric was constructed.<sup>26</sup> In order to ensure that there would be no question about accreditation, institutions began to write lengthy rejoinders to the results of the “developmental” document, for which OCTP had no mechanism for accepting. Nevertheless, the rejoinders to the developmental rubric flowed in to OCTP offices. By the end of the century the Commission realized the rubric was too cumbersome to be of help and eventually modified it to reflect its true purpose as a developmental tool.

### **Conclusion**

It was the belief of Rep. Don McCorkell and Sen. Penny Williams in the early 1990s that a new culture had to be created in order for positive change in education to occur. A new system was consciously established by the legislators that would infuse the reform climate with creative tension which would bring about a shift in bureaucratic inertia. Virtually all participants included in this study indicated that the resulting Commission upgraded teacher education, as a whole, during the last decade of the millennium. Oklahoma has been brought in alignment with national standards, although participants point out that such standards have been adopted irrespective of local contexts. Although the Commission became fully operational in 1999 with the confluent establishment of competencies, certification and licensure tests and accreditation requirements, the current system continues to evolve as education seeks to respond to changing societal concerns. This will subsequently require that the difficult process of

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<sup>26</sup> OCTP. August 1998. “Ten Step Overview.” p. 2.

equilibration of partners continues. The Oklahoma Commission, in its very conception, was to adopt the role of change agent. If the body persists in surviving sunset legislation, it will likely continue to fulfill its birthright into the new global era. Original NCTAF Commissioner and former dean of the College of Education at the University of Oklahoma, Richard Wisniewski, explained the problem with equilibrium:

Keep in mind that it takes a great deal of work for professional organizations, within themselves, to achieve consensus. Then it takes a lot of negotiation for them to work with another professional group and for them to agree. That, by the way, was one of the strengths of NCTAF. I think [NCTAF] was very good at getting consensus among the various educational groups. That doesn't mean that legislators, members of the higher education community and so on, will necessarily buy into the standards. They have to go through their own machinations to determine whether they agree, whether they support, whether they would implement or not. It's an ongoing struggle, you know. Publishing standards and even getting a commission—all that means is that you now have a body in which the debate goes on. Regardless of whether you agree or disagree with any teacher education legislation, the point is, when it comes about at least there's a turning point. It means that all of the endless reports, debates, recommendations, all of that, have finally been codified. Sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly. But at least you know what you have live with.<sup>27</sup>

With the establishment of the commission, Oklahoma implemented a reform that few in history had achieved.

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<sup>27</sup> Wisniewski, Richard. Interview with Dana Cesar.

## Chapter VIII

### **POSTSCRIPT**

Issues of teacher supply are a consistent thread in the history of educational governance. Communities oftentimes responded to teacher shortages by lowering standards of entrance into the profession. Allowing unqualified teachers into the field lowered the status of teaching and resulted in professional bettering among factions or grabs for authority at the expense of colleagues. This further led to a downward slide in the status of the field as a whole that repeated the cycle of shortage and renewed concerns about the ability of education to address social challenges.

Two interruptions sought to break the downward cycle by continuously upgrading the profession throughout periods of supply shortages or glut. Educationists were driven by a sense of professional pride to upgrade education despite low status and poor working conditions. Reforms were generated out of a culture of professional pride and personal commitment to the public and their colleagues. The lay public, for their part, called for greater accountability of teachers and teacher preparation institutions and sought increased regulation. One repeated solution that has arisen out of the dual thrusts for professional drive among educationists, and for codification of professional practice by the lay public, is the creation of an independent governing body which would determine standards of conduct for the field.

Genealogical representations of governing boards generated by the dual tensions were evident during the highly decentralized and deregulated nineteenth century. The state board of education in Massachusetts evolved out of an advisory committee—The Massachusetts Commission to Improve Education—comprised of male teachers and

laymen who sought to improve schooling by centralizing and standardizing educational practice. Normal schools, too, were established by the Massachusetts state legislature to codify teaching practice while the same institutions represented an independent body of teachers teaching teachers. While the legislature sought to align teaching practice, educators were gathering to establish a professional venue through which they could determine professional purposes. The foundation by women and Blacks of the NTA (later the NEA) in 1857 represented a desire for self-determined professional and educational improvement.

This trend toward unifying teachers under a centralized body singularly devoted to professional practice was repeated early in the next century. Governor Major of Missouri appealed to the Carnegie Foundation to assist the state in ameliorating a shortage by addressing teacher preparation or supply. In response, Learned and Bagley recommended bringing teacher training under a “Professional Board of Executives,” a genealogical antecedent to IPSBs.

The issue of professional self-governance versus regulatory oversight was repeated in the mid-twentieth century. A sense of professional responsibility drove the creation of TEPS and sustained efforts to nationalize professional standards. Professional educationists partnered with lay entities and boards of teachers were established in every state. Simultaneously, James Bryant Conant advocated for unifying the profession but questioned the predominance of educationists on the TEPS-inspired regulatory boards of teachers and the TEPS sponsored NCATE board.

Even as the nation struggled with alignment of standards within a new global economy, the conceptualization of a teacher governing body, designed to oversee



competence in practice, was envisioned by the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. The imagined structure of the body resulted in the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS), a close cousin to IPSBs and a parallel to medical board certification. Regardless, the NBPTS represents an interest of lay communities to codify professional practice and an interest among educationists to professionally improve through voluntary participation.

By 1992 Oklahoma State Rep. Don McCorkle and Sen. Penny Williams similarly conceived of an independent governing board designed to address the condition of teaching in Oklahoma. The establishment of OCTP was not intended to address a shortage, however. Senate Bill 158 in 1991 was designed to address the shortage by widening the gates to the profession allowing laymen to enter the field, while also creating the OCTP Task Force to study problems in the profession. The Oklahoma Commission as a regulatory body was then altered to address what was perceived as professional incompetence of some among the existing teaching corps while perpetuating certification of laymen. The original intent behind creating OCTP was more in the spirit of Arthur E. Bestor, who was critical of education. Bestor argued that the “first step” in educational reform was the establishment of a commission comprised of teachers and laymen who could oversee the profession. Similarly, Don McCorkell argued that in order for stagnant educational bureaucracies to change a new entity had to be created that would facilitate creative tension.

Historically, independent governing boards, such as the AMA and the ABA, were conceived as channels for professional consensus about national standards of practice, ethical conduct, selection criteria for candidates and theoretical and clinical content for

professional preparation. In generating consensus on national standards within a global context, the Commission represents one of the most successful reforms, organizationally, in Oklahoma to this date. Aside from the work of TEPS during the mid-twentieth century, instances of nationally aligned participation in teaching reforms have been rare. National partnerships forged by OCTP represent Oklahoma's adoption of standards that have been determined by democratic consensus among national entities. A diversity of public and private organizations and associations—the NEA/NFIE, AACTE, the educational reform boards of the Carnegie Forum for the Advancement of Teaching and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, INTASC, NBPTS, NASDTEC, NCTAF and NCATE—each with their respectively diverse boards or task forces contributed to professionalizing policies implemented by the contemporary OCTP board.<sup>241</sup> The Oklahoma Commission served its regulatory function by linking state entities to a national network. Rigorous national standards were enforced on a diversity of state institutions. Globalizing conditions will likely require OCTP, as the liaison between local and national networks, to play an increasingly important regulatory role in creating a strong corps of teachers capable of orienting students to their global contexts.

Despite success in regulatory reforms and cultivating strong national partnerships, the teaching profession in Oklahoma has yet to experience the development of a clear professional consciousness. Although OCTP stepped into its full regulatory authority in 1999 with the confluence of competencies, assessments and accreditation requirements, a professional ethos for the global era has yet to take shape. Granted, the Oklahoma

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<sup>241</sup> Just as OCTP facilitated a web of networks at the national level, the diverse board of NCATE was represented by teacher groups (AACTE and ATE), specialized education associations (SPAs or child development associations), state and local policy makers (CCSSO, NSBA, NASBE), and representatives from the NEA and AFT comprise the board.

Commission as a professionalizing body has a long precedent of factiousness to overcome. The history of the professions in general reflects the history of social stratification of society. Notwithstanding gender apartheid, status within teaching was often considered a stepping stone to the more exalted professions of medicine, law and the clergy during the early nineteenth century. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century brought the administrative class to education as teacher educators, principals and superintendents eclipsed secondary teachers in status. As teachers became increasingly powerful through national organization between the 1940s and 1970s, James Bryant Conant articulated a distinct contempt of teacher educators by professionally threatened liberal arts faculty. In the late twentieth century many observed teacher educators as not wishing to professionally consort with classroom teachers, once graduated from their programs. The long history of jockeying for professional esteem has been one contributor to the deterioration of a cohesive professional culture.

Teaching in Oklahoma has experienced similar stratifications, particularly where accreditation, licensure and certification are concerned, and at the uppermost levels of educational governance. Factious tendencies that inhibited the development of a professional ethos early in the nineteenth century persisted within the reform climate of the twentieth century and into the new millennium. Although OCTP has sought to address the effects of divisiveness by working to kill sunset legislation, the more enduring approach may be to cultivate a strong professional ethos while still serving its regulatory functions.

In analyzing repetitious high school reforms, David Tyack and Larry Cuban in *Tinkering Toward Utopia* observed the impermanence of many educational reforms only

to see the same policies cycle through the system. Similarly, the issue of professional standards boards has perennially arisen on the educational landscape. The political nature of reforms can also be problematic as historian Lawrence Cremin noted when he said that politicians are ahistorical, relying on a mythical past when developing legislation.

Authors Tyack and Cuban found that one important aspect of lasting reform in secondary education is the strong support of constituencies who implement policies. Although the schools, colleges and departments of education were generally unsupportive of the Oklahoma commission in its early days they were nevertheless an important entity for cultivation of a strong support base. In light of a reticent SDE some have argued that OCTP would have been more effective if they had assumed full responsibility for licensure and certification, making it a completely independent teacher governing body.

The cultivation of a professional ethos the likes of which led to the establishment of the NTA in 1857, the creation of TEPS in the 1940s, the organization of college deans in the mid-1970s, and the passage of HB 1017 in 1990 may have assisted the Commission in serving as a strong authority for the profession in Oklahoma. As traditional standards boards such as the AMA and ABA come under fire for exploiting their authority as experts, and as alternative avenues for certification, such as the American Board for Certification of Teacher Excellence (ABCTE), continue to marginalize a centralized professional authority, the cultivation of an authentic professional community will become increasingly important.

In addition, the demands of the new global era require that education respond cohesively and that SCDEs be facilitated in their role as public entities who will orient

teacher candidates to global challenges. Education has traditionally been called on to address a variety of social ills and schools have responded to social challenges by instilling a sense of individual rights bound to public responsibilities. More than any American institution, schools have historically served as the single greatest assertion of democracy. Compulsory schooling and the historic utilization of schools to Americanize students and assimilate immigrants represents a firm intent to create citizens who can politically, economically and socially participate in American society. Equality of educational opportunity is considered a cornerstone of civil society and attendance to schools represents an expressed desire for personal betterment as prescribed by American values.

Such issues as the global economy, “global warming, the expanding hole in the ozone layer, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, fragmenting and competing nationalisms, rival religious fundamentalisms, the extinction of species of animals, plants and bacteria vital to human survival, in addition to global overpopulation which exacerbates them all,” cannot easily be addressed by the schools through teacher regulation, alone.<sup>242</sup> As Oklahoma strives to respond to the demands of globalization, the role of the teacher in a democracy becomes increasingly important. Because national borders are becoming porous with the free exchange of commerce, technologies, ideas and even disease and weapons, Reich asserts

All that will remain rooted within national borders are the people who comprise a nation. Each nation’s primary assets will be its citizens’ skills and insights. Each nation’s primary political task will be to cope with the centrifugal forces of the global economy which tear at the ties binding citizens together—bestowing ever greater wealth on the most skilled and insightful. As borders become ever more meaningless in economic terms,

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<sup>242</sup> Perkin, Harold J. 1996. *The Third Revolution: Professional Elites in the Modern World*. (London: Routledge): p. 202.

those citizens best positioned to thrive in the world market are tempted to slip the bonds of national allegiance, and by doing so disengage themselves from their less favored fellows.<sup>243</sup>

Education has a vital role to play in addressing the challenges now facing the country. The Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation, as a professionalizing body, similarly has a role in creating a professional ethos among constituencies that may have a more authentic and enduring effect than the regulations now in place. For education, systemically aligned professional standards boards may garner long awaited and hard earned prestige and rewards. In light of recent trends cited above, teaching may again fall short of the mark as many IPSBs focus on traditional conceptions of professional regulation. The pursuit of twentieth century notions of professionalism may once again render authority out of reach for education in light of new global exigencies.

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<sup>243</sup> Reich, Robert. 1991. *The Work of Nations*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf): p. 3

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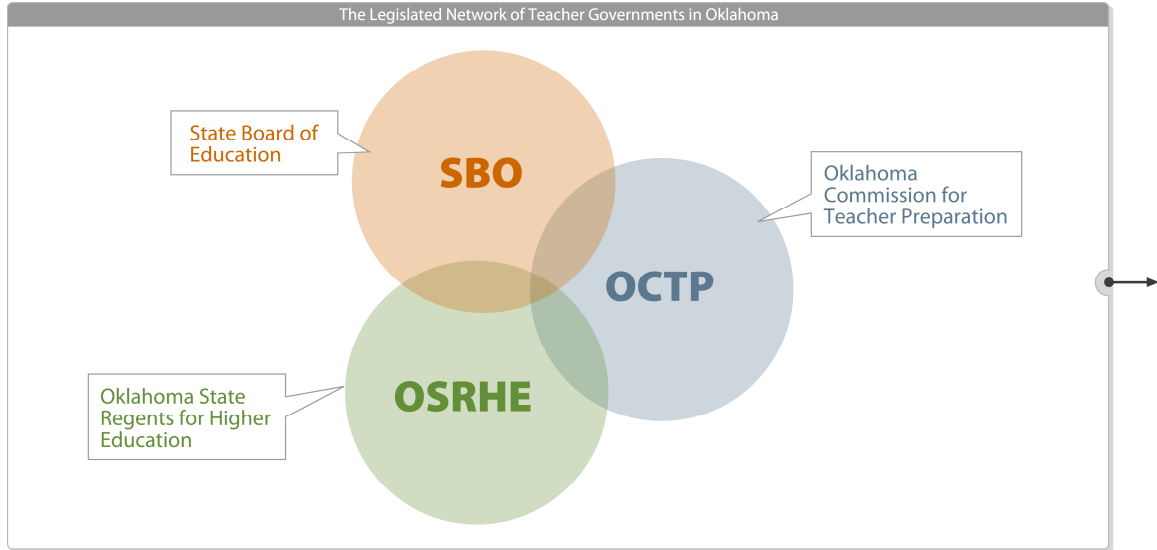
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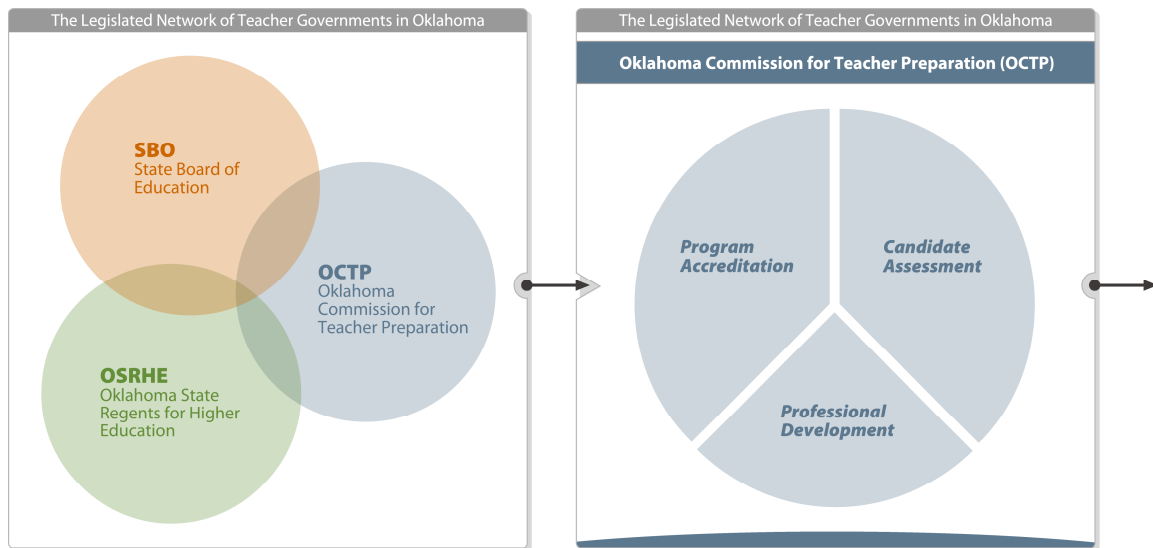
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## Appendix A



Globalization, heralded by the Reagan administration *A Nation at Risk* report and addressed through the “systemic” language of the Clinton administration, ultimately influenced educational policy in Oklahoma. Seeking more integration, the 1994 Report on *Educator Preparation and Professional Development* called for systemic alignment between preparation of candidates, licensure and certification, and professional development. In 1995, House Bill 1549 created the Oklahoma Commission for Teacher Preparation and mandated collaboration among governing entities by requiring congruency of recommendations.



OCTP was standardized, nationalized and conjoined with ongoing processes of NCATE through program accreditation, INTASC through initial licensing or candidate assessment, and NBPTS through advanced certification or professional development. While OCTP maintains partnerships with each of these national entities, they, in turn, forge their own national networks. Similar to standards for doctors, democratic consensus of standards for pre-service and in-service teachers was achieved at the national level. Many argue that such consensus comes at the expense of local entities which implement reforms.

## Appendix B

### **CASE STUDY DESIGN, DATA SOURCES AND MODES OF ANALYSIS**

In addition to the genealogical approach of tracing professionalism as described in the Prologue, a case study design was also used to determine the contemporary manifestations of teacher professionalism. Methodologists indicate that case study is an effective qualitative tool when the researcher “wants to understand the complexity” of a “bounded system.”<sup>244</sup> In order to understand the complexity of how professionalism was cultivated by OCTP as a governing board for teachers, it was necessary to conduct an analysis of organizational and managerial processes, the resulting policies and responses to policies, as well as the overall conduct of the Commission and relational exchanges between the Commission and the constituencies it serves.<sup>245</sup> Because the study is historical in nature, analysis is also bound within the twentieth century, ending in 2000. In 2001, No Child Left Behind added another layer of accountability to teaching reform and changed the financing structures of education in Oklahoma. The effects of NCLB on teacher professionalism in Oklahoma would consequently be a topic for future study.

Due to the impact of partnerships on the work of the Commission, the case was also bound within the national network in which OCTP is situated. State and national partnerships include such agencies as the Education Oversight Board (OEB), the State Department of Education (SDE), the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education (OSRHE), the Oklahoma Education Association an affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA/OEA), the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future

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<sup>244</sup> Stake, Robert E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications): p. 406.

<sup>245</sup> Jaeger, R.M. 1988. *Complementary Methods for Research in Education*. (Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association); Stake, Robert E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication); Yin, Robert K. 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications): p. 1, 12, 13.



(NCTAF), the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS), National Evaluation Systems (NES), and the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC).

Stake asserts that cases can be studied for their own sake (i.e. - intrinsic case studies) or can be studied to understand “something other than” a particular case, such as a larger issue. Because the intent was not to analyze the Oklahoma Commission per se but to use the work of the Commission to understand contemporary issues in teaching reform, an instrumental case study design was applied as it most aptly fit with the research question. Consequently, the case of OCTP was not analyzed for its own sake, but for the sake of addressing how teacher professionalism was being manifested in the contemporary climate of accountability. Utilizing OCTP to ferret out issues facilitated the tracking of the genealogical thread of teacher professionalism.

In utilizing an instrumental case study design, Stake asserts that researchers can expect the design itself to unfold or “emerge” as issues originating from the researcher (etic issues) become “progressively focused” on issues more relevant to case study participants (emic issues). As a study progresses, and as emic issues are illuminated for the researcher, then other issues will “emerge, grow, and die.” For this study, unforeseeable emic issues did arise and were addressed as they were revealed by participants.<sup>246</sup>

Bledstein’s framework which defines professionalism was used as a coding structure in analyzing emic issues. As outlined by postpositivists, constructivists, and critical theorists it is important to remember that “issues are not simple and clean, but

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<sup>246</sup> Stake, Robert E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications): p. 21 - 22.

intricately wired to political, social, historical, and especially personal contexts.”<sup>247</sup> Due to the politically sensitive nature of the case, oral history interviews were supplemented by a variety of state and national reports, meeting minutes, archives, publicly distributed documents, personal correspondence, and media sources.

Peshkin makes reference to the focusing power of questions which shape the research design and provide conceptual structure. He writes,

While flooding one area with light—that of ethnicity—I left others in the dark, perhaps even precluding awareness of their existence. This, I believe, is unavoidable. To give focus to one’s investigation is, of necessity, to sharpen the image of one thing, to diminish the image of some others, and to omit altogether still others. A way of seeing is also a way of not seeing.”<sup>248</sup>

Similarly, the pattern of participant responses shed light on certain issues pertaining to factionousness, the relationship between teacher supply and licensure and certification standards, issues of self-governance versus regulation, and nationally imposed accreditation standards on state institutions. Attention to these areas consequently precluded analysis of areas that were not illuminated through discussion with participants.

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<sup>247</sup> Guba, Egon G. 1990. *The Paradigm Dialogue*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications; Stake, Robert E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications): p. 17.

<sup>248</sup> Peshkin, Alan. 1991. *The Color of Strangers the Color of Friends: The Play of Ethnicity in School and Community*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press): p. 9.