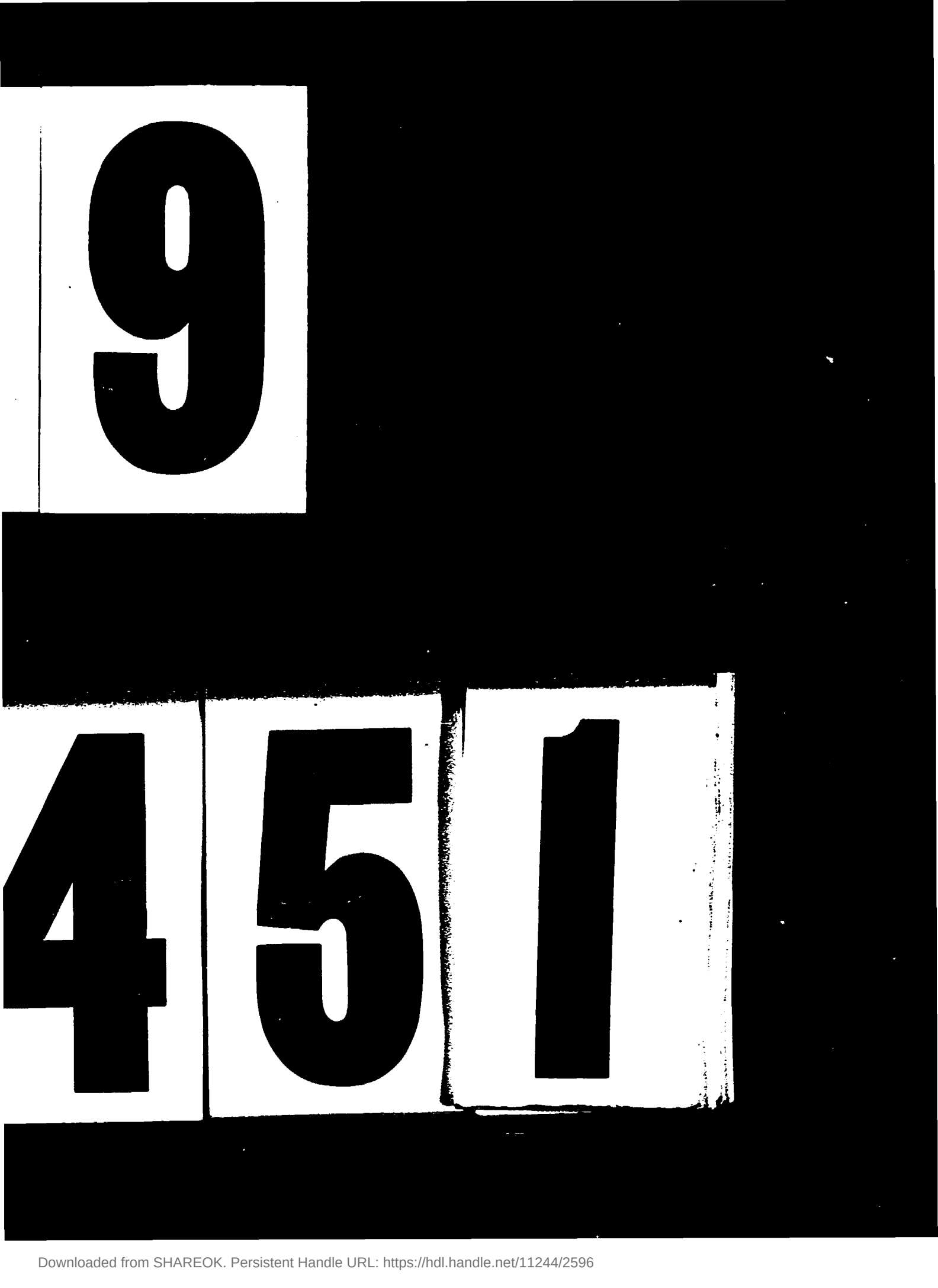

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A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

BY

LONNIE WARREN FUSON

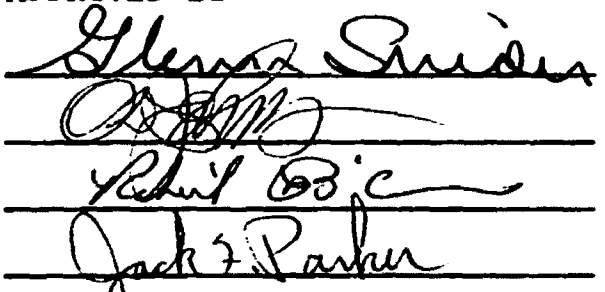
Norman, Oklahoma

1969

AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF SANCTIONS

IN THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

APPROVED BY



DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF SANCTIONS IN THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Need for the Study

The concept of professional sanctions appeared in 1929, at Atlanta, Georgia. The final report of the Committee on Ethics of the National Education Association was given at this meeting. The preamble read:

> In order that the aims of education may be realized more fully, that the welfare of the teaching profession may be promoted, that teachers may know what is considered proper procedure, and may bring to their professional relations high standards of conduct, the National Education Association of this United States has developed this code of ethics.[1]

Richard Kennan, Executive Secretary of the NEA's National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, recently pointed out that from the 1929 NEA meeting teachers must "refuse to accept a position when the vacancy has been created through unprofessional activity

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[1]National Education Association, Addresses and Proceedings ("Final Report of the Committee on Ethics of the Profession," 1922), Vol. 67.

or pending controversy over professional policy or the application of unjust personnel practices and procedures."[1]

In the spring of 1947, the first instance of applied sanctions occurred in North College Hill, Ohio. The majority of the teachers had offered their resignations to be effective at the end of the year. Many of the parents would not allow their children to attend classes and were arranging for private instruction in various places in the town. After a thorough investigation and consideration, the National Education Association and the Ohio Education Association placed professional sanctions on the school system. The same day the members of the board resigned and a resident Judge appointed a new board. The board re-employed the superintendent and many of the teachers.[2]

In March 1950 seventeen teachers and five principals were threatened with dismissal in Kelso, Washington, without cause or proper notice. Upon the request of the local association the Washington Education Association and the NEA Defense Commission conducted an investigation. After the investigation of the Joint Committee, the following suggestions were made: (1) the issuance of contracts to teachers and principals; (2) the immediate removal of the superintendent

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[1]PDK Editorial, "Collective Bargaining and Strikes? Or Professional Negotiations and Sanctions?" Phi Delta Kappan (October, 1962), p. 4.

[2]Defense Bulletin 92, National Education Association (Washington 6, D.C.: June 1962), pp. 1-2.

of schools; (3) the employment of a temporary superintendent and the initiation of programs to improve the educational climate including a survey and more cooperative relationships between the Board and school personnel. There was also a strong statement issued by the School of Education at the State College of Washington that caused great concern and showed solidarity even among members of the profession in higher education. The recommendations that were written never were implemented.

In April 1950 the Board accepted six preliminary recommendations of the investigating committee and released the superintendent. Again, as in the Ohio case, the application of sanctions brought almost immediate improvement in the school system.[1]

On January 23, 1951, the superintendent of schools was dismissed in Polson, Montana. The action and the motives of the board alarmed several organizations including the local teachers association. An investigation was made by the Joint Committee of the Montana Education Association and the National Education Association. The Committee concluded that the Board of Education had created an undesirable situation that made teaching very difficult. It was in the Montana case that there was a definite procedure developed

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[1]Richard B. Kennan, "Professional Sanctions," (Washington, D.C.: Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, NEA, November 23, 1962), p. 8.

in dealing with sanctions. The procedure gave directions in applying sanctions as well as criteria for removing them.

On April 15, 1962, the California Teachers Association imposed sanctions on the Little Lake District. The Little Lake District was located just outside Los Angeles, including parts of Santa Fe Springs, Norwalk and Downey. It was thought that the case had its roots in an evaluation made by Professor Lloyd N. Morrisett of the University of California at Los Angeles. The report was very unflattering and led to the ousting of the superintendent.[1] The new superintendent, William G. Stanley, urged homework for all grades, reading by phonics, a stiffer grading system, mandatory foreign-language study and special classes for both the gifted and retarded. The teachers supported the academic transformation but charged that the superintendent and the school board neglected "human relations" in the process.[2]

On July 19, 1962, the sanction policy withstood a legal test in the Superior Court with Judge Charles C. Stratton presiding. The Judge refused to issue the preliminary injunction which the school district had hoped to gain. Judge Stratton stated that the Association had a right to criticize the way the schools were being run and that there

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[1] Ibid., p. 1.

[2] Time, (August 17, 1962), p. 38.

was nothing in the law to prohibit an association from expressing an opinion.[1]

One of the immediate results of the sanctions was the formation of a group called the Citizens Committee of Little Lake. This Committee, working very closely with the Little Lake Education Association, attempted through various media to inform the citizens of the school district. As a result of their work, two incumbents on the Board, who were thought to have been responsible for the intolerable conditions, were defeated during elections.[2]

Conditions in Utah regarding sanctions date back to 1955, when the Utah Education Association joined forces with Utah State Board of Education, the Utah Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Utah School Boards Association, the Utah Society of School Superintendents, and the Utah Education Association to bring about better education in the state. The purpose of the organization was to unite efforts in the area of school improvements and develop a legislative program which would broadly represent the people of the state. The new organization was named the Utah Coordinating Council on Education which later became the Cooperating Agencies for Public Schools (CAPS). The president of the Utah School Boards Association served as chairman of the organization.

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[1]George Neill, C.T.A., "Sanction Policy Wins First Legal Test," (July 20, 1962), p. 1.

[2]Don Johnson, Little Lake Education Association, The Little Lake Story (1959-1963).

The Cooperating Agencies for Public Schools took a very critical look at the state's educational program. The group assumed that it must intensify its efforts if it was going to keep education in Utah from slipping beyond the point of no return. The organization developed a legislative program to provide financial support in order that improvements in education could come about. The program was presented to the legislature in 1963.[1]

It was soon obvious that the legislature was not anticipating achieving anything near the goals of CAPS. The Committee immediately decided to interrupt the 1963-64 contracts until the impasse was resolved. The Committee also recommended resolutions dealing with (1) the individual members and the Association's responsibilities during the crisis, and (2) a request for National Education Association support.

On March 16, eighty-three per cent of the stated membership turned out for a meeting in Salt Lake City. The Utah Education Association and the National Education Association applied sanctions, and asked the NEA to inform its 800,000 members of the State's situation. The NEA members were asked not to accept jobs in Utah until the controversy was settled.[2]

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[1]John C. Evans, Jr., Utah School Crisis 1963 (Utah Education Association, 1963), pp. 9-11.

[2]Ibid., p. 6.

Utah was the first state to have sanctions applied by a state NEA affiliate and the National Education Association. This was a new experience in education and it attracted national attention. Educational leaders over the nation watched carefully the development of the Utah situation.

The recent Michigan tenure law initiated by the Michigan Education Association played an important role in making Michigan teachers realize that they had a legal weapon to improve teacher welfare in the state. In the early part of 1967, 343 local teachers' organizations affiliated with the Michigan Education Association signed detailed written agreements with their boards of education. It was later reported that "One result of this teacher uprising is that the image many people had of the nice young man with chalk on his sleeve had disappeared in the Wolverine State. The Nice Nellies and the Docile Donalds of the classroom are now the hard-bargaining campaign savvy New Breed of teachers."[1]

The Michigan Education Association imposed sanctions on the Detroit suburb of Southgate in May, 1966. As a result the school board passed a resolution stating that at least 70 per cent of new and additional funds would be put in teachers' salaries. The Michigan Education Association lifted sanctions when each teacher was granted a $200 annual salary increase. Seven local Michigan Education Associations acted

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[1]Dick Dashiell, "Teachers Revolt in Michigan," Phi Delta Kappan (September, 1967), Vol. XLIX, No. 1; p. 20.

individually and with the support of the State organization placed sanctions on school districts last year. The school districts were Crestwood, Ecorse, Farwell, Flint, Traverse City, Warren and Southgate.

The most severe action taken by Michigan teachers was the withholding of services at Flint. Although there was a law that prohibited teachers from striking, thus far no teacher has been punished. The Flint strike was probably the most significant of the 1966-67 Michigan strikes. Flint was a highly unionized community and was known as a conservative society. Flint really put the Michigan Education Association "on trial" as to whether or not it would support a strike. After many grueling sessions with the Board of Education, the Michigan Education Association and the National Education Associations declared Flint an undesirable place to teach until conditions were changed. After a long and hard battle, the Flint teachers received a sizable increase in salary, hospitalization insurance, personal leave, a $5,000 life insurance policy and sabbatical leave. The president of the local association told her colleagues that their situation "established precedents that will affect thousands of teachers throughout the United States."[1]

In East St. Louis, Illinois, over 600 of the system's 850 teachers did not show up for the opening of school on

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[1] Ibid., p. 8.

August 30, 1967. The striking teachers, members of the American Federation of Teachers, sought a salary increase from a $6,200-$8,750 range to a $6,400-$8,900 range. The teachers returned to work on September 12 after agreement with the board of education to submit the issue to a fact-finding committee.

In McCracken County, Kentucky, in the fall of 1967, the public schools could not open because of a strike of its 250 teachers. The dispute arose when the teachers asked for $300 salary increase.

In New York City 80 per cent of the 59,482 teachers stayed away from work on September 11, 1967. The United Federation of Teachers, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers, estimated that 90 per cent did not return to work on September 12, opening day. (The board of education said only 79 per cent did not show up on this particular day). New York City has 1,037,339 registered pupils, 42 per cent of whom were absent the opening day, and 54 per cent the second day. The schools did open with 8,577 volunteers, many of them mothers. The number of volunteers decreased to 6,727 the second day.

On September 10, a temporary restraining order was issued by a State Supreme Court justice. The teachers manned picket lines in front of the schools in defiance of the order. The union was seeking a salary range of $7,500 to $15,000 with extra qualifications. The board originally

offered a salary range of $6,200 to $10,350 with a maximum of $12,600. The union also demanded such things as shorter hours for professional non-classroom employees, pay for after-school programs, improved sick leave, preparation-periods and a reduction of class size.[1]

The State of Florida came under state and national sanctions in 1967 which eventually developed into the largest teacher strike in history. Even though the teachers returned to the classrooms in a short time, it is assumed that education in Florida may be impaired for a long time. It was reported that the strike left 7,000 displaced Florida teachers and many of those teachers left the state. It is generally believed that the teachers and the children were the losers in the strike. Robert Pearson, President of the Florida Education Association, indicated that in the future the F.E.A. will be more concerned about politics and keeping "our mouths shut."[2]

September, 1968, brought more teacher militancy and strikes. One of the more significant disruptions occurred in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville District in New York. The strike developed over the firing of ten teachers. The situation also had racial overtones. The schools were closed most

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[1]Facts on File (August 31-September 6, 1967), Vol. XXVII, No. 1401; Section II; pp. 383-384.

[2]Gayle Norton, "The Florida Story," Phi Delta Kappan (June 1968), pp. 559-560.

of the time between September 9 and November 19, 1968, when the conflict was resolved.

Strikes affected school in at least nine states at the beginning of the fall term of 1968. The NEA predicted 300-400 teacher strikes during the year. Teachers in East Haven, and Darien, Connecticut struck the opening day of school but settled its dispute after one day. Three schools in Illinois were postponed because teachers refused to report for duty and there was an eighteen day strike in East Chicago of about 400 teachers. Sixty thousand students were out of school in Michigan at one time because of teacher strikes.[1]

It appeared obvious from the many strikes that there was a growing militancy among teachers across the nation. The use of professional sanctions along with strikes have steadily increased since 1929.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to investigate and critically analyze sanctions in the State of Oklahoma as applied in 1965 by OEA-NEA; and to examine events and conditions up to and including the second educational crisis to January 1, 1969. More specifically it was intended to:

1. Develop a history of sanctions in Oklahoma.

2. Trace the series of events that led to the invoking of sanctions.

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[1]Facts on File (November 21-27, 1968), Vol. XXVIII, pp. 498-499.

3. Describe and critically analyze significant events in education and in Oklahoma government while sanctions were imposed.

4. Identify the aspects of sanctions that were the most effective in getting the attention of the legislators and the governor.

5. Analyze the results of statewide sanctions in terms of immediate and potential results of their imposition.

6. Develop recommendations which might assist in the resolution of future educator-public disputes.

Definition of Terms

Professional sanctions:

> . . . censure, suspension or expulsion of a member, severance of relationship with an affiliated association or other agency, imposing of a deterrent against a board of education or other agency controlling the welfare of the schools; bring into play forces that will enable the community to help the board or agency to realize its responsibility; or the application of one or more steps in the withholding of services.[1]

Major Assumptions

The following assumptions were basic to this study:

1. Professional sanctions constitute a significant weapon in the rapidly developing field of public relations in education.

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[1] Guidelines for Professional Sanctions (Washington, D.C.: National Committee on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, National Education Association, 1963), p. 9.

2. That educational leaders both in the state and outside the state can better chart a course for the future if an analysis of sanctions with special reference to Oklahoma has been made.

Procedure

The historical research methodology was used in this study. Van Dalen in Understanding Educational Research indicated that historical research should recreate the past experiences of mankind in a manner that does not violate the actual events and conditions of the time. Historical facts should be collected, examined, selected, verified, and classified in accordance with specific standards, and an endeavor should be made to interpret and present those facts in an exposition that will stand the test of critical examination.[1]

Sources of data were historical documents, reports, current reports, and personal interviews. The data for the investigation was taken from many sources. Specifically the following procedures were used:

1. An investigation and analysis of available related literature and research was made in developing a background for the study.

2. In order to more clearly understand the existing conditions in the State of Oklahoma it was necessary to

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[1]Van Dalen, Deobold B., Understanding Educational Research (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), p. 160.

investigate the history of sanctions in the nation and particularly the history of sanctions in Oklahoma. Major sources that were used included: dissertations, books, magazines, letters, newspapers, reports, and personal interviews.

3. General information concerning sanctions was obtained from a variety of sources including the records of other state educational agencies.

4. The most significant data was gathered from OEA and NEA files, Oklahoma newspapers, professional journals and the library of the state legislature.

5. Personal interviews were conducted with educational and legislative leaders, both at the time of sanctions and during the period of the study.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I presents the problem and a description of the study. Chapter II contains a review of the related literature. Chapter III describes the events leading to the imposition of sanctions. Chapter IV presents an account of sanctions in the State of Oklahoma in 1965. Chapter V presents the events and conditions following sanctions up to and including the second educational crisis. Chapter VI is devoted to the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

Professional sanctions are relatively new in the field of education; therefore, a limited amount of literature exists on the subject. The major portion of the literature found did not exist before 1960. This chapter includes a review of literature that relates to professional sanctions in public education.

William G. Carr told 6,672 delegates to the Representative Assembly at NEA's 100th annual meeting, July, 1962, that the NEA must adapt its programs to meet new situations or perish. He stressed that schools are not factories and that the welfare of students must be placed above all other considerations. He also served notice on the school boards that the NEA would not be indifferent to conditions under which school teachers are employed. "The day when professional school people could just be told what conditions they would work under is already long past."[1]

Kennan in an address before the Department of Classroom Teachers Conference in 1962 at Washington, D.C. said

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[1] "NEA Embarks on Bold Program," Wisconsin Education Association, September, 1962, p. 56.

that sanctions have two major objectives: (1) to alert members of the profession to conditions that are damaging or destructive to professional service and the welfare of education, and (2) to awaken citizens in general to unsatisfactory conditions that impede or prevent the teaching profession from giving effective services in specific situations.[1]

Stinnett stated that the teaching profession itself must set up controls guaranteeing minimum standards in the profession. These minimum standards must be enforced by the use of sanctions when necessary in order to provide a climate of professional working conditions. Stinnett favors sanctions over strikes because if there is not a strike, they do not abrogate a contract and they do not terminate services to children during a school term. "The drive for professional autonomy and the application of professional and legal sanctions which I have attempted to describe are essential to the preservation of teaching. They must be developed and applied in the public interest."[2]

Hanna, Assistant Executive Secretary of NEA, believed there were several factors worth consideration in the imposition of sanctions:

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[1]Richard B. Kennan, Professional Sanctions, (Washington, D.C.: NEA), November, 1962, p. 11.

[2]T. M. Stinnett, "Prejudices and a Platform," Teachers College Record, Vol. 62 (October, 1962), pp. 47-48.

1. Generally speaking, sanctions should obtain long-range improvements in school systems, as well as solve immediate problems.

2. Sanctions should be imposed only after a comprehensive and objective investigation under the direction of an official professional agency.

3. When an investigation committee finds a situation in which the application of sanctions may be necessary, it should give notice to the agency upon whom the sanction may be imposed and list the reasons for the probability of action.

4. Investigating committees should be broadly representative of the profession and include persons experienced in the study of school problems.

5. Every effort to mediate or negotiate local improvements should be made.

6. Sanction action should always state clearly the conditions which caused the sanctions to be imposed and the steps necessary for their removal.[1]

The National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities stated:

> A community should support its schools; school boards should discharge the functions with integrity and impartiality; administrators should use the procedures essential for the democratic administration of good schools; teachers should make every effort to provide the best possible learning experiences for students. Against those who fail to act by such standards, organizations of the education profession may impose sanctions.[2]

Presently there are several kinds of sanctions being used. The Minnesota Journal of Education listed the

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[1]Cecil J. Hanna, "Sanctions," Ohio Schools, April, 1967, p. 27.

[2]"Guidelines for Professional Sanctions," NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, Revised Edition, 1966, p. 9.

following types:

1. Censure through public notice including release of an investigation report; articles in national and state journals; reports through various mass media of communication.

2. Notification to state departments of education of findings concerning unsatisfactory conditions.

3. Notification to certification and placement services of unsatisfactory conditions of employment for educators.

4. Warning to members that acceptance of employment of a new teacher in the school district would be considered unethical conduct and could lead to discharge from or future refusal of membership in the national professional association.

5. Advice to members presently employed that if their private arrangements permit they should seek employment elsewhere.

6. Reports to local agencies that have a concern in the operation of the schools.

7. Withholding of services in accordance with proper procedure under law.[1]

Kennan, Secretary of the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, emphasized that for the teaching profession, sanctions are a step forward in acceptance of its responsibility for self-discipline and for insisting upon conditions conducive to an effective educational program. Kennan went on to say:

> Sanctions ought not to be invoked by a local association without the cooperation of the state and/or the national association. In general the state associations are expected to be involved in some way in any

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[1] "Guidelines for Professional Sanctions," Minnesota Journal of Education, November, 1966, p. 23.

> application of sanctions. Local associations seldom have the strength to enforce sanctions, and frequent or indiscriminate application of sanctions could destroy their effectiveness at all levels.[1]

Corey in a presentation on July 5, 1962, at the representative assembly in Denver declared that to strike or not to strike is no longer an academic question. He declared that the U.S. Department of Labor has on record 105 teachers' strikes from the year 1941 to 1961. Corey said further that people who say they are for "collective bargaining" and against strikes are engaging in legalistic double talk. "No matter how much sheep's clothing we wrap around the wolf, the fangs are still present under the masquerade."[2] Corey agreed with the use of sanctions and justified them on the grounds that sanctions are not imposed locally, there is a thorough investigation, the process precludes capricious and hasty action and there is no breaking of contracts.[3]

What are the differences between strikes and sanctions which withhold services? Stinnett reflected on the question by saying that there are great differences:

> Services to children are not interrupted. There are no picket lines. School districts are given several months notice and told that existing conditions make

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[1]Richard B. Kennan, "Professional Sanctions: Where, When, and How," NEA Journal, Vol. 52, pp. 37-38.

[2]Authur Corey, NEA Addresses and Proceedings, Vol. 100 (July 6, 1962), p. 143.

[3]Ibid., p. 146.

> possible only inferior programs for children; that professional people cannot under the existing conditions provide first-rate services.[1]

Stinnett also contended that the choice of inadequate services is in the hands of the community and it should not be the choice, either explicitly or implicitly, of the profession.

This same writer further insisted that:

> Teaching, by virtue largely of the efforts of teachers themselves, in fixing and enforcing upon themselves standards which seek to guarantee competence to the public, is emerging rapidly as a true profession with all the attendant attributes. Therefore, the teaching profession is demanding that its members be treated as such; that its members have the right to talk with, listened to, and treated as people competent to participate in a creative and constructive manner in the development of the school program, aimed at constant up-grading of the quality of services to children and youth. To put the thesis in the negative: Teachers are determined that they will not continue to tolerate the "hired hand" concept of them and the consequent treatment of them as such.[2]

Conflicting Attitudes Toward Sanctions

It is obvious that a subject as controversial as professional sanctions would draw comment from many sources. At the 23rd Annual Convention of the National School Boards Association (NSBA) which met in Denver in 1963, the following resolution was adopted:

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[1] T. M. Stinnett, "Professional Negotiation, Collective Bargaining, Sanctions, and Strikes," NASSP Bulletin, April, 1964, pp. 103-104.

[2] Ibid.

> The National School Boards Association is opposed to sanctions, boycotts, strikes, or mandated mediation against school districts and does not consider them to be proper remedies for use in problem situations. The authority of the board of education is established by the law and this authority may not be delegated to others.[1]

The senior member of the Portland, Oregon, school board, a practicing orthopedic surgeon, believed that sanctions would split the good relations that the NEA and the National School Boards Association have had through the years. He stated: "Imposition of sanctions and compulsory arbitration is a step which can only divide these two great organizations." He contended that there are methods that can be used instead of sanctions:

1. Open board meetings,

2. Accurate news reporting of the discussion and decisions of the boards,

3. Adequate opportunities for all teachers' organizations and patrons to be heard at board meetings,

4. Good written board policies,

5. Mechanism for election of competent board members,

6. Active program by school board associations to instruct, aid, and counsel board members,

7. Study problems mutually with professional organizations,

8. Promote good public relations, both for boards and teacher organizations, and

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[1]Elaine Exton, "NSBA Opposes Teachers' Strikes and Sanctions," The American School Board Journal, June, 1963, p. 146.

9. Assign proper authority to the superintendent in working with teacher organizations and school boards.[1]

Nation's School found in an opinion poll that administrators were for sanctions as a last resort, but a very small percentage favored strikes. Eighty-two per cent of the respondents were for sanctions, sixteen per cent against sanctions; four per cent were for strikes, and ninety-five per cent were against strikes.[2]

Scanlon insisted that sanctions have basically the same effect as strikes.

> Or, to put it another way, when teachers vote to withhold their contracts and to urge other teachers not to man their positions, the result is the same as when teachers vote to strike and throw up a picket line to keep other teachers out of the classroom. Here there was a distinction between Utah and New York controversies, because the action of the Utah teachers did not constitute a threat to violate the law and action of the New York teachers did, but one cannot escape the conclusion that in both instances the school children would have been the ultimate losers if the threat had been carried out.[3]

An editorial in the American School Board Journal pointed out that in most city situations the NEA has held that the superintendent of schools, the chief administrator and executive officer, is essentially a teacher and that it

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[1]Howard L. Cherry, "Negotiations Between Boards and Teacher Organizations," The American School Board Journal, March, 1963, p. 8-9.

[2]"Administrators Give Reluctant Approval to Sanctions; Condemn Strikes 3 to 1," Nation's Schools, Vol. 70, No. 5 (November, 1962), p. 71.

[3]John Scanlon, "Strikes Sanctions and the Schools," Saturday Review, October, 1963, p. 74.

is his duty to counsel with the teachers and help them solve the problem of their relations with their school board employers. The National School Boards Association has accepted this point of view. The American Federation of Teachers has held that the superintendent of schools is essentially the mouthpiece of the employing group and, therefore, cannot take the side of the teacher group.[1]

Elam reported that sanctions initiated by professional teachers' organizations had much in common with union tactics. Many observers who viewed the AFT-NEA rivalry contended that professional negotiations backed by sanctions and collective bargaining backed by the threat of strikes would have very little operational difference. It is interesting to note that in Wisconsin in order to come under the law and be allowed to represent public employees, the Milwaukee Teachers Association (NEA) had to be declared a union. Many educators now apparently believe that NEA affiliates are acting more like unions than the unions themselves.[2]

William G. Stanley, Superintendent of Little Lake, California, stated that sanctions were proven "ineffective." He said that after the sanctions involving "unethical personnel practices" more than 1,000 teachers applied for

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[1]W. C. Bruce, "Teachers vs School Boards," American School Board Journal, Vol. 149 (November, 1964), p. 29.

[2]Stanley Elam, "Who's Ahead and Why: the NEA-AFT Rivalry," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 46 (September, 1964),

positions. The district employed sixty-seven new teachers, the lowest number of new teachers needed in the past ten years.

According to Little Lake officials because of their educational objectives and programs, based on fundamentals, many teachers sought job opportunity in the school district. Stanley also said, that because of the ineffectiveness of sanctions, "there is no reason to continue the pending litigation seeking injunctive relief, and we have therefore requested the court to dismiss the same."[1]

The National School Boards Associations' Delegate Assembly adopted the following resolution in April, 1967:

> Strikes, sanctions, boycotts, or other actions which interfere with the orderly functioning of the public school system are improper procedures to be used by public employees. These conflicts in employee-employer relations can be avoided or minimized if school boards and teacher organizations each respect the legitimate role of the other and recognize that neither has any legal or moral right to engage in acts or practices which jeopardize the rights of students to receive an education.[2]

The Association also believes that:

> School boards should establish and use free channels of communication with non-professional as well as with professional personnel so that discussions affecting their interest and welfare may be made only after

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[1]"Special Report," National School, Vol. 70, No. 5 (November, 1962), p. 24.

[2]"Belief and Policy of the National School Boards Association," The NSBA Information Service Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 4 (June, 1967), p. 3.

> careful board consideration has been given to their views, recommendations, needs, and grievances.[1]

Exton contended that the leadership that was exerted for the development of sanctions was given by the top echelon of the NEA. She further indicated that an extensive campaign was waged to instruct NEA members in the "ABC's" of launching potentially dangerous firecrackers at state and local levels. The development of the guidelines for sanctions was a "high priority project" at NEA headquarters. The author of this article quoted the September, 1962, Supplement to the Urban Reporter as saying:

> The resolution on professional negotiations and professional sanctions have not introduced totally new concepts for the organized profession. The element which can be classified as "new" is the organized profession's determination to formalize the procedures and move ahead to have them widely adopted.[2]

The United States is not the only place having problems with sanctions. The Times Educational Supplement in July, 1967, reported the teacher unrest found in England. Members of the National Union of Teachers in England are faced with problems similar to those faced by American teachers. This journal conceded that sanctions are both impressive and absurd. The sanctions were impressive, it was asserted, because of the solidarity of feelings among

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[1] Ibid., p. 3.

[2] Elaine Exton, "Teachers' Groups Challenge School Board Control," American School Board Journal, August, 1963, p. 28-29.

teachers and absurd because of the hazards. The writer stated that in England "The giant is stirring. The danger is that he may prove in the end to have armed himself with a pop gun." The article indicates that the teachers are beyond the grumbling stage and sanctions now have the support of the rank and file. The article further stated:

> Here you have a great profession disgruntled and dissatisfied and at its wits' end to find any other means of making its troubles known. They are basically troubles that the teachers share with the nurses, the doctors and all others in the nation's social services. We have committed ourselves to a vast expansion of these services and we have loaded them with increasing responsibilities while at the same time we have given all too little thought to ensuring that they are adequately staffed and financed.[1]

The NEA at its annual meeting in Minneapolis in 1967 adopted the following resolution:

> The National Education Association believes that when other means for preventing unethical or arbitrary policies or practices that have a deleterious effect on the welfare of the schools have been exhausted, professional sanctions should be invoked. Guidelines which define, organize, and definitely specify procedural steps for invoking sanctions by the teaching profession have been devised. Similar procedural guidelines should continue to be developed for the lifting of sanctions. State and local affiliates and their members should familiarize themselves with these guidelines and with the circumstances in which they are applicable. The National Education Association calls upon its officers, commissions, committees, staff, and affiliated state associations to apply these guidelines where appropriate and, through the experience of use, continuously to improve them.

Further, a violation of sanctions by a member of the profession is a violation of the Code of Ethics

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[1] The Times Educational Supplement, July 14, 1967, p. 85.

> of the Education Profession. Therefore, the offering, without informing the prospective employee of sanctions, or the acceptance of employment in areas where sanctions are in effect should be evaluated in terms of the Code, and local, state and national associations should continue to develop procedures for disciplining members who violate sanctions.[1]

The most recent occurrence of sanctions on an entire state occurred in Florida. Educators in Florida felt that sanctions were the answer to their problems. In a fact sheet published in Florida, the following statements were made:

> 1. Sanctions are a legal means for forcefully bringing the needs of education to the attention of those who have neglected their responsibility for public schools.
>
> 2. Sanctions are used only to improve educational opportunities through the elimination of conditions detrimental to effective education.
>
> 3. F.E.A. sanctions are NOT imposed as a reprisal for unreasonable or irritating action (or inaction) by others but rather as a positive force for necessary improvement of educational conditions.[2]

The legality of sanctions is still being tested. In Union Beach, New Jersey, the very word "sanctions" was at issue. This was the first time ever that NEA sanctions were restrained by a court. In May, 1967, Judge Merritt Lane said there was ample evidence to show that the local and state education associations had engaged in strike-like activities by leading teachers to resign in consort and by threatening

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[1] NEA Handbook, 1967-68, August, 1967, p. 78.

[2] Florida Education Association News, "Sanctions Fact Sheet," p. 1.

reprisals against teachers who apply for the vacancies.

Judge Lane also stated that the associations, "had been less than honest in the entire affair."[1]

Time magazine in an attempt to catch the mood of teachers across the nation stated:

> Feeding the new mood of teachers militancy is the rivalry between the 1,000,000-member National Education Association and the AFL-CIO's American Federation of Teachers (membership: 142,000), which have long vied for the allegiance of the nation's teachers. Last week the two organizations seemed to be in a muscular contest to show who could be tougher in talking--or not talking--with school boards.

The NEA President, Braulo Alonzo, in 1967 expressed his view by saying, "We have a new type of more aggressive, more alert teacher all over this nation who wants to help determine the policies which affect him."[2]

Hanna, Assistant Executive Secretary of NEA, believed that sanctions are a powerful weapon and should be used only when serious educational problems exist and there is failure to respond to attempts for improvement. It appears that the degree of success when sanctions are used depend upon the responsibility of the people using them. When sanctions are used properly they can be an important device for

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[1]James Nolan, "New Jersey Judge Will Decide: Are NEA Sanctions Legal?" Nation's Schools, Vol. 80 (July 6, 1967), pp. 20-21.

[2]"Education," Time, September 22, 1967, p. 43.

improving educational opportunity for the children across the nation.[1]

Summary

A review of the literature indicated that the teaching profession will continue to be dependent on results achieved through the imposition of professional sanctions. There are indications that sanctions are definitely in the process of evolution and a certain amount of experimentation has been taking place. The literature revealed that there are many conflicting beliefs about sanctions within the education profession.

When sanctions are characterized by certain conditions they are without doubt a weapon close to the traditional strike employed by workers in industry. This is a fact that educators have been very slow to recognize, primarily because strikes historically have not been associated with recognized professions.

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[1]Cecil J. Hanna, Ohio Schools, April, 1967, p. 43.

CHAPTER III

EVENTS LEADING TO THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS IN OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma became the 46th state in the year 1907 and is generally considered a relatively new state. A recent historical analysis stated:

> Like other states Oklahoma has embraced new and improved methods of teaching, reforms in curriculum, and new standards of educational equipment, along with fads that sweep the country like new styles in hairdressing, or in the case of some ill-considered changes, like minor pestilence. Because the region is newly settled and its people have contained a large element of youth, Oklahoma has been enthusiastic in its exchange of the old for the new. Hence, educational experiments have been plentiful, progress has been marked, and blunders have been many.[1]

Educators look back at the late 1940s and see that Oklahoma's state-wide investment in education compared favorably with the national average per-pupil expenditure. As the pupil enrollment increased in the early 1950s and the national interest in education was stimulated following Sputnik I, Oklahoma began to lag behind both the national average expenditure and the financial effort exerted by

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[1]Edwin C. McReynolds, Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State, (Norman, Oklahoma: University Press, 1961), p. 417.

neighboring states. The last state-wide general tax increase was in 1937. This tax was later earmarked for governmental activities which did not include public education. By 1963 the lack of interest by the legislature and the governor had brought the needs of education in Oklahoma to a critical stage.[1]

It was evident by January, 1963, that serious problems were ahead for education in Oklahoma. The Governor, Henry Bellmon, had made it quite clear that he had no intentions of listening to or being influenced in any way by the OEA Executive Secretary, Ferman Phillips.

In a letter to the superintendents, principals and members of the OEA Legislative Contact Committee the following statements were made by the governor.

> 1. The governor in his first major political address since giving his budget to the legislature, also charged that school teachers are being excused from classroom duties to come to Oklahoma City and lobby against his school proposal. 'And state funds are being used to hire substitutes to take their places,' Bellmon declared.
>
> 2. Bellmon said that school children in some districts are being required to copy from blackboards letters opposing his school program.
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> 3. Bellmon urged the newspaper editors to resist use of the school children in letter campaigns and teachers who lobby in their communities.
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> 4. 'I hope you'll take the hides off those responsible,' the governor said.[2]

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[1] Oklahoma, National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibility of the NEA, February, 1965, p. 8.

[2] Special Legislative Memo (OEA) No. 2, February 7, 1963.

It is likely that Governor Bellmon's (Republican) attitude on education began during his 1962 campaign against Bill Atkinson (Democrat). The two appeared in the municipal auditorium in Oklahoma City at the time of the annual state teachers convention preceeding the governors election. Each candidate spoke to the group of several thousand teachers during an evening meeting.

Atkinson was given a favorable response which was caused chiefly by his proposal to increase the sales tax for educational purposes. During Atkinson's presentation, he made a number of unfavorable remarks concerning his opponent which were applauded by the teacher audience. This event was one of the first of a series which soon led to strained relations between Governor Bellmon and the Oklahoma Education Association.

A Legislative Appreciation Dinner was held in Oklahoma City to which OEA unit representatives invited legislators from both the House of Representatives and Senate. Four hundred legislators and OEA members were present at this event.[1] It was apparent that a good relationship between the teachers and the legislature still existed. "Seldom has an Oklahoma Legislature demonstrated such a friendly interest and desire in improving educational opportunities as has this Legislature up to and including this date. This legislature

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[1]Special Legislative Memo No. 2, OEA, February 7, 1963.

could be 'Oklahoma's best' so far as education is concerned. Very few members of the Senate or House of Representatives have failed to enthusiastically support programs to improve education in the state."[1]

On March 27, 1963, the Senate passed SB 146, authored by Hamilton by a vote of 38 to 3. This bill provided pay increases over a six year period along with $100 for each year of experience up to and including 15 years.

The House of Representatives passed SB 146 and sent the bill to the Governor. Governor Bellmon vetoed the salary bill on May 7, 1963. This bill would have assured the teachers a $1,000 increase over the following six years. The Governor claimed there was no crisis concerning teachers salaries.

It appeared that the Legislature could not muster enough votes to override the Governor's veto on the salary bill. The Legislature adjourned with no salary increase for that biennial session.

On October 10, 1963, the State Attorney General ruled that it was unconstitutional for school teachers from districts receiving state aid to serve in the legislature. Three teacher-legislators, members of the "school bloc" were affected by the ruling. It appeared that this ruling lessened the influence of educators in both the Senate and House of Representatives.

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[1]Special Legislative Memo No. 8, OEA, March 28, 1963.

Teachers Appeal to Voters

After failing to persuade Governor Bellmon to call a special session of the legislature, the OEA opened an initiative petition campaign to place four proposals before the electorate.[1]

The OEA Board of Directors gave its final approval on a roll call vote of 122 for and 20 against. The Board directed the officers and staff to move ahead at full speed in making the petitions available for circulation among teachers and interested citizens. The petitions would have changed the law in the following manner:

Petition Number One--Millage (yellow)

a. Repeals existing 5-mill emergency levy amendment.
b. School districts electors could vote all or part of 15 mills on net assessed valuation.
c. Levy could be voted annually at discretion of people.
d. Money raised is non-chargeable under state-aid program.
3. Money to be used in any manner local district deems necessary.

Petition Number Two--Minimum Program (green)

Teachers' Salaries

a. Oklahoma guaranteed base for non-experienced Bachelor's Degree to be not less than 75% of the National average salary for instructional personnel during the second preceding year.
b. Salaries increased 3% of base as teacher reaches each of five levels of additional formal training and 3% of base for each year of experience as written in the salary schedule.

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[1]Ferman Phillips, "Sanctions in Oklahoma," The Oklahoma Teacher, November, 1965, p. 11.

Maintenance

a. Increases maintenance allowance from 12¢ per day on A.D.A. to 18¢ per day.
b. Amounts to approximately $10.50 per child per year.

Class Size

a. Reduces class size by providing additional teachers for non-teaching personnel (such as superintendent, principals, counselors, librarians).

Petition Number Three--District Organization (Pink)

a. Public school districts offering an approved program for grades one through twelve will become the various school districts of the state.
b. The boundaries of the high school districts shall be their transportation areas.
c. Teachers in affected elementary schools will be guaranteed a position in the adjusted district for two years.

Petition Number Four--County Superintendents (White)

a. State Board of Education shall assign additional responsibilities to county superintendent.
b. County Superintendent shall be authorized to establish and coordinate cooperative programs in areas of specialization for high schools in county.
c. High schools not required to participate, but those participating shall bear their proportionate share of cost of joint programs.
d. Salary equivalent to superintendent with twelve teachers.[1]

The Sunday Oklahoman criticized the petitions. Question 422 received the most criticism because of the cost involved. The editorial quoted the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council as having said it would cost 48 million to finance this one question if passed.

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[1]"1964 Initiative Petitions," Special Information Bulletin, OEA, April, 1964, pp. 1-2.

> Passage of this measure would force the legislature to provide funds beyond the limit of receipts. This could be done by deducting 10 per cent of all other government services and appropriations; by increasing the sales tax to 3½ per cent; by doubling the state individual and corporate income tax; by appropriation to the limit of expected revenues under the budget balancing act, and deferring the fiscal day of judgement.[1]

The editorial reminded the reader that for the past 24 years Oklahoma classroom teachers pay has been on an upward cycle. It was also stated that the state had a net gain of 333 import over export teachers.

It was evident that the petitions were in trouble. In a letter from Dr. Raymond W. Knight to the Governor, Dr. Knight urged the Governor to place State Questions 421, 422, 423, and 424 on a special election prior to November 3, 1964. If the State Questions could have been voted on in a special election the ballots left blank would not have counted as a "no" vote.[2]

Governor Bellmon failed to respond to the request and on November 3, 1964, all four petitions met defeat. Nine hundred and forty-six thousand Oklahomans voted in this general election. Of the number of ballots cast, 300,000 failed to vote for or against the petitions; therefore, that many automatic "no" votes occurred. State Question 421 did

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[1]"Petitions Have Two Sides," The Sunday Oklahoman, September 20, 1964.

[2]Raymond W. Knight, Personal Letter to the Governor, August 3, 1964.

receive more "yes" than "no" but it did not receive the required majority of all votes cast in the general election.

The State Election Board released the final official results on the State Questions:

S.Q. 421 - Local levy - Yes 417,638; No 405,612
S.Q. 422 - Teacher pay - Yes 362,468; No.461,717
S.Q. 423 - District Consolidation - Yes 403,865; No 418,070
S.Q. 424 - County Superintendents - Yes 307,173; No 497,198[1]

The Executive Committee of the OEA met November 6, 1964, in the OEA Building. The Board considered the necessary action that should be taken because of the defeat of the State Education Questions. The following recommendations were made:

1. Local OEA Units should hold meetings and determine a course of action.

2. The Legislative Committee should meet and determine a course of action.

3. The OEA Board of Directors should meet and determine a course of action.

4. Members of the profession should take firm, positive and effective action.[2]

One hundred eighty-seven members of the Board of Directors met November 14, 1964, to transact regular business and take action on the Legislative Goals that were to be presented in the next legislative session. After lengthy debate and discussion the Board approved 22 Legislative Goals. Within these goals, a "priority package" was developed.

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[1] Daily Oklahoman, November 11, 1964.

[2] Mimeographed Statement, OEA, November 6, 1964.

Priority Package Goals

Goal 1. Teachers' Salaries: The School Code be amended to provide for the following state-guaranteed minimum salary schedule for teachers:

A. A beginning salary for a teacher with a Bachelors degree of $4,600 with 14 annual increments of $133.00 per year, (provided that no teacher shall draw less than $4,800 per year).

B. A beginning salary for a teacher with a Masters degree of $4,866 with 14 annual increments of $133.00 per year.

C. A beginning salary for a teacher with a Masters degree plus 30 approved hours, of $5,132 with 15 annual experience increments of $133.00 per year.

D. A beginning salary for a teacher with a Doctor of Education degree of $5,265 with 15 annual increments of $133.00 per year.

Goal 2. Class Size: The calculation of state equalization aid for teachers-pupil ratio as provided in the School Code, plus the following additional teaching units:

A. In each school district maintaining twelve years of approved instruction, and (1) teaching unit for a superintendent.

B. In each school district having not less than 100 pupils, 5/10 teaching unit for a principal; and in each school district having 325 or more pupils, one (1) teaching unit for a principal for the first 325 pupils, and one (1) additional teaching unit for a principal for each 400 pupils or major fraction thereof.

C. In each school district having 51 to 150 pupils 2/10 teaching unit for a counselor; in each school district having 151-to 250 pupils 4/10 teaching unit for a counselor; in each school district having 251 to 300 pupils, 6/10 teaching unit for a counselor; in each school district having 301 to 600 pupils, one (1) teaching unit for a counselor; in each school district having more than 600 pupils, one (1) teaching unit for a counselor for the first 600 pupils, and an additional teaching unit for a counselor for each additional 600 pupils or major fraction thereof.

D. One library teaching unit for each 1,250 pupils in average daily attendance or major fraction thereof.

E. No allowance shall be made for any special units as provided under section A through D above, unless the school is accredited by the State Board of Education and unless the special program for which the special teacher units is to be allowed has been approved by the State Board of Education.

Goal 3. Local Support Levy: The Legislature be requested to submit to the people of Oklahoma the provisions contained in State Question 421 as voted on by the people of Oklahoma on November 3, 1964, at a special election and at a time when no other measures are to be submitted to the people for consideration.

Other Legislative Goals included recommendations on maintenance, financing the balance of the present school program, supplemental appropriations for colleges and universities, federal aid, sources of new revenue, ad valorem taxes, higher education finances, advanced educational opportunity, professional status, election laws, state superintendent, teacher retirement, teacher retirement-protection of funds, free textbooks, kindergarten, adult education, fringe benefits, school district organization and capitol improvements.[1]

Following the defeat of the State Questions on November 3, 1964, there were numerous demands from across the state for some action to be taken. The Oklahoma City Times heralded, "Angry State Teachers Seek School Shutdown." Ferman Phillips was quoted in the article as saying that at least 50 requests from teachers who led OEA branch chapters and affiliate groups made . . . "informal but positive

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[1]OEA Newsletter, OEA, No. 83, November 16, 1964.

requests that we just shut down the schools until something is done about salaries."[1]

The Oklahoma Journal headlines read, "Teachers Schedule Walkout on Monday." The article stated that 600 Midwest City and Del City teachers voted to walk out as a protest against the voters of Oklahoma for the defeat of the State Questions.[2]

Midwest City and Tulsa teachers requested and were granted a "professional holiday" in order that a salary proposal and requests in general could be made. About 1,200 teachers met at Midwest City representing 75 school systems throughout the state. The most significant of the recommendations were: (a) that the Legislature be asked to grant a $1,000 across-the-board salary increase by March 1, 1965, and (b) that teachers' salaries should be kept at 100 per cent of the national average thereafter. The teachers voted to refuse to sign contracts for the 1965-66 school year if the proposed raise was not forthcoming. On Thursday, November 12, Oklahoma City teachers held a similar meeting and arrived at basically the same position.[3]

During the Midwest City meeting, L. P. Williams and Richard Hixson representing the American Federation of

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[1]Oklahoma City Times, Vol. LXXV, November 5, 1964.

[2]The Oklahoma Journal, November 6, 1964, p. 1.

[3]Oklahoma, "Report of an Investigation," February, 1965, p. 12.

Teachers spoke to the group. It was announced that a local of the AFT had been organized by the Tulsa teachers.

Hixson told the teachers, "I am asking you to organize every school district in Oklahoma." Williams declared, "The OEA and the NEA are nothing more than independent unions." Williams accused the governor of being a rich man's governor and stated that: "We are sick and tired of this governor exploiting the working people of this state . . . and torpedoing educational processes." He further criticized the professional organizations by saying, "The OEA and the NEA organize from the top down." "We organize from the bottom up."

Dr. Raymond Knight, president of OEA, came to the defense of OEA. Knight pledged that OEA would come up with a plan that would be "as good or better" than the defeated state questions.

Richard Morgan, representing the NEA, told the group that the NEA is "ready, willing and able to help you to help yourselves." Morgan told the teachers that the NEA would apply sanctions against a state that does not meet its educational needs. Morgan said, "We can be just as hard as the situation calls for."

While the "professional holiday" was in progress students were picketing. The Tulsa Nathan Hale student council met and decided to help their teachers. The council president, Bill Burnett, said, "This is to show our support for

our teachers." He personally carried a sign reading "Is this holiday caused by you? Did you vote no on 422?"

High school students from Midwest City picketed the state capitol on November 9, 1964, in support of their teachers demand for higher salaries. There were about 50 students in this group at the capitol.[1]

Governor Bellmon addressed thousands of teachers in two separate sessions on Saturday, December 6, 1964. The sessions were in Tulsa's Assembly Center at 10 A.M. and in Oklahoma City's Municipal Auditorium at 2 P.M.[2]

Governor Bellmon declared, "Oklahoma schools are good schools . . . among the best in the nation. The Oklahoma teachers who are entrusted to teach our future citizens are good teachers--among the best in the nation." Bellmon said further, "The qualifications of our teachers are, however, far ahead of the salaries our state has seen fit to pay them."[3] At these two meetings Bellmon introduced a plan of his called "Operation Giant Stride." A brief summary of the Governor's "Operation Giant Stride" is as follows:

> 1. An increase in salaries of teachers in the elementary-secondary schools of $800 for the next biennium, of which a $500 increase would be in 1965-66 and a $300 increase in 1966-67.

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[1] Oklahoma City Times, Vol. LXXV, No. 229, Monday, November 9, 1964.

[2] Daily Oklahoman, December 5, 1964.

[3] The Sunday Oklahoman, December 6, 1964, p. 20.

2. Salaries of teachers in colleges and universities be increased $600.

3. The State Question 421 permitting additional local support be resubmitted to the voters at an election in the spring of 1965.

4. That the office of county superintendent be abolished.

5. That 50% of Public Law 874 Federal Aid now going to schools in impacted areas be considered as chargeable income and that this money be used to reduce the amount of aid needed from state sources. This proposal would involve $8,000,000 of Federal Impacted Aid to education.

6. The proposal of a "True Value Assessment Law."

The Governor's "Operation Giant Stride" did not near reach the OEA goals. OEA's proposed salary program alone would have cost $56 million for the biennium. The Governor's program represented a total increase of funds for both the elementary and secondary schools of $28.6 million for the same period of time.[1]

The Governor's plan for the financing of schools in Oklahoma was not acceptable by the OEA. The 195 member Board of Directors met and rejected the Governor's plan. The Board reiterated its demand for a $1,000 across-the-board pay increase and again affirmed its stand for:

1. A base salary of $4,600 with no teacher to be paid less than $4,800. (The base is now $3,600 with a starting pay of $3,800).

2. Annual raises based on experience and preparation.

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[1] OEA Newsletter, December 5, 1964.

3. Raises for college and university faculty members to bring their salaries to the national average.

4. Reduce class size by providing that non-teaching personnel shall not be counted in determining the number of teachers for which a school district qualifies.[1]

States' Schools are Investigated

In the OEA Board of Directors meeting on November 14, 1964, the Board requested the NEA to conduct an investigation of conditions in Oklahoma's Education System. The NEA accepted the investigation request and its Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities arranged the study.

The Commission was made up of the following members: Richard Morgan, NEA staff; Ray M. Cohrs (chairman), Seattle, Washington, classroom teacher; Clyde Kimbell, principal, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Chester Nolte, professor, University of Denver; Dorothy Goodpasture, school board member, Wichita, Kansas; Helen Hay, classroom teacher, Denver, Colorado; Dr. Charles E. Jones, superintendent, Manitowoc, Wisconsin; W. L. Robins, school board member, Fulton County, Georgia; and Samuel B. Ethridge, NEA staff.

The NEA Professional Rights and Responsibility Commission made its headquarters in Oklahoma City's Skirvin Hotel and interviewed the following:

December 10, 1964 - OEA Building

9:00 A.M. - 12:00 OEA officers, Executive Committee, Staff

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[1]Daily Oklahoman, December 12, 1964, p. 1.

1:30 P.M. - 2:30	Oklahoma Congress of Parents and Teachers, Mrs. O. W. Jones, President, Skirvin Hotel
2:30 P.M. - 3:30	Oklahoma State School Boards Association, Mr. Harold White, President
3:30 P.M. - 4:30	American Association of School Administrators, Dr. J. Win Payne, President, Skirvin Hotel
4:30 P.M. - 5:30	Oklahoma Association of School Administrators, Mr. Dale Hughey, President, Skirvin Hotel
8:30 P.M. -	State Chamber of Commerce, Skirvin Hotel

December 11, 1964 - Skirvin Hotel

Governor Henry Bellmon
State Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Board of Education
Key Legislators (President Pro Tempore, House Speaker, Others)

December 12, 1964 - Skirvin Hotel

9:30 A.M. - 12:00	Executive Committee and Presidents of Organized Teacher Groups
1:30 P.M.	OEA Local Unit Presidents[1]

The Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities relied to a high degree on a report that was initiated by Governor Bellmon. Early in 1964 Governor Bellmon had asked a 100 member citizens committee to be responsible for the development of an advisory report on education in the state. The president of the American Association of School Administrators, J. Win Payne, and at the time superintendent of schools in Ponca City, was made chairman of this citizens committee.[2]

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[1] OEA Newsletter, December 5, 1964, p. 2.

[2] Report of an Investigation, Oklahoma, NEA, February, 1965, p. 15.

The major recommendations of the Committee were as follows:

1. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction be appointed by an elected board.

2. The number of school districts in Oklahoma should be drastically reduced and every school district offer a complete program, elementary through high school.

3. More men should be employed in the elementary school.

4. Non-teaching personnel should not be figured in the equalization aid formula.

5. A definite salary schedule was prescribed, provision made for degrees and years of experience along with a well financed sick leave and teacher retirement system.

6. The patterns of classroom organization should be developed that would effectively serve the community.

7. The accreditation for elementary schools should be strengthened.

8. Kindergartens should be a standard part of the schools in Oklahoma.

9. The high schools should not have under 500 pupils.

10. The junior high schools should not have under 300 pupils.

11. There should be not over a 25 to 1 teacher--pupil ratio.

12. The secondary schools should be staffed with guidance and library personnel.

13. Vocational-technical education was stressed as a pressing need.

14. Suggested procedure for the specific financing of the schools of Oklahoma.[1]

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[1]Governor's Advisory Committee on Common School Education, (Mimeographed), November 9, 1964.

The NEA's National Committee on Professional Rights and Responsibility suggested that the citizens of Oklahoma check the conditions in the schools and see what educational reforms were needed. Following the three days of investigations, the Committee gave a report that Oklahoma's school program lacked quality and pointed out "non-competitive" teachers salaries and "gross deficiencies in school buildings and other aspects of Oklahoma education."

Governor Bellmon countered with "I would have been surprised if it (the report) had turned out otherwise." Bellmon asked the question, "You don't suppose that was written before they came down?"[1] State Superintendent, Oliver Hodge, said that he wished the NEA had cited some of the state's accomplishments in its critical reports.[2]

During all the furor, the teachers developed a different approach in applying pressure. The teachers wives organized an association of their own. On January 13, the wives of teachers marched on the capitol, demanded and got an audience with the Governor. Tamara Brooks, with no political experience, mustered wives, threatened to boycott businesses and crashed an OEA Board of Directors meeting. Mrs. Brooks also told the state representatives that: "If you all don't believe I've got to take in ironing to make

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[1] Oklahoma Journal, December 15, 1964.

[2] Daily Oklahoman, December 20, 1964.

ends meet, you just give me those white shirts you're wearin', and I'll iron 'em for you!"[1]

In the month of January the OEA wrote a letter to its members explaining the importance of a questionnaire which was enclosed. The OEA requested the member to fill out the questionnaire and return it by February 10. It was made clear that the information would remain confidential. This questionnaire was intended to give the OEA Board of Directors direction for its March meeting.[2]

The Questionnaire read as follows:

I. I believe if improvements agreeable to the OEA Board of Directors have not been made in the schools of Oklahoma by March 1, 1965, that sanctions should be applied to the extent that members of the profession throughout the nation are advised that to accept employment in the schools of Oklahoma would be considered unethical until the sanctions have been lifted.

Yes [ ] No [ ]

II. I believe the OEA Board of Directors should ask teachers now teaching in the public schools of Oklahoma to advise their Board of Education that teaching services will be withheld by teachers from the public schools of Oklahoma in the school year 1965-66 until improvements in the school system agreeable to the OEA Board of Directors have been made. I pledge that I will follow the recommendations of the OEA Board of Directors if a recommendation is made to withhold services and <u>if</u> such a pledge is made by at least 51% of the teachers in the school system in which I teach.

Yes [ ] No [ ]

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[1]Shawn Kalkstein, <u>Look</u>, "Oklahoma's Education War," January 25, 1966, p. 84.

[2]Letter to OEA Members, (Mimeographed), January, 1965.

III. I believe the State Board of Education should "hold the line" in the practice of issuing temporary certificates to persons not fully qualified to teach under the present rules and regulations of the State Board of Education.

Yes ☐ No ☐

IV. I believe that OEA, through its membership and organization, should make every possible effort to bring about the enactment of a satisfactory program through legislative activity (such as legislative visitation, contacts made with legislators, attendance at legislative committee sessions, etc.), and I am personally prepared to cooperate in this effort in every way possible that I deem essential.[1]

Yes ☐ No ☐

If the ballots were not returned it was considered a "no" vote on the above questions.

In February, 1965, the investigating committee found that teachers were overwhelmingly in agreement that overcrowded classrooms were making teaching very difficult and reducing the quality of education across the state. Teachers described "the almost complete lack of specialized personnel, such as guidance counselors, special education teachers, librarians, nurses, and remedial teachers." Libraries in the elementary schools were almost non-existent. The high school libraries, even though they may have met North Central Association's regulations, were still inadequate. Libraries in rural schools were inadequate as were the available public libraries. All of these factors lead to the conclusion that

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[1]Confidential Questionnaire (Mimeographed), January, 1965.

Oklahoma's youth were being limited in the quality of learning experiences.

Another concern of the teachers was the extra-curricular duties and clerical duties they were expected to perform. Taking tickets and maintaining discipline at school events by teachers was quite common. It was of concern that while band directors and coaches received extra pay other teachers contributed their service gratis.

Many male teachers objected to driving a school bus in order to meet their financial obligations. Many teachers reported problems with students who rode their bus and that driving often prevented their participation in faculty meetings, and parent-pupil conferences. Teachers also reported shortages of such essentials as chalkboards, science equipment and textbooks. The textbooks were often out-of-date.

The State of Oklahoma led the nation in 1965 in academically qualified teachers with 99.7 per cent of elementary teachers having a bachelor's degree and 37 per cent of all teachers having a masters degree. Even so, it was felt that surrounding states were draining the superior teachers from Oklahoma.[1]

Throughout the investigation the committee heard severe criticism of the dominance of superintendents in the OEA Executive Committee and the Board of Directors. At the

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[1]Report of an Investigation, "Oklahoma," February, 1965, pp. 18-21.

time of the investigation, membership of the OEA Board of Directors was composed of the following:

Superintendents	81
Classroom teachers	44
Elementary principals	20
Secondary principals	13
College teachers	13
College presidents	5
Assistant superintendents	5
Counselors	3
County superintendents	3
Supervisors	3
Rural teachers	2
Retired teacher	1

It was reported in some local districts that election of representatives for the Board of Directors was held by open vote rather than secret ballot and some teachers intimated that they were expected to elect the superintendent.[1]

School district reorganization was a problem that had caused considerable concern in Oklahoma. In 1962, 39 high schools had less than 40 pupils in average daily attendance. Less than half the high schools of the state had an average daily attendance of 100 or more. Also, only 75 high schools of the 560 had an average daily attendance of 275 or more. Another point of concern was the State Superintendent's election by popular vote while the six members of the State Board were appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate.[2] At the time of the investigation the tax revenue for schools was derived from three sources: (1) sixty-three per cent,

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[1] Ibid., p. 26.

[2] Ibid., p. 27.

local; (2) twenty-nine per cent, state; and (3) eight per cent, federal.[1]

An ad hoc committee appointed by Dr. Knight, president of the Oklahoma Education Association, was charged with the responsibility of reviewing and making recommendations as a result of the report of an investigation by the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association which was released on Friday, February 26, 1965. On March 1, 1965, the following report was given to the presidents and the members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Education Association.

> 1. The Committee recommends that the National Education Association's Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities and the special committee assigned to make the investigation in Oklahoma be commended for their thorough study and the expeditious manner in which the report was made available for the use of the Oklahoma Education Association and other interested parties.
>
> 2. The Committee recommends that the OEA Board of Directors direct its officers, staff and members to make every possible effort to bring about the enactment of a legislative program for education which will be satisfactory to the membership of the association.
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> 3. The committee recommends that the Board of Directors of OEA invoke professional sanctions to be effective immediately in the State of Oklahoma.[2]

On March 6, 1965, the OEA Commission on Educational Policies developed a policy statement concerning the crisis

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[1] Ibid., p. 28.

[2] Report of the Ad Hoc Committee, (Mimeographed), March 1, 1965.

in the state. The Commission was responsible for initiating programs and policies that the Executive Committee and the OEA Board of Directors were to consider.

> It is imperative that those responsible for educational progress in Oklahoma assure the competent teacher a working climate which makes effective teaching possible. This climate includes reasonable class size, adequate salaries, necessary teaching materials, a comprehensive and attractive library and an adequate counseling program. Without these, quality education is greatly restricted, if not impossible.

The Commission was concerned about children in many schools being deprived of educational opportunities across the state. The members of the profession were encouraged to let the shortcomings be known to the public. The Commission stressed:

> That professional solidarity and understanding are imperative. Even though there are differences of opinion after the decisions have been made democratically the members must support the OEA program.
>
> That classroom teachers and administrators, urban and rural schools, public schools and institutions of higher learning must not be divided.[1]

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[1]Mimeographed Statement by the OEA Commission on Education Policies, March 6, 1965, pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER IV

OEA - NEA SANCTIONS IN OKLAHOMA

On March 6, 1965, the Board of Directors of the OEA invoked state sanctions without a dissenting vote. Members of the teaching profession across the nation were informed of the unacceptable educational conditions in Oklahoma. Teachers outside the state were notified that to take a position within the state would be considered professionally unethical. The Board of Directors of the OEA notified placement bureaus of unsatisfactory conditions in Oklahoma schools and requested the agencies to withhold placement services until the sanctions were lifted.

The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, along with other state and national accrediting agencies, were invited to appoint a special committee to appraise Oklahoma's member schools and determine to what degree the schools were not meeting the accreditation requirements. Other organizations such as the National Education Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National School Boards Association, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education were notified that sanctions had been imposed on Oklahoma. These organizations

were asked to publicize the sanctions and lend support to efforts that were made to bring about improvements in the schools of Oklahoma. In addition to the above statements, the Board of Directors made the following recommendation:

> That the State Board of Education in Oklahoma continue to enforce the degree requirements now in force and effect for the issuance of certificates in order to maintain the present high standards for teacher certification in Oklahoma.[1]

Preceeding the invoking of sanctions Dr. Raymond Knight, OEA president, appointed an Ad Hoc Committee charged with the responsibility of receiving, reviewing and making recommendations as a result of the report of an investigation by the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the NEA. This Committee in its report recommended that the Board of Directors of OEA invoke sanctions on the state of Oklahoma. The Ad Hoc Committee recommended that professional sanctions be imposed by the National Education Association.

The Ad Hoc Committee recommended that the Board of Directors hold itself in readiness to possibly adopt a more severe course of action that would cause improvements to come. It was also recommended that the Board of Directors authorize the Executive Committee to fix a date and make arrangements for a statewide OEA Convention.[2]

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[1]Board of Directors, OEA, "Action Statement," March 6, 1965.

[2]Mimeographed statement to Presidents and Board Members, (OEA), March 1, 1965.

W. Dee Mitchell moved that the Board of Directors go on record as asking the National Education Association to impose sanctions on Oklahoma schools. The motion was seconded by Quay Smith and carried, 145-5.[1]

The OEA's state-wide convention convened in the Oklahoma City Municipal Auditorium at 9:30 A.M. on May 11, 1965. The purpose of the meeting was to inform educators and others attending the meeting of the meaning of sanctions, legislation concerning education, and an opportunity for teachers to be heard on recent educational happenings.

Several speakers were invited. Those taking part were President Pro-Tempore, Clem McSpadden; Speaker of the House, J. D. McCarty; State Superintendent, Oliver Hodge, and numerous NEA officials.[2]

N.E.A. Intervenes

Lyle W. Ashby, the Deputy Executive Secretary of the National Education Association, appeared as a speaker at the convention. His purpose in appearing was to announce the action of the Executive Committee of the National Education Association. The National Education Association for the second time in its history had imposed sanctions on an entire state. That state was Oklahoma!

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[1]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, May 3, 1965.

[2]OEA Newsletter, No. 93, May 4, 1965.

The National Education Association, in response to a request from the Oklahoma Education Association's Board of Directors, has authorized the imposition of professional sanctions on the state of Oklahoma, to include:

1. Censure through public notice and reports to the mass media. The National Education Association will at once advise business and industrial organizations and their leaders, agencies of government, and the general public that Oklahoma, despite ample resources, maintains a subminimal public education program.

2. Notification to professional agencies such as state departments of education, certification and placement services, and members of the teaching profession generally of the unsatisfactory conditions in Oklahoma schools. This notification will caution graduates of schools of education against acceptance of educational employment in Oklahoma.

3. Warning to active and student members of the National Education Association not currently employed in Oklahoma that acceptance of employment as a new teacher in any Oklahoma school district may be considered unethical conduct, and that such conduct, on recommendation of the Oklahoma Education Association, will be treated in accordance with established procedures of the National Education Association.

4. Assistance to OEA-NEA members presently employed in Oklahoma who desire to leave the state for educational employment under more favorable circumstances. In implementation of this program, NEA will establish relocation centers through which information about employment opportunities outside the state will be made available.

Ashby, in his presentation to Oklahoma teachers said, "By this action the National Education Association serves notice of its complete commitment to join the Oklahoma Education Association in a combined effort to advance education and the welfare of students and teachers in Oklahoma. This step is taken only after serious consideration of:

1. The repeated massive efforts of the Oklahoma Education Association to secure public support for upgrading public education and eliminating the unsatisfactory conditions which exist.

2. The continued failure of the governor of Oklahoma to act on the findings and recommendations for educational improvements contained in the Report on Common School Education prepared by a citizens committee selected by the Governor.

3. The general failure of the state legislature and of local and state officials responsible for the welfare of the schools to recognize the significance of the findings and recommendations set forth in the report of the investigation developed by the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities.

4. The need to impress upon the citizens of Oklahoma and their elected public officials that the level of public education in the state is far below any acceptable standard.

Ashby said further, "The National Education Association will consider the removal of the sanctions when governmental programs are implemented which assure significant elevation in the state's commitment to public education. Recognizing the imperative need for total professional association involvement in seeking the resolution of Oklahoma's educational programs, the NEA, will on request of the Oklahoma Education Association and its local affiliates, assist in organizing:

(a) Clinics and workshops designed to increase the political effectiveness of the OEA membership at the local level.

(b) Committees to prepare lists of extracurricular activities which may be eliminated or curtailed at the

school district level during the 1965-66 school year pending satisfactory solution of the controversy.[1]

Ashby emphasized that the action taken by the NEA was not taken lightly. He reminded the teachers that the State of Utah elected a legislature committed to educational improvement, improved teacher social status, salaries and working conditions in general. The speaker encouraged the Oklahoma teachers by using the famous quotation from Winston Churchill. "There is no depression in this house and we are not interested in defeat." Mr. Ashby continued, "You have had the dark hours in your battle. I urge you to go out of this hall today with your heads up in the knowledge that dawn will break. Let there be no interest in defeat. Your cause is right. You will have the support of your colleagues in other states. All of the expert resources of the NEA will be at your disposal."[2]

During the NEA Representative Assembly in New York City in August, 1965, it was pointed out that the state of Oklahoma was under sanctions both by the OEA and NEA. The motion that was made and approved at this meeting reads as follows:

> The profession's sanctions policy must succeed. I, therefore, move that this Representative Assembly:

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[1]Actions of the Executive Committee of the National Education Association Regarding Sanctions Applied as of May 11, 1965, on the State of Oklahoma.

[2]Oklahoma Education Association Convention, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, (Lyle W. Ashby's speech), May 11, 1965.

1. declare its complete support for the educators of Oklahoma who are struggling to provide effective educational opportunity for students and for the sanctions which have been imposed to correct the deficiencies;

2. encourage all local and state associations to contribute generously to the Oklahoma-Teacher Emergency Fund.[1]

During the state convention, on May 11, 1965, the OEA was anxious to know the attitude of the teachers; therefore, a ballot was printed and given to the teachers. The significant question on the ballot was:

> Unless a plan for financing the schools of Oklahoma acceptable to the OEA Board of Directors is in effect at the beginning of the school year 1965-66, teachers in Oklahoma should withhold ALL services for the school year 1965-66.

A total of 7,696 members voted; 5,383 voted yes; 1,275 voted no, and 1,038 voted not sure. On the same ballot, 4,921 teachers voted approval of the actions of the Board of Directors; 2,441 voted action had been too weak; 189 thought the Board had been too severe.[2] These counts were unofficial.

Reaction to Sanctions

Ester M. Davis, a P.T.A. member from Tulsa spoke at the convention concerning the problems of education in the State of Oklahoma. She encouraged the teachers to stop their

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[1]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, May 11, 1965, (Mimeographed statement, Item 6).

[2]Ballot Returns on May 11, 1965.

bickering and quarreling among their own group and unite in a singleness of purpose. Mrs. Davis stated that the people were not looking to legislators or the P.T.A. but to the OEA to lead them out of the dilemma that the state was in.

> Summing up this problem and your task in its salvation looks something like this to me: as professional teachers, you MUST broaden the scope of your activities to include teaching THE PEOPLE OF OKLAHOMA that there is nothing more costly in their budget than the lack of first-class educational opportunities for their children; that EVERY DOLLAR allotted for education is an entry on the ASSET side of the balance sheet that will yield a continued return to EVERY MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD FOREVER in the future and FAR IN EXCESS of any other dollar in the budget. TEACH THIS LESSON WELL, AND OKLAHOMA'S FUTURE IS ASSURED![1]

The press across the state began criticizing the OEA. An editorial in the Tulsa World stated that, "Perhaps we're wrong, but the longer the fight over common school financing rages in Oklahoma, the more self-defeating seem to become the antics of school forces." The editorial charged that the two recently defeated programs had good and bad points but attributed the defeats to belligerence of school teachers--all of whom insisted upon a $1,000 pay raise or else! "It is the subsequent attitude of school forces--the OEA in particular--that concerns us." The teachers were reminded you don't threaten Oklahoma voters without subjecting your group to a calling of your bluff. "Our view is that school forces have hollered 'Wolf' about enough."[2]

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[1]Ester M. Davis, Convention Speech, (OEA Convention), May 11, 1965.

[2]Tulsa World, May 9, 1965, p. 24.

Governor Bellmon was said to have been en route to speak at the state teachers' convention when he heard of the NEA's action concerning sanctions in Oklahoma. After hearing the news he returned to his state capitol office and summoned reporters to a hastily arranged news conference.

It was understood that he had intended to reassure teachers that more money would be given to education and he had planned to ask OEA to lift state sanctions. Instead, the Governor said that for the National Education Association to blacklist Oklahoma schools was "disgusting, distasteful and disgraceful." Bellmon said, "I demand that all sanctions and other such blackjack tactics be abandoned."

Governor Bellmon praised Oklahoma's educational system and claimed that its teachers were the best qualified in the nation. Bellmon accused the NEA of trying to force a salary increase that was certain to have been made by the Oklahoma Legislature not because of, but in spite of NEA.[1]

A Tulsa World editorial continued to criticize the OEA-NEA and agreed with Governor Bellmon's position. The editorial stated sanctions came at the worst time and claimed that NEA sanctions were caused by Oklahoma school leaders. "They are the ones who are so spitefully selfish that they would damage an entire state if they are not given the right to set their own salaries." The editorial further stated

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[1] Sequoyah Co. Time, (Sallisaw, Oklahoma), May 14, 1965.

that the people of Oklahoma have only one answer, "They must fight back." The teachers were reminded that the schools could not run the state.

Generally, newspapers across the state took a dim view concerning the blacklisting of the states schools. In the Ardmoreite this statement was made, "Is it any wonder that Oklahoma voters reacted adversely twice, in 1964, and in the spring of 1965, to proposals for more money for the teachers. To paraphrase one of Newton's well known principles, 'For every action directed toward the public there is an equal and opposite reaction!'"[1]

The Review Courier (Alva) in an editorial said that, "Sanctions by the National Education Association on Oklahoma schools was as unwarranted as infiltration of this nation's continental interior by Soviet Union spies is an alleged cause 'for peace.' And I'm happy to note that Governor Bellmon has had the fortitude to jump right in the big fat middle of the whole 'gang' who would assume the role of blackjacking the people of Oklahoma in an attempt as dastardly as those used by hoodlums in Chicago's crime-infested roaring '20s.'"[2]

The Hobart paper took a more conservative view by saying that sanctions by the NEA further complicated the

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[1]Ardmoreite, May 16, 1965.

[2]Review Courier, (Alva, Oklahoma), May 13, 1965.

situation. "The NEA threats to warn out-of-state teachers against jobs in Oklahoma and, even more harsh, to try to keep new industry out of the State, have left a really bad taste in the mouth of the general public. Public opinion of teachers is probably at an all-time low over these issues."[1]

The News-Review was convinced that teachers could shock legislators into a much needed pay raise. Its primary concern was that it was much easier to impose sanctions than it would be to erase the blot they had made on the State. "Oklahoma is beginning to boor and they have their finger on the trapdoor latch." The writer asked the question, "How long did it take Oklahoma to live down its image as a Dust Bowl state from which the Okies fled in their jalopies?" The article stressed that OEA must be more than concerned with just higher salaries. "It must be matched by an equal desire to see class size reduced and standards of excellence among the membership itself improved."[2]

The Tulsa World did allow a rebuttal from an educator following its own editorials. First, the teacher reminded the editorial writers that teachers were also human beings who have children in school, own homes and in some cases pay

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[1]Kiowa Co. Star Review, (Hobart, Oklahoma), May 20, 1965.

[2]News-Review, (Reprint from Tulsa Tribune), (Lawton, Oklahoma), March 18, 1965.

taxes. "I am aghast that the editorial policy of your paper seems to reflect the kind of mindlessness which tends to exploit and divide public opinion on matters so essential to the well-being of our lives as American citizens." The writer was emphatic in stating that teachers and the public were sick to death of being bombarded with all the trivia connected with this glaringly unsolved problem. A plea was made for all parents, teachers, state legislators, and news media to pull together in getting the problem solved.[1]

It was evident that the NEA was concerned that a split in fundamental essentials concerning sanctions might come about. In a letter to Phillips, Lyle W. Ashby noted some points on which the two organizations were not in accord.

> NEA used censure through public notice. OEA did not do so. NEA is the only body that can change this point.
>
> Both OEA and NEA notified teachers and said acceptance of employment would be considered unethical. It would seem that OEA and NEA should stay together on this point.
>
> Both OEA and NEA notified placement services so it would seem that OEA and NEA should stay together on this.
>
> OEA invited an appraisal by the North Central Association. NEA did not. Withdrawal of this invitation would not seem to be significant and if they are making any studies it would seem unlikely that OEA would want to withdraw this point.

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[1]Tulsa Daily World, May 16, 1965, p. 6.

> OEA requested assistance from other organizations. The NEA did not do this.
>
> NEA agreed to assist Oklahoma teachers who wanted to leave. Your sanctions did not mention this.
>
> We recognize fully that the Board of OEA is an autonomous body but in this instance it would seem to us to be unwise for either governing body to act unilaterally.[1]

During the OEA Board of Directors meeting August 11, 1965, Richard Morgan discussed the NEA's activity relating to sanctions in the state. Morgan stated that NEA certainly did not want to see Oklahoma teachers leave the state. If no one had taken advantage of the relocation centers set up by NEA, NEA would have been delighted. Morgan reported that listings of ten thousand available positions were processed to the relocation centers.[2]

The five relocation centers were opened in the cities listed and with the named people in charge of the centers:

CITY	LEADER	UNIT
Oklahoma City	Charles Foster	Oklahoma City CTA
Tulsa	W. Dee Mitchell President	Tulsa CTA
Lawton	George Stuever President	Lawton CTA
Muskogee	Catherine Foshay President	Muskogee CTA
Enid	Nellie Johnston PR and R Commission	Enid

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[1]Personal letter to Ferman Phillips from Lyle W. Ashby, August 9, 1965.

[2]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, August 11, 1965, p. 5.

The Tulsa relocation center was in the garage of W. Dee Mitchell. A bulletin board was placed in his garage where teachers could come and look for out-of-state job opportunities. Mitchell said he was using his home address so as not to compromise the Tulsa Board of Education.[1]

Problems Erupt Internally

One of the most difficult aspects of sanctions was the disciplining of offenders concerning the hiring of out-of-state teachers. The stipulations concerning out-of-state teachers were made very clear. In a letter from OEA to school administrators, the OEA pleaded for cooperation of administrators. A copy of the interpretations of sanctions by the OEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities was enclosed in the letter.[2]

Teachers and administrators who were anxious to abide by the sanctions wrote letters to the OEA Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission seeking their decision prior to employment. Much of the correspondence on file in the OEA office clearly rejected approval of persons applying from out of state.

In a letter dated September 17, 1965, to the Professional Rights and Responsibility Commission, W. Dee Mitchell,

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[1] Tulsa World, May, 1965.

[2] Personal Letter to School Administrators from OEA, March 23, 1965.

(President, TCTA), listed three teachers, who according to him, could in no way fit into the sanctions guidelines. "We believe they came to Oklahoma and Tulsa simply to take advantage of a bad situation that could profit them personally; therefore, we request that they be denied membership in OEA." Mitchell stated there were other possibilities for dealing with sanction violators, but that the Tulsa Classroom Teacher's Association would move deliberately and cautiously in this area.[1]

According to Farris Willingham, of the OEA staff, other methods of censure were used at the building level in Tulsa following sanctions. It was reported that teachers who had broken sanctions by entering from out of state were ostracized from the group. One of the methods used in Tulsa was the practice of teachers getting up and leaving when a sanction violator came into the teacher's lounge.

It appeared that several members of the OEA were intent on "watering down" sanctions within the state. R. E. Carleton presented a statement drafted and approved by the Executive Committee of the OEA Board of Directors. It reads as follows:

> The major concern of the teaching profession in Oklahoma is to provide superior educational opportunity for its youth. The 30th Legislature of Oklahoma, moved by the same concern that motivated Oklahoma

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[1]Letter to PR and R Commission, W. Dee Mitchell (President), September 17, 1965.

teachers, took positive steps toward solutions in some critical areas. By passing the proposed constitutional amendment to allow the local district to vote up to ten additional mills on September 14, the local district may continue the progress toward further improvement within the local community which was begun by the legislature.

In keeping with the spirit of progressive action of the Oklahoma Legislature and with the prospect of further significant action by the people in the near future, in the interest of obtaining teachers for Oklahoma children, the OEA Executive Committee recommends:

1. That the Executive Committee of the National Education Association be requested to remove that portion of the NEA Sanctions having to do with the relocation of Oklahoma teachers.

2. That the OEA Board of Directors modify OEA Sanctions Resolution No. 1 by deleting the ban on out of state teachers.

Adoption of this modification would not affect the Association's right to take action against persons who violate this sanction between March 6, 1965, and the present date.

3. That further action upon sanctions be deferred until some future date.[1]

This statement was voted on and approved by the Board of Directors of the OEA on August 11, 1965.

The problems continued to grow, particularly in Tulsa, when five teachers were released. The Tulsa Board of Education denied firing five teachers who were accused of attending the special convention of the OEA on May 11, in Oklahoma City. The Tulsa board president, Fenelon Boesche, stressed that, "Our action was just to approve a recommendation

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[1]Minutes, OEA Executive Committee, August 11, 1965.

from the superintendent that the teachers be discharged subject to a hearing."

A Tulsa school board attorney said we must not lose sight of the real issues. "The real issues," he said, "are that the district has five teachers who were absent from their classes in direct violation of specific instruction from the board of education."[1]

An editorial from the Tulsa World said, "We believe the three coaches and two teachers made a serious mistake when they decided they owed more allegiance to the OEA than to the Tulsa School Board."[2]

Finally the Tulsa School Board fired the five teachers for attending the convention and quickly offered to hire them back if they wanted to come. The president of the Tulsa Classroom Teachers' Association, W. Dee Mitchell, said he was pleased with the outcome.

The five teachers were released from their present contracts and offered new ones which could be signed before June 15. From all indications, the five violators did sign new contracts. They were, however, put on probation for three years. There was no loss in pay or seniority.[3]

It was thought that the dismissal of the teachers was a major factor in Charles Mason, Tulsa Superintendent of

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[1] Tulsa World, May 21, 1965, p. 1.

[2] Op. cit., p. 8.

[3] Tulsa World, June 2, 1965, p. 1.

Schools, failing to regain his seat on the district board of directors of the OEA. This was the first time in many years that Tulsa teachers had not elected a school administrator to a district OEA board post.[1]

New Political Action by OEA

Educators in Oklahoma were beginning to see the need of becoming politically oriented if they were to be heard. A political clinic was held in the Sheraton Hotel in Oklahoma City November 19, 20, and 21, sponsored by the Oklahoma City CTA, Tulsa CTA, the OEA and the Citizenship Committee of the NEA. The meeting was limited to about 250 invited participants and cost about $10,000.[2]

Another outgrowth of the problems of education in Oklahoma was the Political Action Committee for Educators (PACE). Bob C. Lees, president, described PACE as an unincorporated, voluntary organization of active and retired Oklahoma educators. The organization intended:

> 1. To help organize and act in cooperation with educators at the school district or county level for the purpose of identifying and encouraging candidates for state political offices whose records of service or campaign platforms demonstrate an active commitment to the advancement of education in Oklahoma.
>
> 2. To consult with leaders of the organized leading profession in Oklahoma and school orientated organizations in the state to determine what educational legislation and/or programs are desirable and

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[1] Tulsa World, May 21, 1965, p. 1.

[2] Minutes, OEA Executive Committee, October 27, 1965.

to furnish this information to local committees for their guidance at the time candidates are being interviewed.

3. To accept contributions and conduct other fund raising activities.

4. To distribute equitably funds contributed to PACE in support of those candidates who meet the criteria established in No. 1 above. PACE funds will be sent to area or local chairmen for local distribution.

5. To maintain a record of receipts and disbursements. Political clubs and committees have existed for years in the United States. These groups seek, as we do, to advance general and specific goals we deem desirable by making financial contributions to candidates for office. We believe activity of this nature is an essential part of our governmental process.[1]

Bob Lees, president of PACE, reported 500 members had joined the organization in the November 13 meeting of the OEA Board of Directors.[2]

On September 14, 1965, the voters of Oklahoma approved a constitutional amendment allowing local districts to increase school support up to 10 mills.[3] The unofficial vote was 125,482 for the proposal and 59,357 against it. The proposal carried in 62% of the 77 counties. Only 184,839 out of about 1.4 million voters came out and voted on this vital question.[4]

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[1]Minutes, OEA Executive Committee, September 18, 1965.

[2]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, November 13, 1965.

[3]The Daily Oklahoman, September 16, 1965, p. 1.

[4]The Daily Oklahoman, September 16, 1965, p. 16.

The Daily Oklahoman reminded the reader that, "Removal of sanctions will not lighten immediately the black eye given Oklahoma by the NEA action. The Tuesday election does demonstrate an awakened public consciousness and a desire to take corrective measures."[1]

Following the election, Dr. Knight appointed a committee composed of Gladys Nunn, R. E. Carleton, Charles Holleyman and Richard Morgan to draft a preliminary statement to be presented to the OEA Board of Directors for its consideration:

> In view of the legislative action and the vote of the people on the constitutional amendment, the OEA Executive Committee, by unanimous vote, agreed to call a special meeting of the Oklahoma Education Association Board of Directors on Saturday, September 18, at 10:00 A.M. and make the following recommendations to the OEA Board of Directors:
>
> 1. that all OEA Units, in cooperation with local boards of education devise, during the present school year, a program of action for voter approval, to take maximum advantage of the constitutional amendment;
>
> 2. that the OEA Board of Directors lift the professional sanctions invoked by the Oklahoma Education Association on March 6, 1965;
>
> 3. that the National Education Association be requested to remove the professional sanctions invoked by NEA on May 11, 1965.
>
> 4. that the OEA in the spring of 1966, re-assess the educational program of the state to determine the effect of the passage of State Question 430.[1]

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[1] Op. cit., p. 16.

[2] Minutes, OEA Executive Committee, September 15, 1965.

Following some discussion and study, a motion was made that the preceeding statement be recommended to the OEA Board of Directors. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

During the same Executive Committee meeting, Richard Morgan reported that he had talked to Dr. Carr, Executive Secretary of the NEA, following the November 14 election. Mr. Morgan reported that Dr. Carr was delighted with what the 30th Oklahoma Legislature had done and what the people, by their votes, have now said. Morgan re-affirmed that NEA is not a bit nervous about the Oklahoma sanctions, but if the leadership in Oklahoma think this is the time to lift the sanctions, NEA will be as cooperative as it can.

A closed OEA Board of Directors meeting was called on September 18, 1965, at the OEA building.[1] According to Velma Felkner, OEA board member, reported that two or three members felt that the teachers had not gained all they should have. There were no definite divisions of opinion within the membership. The board appeared to believe that after the people of the state had done something for education, (10 mill local support) teachers should do something in return.[2] The OEA Board of Directors, therefore, voted to remove sanctions against the State of Oklahoma. It appeared

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[1]Minutes, OEA Executive Committee, September 15, 1965.

[2]Interview with Velma Felkner, January 10, 1969.

that both the teachers and the citizens of Oklahoma were relieved following the outcome. Dr. Oliver Hodge, State Superintendent, said, "Maybe we can start getting back to normal now or close to normal anyway." He said the decision was a "wise thing." Dr. Raymond Knight, OEA Presidert, said "We're going to go full speed ahead toward improving the schools this school year."[1] Ferman Phillips, OEA Executive Secretary, stated that he was "thrilled to death" by the unanimous vote by the board members.[2]

Richard Morgan, legal advisor of the NEA, explained that NEA came into Oklahoma to make the investigation at the request of the OEA and would also go into any other state when the proper authorities requested them to do so. Morgan suggested that the executive secretary and staff of the OEA should be given recognition for the work they had done. Phillips and the OEA were given a standing ovation and Morgan was presented with a life membership card and certificate for the work he had done in the state concerning sanctions.[3]

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[1]The Sunday Oklahoman, September 19, 1965, p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 1.

[3]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, September 18, 1965.

CHAPTER V

CONDITIONS FOLLOWING SANCTIONS

Following the removal of OEA-NEA professional sanctions in the State of Oklahoma, it appeared that the attitudes of educators were improved. Teachers returned to the classrooms with at least a $380 raise in salary and in many cases considerably more. The legislation provided that:

> The minimum raise of any individual teacher shall in no case be less than ten percent (10%) of the amount guaranteed by the State Aid Salary Schedule for a beginning teacher in 1964-65.[1] ($3,800, 1964-65).

The salary increase and other educational improvements were made possible through an incentive aid program that was written in the school law in addition to the Foundation Program Aid.[2] The legislative leaders agreed to allocate a total of 28.7 million more for public schools for the following biennium.[3]

Sanctions on the state had hardly been lifted when it was obvious that trouble concerning Oklahoma education was again on its way. The new Governor of Oklahoma, Dewey

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[1] School Laws of Oklahoma, 1965, p. 128.

[2] Ibid., p. 128.

[3] Tulsa World, September 25, 1965, p. 1.

Bartlett, (Republican) had run on a platform of no increase in taxes. This naturally spelled trouble for any substantial increase for education in the State for the next four years. Glenn Snider, a University of Oklahoma professor, reacted to Bartlett's position when he wrote:

> For some time in Oklahoma the candidates for high state office who have run on a platform of "no new or increased taxes" have appeared to have the greatest appeal for the voters. A governor was elected in 1962 on this issue and both major candidates in 1966 ran on the same issue of "no new or increased taxes. Why this attitude at a time when our generally affluent society in Oklahoma is enjoying the fruits of an abundant economy?[1]

Anticipating the problems ahead for Oklahoma education, the OEA attempted to get the sentiments of the teachers which made up the professional organization at the time.

During the One Day Workshop in the summer of 1967, an excess of 15,000 teachers participated in giving directions for the coming year. The broad areas of concern were: (1) salaries, (2) retirement, (3) pupil-teacher ratio, (4) foundation program, (5) instruction, (6) fringe benefits, (7) citizenship, (8) teacher-legislation, (9) vocational-tech program, and (10) close doors if these goals are not reached.[2]

Two Oklahoma legislators told an OEA workshop that Governor Bartlett's "no new tax" policy was hampering

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[1]Glenn R. Snider, "The Responsibility of Leadership," (Reprinted on the Sunday Oklahoman Discussion Page), April 9, 1967, p. 2.

[2]One Day Workshop Summary, 1967, p. 3.

educational improvement in Oklahoma. House Speaker Rex Privett, and Senator Al Terrill, chairman of the Senate Education Committee agreed that the state must have new money before improvements could be made.[1]

One editorial made a challenge to the legislature by saying, "If the time has arrived as these legislators seem to think, then let the bodies they represent get on with the job." "It's their job . . . not the governor's."[2]

Evidently the Governor had decided to stick by his "no new taxes" when he vetoed the much needed Kindergarten Bill in March 1967. Many educators felt this bill could have been financed.[3] In reaction to the attitude of the Governor of Oklahoma and the legislature, teachers began to think in terms of a "professional holiday."

Ferman Phillips "labeled the 31st Oklahoma legislature a do-nothing-for-education legislature." He further predicted: "In all probability this governor and legislature will do less in this session for education than any other governor and legislature in Oklahoma for at least the last 25 years."[4]

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[1] Enid Morning News, August 26, 1967.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Times Democrat (Muskogee), March 3, 1967.

[4] Oklahoma City Times, April 11, 1967.

Phillips expressed concern that bills pertaining to education had not been given proper consideration by the Legislature. He was concerned that:

> the Kindergarten Bill (SB 16) had been vetoed by the Governor after having been passed by both Houses, the Personnel Policies Bill and the Fair Dismissal Bill (HB 758 and HB 618) killed in the House . . .[1]

Newspapers across the State began to report that teachers were threatening to strike. The Cushing Daily Citizen stated, "OEA Director Calls for Strike."[2] The News-Star (Shawnee) reported, "Teachers' Strike Threatens." The article quoted several legislators. The House Floor Leader, Leland Wolf, remarked that, "They're making friends real fast, aren't they? It'll hurt it (education) in the House." Representative David Hutchens stated: "That's the dumbest think they've ever done--and you can quote me."[3]

In retaliation to an OEA Newsletter that was critical of the legislature, Representative C. H. Spearman, Jr., D-Edmond, circulated a questionnaire in the House of Representatives. It read:

> Do you think the OEA has done a good job in representing the teachers this session?
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> Do you favor a holiday for the legislature until our pay is increased?

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[1]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, March 11, 1967, p. 6.

[2]Cushing Daily Citizen, April 12, 1967.

[3]News-Star, April 12, 1967.

Do you think the attitude of the OEA has hampered progressive legislation for education?

Do you think the OEA blacklisting helped or hindered education in Oklahoma?[1]

The OEA was reported to have flunked the test in the House of Representatives. The vote was 66 no and 3 yes on the question pertaining to OEA representing the teachers during legislative session.[2] An editorial in the Daily Herald (Sapulpa) stated that the OEA has been viewed, particularly since the Bellmon Administration, as a selfish organization interested only in raising teacher salaries.

Dr. Glenn Snider, University of Oklahoma, was quoted as having said the OEA has been forced into its present role. Snider said,--"the state board of education and the state education agency have never assumed the responsibility for identifying and describing public education needs and budget implications to the governor, legislature and the people."---"the OEA has had to come up each biennium with a legislative program which continually demands more money."[3]

The 1967 Legislature was accused of granting "generous salary increases" to many people but did very little for education. The highway patrolmen salaries were raised $600 a year; game rangers as much as $1,800 per year, and the

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[1]News-Record (Miami), April 13, 1967.

[2]Purcell Register, April 20, 1967.

[3]Daily Herald, (Sapulpa, Oklahoma), May 18, 1967.

Oklahoma Tax Commission and judges received substantial raises.

The committee on appropriations was said to have intentionally kept in committee the $5,000 annual minimum salary bill passed by the senate.[1]

Teachers Become Interested in Politics

It appeared that educators were becoming more interested in politics than ever before. The OEA developed a film "Youth Wants to Know." The primary objective of the film was to record the promises of the gubernatorial candidates and show the film to teachers across the State. Ferman Phillips denied endorsing any particular governor or party, but the Tulsa Tribune stated:

> But it is an established fact that OEA always selects a favorite and can bless him with many rewards dear to the heart of a candidate.[2]

The OEA encouraged its members to become active in politics. In a mimeographed statement teachers were encouraged to attend precinct meetings, help with party chores, fight on issues--not personalities and cultivate a tough fiber. Teachers should become acquainted with elected officials and write and visit them often.[3]

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[1] Tulsa Tribune, May 18, 1967.

[2] Tulsa Tribune, March 28, 1966.

[3] Mimeographed "Some Tips for Teachers in Politics" OEA-16b.

The Tulsa World reported that about 75 elementary school principals in the Tulsa School System had met and " . . . were expected to donate $10 each, but Sensintaffar (elementary principal) said contributions to the campaign fund being raised are 'strictly voluntary.'" This donation was for Board of Education candidates. This practice was denounced by a 1962 grand jury. A spokesman for the principals said, "We are just a bunch of educators who feel like we are also American citizens and have a right to help any political campaign we want to help."[1]

A Tulsa World editorial stated:

> Just as Federal and State employees under their representative Hatch Acts are forbidden from contributing to political campaigns or working in them, so school teachers and principals should not be active participants in a school board campaign.[2]

In a Board of Directors meeting, Tom Massey reported that a series of fourteen radio programs were carried on twenty-five stations throughout the state on the Goals of OEA. At that time Mr. Massey presented a plan for a television series to be carried on four major stations in the State for fifteen weeks. The Executive Committee recommended $15,000 to be spent on this television series. The Legislative News Bulletin which was a method of informing teachers

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[1]Tulsa Tribune, April 28, 1967.

[2]Tulsa World, May 3, 1967.

of the progress of educational bills in the Legislature continued to be sent to OEA members.[1]

The Political Action Committee of Educators (PACE) had the blessings of OEA. The OEA Board of Directors commended the efforts of PACE and encouraged OEA members to support the organization. PACE stipulated that partisan politics must not be an issue, that the local unit should assist in the endorsement of one education candidate for the gubernatorial race in 1970.[2]

Charles Holleyman (OEA President) stated that the OEA paid for more than 100 billboards urging citizens to register and vote. He also said the OEA ran a total of 965 newspaper ads during the August primary and the general elections. Holleyman said that the OEA and PACE do not claim all the credit for the record vote, but he was quick to point out that 38 of the 52 campaigns were won by legislators endorsed by PACE.[3]

The OEA employed Bob Allen to concentrate his efforts in the area of political action. Mr. Allen said, "Teachers have talked about getting into politics for a long time and now it is time to do more working and less talking."[4]

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[1]Minutes, OEA, Board of Directors, January 14, 1967, pp. 2-3.

[2]Mimeographed "PACE," p. 2.

[3]Tulsa Tribune.

[4]OEA Newsletter, June 14, 1968, p. 3.

OEA Charts New Course

The OEA was obviously quite concerned about the results of its activity in education in the State. The organization set up a schedule of action between December 8 and March 1 that was broken down into three divisions. The first aspect of the schedule was to appoint a legislative committee, interview every state representative and senator, visit organizations and club leaders, plan and carry out a publicity program, and plan informative local meetings. The second part of the program was to keep the OEA informed, continue development of an emergency fund, avoid emphasizing teachers' salaries, keep up with current activity in the legislature, know what one's own legislators are doing and continue the program outlined in part one. The third aspect was to invite legislators to an appreciation dinner, write those who were supporting the OEA Goals and to call a unit meeting in order that the OEA Board of Directors would have direction for the March 16 meeting.[1]

A group of educators known as the Educational Policies Commission, chaired by Dr. E. C. Hall, developed a document to give OEA direction and in particular, aid in directing the policies and actions of committees, commissions,

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[1]"A Time Schedule for Action by Every OEA Unit in Oklahoma." (Mimeographed.)

and members of the OEA. The guidelines were approved by the Board of Directors on November 11, 1967.[1]

The unit presidents (92) met at the OEA building and studied the OEA Legislative Program. The presidents returned to their local units with the intention of promoting the OEA Legislative Program. First, it was hoped that influential senators and representatives would agree to co-author the OEA bills; specifically the Teacher Retirement Bill, the proposed Foundation Act and a $6,000 minimum salary. Second, meet with and acquaint members, lay groups, and legislators with proposed legislation. Third, designate one person as a legislative contact person. Fourth, create local welfare funds in case a need should arise. Fifth, request OEA members to write the governor by certified or registered mail urging support of the OEA Program.[2]

Bartlett later reported that he had received thousands of letters from Oklahoma teachers expressing their views on the problems of financing education. "I am thankful for each and every letter and I welcome all of them." Bartlett promised, "I also want to assure each teacher who has written me that his or her letter will be read by either me or a member of my staff and their views will be given due consideration by me."[3]

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[1]Educational Policies Commission (OEA).

[2]Letter to OEA Board of Directors, December 5, 1967.

[3]Daily Oklahoman, January 10, 1968.

In the Governor's Address in January, 1968, Governor Bartlett proposed 76.5 million dollars for public schools. This was an increase of 9.5 million dollars over the last public school appropriation. The Governor recommended that no teacher would make less than $5,000 in the 1968-69 school year.[1]

This amount was far from the amount of money it would take to implement the OEA Goals. The OEA was pushing for:

1. A 53 million dollar increase in a new foundation program.

2. Local changeable revenues plus state aid under the proposal would amount to about $334 dollars per child and would finance the foundation program.

3. Seventy-five dollars increase per child in ADA.

4. Bring the per child expenditure to $536 for 1968-69.

5. A 6,000 minimum salary for teachers.

6. The revenue derived from this program can be used for any legal expenditure now authorized by law; transportation, equipment, maintenance, etc.[2]

The Bartlett program was unacceptable to the teachers of Oklahoma; therefore, the OEA continued to put pressure on the Legislature and Governor. The OEA used a different approach to force the upgrading of education by requesting its

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[1]Excerpts from the Governor's Address to the 1968 Oklahoma Legislature, January 2, 1968.

[2]Heart of the OEA Legislative Program Foundation Program, (Mimeographed.)

membership to sign an undated resignation form. While the Senate Education Committee studied an OEA sponsored measure that would have increased beginning teachers to $6,000 annually; the teachers laid their jobs on the line and let it be known that if conditions did not improve the teaching profession in Oklahoma was ready to strike.

Reaction across the state was varied. Dr. Robert B. Kamm, Oklahoma State University President, at a speech in Duncan said, "I am disappointed that our profession would turn to such a thing as this. We must realize, we as professionals, there are certain ethics we need to adhere to."[1]

Tulsa school board member, Ray Conrad, intimated that Tulsa would replace the resignations with little concern. Conrad said, "We would have no choice but accept the resignations, whether it be one teacher or many." Conrad said that teachers who resigned and then returned to the school system would have to "start at the beginning again" in the salary increment schedule. "We have no choice about that either."

Charles Ross, Tulsa Education Association President, stated in a letter to Carl Beesley, President of the Tulsa Board of Education, "Our deep concern is that a layman in your position of unique significance as President of the Board of Education is not more cognizant of the fact that such a serious step (signing resignation) . . . is firm evidence

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[1]Tulsa World, February 5, 1968, p. 1.

of the deep desire of Tulsa education to improve conditions for their students and maintain the highest educational standards."[1]

Ross said that the resignations were not directed against the school system but, "an affirmation of our pride and loyalty in demonstrating our concern for excellence."[2]

An "up in arms" Oklahoma Education Association met on February 7, 1968, and accepted the resignation forms made available to public school teachers and administrators.

The form read as follows:

> In compliance with Oklahoma Statutes 1961, Title 70, Section 6-b, I am hereby notifying you that I should no longer be considered as an applicant or a teacher in_____District No.____of_____ County. I hereby tender my resignation as a teacher . . . such resignation to become effective July 1, 1968.
>
> I regret that because of the inadequate state financing of the public schools in the State of Oklahoma, such action is necessary.[3]

In most school systems across the state a large per cent of teachers were reported to have signed the resignations. Listed below are some schools and counties and their estimated percentages of signed resignations.

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[1] Ibid., p. 1.

[2] Tulsa Daily World, February 7, 1968, p. 2.

[3] 1968, "A Year of Decision and Commitment." (Mimeographed.)

School	County
Muskogee	84 per cent[1]
Bartlesville	60 per cent[2]
Duncan	42 per cent[3]
Enid	45 per cent[4]
Norman	80 per cent[5]
Oklahoma City	65.3 per cent[6]
Tulsa	77 per cent[7]

The OEA board of directors from each local unit was responsible for returning the resignations to the OEA office. The resignations were placed in a vault and were never really used other than as a threat. A considerable amount of conflict arose over the resignations during an OEA board meeting of March 16, 1968. Several members contended that they were instructed to return the resignations to the OEA units and to the individual teachers. Some teachers across the state were becoming very apprehensive over the issue. They feared that the boards of education might fire them from their

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[1] Daily Phoenix, February 3, 1968.

[2] Examiner Enterprise, February 6, 1968.

[3] Duncan Banner, February 7, 1968.

[4] Enid Morning News, February 6, 1968.

[5] Norman Transcript, February 16, 1968.

[6] Oklahoma City Times, February 6, 1968.

[7] Ibid., February 6, 1968.

teaching positions if their resignations were discovered, and it was rumored that some superintendents had obtained the names of teachers in their districts who had resigned.

At a Board of Directors meeting on March 16, 1968, a motion was made, seconded and carried that the resignations be burned by the Executive Committee of OEA. The primary purpose of this action was to protect the teachers from any reprisal from school administrators, boards of education, and the general public.[1]

Ad Hoc Committee Appointed

Mrs. Gladys Nunn, President of OEA, appointed an Ad Hoc Committee to make recommendations to the Board of Directors concerning the crisis in Oklahoma. A major concern of the Committee was that in 1966-67 Oklahoma ranked 37th in expenditure per child for elementary and secondary education. It was reported that in 1967-68 Oklahoma ranked 43rd--$142.00 below the national average.

> In view of the present crisis created by these and other conditions, and recognizing the efforts of legislators, school board and others who are working diligently to alleviate it, the Oklahoma Education Association hereby declares an immediate sanctions alert to extend from February 7 until March 16, 1968. During the period of alert, preparations will be made to invoke sanctions against the State of Oklahoma on March 16, 1968, if no reasonable progress toward the more adequate financing of education in Oklahoma has been made by this time.[2]

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[1]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, March 16, 1968, p. 13.

[2]Communication to the OEA Board of Directors, January 18, 1968, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

The sanctions alert was one of the first steps toward again blacklisting the state's schools. It was reported by the Oklahoma City Times on February 7, 1968, that the Board of Directors overwhelmingly approved the sanction alert decision.[1]

The National Education Association in February, 1968, was asked again to send an investigating committee to Oklahoma and examine the progress since the study in 1965. The committee found that the OEA in 77 workshops across the state had reduced 22 proposals to three major areas, and a concentrated effort was to be made in obtaining:

1. a foundation program for primary and secondary education
2. additional funds for higher education
3. increased retirement benefits for teachers.[2]

Dr. Jack Kleinmann of the NEA advised the OEA that the NEA Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission would conduct its second investigation of Oklahoma education on February 22-24, 1968. The Commission's work was conducted at the Skirvin Hotel in the Regents Room. The Commission met with the OEA Executive Committee, the OEA staff, OEA Department of Higher Education, Governor Bartlett, Senator Terrill, Senator McSpadden, Speaker Privett, Senator Jack

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[1] Oklahoma City Times, February 7, 1968.

[2] "A Revaluation of Conditions Detrimental to an Effective Public Educational Program," Released: March 15, 1968, p. 3.

Short, Jim Wallace, Jim Smith, Bob Lees, Dr. E. C. Hall, Dr. M. C. Fitzgerald, Charles Rogers and R. E. Carlton. Also, Don Kennedy, Dr. Vanderslice, Dean McGee, Don Greve, Cleo Ingles, Clark Thomas, David Corbett, Winston Howard, Bill Lott and Mrs. Roger Abbott.[1]

The Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission of the NEA came to the state on short notice, worked rapidly, and returned the Revaluation to the Board of Directors to examine.

In the board meeting Noah Lee, Director of NEA Southwest Regional office, identified the members of the NEA Investigation Team: Mrs. Mabel Mitchell, Boulder City, Nevada; Richard Vander Woude, Spencer, Iowa; Dr. M. Chester Nolte, Denver, Colorado; Mrs. Barbara Reimers, Branford, Connecticut; George H. Pope, Yorktown, Virginia; and David Bock, NEA Coordinate of the Oklahoma investigation. Lee reported that the Committee had interviewed many people during its two day stay in Oklahoma City. Lee said, "The purpose of the investigation was to present the facts to the membership as seen by the Committee, with which the Board may agree or disagree."[2]

The Revaluation Committee found in its investigation that Oklahoma education was chiefly lacking in three areas.

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[1]Letter to Members of the OEA Executive Committee (from Ferman Phillips), February 14, 1968.

[2]Minutes, OEA Board of Directors, March 16, 1968, p. 6.

These areas were the financial stiuation, the relation of the OEA to its membership, and the general apathy of Oklahoma citizens. The Committee reported that the financial support of the schools since 1960 had risen from 50.5% to 62.1% at the local level. Federal support had risen from 6.7% to 12.3% while the state support had decreased from 42.8% to 25.2%. It was found that many of the school districts were taking a "free ride" by not voting their maximum millage. It was obvious, the Committee stated, that the legislature was shifting the financial burden to other areas of government.[1] The Committee was also critical of the fact that the State Board of Equalization had not exercised its authority to equalize the county assessments at 35% of market value or alter the system.

It was suggested that the local school board should not allow the legislature to take its authority away. The local district should be able to tax itself to the extent that citizens feel is necessary for the support of education. The Committee also concluded that the earmarking of state funds was no longer necessary and that the system is unfair. It was further recommended that the number of school districts be reduced, that education stop being used as a "political football" and that the State educational system

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[1]A Revaluation of Conditions Detrimental to an Effective Public Educational Program; NEA-PR and R, March 15, 1968, pp. 7-8.

keep pace with the surrounding states and the national average.[1]

Even though the number of classroom teachers on the Board of Directors of OEA had increased, the Revaluation Committee felt the board was still too heavily weighted with administrators, who would go along with OEA salary demands, but would not take an active part in promoting them even though administrators were the major power bloc within the OEA.[2]

The Committee believed that the classroom teacher units must be given equal recognition in the OEA structure with OEA all-inclusive units. The Committee noticed that in the report of 1965, it was recommended that an evaluation by the National Association of Secretaries of State Teacher Associations was needed. This recommendation had not come about, so it was again concluded . . . "an evaluation during the present crisis might be more valuable to the OEA than one conducted during a relatively calm period."[3]

There were some legislators who were concerned over the sanctions alert and the NEA Revaluation. Some legislators encouraged educators to give them more time to work on the problem.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[2] Ibid., pp. 12-14.

[3] Ibid., p. 14.

An article by Professor Glenn R. Snider entitled "Is Leadership in Oklahoma Abdicating?" which appeared in the Daily Oklahoman in 1967 was reprinted in the official report of this Commission as an addendum to the report. In this article Snider had predicted sanctions again in Oklahoma in 1968.

Activities Increase

The Oklahoma Legislature and Governor did make some improvements in education. Some of the improvements came under "The Public School Improvement Act of 1968," dated March 7, 1968. An incentive aid was provided for the local districts who voted the five mills local levy. They were to receive $52 for each pupil in legal average daily attendance. The incentive aid was to increase to $72 in the school year 1969-70 and to $92 the school year of 1970-71. Teachers remaining in their present district were to receive $500 increase for the 1967-68 school year. The law provided for another $400 increase for 1970-71, and $400 more thereafter. The total three year increase was to amount to $1,300.[1]

Professional activity became more pronounced when a statewide "professional holiday" was called on Wednesday, March 6, 1968. The meeting was held at the State Fairgrounds Arena in Oklahoma City. The letter calling the meeting stated:

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[1]House Bill No. 1124, March 7, 1968, pp. 4-5.

> It is VITALLY important that every OEA member be present. Invitations to attend and participate have been extended to Governor Bartlett, the leaders of the State Senate and the House of Representatives and to NEA officials.[1]

About sixteen thousand OEA members assembled to express their feelings and listen to state political leaders. Thousands of cars, many chartered buses, and school buses lined the streets outside the coliseum. A number of placards permeated the large crowd. Teachers showed signs of militancy and unrest. The crowd cheered speakers who spoke for the teacher and his welfare and expressed displeasure for those who did not.

NEA President, Braulio Alonso received a standing ovation from his Oklahoma colleagues. President Alonso stressed the importance of a united effort on the part of the teachers and administrators in the state. A number of speakers spoke and the meeting lasted well beyond lunch time. It was suggested that the afternoon meeting informally reconvene at the State Capitol. This was to impress lawmakers and the public with the seriousness of the situation.[2]

OEA Sanctions Return

The sanctions alert that was issued February 7, 1968, ushered Oklahoma once again into OEA professional sanctions.

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[1]Letter announcing the Statewide Convention, OEA. (Mimeographed.)

[2]OEA Newsletter, March 1, 1968.

The state was officially placed under sanctions by the Oklahoma Education Association on May 15, 1968. Gladys Nunn was the president at the time of the second "Blacklisting" of Oklahoma schools. The sanctions came after a long hard battle with the Legislature and Governor and immediately on the heels of the defeat of the teacher retirement bill. The sanctions read as follows:

> 1. Members of the teaching profession, nationwide (outside of Oklahoma), are hereby notified of the existence of unacceptable educational conditions in Oklahoma, and teachers from other states and areas are hereby notified that to accept employment in the schools of Oklahoma while sanctions are in effect will be considered as unethical;
>
> 2. The OEA hereby notifies all placement bureaus outside of Oklahoma of unsatisfactory conditions in Oklahoma schools and requests such agencies to withhold placement services for schools in the State of Oklahoma until the sanctions are lifted;
>
> 3. The National Education Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National School Boards Association, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education and other national organizations and state education associations are hereby notified that sanctions are now being imposed in Oklahoma because of unsatisfactory educational conditions existing in the state. These organizations are requested to publicize the sanctions and lend support to efforts being made to secure improvement in the schools of Oklahoma.
>
> 4. Members of the teaching profession in Oklahoma are hereby notified of the failure of the Governor of Oklahoma and certain members of the Oklahoma Legislature to provide an adequate program of education for the children and youth in the state. All candidates for the legislative positions in Oklahoma at the coming election are advised of these sanctions and requested to state their positions clearly on vital legislation to be considered by the 1961 Legislation on the subject of education.

All members of the teaching profession are advised concerning the importance of citizenship activities necessary on the part of Oklahoma teachers on a continuing basis and especially prior to the November, 1968, election.

5. The people of Oklahoma are hereby advised that members of the teaching profession, while interested in personal gains, are vitally concerned in the adequacy of the total educational program on all levels;

6. Business and industrial organizations and their leaders, agencies of Government, and the general public are hereby advised that despite ample resource, Oklahoma fails to provide a program of public education adequately financed on the levels of elementary, secondary, or higher education.

7. The Oklahoma Education Association announces that it will continue in readiness either to adopt more severe courses of action designed to effect improvements in educational conditions or to withdraw the sanctions already imposed, should improvement satisfactory to the Board of Directors be achieved;

8. Any person found to be in violation of the OEA professional sanctions, after due notice and hearing by the OEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, shall be deemed unethical and shall be denied membership in the OEA.

A finding of unethical conduct may be forwarded to the Placement Office of the institution of higher learning which prepared the individual for incorporation in his personal records.[1]

The sanctions that were imposed on Oklahoma specifically asserted that any teacher from another state accepting employment to teach after June 4, 1968, and prior to the lifting of sanctions will be in violation of sanctions. Living in Oklahoma prior to teaching in another state does

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[1]"Oklahoma Education Association Professional Sanctions 1968," May 16, 1968.

not lessen the violation. This regulation also pertains to graduating teacher education students from outside the state. Teachers in Oklahoma may change jobs within the state and students graduating from state colleges and universities are not in violation of sanctions when accepting a teaching or administrators position. Military personnel from outside the state may accept employment without violation. This decision was justified by the fact that remuneration is so inadequate and employment of the wife is sometimes necessary to meet the basic needs of the family.

Since 1965, conditions have changed concerning the superintendent employing teachers. In 1965, some superintendents who had employed out of state teachers while the state was under sanctions received severe criticism, particularly from colleagues and teachers and some superintendents openly flouted the then existing sanctions.

According to the recent "Guidelines for Sanctions" the following directions were given:

> 1. An administrator or director of personnel has a legal responsibility to provide a teaching staff and he would be in violation of Principle IV, Section 3 of the NEA-OEA Code of Ethics if he willfully refused to do so. An effort to punish him for adhering to a legal order of the school board would be judged improper.[1]

This approach took the violation from the superintendent and placed it on the individual teacher. When there

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[1]"Guidelines for Sanctions," May 15, 1968. (Mimeographed.)

was a question concerning the violation of sanctions the superintendent was to inform the applicant of sanctions in the state and make it clear that his employment might be regarded by the OEA to be in violation of sanctions. The superintendent was to require the applicant to sign a statement similar to the following:

> I, _____, have been informed by _____, Superintendent of Schools or director of personnel that the State of Oklahoma is under sanctions and my acceptance of employment may be considered by the profession to be a violation of sanctions imposed by the Oklahoma Education Association, May 15, 1968.[1]

It was quite clear that Oklahoma was not the only place that was having problems getting the support of the people for public education. The Education Commission of the States met in Denver, Colorado, June 26-28. Governor Calvin L. Rampton of Utah was the chairman. One of the conclusions drawn from this meeting was that teacher militancy was definitely on the increase. At least 72 work-stoppages by elementary, secondary, and community college teachers were reported across the country. The length of the walk-outs were from one day to two months. The walk-outs occurred in twelve (12) states: Florida, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. In most cases only a community was involved but Florida teachers were out

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[1] Ibid., p. 1.

three weeks; New Mexico, two days; and Pennsylvania, one day. At least 133,000 teachers were involved in work stoppages.[1]

The National Education Association was reported to have been in support of a teacher strike in Tulsa, if the strike had materialized. Larry Sorensen (NEA) said, "NEA's position is to back its affiliates."[2] Elizabeth Koontz, NEA President, contended that teachers must organize, agitate, and, when all else fails, strike. "Communities recognize power and we must recognize the facts of life." Mrs. Koontz insisted that the demand for higher pay did not mean that a teacher cannot be concerned about children and be well paid at the same time.[3]

In an interview with Ferman Phillips, optimism was expressed concerning the presently invoked OEA sanctions. He felt that sanctions in the past had paid off. Phillips presented the following figures to verify his contentions:

YEAR	SALARY	INCREASE	GOVERNOR
57-58	$4,210		
58-59	4,640	$230	Gary
59-60	4,775	135	Edmondson
60-61	4,910	125	Edmondson
61-62	4,950	20	Edmondson

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[1]E.C.S. Special Bulletin, published by Education Commission of the States, Denver, Colorado, Vol. 1, No. 5.

[2]Daily Oklahoman, January 12, 1968.

[3]Time, "Education," July 12, 1968.

YEAR	SALARY	INCREASE	GOVERNOR
62-63	$5,175	$225	Edmondson
63-64	5,190	15	Bellmon
64-65	5,190	0	Bellmon
65-66	5,715	525	Bellmon
	After OEA-NEA Sanctions		
66-67	5,905	190	Bellmon
67-68	6,125	220	Bartlett
	After OEA Sanctions		
68-69	6,675	550	Bartlett[1]

Even though Phillips appeared to be optimistic he said, ". . . If this doesn't produce something in January, I shudder to think what will come." When Phillips was asked if he thought teachers in Oklahoma would actually strike he said, "If you don't get a substantial program, someday it will come."[2]

An editorial in the Daily Oklahoman spoke out on behalf of Oklahoma education.

> The most crying need in our judgement is in revising and up-grading our educational program and its institutions. A recent comprehensive survey shows that not only our schools but our colleges and universities are below par, and most of them offer less efficient training to their students than comparable institutions in the majority of other states.

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[1]Mimeographed Statement (OEA).

[2]Personal Interview with Ferman Phillips, July 26, 1968.

> It is true we need higher salaries, not only in public schools, but in every institution of higher learning. We cannot and do not employ the best talent because of low salaries.
>
> Governor Bartlett made a political promise in his campaign that there would be no new taxes. A bad promise is better broken than kept.
>
> Whatever is required, even to the extent of adding one cent to the state sales tax must be provided.
>
> Inflation is here and it won't go away.[1]

Teachers Fight for Control of Organization Urban-Rural Alliance Develops

In the investigation report on Oklahoma education published in February, 1965, and again in the revaluation published in March, 1968, the conclusion was reached that classroom teachers should have proportional representation on the Board of Directors. The recommendation stated:

> The OEA should devise a plan of representation which will insure that classroom teachers are provided proportional membership on the OEA Board of Directors.[2]

Dr. Glenn Snider, professor of education, University of Oklahoma, asserted that the reason proportional representation had not come about was because of:

> The built in power structure of this state education organization has struggled manfully to perpetuate an organizational framework which has for many years enabled school superintendents and a

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[1] The Daily Oklahoman, Vol. 76, No. 363, January 3, 1968.

[2] Report of a Revaluation: Oklahoma, (NEA), March 15, 1968, p. 19.

> small nucleus of classroom teachers to control the decision making within the organization.[1]

An earlier study by Miller in 1964 had shown that a significant majority of the classroom teachers and superintendents felt that the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Education Association should be composed of a proportional representation of teachers, principals, school district superintendents and other professional personnel of Oklahoma.[2]

A recent report made by the National Council of State Education Associations (NCSEA) pointed out that there should be fair representation of education groups in all governance bodies--the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee, the Standing Commissions as well as the various ad hoc committees. The Committee also stated:

> . . . that such representative memberships should flow thru the responsible participation of the members in an uncorrupted democratic function rather than through constitutional limitation. The Committee feels that there should be no limitations raised regarding representation in terms of a members' position, marital status, ethnic or racial origins or any further non-professional or non-ability grouping. Accordingly, the Committee is

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[1]Glenn Snider, "The OEA in Crisis: Why?" (Mimeographed), p. 1.

[2]Jack E. Miller, "A Study of Attitudes of Oklahoma Public School Elementary and Secondary Classroom Teachers and Public School District Superintendents Toward the Oklahoma Education Association," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1964, p. 158-59.

> loath to recommend any constitutional provisions in terms of the members' back home position.[1]

One of the major reasons for the difficulty in bringing about constitutional change was the fact that most OEA members apparently were not familiar with the constitution. During one of the revision efforts a note from the OEA Constitution Revision Committee urged members to:

> Study the constitution and see what it does now, and how it can be made to serve us better. Too few people know what is in the constitution.[2]

Dr. Snider writing in the Oklahoma Teacher in 1965 had stated:

> If social institutions like the public school and professional organizations like the OEA are sensitive, they then provide a setting in which the intelligence and judgement of individuals can be translated into social action by a process of intercommunication, free inquiry, and democratic decision making.[3]

Jim Wallace, Principal at West Nichols Hills Elementary School in Oklahoma City and Chairman of URA, stated that a group of educational leaders from 17 of the largest cities in Oklahoma and representing a majority of the states' children had met prior to the March 1, 1968, statewide meeting. The group had drafted several resolutions and asked

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[1]Report of the National Council of State Education Associations (OEA), May 20-22, 1968, pp. 17-18.

[2]The Oklahoma Teacher, "Classroom Teacher News," April, 1965, p. 28.

[3]Glenn R. Snider, Oklahoma Teacher, "What Lies Ahead," April, 1965, p. 25.

for a spot on the program of the state meeting at the Oklahoma City Fairgrounds Arena. The group was refused a place on the program by the OEA President, Gladys Nunn, on the grounds that the program was already structured and impossible to change.

On the morning of March 1, representatives of 23 of the largest communities in the state had breakfast with 7 NEA leaders. Braulio Alonzo, NEA President, was asked to prevail on the OEA President and see if the URA could get on the program for just 3 minutes. Alonzo was denied this request. Wallace believed it was at this point that NEA officials became aware that the OEA was not controlled by teachers, nor did they even have a voice in its operation. Wallace stated:

> The meeting on March 1 revealed the militancy of Oklahoma teachers and their desire to go all out for the 1968 OEA Goals. The meeting was dominated by legislators whose attitudes and opinions were already well known. False promises and the age old cry of hard times and no money proved to be their theme. The other speakers were "old guard" OEA blue-bloods who had not had an original thought in 20 years.[1]

On March 16, 1968, the OEA Board of Directors met at the Old Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City. Representatives were given a copy of the NEA evaluation concerning Oklahoma schools and the educational crisis. The news media was directed to leave the room and a prominent legislator,

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[1]Written Statement by Jim Wallace, February 1, 1969.

Al Terril, was permitted to enter from the back door. Senator Terril spoke for 30 minutes on why educators should not invoke sanctions and apologized for the negative attitude of the legislature toward education. When the Senator left, the news media was permitted to return. Wallace said from that point on, things got worse instead of better. Wallace reported five things that happened in the meeting: (a) Refusal to return signed resignations; (b) Confusion over the structure of the ballot and the methodology in handling the election during the meeting; (c) Complete ignoring of the NEA evaluation which had been presented by an NEA Regional Director; (d) Having a roll call vote starting with officers and OEA leadership that set the pace for the whole election; and (e) Delegates with no instruction from the membership on how to represent them.[1]

There was a walkout of several members of the OEA Board of Directors during the meeting on March 16, 1968. The walkout was initiated over the question of whether or not sanctions should be imposed on the state. There was a great amount of dissension over the issue and according to the minutes the board actually voted sanctions on the State of Oklahoma.[2] Gladys Nunn (president) allowed the vote on

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[1] Ibid.

[2] OEA Board of Directors Minutes, March 16, 1968, p. 7.

sanctions to be reconsidered. The second vote passed (133-85) and sanctions were not imposed and the sanctions alert extended.

A number of unhappy board members congregated in a nearby parking lot and discussed what to do and then requested that Jim Wallace call a special meeting. This was the beginning of the Urban Rural Alliance (URA).

On March 23, 1968, a group of OEA members met for seven hours at the 89er Inn in Oklahoma City at this special called meeting. Four representatives from the NEA were present in addition to thirty-seven classroom teachers, five administrators and one university professor. Communities represented at the meeting were: Bartlesville, Edmond, El Reno, Lawton, LeFlore County, Midwest City, Norman, Oklahoma City, Putnam City, Seminole, Shawnee, and Tulsa.

It was agreed that an organization of educators dissatisfied with the existing Oklahoma Education Association should be formed and the name adopted was the Urban Rural Alliance (URA). The temporary officers elected were: James Wallace, Chairman, Oklahoma City; Bob Lee, Co-Chairman, Tulsa; Jim Britton, Co-Chairman, Poteau; LaHoma Williamson, Treasurer, Shawnee; Betty Williams, Recorder, Oklahoma City; Noah Lee, Consultant; and Dr. Glenn Snider, Consultant, University of Oklahoma.[1]

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[1]URA Organizational Report, March 23, 1968.

After an extensive exchange of ideas and deliberation among the members a set of purposes was developed and adopted. The purposes were stated precisely as they appear below:

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN URBAN-RURAL ALLIANCE INDEPENDENT OF THE PRESENT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE OKLAHOMA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION WITH REQUEST FOR CONTINUED CONSULTATIVE ASSISTANCE FROM THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION WITH UNDERSTANDING OF THE DESIRE TO WORK WITH OUR STATE ORGANIZATION FOR (1) REFORM; (2) COMPLETION OF THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MARCH NEA REPORT:

Priority I. Make necessary constitutional and operational revisions to ensure the dynamic participation of classroom teachers throughout the state in all affairs of the OEA:

(a) Inasmuch as educators should have the opportunity of choosing their mode of representation for purposes of negotiation, devise a plan for official OEA recognition and direct affiliation of classroom teacher association units where this option is elected at the local level.

(b) Devise a plan of representation which will ensure that classroom teachers are provided proportionate membership on the OEA Board of Directors, OEA Executive Committee, and all other OEA Committees and Commissions.

(c) Establish a Delegate Assembly form of organizational governance which would give the Association a more broadly based approval to important policy-making functions.

Priority II. Immediately request an evaluation of the Oklahoma Education Association by a committee designated by the National Council of State Education Associations.

Priority III. Place as top priority as a legislation providing for professional negotiation arrangements to be required of all school districts in the State of Oklahoma.

Priority IV. A substantial improvement in the continuing contract law which will guarantee fair treatment with appeal procedure for all teachers.[1]

The URA was an active group during the NEA meeting in Dallas, May, 1968. The Tulsa Tribune reported that militant teachers were rallying around the URA and that the NEA was standing by ready to offer its assistance. According to Noah Lee, regional NEA director in Dallas, the NEA's 7,000 delegates had the right to vote national sanctions on the State of Oklahoma.[2]

The URA continued to put pressure on during the NEA meeting in Dallas. In a letter to the URA members, Jim Wallace stated:

> Many members of our group were present as delegates to the Dallas Convention, and we were able to get the problems here in Oklahoma adequately called to the attention of the NEA leadership of their intentions to work with and support us in our efforts at final solution of our crisis in Oklahoma.[3]

The URA was committed to a constitutional revision. The URA consultant, Dr. Glenn Snider, and a URA Committee spent long hours on the constitutional revision.

The basic proposed changes were as follows:

1. Change Board of Directors to a Delegate Assembly of approximately 360 members with proportionate representation of classroom teachers.

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[1]Purposes of the Urban Rural Alliance, March 23, 1968.

[2]The Tulsa Tribune, March 22, 1968.

[3]Letter to URA Members, July 16, 1968.

2. All committees (including Executive Committee) to have a majority of classroom teachers.

3. Executive Committee will serve as coordinating body with no vote in the Delegate Assembly.

4. To insure procedure in the election of officers and delegates at all levels of the organization.

5. Ease stringent method of changing the state constitution.

6. Student Oklahoma Education Association members will have a voice in the Delegate Assembly.[1]

On May 5, the URA met at Holiday Inn West in Oklahoma City with approximately 40 representatives present from 24 school districts for the purpose of reviewing the revised constitution which had been produced by the URA Constitutional Committee. Representatives of the NEA were present and after a long afternoon of discussions the motion was made to approve the revised constitution with changes produced in that meeting. The motion was seconded and after some discussion was unanimously approved. The meeting was then informed by Chairman Wallace that a sub-committee consisting of Wallace, Williams, Williamson, Deutschendorf, Lees and Consultant Snider would meet with representatives of the OEA to discuss the revised constitution and its adoption by OEA.

On May 10, the above representatives of the URA identified above met with President Gladys Nunn and Executive Secretary Ferman Phillips to discuss the revised constitution in the OEA Building. Two representatives of the NEA were

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[1]Summary of Constitutional Changes. (Mimeographed.)

present. The group followed the procedure of discussing in detail the various provisions of the revised constitution in the order of their appearance. Representation on the delegate assembly and the manner of selecting the executive committee received most discussion and an impasse developed on those matters. Another meeting was agreed on. One week later the same groups met with an NEA representative, Alan West, and another impasse developed. At this meeting, however, some members of the OEA Constitutional Service Committee were also present. Mr. West suggested that a small group from this meeting consisting of three representatives from the OEA Constitutional Committee and three from the URA would meet to discuss a possible solution of the problem.

The group met on May 21, 1968, with the following members present: Albert Frieburger, Central State College; Lee Ann Kennedy, Norman; and Marvin Easley, Weatherford, representing the OEA and Jim Wallace, Bob Lees, and Lahoma Williamson representing the URA. This meeting proved to be fruitless since two of the OEA representatives had not been in on the previous meetings and actually appeared in this group in violation of a previous agreement to the effect that the six members of this group would be drawn from those who had been present at the preceding meeting. After a prolonged discussion, the OEA group walked out of the meeting.

The next meeting of OEA and URA representatives was held about June 12, and for the first time President-elect

Charles Holleyman was present. URA representatives felt that agreement was close in this meeting with regard to the critical issues involved, but as the meeting neared a close, an impasse once again developed. An additional meeting was held on June 25 in the OEA building but the impasse remained.

The URA group was hopeful that an agreement could be reached during the month of July, but subsequent meetings also resulted in impasse. However, URA leaders held conversations with President Nunn and Executive Secretary Phillips early in August which were the basis for changes in the OEA Constitution which would be voted on at the Board of Directors meeting in Stillwater in August. These changes were discussed at the Stillwater meeting and approved by the Board of Directors. The URA group agreed then to support this revised constitution when it was acted on by vote of the membership in the fall of 1968. The revised constitution was approved by the membership but URA leadership insisted that other attempts would be made later to make further changes in the OEA Constitution aimed at insuring greater teacher participation in the affairs of the organization.[1]

Charles Holleyman (President OEA 1968-69) in a speech at the Cleveland County OEA meeting stated that there should be a dialogue between the OEA and the URA. Holleyman said that he had found the URA cooperative and that, "The URA's

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[1]Written statement by Dr. Glenn Snider, April 28, 1968.

aims and objectives are not the best in the world but there is a tremendous amount of talent in the group. The problems are not so great as to divide us on them."[1]

Holleyman announced at this meeting on September 27, 1968, that an agreement for a new constitution for the OEA had been made. The new constitution was submitted and approved by the OEA Board of Directors and then put to a vote of the membership.

Russell Conway, Assistant Executive Secretary OEA, reported that the OEA office received 5,447 Yes votes, 299 No votes and 54 mutilated. A total of 5,800 votes were returned. This was a relatively small return considering that 32,380 ballots had been sent out to members. Conway said that the OEA had plans to work with the local units in helping them revise their local constitutions to be in agreement with the new state association constitution.[2] Some of the most significant changes in the new constitution were as follows:

1. The present Board of Directors would become the Delegate Assembly. This Delegate Assembly will approximately double the present members.

2. The Delegate Assembly shall do such things as develop basic policies, prescribe voting procedure and develop legislative goals.

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[1]One Day Workshop, Cleveland County OEA, September 27, 1968.

[2]Personal Interview, Russell Conway (OEA), December 30, 1968.

> 3. In units having an even number of delegates at least half of the delegates shall be classroom teachers; units having odd number of delegates the majority shall be classroom teachers; units having one delegate may elect any OEA member but at the end of the term if the delegate is a classroom teacher his replacement may be any OEA member, if the delegate is not a classroom teacher his replacement shall be a classroom teacher.[1]

Betty Williams, President of Oklahoma City Education Association and Recorder for the URA, during a personal interview said, "I can live with the new constitution very definitely. I am pleased with it." Mrs. Williams, however, refused to pay her dues until the new constitution became a reality. Jim Wallace, Chairman of URA, did not appear as enthusiastic. He said, "I think it is a step." The URA has enjoyed a good relationship directly with NEA. Mrs. Williams said the URA was on a first name basis with NEA and have enjoyed a direct relationship. She also reported that in a recent telephone conversation with Gary Watts, Director of Field Service NEA, that he fully pledged support to the URA. He also said that if the new constitution had been defeated they (NEA) would reconsider OEA affiliation again.[2]

In an interview with Farris Willingham on December 30, 1968, Willingham said there had been a feeling among the membership of the OEA for a long time that the constitution

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[1]Constitution and Bylaws; Revised Adopted, December 14, 1968.

[2]Personal Interview with Betty Williams and Jim Wallace, September 30, 1968.

should be changed. Willingham said that the URA did influence the new constitution and it called the attention of the association to the need for equal representation. He was concerned as to the method of approach and contended that, "These things could have come about without the bitterness." Willingham stated that, "You would have thought the way the URA worked that everybody was against them." He concluded by saying that, "The OEA staff was definitely not against the revision."[1]

Local Sanctions Invoked Against Claremore

The Oklahoma Education Association broadened its influence in the state when for the first time it imposed sanctions against a local school district, the Claremore Public Schools, on May 4, 1968. Certain teachers in the Claremore Public Schools had forwarded a complaint on or about January 22, 1968, to the OEA. The basic factor in the complaint was that the superintendent of schools, Aaron Dry, was not rehired for the 1968-69 school year and the deciding vote against him was cast by a board member serving illegally. Some of the teachers were threatened with dismissal by the illegal board member if they attended a board meeting in support of the superintendent.

The Professional Practices Commission held a hearing on April 27, 1968, where all witnesses present were heard.

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[1]Personal Interview with Farris Willingham (OEA), December 30, 1968.

Three respondents did not appear before the investigating Committee . . . "the Professional Practices Commission concluded that said respondents tacitly admit the validity of allegations insofar as these three respondents are concerned."[1]

The Commission found, at the hearing on April 30, 1968, the Superintendent to have displayed competence rather than incompetence and listed a number of reasons why it reached such a conclusion. The Commission concluded, . . . "this Commission severely censures the Claremore Board of Education in its method of dismissing Mr. Dry and/or declining to renew his contract of employment."[2]

In the initial step of lifting sanctions the Professional Practices Commission sent a questionnaire to the Claremore teachers requesting a vote on the lifting of sanctions. The questionnaire read:

> After full consideration of the conditions that led to the imposition of sanctions against the Claremore schools and being aware of the present conditions, it is now my recommendation that sanctions be lifted.
>
> The vote was 55 for and 3 against sanctions.[3]

Also, Dr. Lloyd Coppedge and M. L. McClure, (Northwestern State College), visited the Claremore schools on

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[1]The Professional Practice Commission Findings, April 30, 1968.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Professional Practice Commission Questionnaire, (Mimeographed).

December 3, 1968. Prior to the lifting of sanctions they visited with administrators and several teachers. In a letter to President Garrison at Northeastern State College the following statement was made:

> It is our opinion that the internal problems which previously existed in the Claremore system has been satisfactorily solved and that the teachers' morale is quite high. We, therefore, plan to place intern teachers in the Claremore system beginning with the second semester of this year.[1]

The Professional Practices Commission, William P. Robinson, Chairman, recommended to the Executive Committee of the OEA that the Claremore sanctions be lifted. The letter stated there was evidence of considerable progress in the schools and the Professional Practice Committee found that the illegal board member had resigned and that an overwhelming majority of the teachers wanted sanctions removed.[2]

In an interview with Farris Willingham on December 14, 1968, immediately following the Executive Committee meeting he informed the writer that sanctions had been lifted at Claremore.[3]

The writer interviewed Aaron Dry concerning the sanctions that were imposed on Claremore. Dry emphasized that

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[1]Memorandum to President Garrison from M. L. McClure, December 3, 1968.

[2]Personal letter to the Executive Committee, OEA, from William P. Robinson, Chairman of the Professional Practices Commission, December 6, 1968.

[3]Personal interview with Farris Willingham, December 14, 1968.

sanctions had not been carried out under proper procedures. In a letter to Farris Willingham, Dry indicated his concern:

> This letter is in protest to the OEA accepting the Claremore teachers who violated sanctions by being employed by the Claremore Schools after May 15, 1968. Between thirty and forty teachers were employed after the above date.[1]

At the time of the interview Dry said that he had had no response from OEA even though he had asked to appear before the Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission.[2] He went on to say that he was in no way pleased with the way sanctions were handled at Claremore and that he had written to the National Education Association and made a protest. In this protest he made the following statement:

> The invoking of local and state sanctions should be done to help solve some of our educational problems. But in Claremore and state wide they have been made ineffective because the leadership of the OEA has refused to enforce the sanctions. The OEA leaders either lack the ability or interest to carry out this procedure. A major reason probably is the involvement of politics; particularly in the Claremore case.[3]

Dry declared his belief that sanctions at Claremore were the results of unethical and unprofessional action retaliating for his stand on three educational issues. Integration was one of the major issues. The superintendent said

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[1]Personal letter to Farris Willingham from Aaron Dry, November 11, 1968.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Protest letter to the P.R. and R. Committee of the National Education Association, January 17, 1969.

he advocated and had actually accomplished effective integration of the races in Claremore and that integration was the emotional and hidden factor of the school difficulty and probably caused most of the turmoil. The second factor was the centralization of purchasing which resulted in saving the district $10,000 annually. This caused some of the school's trade to be taken out of the community. Third, Dry believed in reorganization and consolidation of school districts at the local, county and state level and fought for this during his tenure at Claremore.[1]

In reply to Dry's complaint, stated earlier, Donald Morrow (Associate Secretary for Ethics, NEA) wrote that he had contacted Farris Willingham, OEA, and was informed that the OEA Commission had:

> 1. Accepted jurisdiction for hearing complaints of violations of the state sanctions by persons coming from out of state;
>
> 2. Determined that jurisdiction over complaints of sanctions violations by persons coming from within the state shall be established at the local association level.
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> This would appear to be a reasonable division of the responsibility for receiving and acting upon complaints of violations unless it is shown to be otherwise.[2]

Dry contended there were at least two teachers in Claremore who were still in violation of sanctions. A

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[1]Protest letter to the P.R. and R. Commission of the NEA, January 17, 1969.

[2]Personal letter to Aaron Dry from Donald H. Morrow, NEA, February 20, 1969.

further contention was that the Professional Practices Commission did not include the matters regarding integration and school reorganization in the report, which were the two main causes of conflict. Morrow reacted to this by stating:

> It is within the realm of the committee's responsibility to determine what information heard by them they wish to include in their report. . . . Disagreement with the judgment of the commission is not sufficient cause for appeal. I contend that you have not shown an absence of due process in the proceedings of the commission.[1]

In an interview with Dry on March 10, 1969, he expressed displeasure concerning the actions of the NEA. Dry hoped the NEA would review the case, particularly the aspects of reorganization and integration at Claremore.[2] The NEA apparently regards the matter as closed.

Recent Sanction Effects

An Ad Hoc Committee of the Oklahoma Education Association was appointed to review the professional sanctions imposed on the state by the OEA. The Committee was to make modification, intensification, and further implementation of statewide sanctions, as well as to develop a timetable of events and activities. The Committee reported on October 28, 1968, after careful consideration, that it reaffirmed the position of OEA to the effect that:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Interview (telephone) with Aaron Dry, March 10, 1969.

A. Quality education for all children and youth as outlined and provided in a Foundation Program, which Foundation Program would include such things as--
   1. A state-supported kindergarten program,
   2. A school plant and facilities sufficient to meet realistic needs,
   3. Class size adjustments to meet demands for effective teaching and counseling,
   4. Libraries and library facilities to meet accreditation standards of recognized accreditation bodies.

Items that must not be overlooked are instructional supplies as well as transportation equipment and other educational needs.

B. Economic benefits for teachers sufficient to attract and hold the finest educators. A retirement system to provide benefits equal to two per cent times the average salary of the highest five years of creditable service times the number of years taught.

C. Legislation to provide security of professional position for deserving teachers.

D. Legislation to permit professional staff members to participate in the formation and adoption of programs of professional negotiations.

It is the hope of the committee that Oklahomans realize what is involved and mandatory in the development of a program of quality education. The committee is hopeful that sanctions may be lifted and it looks forward to the time when it can so recommend, and not be forced to recommend the further implementation activities and intensification of sanctions.[1]

There appears to be many and varied reactions to sanctions. One writer said:

> In Oklahoma the "sanctions" imposed by the organized teachers are becoming more or less permanent and strike threats are commonplace.[2]

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[1]Report of Ad Hoc Committee on Sanctions, (Mimeographed), October 28, 1968.

[2]Daily Oklahoman, September 10, 1968.

Ferman Phillips (OEA) reported in the Oklahoma Journal, September 9, 1968, that Oklahoma was losing its experienced teachers and that 1,397 teachers had indicated they were leaving Oklahoma to teach elsewhere. (The 1,397 does not include Oklahoma graduates.)[1]

Bob Peterson said in an editorial that the OEA should encourage state and national sanctions.

> The publicity and feelings of the public could be no worse because of it. Further, the good ol' OEA would be completely out of "bargaining" power when the legislature meets again in January.[2]

More complications arose as time went on. Maxine Kelley, chairman of the OEA's committee on sanctions, said that:

> . . . The new superintendent in Tulsa comes here and talks about all the wonderful things he is going to do for education in Oklahoma. And he's violating the sanctions.[3]

Dr. Gordon Cawelti of Chicago, the newly-chosen Tulsa superintendent, reacted calmly to the accusation that he was in violation of sanctions. Cawelti said that he was operating under the understanding that OEA sanctions applied only to classroom teachers and the OEA had a perfect right to take whatever action they desire.[4]

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[1] Oklahoma Journal, September 9, 1968.

[2] Daily Democrat, Durant, Oklahoma, May 6, 1968.

[3] Tulsa World, November 17, 1968.

[4] Tulsa Tribune, November 22, 1968.

In a personal interview December 30, 1968, Farris Willingham said that no action would be taken by the OEA until a local unit such as the Tulsa Classroom Association asks for an investigation.[1]

The OEA as a professional organization is at the crossroads. Its influence on Oklahoma education in the future will depend on its ability as an organization to adapt its behavior to new and pressing needs. The organization must in the future be founded on democratic principles and must be sensitive to the attitudes and opinions of professional people that make up its membership. The organization's salaried leadership must carefully analyze change that is being suggested by groups within the organization.

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[1]Interview with Farris Willingham (OEA), December 30, 1968.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate, critically analyze, and develop a history of OEA-NEA Sanctions in the State of Oklahoma.

More specifically the study was intended to: (1) Develop a history of sanctions in Oklahoma; (2) Trace the series of events that led to the invoking of sanctions; (3) Describe and critically analyze significant happenings while sanctions were imposed; (4) Determine the aspects of sanctions that were most impressive to the legislators and the governor; (5) Determine improvements and detriments resulting from sanctions; (6) Develop recommendations based upon the investigation that will give direction in the area of sanctions in the future.

To investigate the proposed problem the historical method was used. Primary source materials were used wherever possible and interviews were conducted with people who were knowledgeable in the area of sanctions. Materials were gathered from various places to document the writings. A review of the literature revealed no available comprehensive

studies concerning sanctions in Oklahoma or in any other state. Many articles had been written relating to sanctions in Oklahoma, but none were thorough in their treatment. This study was designed to secure information and develop an accurate and comprehensive story and interpretation of sanctions in Oklahoma. It was assumed that the conclusions and recommendations may enable educators to better chart the course of education in the state in the future.

Most past legislatures and governors have not been greatly concerned about education in the past. They have allowed educational deficiencies to exist when additional finances were not necessary for their correction.

The OEA staff and the "establishment of OEA" have permitted very little change in the professional organization which has caused a definite split between the administrators and classroom teachers that is widening rapidly. This situation brought about the development of the URA which has been a major force in causing professional leaders to reexamine the OEA's traditional position on many important matters. Because of conflicts and problems in the state, Oklahoma has continuously lost a major portion of its most able teachers.

The history of sanctions in Oklahoma is characterized by a persistent struggle between the leadership of the Oklahoma Education Association and the Office of the Governor and in some cases the Legislature. This struggle has also been characterized by a lack of willingness on the part of a

consistently democratic legislature to challenge the Office of the Governor to a contest which might result in an improved pattern of financial support for public education. While the majority of the legislature has apparently favored better support for education, they have refused to risk a toe-to-toe battle with the Office of the Governor under both Governors Bellmon and Bartlett over this issue.

A major contributing factor to this legislative--gubernatorial impasse was the persistent refusal of the Oklahoma Education Association through the years to describe clearly and honestly the genuine needs of public education in the state. The refusal of the OEA to do this through the years caused thousands of Oklahomans to react negatively to the program of the OEA in recent years. When some of the needs were identified, as in 1964-65, the integrity was questioned when voters were asked to support an educationally indefensible measure like the petition which maintained positions for county superintendents in the State of Oklahoma.

It is apparent that many factors have played a part in the educational unrest that has been examined in this study. As time passes, it is assumed that the complexity of education in the state will continue to grow; therefore, more studies of this nature will be needed.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were formulated from this study:

1. The OEA-NEA sanctions (1965) contributed to the improvement of education in the State of Oklahoma.

2. The people of Oklahoma, the press, the Legislature, and the Governor were seriously concerned about sanctions in 1965 and the new aggressiveness of the education profession in Oklahoma.

3. Following the 1965 sanctions the censure of members breaking sanctions was weak and ineffective largely because numerous superintendents made no effort to enforce them and because the OEA made little effort at enforcement.

4. If sanctions are not used with discretion and enforced they will not be effective.

5. Relocation centers encouraging teachers to leave the state during crisis is seriously questioned as a strategic device in making sanctions more effective.

6. The "traditional teacher image" definitely has changed because of sanctions and many persons feel that this change should be helpful in improving the state of education.

7. The invoking of sanctions have caused OEA to move more in the direction of union-like tactics and a few more defeats concerning teacher welfare and teaching conditions could bring about a statewide strike.

8. The second imposition of sanctions by the OEA was invoked too late to provide the Legislature and Governor time to remedy conditions.

9. In the recent stages of teacher professionalization, sanctions have played a vital role in stimulating a split between classroom teachers and administrators.

10. The Urban Rural Alliance was the motivating influence that brought about the recent revision in the OEA Constitution.

11. The Urban Rural Alliance was the dominating factor in the 1968 OEA sanctions.

12. The URA was the first significant revolution in the OEA and the first real challenge to the long entrenched administrator power structure both in the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee of the OEA.

Recommendations

1. That the OEA put forth a vital effort to improve its image and its relationship with the news media, legislature and public within the state.

2. That even though superintendents are only required to notify applicants of sanctions, they should still use their influence to discourage out of state teachers from accepting positions while sanctions are imposed.

3. That the OEA provide protection and discipline its own membership through a greatly strengthened Professional Rights and Responsibility Commission.

4. That sanctions should be imposed only after local, state and the national professional organizations have made a thorough investigation and agreed on procedure.

5. That a strong negotiation law be developed at the state level and implemented by the local education associations.

6. That the OEA-NEA change the policy of sanction removal by a local association majority vote and allow any OEA-NEA member the right to file a complaint with the Professional Rights and Responsibility Commission.

7. That a study be done concerning the attitudes of teachers and administrators in Oklahoma relating to teacher militancy.

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